

SINCE 1937

NEW AGE

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25 nP.

BIGGEST KISAN MARCH

ON LUCKNOW

★ From Ramesh Sinha

Many time-honoured records were broken on September 10, when from all over the State literally tens of thousands of people, kisans, workers, middle class educated men, students, youths and political workers belonging to the Kisan Sabha, the Communist Party and the Praja Socialist Party poured into Lucknow to stage one of the biggest ever demonstrations held here.

THE demonstration was held, as is known, against the proposed enhancement of land revenue by about 50 per cent by Gupta Ministry, which has completely lost its balance after losing the confidence of the people.

At the call of the Communist Party 15,000 men and women had come to the city from 48 of the 54 districts of the State. With the exception of two minor districts and the newly created border districts of Uttarakhanda, every district and important town of Uttar Pradesh was represented in the rally.

They had come by trains, by specially chartered 30 buses, by about a thousand bicycles and on foot from long distances. 600 workers had come from Kanpur, despite the fact that it was a working day.

Of course, all the eastern districts had sent strong contingents but the far-flung districts of Dehradun, Nainital, Muzaffarnagar, Meerut, Saharanpur, Bulandshahr, Aligarh, Moradabad, Bijnor, Garhwal, Rampur, Mathura, etc., were equally strongly represented. They had come through hundreds and thousands of villages with their banners, flags and loudspeakers announcing the message of the great meet at Lucknow.

None of this generation can remember a march of such dimensions or effectiveness. The whole of the vast countryside of this State was deeply stirred by the call of this gathering and

That day Lucknow was literally turned into a Red Flag town. Probably never in its long and glorious political history had this ancient town seen so many Red Flags. Never had two mammoth processions marched simultaneously so determinedly and so peacefully on its streets. The population of the town was on the roads and balconies and shops to see this upsurge.

The only regret was that the two streams flowed separately. This was almost everybody's regret, including many of those who were participating in the demonstrations.

There is no doubt that if the call of the two parties had gone out together, a much larger number of people would have turned out to participate in the demonstration and the effect of it in Lucknow and on the entire political situation of the State would have been indeed great and far-reaching. So the people, the common people, on the streets said loudly enough for all to hear.

Not many people would know of the tireless efforts the Communist Party and its leaders had made from the beginning to make this demonstration a joint one. They had met the PSP leaders many times.

More than half of the PSP leaders had agreed, but the anti-Communist core, the rotten core of that party came in the way and because the party is officially committed to an anti-

this seen on the streets of this city.

As far as the State Communist Party is concerned the demonstration was an announcement that the Party had become a national force in this region also. Of all the opposition parties, it had shown once again that it possessed the largest mobilising capacity.

The procession of the Communist Party to the Council House to present the people's memorandum to the Government which is coming out more and more nakedly as the servitor of the propertied classes and enemy of the kisans and workers was led by Dr. Z. A. Ahmad, Kali Shankar Shukla, Jharkhande Rai, S. S. Yusuf, Rustom Satin, Jai Bahadur Singh, MP, Sarjoo Pandey, MP, and other leaders drawn from all over the State. They included some colleagues of Bhagat Singh.

For nearly two hours there were speeches in the quadrangle in front of the Council House. The whole of the Assembly, which was in session, had come out to hear them. The entire secretariat too was perched on the balconies.

Apart from Dr. Ahmad, Jharkhande Rai, Chandrajeet Yadav of the Communist Party, Bhagwan Sahai, leader of the Independents in the State Assembly also addressed the gathering.

There were many other leaders of other groups who were scheduled to speak from the platform, but not to delay the PSP demonstration, which was to take place at the same place immediately afterwards, the meeting was cut short.

In the evening, at 6 p.m.,

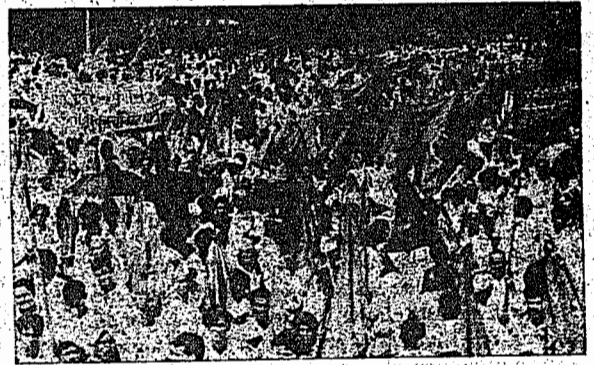
S. A. Dange, Chairman of the Communist Party of India, addressed a meeting in Aminuddaula Park, which has been described by the local press as a mammoth meeting.

At least 30,000 people were present in the meeting to listen in pin-drop silence to a nearly 90-minute oration in chaste Hindustani. Only Nehru's meetings have been bigger in this city. For the Communist Party it was again the biggest meeting ever held by it here.

The memory of 1937 brought back by these demonstrations is full of meaning. It tells of the fall in the popularity of the Congress in these years. It has become almost as hated as the British government was in 1937. The demonstrations and the

meetings have made it clear that if the rulers persist in their ill-advised move to increase land revenue, there will be a near rebellion in the State and this Government will be flung into oblivion.

Chief Minister C. B. Gupta was not here to see these demonstrations and realise the mood of the people. He had found it convenient to go out of the town. If he were here, he would have seen, as the rest of the people have seen, that no force would be able to "crush" this movement of the people. Leaders of both the parties have announced that if the proposed measure is not withdrawn, the people would fill the State's jails as they had filled the streets of Lucknow on September 10.



The march through the Streets—A partial view.

BIHAR ALSO PREPARES Against Land Revenue Enhancement

The Bihar Government has announced the postponement of the Consolidation of the Land Revenue SurchARGE Bill in view of the popular opposition to it inside and outside the Congress.

IT has, however, insisted that the Bill will come up for consideration in the next session of Bihar Assembly. Government policy of enhancing land revenue has unleashed a powerful popular opposition of all sections of peasantry wherever the State Government has dared to launch it.

It has created a crisis in the U.P. Congress Ministry and legislature Party. The prospect of popular peasant resistance unifying all democratic forces inside and outside the Congress has led the Prime Minister to announce that this question should be re-considered by the Planning Com-

mission. Earlier, on September 5, Indradeep Sinha, Secretary of the Bihar State Council of the Communist Party of India had issued the following statement:

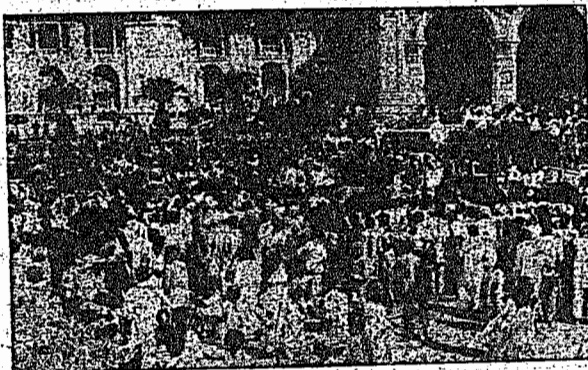
The Land Revenue SurchARGE Bill, sought to be enacted in the present session of the State Legislature is a collous attack on the famished and ravaged peasantry of Bihar.

The State Government has sought to justify this measure by referring to the fact that the pre-

sent rents were fixed thirty to fifty years ago and that the phenomenal rise in prices since then has greatly benefited the peasantry. Moreover, the various developmental measures undertaken by the State Government are alleged to have greatly increased agricultural production.

These arguments are a piece of sheer jugglery and deception. It is well-known that the rents fixed "thirty to fifty years ago" were a kind of feudal tribute exacted by the landlords out of the toil of peasants. That is why the Congress was committed to a programme of abolition of landlordism and reduction of rents. It is amazing that a government of that same Congress should now shamelessly

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Demonstration before the Assembly.

millions echoed the slogans shouted by the people's chosen messengers moving towards Lucknow.

The call of the Praja Socialist Party was no less enthusiastically answered. Their call too had brought ten to twelve thousand people, a cross-section of the same people to Lucknow. They too had come on all sorts of conveyances as also on foot. They too had hired a score or so of special buses to reach the capital.

Communist line, the pro-unity and the pro-untied effort elements could not make a breakthrough.

Old residents of Lucknow, commenting on this mighty manifestation said that it "would shake the foundations of the present government". Only way back, in 1937, after the return of the Congress in a huge majority in the elections held then under the new Constitution and fought against the stooges of an alien government, was anything like

SOBER COUNSEL

Editorial

THE THREAT which the nation is facing at the hands of the forces of separatism is being increasingly realised by larger and larger sections of our people. This has made many of them even suggest drastic administrative measures against those who champion the cause of separatism.

There is an equally serious danger—that of ignoring the great diversities that lie behind the unity of the nation, which all of us want to preserve and strengthen. Ours, after all, is a nation which is composed of several groups of peoples, each of whom has its own language, literature and forms of culture. To miss this reality, to attempt to lay down a uniform system of social and cultural life for all sections of the people, would be as detrimental to the unity of India as to use these diversities in cultural life to demand that each of them should be allowed to have its own separate State.

Progressive and democratic public opinion, both in the ruling party and among the opposition parties, is doing its best to stress this aspect of the problem of our nation's unity and integration. That was how the idea of formation of linguistic States arose. That was how the national movement came to the conclusion that free India's constitution should be federal and not unitary.

These basic ideas of the national movement have, however, recently received a rude shock. Many of those who had, in pre-independence days, advocated the necessity for the formation of linguistic States are now speaking of the "mistake" committed when States were reorganised on a more or less linguistic basis. The tendency towards weakening the federal character of the Constitution, to turn it into a unitary Constitution, has also grown.

It is, therefore, a matter of satisfaction that a senior member of the Union Cabinet, T. T. Krishnamachari, should publicly raise his voice against those who champion these growing trends. Speaking in Delhi on September 8, he called for a re-examination of the relationship between the Centre and the States and their respective spheres of power. "This relationship", he said, "has undergone changes since the Constitution was adopted, and has occasionally given rise to friction. If the conflict did not come to the surface, it might have been because the same ruling party functions at the Centre and in the States and pursues a common policy".

Krishnamachari was not opposed, and no intelligent student of public affairs in India would be opposed, to the need for Central coordination in several respects. Particularly is this necessary in the matter of the most rational and effective utilisation of our economic resources. We cannot afford to so interpret and use the existing diversities of the various groups of people inhabiting the land as to prevent over-all planning and effective utilisation of our resources. For, only through coordinated planning on an all-India scale can we overcome our economic backwardness. We are, therefore, opposed to the forces of separatism.

At the same time, we cannot afford to overlook the fact that the unity of the nation itself requires the recognition of the diversity of language, literature and culture. Ignoring these diversities, preventing the various linguistic and cultural groups inhabiting the various parts of the country from preserving their distinctive characteristics, would release those very forces of conflict which will lead to the growth of forces of separatism.

We, therefore, agree with Krishnamachari that the greater accession of power to the Centre with the corresponding weakening of the powers of States which is taking place in the working of the Constitution is an unhealthy development. This should be arrested and reversed.

We demand that States should be left with sufficient authority to implement the broad national policy, (which should of course be laid down by the Centre), in accordance with the specific requirements of the particular linguistic and cultural groups who inhabit that State. This is necessary precisely in order to defeat the forces of separatism.

ECONOMIC NOTES

by ESSEN

The private steel industry in the country is in a flutter because the Government for once has refused to oblige it to the extent it desired. A moderate increase of only Rs. 10.50 per tonne in the ex-works retention price, payable to steel manufacturers, as against an increase of Rs. 38 per tonne, recommended by the Tariff Commission, has not only had a marked depressing effect on steel shares, but has also earned for the Steel Minister the wrath of all the organs of big business.

WITH one voice they have sought to stigmatise him for not only not knowing his economics, but also for tampering with the considered decision of a Statutory body like the Tariff Commission. Fortunately, these onslaughts have only steered the Steel Minister, who has stuck to his guns and turned the tables on the steel barons.

Let us, however, first have the facts. The retention price of steel, payable to the two principal private steel producers, the Tata Iron and Steel Co. (TISCO) and the Indian Iron and Steel Co. (IISCO), had been fixed by the Tariff Commission at Rs. 393 per ton for the five years 1955-60. It was raised later to Rs. 475 on representations made by the two companies.

An escalator clause, permitting the Government to make adjustments for factors beyond the producers' control, enabled the producers to have a further increase of Rs. 37 per ton for the two years, April 1, 1960 to March 31, 1962. This was, however, a provisional increase which was to be revised after the Tariff Commission, to which the issue was referred, had gone into the economics of steel making. The Tariff Commission did, but on the basis of a false economics. For various reasons, the private steel producers, notably TISCO, have been opposing what they term too high a target for steel. The logic of their stand has led them to even leaving a part of their own capacity unutilised.

The Tariff Commission was also misled by them into believing that at best a maximum of 90 per cent of their capacity could be worked, and the remaining 10 per cent had to be inevitably left idle. Accepting this premise, the Commission fixed the block for determining the retention price at Rs. 1300

The Government accepted the latter figure, because to it there was no justification for well equipped plants like the TISCO and IISCO, to restrict their production, especially when the country needed every ton of steel it could produce.

Obviously, the steel barons had painted a lurid picture of their imaginary difficulties before a gullible commission to extract a bigger margin of profit, but their designs have been nullified by a vigilant Steel Minister, with a rider, that their below capacity production is clearly deliberate.

Minister Subramaniam, who has earned the ire of the steel barons for his forthright stand on the question, has taken the Tariff Commission to task for its outmoded and conservative approach to the question. At a meeting in Bombay he said that the Commission was formed in the days when Indian industries, which did not have sufficient resources, had to be protected against foreign competition.

This very legitimate consideration is now being exploited in a totally different situation to support inefficient industries at the cost of the people.

If the private steel producers cannot get the best out of their machines, they can very well hand them over to the state. They cannot certainly expect the Government to put a premium on their "inefficiency", and pay them a bonus to boot.

Subramaniam has also not been scared by the steep decline in share prices in the Stock exchanges. These prices are a plaything of speculators, who manipulate them to make quick gains.

The Government's firm stand on this question has thus almost everything to commend itself, especially because occasions when such strength of conviction is shown are very rare.

And yet, it would have been more in line with its socialistic professions if it had not treated both the private and public sectors at par in this respect. The public sector in steel is yet an infant compared with the two giants of the private sector. Its capital costs too are higher. On both these counts it deserved a higher price than the latter.

That the below capacity production is not peculiar to private steel producers but is rather a feature of private industry in general was also revealed by Minister Subramaniam during discussions with the Committee of the Indian Merchants Chamber in Bombay this week.

The details below of the capacity licensed for the private sector in different lines and later revoked in a large measure provide a damning indictment of the private sector:

Industry	Third Plan target	No. of Licences issued	Capacity licensed	No. of Licences not likely to be renewed	Capacity to be renewed
Machine tools	Rs. 30 crores	152	Rs. 35 crores	60	Rs. 21 crores
Steel castings	2 lakh tons	47	1,62,710 tons	19	63,900 tons
Forgings	2 lakh tons	59	1,75,075 tons	25	65,415 tons
Steel pipes	9 lakh tons	24	7.74 lakh tons	6	2,50,040 tons
Cast iron spm pipes	8 lakh tons	39	8.57 lakh tons	11	1,67,220 tons

(FINANCIAL EXPRESS: September 9)

per tonne, instead of Rs. 1176 per tonne, which would be the figure on the basis of full capacity production.

An oft-repeated criticism of the public sector enterprises, which leaders of big business make, concerns what they call

the wasteful expenditure in public sector projects. While this criticism has certainly a grain of truth, and we surely have never been guilty of condoning the lapse it seeks to uncover, it ill suits the leaders of big business to make it.

For, the record of their own enterprises in this respect has by no means been very much different. Minister Subramaniam gave a concrete instance of the TISCO raising the estimated cost of its expansion programme from Rs. 60 crores in 1955 to Rs. 108 by 1959. And that too with only an increase in production of hardly 60 to 70 per cent of the target.

THE Planning Commission is reported to be busy these days with evolving suitable measures to hold the price line. Its task in this respect has been rendered more difficult than it would ordinarily be by the opposition of certain high-ups like S. K. Patil who cry wolf as soon as controls are even so much as mentioned.

The index of wholesale prices (with 1952-53 as 100) rose from 122 on March 31 this year to 132 at the beginning of the last month. Index of food articles rose even higher — from 118 to 133 — during the same period. These spurts should make it clear that prices can no longer be left to be determined by so-called normal economic forces.

They have to be disciplined and brought down to a level at which the common people can make do with their modest and relatively inflexible incomes. Controls — integrated and not piecemeal — can be the only mechanism through which this can be done, but then to be workable these have to be administered, not by a corrupt bureaucracy, which has won for them an odium, but by a popular machinery enjoying people's confidence.

It is high time such a machinery is devised, but this can only be done if the Planning Commission comes out of its narrow grooves and seeks new and really practicable ideas through a much wider consultation than it has hitherto attempted.

In fact, what is needed is a broad-based Hold-the-Price Line Conference or Convention in which the wisdom of the economists and the experience of the administrators could join with the sturdy commonsense of popular organisations to produce a judiciously blended mechanism

Nobody is surprised at the denunciation made by Congress leaders when the Communist Party campaigns against their taxation policy.

FOR it touches one of the most vulnerable points of the policy being pursued by their governments, Central and State. The work which is being done by the Party rouses not only the masses under its own political influence, but also millions of people owing allegiance to all political parties, including the Congress itself, against government policy.

Ordinary students of public affairs in the country will, however, be puzzled when they find that to the denunciation of Congress leaders is added that of some who take what is known as a pro-left political attitude.

For, there is not a single left party or organisation that is not critical of the taxation policy of the Congress governments; all of them have done what they can to rally the masses against these taxation policies. Large numbers of Congressmen are themselves critical of their governments' taxation policies and are opposing these policies within the Congress.

CONCESSIONS WON

These activities of various political parties and organisations, as well as of large sections of Congressmen themselves, have made several State governments revise their taxation policies.

Substantial concessions have had to be made by government in State after State. In relation to the U.P. the Central Government is itself being forced to intervene.

These partial victories won by the anti-tax increase movement would undoubtedly give confidence to those who participate in that movement; they would do something more—remove doubts entertained by some people regarding the movement.

They would, for instance, make it clear that the anti-tax increase movement is not "agitation for the sake of agitation", as is alleged by its opponents; this agitation is intended to secure more definite gains for the people who are being ground down by the new burdens of taxation.

They would also dispose of the argument that the demand put forth by the sponsors of the movement is unjust and impracticable. For, if it were so, it would not have rallied such large numbers of people even inside the ruling party; it would not have forced the government to give partial concessions, as it has had to do.

It, however, appears that there are some people, who refuse to be convinced even in the face of these undeniable facts. Among them are the policy-makers of the newsmagazine LINK.

In its issue dated September 2, they as usual, give a highly distorted and, at places even false, version of the discussions in the Hyderabad meeting of the National Council of the Communist Party. We are not concerned here with those distortions and falsehoods.

We are more concerned with their assessment of the Council's resolution on the anti-tax agitation which it seems "shows that neither sectarians nor even the realists in the Communist Party

have yet been able to come to grips with the reality".

The newsmagazine does not, of course, elaborate or explain this criticism. It does not say why the anti-tax agitation of the Communist Party should be considered to be divorced from reality. One can, however, understand its hesitation to explain it.

For, if this were to be explained, it will have to be admitted frankly that the opposition of the LINK to the anti-tax agitation stems from its anxiety not to do anything which will embarrass the leaders of the Congress Party and their ministry.

Nobody who is a genuine realist can deny that one of the basic features of the present situation in our country is the intense opposition raised by all sections of the people against the taxation policy of the Congress government. It was this that, as has been correctly assessed even by Congress leaders, gave a handle to the Swatantra Party in the Chittoor by-election.

As for the Communist Party, it has always pointed out how the Government's taxation policy is such as hits the poor and helps the rich.

new taxes imposed by the Central Government would be a fresh addition to those which the common people were bearing. The Council therefore decided that the people should be roused against it.

The Centre has since then been followed by the various State governments, each of which presented its budget. The total of the new taxes imposed by the Central and State governments during the current year come approximately to Rs. 150 crores. Even this is only the beginning; more are to follow in the next three years.

It was under these circumstances that the Central Secretariat of our Party in its May meeting gave a directive to all its State, District and Local units to carry on a sustained mass campaign against the new taxes.

How that call was responded to by Party units all over the country, how parallel campaigns were run by other opposition parties and how even sections of Congressmen joined the campaign have been described in the Hyderabad resolution of the National Council.

The resolution is thus based on the actual experience gained by the Party from the campaign which it ran in pur-

Communist like the Rightists, Leftists, Centrists, etc., the National Council, both at the Delhi and Hyderabad meetings, was unanimous on this question; so were the State, District and local units of the Party which responded to the call given by the Central Secretariat and carried on an intensive anti-tax increase campaign.

The National Council, of course, realises that in the ranks of those who agitate against tax increases are parties like the Swatantra which are opposed to the whole concept of national planning. There are also parties like the Jan Sangh which seek to utilise the mass discontent against the taxation policy of the Congress government to propagate disruptive ideas. The National Council, therefore, gives a clear warning against all such parties.

The Council, however, thinks that these activities of right reactionary and disruptive parties and organisations can be fought only if progressive elements in the public life of the country unite their forces and seek to channel mass discontent along proper lines. This is what, according to our Party, reality dictates. The LINK probably thinks otherwise. It probably thinks that reactionary and

is that it is unrealistic to think that financial resources can be raised without touching the poor at all. We do not know whether that argument is also being advanced by the policy-makers of the LINK.

USUAL ARGUMENT

We would only point out that, if they do, they are themselves liable to be charged with inability to "come to grips with realities". For, the National Council resolution does not take the stand that the poor will not have to make sacrifices in the interests of national development.

What the resolution does is to put first things first. The order in which the Council suggests that the Government should proceed in the matter of finding the financial resources is—

—firstly, that "the Government should make sincere efforts to reduce unnecessary, avoidable or extravagant expenditure on general administration, construction of buildings, payments of high salaries to Government officials, etc. It should also cut such 'developmental' activities as are either unnecessary or can wait till better times";

—secondly, "having taken all these steps to bring about economy in expenditure, the Government should begin by taxing the rich";

—thirdly, "only if the resources mobilised by these methods are inadequate can it ask the common people to tighten their belt as the government is at present doing".

Does the LINK dismiss this as "unrealistic"? Does it hold the view that there are no unnecessary, avoidable or extravagant expenditures? Is it its contention that the utmost possible economy in governmental expenditure? Does it subscribe to the view, advanced by Morarji Desai and Co., that the rich have already been taxed to the utmost capacity? If such are its views, the least that can be said about them is that it is they who "refuse to come to grips with realities".

For, even the leaders of the Government, including the Prime Minister, agree that lots of extravagant expenditures are being incurred. The tremendous extent to which the rich are evading taxes is also well-known.

If the two methods ordinarily suggested by those who are familiar with the finances of the country—utmost possible economy in governmental expenditure and plugging the loop-holes in the collection of existing taxes, particularly on the rich—are adopted more money can be raised than is proposed to be collected by the new taxes which are being imposed on the poor.

This is the reality that cannot be denied by anybody who does not want to defend the indefensible.

The question therefore is: Would the LINK join the critics of the taxation policy of the Congress government, including the Communist Party, in seeing that all honest democratic-minded persons, including Congressmen, are mobilised in a country-wide campaign to force the hands of the Congress Government to reverse its taxation policy? Or, do they think that joining the critics of the Congress government in such a campaign would be 'sectarian' and not 'realistic'?

IS IT REALISM TO DENY ANTI-PEOPLE CHARACTER OF CONGRESS TAXATION POLICY?

E. M. S. Namboodiripad

As Comrade Ajoy Ghosh stated in his speech at the Vijaywada Congress of the Party (April 1961):

"On the issues of resources for the Third Plan, ... (it is) perfectly clear that, as before, the rich and super-rich will not have any special new burdens. At the same time, the additional taxation of the stupendous sum of 1600 crores of rupees is proposed to be raised mainly by 'broadening tax structure'—an euphemistic term for laying the burden on the common people. If any doubt remained about what the phrase really means, that has been dispelled by the new budget of the Central Government—a budget which our spokesmen in Parliament had rightly called an anti-people budget".

After referring to the 'full praise' made in the bourgeois press for the so-called 'courage' of Finance Minister Morarji Desai with regard to taxation, Ajoy Ghosh went on: "The question that many are asking is—if already, with barely a year to go for the third general elections, the Congress Party thought it fit to impose such unjust burdens, what will it do after the elections, with a new lease of power for five years?"

Almost exactly a year after these words were spoken (in April, 1962), the National Council had to meet and review the situation which emerged after the third General Elections.

It came to the conclusion that what was feared at Vijaywada came true. The

suance of the decision of its earlier Delhi meeting. That experience is that the campaign against the Congress governments' taxation policy is one in which the broadest possible unity of the people could be forged.

The Communist Party does not stand alone in this; it stands shoulder to shoulder with other parties and organisations of the opposition, as well as with large sections of Congressmen. The campaign which the Party has in view is not directed against any particular political party but against a particular policy—the policy of imposing ever-increasing burdens on the common people.

One does not know whether the terms 'sectarians' and 'realists' used by the LINK would apply to those who oppose or support this particular taxation policy.

For instance, would the LINK consider as 'sectarians' those Congressmen who are opposed to the increasing land taxation levied in Uttar Pradesh, or additional land revenue in Andhra, etc.?

Also, would the LINK consider as 'realists' those who insist that these taxes should be levied, as that alone is the way through which developmental work can be carried out?

One may, in any case, inform the LINK that, if this is the test of 'sectarianism' and 'realism', the entire Communist Party is 'sectarian', rather than 'realist'.

For, regardless of the classification made by LINK of

disruptive parties can be fought only if the progressive elements go to the support of the Congress even in relation to its anti-people policies.

One does not know whether the LINK considers our resolution on the anti-tax campaign as 'unrealistic' because they agree with Congress leaders that there is no other way to implement the Five-Year Plans except to put greater and greater burdens on the people. If they do so, one would like to remind them that our Party does not subscribe to their view. The Hyderabad resolution states categorically:

"The Party will do its utmost to cooperate with the Government in securing the financial resources necessary for the implementation of the Plans.

NOT OPPOSED TO ALL TAXES

"The Party is not opposed to all taxes; as a matter of fact, one of the major criticisms which the Party is levelling against the Government is that some of the most effective means of raising financial resources for the Plan are not being utilised....

"There is, therefore, no question of the Party opposing all forms of new taxation. What it opposes is such taxes as impose undue burdens on, and thereby depress the living standards of, the mass of the working-people."

The usual argument advanced by the Congress leaders

CORRUPTION AND ITS ROOTS

THE spokesmen of the ruling party have always, tended to underplay the existence and seriousness of the problem of corruption. Some of them including the Prime Minister have sometimes claimed that, compared to other countries, Indian administration was less corrupt.

This self-righteous attitude has now been given up. The Central Government has appointed a Committee to go into the problem of corruption in the Central Government. Whether this will be followed by State Governments, undertaking similar examinations of corruption in their services is yet to be seen. In any case, it is good that, at least so far as the Centre is concerned, the Union Government has recognised the need for such an enquiry.

The terms of reference given to the Committee are undoubtedly comprehensive. They relate to many aspects of the problem. The tightening of the machinery to fight corruption, the changes in rules that are necessary, etc. come under the purview of the Committee's study.

We may, therefore, expect the Committee to make various constructive proposals with a view to improving the administrative machinery employed in fighting corruption.

This, however, would be just touching the surface of the problem. It would not go into its roots which lie not in certain defective rules and regulations but in the absence of what the terms of reference given to the Committee call "a social climate both among public servants and among the general public in which bribery and corruption may not flourish". In the absence of this 'social climate', the most perfect rules, and regulations will fail to check corruption.

The question, therefore, is: Will the Committee be able to make recommendations on how this 'climate' is to be created?

It will be admitted by all those who are familiar with the working of governmental departments that corruption can be traced to the philosophy of what is called "free enterprise".

The trader, the industrialist, the contractor, everybody who is to get something from the Government, is interested to make the administrative machinery work to his or her respective advantage. "Greasing the palms" of those who are in authority to give contracts, licences, loans, grants, etc. thus becomes part of the everyday activity of traders, industrialists, etc.

Added to this is the fact that at the head of administration stand people who may have made personal sacrifices during the days of freedom struggle but who, after the attainment of independence, consider it their right to have their former sacrifices more than recompensed. Many of the Ministers and other dignitaries belonging to the ruling party are notorious for misappropriation of public funds, nepotism, etc.

Will the Committee be permitted to go into the various manifestations of these evils and to make concrete proposals to check them? Obviously

NOTES OF THE WEEK

not. For, the ruling party and its leaders have made it repeatedly clear that they have no use for any type of anti-corruption measures which will go into the corruption in the ranks of the leaders of the ruling party.

The proposals that have so far been made for the constitution of the Standing Tribunal to go into the charges of corruption levelled against Ministers have been unceremoniously rejected by no less a person than the Prime Minister himself.

Even the completely ineffective and virtually useless proposal made by him that charges against Ministers can be examined by a Tribunal constituted by the ruling party itself has not been translated into practice.

It is, therefore, idle to hope that the deliberations of the present Committee will yield useful results.

PLANNING COMMISSION ADVISE U.P.

IF the press reports that "have appeared are correct, the result of the discussions between the Planning Commission and the U. P. Ministers has been of distinct benefit not only to U. P., but to all States."

For, it appears that the Commission has assured the U. P. Ministers who came to Delhi "that the Central assistance of Rs. 350 crores for U. P.'s Third Plan would be made available in full even if there is a shortfall in the State's contribution".

The stand of the Commission so far has been that the State Plans are an integrated whole. That being so, if there are shortfalls in relation to what the States have to do by way of raising financial resources, there would be a corresponding reduction in the assistance given by the Centre to the States.

In other words, failure on the part of a particular State to raise adequate resources would reduce the State's plan outlay not only by the amount by which the State fails, but also by a matching reduction in the assistance promised by the Centre.

This has now been revised in the case of U. P. The big mass agitation launched by the Communist Party and other opposition parties, combined with the voices of opposition raised in the Congress Party itself, made the situation in U. P. so serious that the Centre had to revise its decision. But, having done this for U. P., the Centre cannot obviously deny the same facilities to other States.

But it appears that, while making these concessions, the Commission has told the U. P. Ministers "that the State Government has been going too slow in the matter of raising its resources" and that "unless vigorous efforts were made in this regard, there would be a shortfall in the State's Plan".

It should, therefore, be expected that further efforts would be made to make up for the loss which would be

incur by the concessions that are proposed, to be given in the matter of land tax.

The U. P. Government will be asked to find other ways and means of taxation; and, unless there is a radical change in the basic approach of the ruling party in regard to taxation, these new avenues of taxation would be such as to hit the poor and help the rich.

OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

IT is yet to be seen whether the protagonists of either Hindi or Urdu would accept the recommendations made by the U. P. Language Committee presented over by Acharya Kripalani.

The effort of the Committee have been "to bring Hindi and Urdu nearer to each other and nearer to the spoken language in the State". This may appear to the purists of either language as an attempt to debase and corrupt it.

It however appears to us that an observation made by the Committee is far more important than all its recommendations. That observation concerns the reason for the failure of government policies.

Expressing the hope that the Government would take early steps to implement the recommendations of the Committee, Acharya Kripalani is reported to have said "that often it was in the execution of our set policies that we failed and created unnecessary discontent".

He also said "that the Committee had found that there was nothing fundamentally wrong with the policies of the State government. The implementation of the policies was defective". He said that usually it were the local bodies—Municipal Boards and District Boards—which had failed to faithfully implement the policies of the State government regarding Urdu.

If this observation of the Committee is taken seriously and defects in implementation removed, that will go a long way in overcoming the difficulties arising out of Hindi-Urdu conflict in U. P.

The fourth report of the commissioner for Linguistic Minorities placed before the Parliament on September 6 also draws attention to the failure in implementation.

The Commissioner says that "there is generally a fairly wide gap between the number of linguistic minority pupils receiving instruction in their mother-tongue and the number which should receive such instruction on the basis of the percentages of the linguistic minorities in that area."

Again, "for various reasons, the three-language formula which inter alia provides for the study of mother tongue as a language subject was not implemented in certain States and implemented in a truncated form in certain others".

The Commissioner also raises certain other difficulties faced by the linguistic minorities, such as persistent lack of suitable textbooks in minority languages, non-

availability of teachers competent to teach through the medium of minority language, absence of a mechanism through which the trend of demands in different areas is understood.

These failures in implementation even when correct policies are laid down are creating explosive situation in various States. Linguistic minorities are made to feel that their demands are not sympathetically considered by the Governments. No amount of preaching on the 'evils of linguistic' or on the necessity for national integration will remove the discontent arising out of such situations.

INDO-NEPAL RELATIONS

WHAT particular problems were discussed between Nepal's Foreign Minister Rishikesh Shah and the representatives of the Government of India during the former's visit to India is not known. Nor do we know the conclusions which they jointly arrived at.

But it is clear that the Nepal Foreign Minister did not raise the question of extradition of the Nepali leaders who have come to India and are staying here. It is known that King Mahendra had made this demand during his last visit to India.

That is obviously something which the Government of India cannot concede. According to the laws in force in India, these Nepali leaders can stay here so long as they like, provided they do not use In-

dian soil as base of operations against Nepal.

It is, therefore, gratifying to note that the Nepal Foreign Minister did not repeat this demand during his visit now. This would considerably help the improvement of India-Nepal relations.

Rishikesh Shah, however, was firm that India should not deal with Nepal as if she were a part of India. Nepal is not only a sovereign and independent country, but proposes to act like one.

While stressing the common heritage and traditions which the two countries have inherited for centuries, he warned against "some people in India who take Nepal for granted". This is a warning which our politicians and administrators would do well to bear in mind.

A small country that it is, Nepal is naturally anxious to have friendly relations with all her neighbours. Ours is undoubtedly one of them. But it will be unwise on the part of our leaders to behave with Nepal as if we were their only neighbour.

We certainly have the right to expect from Nepal that she does not take a hostile attitude. But it is equally our duty to recognise Nepal's right to be friendly with her other neighbours with whom unfortunately we have at present certain differences and conflicts. Shah was, therefore, perfectly right in asking us not to look upon Nepal's friendship with China and Pakistan as hostility to us.

It should, therefore, be hoped that our leaders would try to improve the relations with Nepal on the basis of friendship and cooperation even while refusing to concede such impossible demands sometimes made by the rulers of Nepal as that our Government should extradite Nepali political leaders.

E. M. S. Namboodiripad

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West Bengal Newsletter

* From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

P. C. Sen's Claim—Challenge Accepted

—Says Promode Dasgupta

"The United Leftist Alliance, including the Communist Party, is prepared to take up the challenge to contest the Congress once again in the 26 Assembly constituencies in Calcutta city,"—that is what Promode Dasgupta, Secretary of the West Bengal State Council of the CPI, observed on September 8 in reply to the boastful claim made by West Bengal's Congress Chief Minister P. C. Sen.

ON the previous day, the Chief Minister had asserted at a Press Conference in New Delhi that "if there is an election today we shall win all the 26 seats in the city". This statement was given wide publicity in Calcutta dailies on September 8.

When interviewed and asked to comment on P. C. Sen's statement, Promode Dasgupta said that it was not a statement befitting a person of the status of a Chief Minister.

P. C. Sen's statement was not only a reflection on the opposition, it constituted a challenge to the militant traditions of the united and politically-conscious people of Calcutta, Promode Dasgupta emphasised.

He further said that the Congress leaders were quite aware of the struggles of the politically-conscious masses of toiling and middle class people of Calcutta to reverse the anti-people policies of the Congress Government.

During the past five months since the general elections, the Congress Government had not taken a single measure which was in the interest of the people. There had not been the slightest change in the anti-people and pro-big-business policy of the Congress Government even during the regime of P. C. Sen.

On the contrary, all the basic problems in the life of the people were assuming increasingly serious proportions, Promode Das Gupta observed.

He further said that if P. C. Sen thought that all the demands of the people had been fulfilled because of the "public audience" given by him and that as such, he could make the boastful claim, he was committing a grievous mistake.

The Chief Minister should know, Promode Dasgupta emphasised that left parties in Calcutta, including the Communist Party, were prepared to take the Chief Minister's boast as a challenge.

If the Chief Minister's Party now wanted to enter into a contest in the 26 seats in Calcutta, vast numbers of democratically-conscious men and women would give a fitting reply to the arrogance of the Congress, Promode Dasgupta said confidently.

1 IN EVERY 14 UNEMPLOYED!

UNEMPLOYMENT in Calcutta has assumed serious proportions. Not only that, it is steadily growing, and there are as

According to an official estimate, only 25 per cent of the actual number of the unemployed register themselves at Employment Exchanges. On this basis, the approximate number of unemployed in West Bengal in 1960 was 293,394 x 4 = 1,173,576.

It has been estimated by the Statistical Bureau that the net increase in the employment-seeking population in West Bengal is 120,000 per annum.

If the net increase, calculated on this basis, between 1950-52 is added to the figure registered at Employment Exchanges, in 1960, the total number of unemployed in West Bengal now is 1,413,576!

The total population of the State is about 3.5 crores, of which 60 per cent or 2.1 crores constitute the total employable labour force. Hence, one in every 14 persons in West Bengal is unemployed.

Kerala Newsletter

* From S. SHARMA

BONUS STRUGGLE IS ON

As Kerala is getting ready to celebrate its national festival during the current week, the towns and cities are reverberating with the treading sounds of workers on march to wrench their Onam Bonus from unwilling hands of the employers.

THE most significant feature of these struggles this time has been the unprecedented unity achieved among the sections of workers belonging to INTUC, AITUC, UTUC and IAMS.

The State Transport employees belonging to the AITUC and INTUC had demanded 1½ months wages as Bonus and appealed to the Transport Department and the Government to intervene and settle the issue in time. The Government spokesmen including the Labour Minister tried to ignore their appeals and the joint council of action of the two organisations had to take a decision to organise a token strike on September 8 between 9-30 and 11-30 a.m. to draw the attention of the Government to the pressing problem.

No sooner had this decision been made known by Surenranath, General Secretary of the AITUC Union, and Varadarajan Nair of the INTUC Union through a press conference held on September 7 than the officers of the Transport Department and the Labour Commissioner contacted the Union leaders and convened a conference. As a result of the discussions, the Government agreed to concede the demand of the workers of 1½ months' bonus.

According to the agreement, the Government will grant 1½ months' wages as Bonus and a week's wages as advance Bonus. The Transport Department will furnish fina-

OUR National Council at its Hyderabad session decided to raise a suitable memorial to Comrade Ajoy Ghosh who passed away last January. It was thought fit that a building to house the Central Headquarters of the CPI will be the best memorial to Comrade Ajoy who had been General Secretary of the Party from 1951 to the last day of his life. The building will be named after him and will remain as a significant memento of our love to Comrade Ajoy and a symbol of his selfless work.

The land for this purpose has already been purchased and now we have to start actual construction as soon as possible. The building will have a big hall, space for central Party library, offices for secretarial work, editorial offices of the Central organ of the Party and also provide residential accommodation to comrades attached to the Central Office.

For this purpose we need a sum of at least Rupees Five lakhs and we expect all party members to collect donations from friends and sympathisers, apart from their personal contributions. Incidentally, it may be stated that this building will be the first which the Communist Party of India will own.

We would therefore request all comrades to send their maximum contributions to realise this aim. All money orders and cheques should be addressed to S. V. Ghate, Central Headquarters of the CPI, 7/4 Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi-1. Money orders or covering letters to the cheques should be clearly marked: "Ajoy Ghosh Memorial Fund". Any amount for this purpose will be gratefully accepted.

Along with this appeal, we have the pleasure to inform all comrades that we have already received the first contribution of Rs. 116 to the Fund which came from Comrade A. Lingaiah of Andhra Pradesh. This contribution has a special significance because he sent this sum to mark the occasion of his son's marriage.

We hope all our friends and comrades will respond wholeheartedly and generously to this appeal.

—S. V. Ghate

Chittaranjan of the AITUC Union has stated that the bonus which the cashew worker have been getting for the last 16 years is being denied this year on the plea of losses. Advancing the bogus argument that the industry is in crisis, the cashew magnates of Quilon have been violating all trade union laws such as Payment of Wages Act, Minimum Wages Act and Maternity Benefit Act during the last two years. This year they have gone one step forward and have refused to pay bonus.

T. K. Divakaran of the UTUC has stated that the cashew workers are faced with the prospect of a hard and prolonged struggle and the executives of the various Unions are to meet next week to devise means and measures to intensify the struggle.

The workers representatives were prepared to go to the extent of agreeing to accept four months' wages as bonus straightaway and the balance of 2½ months wages later. But the employers refuse to budge an inch beyond two months' bonus.

More than two lakhs of working families in Quilon District, where wage earners every day draw Rs. 130,000 as wages, are facing starvation during the Onam week and they are steeling themselves to face a prolonged struggle.

The VIPs who have been invited by the Government of Kerala as distinguished guests to take part in and witness the Onam celebrations will also witness the satyagraha of the starving workers at the Factory Gates of Kerala this year.

ASSAM'S TALE OF WOE

Assam has this year experienced the worst, ever floods in her living memory, and it is not yet over inasmuch as the Brahmaputra flood level remains yet about four feet above the danger mark.

BOTH the June-July and August floods are unparalleled in deaths, destruction and devastation. So extensive has been its sweep that over more than half of Assam's plain population (officially said to be about 35 lakhs) have been affected by this flood and so big is the damage done that the loss of the crop alone is, according to Chief Minister Chaliha not less than thirty crores of rupees.

Coming after only a month of the June-July flood which was no less extensive and ravaging, this August flood has fully destroyed the paddy crop over half of the plains areas of the state and have thereby dealt a shattering blow upon Assam's economy, as paddy is the main agricultural crop of the state.

No less has been the loss of other cash crops like jute etc.,

shelter to bunds, embankments and dykes. Flood waters had flown over the house tops in many an area.

Millions of people had to spend a number of days under the open sky in scorching sun and heavy downpour without food and sleep, and the curse of this sad plight of sufferings and misery has not yet been over for many of them.

In this state of things, now when the flood is receding, disease and epidemic have posed a real threat all over the flood affected areas.

In this critical situation, the relief and help rendered by the government and the non-official bodies have been too meagre to cope with the real need.

Chief Minister Chaliha after an aerial inspection of the flood areas, told the press that the loss had been too heavy to be compensated by the efforts of any government. The Secretary of the state PSP has also stressed on a vigorous and united effort for relief and rehabilitation in his statement released to the press.

That the problem is too big to be solved by the state government with only the state's resources, hardly needs any elaborate explanation. The Secretary of the State Council of the CPI, Comrade Phani Bora in a statement has drawn attention of the Union Government in this regard.

A deputation consisting of Suren Bhatta, Promode Gogoi, Arabinda Chosh, Dhireswar Kalita, Pranesh Biswas and Beni Mahanta on behalf of the Assam State Council of CPI met Chief Minister Bimala Prasad Chaliha at the Circuit House at Gauhati on the evening of August 30 and submitted a memorandum on the floods in the state.

Pointing out the gravity of the situation and the terrible havoc caused by these two successive floods in the course of last couple of months, the memorandum laid stress on urgent need for measures for rescue and relief, as well as on the need for long term loans and sustained help to the badly affected people.

Besides, the memorandum drew attention to the modern scientific



Dwellings rendered inaccessible by floods.

methods of controlling rivers and floods for prevention of the regular and devastating recurrence of it every year.

Criticising the partisan narrow outlook and approach both in the organisation of the relief work as well, the memorandum says, "the interest of the party in power has been sought to be served more than rendering relief to the needy people so badly affected."

The memorandum has made a strong criticism of the corruption and malpractices and also par-

measures accordingly for the greater interest of the people."

The suggestions are:

- 1. proper survey of the rivers and its tributaries in Assam with a view to controlling them and preventing floods on modern scientific basis;
- 2. long-term interest-free loans for the purchase of cattle lost, seedlings etc.;
- 3. suspension of collecting land revenue, local rates, taxes and cesses from the flood affected people;

From SUREN BHATTA

tiality in the distribution of the relief, which it is said have got inspiration and encouragement from the "undemocratic approach of the Government.

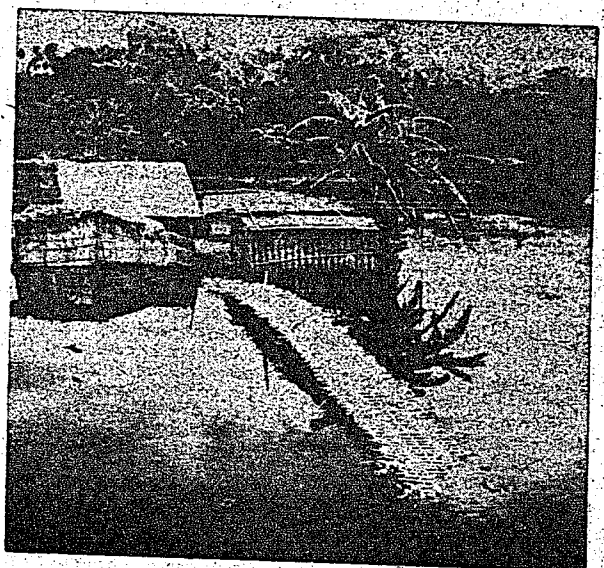
Calling for treating the problem of flood relief above party at this critical hour, the memorandum has urged upon the government to "organise Flood Relief Committees with all the political parties, state, district, subdivision and local, to ensure and facilitate the proper distribution of the help and relief."

The memorandum has put forward some eleven suggestions to the government for giving serious consideration to them and "adopt

- 1. test relief and doing out assistance where arrangement for test relief cannot be made;
- 2. repair of dykes and washed away bunds;
- 3. large-scale public health and medical measures against breaking out of diseases and epidemics in the post flood period;
- 4. long-term rehabilitation loans to those whose houses are badly damaged needing repair and reconstruction;
- 5. fair price shops of food grains at the rate of one for each 500 families; and
- 6. strict measures against artificial scarcity and soaring up of prices of essential commodities usually consequent phenomenon of calamities and crisis and all parties flood relief committees at all levels, state, district, subdivision and local, for the whole relief organisation including distribution of material reliefs.

The deputation had a long discussion with the Chief Minister on the points of the memorandum. The Chief Minister giving out some details of the devastation, told the deputation that not less than 35 lakhs of people were affected by this current flood and the damage done only to the crop in the field was not less than thirty crores of rupees in terms of money.

The Chief Minister gave assurance that the government would, by all means be giving relief to the needy flood stricken people, help the tillers and peasants with seedling and cash for it, and would take other necessary steps as were demanded by the situation.



Huts being swept away.

NEW AGE

SEPTEMBER 16, 1962

Fourth Congress Of Women's Federation

The National Federation of Indian Women will be holding its fourth National Congress in Delhi from October 12-15, to review its work since the last Congress which was held in Varanasi in 1959, and to discuss the problems facing the women today in the country and to chart out programme of future work. Smt. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit has been invited to open the Congress.

EXPLAINING the ideas connected with the holding of the Congress, Renu Chakravarty, Vice-President of the NFIW said at a press conference on September 9 that the Congress would lay special emphasis on the questions of women's employment, education, social laws and other issues which vitally affect them.

Renu Chakravarty said that the NFIW which works for the complete emancipation of women from the oppressive social laws and for equal rights for them in all spheres of life, considers that today women cannot take full advantage of the existing laws about marriage, inheritance and dowry, which give them a number of rights, because the vast majority of them are not economically independent, are illiterate and their movements curtailed by social laws.

She said that the Congress would protest against the differential treatment meted out to women in respect of wages etc. The nation's manpower, she said, was not constituted of "male power" alone and such a concept was contrary to the principles of equality embodied in the Constitution. The Congress will also discuss codification of marriage laws among Christians and Muslims and she announced that a start has already been made in respect of Christians.

The Congress will have special sessions on questions of Peace and Disarmament, Women's education, Social laws and problems of house-

wives and employment of women.

Detailing the stand of the Federation on these points Renu Chakravarty explained



Renu Chakravarty

that the Federation felt that one of the most urgent needs of the country was the education of women. "This is absolutely essential if women are to contribute their full share in the task of national reconstruction and if they have to be taken out of the mire of superstitions and prejudices."

For this, the NFIW thinks that it is necessary to make all school education free for girls, to provide more women teachers in the villages, to provide free mid-day meals in schools, and to help in fighting social prejudices against girls' education.

Renu Chakravarty added

New Polish Ambassador Designate

The Ambassador-designate of Poland to India, Przemyslaw Ogorzinski, accompanied by his family, arrives in New Delhi on September 15.

PRZEMYSLAW Ogorzinski was born in 1918. He studied Law at the Universities of Lvov and Cracow, obtaining from the latter a Degree of Master of Law.

Ogorzinski joined the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1945 as head of a division. Soon after he was posted to Rome as Counsellor of the Polish Embassy there, in which capacity he continued till 1947.

During 1947-54, he was Counsellor of the Polish Embassy in Paris with the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary. Ogorzinski rejoined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1954 and immediately after that he was posted in Vietnam as Polish representative (with Ambassador's rank) in the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam.

Returning to Poland in 1956, Ogorzinski became Director-General, with the rank of Ambassador of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He continued in this position till his appointment as Polish Ambassador to India.

SEPTEMBER 16, 1962

CPSU Greet's CPI

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Soviet Union has sent a cable to the National Council of the CPI on September 2, in reply to its message of congratulations on the space flights of Nikolayev and Popovich. Following is the text of the Cable:

WE heartily thank you for the warm greetings on the occasion of the unparalleled group flight of the Soviet cosmonauts, Communists Nikolayev and Popovich.

The Soviet people and all progressive mankind are rightly proud of the great feat of Soviet scientists, engineers, workers and Soviet cosmonauts accomplished in the name of progress, peace and happiness of the peoples of the whole world.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union conveys to the National Council of the Communist Party of India, and through it to all Indian Communists its brotherly greetings and wishes for success.

Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, the UAR, France, Japan, Ceylon, Indonesia, Burma, etc.

The Press Conference was also addressed by Aruna Asaf Ali, Sarala Sharma, and Vimla

Farooqi and they expressed the hope that the congress would be able to take concrete steps in regard to some of the burning problems affecting the women in the country.

BRITISH T.U. CONGRESS

BLACKPOOL, September 7:

The Congress of British Trade Unions adopted at its concluding meeting today by a majority vote a resolution demanding the liquidation of American Polaris submarine bases on British territory.

THE adoption of this resolution, despite the resolute objections of the General Council, testifies to a convincing victory of the left-wing of the British Trades Union Congress.

Speaking in support of the resolution, Frank Cousins, Secretary-General of the Transport and General Workers' Union, said that the establishment of American submarine bases on the territory of Britain was a provocation. The British people, and particularly, the people of Scotland, protested against the presence of these submarines in the territorial waters of Britain, Cousins stressed.

He pointed out that the liquidation of these bases would contribute to the creation of a favourable climate for negotiations among the great powers.

The discussion of the resolution which stresses that the posting of British forces on the territory of West Germany, just as the stay of West German units on the territory of Britain,

did not contribute to the cause of world peace, also ended in the victory of the left-wing.

Hart, the representative of the Amalgamated Union of Boilermakers, Shipbuilders and Structural Workers, said that the British forces, which were stationed in West Germany after the war to prevent the revival of West German militarism, were now allies of the revanchist elements, which strove to restore the pre-war frontiers of Germany, to destroy the German Democratic Republic and to attack Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

The Congress unanimously adopted a resolution calling for general disarmament and the discontinuance of all types of nuclear tests, and also for peaceful co-existence. The speakers who came out in support of this resolution stressed that general and complete disarmament was the only guarantee for a lasting world peace.

At the same time, under the pressure of the right-wing of the General Council, the Congress rejected a resolution demanding Britain's unilateral renunciation of nuclear arms and the liquidation of all foreign nuclear bases on British territory.

Horner, Secretary-General of the Fire Brigades Union, and Smith, the representative of the Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draftsmen, who supported this resolution, stressed that the so-called "nuclear strategy", far from ensuring Britain's security, would lead to the complete destruction of the country in the event of war.

The Congress also passed a resolution expressing solidarity with the Spanish people, who are conducting a heroic struggle against the fascist dictatorship of Franco. The Congress condemned the terror unleashed by the Franco authorities and demanded the immediate release of the Spanish political prisoners.

The meeting of the General Council elected as Chairman of British Trades Union Congress for the next year Fred Hayday, Chairman of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers.

—TASS

COLLIERY AGENT CONVICTED

Hariram Rajpuria, the Agent of Dutta's Central Kajora Colliery (near Asansol) and a band of his goondas have been sentenced to imprisonment after a long trial by the Additional Session Judge, Asansol on September 4.

THESE persons were accused of murdering on September 10, 1961 a leading member of the INTUC union in that colliery. On that day a procession was brought out by the INTUC Union led by Chandrabhan Singh. The gangsters under the guidance of Hariram Rajpuria attacked the processionists, as a result of which Chandrabhan Singh was killed and many others were injured.

The local police officials and the Circle Inspector at Ondal did not take cognizance of the crime and it was only after parleys at high level, that order was issued for rounding-up the gangsters.

The judge found all the accused guilty and sentenced Rajpuria to six months imprisonment, Nathu Singh, another officer of the company, to ten years impris-

onment and each of the rest to two years imprisonment.

Following the judgment, the trade unions in the area have demanded immediate transfer of the Circle Inspector of Ondal, whose connivance with the employers is now very clear. Other police officials at the lower levels have already been transferred.

The mining area near Asansol is the hotbed of gangsterism fostered by the employers to curb trade union activities and there have been numerous instances where the goondas employed by the mineowners assaulted trade union leaders and attacked trade union offices. Rarely, as happened in this case, police intervened into such cases.

On the other hand, police always side with the employers in launching false cases against the trade union activists and the unions are forced to spend their

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IMPERIALIST "INTEGRATION" IN WESTERN EUROPE

We give on these pages some extracts from the Theses on the European Common Market recently published by the Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Academy of Sciences of the USSR which set out to analyse the essence of West-European "integration" as a new phenomenon in the development of present-day capitalism, show the influence of the Common Market on the alignment of class and political forces, and examine the problems of the peoples' struggle for all-round and equal economic co-operation.

★
THE Common Market is an expression of the class solidarity of the imperialists, who, notwithstanding their mutual hostility, seek to unite, trying to reinforce the positions of capitalism with the aid of international state-monopoly alliances and to cure or at least mitigate its sores and maladies (anarchy of production, crises).
The financial oligarchy is trying to find in "integration" a kind of "answer" to the growing might of world socialism, which is becoming the decisive factor in mankind's development; with the help of the Common Market it seeks to keep the former colonies and semi-colonies in the orbit of imperialism, to weaken the competitive struggle in world markets and to consolidate the imperialist camp.
But all these efforts are vain. As noted in the Programme of the CPSU, the main antagonism of the contemporary world—the antagonism between socialism and imperialism—does not remove the deep antagonisms that rend the capitalist world.

ANOTHER "HOLY ALLIANCE"

The uneven development of capitalism changes the relation of forces in the capitalist world market and sharpens the struggle for its redistribution between international alliances of the monopolists. EEC, which represents a new form of agreement between state-monopoly groups, is at the same time a new form of the keenest competitive struggle for redistribution of the capitalist world market in line with the present relation of forces in the imperialist camp, a new form of penetration by the powerful monopolies of the imperialist states into the economies of their weaker partners.

The Common Market is a new phenomenon in the development of the capitalist economy. In the present age—the age of transition from capitalism to socialism—the social and economic contradictions of capitalism have grown much sharper. In the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism, the conflict between the level of the productive forces and the relations of production has become still deeper, and the problem of markets has grown still more acute in the capitalist world as a whole and in Western Europe in particular.

The acceleration of technical progress, the introduction of mass production methods and automation necessitate a huge expansion of markets, they intensify the trend towards internationalization of production. In the conditions of imperialism these processes assume warped, reactionary forms. One of these is imperialist "integration", in

which a major part is played by the international interlocking of finance capital, notably the establishment of international cartel associations of a new type, based on production specialization agreements between the largest concerns and trusts.
The desire of the monopolies to use the fruits of technical progress and international specialization to swell their superprofits underlies the economic "integration" measures and gives rise to a tendency to reduce customs duties in an exclusive zone covered by state-monopoly agreements and place a high customs barrier in the way of outside countries.

West-European "integration" is an attempt of monopoly capital to "reconcile" the private-capitalist form of the economy with the productive forces, which have outgrown national limits. Imperialism is trying to keep within state-monopoly bounds productive forces which imperiously dictate transition to socialism. The leaders of the imperialist powers are out to make "integration" a kind of "Holy Alliance" of reaction against socialism, against the working-class, national-liberation and general-democratic movements, and for reinforcing the economic foundation of the aggressive North-Atlantic bloc in Europe. West-European "integration" is an instrument of the imperialist cold-war policy, an instrument of heightening international tension.

Rome Treaty And Capitalist Economy

The implementation of the Treaty of Rome, proceeding amid intensified competitive struggle in the Common Market, has stimulated increased investment, accelerated the modernization of industry, and entailed a certain economic and organizational reconstruction of the monopolies. The lowering of customs barriers has stimulated a change-over to production on a larger scale.

The Common Market is not simply an arithmetical sum of the national markets of the member countries. Even in the warped capitalist forms, economic "integration" can give an impulse to increasing the volume of production and of home and foreign trade. But the importance of this factor should not be overrated. It is characteristic that Japan, in no way related to the Common Market, is well ahead of the EEC countries in rates of growth of production and exports.

In 1961-62 the rates of industrial production increase in the West-European coun-

tries have slowed down markedly. "Integration" has been unable to prevent a worsening of the economic situation, let alone solve the most acute economic problem of present-day capitalism—the market problem.

Transcending national bounds, the contradiction between production and effective demand not only continues to exist within the individual countries, but is growing worse, operating within the wider scope of the Common Market.

So far only that part of the Common Market programme which entails relatively little difficulty has been carried out. But even the implementation of this easiest part of the "integration" programme has run up against sharp clashes of interest.

Capitalist "integration" has objective limits. The task of regulating economic life within the framework of an international economic entity conflicts with the capitalist means of effecting it. The financial oligarchy wants to mitigate the antagonisms inherent in monopoly capitalism without changing the property relations, within the bounds of

state-monopoly regulation. But that is an obviously impossible task.
If state monopoly regulation of economic life produces serious and insoluble contradictions within the framework of individual countries, attempts at such regulation within the framework of several countries render these contradictions even more acute. The Common Market, intended to bolster up the capitalist system and private ownership of the means of production, is incapable, owing to the anarchy of production and the law of uneven development under imperialism, of ensuring harmonious growth of the economy, and is powerless to remove class antagonisms.

The ruin of the peasantry in the Common Market countries has assumed enormous proportions.
In Italy more than 500,000 peasants and farm labourers have had to give up working on the land in the last five years. In West Germany in these past years not less than 100,000 people annually have been going out of agriculture. In 1956-57 the number of West-German farms of up to 10 hectares decreased by 23,000 in each year, and in 1960-61, by 64,000. In France the ruling element meant to get rid in the next few years of 800,000 peasant farms.

Effects Of Common Market

The Common Market is an offspring of the financial oligarchy at the new stage in the crisis of world capitalism. "Integration" has in no way altered the nature of present-day monopoly capitalism, as bourgeois ideologists assert. The Common Market is the empire of the giant monopolies which exploit millions upon millions of working people. Of the 200 biggest monopolies in the world which control almost one-third of world capitalist production, 43 are leading trusts of EEC countries.

The concentration and centralization of production and capital in the Common Market countries have in recent

years assumed unprecedented proportions. Whereas in 1954 West-German joint-stock companies with assets of over 100 million marks each accounted for 34 per cent of all stock capital in the country, in 1961 their share already exceeded 52 per cent.

The domination of the monopolies over the life of the nations has grown immensely.

The big monopolies are appropriating the fruits of the progress achieved by the Common Market countries in the socialization of labour and development of production, the advantages of inter-industry specialization and of scientific and technological progress generally. The monopolies prevented the general reduction of prices which could have followed the cut in customs duties. On the contrary, the cost of living has risen further.

Monopoly profits in the Common Market countries have increased tremendously. The net profits of the 35 biggest trusts in these countries rose by 170 per cent between 1957 and 1961.

The alliance of the reac-

tioned as it has been already, is being further narrowed, national sovereignty is being increasingly restricted, the rights of elected parliamentary institutions are being reduced to naught and turned into a fiction. The "integration" of Western Europe is accompanied by intensification of political reaction and the passage of state power to authoritarian régimes.
Fought with great danger to the democratic rights of the working people and the vital interests of the peoples of Western Europe are the schemes for establishing, in one or another form, a "supra-national" political association of the Common Market countries, with corresponding "supra-national" authorities. The imperialists are out to organize this in order to strengthen their aggressive military-political blocs.

An important factor in the attempts to set up such an association is the desire of the most reactionary elements of West-European finance capital to prevent, by their joint efforts, nationalization and other democratic reforms. The plans of political "integration" present a grave danger to the independent na-

Common Market, but her rulers' line of action on this issue is determined above all by political motives, the fear of weakening Nato.

A new tangle of imperialist antagonisms has developed. The Common Market countries demand of Britain unconditional acceptance of all the terms of the Treaty of Rome, while Britain wants them to make concessions. Should Britain, in joining EEC, accept the demands of the Six, her trade ties with the Commonwealth, the preferential tariff system, and the sterling area would be placed in jeopardy.

Britain's entry into the Common Market has become the subject of a bitter political controversy.

The antagonisms between the Common Market and the United States are growing more profound. The U. S. rulers did not foresee all the effects of the Common Market which they actively helped to set up. The growth of West-European competition is further worsening the U. S. balance of trade and payments and intensifying the "currency war" between the

conditions, "integration" is being accompanied by an increase of strain between the West-European countries and the United States

Perpetuating Economic Division

The U. S. regards West-European "integration" both as a political necessity and as a menace to itself.

The Common Market countries, for their part, have no intention of slackening their onslaught on U. S. economic positions in Western Europe and the capitalist world generally. All this tends inevitably to aggravate further the antagonisms between the United States and the Common Market countries.

The projected expansion of "integrated" Western Europe would if realized perpetuate the economic division of the imperialist system of states into three mutually opposed parts.

First, the United States. Needless to say, it will not join the Common Market, but,

ter role in the war preparations of the Common Market countries.

The "integration" policy has become a cardinal element in the aggressive military plans of German imperialism, which seeks to utilize American support in order to capture commanding positions in the NATO armed forces and place the economic war potential and manpower resources of Western Europe in the service of its revenge-seeking, aggressive schemes.

Common Market And Underdeveloped Countries

THE Common Market is a strategic and political instrument of imperialism against the young sovereign states which have newly won national independence.

With the aid of "integration" the monopolies seek not only to retain their old colonial privileges but to obtain new ones and organize the

The underdeveloped countries which link their destinies to the Common Market will remain in the position of agrarian raw-material appendages, and now they will be appended to the economy not of some one power, but of a whole coalition of imperialist powers. The influx of industrial goods from highly-developed capitalist states will utterly undermine their national industries, which are weak as it is; and make it impossible for them to pursue a policy of industrialization.

Realization of the plans of the Common Market initiators would also disrupt the state sector of the underdeveloped countries' economy, perpetuate semi-feudal relations in the countryside, preserve the old, colonial economic pattern, and give foreign capital additional opportunities for extracting surplus value from these countries.

"Tariff disarmament" would be disastrous to the economy of the underdeveloped countries. Not a boon but a manifestation of neo-colonialism, the perpetuation of their position as "the backwoods of the world"—that is the real meaning of "integration" for this group of countries.

The Common Market strikes at the interests of underdeveloped countries that stay out of it, too. These countries, which produce and export the same raw materials and foodstuffs as the "associated" states, will be handicapped in selling their goods in West-European markets. To be seen here is patent discrimination against young national states which follow an independent economic policy.

The economic "integration" of Western Europe is increasing the disparity between prices of industrial goods and raw materials and thereby intensifying non-equivalent exchange with the underdeveloped countries and plunder of the latter. This non-equivalent exchange in trade with the imperialist powers loses the underdeveloped countries \$15,000-16,000 million annually.

Between 1958 and 1961 prices of goods exported by the industrial capitalist countries rose by 1 per cent, while prices of goods exported by the underdeveloped countries dropped 5 per cent. This will mean further losses for the underdeveloped countries.

The establishment of the Common Market has occasioned serious anxiety in many underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which fear a substantial shrinkage of their agricultural exports to Western Europe.

HOPES OF IMPERIALISTS

The imperialists expect that the entry of a number of underdeveloped countries into the Common Market will result in their abandoning the policy of positive neutrality and non-involvement in military blocs. They also hope that the adherence of African countries to the Common Market will undermine the struggle of the peoples for unity, will weaken Afro-Asian solidarity.

In reply to the imperialist conspiracy and the establishment of exclusive economic

blocs, the underdeveloped countries are beginning, by way of a protective measure, to form regional trading and economic associations of their own, independent of, and opposed to, the imperialist forces. This is an important progressive phenomenon in the struggle of the peoples for economic independence, for overcoming their age-old backwardness, for the development of mutually advantageous and equal international trade which precludes the exploitation of some countries by others.

In underdeveloped countries which feel the pressure of the imperialist monopolies, the opinion is more and more frequently voiced that it is necessary to introduce a strict system of state control over foreign-trade and currency operations, all the way to a state monopoly of foreign trade, which has already been introduced in a number of countries.

It is rightly pointed out that for underdeveloped countries a state monopoly of foreign trade is the best way to protect the young, as yet weak industries from the economic intervention of the imperialist powers.

The development of the young national states is proceeding in new international conditions. The existence of the world socialist system, the development of mutually advantageous economic relations between socialist countries and young sovereign states, the fact that imperialism has lost its former monopoly of supplying the underdeveloped countries with equipment, scientific and technical assistance, credits, etc.—all this puts the underdeveloped countries in a position to repulse the fresh onslaught of the colonialists.

All-Round Economic Cooperation

Marxists-Leninists are consistent advocates of economic and political co-operation and the utmost drawing together of the peoples. Strictly in accordance with historical experience, they maintain that the unification of the European countries on a voluntary basis, on the principles of equality and fraternity, is possible only under socialism.

To the "Europe of the trusts and of NATO" they contrast a socialist brotherhood of the European peoples, which is already a reality in the greater part of the continent.

Mighty forces are working today for a genuinely democratic and socialist future for Europe, the continent where the working class first came into being, where scientific socialism was born, and where the first socialist revolutions achieved victory. These forces are capable of effectively withstanding the economic and political offensive of the monopolies, thwarting their far-reaching reactionary plans, changing the course of development in Western Europe and steering it into a peaceful, democratic channel.

All the healthy forces in the West-European countries have

THE COMMON MARKET

tional existence of the West-European peoples.

While launching a new offensive against the democratic rights of the peoples of the Common Market countries, imperialism is at the same time intensifying the fight against the national-liberation movement. West-European "integration" proves in practice to be an instrument for imposing on the peoples new forms and methods of colonial exploitation. The colonialist policy of the Six enjoys the support of American imperialism, which stands forth as an international gangster and the main bulwark of colonialism.

Knot Of Imperialist Antagonisms

The Common Market has not and could not have produced a "conflict-free", "harmonious" Western Europe. It remains an arena of sharp economic and political friction, contradictions and conflicts.

Economic and political antagonisms have grown sharper not only among the members of the Common Market, but also in Western Europe as a whole, above all between Britain and West Germany.

In the struggle between the two rival groups Britain has in effect been defeated, and, not without pressure from the United States, she has raised the question of joining EEC. Britain is of course economically strong enough to continue the struggle outside the

imperialist powers. Even the partial introduction of a common external tariff and reduction of internal tariffs in the Common Market is impeding American exports to the Six.

PROTECTION BY CAPITAL EXPORT

The U. S. monopolies are trying to protect themselves from the adverse effects of these Common Market measures by means of capital exports. Direct U. S. investments in Western Europe rose from \$4,200 million in 1958 to \$6,600 million in 1960. The American monopolies have established their own affiliates in major industries of the West-European countries and are penetrating behind the Common Market customs barriers. But this does not compensate for the losses caused the U. S. by West-European competition.

The economic growth of the Six at a rate exceeding America's has increased their share in world capitalist production, international trade and gold reserves. For the first time since the war there looms the possibility of the emergence of a West-European imperialist "power centre" equal or close to the United States in manpower and material resources, industrial output and volume of foreign trade.

West Germany, France and to some extent Italy are laying claim to a bigger role in framing Nato's "global" policy. France and West Germany are now openly out to have "strategic nuclear forces" of their own. In these

anxious to retain its leading role, it is willing to co-operate with the Market on special terms. The attitude of the Canadian ruling elements is similar.

Second, the "integrated Europe of the trusts", headed by the leading imperialist powers of Europe—Britain, West Germany and France.

Third, Japan, which is trying to rally some of the Asian capitalist countries around itself, so as to fight its European and U. S. competitors in the markets more effectively.

These rival forces cannot but manoeuvre, and they may reach occasional agreements and compromises. But the logic of struggle will gain the upper hand. Economic conflict among the imperialist powers is ineradicable.

NATO'S Base

The leaders of West-European "integration," who talk about its "peaceful" character, have actually turned the Common Market into a weapon of the cold war. They stubbornly set their face against all measures in Europe and elsewhere that could ease international tension and lead to durable peace.

EEC is in effect becoming the "European arsenal" of the North-Atlantic bloc, supplying its armed forces with important types of combat equipment.

German militarism, which represents the greatest danger to the peoples of Europe, is playing an ever more sinis-

THALIDOMIDE

A "FREE WORLD" WONDER DRUG

By V. Krasnopolsky

The little Belgian town of Rocourt near Liege is the scene of one of the most dramatic trials in the country's legal history. A mother is being accused of the murder of her baby, and the baby's grandmother, aunt and a local doctor, Jacques Casters, are being tried as accomplices. But all the sympathies of the townsfolk are with the defendants. A petition has been submitted requesting their immediate release. "Give Us Back Our Doctor" is the inscription on many housewalls.

AND this is the story behind the trial. Susanne, a healthy, strong and handsome girl, married Noel Vandepuit in March 1961. They were happy. Susanne was expecting a baby.

The baby was born deformed, without arms, and died within a week. A post-mortem revealed symptoms of poisoning. The mother admitted that, with the consent of her doctor, she had given the infant a lethal dose of sleeping drugs.

Further investigation revealed why the child was born deformed: during her pregnancy Susanne had been taking a tranquilizer, *sofenon*. It was considered absolutely safe and could be had without a doctor's prescription. Its fatal effects on expectant mothers and babies were discovered only later.

Susanne Vandepuit was not the only one who suffered; thousands of young women in many parts of the "free world" met with the same fate, all of them the victims of thalidomide, a drug widely sold under a multitude of different names: *sofenon*, *contergan*, *sofenil*, *distalol*, *tensical*, *asthmalol*, *neurodin*, *neurosedin*, *kevadon*, *thalimol*, *thalin*, *isomin*.

Thalidomide was first manufactured in 1957 by the Grunenthal firm in Stolberg, West Germany, under the name of *contergan*.

The advertisements said that, unlike all other tranquilizers, it was absolutely harmless, did not affect any part of the organism and was recommended as a sedative for nervous children. Adding a humorous touch, the manufacturers said it was not recommended for suicide.

Advertising and publicity paid off—thalidomide became a popular drug. People began to believe in its miraculous properties. It was taken for the most diverse ailments. Small children were given it with their fruit juice. In short, thalidomide was a success and its manufacturers sold the patent to drug firms in many countries.

Indication Of Adverse Effects

But it was not long before members of the medical profession began to complain that constant use of the drug adversely affected the nervous system. Later it was found that women taking thalidomide gave birth to deformed babies.

The Grunenthal firm ignored all these signals. By evasive letters and bribery of those who complained, it was able to keep the drug on the market. The West-German Ministry of Health, faithful to the principles of "free enterprise" and "private initiative," likewise ignored the mounting stream of complaints.

In West Germany any drug can be placed on the market

The thalidomide scare spread to the United States this summer, when the press reported that the drug was responsible for the deformity of many babies. In America thalidomide is manufactured



A Thalidomide baby—Born without arms.

by the William S. Merrell Company. America's drug control laws are somewhat more stringent than in West Germany.

Every new patent medicine has to be cleared by the Food and Drug Administration, and to obtain clearance the manufacturer is required to supply documented evidence of laboratory tests. If the drug is not forbidden within 60 days, it can be sold to the public.

Warnings Ignored

And so, the thalidomide manufacturers continued to sell their product despite the barrage of protests. However, one of the protesters, Dr. Horst Frenkel, made a careful study of the drug's effects and drew up a memorandum based on 270 case histories.

He proved that thalidomide causes headache, paralysis of the muscles, speech defects, disturbs blood circulation, weakens memory, and even leads to depression and thoughts of suicide. But the most terrible consequence was baby deformities.

Dr. Frenkel published his findings in the mass-circulation *Spiegel* magazine. The *Grünenthal* firm sued him for libel and obtained an injunction from the Aachen Court forbidding him publicly to state that the firm had, ever since August 1960, known of the drug's adverse effects on the nervous system. The manufacturers continued to advertise thalidomide and concealed the truth from the medical profession.

But Dr. Frenkel was not to be gagged. There were more protests in the press, some of them from such distinguished physicians as Professors Hepp, Lenz and Witt. In the end, Grünenthal were compelled to withdraw thalidomide from sale in West Germany. That was in November 1961. However, in all other countries thalidomide was being produced and sold under the different labels mentioned above.

It was established that in West Germany alone there were 4,000 thalidomide babies and that half of them died soon after birth. Photographs in the press showed a three-year-old girl without arms, a father holding up a boy of one-and-a-half years with arms half the normal length and the hands deformed. His parents have shown more courage than the Vandepuits; they hope that the doctors will help little Jan, but he will always remain a cripple.

Before thalidomide was put on sale there was one deformity for every 50,000 births; last year the ratio was 1:200, and 80 per cent of the mothers of deformed babies said they had taken thalidomide.

In Britain the number of deformed babies is estimated at 1,000 and there is a bill before Parliament for legislation to allow parents to dispose of thalidomide babies.

That is the usual procedure, but something unusual happened in the case of thalidomide.

The clearance application went to Dr. Frances Kelsey, a native of Canada and a relative newcomer to the Food and Drug Administration. This was her first application, and after a thorough study she decided to withhold approval.

But the Merrell Company had already begun sending out sample packages to doctors. It renewed its application and, it was later established, brought "very vigorous pressure" on Dr. Kelsey. But her distrust of the drug increased when news came from Europe of the dangerous effects it was having.

The battle lasted two years, and there is no telling how it would have ended if there were no victims in the United States. Up to this spring the Merrell Company continued to send out sample packets, which doctors passed on to their patients. All told, 1,231 physicians in 39 states received these free thalidomide samples. In addition, thalidomide was brought in from Britain and other countries.

There was a public outcry. Senators Kefauver and Humphrey (the latter is a physician) demanded an investigation and this, coupled with the press campaign, forced the company to withdraw the drug from all the doctors who had received it.

Dr. Kelsey has become a national hero. On August 7, President Kennedy presented her the Gold Medal for Distinguished Service, the highest civilian decoration, and she is the second woman to receive it. She has fully earned it for it took great courage to fight out this two-year-old war with a powerful drug firm.

Now the government is reviewing its very imperfect legislation, which leaves many loopholes for astute drug manufacturers. In fact, tighter drug control has become

the subject of heated debate in the Western press.

There is a public demand for some sort of order on the drug market to protect the public against irresponsible drug manufacturers. One high-placed American official has emphasized that drug firms were bribing doctors to give them faked evidence of successful experiments and tests.

Doctors and hospitals receive reams of advertising matter, and often valuable "gifts." They are attacked by a host of travelling salesmen trained in the art of persuasion.

Medical journals are full of articles that are no more than thinly veiled advertisements of dubious patent medicines. There are 15 journals of this type in West Germany alone.

Their publishers are entirely dependent on advertising and editorial policy is shaped accordingly, even if it means suppressing the truth. Dr. Frenkel, for instance, had to publish his disclosures in a magazine that has no relation to medicine.

Medical advertising is a business in itself: in the United States, 750 million dollars a year are spent on it, about a third of the total revenue from the sale of medicine. These vast sums are used largely to get people to buy useless, and often harmful, drugs.

As a result of the thalidomide scandal, the United States, Britain and West Germany are trying to stiffen drug control. To what degree this will bind the criminal businessmen responsible for the thalidomide tragedies is hard to say.

It will be remembered that no amount of anti-trust legislation could restrict the omnipotence of the capitalist monopolies. And medicines are just as much a commodity as any other. Their manufacture and sale are subject to the same merciless laws and unscrupulous methods of capitalism. (Moscow, NEW TIMES, No. 38)

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY KEEPS ON FIGHTING

(The following is a survey of articles and documents on the heroic struggle of the Communist Party of Germany, published in Pravda).

THE Pravda of September 6 has devoted its full third page to features released by the Novosti Press Agency (APN), describing the struggle of the Communist Party of Germany against militarism and revisionism for mutual understanding, democracy and social progress. It has prominently displayed the article, "Our Party Matures and Grows Stronger" by Marx Reimann, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany.

Six years ago, Reimann writes, the Adenauer government, supported by US imperialist circles, declared the Communist Party of Germany illegal. They wanted to destroy our Party with this indictment.

However, the German monopolistic bourgeoisie and its stooge, the Adenauer government, had miscalculated. The Communist Party keeps fighting, it will continue to fight and grow stronger!

Max Reimann goes on to describe how the Communists improve their knowledge of educating the Party's policy in the ranks of the working class in plants and factories, how the Party brings its policy home to all the working people.

The activities of the Com-

class are now joining the ranks of the Party.

"The Communist Party of Germany," Reimann writes in conclusion, "met the day of the illegalisation of our Party with firm knowledge of the fact that the struggle of the popular masses would put an end to the 'Adenauer era,' and our Party would continue to fight and grow stronger."

In the Bonn state, which boasts so much about the freedom of its citizens, the authorities do everything to eliminate the country's progressive forces, and especially the Communist Party. Yet, the spirit of the patriots, the spirit of communists has not been broken and will never be broken because the Communist Party enjoys the love and support of the people.

Jupp Angenfort, the well-known West German Communist, sheds light on "one of the most mysterious events of the recent past," as his escape from prison was called by the Bonn press. Jupp fled in broad daylight on the way to the court in the very centre of Munich having unlocked the handcuffs binding him to a policeman.

The whole of the West German police was alerted. Thousands of plain clothes men tried to find him. The news-

UNITED PARTY OF REVOLUTION IN CUBA

by OM PRAKASH PALIWAL

"The U.S. Imperialists go to such far off lands as Laos, Vietnam and Korea with a view to stop communism whereas they could not stop the ideas of communism in Cuba, only 90 miles from their shores. It is a lesson of great historic significance."

THUS commented Blas Roca, prominent national leader of the Integrated Revolutionary Organisations of Cuba. Sitting in his office under a beautiful portrait of Lenin, Roca was replying to my questions through an interpreter in Havana. During the interview I saw him cheerful, I saw him serious and also once bursting into a hearty laugh.

Before seeing him personally, I had collected a short biography of him. On July 24 1962 he completed his 54th year. Born at Manzanillo in the Oriente Province, he had to struggle hard for his existence from early days. From 1919 to 1930 he was newsboy, carpenter, elementary school teacher, shoemaker and shoe factory worker in his home town. By 1929 he became quite active in the trade union movement and was elected secretary of the Shoemakers' Union in 1930. The Communist Party of Cuba had been formed in 1924 and Roca joined it in 1929.

Inspired by the lofty ideas of Marx and Lenin, Roca began to shoulder higher responsibilities in the cause of communism. He was elected secretary of a provincial Party Committee and then secretary of the Party's Havana Committee. In 1933 he became a member of the Central Committee. In 1944 the Party was named the Popular Socialist Party. For a number of years Roca has been General Secretary of this Party. He was persecuted by the reactionaries for his patriotic revolutionary activities.

While in Moscow at the time of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, he met Ajoy Ghosh.

Roca is the author of a number of books on theoretical and political subjects, among them "The Foundations of Socialism in Cuba". At present he is the Chief Editor of the popular Cuban daily *Hoy*. The Popular Socialist Party is now merged into the new organisation known as ORI.

ORI is short form of the Spanish words 'Organisations of Revolutionary Integress' (Integrated Revolutionary Organisations). The most beloved and outstanding leader of the Cuban Revolution Prime Minister Fidel Castro is the First Secretary of the ORI. The National Directorate of ORI consists of 24 members which has a Secretariat of six members. Blas Roca is a member of the National Directorate as well as of the Secretariat.

The main purpose of my interview with Blas Roca was to understand the nature and role of the ORI and also the new conditions which necessitated the merging of the Popular Socialist Party into the new organisation.

He gave me a brief historical background of the Cuban Revolution and the role of various political groupings prior to the Revolution. There were parties ranging from right reaction to the parties of the left. Among the parties and individuals belonging to bourgeoisie there were some who in the beginning had supported the Revolution in a lukewarm way.

Some individuals were even included in the Government which took power on January 1, 1959, the day of the overthrow of Batista dictatorship. Till the end of 1959 organisations like the Christian Democratic Party held meetings though they had lost public support. They came out against the popular measures of the Revolutionary Government and exposed themselves.

Gradually, with the process of revolution unfolding itself in various popular acts, many such parties led to Miami and other parts of the U.S.A.

"Accelerated revolutionary development has always resulted in the falling away of those sections of the population which have exhausted their revolutionary potential. And this was the case with the Cuban bourgeoisie."

"As the revolution developed, the national bourgeoisie's multifarious economic links with the imperialists and latifundists came to light. National enterprises were geared to the U.S. trusts and monopoly interests and had contracts with them for the exploitation of the people."

At the time of enforcing the Agrarian Reform Law, it was found that among the big latifundists (Zamindar-Jagirdars) were not only US imperialists who owned one third of the best land — but also owners of cigar factories and textile mills, and other 'national representatives' of the bourgeoisie. Immediately after the promulgation of the Agrarian Reform Law, these people actively opposed the Revolution. When they did not find any support among Cuban masses, they took shelter behind US army and these were the elements on whose behalf US imperialism made a futile attempt of subversion in April 1961.

"I told him I had read one of his articles in which he wrote about the Cuban bourgeoisie thus:

"The bourgeoisie could, at a pinch, put up with nationalisation of the electric power and telephone companies and banks, and specially of the imperialist-owned oil refineries, for cheaper electricity, fuel and communications would signify bigger profits. But when it came to the nationalisation of the sugar plants — the 'centrals' — and the other imperialist industrial and commercial enterprises, that was another story. The bourgeoisie got the fitters, turned against the revolution and began to engage in economic sabotage, clearing their stocks of goods and raw materials and converting them into cash as fast as they could. That meant taking prompt measures against them: going over to the nationalisation of enterprises belonging to the national capitalists or at any rate non-imperialist capital."

Roca explained that though Yankee imperialism remained the enemy number one, it was not the only force which opposed the

revolution. The latifundists, the big commercial importers, the exporting magnates connected with imperialism and latifundism, the bureaucratic and monopolistic capitalists formed in the heat of the tyranny and with its help — these were sectors that were completely and irrevocably against the Cuban Revolution. Alongside them, at various moments and in different degrees, were the big city landlords, certain types of commercial speculators, wholesalers and jobbers, loan sharks and other exploiters who, although not many in number, were specially malicious and harmful.

By the time of April 1961 invasion, which was clearly foreseen by US imperialists, all these internal social forces and their political groupings were totally discredited, and had no roots in Cuban political life. Within 72 hours the invasion collapsed. Fidel Castro then

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Om Prakash Paliwal and Lajpat Rai, two leading functionaries of the Indo-Cuban Friendship Association recently visited Cuba on an invitation from Blas Roca. Besides other engagements, Paliwal and Lajpat Rai made it a special point to interview Blas Roca, Secretary of the National Directorate of ORI.

for the first time declared Cuba a socialist country quite categorically.

Having said all this, Roca spoke about the forces of revolution which included the Communist Party of Cuba also. The principal social forces of the Cuban Revolution are the working class, the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie, who taken all together form the Cuban people, the mass of the poor, the lowly. Nine-tenths of the Cuban population regard the Cuban Revolution as something that is theirs, and support it decidedly and fervently, despite all the traitors, exiles and deserters that go over to the camp of imperialism and counter-revolution. These are the class forces that are part of the Cuban Revolution, that support it, defend it and impel it forward, within the country. These forces are overwhelmingly greater and more powerful than the internal forces of counter-revolution.

Then he mentioned three political organisations which represented the organised revolutionary urge of the people and are at present in a process of fusion. These three are:

1. The 26th July Movement which under the brave leadership of Fidel Castro took the initiative of armed action, overthrew Batista tyranny and is playing a principal role in the revolutionary government.

2. The Popular Socialist Party (i.e., Communist Party) of Cuba with a glorious record of struggle and sacrifices for revolution based on Marxist-Leninist ideology.

3. The March 13th Revolutionary Directorate representing the patriotic student movement of Cuba. The students of Havana University played a leading role in it.

Roca emphasised the point that now since the formation of Integrated Revolutionary Organisations, the stress is on unity of purpose, action and

ideology. Hence he said, "The Popular Socialist Party has no individual role to play hereafter. It has been dissolved to create the proper atmosphere for complete fusion of all the revolutionary forces. This process of unity has been possible because all the three forces of revolution have accepted Marxism-Leninism as the basic ideology."

The ORI itself is a transitional measure to accelerate the process of complete fusion of these three forces which have united together for the success of the revolution. Ground is being prepared for the formation of a Joint Marxist-Leninist Party — a single party based on Marxist-Leninist principles. The first Congress of this new Party will be held soon — perhaps next year — which will declare the formation of the United Party of Socialist Revolution. We have all agreed to work together and



Blas Roca

Chinese Revolution. They brought another originality to the science of revolution. It was another process of starting from the periphery of towns and marching into big cities.

So also, Cuba has its own originality. It all depends on conditions and the given situation.

It is true that the leadership of 26th July Movement was not communist in the beginning but in the process of revolution itself, Marxist-Leninist orientation took place. They were not altogether ignorant of Marxism. In April 1961 Prime Minister Fidel Castro declared Cuban Revolution a Socialist Revolution and now in all his speeches his adherence to Marxism-Leninism is categorical.

He then added that India too will have its own originality in this respect.

He asked me to convey his revolutionary greetings to the General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, E. M. S. Namboodiripad and to all members who are fighting for the cause of socialism and lasting peace. He further said that he had learnt with interest of the Communist victory in Kerala — an experiment of great value. Though there had been temporary setbacks but he was confident of the final victory of socialism in India.

India, he said, is a large country and hence you have to face large and acute problems. After the triumph of revolution also a larger number of problems of some other nature may have to be faced. But the people of India, he was sure, will rise to the occasion and solve their problems with determination. He wished them all success.

We thanked him for the interview and assured him of the solidarity of the Indian people with the people of Cuba in their march towards socialism. We parted with a hearty handshake.



Santiago de Cuba, July 26, 1962: Premier Castro and other leaders watch the march past.

COMMON MARKET

a vital interest in frustrating the criminal conspiracy of the handful of trusts against the fundamental interests of the people. This provides favourable conditions for the formation of broad anti-monopoly alliance comprising the working class, the peasantry and the middle sections of the urban population...

At the present stage of world development the decisive, primary task of the peoples is to prevent another world war and achieve lasting peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems. A special responsibility for the accomplishment of this task devolves on the peoples of Europe, whose territory has twice already been the arena of devastating world wars.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are fighting unrelentingly against preparations for another war, for peace, for general and complete disarmament; and as against the aggressive and reactionary policy of European "integration," they call for a policy of all-round peaceful co-operation among the nations of Europe, a policy based on the principles of peaceful co-existence and strict regard for the interests of all the peoples inhabiting Europe, big and small.

For A World Organisation

One of the most important means of preventing war and promoting international co-operation is the extension of economic relations between countries, peaceful economic co-operation. The West-European "integration" undertaken by the imperialists is directed against such co-operation. The exclusive economic blocs of the imperialist powers hamper the building up and all-round development

of international economic relations, disrupt long-existing traditional economic bonds between states, strengthen the domination of the monopolies in world markets. At the same time "integration" is an attempt by imperialism to restrict the independence of the individual countries in the field of trade with the USSR and the other socialist states, an attempt to organize joint actions against the socialist camp in foreign commerce and to harm it by a discriminatory trade policy. Thus exclusive trade blocs become a weapon of imperialism's economic war against socialism.

Life has shown that those who renounce mutually advantageous trade and subordinate their economic interests to military-political strategy only lose out. This is evident, in particular, from the record of Soviet-American economic relations. The US imperialists are virtually boycotting trade with the USSR and many other socialist countries. That deprives them of extensive markets but does not at all retard the economic growth of the socialist countries.

Consistently opposing the enemies of peaceful economic co-operation, the socialist countries are in a position to take effective answering measures against the discrimination policies of the Common Market or any other bloc which infringes the trade interests of the world socialist system. In combating the disruptive policies and practices

From Centre Pages

of the exclusive economic blocs, the socialist countries are finding allies among the states whose interest these policies infringe, particularly the underdeveloped countries.

In recent years the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, seeking a radical improvement of the international climate and the development of mutually advantageous economic relations, have repeatedly made proposals for solving this problem within the United Nations framework. In particular, such proposals have systematically been made at the annual sessions of the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe. The Soviet Union's efforts have been aimed at the all-round development of mutually beneficial and equal relations in Europe and the world.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries propose the convening of an International Trade Conference to discuss the establishment of an International Trade Organization covering all areas and countries of the world, without any discrimination. The convening of such a conference is supported by many countries, which are opposed to the Western Powers' policy of forming exclusive economic blocs.

The immense advantages which all peoples would derive from the realization of these proposals are obvious. Expansion of world trade would undoubtedly benefit the economy of various countries of the world and make for higher standards of living.

West German CP ...

FROM PAGE TEN

papers, the radio and television described how he looked. But Jupp was not found. How could this happen? Why did the police prove helpless? The explanation was that he was protected by the people's love. "I cannot support the authorities whose words and actions are in such great contradiction," Jupp was told by a Catholic priest who let him stay overnight. "It is a good thing that the bandits have been brought down a peg or two," said an ordinary German woman, a mother of four children, who let him hide in her house.

An article entitled "Sparks of the Underground Movement" says that the number of newspapers and magazines, published by the Communist Party of Germany, has increased substantially; that their total edition exceeds the circulation of the newspapers published at the time when the Party could exist legally.

Not so long ago, the bourgeois newspaper Rheinischer Mercur stated with horror that a total of "135 camouflaged Communist newspapers with a circulation of 1,250,000 copies" are published in the Federal Republic of Germany.

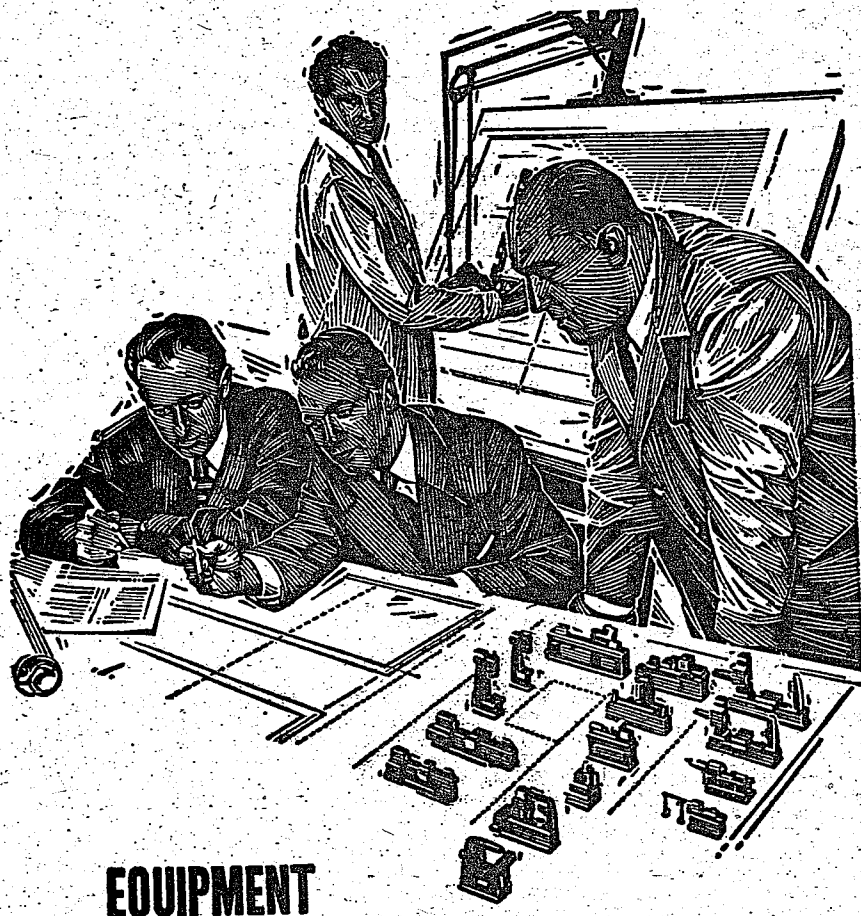
The Novosti Press Agency writes that the German Communists have a very great experience of underground struggle. Who can suspect, for instance, that a publication with the cover of an advertising prospectus carries an article entitled "What the Communists Want", materials about those who fight for a peace treaty with Germany

and those who seek to torpedo its conclusion. In their oral and printed statements, the Communists of West Germany expose the revenge seekers who want the Bundeswehr to be armed with atomic weapons, they announce to the public the names of these people, pillorying them for generations to come.

Pravda publishes also the statements by Communists Manfred Fackel and Werner Brauckmuller, who, in spite of the threats and repressions, remained faithful to the ideas of the Communist Party and bravely defended these ideas in court.

It carries statements in the West German papers, which acknowledge, however unwillingly, the successes of the Communist Party of Germany. Grudgingly the newspapers Rheinische Post, Deutsche Zeitung and Die Rheinpfalz are forced to admit that the ideas of the Communist Party attract the workers, and that it is impossible to fight against these ideas.

In conclusion we would like to mention the letter written by Frau Schabrod to her husband, an old Communist who was sentenced to life imprisonment under Hitler's regime, and was then again imprisoned by the Adenauer authorities for his struggle against the West German militarists and revenge-seekers. This letter is a moving human document, which shows that people are born of the Communist movement, the mightiest and noblest movement of our times.



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NEW AGE

The monsoon session of Parliament which concluded on September 7 was remarkable both for the sweep of the problems taken up and for the indecisiveness of Government in tackling these problems.

THE session was on in the background of country-wide mass protests against the mounting taxation and rising prices of essential commodities. Symbolic of the wave of protest surging in the country was the arrest of Homi Daji, Lok Sabha member from Madhya Pradesh on the opening day of the session i.e., August 6 and his conviction for taking part in the anti-tax movement. And, of course, there were arrests of scores of members of State Legislatures.

A series of Railway accidents had taken place during the interval between the earlier and the present sessions. Hundreds had been killed, many were maimed and injured and people's anger against the Railways and the Government that runs it had swelled up, but even an adjournment motion could not be pressed with vigour on the opening day. The clumsy rules of the Lok Sabha as interpreted by the Speaker acted as a wet blanket on the members' burning anger.

Nevertheless a discussion did take place in both Houses of Parliament on the subject of Railway accidents, weeks after the opening of the session, on an official motion by the Railway Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh.

In the Lok Sabha, Dinen Bhattacharya, who initiated the discussion on the Minister's motion made a scathing criticism of the Railway administration. He defended the Railwaymen against unjustified attacks by Government and others and pointed out that it was not possible to reduce the number of accidents unless the policy of the Railway Ministry, which was still functioning in the old bureaucratic way was basically changed.

In Rajya Sabha, P. K. Kurnaran (who himself was a Railwayman) gave a penetrating analysis of the causes of accidents, with amazingly precise details. He pointed out how accidents were taking place due to the callous, criminal indifference of the Railway administration and their anti-labour policy.

INSIGNIFICANT
However all the debates achieved precious little; the Minister's replies did not indicate any change of heart in the Railway administration. The dominant impression left was one of utter callousness, hollow self-righteousness and "take-it-or-leave-it" attitude on the part of the Government.

In 1958, Railway Minister Shastris was obliged to resign, albeit as a symbolic act. In 1962, not even a blush was there on the Minister's face.

During the intervening period, despite all Nehru's bewailings about "decorum", norms of Parliamentary behaviour, etc., his own Government had managed to make Parliamentary democracy more sense and ridiculous.

Still another instance of the utter helplessness of Parliament was demonstrated during the discussion on the power crisis in the country, especially in the capital city of Delhi.

The prolonged power crisis which gripped the capital for about a month starting from July 25 last had exasperated the citizens and the MPs alike. But strangely enough, even when the Speaker allowed an adjournment motion, there were not even 50 members to stand up to carry the motion!

The Minister of Irrigation & Power first washed his hands clean of any responsibility, forgetting the Constitution. (The

Central Government is responsible for the administration of Union Territories including Delhi). Finally when a discussion came, the crisis was explained away by shifting responsibility from one authority to another and announcing the setting up of an Enquiry Commission.

Parliament was meeting at a time when country-wide reports of an unprecedented increase in adulteration of foodstuffs, in the manufacture and sale of spurious drugs and medicines, and the incidence of widespread poisoning of people had created panic.

During the discussion on the question in Lok Sabha, Homi Daji unequivocally placed the responsibility for this state of affairs squarely on the Government.

He pointed out that the most important branches of the drug industry were handed over to foreign firms, apparently reputable but really not so reputable. He quoted from the Report of a Congress Investigation Committee in USA to prove that the American monopolies had conspired to fix the prices of 'wonder drugs' at arbitrary, artificial, non-competitive and rigid levels.

These monopolists were foisting on the medical profession many relatively worthless drugs with a greater potential for harm than good.

One gram of imported Aureomycin costs Rs. 1.20 and it is sold for Rs. 13. If it is manufactured in public sector, it will cost only 0.50 p. This profiteering in important drugs leads to the manufacture of spurious drugs.

SEPTEMBER 16, 1962

MONSOON SESSION OF PARLIAMENT

no improvement in the prevention of floods has taken place.

Capitalist economic development is dragging the country into irreconcilable contradictions. Indian bourgeoisie, unwilling to fight imperialist exploitation, is turning its wrath on the people. They seek to accumulate capital by ruining the peasantry, by fleecing the general consumer and by exploiting the workers.

COSTS

The problem came up during the session on a number of occasions. For example, we hear a lot about export promotion. But the question is: at what cost and at whose cost?

Details supplied along with a small supplementary demand revealed astounding facts. The export of sugar is being handled by the Indian Sugar Mills Association under the Sugar Export Promotion Act.

In order to export 3.5 lakhs metric tonnes of sugar fetching Rs. 12.75 crores of foreign exchange, the Government has to give a clean subsidy of Rs. 13.5 crores and an additional Rs. 16 and odd crores as drawback on excise duty and cane purchase tax.

Thus a total demand out of the consolidated fund of India amounting Rs. 29,10,26,000 was voted for in order to earn a paltry 12.75 crores of foreign exchange.

(Price of sugar in the free international market is 222 (about Rs. 290) per ton. Sugar is cheaper than wheat in international market! This is an illustration of the unequal trade relations between the imperialist and the underdeveloped countries who are the main producers of sugar).

But could not the Sugar mill-owners bear a part of the loss? In the four years 1955-59, the Sugar industry has earned a fabulous profit of 51 crores. But the Government would not touch their profit, and the Indian taxpayer has to shell out huge amounts to keep up the inflated prices of sugar in the Indian market. And why can the STC not take over the export business?

During a discussion on the Mudaliar Committee Report on Export Promotion, P. Ramamurthi pointed out that the problem of export promotion was not just a problem of giving incentives to capitalists for export promotion.

He pointed out how all the incentives granted to the textile industry have not resulted in exporting even one yard of cloth more during the last 3 years. In fact, export of cloth has been going down. In 1959 it was 814 million yards. In 1960 it came down to 694 million yards and in 1961 it further came down to 574 million yards.

At the same time, the profit, for example of Bombay Mills, soared. It was Rs. 1,282 lakhs in 1959, Rs. 2,100 lakhs in 1960 and Rs. 2,400 lakhs in 1961. The millowners prefer profits to patriotism. And as long as they can fleece the Indian consumer, why should they worry about exports?

The creeping fear of the peasantry against expropriation by urban capitalists and the resentment against the pro-monopoly policies of the Government exploded during the discussion of the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Bill and the Sugarcane Control (Additional Powers) Bill.

While the Government could get away with the railway accidents, floods and power crisis etc., without any commitment, it could not escape unscathed in its efforts to directly attack peasants' property rights.

The predominance of rural-based members in Parliament, many of whom are themselves substantial land-holders proved too strong a fortress for the monopoly-orientated Food & Agriculture Minister to storm. In fact the background in which the bill itself was brought was too scandalous for anyone to swallow it.

The opening attack against the Bill was delivered by Homi Daji. He pointed out that once the Bill was put on the Statute Book the revenue officials of the Government would have to act as the land agents of the private industrialists for whose benefit the legislation was going to be used.

The barrage was continued with the former Food & Agriculture Minister A. P. Jain leading from the Congress Benches. The solitary supporter of the

income went up by only 3 per cent against the target of about 6 per cent and there is no knowing what will be the increase in the current year. The tempo is extremely slow.

"Not only the tempo is slow, but there is a decline in the Third Plan period in some sectors. Cotton production is down by 8 lakh tons. Rice production is down. Cement is behind target by 1 million tons. Steel is 2.9 million tons as against the original second plan target of 4.8 million tons. Oilseeds—a foreign exchange earning commodity, has not reached the target set out in the Second Plan.

Dealing with foreign exchange crisis in which we perpetually live, both Bhupesh Gupta in Rajya Sabha and Indrajit Gupta in Lok Sabha, dealt at length with the problem of imperialist exploitation of our country.

We imported Rs. 1,071 crores worth of goods in 1960-61. But capital goods accounted for only Rs. 153 crores, intermediate goods accounted for Rs. 503 crores and consumer goods Rs. 200 crores. This situation has arisen because of the increasing hold of foreign capital on our economy.

The foreign collaborators insist on bringing the intermediate goods rather than finding the substitutes within our own country.

A Review By
K. P. SUBRAMANYA MENON
Office Secretary, Communist Group in Parliament.

Bill was the Congress MP Ram Ratan Gupta from Kanpur, for whose benefit the entire process was initiated.

Ultimately the Minister relented and after a week of consultations in the Congress Parliamentary Party and with leaders of the opposition parties, the wide powers under the Bill were curtailed.

This perhaps is one of the few instances in which Parliament could force the Government to retrace its anti-people policies. But then the issue was one which directly infringed upon the personal interests of many of the Congress Members themselves.

One of the highlights of the session was the discussion on the first year's progress of the Third Plan. The discussion was handicapped due to the lack of proper review by the Government or Planning Commission of the progress.

A cyclostyled hand-out issued a day prior to the discussion did not give out much. Nevertheless Communist MPs who took part in the discussion brought to bear on it a wider outlook and a clearer perspective.

Bhupesh Gupta in Rajya Sabha moved 65 amendments to the Government's motion touching on all aspects of development. He put forth through the amendments a complete set of constructive suggestions to make the Plan a success.

He said that even in quantitative terms, the development was not much. "In the first year of the Plan, the national

try and what is most regrettable is that even some Indian capitalists go in for intermediate goods from abroad rather than find them within the country. We lose about a 100 crores of rupees annually on freight alone.

The Industrial Policy Resolution is being subverted to please foreign and Indian monopolies. Fresh concessions for exploration of oil have been granted to Burmah Oil Company. The private sector was to be given only 2 lakh tons of fertilisers during the 3rd Plan, but it was increased to 3 lakh tons with promise of more. The Trivandrum Titanium Products are being handed over to the Tatas.

It was conclusively proved that income disparities have increased, the monopolies have enormously strengthened during the period of the Plans. The taxation and price policies were subjected to severe criticism.

In the Lok Sabha, Vasudevan Nair laid stress on the question of land reforms and their place in raising resources for development, in solving the problem of unemployment and in promoting the general well-being of the people.

The Plan debate was remarkable for the spate of criticisms from all sides of the House against the Government policies as well as failures.

The Communist Members concentrated attention on the basic questions of Indian development — viz., the liquidation of the legacy of imperialist exploitation

OVERLEAF

PROSPECTS FOR INDO-GDR TRADE

From P. KUNHANANDAN NAIR

LEIPZIG, Sept. 9: The 1962 Leipzig International Autumn Trade Fair commenced on September 2, when the eighteen massive exhibition halls in the Messehauser were ceremoniously opened for world traders from Socialist and capitalist countries.

AFTER a week's successful business transactions between capitalist and Socialist world markets the fair closed today. In this international meeting ground of commerce and trade, India is the biggest overseas exhibitor with a three hundred and fifty square metre pavilion. Nearly 30 Indian firms are displaying industrial and commercial products in a collective exhibition.

Approximately 6,500 exhibitors from nearly 50 countries are participating in this year's autumn fair. Though the Socialist countries' consumer goods dominated the show, all the leading capitalist countries also have shown their best here.

This demonstrates more clearly than ever before the wish and endeavour of trade circles of capitalist countries for expansion of trade relations with the states of world socialist system.

The non-socialist countries in Leipzig fair include West Germany. A total of 1,450 exhibitors from all NATO countries participated in the fair though the NATO officially discouraged participation.

The proposal of the COMECON (Council of Mutual Economic Assistance of Socialist Countries) for convening an international trade conference and for creation of a world trade organisation was the main topic of discussion in dinners, cocktails, and informal meetings and conferences of world businessmen gathered here. This year's autumn fair had the unique task of serving as the preparatory ground for a world trade conference.

While the imperialist powers headed by the United States are trying to blockade trade with socialist world market, forcing an embargo on revolutionary Cuba and undercutting the foreign trade of newly independent Afro-Asian states, businessmen and traders gathered in Leipzig have expressed their support to the idea of free world trade proposed by the Soviet Premier Khrushchov.

While the dark shadow of European Common Market is menacing India's foreign trade, her trade with the Socialist world market is increasing year after year.

In two years India's trade with GDR has doubled. Our trade agreement with GDR has provided great advantages for avoiding foreign exchange commitments. All payments accruing in the trade between GDR and India are to be made in Indian rupees.

This is the vital clause in this trade agreement which is absent in our trade agreements with West Germany or other imperialist countries. Indian importers will not require foreign exchange and dollars in order to purchase goods from GDR.

Moreover, the agreement stipulates that the rupee proceeds

gained by goods exported from GDR will simultaneously contribute to the increase in Indian exports to GDR. This helps to prevent adverse balance of payment. The trade turnover of India with GDR as illustrated in the following chart shows India as a net gainer.

Year	Import (in Millions of Rupees)	Export	Balance of Trade
1956	27.5	16.7	minus 10.8
1957	34.3	41.3	plus 7.0
1958	44.9	31.2	minus 13.7
1959	60.2	52.0	minus 8.2
1960	64.4	78.7	plus 14.3

While India is gaining in many ways in her trade with GDR, the adverse balance of payment in our trade with West Germany is enormously increasing year after year.

The following figures show how West German Government and its monopolists are draining our foreign exchange and filling their coffers.

Year	Imports (in millions of rupees)	Exports	Balance of Trade
1956	818.2	150.3	minus 667.9
1957	1,228.2	160.9	minus 1,067.3
1958	939.5	148.3	minus 791.2
1959	1,203.1	195.6	minus 1,017.5
1960	1,127.0	195.9	minus 931.1

At the collective Indian stand: Sport goods, jute products, etc., on display.



India is losing millions of rupees worth of foreign exchange in her unequal trade with West Germany. In ten years between 1950 and 1961 India imported goods worth rupees 537 crores from West Germany, but India's export to that "generous aid giving" country were only for Rs. 92 crores. This great imbalance and disparity growing year by year, is ruining our resources.

There is a tremendous scope for further developing our

trade with GDR. It is a well-known fact that whatever trade exists today between GDR and India is done on the initiative of GDR Government.

They opened trade representations in Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. Without diplomatic relations they face great difficulties in conducting trade.



At the Leipzig Autumn fair a German visitor admires goods displayed at one of the Indian stalls.

It seems India Government is afraid of West Germany. India is not even prepared to open trade representations in Berlin; our consulate in West Berlin is not conducting any trade enquiries in GDR. India's purchasing needs have to be looked after by GDR trade Department.

If India sets up at least trade representation in Berlin and other important trade centres of GDR, Indian goods can find more favourable market in GDR. India's present attitude is for all practical purposes detrimental to our trade development.

We might even lose our present market here as strong competitors of Afro-Asian countries are stepping in more vigorously. It is an urgent necessity that India sets up trade representation in GDR and makes vigorous trade

enquiries.

GDR is exporting to India machine tools, foundry equipments, printing machines, textile mill and machinery, chemical plants, electrical equipments, raw and X-ray films and various other vital machineries for our national industry.

India sells to GDR iron ore, manganese ore, mica, tobacco, cashewnut, shoes, oils, oil cakes, tea, coffee, cotton textiles and jute, spices and pepper and other raw materials and agricultural produce.

The new trade agreement between India and GDR is expected to be signed in October, which will be valid until the end of Third Five Year Plan. To look after India's interests in GDR the Government should set up some kind of official organisation. Delay in diplomatic recognition should not prevent trade advance.

Parliament Session

*FROM OVERLEAF

and the liberation of the peasantry from age-old burdens of insecurity of tenure, rack-renting, exploitation by money-lenders and monopoly of land-ownership. Without solving these problems, no worthwhile improvement can take place in our national advance.

The Planning Minister Nandi while replying to the debate in Rajya Sabha, almost admitted all the failures of the Government pointed out by the Communists. However, the only commitment he made was in regard to prices — a rather vague assurance that the Government is seized of the matter.

The session saw the initiation of a new social reform measure in the Christian Marriage Bill.

The organic structure of the Indian State underwent further changes during the session through two Constitutional Amendment Bills. By the thirteenth amendment to Constitution, the new State of Nagaland was created.

By the fourteenth amendment, the erstwhile French possessions Pondicherry, Karaikal, Yanam and Mahe were incorporated as a separate State. One failed to feel the thrill of achievement on this occasion as when Goa was incorporated.

By the same amendment, the Union Territories of Manipur, Tripura and Himachal Pradesh

were enabled to have elected legislatures and council of ministers to carry on the administration.

This is a consummation of the heroic struggle of the people of Manipur and Tripura to have a responsible Government in their states. The Communist Members moved amendments to include Delhi also in the list. But the Government did not think it necessary to accept them.

However, the people of Delhi can console themselves with the thought that unlike Manipur and Tripura, they did not work for it either.

Similarly Communist efforts to merge Pondicherry, Karaikal, Yanam and Mahe in the respective linguistic states of Madras, Andhra and Kerala were frustrated by the cussedness of the Government, whose spokesmen flaunted the 'undertaking' given to the French imperialists to protect the so-called 'cultural identity' of their territories.

The Government's over-enthusiasm to placate big business was exposed by Bhupesh Gupta in the Rajya Sabha during a discussion on the abandonment of the small car project. It was pointed out how the Birlas worked hand-in-glove with the bureaucrats and the Ministers to frustrate the project in order to protect the fabulous profits of their automobile business and they did succeed in that.

SIGNATURES FOR DISARMAMENT

By ROMESH CHANDRA

Following the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace in Moscow, rightly described by Soviet Prime Minister Khrushchov as "one of the most significant events of our time", and certainly the most vital and important international peace gathering ever held — a mighty campaign for disarmament has begun in all countries of the world.

IN India, the Indian delegation to the Moscow Congress has taken the initiative to form the Indian Committee for Disarmament and Peace, which will coordinate the work of all organisations in the country working for disarmament.

The first step taken by this Committee is to initiate a mass campaign for signatures to an Appeal for Disarmament, along the lines of the world campaign launched by the Moscow Congress.

This signature collection will become the basis of a widespread explanatory campaign on the main issues of disarmament, leading to the creation of informed public opinion on this most vital question facing humanity today.

The full text of the appeal for disarmament is given on this page. An examination of its contents makes it clear that it is a comprehensive statement of India's position on the question of disarmament as a whole.

It is not such a pious declaration of "disassociation with the evil of nuclear weapons" — for such "disassociation" by India has little meaning, since the Government of India itself has publicly declared repeatedly that India shall not make nuclear weapons, and that every Indian is already completely "disassociated" with nuclear weapons.

The appeal for disarmament seeks to place before the Indian people the solution of the problem of the perilous armaments race and the way forward from the position in which humanity finds itself today. Each signatory pledges himself or herself to this solution, to this way forward, to the immediate steps which have to be taken.

In this way, the signature campaign will become a real drive for mass education of the people — and not the mere repetition of a mantram of "opposition to nuclear weapons".

Who is not "opposed" to nuclear weapons in India? It does not require a signature campaign to prove that. But what is the way out? On this the Indian people require to express themselves, and this can be done only on the basis of an understanding of the problem of disarmament.

The signature campaign, initiated by the Indian Committee for Disarmament and Peace provides the means to bring about such an understanding among the vast masses of our people.

Complete And General Disarmament

The first paragraph of the appeal emphasises the crux of the problem of disarmament: the necessity for an agreement for complete and general disarmament, with adequate resources for inspection and control, on the basis of the principle: "No disarmament without control, no control without disarmament".

as in all proposals by the Soviet Union made earlier, is Article 2 on Control obligations which clearly states among other things:

1 The States, parties to the Treaty, solemnly undertake to carry all disarmament measures, from beginning to end under strict international control.....

2 Each disarmament measure, shall be accompanied by such control measures as are necessary for verification of that measure.

The Soviet Union's draft treaty has proposals for the establishment of an international Disarmament Organisation, to implement control over disarmament; the treaty outlines in the minutest detail, measures for the most effective international inspection and control at each stage.

The main hurdle to agreement on the question of controls at present, is the insistence of the US Government on controls and verification of armaments and armed forces which are retained — the Soviet position being that such control over armaments would mean facilities for espionage.

The position of the Indian Government which is supported by the world peace movement is summed up in the appeal.

THE Indian Committee for Disarmament and Peace has called for the observance of the week from October 2 to 8, commencing with Gandhiji's birthday, as a Disarmament Week. Meetings and demonstrations are planned and the signature campaign will be a major part of the week's activities.

Nuclear Weapons, Bases And Pacts

The second paragraph of the appeal lays stress on certain specific and urgent questions. First and foremost is the demand for prohibition of nuclear weapons. It is not necessary here to dilate on the grave dangers of the continued manufacture and stockpiling of nuclear weapons.

The appeal emphasises also the necessity to eliminate the means of delivery of nuclear weapons — that is, the rockets, bombers, submarines, etc. India was among the first countries to move in the UN for the dismantling of such means of delivery, for this would lead to an immediate relaxation of tension.

Even if the dismantling of the nuclear weapons themselves takes longer, the first thing to do is to make impossible the hurling and throwing of nuclear weapons by putting an end to the means of delivering them.

Together with this demand, goes the one for ending foreign military bases and military pacts. As Indians, the dangers to us of such pacts as the SEATO and CENTO are obvious, as also the perils resulting from the location of US bases on the soil of Pakistan (which were exposed not long ago as being used for U-2 espionage planes flying over Soviet territory).

An interim, immediate demand is also placed in the appeal: that of preventing the location of nuclear weapons in countries other than those of the nuclear powers; and of the creation of nuclear-free zones.

With Pakistan demanding nuclear weapons from the USA, with the possibilities of nuclear weapons being located in US bases in NATO, SEATO and CENTO countries, the Indian people are wholeheartedly behind the demand for the creation of nuclear free zones (as already agreed to by the UNO for Africa), in South-East Asia and other regions of the world.

APPEAL FOR DISARMAMENT

WE, the undersigned citizens of India, urge the Governments of the world to sign without delay an agreement for complete and general disarmament — including both nuclear and conventional weapons — with adequate measures for inspection and control on the basis of the principle: "No disarmament without control and no control without disarmament."

We demand the complete prohibition and elimination of all nuclear weapons and the means of delivering them, the liquidation of all foreign military bases on the soil of any country and the ending of all military pacts. Meanwhile, we demand that the transfer of nuclear weapons to the territories of non-nuclear powers be banned and that nuclear-free zones be established by mutual agreement.

As a first step, we demand an immediate agreement for the prohibition of all tests of nuclear weapons — in the atmosphere, in outer space, underground and underwater — on the basis of the proposals put forward by India and other non-aligned countries at the Disarmament Conference in Geneva.

We extend our support to the efforts of the Government of India for disarmament and for the banning of nuclear weapons and their tests.

We appeal to all peoples in all continents to join hands and act together to clear the road, to our common aim, enduring peace.

Name Address Signature

The appeal places the greatest urgency on an immediate first step: that of banning nuclear tests. It does not content itself by being merely "virtuous" and "disassociating" itself with nuclear tests.

The appeal seeks to draw attention to the actual basis for an agreement — and that is the proposal put forward by India and seven other non-aligned nations at the Geneva Disarmament meeting.

Support To Indian Efforts

This proposal provides for the verification and control of a test ban agreement by existing (and if necessary, additional) national networks of observation posts and institutions with a possible international commission of highly qualified scientists (possibly from non-aligned countries) to verify any explosion, about the nature of which they are in doubt.

The Soviet Union has accepted this proposal, but the USA and the Western powers continue to insist on the location of international posts on the territories of the nuclear powers themselves — which are scientifically totally unnecessary for verification purposes and are, therefore, suspected by the Soviet Union of being a means of espionage.

The appeal concludes with support to the Government of India's efforts for disarmament and a call on all peoples to help in the noble task of bringing about disarmament. An Indian appeal cannot ignore the work done by the Government of India, which has to its credit scores of initiatives in the UN and elsewhere, which have helped towards a disarmament agreement.

The World Congress at Moscow repeatedly emphasised in its documents the crucial role which non-aligned countries are playing for disarmament. The main document of the Congress (the Appeal to the Peoples of the World) stresses this role, when it says:

"Under the pressure of public opinion, and thanks to the action of the uncommitted

countries, the positions of the chief negotiating powers in respect of the principles of disarmament have, to a certain extent grown closer."

Several of the Commissions at the Congress underlined this role in their reports. The Commission on the political and technical problems of disarmament categorically stated:

"The neutrality or non-alignment of new or old countries is an element of peace. These countries can more easily organise their co-existence with all the other peoples and serve as mediators."

Above all, Premier Khrushchov in his historic speech to the World Congress, stressed the role of non-aligned nations and called for more resolute action for peace by them. He said:

"The independent Asian, African and Latin American countries, usually called non-aligned or neutralist, are beginning to play an increasingly important part in the grand battle for peace. India, Indonesia, the UAR, Brazil, Ghana, Guinea, Ceylon, Burma, Afghanistan, Mali and many other countries are in favour of signing a general and complete disarmament treaty."

India's actions for disarmament can be of profound significance, particularly now when our country is participating in the disarmament negotiations at Geneva. Pressures are constantly there, seeking to reduce the effectiveness and force of Indian initiatives for disarmament. These pressures can best be fought by the pressure of mass public opinion.

The signature campaign seeks to strengthen the Indian Government's hands to take more resolute steps for general and complete disarmament — which is the most urgent necessity for all humanity today.

Let those who stand for peace not wait for others to come to them for their signatures. They should cut out the signature form on this page, sign it, obtain the signatures of their family members, neighbours, fellow-workers and send them on to the Indian Committee for Disarmament and Peace, 14 Munshi Niketan, Kamala Market, New Delhi.

US Informant [Signature]

INDIA & SECOND BANDUNG

Should India support the convening of the Second Conference of Afro-Asian heads of Governments, the Second Bandung Conference?

THIS is the question being raised in the Indian press and in political circles, official and non-official. India Government's reluctance is known. For the last two years, and perhaps longer, the Indonesian Government has been in favour of calling the Second Bandung; but Prime Minister Nehru has not shown his enthusiasm for the project.

A certain amount of caution is undoubtedly commendable; for, it is clear that the imperialist powers would do their utmost to wreck the Conference and thus bury what has come to be known as the Bandung spirit, the spirit of Afro-Asian solidarity; and there are conflicts amongst the Afro-Asian countries themselves, which could create great difficulties for the Conference.

Romesh Chandra

But having said this, we must nevertheless recognise the vital significance, which a Second Bandung could have at this critical moment in world affairs—in strengthening the struggle for world peace and national independence. Imperialist efforts to disrupt the Conference will be there; they were there at the first Bandung; they will be even more dastardly at the Second.

The key to the success of the Second Bandung lies in scrupulous avoidance at formal meetings of discussions on conflicts between Afro-Asian countries themselves, and concentration of the wide area of agreement already mapped out at the first Bandung Conference and enlarged by developments in the seven years which have followed.

If the rumours published in the press have any truth, that certain Governments wish to include on the agenda of the Second Bandung such questions as the India-China dispute and the Kashmir question—then it is necessary from now for those who understand that at all such Conferences, emphasis must be placed on points of agreement, to insist that the agenda specifically excludes such questions in the interests of the success of the Conference itself.

There are a host of common problems to which the Afro-Asian heads must devote their primary attention.

● Above all, there is the economic problem. Nothing—or little—has been done to implement the suggestions of the first Bandung Conference on economic co-operation. The necessity for common action in this field is underlined by the threats to Afro-Asian economies by what has been described by Prime Minister Nehru as the new colonialism inherent in such schemes as that of the European Common Market. The Second Bandung could be a rallying point against the new colonialism.

● Take again the question of disarmament. The Afro-Asians have a special stake in it. And with their large numbers in the UNO itself, with their participation in the Geneva meetings, they can play a vital role. The Second Bandung could be a powerful assembly for peace and disarmament.

● Politically, again, the Second Bandung could reinforce the struggle of the peoples of Asia and Africa against colonialism and imperialism, in all their shapes and forms, old and new.

But all this can be done

only if there is complete clarity amongst the socialist and non-aligned participating Governments on the necessity for common action amongst themselves with a view to checkmate the imperialists' disruptive activity.

No one would be happier than the imperialists to see conflicts among the anti-imperialist forces themselves (one can imagine their joy at the anti-Indian demonstrations in Jakarta, which completely concealed the real enemy behind the disruptive acts in the sports world and at Jakarta itself—the U. S.

imperialists and their agents). There is another question which needs consideration. Since the Bandung Conference, the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity movement has grown, with the support of several of the Afro-Asian independent non-aligned Governments.

In this solidarity movement, a major part has been played, together with the representatives of other countries, by the representatives of the Soviet Union. This solidarity movement has refused to deny the fact that a great part of the Soviet Union is in Asia, and that, therefore, it must take its part in any Afro-Asian organisation.

When Prime Minister Nehru convened the first Asian Conference in New Delhi, the Asian Republics of the Soviet

Union were present. At Bandung, as a result of imperialist machinations the Soviet Union was excluded.

Is it not time for the non-aligned and socialist governments of Asia and Africa to raise the question of Soviet participation in the Second Bandung?

The Soviet Union's presence in the Second Bandung is not only justified from geographical considerations, but would give the Afro-Asian community strength and contribute towards its greater solidarity. A touchstone of progress towards peace and independence today is the unity of the socialist and non-aligned countries of the world. A Second Bandung, with Soviet participation, would take this unity further forward.

Silence U. S. War Drums

President Kennedy is beating his war drums louder than ever, on the eve of the opening of the next session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

● The latest coat of war-paint he has brushed across his presidential physiognomy is, the brazen announcement, made on September 11 by the US Atomic Energy Commission that the USA would resume nuclear tests in the atmosphere over the Pacific some time after September 22, and that the tests would include a few high altitude tests.

All this after the already known perilous results of the first high altitude test by the USA on July 9, and the repeated warnings by scientists on the dangers to humanity, yet impossible to foresee, of such high altitude tests.

● But even before this provocative announcement, the US Government had proclaimed a new round of belligerence, with the discovery of continued espionage by U-2 planes over Soviet territory (the Soviet Union charged the USA with violation of its territory of Sakhalin by a U-2 plane at the end of August) and the shooting down of another US spy plane over China (the garb of a plane, owned by the Chiang Kai-shek regime, fools no one!).

● Coupled with this have been the fresh aggressive attacks on Cuba (again masked, unsuccessfully, as actions by Cuban

"exiles") and President Kennedy's request for authority to call up 150,000 reservists for active duty.

The drums are no longer muffled. The whole of August saw the worst provocations and violent bomb-throwing and shooting, on the initiative of the US authorities and their West German fascist militarist allies, in West Berlin and in West Germany.

At the General Assembly of the UNO, the Indian delegation, together with delegation of the Socialist and non-aligned countries, must act to silence President Kennedy's war drums:

● The high altitude tests must not be allowed to take place;

● The U-2 espionage flights must be banned;

● Cuba's independence and right to determine its own destiny must be protected;

● The West German militarists must be curbed.

The gravity of the world situation should not be underestimated. The Soviet Government has solemnly warned the USA against continuing its warlike policies in a declaration issued on September 11. It has appealed to all nations to raise their voices against the aggressive plans of the USA and to prevent the American aggressors from starting a world nuclear war. This appeal must be heeded by the Governments and peoples, who seek peace.

LAND REVENUE ENHANCEMENT

*FROM FRONT PAGE

violate these solemn pledges and claim to be inheritors of the feudal creatures of British imperialism.

Furthermore, during the last fifteen years of freedom and particularly, during the last twelve years of planning, the burden of taxation on the rural masses has increased several-fold. As such, there is no justification for this twenty-five per cent surcharge on land rents.

The plea of developmental works is equally groundless. Every such developmental work has its own specific levy like the water rates, the Betterment Levy, the minor irrigation levy on the beneficiaries, etc. And such development works are still limited to a small portion of the state.

Moreover, exaggerated claims of vastly increased agricultural production have been disproved by the hard realities of life and the "phenomenal increase in prices" has hardly benefitted the peasantry. For, due to the promonopolist price policies of the government the peasants have been cheated both as buyers and as sellers.

As such there is no justification at all for this new impost on the ground of so-called increased peasant prosperity.

And finally, a flat surcharge on the rents payable by all landowners about three-fourths of whom have uneconomic holdings is against all canons of equity and social justice of even a capitalist society, not to speak of a socialist society, which the Government claims to be establishing in our country now.

The Communist Party has repeatedly declared that it supports planning and national reconstruction and as such its opposition to imposing heavy tax burdens on the common people, flows from fundamentally different causes than those inspiring the nefarious activities of such reactionary parties as the Swatantra and the Jan Sangh.

The Communist Party has, therefore, a positive attitude towards the Land Revenue Surcharge Bill. The Party is convinced that much more than the expected two crores of rupees per year can be raised provided the Government accepts its suggestion to

stay compensation payment to big landlords, strictly realise the agricultural Income Tax, ensure the profitability of state undertakings and eliminate the colossal waste and corruption now corroding the administration.

The Bihar State Council of the CPI has decided to observe September 17, when the Bill is scheduled to be introduced in the State Assembly, as "Anti-Rent Enhancement Day" by holding rallies and demonstration before the various district and sub-divisional headquarters of the Government.

The Party has pledged its full support to the peasants in whatever steps they may decide to take in order to resist this anti-people measure of the Government.

The Party has fervently appealed to other Left and democratic parties and organisations like the PSP, SP, Jharkhand and to the various peasants' and workers' organisations as well as to pro-peasant elements inside the Congress to join hands in a united and powerful mass movement to defeat this perfidious bill of the Bihar Government.

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