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NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

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NATIONAL COUNCIL SESSION

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—Party Congress Next January

CALCUTTA, May 11

After two days of general discussion on the Draft Political Resolution, the National Council of India, currently meeting in Calcutta, was of the opinion that some of the new features emphasised in the situation since the Amritsar Congress of the Party deserved more study and discussion.

So a final discussion on these issues has been postponed to the next Party Congress scheduled for January 1961.

While the work of the Party in the meantime is to be guided by the resolution of the Amritsar Party Congress, the National Council has entrusted the Central Executive Committee with the task of preparing the necessary reports and documents for the Party Congress.

The National Council is now discussing other items on the agenda.

The National Council began its session in the evening of May 6 with the election of a Presidium of E. M. S. Namboodiripad, Hajrah Begum and T. Nagi Reddy.

The Council then adopted the following agenda: Draft Political Resolution prepared by the Central Executive Committee, Report on Kerala, Work Report of the Party Centre and other organisational matters, and the timetable for the next Party Congress.

The Council unanimously adopted a resolution on South Africa (see page 15)

At this session, P. Ramamurti placed the Draft Political Resolution on behalf of the Central Executive Committee. Dr. Z. A. Ahmad moved the major amendment to the Resolution.

At its morning session on May 8, the National Council unanimously adopted a resolution on the birth centenary of Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore (see page 2).

General discussion on the Draft Political Resolution then continued. Ajoy Ghosh presented his views. Among others S. A. Dange, Bhupesh Gupta, H. K. Vyas, A. S. Malhotra, Rajeswar Rao, Ranen Sen, P. K. V. Nair, Rajshekharreddy and Yogindra Sharma spoke on the Draft.

PLOT AGAINST THE SUMMIT

Who said Dulles is dead? He lives on in his blood relations and heirs who are strategically placed at various levels in the U. S. ruling circles. Who but they could have hatched such a conspiracy as sending a plane for espionage into Soviet territory just at this moment? What better method could they have tried to blow up the Summit than this?

THAT they did not succeed is due to no credit to them. The crisis has been averted for the present, the Summit will meet as scheduled in Paris on the 16th—thanks to the deft handling by the Soviet Government of an explosive situation with the coolness which came out of an awareness of its own strength and the support it has all over the world.

will operate more dependably than patrol planes."

The full meaning of these words of the Soviet Prime Minister was to become clear only later.

That Khrushchov had not given any details perhaps gave the U. S. authorities the idea that they could still get away with some sort of an explanation. And such an explanation did not take long to come from the U. S. Defence Department.

It was admitted that one of the U. S. planes based on the U. S. airbase at Adana in Turkey was in the vicinity of the Soviet frontier on May 1. Described as a "flying laboratory" it was said to be a single engined U-2 reconnaissance jet research machine flying at high altitude, probably at about 55,000 feet at a speed of about 500 miles per hour.

The Defence Department claimed that the plane's assignment was on a joint mission for the National Aeronautical and Space Administration and the Air Force Weather Service.

It was admitted that this plane was carrying cameras—but they were taking pictures of clouds and not for spying purposes.

American Fairy-Tale

The U. S. State Department said the pilot of the U-2 had reported difficulty with his oxygen equipment and that the pilot could have lost consciousness and "accidentally violated Soviet air space."

How very simple? Here was a plane on the harm-

less pursuit of photographing clouds when the pilot had lost consciousness and ACCIDENTALLY violated Soviet air space.

Why was a U. S. reconnaissance plane taking pictures

* SEE PAGE 4

Only Deft Soviet Handling Of Situation Has Averted Crisis

On May 6, the Soviet newspaper TRUD published this photograph of the American U-2 which was brought down by a rocket after it had violated Soviet air space. ★ ★



Plane Shot Down

The first information of the incident was given to the world by Soviet Prime Minister N. S. Khrushchov, when addressing the inaugural day of the fifth session of the Supreme Soviet on May 5, he revealed that at dawn on Sunday—May Day—a U. S. aircraft without markings had illegally crossed the Soviet frontier, and had been shot down.

Khrushchov disclosed that a similar incident had earlier taken place on April 9.

After studying all the materials in our possession, said Khrushchov, the Soviet Government would protest strongly to the United States and warn it that if similar aggressive acts against the Soviet Union continued, the USSR reserved the right to reply to them with measures found necessary to ensure the safety of the Soviet Union.

"I think nobody doubts," he said, "that we have what to reply with. True we have no bomber patrols as the Americans have and as American officials have announced repeatedly, but we do have some missiles at the ready which will reach the target accurately and irresistibly and

Food Loan Agreement

INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

U. S. HELPS ITSELF

FOOD Minister S. K. Patil's "success" in Washington (where he signed the agreement last week for the supply of 17 million tons of U.S. foodgrains to India during the next four years) has been depicted by a cartoonist as amounting to striking a food mine.

Reminiscent of similar strikes by other fortunate people of other mines at other times, which brought untold wealth to their countries, it, too, it is said, will make scarcity a forgotten word in the country. The Minister, it is also stated, can live in undisturbed peace, and devote all his energy to make the country self-sufficient in food by the end of the next Plan.

Uncle Sam's "generosity" in making such a bounteous gesture possible has also been extolled sky-high to convince the people that it is wholly altruistic, without even a trace of self-interest.

India has, no doubt, been deficit in food, at least since independence, and has had to import on an average about three million tons of foodgrains yearly during the past few years. To the extent this yearly problem of imports has now been solved in one transaction it certainly needs to be commended, provided it did not at the same time involve dependence on one source, which the present agreement does.

Nor, in the absence of quotations from other commercial centres, can the price incorporated in it be rated the lowest. How then can Patil justify this tying up with one source for the next four years, if he could have negotiated yearly deals with quarters which might be willing to sell cheaper?

CALCULATED POLICY

Patil's main concern was to get U. S. wheat to build the buffer stock of five million tons as a lever, as he claims, to compel the hoarders to deboard their stocks in the market. With his back turned to State trading, which could do the job even better (since it would have circumvented the traders altogether), he could not but go all out to cajole the United States into giving him the grains he needed for the purpose. That he could succeed in this is a testimony not so much to his negotiating skill—he had little to negotiate any way, since everything had been got ready by officials earlier—as to the calculated farsighted-

ness of Washington's policy in this respect.

The U. S. produces about 1,100 million bushels of wheat per year, out of which its own consumption is only about 600 million bushels. The rest it has either to export, or accumulate in its ever increasing reserves. The cost of keeping these reserves comes to about 5,000 million dollars a year. Obviously, if it now parts with 1,276 million dollars to enable India to buy a part of this accumulated reserves—whose maintenance costs are so much—it cannot really be hurting its interests. In fact, to the extent this lightens its burden through a transaction which will earn for it interest plus, of course, the principal in due course, besides a lot of good will, it has only been helping itself.

AT WHAT COST?

Washington has thus managed to win Patil's heart without much real sacrifice, but he and the moneyed Press now want the country also to join their chorus of praise for the "generosity" of Uncle Sam, even though ultimately it will have to be paid for through its very nose. For, even if the grant part (Rs. 250 crores) is excluded, about Rs. 351 crores out of a total outlay of Rs. 607 crores, will have to be repaid in any case. This, as the Hindusthan Standard has said, will turn out to be "above the current production costs" in the country. The total cost itself will work out at about six per cent of the total outlay contemplated in the Third Plan.

Patil, however, hopes to bag another trophy with his catch. He wants to bury State trading fathoms deep, and for good. If the problem of deficits is solved, and there is a reserve at hand to beat the recalcitrant traders into submission, where is the need for State trading, he will argue. It was not for nothing that the Times of India hailed the deal as one which will enable him "to do away once and for all with this shibboleth."

State trading was a progressive measure, devised by the National Development Council to mobilise internal produce to the maximum, and thus reduce dependence on foreign food. Now Patil has reversed the process. He will get foreign food, so that need to deboard the hoarded grain might be altogether obliterated. If it comes out of its own accord, or under the whip-lash of Patil's "reserve" tactics, well and good.

The hoarders, however, have their own calculations. Scarcity, they know, is not caused merely by non-availability of foodgrains. Sometimes transport, too, proves a bottleneck. At other times, other factors, local or otherwise, intervene which will not let the imported grain reach where it is really needed. How can then their wings be really clipped, if State trading is also going to be given up?

Hence, besides bolstering up Patil's standing in the United States—and some wags even put him now above Morarji in this respect—there is nothing much that the agreement brings. Food it, no doubt, brings, but of what avail is this food if its arrival entails leaving the existing "channels" intact?

The new deal has been struck under PL 480, which, even Prof. Shenoy, otherwise an ardent admirer of free enterprise and everything U.S., sometimes ago termed a "mixed blessing". He also criticised "unrestrained food imports" as "impairing both stability and growth." Another economic writer, Narendra Singh, last year unearthed a little known amendment to PL 480's Section 104 which enjoined upon the U. S. to loan a quarter of the counterpart funds to U. S. firms or their foreign affiliates to undertake projects approved by the Export-Import Bank.

The purpose of these loans, it was further stated, should be to assist in "the establishment of facilities for aiding the utilisation, distribution or otherwise encouraging the consumption of, and markets for, United States agricultural commodities" provided that "no such loans shall be made for the manufacture of any products produced in the United States; or for the commodity to be marketed in competition with United States agricultural commodities or products thereof."

The U. S. has very candidly prescribed the hints within which PL 480 funds can be utilised. Knowing them, even Patil perhaps cannot claim that they will help build any basic industries in the country, or produce any goods imported at present from the United States. Incidentally, the rate of interest on the money to be loaned under the new agreement has been fixed at four per cent, instead of the 3½ per cent prescribed in earlier PL 480 deals. One wonders if, this, too, was one of its unique features which the Press somehow failed to splash.

—RSSEN

May 10, 1960

Homage To Tagore

The National Council of the Communist Party of India, meeting at Calcutta on May 8, 1960, joins our people in homage to Rabindranath Tagore on the occasion of the 99th anniversary of his birthday.

The National Council recalls with pride the glorious legacy left to the country by our myriad-minded poet; his ceaseless creative labour in various spheres of the arts; the vivid and powerful social conscience which made him a participant in India's struggle for freedom, a friend of the Soviet Union and an ardent crusader against fascism; the deep sense of values which drew from him unforgettable ideas regarding peace and friendship among nations, social justice and the highest ideals of humanity.

The National Council calls upon the people of India, and particularly all members and units of the Party, to apply themselves devotedly to the tasks that the country has set itself in celebration of the centenary of his birth.

—Text of resolution adopted by the National Council of the Communist Party at its session on May 8.

Police Terror In W. Bengal Villages

WOMEN RAPED HOUSES LOOTED

PEOPLE in three villages in the Hrishipur Union of West Bengal are living in constant terror ever since the police entered their villages and set up a camp in each one of them following a clash over a land dispute in which a man had been killed.

The men have all fled the villages and it is their womenfolk who have become the targets of police attacks. Indiscriminate assaults, loot, molestation, rape, have all become the order of the day in these three villages of Asrafpur, Hrishipur Hospital and Hrishipur.

Panah Dasi, wife of Gurupada Mondal of South Chanipur, was raped by two constables and another person who accompanied the police. Among others who became similar victims of police brutality and lust were Binola Dasi, wife of Subodh Mandal, wife of Umesh Mondal of the same village, and Nisapatti Dasi. Most of these women were assaulted right in the presence of other women of the villages.

Mohammad Elias, Communist M. P., who visited the area on receiving information of this police terror, was told by crowds of women of what happened to their sisters at the hands of the policemen.

The Communist M.P. also visited a number of houses which had been looted.

There was nothing left in the houses of Khoka Mistry, Nakul Haldar, Lak-

mi Kanto, Jhakanu Mandal, etc. From these houses situated adjacent to the police camp set up in Asrafpur village, grains, utensils, goats—whatever was movable had been taken away and what could not be moved had been destroyed.

After the clash and the death of the one person, nothing had happened in the village to cause any apprehension of any breach of peace. Still the police had been sent there and police camps set up with the tragic events that followed for the people.

Mohammad Elias met the District Magistrate after his visit to the villages and told him what he had seen and heard. Among the immediate measures he demanded for restoration of normalcy in the villages were:

- Withdrawal of the police from the villages. This alone will ease the dreadful tension, restore peace and the confidence of the womenfolk and enable their menfolk to come back.
- Adequate compensation for the damages caused by police vandalism.
- The Communist M. P. impressed on the District Magistrate the need to postpone the dates of the Panchayat elections, scheduled to be held on May 16. The elections, he said, should be held only after the police was withdrawn and the situation had returned to normal.

MAY 15, 1960

ISSUES BEFORE SUMMIT

★ by RAZA ALI

May 9, 1960. Exactly a week from now, the heads of the Governments of the USSR, the USA, Great Britain and France are to meet in Paris. And exactly fifteen years ago was destroyed the nest in which the two bloodiest wars in history were born.

ON May 9, 1945, the peoples of the world had vowed never to permit the unleashing of a new war; never to permit the rebirth of German militarism. Today, on the agenda of the coming Summit meet as the most important of all international questions are:

• FIRST, the question of disarmament—general and complete disarmament as "the most radical method of safeguarding world peace and excluding war from the life of human society" (Khrushchov); and

• SECOND, the question of concluding a peace treaty with Germany and a solution on this basis of the West Berlin problem "in order to eliminate ultimately the remnants of World War II" (Khrushchov)—to put an end to a situation fraught with dangerous consequences to world peace.

Lessons of history taught fifteen years ago were sought to be ignored by the imperialist Powers. No sooner were the guns silenced, and the victorious Soviet flag hoisted over Reichstag, than the imperialist Powers—above all the U. S.—took to the armament race frenziedly.

They went on, merrily, with atomic and nuclear weapons test explosions, stepping up their military potential and girdling the globe with their military bases. They nurtured German militarism and re-venchism to the extent that the doddering West German Chancellor Adenauer had the cheek to declare: We will talk with the Soviet Union, but only when we are armed to the teeth. (Morgen, Berlin, October 14, 1956)

Imperialism remains as predatory, as blood-thirsty, as ever.

Epoch-Making Changes

However, the march of events, at every major step, belied their fond wishes. The very fact that they have now consented to talk with the Soviet Union, on the disarmament and the German problems, testifies to the epoch-making changes that have taken place in the world in this period.

• Not only does the banner of Socialism fly triumphant over one-third of mankind, but the terrific advance of Soviet science and technology, which broke through the earth's gravity, has also knocked the bottom out of the imperialist—particularly U. S.—policies of "from positions of strength" and "brinkmanship".

• Not only have the forces of resurgent Asia and Africa reduced considerably the sway of imperialism over vast areas of the world, but bonds of friendship and co-operation—economic, cultural as well as on a number of international issues—between the Socialist world and the resurgent Afro-Asian and Latin American countries, are developing steadily.

by heads of States are known to all. The Geneva Foreign Ministers Conference of 1954 which restored peace in Indo-China is an outstanding example of settling international issues through negotiations. And the visit of the Soviet Premier to the USA last year is an outstanding illustration of the immense potentialities of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

With personal contacts and peaceful negotiations as the principal means of settling international problems, the

Today while this undertaking is fully implemented in the eastern part in the German Democratic Republic, the German militarists in West Germany are actually building an army headed by Nazi Generals, stronger than the armies of Britain and France and, in addition to the nuclear weapons provided by the U. S., are planning to manufacture their own atomic weapons.

The signatories of the Potsdam Agreement had assumed an undertaking to liquidate

of either German State? The Soviet proposals are to sign a peace treaty with the two German States and to end the abnormal situation in West Berlin by making it a free city.

The Soviet Government proposes that, under the peace treaty, the two Germanies would assume equal obligations to make any revival of German militarism impossible. This would provide conditions for their peaceful development and would rid Europe of the growing threat of war.

The West, in fact, has no alternative to the Soviet proposals, except the continuation of the status quo, which means rearing up of the Frankenstein monster of German militarism in West Germany.

As for the disarmament problem, it hardly requires to be argued that it is the most burning issue agitating the minds of the peoples today. For well over 14 years, the U. N. has been discussing the problem but with hardly any results. Many an international body came into existence, and after months of deliberations went out of existence, and almost every time the results belied the hopes reposed in it.

Even on an issue like the banning of nuclear test explosions, it took three years for the U. S. to make up its mind to discuss the Soviet proposal of May 10, 1955. And then, the U. S. would dig out a fresh pretext about the "impossibility" or the "inadequacy" of control every time the verdict of the experts (including Americans) would go against its previous pretext.

What was required, therefore, was a new ap-

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★ Disarmament

the international situation could not but be decisive. Suffice it to mention that every major crisis that has matured in recent years has been settled, not by retreat before aggressors, but by a resolute stand against them. Imperialism has had to suffer repeated defeats.

Korea, Vietnam, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and Jordan—all recall bitter memories

Soviet Union has been raising issues which demand immediate solution.

The disarmament and the German problem are the two such issues today. It was in November, 1958, that the Soviet Union put forward to the Western Powers, its present proposals to resolve the German problem. The reality of the situation in Germany today is that

★ German Problem

there are two German States developing in diametrically opposite directions.

When the occupation of Germany was carried out in accordance with the 1945 Crime Declaration and the subsequent Potsdam Agreement, the essence of this Agreement was to make Germany a peaceful country by rooting out militarism and nazism from the German soil.

ing them at the service of reviving German militarism. What has remained by now of the Potsdam Agreement is the anomaly that is the Four-Power occupation of Berlin.

And what is being nurtured in Bonn is the same monster that has dragged the world into a war twice already. In the given situation, what can the Four Powers do, without violating the sovereignty

Berlin Celebrates Anniversary Of Hitler's Downfall

by cable from ZIAUL HAQ

BERLIN, MAY 9.

BERLIN has just celebrated the Fifteenth Anniversary of the downfall of Hitler fascism amidst rejoicing with dancing in Marx-Engels Place and display of fireworks.

Government leaders and members of a special Soviet delegation including General Chuikov mingled with the huge crowds.

Late in the evening there was a glittering reception given by the Premier of the German Democratic Republic with thousands attending. Greeted by your Correspondent there, Groewohl recalled his India visit and said: "We are old friends." Deputy Premier and

First Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party Walter Ulbricht spoke of West Berlin telling your Correspondent that he hoped the Summit would tackle the question and take steps towards solving it. He said even a child could look at the map and see West Berlin was in the heart of the German Democratic Republic and such an abnormal situation there has to be corrected.

Speaking on Saturday evening in a hall meeting attended by five thousand people Ulbricht derided Adenauer's talk of self-determination for Germany. By self-determination Adenauer means the same freedom to march East as Hitler meant when

he talked of self-determination for Germans in other lands, said Ulbricht.

The Chief Soviet Delegate in the celebrations, Ustinov, Party Secretary of the Moscow Region, said the danger in Western Germany lay not so much in the armed divisions which Adenauer was able to raise but in the mad policies which he followed seeking to set the world ablaze by some provocation.

Soviet Prime Minister N. S. Khrushchov's telegram to the Government of the German Democratic Republic on the occasion of this anniversary was prominently displayed in today's papers.

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NEW AGE

FROM FRONT PAGE

of clouds in such an area so near to the Soviet frontier? No explanation.

And as Gromyko asked in the Supreme Soviet Session the next day: "Are they (the U. S.) trying to persuade us that the crews of American planes sent into the Soviet air space lose consciousness in crossing the Soviet frontiers and in this state, continue to pilot their planes and even shoot?"

Rocket Was Used

Another revelation came from the Supreme Soviet Session. Marshal Andrei Grechko disclosed that the U-2 which had invaded Soviet territory was brought down by a rocket at first shot. Now the meaning of Khrushchov's statement that rockets were patrolling Soviet air space became clear and along with that started the panic.

First reaction: The U. S. handed over a note in Moscow asking for more information on the plane.

More revelations were yet to come. What the U. S. State Department asked for it got in full measure when Khrushchov gave plenty of facts about the plane that had been brought down.

Khrushchov said: "The pilot of the shot down American plane is alive and in good health. He is now in Moscow. Brought here also are the remains of the plane with the special instrumentation discovered during the investigation. The name of this pilot is Francis Harry Powers. He is 30 years old. Powers is a captain of the United States Air Force where he served till 1955, when he went over to serve in the Central Intelligence Agency."

Khrushchov said that the official version which was given by responsible American officials concerning the plane shot down was an absolute fabrication.

Pilot's Evidence

The American flier had talked and talked plenty.

Khrushchov said the pilot had testified that he had no dizziness nor had his oxygen apparatus failed. He was flying along the assigned route, accurately carrying out his masters' orders, switching on and off the equipment over the pre-selected targets for gleaning intelligence on the Soviet Union's military and industrial establishments.

Khrushchov showed the Supreme Soviet Deputies some of the photos, showing military airfields, petrol storages, industrial undertakings—indisputable factual evidence of the espionage work of the American plane.

The American plane having intruded into Soviet air space had flown over 2,000 kilometres over Soviet territory and stayed a total of four hours in the air.

According to the evidence given by the pilot, he flew on April 27 from the Turkish city of Adana to Pakistan and landed at the airport of Peshawar. On May 1,

he took off from Pakistani territory, from the airport of Peshawar, and not from a Turkish airfield in Adana as mentioned in the U. S. State Department's version, with orders to fly along the course plotted out on his map—over the sea of Aral, Sverdlovsk and other points, to Archangel and Murmansk, then landing at the Norwegian airport of Bude. The plane had also bomb mechanism installed in it. To cover up the crime, the pilot had been instructed that he should not be taken alive. He had been provided with a special pin and he was to prick himself with this poisoned pin to bring about instantaneous death.

The flier who was supposed to investigate the atmosphere and photograph clouds had been given 2,500 roubles in Soviet money, he had also been provided with French gold francs, as well as West German, Italian and other currencies. Apart from his own watch, he had two more gold watches and seven women's gold rings.

After these disclosures came the warning: "from this high rostrum of the Supreme Soviet, we once more warn the countries which offer their territory



These are members of the Soviet anti-aircraft unit which fired the rocket that so accurately brought down the U-2. They have all been decorated by the Supreme Soviet.

Reticence on the part of the U. S. Government or expression of surprise on the part of Nato spokesmen would not carry conviction any more. At this stage the U. S. State Department came out with the admission that the U. S. plane was on a spying mission

could do. But even while admitting the spying, it took up the fantastic position that it was its right to send planes for espionage over the territories of other countries.

Harold Stassen, former Disarmament Advisor to the U. S. President, said it appeared that the American

and the Government whose spokesman had charged the Soviet leaders with "a pathological conviction that foreign bases exist in Pakistan" was promising the next day of lodging protests with the U. S. Government.

The Times of India Correspondent reported from Karachi on May 9, "Though Pakistan spokesmen continue to deny vehemently that the ill-fated American U-2 plane took off from a Pakistan airfield or stayed at Peshawar

KHRUSHCHOV WARNS ROCKETS ON VIGIL OVER SOVIET UNION

as the base for the sending of hostile planes into our country: Don't play with fire!"

The Governments of three countries—Turkey, Pakistan and Norway—the Soviet Prime Minister said, must realize clearly that they proved to be accomplices of this raid because they permitted the use of their airports against the Soviet Union. This is a hostile act against the Soviet Union.

Admission At Last

Immediate reaction from White House was that it had no comment to make on the pilot's confession. A Nato North Command spokesman said in Oslo that the Soviet Premier's statement that the U. S. plane was to land in northern Norway after completing its mission was "incredible".

Soviet newspapers on May 7 carried photographs of the equipment and belongings carried by the American pilot. They included Soviet money, knives, a pistol and silencer, women's gold rings, and other items. One picture showed a Soviet aerodrome photographed by the American spy.

with a lot of blah-blah to justify such a mission.

The State Department statement said: "As a result of the enquiry ordered by the President it has been established that in so far as the authorities in Washington are concerned there was no authorisation for any such flight as described by Mr. Khrushchov."

"Nevertheless, it appears that in endeavouring to obtain information now concealed behind the iron curtain a flight over Soviet territory was probably undertaken by an unarmed civilian U-2 plane."

And then the justification. "It is certainly no secret that given the state of the world today intelligence collection activities are practised by all countries and postwar history certainly reveals that the Soviet Union has not been lagging behind in this field."

"The necessity for such activities as measures for legitimate national defence is enhanced by the excessive secrecy practised by the Soviet Union in contrast to the free world."

It took eleven hours of deep study for the State Department to get convinced that the American pilot had confessed to spying. But convinced it was at last—when there was nothing else it

plane was deliberately sent there "by one of our military officers" to upset the Summit meeting.

In an interview, he said, "I doubt that President Eisenhower knew about or approved this flight. If he did not, he should remove the officers involved from their command, no matter how high up they may be."

The proven accuracy and efficacy of the rocket which brought down the U-2 and Khrushchov's warning had immediate effect.

Pakistan's Statement

The Pakistan High Commissioner in London announced they would investigate into the Soviet Premier's charge that the American aircraft had stopped over in Peshawar. Pakistan authorities even promised to lodge a protest with the U. S. Government to ensure that such a thing does not happen again, if the charge was found true.

Only the day previously, a Pakistan Foreign Office spokesman had said that the Soviet Prime Minister's "allegation" as far as it referred to Pakistan was "wholly incorrect."

for three days, the reported enquiry into the incident ordered by President Ayub Khan, now in London, has robbed the denials of any force."

"Pakistan has been insisting", continued the report, "that Cento is a purely defensive organisation and that Americans did not enjoy facilities of bases in Pakistan. However, should it turn out that American planes used Pakistan airfields as 'take-off' bases for their reconnaissance flights into the Soviet Union, Moscow's propaganda campaign against Rawalpindi could not be dismissed so peremptorily by Pakistan in the future."

The Turkish Government took time off its preoccupation with suppressing the people's revolt, to hasten with the explanation, "it has been established that no plane has crossed the Turkish frontier in the direction of the Soviet Union."

Meanwhile the Press reported, "global reactions showed that the plane incident had hurt the U. S. position in advance of the Summit talks."

The attempt now is to dismiss the whole thing lightly. Espionage is conducted by Pakistan to Pakistan was "wholly incorrect."

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NEW AGE

HO CHI MINH

—seventieth birthday

AN INTERVIEW

On the occasion of his seventieth birthday President Ho Chi Minh of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was interviewed by MALCOLM SALMON, Southeast Asia Correspondent of Australian newspapers TRIBUNE and VICTORIAN GUARDIAN. Here below are the questions and answers.

How would you describe the main lessons of your life as you survey your seventy years?

ANSWER: The main lessons of my life as a revolutionary are the following: to be completely and unconditionally devoted to the liberation and the unity of one's country, to the emancipation of the working class and of oppressed peoples, to the triumph of Socialism, to fraternal cooperation and lasting peace among the peoples.

How would you express, especially for younger readers, the significance and value of a revolutionary political life?

ANSWER: The future belongs to the young. The future is the revolution, which moves always forward. Being the masters of the future, young people must not fall to have a noble ideal. Thus, they should lead an active and revolutionary political life.

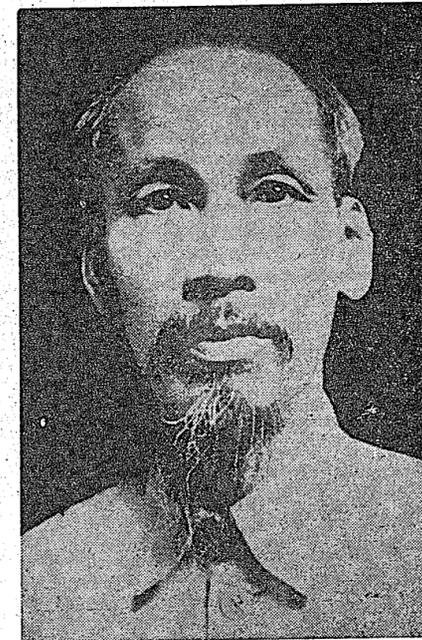
How would you describe

the significance in the history of Vietnam of the 1954 Geneva Agreements? What is your estimate of the future of these Agreements?

ANSWER: The Geneva Agreements constituted a victory for the people of Vietnam in particular, and for the peace-loving and democratic peoples in general. Despite the criminal sabotage undertaken by the American imperialists and the Vietnamese traitors, the people of Vietnam are struggling vigorously for the application of these Agreements.

Your eighth decade is the twentieth century's seventh. Have you any comment on the prospects of this decade?

ANSWER: Today, colonialism is dying, the movement for national independence is developing, the camp of Socialism is daily growing stronger. In the near future the USSR will catch up with



and surpass the USA in production per head of population; it is already ahead of the USA in certain fields, in science for example. Round about 1965-70, the industrial production of the Socialist countries will over-

take that of the capitalist countries. We will emerge the victors from this peaceful competition. The prospects of the coming decade are, therefore, very bright for the workers of the entire world.

On May 19, 1960, people throughout Asia and the world will honour the 70th birthday of Ho Chi Minh.

Ho Chi Minh's name is especially associated with the success of the Vietnamese people in the Resistance War against French imperialism, which was crowned with success six years ago with the victory of Dien Bien Phu.

But the record of this outstanding leader of revolutionary Asia goes far, far further back than that; through the days of the August Revolution of 1945 in Vietnam which followed the collapse of Japanese fascism in World War Two; through years of partisan struggle against the Japanese in Indo-China during this war; through years of underground activity in many Asian countries in the 'thirties; through years of active participation in the Chinese revolution in the middle 'twenties; through years of struggle and organisation in the France of the period immediately following World War One; and back even beyond that, to the time when as a boy of twelve he carried messages for the anti-colonialist movement of patriotic feudal intellectuals in his native Nghe An province in Vietnam.

Yet his life, for all its fantastic variety of incident, colour and danger, has been the simplest of lives: wherever he was, whatever he was doing, Ho Chi Minh's every action was dominated by the single ideal of the independence and dignity of his country.

Today, as the leader of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh is among the most revered and loved of the leaders of Socialist countries.

"The imperialists still talk of 'success stories' as if such stories were their special preserve. They are only whistling in the dark. The life of Ho Chi Minh, the son of a poor scholar of colonial-feudal Vietnam, is striking proof that the real success stories of our times are not to be found with imperialism at all, but precisely among those who have devoted their lives to struggle against it."

Ho Chi Minh's success is the success of the Vietnamese people. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam already leads Southeast Asia in progress made in solving the burning problems facing all countries in the region. Its influence will no doubt be still more strongly felt when the Vietnamese people have solved, as they surely will in not too long a time, their present number one problem—that of national reunification.

As he enters his eighth decade, Ho Chi Minh is tending sturdy, young plants of Socialism all over the north of his country. At the same time with the special blend of flexibility and unvanquishable strength that is his outstanding characteristic, he is working day and night to bring the north and the south of Vietnam together again.

* SEE PAGE 12

THE PRESIDENT

Ho Chi Minh at Dien Bien Phu directing operations in the final blow inflicted on French imperialism.

2ND SEPTEMBER, 1945.

On that day Ho Chi Minh's Government was to appear before the people. When President Ho was preparing to go to the ceremony, he found that he had no suitable clothes.

In the forests, President Ho, like the guerrilla fighters, was accustomed to wearing only shorts and leaving the torso bare. When he arrived in the capital, he had very few clothes. So several people visited the shops to find a suit of clothes for the President. At last they bought a khaki suit and a pair of rubber sandals. It was in this attire that the President appeared before the people.

And there he was, the man who had changed his name a hundred times, engaged in a dozen professions and trades, who had been many times in prison and once sentenced to death, the man who had once been reported as dead, there he was the first President of the newly established Democratic Republic



MAY 15, 1960

NEW AGE

PAGE FIVE

Textile Workers Get Ready For Action

Joint Strike Plan In Tamilnad

Textile labour unions in Tamilnad affiliated to the All-India Trade Union Congress and the Hind Mazdoor Sabha, as also the Mettur Mill Workers' Union and certain other independent unions have decided to organise a one-day strike on May 24 in the textile industry in the State in protest against the millowners' attitude to the wage-increase recommendation of the Textile Wage Board.

THE date has been so fixed as to give time to INTUC unions, which had participated in earlier talks of trade union representatives, to take a decision and join the strike.

The statement issued by S. C. C. Anthony Pillai of the Tamilnad State Council of the Hind Mazdoor Sabha and T. R. Ganesan of the Tamilnad Trade Union Congress says:

Despite the fact that it was unanimously agreed in the Standing Labour Committee which met in January 1960, that the unanimous recommendations of the Wage Board should be implemented forthwith, with the employers and employees' representatives concurring, the working class notes with deep perturbation the failure of the textile millowners to implement

the unanimous recommendations made by the Textile Wage Board.

The Government of India in its resolution on the Textile Wage Board's report has called on all employers to implement forthwith the recommendations relating to the increase in basic wages, and in the event of any disputes regarding interpretation of the recommendations on dearness allowance it has announced that a National Tribunal would be set up to resolve such disputes.

Union Labour Minister G. L. Nanda has stated both in the Lok Sabha and in the recent meeting of the Standing Labour Committee in April that prior to the Government's resolution being published, Government had prolonged discussions with the representatives of the millowners and that during these discussions they had agreed to implement the increase in basic wages.

But at the conference convened by Madras State Labour Minister R. Venkataraman on April 16, 1960, the South Indian millowners would give no under-

LABOUR NOTES

taking that they would implement any of the recommendations, let alone the unambiguous one relating to basic wages. They indicated, perhaps with a view to indulging in procrastination, that they would be ready to participate in any tripartite committee that the Government may set up to discuss all issues.

Prior to this Conference on April 16, representatives of the textile unions in Madras State affiliated to the INTUC, the HMS and the AITUC, as also Kanniah Naidu of the Papanasam Labour Union had met and jointly agreed to adopt the following attitude namely, that labour would be willing to serve on any tripartite committee, provided the employers, as an earnest of the willingness to implement the Wage Board's recommendations, agreed to increase the basic wage rates by Rs. eight from January 1, 1960, as recommended by the Textile Wage Board.

Even this very reasonable attitude of the representatives of labour did not find favour with the employers, and the conference ended in failure.

The labour representatives agreed among themselves that it was advisable to continue the consultations among the central organisations of labour in the matter of getting the Wage Board's recommendations implemented, and resolved to meet again on April 30, 1960, to give a fortnight's time for reconsideration to the employers.

their attitude and implement the recommended increase in basic wage rates.

On April 30, the representatives of the unions affiliated to the AITUC, the HMS, the INTUC, the Mettur Mill Workers' Union, as also Kanniah Naidu met.

Though all these representatives were generally agreed that continuing consultation among themselves was necessary, and strike action was inevitable, the INTUC was not willing to commit itself as to when such action should be launched.

Inasmuch as the INTUC was not willing to commit itself, the other representatives of labour met subsequently and came to the conclusion that in the first instance, a token strike of the textile workers throughout the State of Madras should be organised on May 24, 1960.

Unions affiliated to the HMS and the AITUC have agreed to serve notices of strike and participate in the strike action as also the Mettur Mill Workers' Union and certain other independent unions. The date has been so fixed in the hope that other unions including the INTUC unions will, in the meantime, make up their minds to synchronise their action with the general action on the same day.

An appeal is also being made to all textile workers and to all trade unions irrespective of their affiliation or non-affiliation to other central organisations of labour to serve notices of strike and participate in this action.

The proposed token strike on May 24 is with a view to expressing labour's collective disapproval of the millowners' failure to implement even the increase in basic wages. Consequently, the action will not take place if the employers agree to implement this recommendation and further agree to discuss the recommendations regarding dearness allowance and related issues.

However, if despite this token manifestation of labour's disapproval, the employers should continue to be adamant, the textile unions will be compelled to organise, commencing early in June, a continued general strike of the textile workers for the implementation of all the recommendations of the Textile Wage Board.

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KANPUR BOSSES ON WAR PATH

From RAM ASREY

MERUT, May 7

REPORTS from Lucknow suggest that the negotiations between the Government and U. P. textile bosses have failed and the bosses have refused to agree to the implementation of the Wage Board recommendations despite the U. P. Deputy Labour Minister's offer to them that the matter of "rationalisation" would be taken up immediately after the implementation of wage-increase.

Indications that the employers would take such a "tough" line were amply available when P. D. Singhanina, President of the U. P. Merchants' Chamber, demanded at its 28th annual meeting the postponement of the enforcement of a flat increase in basic wages for two years and exemption for U. P. mills from the obligations of the Delhi Tripartite Convention on rationalisation.

The spokesman of the U. P. textile mill industry in a fortnight speech on the occasion sought permission to work the mills for all seven days in a week and three shifts working 23½ hours. He also wanted permission for adjusting the present "personal wage" of nearly 13,000 workers against the increase granted by the Wage Board.

What differentiates Singhanina's demand from the all-India chorus of textile employers in their opposi-

* SEE PAGE 10

MAY 15, 1960

RESOLUTION OF THE TAMILNAD COUNCIL OF COMMUNIST PARTY

The text of the resolution adopted by the Tamilnad State Council of the Communist Party on the Land Ceiling Bill of the Madras Government reads:

THE Land Ceiling Bill brought forward by the Madras State Government has caused profound disappointment to the several lakhs of peasantry and agricultural labourers in the province.

The demands of our peasant movement which had grown in the last several years had gradually been accepted as the just demands of our great national movement itself. These demands formed an important part of our First and Second Five-Year Plans. They had been accepted as indispensable for the very regeneration of our national economy and the democratic reconstruction of our country.

VIOLATION OF PLEDGES

In 1955, the Finance Minister of the Madras Government when proposing the Draft Second Five-Year Plan had also adverted to this very question. He stated then that the ceiling on land meant only in respect of the land in one's own personal cultivation. He further said that so far as small landholders were concerned, they may be permitted, subject to certain conditions, to resume the land leased out by them on lease for guthakal or waram, and that so far as other tenants were concerned, such tenants should be granted a hereditary occupancy right in the lands being cultivated by them.

He further observed that the fair rent should at best be only 25 per cent and that by an arrangement under which the tenant paid this fair rent for several instalments spread over a long period of years, the tenant himself become the owner of that land.

In the Plan, as it took final shape, these suggestions were brought out more clearly. The Plan considered that if the ceiling was fixed for every person and not for every family, there would not be enough surplus land for distribution and consequently fixed the ceiling only for the land of a family. The Plan further described a family as one consisting of a husband, his wife and the children dependent on them.

The Plan went further and categorically warned that measures must be immediately undertaken to prevent all alienations of land being made to defeat the expected ceiling legislation. It demanded that all alienations made after 1954 should be strictly investigated. Not only has the Plan been accepted by the Indian Parliament, but it is also worth recalling that Congressmen sought the support of the electorate in the last General Elections on the assurance that they will implement the above promises.

The Madras Land Ceiling Bill has thrown overboard with impunity all these promises made to the people.

MADRAS LAND CEILING BILL

cultural labourers and poor peasants.

In the lands to be taken over by the Government as surplus land, no occupancy right is granted by the Bill to the tenants now tilling them. The cultivating tenant's family can continue to do so only for his lifetime. If the surplus land is taken by the Government from a person or from a trust, the Bill categorically provides by Section 29 that the cultivating tenant therein must give up the land in his possession.

Thus the Bill aims in several ways at depriving the land in the possession of cultivating tenants and almost gives up any concern to protect the tenants who are tilling the land and growing the crops.

NO BENEFITS POSSIBLE

Over and above all this, there is the striking feature that there is nothing in the Bill which guarantees the distribution of the surplus land, if any, which will come into the hands of the Government. Therefore, the Tamilnad Council of the Communist Party of India is clearly of the view that if the Land

particular family of which the claimant to the stridhanam is a member.

7 There should be no exemption from ceiling for any orchards or topes, other than coffee, tea and rubber plantations. Nor should there be any exemption under the plea of land needed for sugarcane supply to sugar factories or for dairy farms or for grazing land.

8 The lands of various trusts belonging to one trust institution should be taken together and dealt with as one trust and the ceiling fixed for it. Such a ceiling should be 100 standard acres or that extent of land the income from which is sufficient for the expenses of the trust—whichever is less. The cultivating tenants in the lands of these trusts below the ceiling limit should be granted occupancy rights.

9 The trust lands endowed to educational institutions or hospitals must be taken over by the Government and those institutions be paid the fair rent which they were getting from these lands.

10 In respect of those owning up to fifteen standard acres, other than those who

13 All the surplus land which comes into the hands of the Government when this enactment is passed should be distributed to tenants who have been evicted from their holdings and landless agricultural labourers and poor peasants who own less than two acres—in this order. Not more than two acres may be given to each family on such distribution.

14 The following amendments should be accepted in respect of the provisions for compensation to landholders: nine times the fair rent for all whose annual income from land is more than Rs. 15,000 and not more than Rs. 25,000; six times the fair rent for those whose annual income from land is more than Rs. 25,000.

15 In the enumeration of classes of tenants, under the heads guthakal or waram, the tenancies called mattu waram, pethu waram should also be included.

16 From the date of publication of this Bill no eviction of cultivating tenants should be permitted on any ground whatsoever.

17 In implementing the provisions of this law at

- Reversal Of Accepted Policies

Ceiling Bill of the Madras Government is enacted as a law in its present form, there will be no benefit whatever to the toiling peasants of Tamilnad.

The Council, therefore, urges on the Government that the following amendments should find incorporation in the provisions of the Bill.

1 The ceiling should be clearly fixed as applicable only to a family of five persons. Each person should not be permitted individually and separately to claim the ceiling limit.

2 A family should be defined as the husband, the wife, and unmarried minor children; unmarried adult children may each be permitted half the ceiling limit.

3 The ceiling for a family of not more than five persons should be 15 standard acres. For every member of the family above five persons, a further two standard acres for each may be permitted subject to a maximum of 25 acres for the family and no more than that for any family.

4 This Act should have retrospective effect from 1955.

5 A standard acre should be defined as land paying land revenue from Rs. ten to Rs. fifteen per acre. In respect of more fertile land where the land revenue is more than Rs. fifteen per acre, each acre of such land must be considered equivalent to 1½ standard acres.

6 Stridhanam land should be considered as part of the landed property of that

are paying income-tax, or sales-tax, or property tax of more than one rupee, if their land is at present under lease with a cultivating tenant, they could resume for personal cultivation half the area of their total land subject to a maximum of five acres.

Those small landholders owning less than five acres, can have the option of resuming half their land or of continuing to allow the tenant to cultivate on lease and receive the fair rent or of selling their land and receiving its market value from the Government. In such cases resumption must leave at least one acre with the cultivating tenant.

11 Non-commissioned personnel and ranks of the Air Force, Navy and Infantry can resume for their personal cultivation half their land or 7½ acres, whichever is higher.

12 In respect of all land which is not resumed, and all land which is proclaimed to be above the ceiling and surplus, permanent occupancy rights must be given to the cultivating tenants in those lands. A fair rent of 25 per cent in the case of nanja land and of 18½ in the case of punja land should be the fair rent to be realised from them. If they pay this fair rent regularly to the Government for twelve years they should be entitled to the ownership of the land.

every stage in respect of inam land, the concerned officials must inform by beat of tomorrow the peasants of the specific village and should decide the issues only after enquiring about the rights of the inam peasants there.

The Council states that it has become an urgent duty of all democratic forces in Tamilnad to press upon the Government the need to accept the above-said amendments in the Land Ceiling Bill, before it is passed into law. The Tamilnad Council of the Communist Party of India appeals to all the democratic forces in all the parties who are all deeply concerned about protecting and advancing the rights of the peasants to take up the mobilisation of the people for the acceptance of these amendments by the Government.

The Communist Party must consider as its top priority task the explanation of the nature of the provisions of this Bill in all the towns and villages of Tamilnad, and mobilise the peasants and the people in support of the amendments urged above. The Council calls upon every branch and every member and sympathiser of the Party in Tamilnad to shoulder this responsibility and by continuous and relentless work build a mighty mass movement of our people in support of these amendments.

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MAY 15, 1960

NEW AGE

Parry Group Sugar Workers Form Federation

TRADE unions in the sugar factories managed by the Parry & Co. in the States of Madras, Andhra and Kerala have formed a Federation for guiding and coordinating the activities of the affiliated unions and to mobilise help and solidarity of all workers in the Parry sugar concerns for workers in any single factory as well as to take up common issues facing all sugar workers for negotiating jointly with the Parry & Co.

The inaugural conference of the Federation was held in Nellikuppam recently and was attended by delegates from the unions in Samalkot, Pugalur, Pettavathal, Nellikuppam and the Pamba River Sugar Factory.

R. Umanath, President of the Cauvery Sugar and Chemicals Ltd. Workers' Union, presided over the conference which adopted the rules and regulations of the Federation.

Immediately affiliating to the Federation were the E.L.D. & S.F. Labour Union, Nellikuppam (Madras), the Pamba River Sugar Factory Workers'

Union, Tiruvalla (Kerala), the D. S. & A. Co. Workers' Union, Samalkot (Andhra), the D. S. & A. Co. Workers' Union, Pugalur, the Cauvery Sugar and Chemicals Ltd. Pataligal Sangham, Pettavathal (Madras) and the Cauvery Sugar and Chemicals Workers' Union, Pettavathal.

Elected as office-bearers of the Federation are: President—R. Umanath (Pettavathal); Vice-Presidents—E. M. George (Tiruvalla) and Narayanamoorthy (Samalkot); General Secretary—C. Govindarajan (Nellikuppam); Joint Secretary—K. S. Somu (Pugalur); Treasurer—Thiruvengadam (Nellikuppam). One Joint Secretary and one member to the Executive are to be nominated by the Pellaravathal Pattaligal Sangham.

A 2,000-strong Nellikuppam sugar workers' demonstration preceded the 5,000-strong rally which was presided over by C. Govindarajan.

Among the various resolutions adopted by the rally was one demanding immediate recognition of the

Federation by the management.

Another resolution expressed concern over the delay in the Sugar Wage Board submitting its report and requested the Government to get this work expedited.

A third resolution greeted the heroic 36-day joint strike action of the unions in the Pettavathal Cauvery Sugar Factory and urged the Madras Labour Minister to implement his assurance by calling a conference of the parties concerned for effecting a settlement on the wage, dearness allowance and bonus demands.

The main resolution of the conference protested against the attitude of the Parry & Co. in denying the upward revision of wage and dearness allowance that is due either in the normal course or by agreement in various factories. The resolution urged the management to negotiate with the unions according to its previous agreements and arrive at a satisfactory settlement of the various demands.

NEW AGE

AGRA Victimisation

THERE is great resentment among Central Government employees in Agra over the termination of the services of Devendra "Chintan", auditor in the Local Audit Office (Air Force).

Chintan, who is the General Secretary of the IAF Civilian Workers' Union, Agra, was called by his officer on April 28 and was given the letter terminating his service with immediate effect under the infamous Clause 5 of the Temporary Service Rules, without showing any cause or levelling any charges against him.

Chintan became the General Secretary of the union after it was recently reorganised and the reformist elements in the leadership were defeated. Ever since, his movements have been restricted and he has not been allowed to move freely in the Air Force camp area.

The present victimisation is also meant to terrorise the Central Government employees who are preparing for their India-wide struggle against the Pay Commission's recommendations and the Government's decision on them. This struggle is to culminate in a general strike of the Central Government employees from June 19 next.

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BLACK AND WHITE

R. PALME DUTT writes on the struggle in South Africa

Your bond is not mere colour of skin but the deeper experience of wage slavery and contempt.
W.E.B. DUBOIS, Message to Accra Conference, December, 1958.

MAY DAY, 1960 dawns at one of the highest moments of the long battle of human liberation. At the Summit Conference the choice of peace or war for the future of the world is approaching the anvil of decision. In South Africa the choice of slavery or freedom is being present with an urgency which is searing the conscience of mankind.

The blood of the martyrs of Sharpeville and Lange, the screams of men, women and children lashed and beaten up and shot indiscriminately in the streets and in their homes, the mass heroism and resistance of African national patriots unarmed in face of their butchers—all these are the signals that herald the approaching downfall of the vile system of 'apartheid' slavery.

A century ago the execution of John Brown, whose soul goes marching on, heralded the legal abolition of slavery in the United States, even though the struggle continues today at new heights in the Southern States to end the heritage of that accursed foundation of colour slavery on which the fortunes of the wealthy in Britain and the United States have been built.

Four decades ago the butchery of 379 Indians at Amritsar heralded the approaching end of British rule in India. Today the speed of events is greater. Africa Year 1960 was the slogan proclaimed already at the beginning of the year. That was before Sharpeville. Now the battle for African freedom, all over the continent, and above all in the key fortress of barbarous servitude and racial terror, in South Africa, visibly in the sight of all occupies the forefront of the international situation.

Their Cause Is Ours

Never before has such universal anger, horror, indignation and protest swept so immediately and swiftly through every country in the world as over the events in South Africa. The truth of fascism and nazism was long concealed and distorted by Governments and official Press in the West until years later after the outbreak of war the White Paper giving the long withheld dispatches about the concentration camps was published as an item of propaganda.

But here is the direct descendant of nazism in action, the open admirers and disciples of Hitlerism also during the war, now constituted as a Government and acting with an indiscriminate violence and terror which even their nazist tutors, today entrenched in their midst might envy.

In vain the see-no-evil (except in Communism) diplomats and ministerial appeasers try to deprecate popular criticism and protest as likely to cause embarrassment

or constitute intervention in a 'domestic' question. They cannot escape their own responsibility in this matter. From the blood and tears of African slaves the rich tide of golden tribute flows today into the Tory mansions of Britain, just as of old the slave trade built their fortunes.

With sure instinct popular feeling throughout the world has recognised that this struggle against racial fascist terror in South Africa is no domestic question, but the common concern of all of us. Mankind cannot endure permanently half-slave and half-free.

What Is 'Apartheid'

How is it possible that the horrors of the slavery regime in South Africa (and Southern Rhodesia) could have been so long held hidden from wider general consciousness, beyond progressive and democratic circles (but with extending protest among these, as shown in the widening support for the international boycott campaign since its inception in the summer of last year and extension to the Labour Party this year) until the explosion of Sharpeville blew up the conspiracy of silence and brought the monster into the centre of the international arena?

One of the reasons is the customary deception of language always used by modern exploiting classes to cover a very different content. Just as the 'mixed economy' is used to describe modern monopoly capitalism, 'integration' to describe colonialism in Algeria, or 'multi-racialism' to describe the refusal of universal suffrage democracy in British settler-dominated colonies in Eastern and Central Africa, so 'apartheid' has been coined in the jargon of South African exploiter politics to describe the most elaborate apparatus for the subjection and servitude of the majority of the population yet devised in any State (an even more complex and complete subjection and servitude than fascism).

Myth And Reality

'Apartheid' might be imagined by the innocent outsider to mean, and in the bland explanation offered by South African politicians for foreign consumption is described as if it meant, that the two so-called 'races', European and African (or 'Ban'tu' in the deliberately illiterate terminology adopted by them to designate the various African peoples, with long and proud histories, concerned), as well as the 'Coloured' and 'Asian', are so different in language, tradition and culture that in their mutual interest they should best develop separately without contact.

If the logic of this argument were to be followed literally, it would evidently point to the practical conclusion that there should be

'European Reserves' for the European minority, on an area of territory proportionate to their minority numbers, in order that they should be able to live according to their supposed wishes separately from the African majority. But heaven help the simple-minded Candidate who might expect to find this accurate fulfilment of the alleged doctrine.

The exactly contrary reality was comically illustrated (in midst of the tragedy) when the Day of Mourning on March 28 and the general strike of African labour brought the South African economy to standstill, and the bitter complaint went up that the European ladies were having to wash up their own dishes. That the white folk should wash up their own crockery and the Africans theirs might have seemed an ideal fulfilment of 'apartheid'. On the contrary, it was regarded as a gross violation of the principle.

Structure Of Slavery

The essential purpose of allocating the African three-quarters majority of the population to 'reserves' on less than one-eighth of the territory of their own country, while declaring the rest of the country 'European' territory, is not in order that the African majority should live separately on these reserves, but that they should not be able to live on them.

The nominal confinement of the eleven million Africans to twelve per cent of the territory, on which it is physically impossible for them to maintain life, is only a hypocritical device ('apartheid') to ensure that the greatest part of their able-bodied manpower shall be compelled to seek employment in the European 88 per cent as 'alien' wage-workers without rights in their own country, cut off from their wives and families, forbidden by law to acquire skills (reserved for European workers), and in practice pass-law serfs, either on the farms (two-and-a-half millions) or in the mines and factories (half a million) or as servants in the house-

holds of the European masters.

On this elementary basis of expropriation, deprivation of rights and subjection, the vast apparatus of pass laws and kindred legislation is erected, with savage penalties for every breach (three-quarters of a million sentenced annually for breaches of the pass laws) and serving to provide European farmers with convict labour in privately-owned and run convict jails on the European farms. Such is the modern structure of slavery in A.D. 1960, elaborated with all the ingenious cruelty of a Malan a Strijdom and a Verwoerd, compared with which the world of Simon Legree was an idyll.

Freedom Struggle

Against this vicious system of enslavement the freedom struggle of the African people has moved forward on a new and extended basis since the adoption of the Freedom Charter by the Congress Alliance on June 26, 1956. This Charter was adopted by the unity of the African National Congress (the major representative organisation of the African people), the Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress and the Congress of Democrats (composed largely of progressive Europeans).

The Congress Alliance thus represents the unity of the progressive democratic representatives of all four sections of the population, which 'apartheid' seeks to divide, with the African National Congress as the decisive force.

The Government replied to the Freedom Charter with the mass Treason Trial under the 'Suppression of Communism' Act. The Treason Trial was open in 1956, and formally still continues, although the majority, if not all, of those charged have since been arrested or detained under the present Emergency.

In December, 1958, the decision was reached at the Accra All-African People's Conference, on the proposal of the African National Congress, to call for

an international boycott of South African goods. The boycott was launched on June 26, 1959, the third anniversary of the Freedom Charter.

It was widely taken up, including by the Government of Jamaica, and by trade union, cooperative and progressive organisations in many countries. In Britain the Boycott Movement was initiated in the second half of 1959 by the cooperation of the Committee of African Organisations and the Movement for Colonial Freedom. By the beginning of 1960 support was so strong that the Labour Party and Trades Union Congress, as also the progressive religious organisation, Christian Action, together with the Liberal and Communist Parties and progressive Conservatives like Lord Altrincham, officially joined the Boycott Movement and called for a boycott during the month of March. Hundreds of local Boycott Committees were formed all over the country, expressing the unity of all sections of the working class and democratic movement in support of this common aim.

From Capetown To Sharpeville

Originally the official support of the Labour Party and TUC for the boycott was intended to be confined to the month of March. But the events of Sharpeville made it abundantly clear that it would have to be extended beyond. It is understood that the proposal has been put forward for the Boycott Committee to become an Anti-Apartheid Committee, to continue the campaign until the evil system of 'apartheid' is ended.

Macmillan's Tour

It was in this situation that only of the universal freedom upsurge throughout the African continent, but also of sharpening international democratic concern over the crisis in Africa and the beginnings of solidarity action that Premier Macmillan made his tour of British colonies and Commonwealth territories in Africa during the first six weeks of 1960, culminating in his Capetown speech on February 3.

In face of the advance of African national revolt British imperialism has sought to adapt its 'Asian' model, and to develop a perspective for the 'constitutional' advance of a series of selected African former colonial territories to the status of independent States under Governments still with close connections with the old imperialist State apparatus and likely to protect imperialist economic assets and exploitation.

It was with this perspective in view of partial adaptation to the African national struggle, while seeking at the same time to maintain the interests of the European colonial exploiting monopolies and settlers, that Macmillan exercised all his diplomatic adroitness in conducting his tour of British colonial territories in Africa, as well as visiting the smouldering danger zones of the Central African Federation and South Africa.

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Campaign Against Passes

In South Africa by the beginning of this year the campaign was carried forward to the preparations for the next planned objective of non-violent mass refusal to carry the passes of slavery. This stage had been planned by the African National Congress to open on April 1.

The campaign was, however, precipitated the fortnight earlier through the action of a smaller section which had broken away on grounds of tactical differences from the Congress to found the 'Pan-Africanist Congress'.

The tactical differences do not concern us here, since they belong to the internal problems of the movement in South Africa; the common immediate objective of all sections is the abolition of the pass laws; and Government repression has fallen on both organisations.

So far as can be seen from here, the tactical differences turned on objection to the Congress Alliance conception of cooperation of African with non-African progressive democratic organisations willing to fight apartheid, criticism of the African National Congress as 'Communist-inspired', and the trend to see the conflict in purely racial terms (black versus white, irrespective of political outlook).

The main base of the PAC was in Sharpeville and Langa; and it was here that the Government's ruthless firing on peaceful demonstrations of unarmed Africans and killing of scores of men, women and children opened the present major crisis and aroused the horror of the world.

The Sharpeville massacre was not the end, but the beginning of a major conflict for African freedom, which has already borne many of the characteristic

features of a revolutionary situation—when the ruling regime of oppression finds itself increasingly unable to maintain its rule in the old way and the masses refuse to be governed in the old way.

The sequence of events is here important. The Sharpeville massacre on March 21 was in effect the 'Bloody Sunday'; not just the repetition of the prototype of an Amritsar, which temporarily terrorised the movement in the Punjab, but leading, like Bloody Sunday, to a still higher level of struggle. The masses were not intimidated, but thronged in thousands to the police 'stations to court arrest for failure to carry passes, until by March 25 the police authorities admitted that it was impossible to arrest them all because there was 'no room' in the prisons. (Capetown police chief, March 25).

The Sixteen Days

Thus developed the Sixteen Days, from March 21 to April 6, during which the height of the mass movement paralysed authorities from being able to enforce the operation of the pass laws. On March 26, the police authorities announced temporary suspension of arrests for failure to carry passes. This enforced concession was not a change of policy. It was accompanied by the announcement that enforcement of the pass laws would be resumed as soon as diminution of the 'tension' made it possible, and that new repressive legislation would be immediately introduced against African organisations and leaders.

This resumption of enforcement was officially announced on April 6, as soon as the new terror had been imposed with the proclamation of the Emergency, banning of the African organisations and wholesale arrests. Thus the enforced temporary concession only revealed the crack in the power of the regime, and so far from appeasing the popular movement, raised it higher.

The African freedom move-

ment replied with the call for a Day of Mourning on March 28, a mass general strike and burning of passes to demonstrate the demand for the ending forever of the pass system in place of the temporary suspension of its operation. The general strike had full support (at least 80 per cent according to the London Times, 95 per cent according to the American magazine Time), together with a hartal of Indian shopkeepers.

South African economy was thus brought to a standstill on March 28. South African shares slumped. By April 8, they were reported to have fallen by £125 millions. The potential strength of the Africans on the basis of the South African economy was demonstrated.

The Government replied with new terror legislation, introduced on March 29, to ban the ANC, PAC, and all African or other progressive organisations with ferocious penalties of five years prison, ten strokes of the lash and fines up to £500. Nevertheless, the movement continued with more demonstrations, strikes and burning of passes.

On March 30, the Government proclaimed an emergency, and arrested 234 leaders of all the African organisations and also progressive European spokesmen in the Liberal Party or Congress of Democrats. This was followed by widespread further arrests, with censorship forbidding the publication of the facts or names of those arrested.

The African liberation movement replied with gigantic mass marches for the release of their leaders, notably the march of 30,000 to Capetown. The Government called out Army and Navy units to surround African townships and mobilised the Territorials or European Volunteer Reserve. Orders to shoot to kill were given, and indiscriminate violence employed to prevent further marches and terrorise the Africans back to work.

By April 6, renewal of enforcement of the pass laws was announced. Meanwhile, the United Nations Security Council on April 1 by a vote of 9 to 0 (Britain and France abstaining) had carried the resolution 'deploring the actions of the South African Government and calling on it to abandon its policies of apartheid and racial discrimination.'

Sitting On Bayonet

'You can do everything with bayonet's except sit on them.' Napoleon's dictum was wasted on Verwoerd, Erasmus and Swart. These gentlemen believe rather in the literal truth of Carlyle's dictum, 'God has put into every white man's hand a whip to flog the black.' The preliminary trial of strength during these days of crisis has revealed a series of distinctive features of the character of the struggle in South Africa.

The FIRST has been the

Government's reliance absolutely and in effect exclusively on armed violence, repression, bans, arrests and terrorism as its sole weapon against the unarmed movement of the African majority. Up to the time of writing there has so far been absolute rejection of any approach, customary in such conditions of crisis, towards negotiation, partial reforms or concessions, or attempts to separate and win over so-called 'moderate' leaders in order to demobilise an overwhelming majority mass movement.

It is true that, since the armed forces (though not the police) in South Africa are exclusively European and racial in character, no question could arise of reflection of the mass movement within the armed forces. On the other hand, the weakness of reliance solely on armed force, without any social basis within the oppressed majority, has become increasingly manifest; and the impermanence of any 'settlement' on this basis has been warningly noted by outside observers of every political colour.

Hence the manifest anxiety of fellow imperialists over this glaring disregard of the necessary technique of modern imperialism in face of the strength of the national liberation movement in the world today.

Working Class And Liberation

The SECOND distinctive feature of the African national liberation movement in the conditions of South Africa arises from the fact that the South African economy is based on African employed labour under virtual slave conditions. In all the other colonial territories the main body of the population, and the main basis of the national movement, is the peasantry exploited by imperialism (only Kenya and Southern Rhodesia represent partial exceptions, more comparable to South Africa).

In South Africa, through the operation of the system of 'apartheid' servitude already described, the mass movement is overwhelmingly a movement of enslaved wage workers, denied the most elementary rights of organisation and held down by violence. The development of the national bourgeoisie or petty bourgeoisie (small traders, or intelligentsia educated in Christian missions or abroad) is very minute; the small traders are mostly Indians. There is no upper skilled section, since the Africans are debarred by law from skilled jobs and rates, which are the prerogative of European workers receiving twenty times an African wage.

These conditions make organisation difficult, but the potential strength very great, once unity is achieved. This was shown by the united action of March 28, which brought the entire South African economy to a standstill, leaving the rulers no immediate answer save armed violence and wholesale repression.

* SEE OVERLEAF



ANTI-PASS DEMONSTRATION ON THE CITY HALL STEPS IN JOHANNESBURG.

S. AFRICA: ONLY THE BEGINNING OF NEW CONFLICTS

sale arrests and terrorist intimidation. The THIRD distinctive feature signalled by the events in South Africa has been the speed and extent of the international repercussions, not only within the working class and democratic movement in all countries, but also within the imperialist camp and among their Governments.

International Repercussions

The storm aroused on an international scale by the events in South Africa has been more intensive and widespread than in almost any previous national struggle, including Algeria, and more comparable to that aroused by the Suez War. Alongside the universal popular support and solidarity, the reasons for special concern also among the ruling class of other countries in the imperialist camp, as revealed in the vote in the United Nations Security Council, are manifest. At a time when the im-

perialists are endeavouring to counter the national revolt in the majority of their African colonial territories by a policy of concessions, by proclaiming a new and enlightened outlook and professing to repudiate the racial denomination, the open and unceasing violence of the South African Government is an embarrassment to the other imperialists and even seen as a grave danger holding out the possibility of the loss of all Africa.

Hence the complaints of the South African governmental spokesmen and racist Press that British imperialism is sacrificing them to the interests of its wider African policy. The equivocal position of the British Conservative Government was demonstrated in the United Nations, where previously Britain, France and fascist Portugal had been the three States daring to vote against a resolution condemning apartheid, and where now the British and French Governments judged it more prudent to

abstain—and brought shame upon themselves by their abstention.

On the other hand, it would be a dangerous illusion to regard the South African situation as a peculiar and anomalous 'internal question' of the South African ruling class (as the spokesmen of the Macmillan Government seek to pretend) separate from the interests and policy of international imperialism, Anglo-American imperialism, and especially British imperialism, has a powerful and dominant interest in the South African economy.

Dilemma Of The Imperialists

Total overseas capital in South Africa at the end of 1959 was estimated at £1,580 million, with Britain holding 'more than half' the total (£865.6 million already in the census return of 1958) and the United States \$250 million (Financial Times, March 31, 1960). Over fifteen hundred million golden (or

diamond) reasons for extreme 'delicacy' in taking care not to offend the South African Government or do anything to upset the precarious balance of lucrative exploitation.

From this arises the peculiar dilemma of the imperialists in relation to the present situation in South Africa. Gigantic fortunes have been made, and continue to be made, and vast incomes drawn by the wealthiest families in Britain including ministerial families; from the slavery system of 'apartheid'. From the end of the nineteenth century and the Edwardian era 'Kaffirs' have played and continue to play a leading role on the London Stock Exchange.

Hence the extreme nervousness when the reckless, bull-in-a-rage policy of the Verwoerd Government threatens to wreck the whole structure of African exploitation. But hence also the extreme hesitation to offend or get on the wrong foot with the Verwoerd Government so long as it remains the main physical bulwark of British imperialist interests and profits in South Africa.

On the one hand, the South African Federation of Industries, mainly British, calls for immediate negotiations by the Government with 'moderate' influential African leaders' and the replacement of the existing system of pass laws by a new reformed system of identity cards for all and limited control of movement of Africans.

On the other hand, the United Party, the political organ of British interests, and constituting the 'Opposition' for the past ten years, has no alternative policy to apartheid, and has supported the Verwoerd Government in all its actions in the present crisis and voted for all the new terror laws. No wonder Macmillan's Ministers can only mumble incoherently, when bombarded with awkward questions in Parliament.

May Day Demonstrations

This May Day witnessed a new sentiment among the workers of Saharanpur who took out a huge procession calling for implementation of the Wage Board reports. Naturally textile workers dominated the scene.

Even at Modinagar, which has been turned into a living hell for the workers, they have started responding to the appeal of the AITUC. In a single day, on the last payday, 250 copies of the pamphlet covering Dange's article on the Textile Wage Board recommendations were sold.

U. P. textile bosses, left to themselves, cannot withstand the unity of the workers now preparing to move into action. The question of all questions is: will the U. P. Government give up its discredited policies against labour? Will it take up the challenge of the employers who are minting millions? Will it stand by the workers?

Towards What Goal?

We are still only at the beginning of the deeper conflict which has now opened in South Africa, and which, together with the Algerian war of independence in the North, has today come into the front line of the battle of liberation of the whole African continent.

It would be premature at this stage to judge the immediate next phase of this still developing and explosive situation. The Verwoerd Government has for the moment re-established and reinforced its physical domination, but at heavy cost and with obvious and permanent insecurity. The sensitive barometer of the money market and the Stock Exchange has revealed the lack of confidence in the future.

It may be assumed that British policy, in contact with associated interests in South Africa, will endeavour to manoeuvre for a less dangerously

rigid strategy. Influential British interests, reflected by such leading press organs as The Times, would evidently wish to see a replacement of the Verwoerd Government by an alternative or Coalition (British and Afrikaner) Government which could show a 'new face' and make some concessions, whether of release of mass leaders or recognition of limited rights of organisation (the model represented by the release of Dr. Banda in Nyasaland, or drawing in of a few representative African leaders to junior ministerial positions in Kenya).

But in the conditions of South Africa, with the elaborate apparatus of absolute racial suppression, the unity of the two main parties in upholding it, and the absence of any previous development of a privileged or compromising leading stratum in the African population, such methods of manoeuvre and partial concession are less easy to fulfil. The united demand of the entire African population of South Africa is maintained for the abolition of the pass laws and apartheid, and is strengthened by universal international support.

Unity For Freedom

That is why the strongest possible international solidarity and practical support in unity with the struggle of the African population and all democrats in South Africa is now of such paramount importance. The Emergency Committee of the suppressed African National Congress has issued its call on April 4. In order to resolve 'the present grave crisis' which is sweeping the country, the Congress has put forward the following urgent propositions:

- 1) The State of Emergency must be ended, our leaders must be released, freedom of speech and organisation established.
- 2) Pass laws must be abolished.
- 3) Wages must be raised to a minimum of at least £1 a day.
- 4) A new National Convention representing all the people on a fully democratic basis must be called to lay the foundations of a new Union, a non-racial democracy belonging to all South Africans and in line with the United Nations Charter and the views of all enlightened people everywhere in the world.

These aims deserve and require international support with the united strength of the peoples of the world to hasten their fulfilment.

During the past decade-and-a-half the victory of national liberation has swept forward over the greater part of Asia and the Middle East. Now the battle goes forward in Latin America, and above all in the final reserve and bastion of imperialism and colonialism, in Africa, to which that victory of freedom which shall end for ever the shame of discrimination and servitude on the basis of race or colour, and thereby open the gates to the advance of united humanity.

—Notes of the Month" in LABOUR MONTHLY of May.

April 12

MAY 15, 1960

The Study Group appointed by the Government of Kerala is reported to have recommended the setting up of new industries with an estimated outlay of Rs. 84 crores during the Third Plan in the public sector.

THOUGH out of the total Central outlay on the public sector, the proportionate amount Kerala can demand on the basis of population is only Rs. 55 crores, considering the fact that in the First and Second Plans Kerala had been ignored and not given her legitimate share, the feeling in the State is that the demand for an additional Rs. 29 crores is entirely justified.

The Study Group has also recommended that the State should be allowed by the Centre and the Planning Commission to invest in industries in the private sector and also to start its own industries in the public sector—at the moment a privilege of the Centre.

Study Group Proposals

Among the new industries recommended by the Study Group to be set up during the Third Plan are:

- A plant to manufacture marine diesel engines. It is already known that the Government of India desires to set up such a plant with the help of Italy or West Germany. The Government of India has not decided on any place yet and such a plant will not be very useful if we have only the Vizag shipyard. But if the second shipyard is to be built in Cochin, our country will need this plant and the best place to locate it will be Cochin. Outlay on the plant will be Rs. 7.25 crores and it will give employment to 600 persons.

• Heavy Electrical Project. There is already one such project in Bhopal and India needs another one for which the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia have offered help. Government of India's plan is to set up such a project with Czech help between Pooma and Nasik. Kerala's demand is that this Rs. 25-crore project should be located in Kerala.

• Heavy Machine-Tool factory, also to be started with help from Czechoslovakia.

• Heavy Structural and Fabricated Works with an outlay of Rs. 4½ crores.

• Heavy Plates Metal Works. This Rs. six-crore scheme which can easily be set up in Kerala will provide employment to about 800 persons. It is known that Great Britain is prepared to help with this scheme.

• Machine - Tool Factory. India needs at least one or two more such factories apart from the one already functioning in Bangalore.

• Phosphorous Plant. Kerala has the necessary raw material for such a project and an expert team appointed by the Government of India had recommended Always for setting it up. An outlay of Rs. five crores is necessary for a plant which can produce fifty tons of phosphorous daily.

• Automobile Plant, more than one of which, is to be set up during the Third Plan.

The Study Group has, of course, recommended the building of the second shipyard in Cochin during the Third Plan itself.

A number of policy issues regarding the State's industrial development were also reported to have been discussed by the Working Group for Industries appointed by the State Planning Advisory Board when it met last month.

Discussions in the Group are said to have been mainly on problems of power development, questions of large and medium industry, the administration of public sector industries and problems of small-scale industries.

About power development in Kerala what has to be remembered is that, despite the well-known abundance of potential power in Kerala (the best-placed in this respect in the whole country), the actual power

production at the moment is inadequate for the industries that are now coming up, and are bound to come up during the Third Five-Year Plan.

The power that is now being generated in the State will not be adequate for the expansion of the FACT, for the new rubber, rayon and other industries, all of which will require more power than can be supplied in the next two or three years.

The result is that, for 1960-63, Kerala may have to get power from Madras. The FACT is even forced to think in terms of setting up its own thermal power plant with a capacity of 30,000 k.w.

Despite this actual power shortage, the Planning Commission is putting obstacles in the way of power development. Kerala engineers have produced blue-prints for the development of the Pampa, Idikki and other projects, but the Planning Commission has not given permission for the full exploitation of the power potential from Pampa.

This obstruction, it is said, is the result of the pressure put by Madras in favour of diversion of Kerala waters from the State to Madras. There is no case for such diversion either legally or otherwise, since these are not inter-State rivers, but purely Kerala rivers, and all the waters of these rivers are required for irrigation as well as for power in the State.

The Working Group is reported to have recommended

KERALA ASKS FOR AMENDS FOR PAST NEGLECT

that the State Planning Advisory Board and the Government should fight Kerala's case with the Planning Commission.

Demand Justified

With regard to industries to be set up in the Central sector, the unanimous demand was that not only the second ship-building yard be located in Cochin and work on it started during the Third Five-Year Plan, but certain other important industries also should be set up in Kerala. As reported in the beginning of these industries would cover an outlay of Rs. 84 crores—an order of investment in the Central Sector in Kerala justifiable on two grounds:

- On a division of the total allocation for the country as a whole for the Central

private entrepreneur and which do not come within the purview of the public sector industries as defined by the Government of India, no new units will come into being in Kerala.

This policy, therefore, has to be modified and the State Government permitted to undertake new industries in the public sector if private entrepreneurs do not come forward and start industries in lines which are suited to the conditions of Kerala.

Another policy directive of the Government of India from which Kerala has to get exemption is opposition to share participation by the State Government in private industries.

This, too, would prevent the starting of industries in

has to be one of active participation by the State Government in fostering the growth of industries in the State in such ways and forms as are feasible in particular cases.

The discussion of administration of public sector industries is reported to have centred round the question of enhancing the efficiency of the management of these industries.

Problems of the coir and handloom industries dominated the discussion on small-scale industries. Questions of rural electrification and of industrial estates are also said to have come up during these discussions.

Uniform Development

A danger which seems to have received the attention of the Working Group is the tendency to locate all the new industries in places like the Ernakulam-Alwaye belt or the Kottayam-Thiruvalla-Qulion belt which are relatively advanced industrially within the State. What has been happening in the country as a whole—some States getting all the industries while others remain neglected and backward—is happening on a smaller scale within Kerala. State and particular attention needs to be paid to see that there is as much dispersal of industries as possible.

In other words, the policy

THIRD PLAN DEMANDS IN INDUSTRIAL SECTOR

Sector Industries (over Rs. 1,300 crores) on a population basis, Kerala is entitled to about Rs. 55 crores.

• Kerala was woefully neglected in this respect at the time when the First and Second Five-Year Plans were drawn up and it will only be doing justice to Kerala if amends were made in this form during the Third Plan.

Kerala has so far had to share all the difficulties created by the big Plans which led to deficit financing, inflation, increase in the prices of consumer goods, etc., without any corresponding advantages.

With regard to non-Central sector large and medium industries, too, the Working Group is reported to have drawn up a list for inclusion in the Third Five-Year Plan. The total investment for this will come to between Rs. 30 and 35 crores.

Policy Changes Necessary

But for real industrialisation to take place in the State, the State Government has to follow an active policy of fostering industries.

The Government of India's policy directive that there should be no public sector industries owned by State Governments (all the public sector industries being under the Central Government) will mean that, in the case of those industries which are not likely to be set up by the

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Kanpur Textile Bosses Adamant

* FROM PAGE 6

tion to the Wage Board recommendations is that he wants full "freedom" to extend rationalisation in Kanpur on outmoded machines without any restrictions and does not want to pay a pie more than what is being paid to the worker today.

Disowning acceptance of and agreement to the wage increase by the employers' representatives on the Wage Board, Singhania cites Minister for Industry Lal Bahadur Shastri for his anti-worker stand.

The main argument of the U.P. employers is that the U.P. industry "suffers from special disadvantages and handicaps" and, therefore, the wage-increase will put unbearable burdens on the industry.

No Additional Burden

The additional burden that the U. P. mills may have to bear as a result of the implementation of the Wage Board recommendations will not be more than Rs. 45 lakhs. This so-called "burden" has been more than compensated by their consistent refusal to pay bonus to the Kanpur workers, which alone according to even moderate calculations amount to not less than Rs. 34 lakhs yearly. The bonus in Kanpur has not been paid to

over 70 per cent of the workers for the last six years.

This is not all the saving. The employers of Kanpur, starting from 1948, have succeeded in the last eleven years in enforcing schemes of intensification and increase of work-loads covering about 40 per cent of the workers of the textile mills. The so-called schemes of rationalisation of the Kanpur millowners are nothing but a naked attempt at enhancing the rate of exploitation per worker and ensuring higher rates of profits.

A study of employment and production figures of Kanpur along with those of the whole country reveals that whereas in 1957 the index of productivity per worker worked out at 123.1 on an all-India basis that of Kanpur was 160.00.

Even a sixty per cent increase in productivity since 1949 does not satisfy the desire of the Kanpur textile bosses of the Kanpur textile industry. They still desire their pound of flesh and refuse even to listen to the persuasions of a Government that all through has stood by them and has at their behest done everything possible to divide and suppress the textile workers and their trade unions. The eighty-six-day long historic Kanpur general strike against imposition of pseudo-rationalisation schemes is still fresh in the memory of all and the way it was sought to be suppressed by the Government is not easily forgotten.

The stirrings of a new awakening to take up the

NEW AGE

PAGE TEN

SOVIET PLAN TO ABOLISH INCOME-TAX

STARTING from October 1 this year and ending in 1965, taxes on wages and salaries will be abolished in the Soviet Union by stages.

This process will start with abolishing the taxes on the relatively lower paid factory and office workers and then go on "gradually to lifting taxes on all working people.

The Bill which has been prepared by the Soviet Council of Ministers provides for the abolition of income-tax on factory and office workers whose monthly wage rates or salaries do not exceed 2,000 roubles, wholly or partially at the State's expense. This will mean that 99.4 per cent of the factory and office workers will have their take-home pay raised by all or part of the sum of the tax they pay.

The factory and office workers with monthly rates or salaries exceeding 2,000 roubles will have their income-tax abolished with these rates or salaries reduced by the total sum of the income-tax deducted from them. This way, this category of factory and office workers will have their take-home pay preserved intact.

After this abolition of income-tax, the cash wages of 59.4 million people will increase by the whole sum of the earlier paid tax, the wages of several million people will increase on the average by approximately half of the paid tax and only the wages of an insignificant number of workers will remain unchanged.

Simultaneously, the Soviet Union plans to abolish completely at the expense of the State, the tax on bachelors, single citizens and those with

small families, regardless of the size of their wages.

This complete abolition of taxes will raise the incomes of factory and office workers by 1965 by approximately 74,000 million roubles a year.

Announcing these details in his report to the Fifth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on its inaugural day on May 5, Chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers N. S. Khrushchov said: "Together with the abolition of taxes, measures to raise the minimal size of wages are being taken in accordance with the decisions of the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

Khrushchov stressed that the abolition of taxation was aimed at narrowing the gap in the earnings of factory and office workers in the low and high income categories.

The Soviet Prime Minister described as "correct and just" the way of narrowing the gap in remuneration by bringing the factory and office workers in the low income brackets up to the medium and those in the medium up to the higher income brackets.

The 21st Congress of the Soviet Communist Party had pointed out that "accumulations of Socialist enterprises will steadily grow in size as the Seven-Year Plan is being fulfilled" and, in the final analysis, they will become the only source of ensuring extended Socialist reproduction and the further rise of the living standards of the people.

In these conditions, said Khrushchov, it will not be necessary to levy taxes on the population and he stressed that "the complete abolition of taxes on wages and salaries of factory and office

workers and other measures aimed at raising the living standards of the Soviet people will be of tremendous political and economic importance."

Realisation of this ancient dream of the working people is impossible in conditions of capitalism, said Khrushchov. Boundless growth of taxation on the population is a characteristic feature of capitalism at all stages of its development. The rise in taxes has been especially great in the era of imperialism in view of the tremendous growth of the military expenditures and the burgeoning of the State machine.

Growth of taxes and reduction of the working people's incomes are laws of the development of capitalist society. Khrushchov quoted official statistics to show that taxes on the population accounted for the bulk of the revenues in the capitalist States today.

In 1958-59, taxes (without the income-tax on corporations) accounted for the following proportion of the total sum of State revenues: USA—70 per cent, Britain—75, France—73, Italy—83 and West Germany—77.

Describing 1959 as "a year of remarkable achievements in the development of productive forces, in the creation of the material-technical basis of Communism," Khrushchov said there was every reason to expect that in 1960 the rates of growth would not be lower but might be higher than those achieved in 1959. The preliminary results of the first four months show that the programme for the record years of the Seven-Year Plan is being fulfilled successfully.

"The achievements of the Soviet people in the development of Socialist industry and agriculture, Soviet science and



N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

technology," the Soviet Prime Minister declared, "show that we shall triumph in the peaceful competition with the United States of America, that Socialism will win."

Khrushchov said that the practical possibilities for the steady national and cultural advancement of the Soviet people were ensured by the fast pace of the growth of the national income in the USSR—in 1959 it increased 89 per cent compared with 1953 and almost 25-fold compared with 1913. National income per head of the population in 1959 increased 60 per cent compared with 1953

and 16-fold compared with 1913.

About three quarters of the national income in the USSR goes to satisfy the personal material and cultural requirements of the population, while the remainder goes for the expansion of Socialist production and other social requirements.

As a result of the steady increase in the national income, the real wages of factory and office workers in the USSR in 1959 were double the figure for 1940. Between 1953 and 1959, real incomes of factory and office workers in the USSR went up 45 per cent, those of peasants by 64 per cent.

By April 1, 1960 about 15 million persons were already working a shorter seven and six-hour working day. This change-over will be complete in 1960 and in 1964, a start will be made in gradually transferring factory and office workers to six and five-hour working day. Thus the shortest working day in the world will be an outstanding social gain of the Soviet working people.

Wages are not the end of the benefits the Socialist society offers. Increasing public funds supply the population with well-appointed low-rent housing facilities, facilities for rest and recreation, free medical service, child welfare institutions, educational establishments and sports facilities.

"Along with the further growth of social consumption funds," stressed Khrushchov, "the spirit of collectivism will increasingly assert itself in life, in labour, in human relations, parallel with the ability to take advantage in a rational way of the ever-increasing benefits of Communism. Communism is demonstrating before the world its lofty humanistic principles whose underlying foundation is concern for human happiness."

I can also understand New Zealand and Australia saying that nothing more than strong expression of their sentiments to the South African Foreign Minister was necessary.

But what has happened to the Asian-African statesmen? Why are they watching all this without a protest—and bringing shame to their own countries and peoples who will ever feel guilty before the heroic Africans who are fighting the front-line battle of freedom?

SCRAP-BOOK

MOLLY-CODDLING OF ERIC LOUW

FI look at it, I find it difficult to understand why the Asian and African Prime Ministers in London do not kick Mr. Eric Louw out of the Commonwealth meet or if for some reason that is not possible, why they are themselves not walking out.

Our own Prime Minister had said in London that apartheid and racial discrimination "might well shake the very foundation of the Commonwealth."

Eric Louw, however, maintained there was no reason for a change in the South African Government's policy of apartheid.

I strained my ears to hear the crashing of the mighty Commonwealth edifice. In vain. The last I heard about it was that Commonwealth statesmen were still having informal discussions with the South African racist.

Naturally Mr. Louw at the moment thinks that it is the tail that wags the dog.

How else did he dare to hold a Press Conference in London from which he kept out all African and coloured Pressmen, including Indian?

And not all "white" Pressmen either could get in. When the Correspondent of the Daily Worker, London, asked the man in charge of South Africa House why he was not being allowed into the Press Conference, the man went red in the face, called an attendant—and ordered, "SHOW this gentleman out. He cannot come in."

What else but the soft handling he has received so far gave the courage to Mr. Louw to get up before a London audience and growl: South Africa's relations with Britain might be seriously disturbed if the anti-South Africa campaign was permitted to continue unchecked.

Only Malaya's Tengku Abdul Rahman raised the colour bar question at the first Plenary Session of the Conference and demanded that it be inscribed on the agenda.

Louw, with Macmillan's able assistance, managed to keep it out of the agenda. The convention that the internal affairs of member countries should not be discussed by the Commonwealth came handy. The via media agreed upon was informal discussions with the South African Foreign Minister.

I can understand Britain being unwilling to rub the South African racists the wrong way. Who then will protect the huge British investments in the South African gold and diamond mines?

I can also understand

ELEMENTARY, MR. MASANI

MINO Masani has a question to ask. In reply to his letter in the Times of India of April 20, many correspondents had written in the "Readers' Views" column of that paper. But Masani wants to know why no single correspondent had sought to justify the characterisation of Pajaji as a "back number."

They perhaps didn't try to do it because it was so obvious, because they must have thought that Mr. Masani at least knew himself.

The General Secretary of the Congress Socialist Party, who reconsidered Socialism to become an employee of the Tata and later got into Parliament by the grace of the Bharat Party's hold on the backward Adivasi masses, when a gentleman of this brand supports a cause or a personality, that particular cause cannot be anything but "outdated" and the personality anything but a "back number." Elementary, Mr. Masani, isn't it?

(CONTRIBUTED)

May 11, 1960.

ROYAL WEDDING

SO, at last, the dear Princess has got married. The world has heaved a sigh of relief—no more will we be fed with those newspaper paragraphs about the eligible young men with whom Princess Margaret dines and dances.

We were thrilled to hear that it was "one of the century's most spectacular weddings," the "most colourful pageant since the coronation." We almost wept with joy when we read, "She was a laughing bride—laughing with sheer happiness."

We were also happy—because we were not sure till the wedding was over whether somebody or other would not again interfere in the affairs of Princess Margaret's heart.

Last time she fell in love with a man, she was told she couldn't marry him because Group-Captain Townsend was a divorcee. She had to go out again and get hold of Mr. Armstrong-Jones.

I was afraid another of those pedigree-mongers might pop up and say since Mr. Armstrong-Jones was the son of divorced parents, the Princess should start yet another round of search for a husband. Thank God, she has been spared that fate. As it was, there was the danger of her becoming an old maid by the time she satisfied all and sundry about the qualifications of her husband.

I was getting ready to congratulate the Princess for breaking traditions and marrying a Commoner—last time it happened was 457 years ago. But there was one problem. I would have then had to reproach the Commoner for getting entangled with royalty in this fashion.

All the bother was, however, saved when an enterprising researcher found out that there was a streak of blue in Armstrong-Jones's blood, that he had been descended from King Edward I. My only regret is that the researcher didn't go a lot higher up on the ancestral tree—he could have found on its branches the common ancestors of both the commoners and the royalty.

I repeat once again, this is very dangerous, let alone

May 11, 1960.

NEW SOVIET PRESIDENT

LEONID Ilyich Brezhnev, the new President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, was born in 1903 into the family of a Ukrainian steel worker. In 1921, he started his working career.

Between 1927 and 1930, L. I. Brezhnev worked in the Urals.

In 1931, he entered the Dniepropetrovsk Metallurgical Institute and after graduation worked as an engineer at a steel plant.

In 1939, L. I. Brezhnev was elected Secretary of the Dniepropetrovsk Regional Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and worked in this capacity right up to the beginning of the Great Patriotic War.

In wartime, L. I. Brezhnev was with the active army directing political work.

In 1946 he was elected the First Secretary of the Zaporozhye Regional Party Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine.

In November 1947, he

was elected the First Secretary of the Dniepropetrovsk Regional Party Committee and in July 1953 the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia.

The 19th CPSU Congress elected L. I. Brezhnev a member of the Central Committee of the CPSU. A plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU elected him an alternate member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

From February 1954 to March 1956 he worked as the Second and the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan.

At the 20th CPSU Congress L. I. Brezhnev was elected a member of the Central Committee and alternate member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU; since June 1957 he is a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

In November 1947, he

U.S. Concern Over Turkey

* FROM BACK PAGE

here (in Washington) with serious concern."

AFP reported it would be much deplored in Washington if the forthcoming meeting of the Nato ministerial council was to take place against

a background of demonstrations against the Menderes Government which was "considered in Washington as one of America's staunchest allies."

Initial advice to the Menderes Government was to take stronger measures of repression. "The key to the immediate future undoubtedly lies in Turkey's... splendid army" wrote the New York Times on April 30 advocating that the army should continue to serve as an instrument to suppress the students' demonstrations.

But Turkey is not an isolated phenomena. South Korea, South Vietnam... the fire is spreading and that itself seems to have led to second thoughts on new manoeuvres. Panicky at the successive eruption of people's indignation against the U. S. supported dictatorial regimes, the U. S. Press has begun arguing for subtler measures to maintain these regimes.

Thomas J. Hilton, writing in the New York Times, pointed out that "the (South) Korean situation, together with the furore in Turkey against the actions of the Menderes Government, raised the general problem of the attitude that the United States should take towards friendly dictators and quasi-dictators."

Hamilton suggested that the U. S. while supporting a dictator, should "apply enough pressure in time" to "save a valuable ally from the consequences of its errors."

In South Korea, the U. S. masters replaced Syngman Rhee with his accomplice Suh Chung. If Menderes is not able to control the situation in Turkey, a similar move may be made to replace Menderes with another puppet.

But substituting a new puppet for the old one won't change the character of the regime, won't change anything for the people. And as long as the puppet regime exists so long will the people's struggle also continue for their demands for freedom and democracy.

"Attempts are still made to frighten us because in the West bombers are flying on round-the-clock vigil. I should like to tell those people: Listen, gentlemen, we also have bombers, but they are not on vigil, in our country rockets are on vigil...."

May 11, 1960.

PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH

* FROM PAGE 5

of Vietnam, an illustrious President, indeed.

A journalist who attended the meeting described his impressions as follows:

August 19 was the day when our people in the whole country rose to seize power.

September 2 was the day when we told the world that our power had been firmly established.

For the Vietnamese people, September 2 was a solemn, glorious and happy day.

Most privileged were the people of Hanoi, for September 2 was not only the glorious Independence Day, but also the day when they could see with their own eyes Vietnam's best and dearest son.

The population of Hanoi and of the towns and villages in the vicinity poured into Ba Dinh Square in an endless stream, filling the surrounding streets. Altogether there were about half a million people. Never before in the history of Vietnam had there been such a big meeting. A new national flag, a new

anthem, a new army, a new people, a new Government, a new regime: Over twenty million hearts were beating with the same rhythm.

In the bright autumn sunshine, with a background of clear blue sky, the red flags with golden stars flew proudly in the fresh wind.

But emotion reached its climax on the arrival of President Ho Chi Minh, the beloved and respected leader whom the people were seeing for the first time. The people's feelings towards Ho Chi Minh were such that of those present at the meeting two-thirds had come "just to see President Ho.

It was a magnificent scene! A high imposing tribune, brave combatants, an impressive guard of honour, a forest of flags, a long line of cars.... A spectacle worthy of the inauguration day of the People's Democratic power. And the people told themselves that all these things were theirs.

Coming to attend the grand ceremony, everyone expected to see a President, a leader,

like those they had seen before. People, of course, knew they would not see a man attired like a king of ancient times in a royal yellow gown and a belt adorned with pearls, but the person they would see must surely be attired like a national leader in an impeccable dress, with a distinguished gait and an orate speech—in a word a personality with many mannerisms.

The people soon realised that they had been misled by their imagination. When President Ho Chi Minh arrived, they found him simple and cordial, like a father with his children.

I saw President Ho Chi Minh from a distance. He wore a faded khaki sun helmet, a pair of rubber sandals and a khaki suit.

When the President began reading the Declaration of Independence, his loud, clear voice reminded one of the remote forests and guerrilla warfare. Enthusiastic applause and cheers exploded when he had finished reading one section and the President asked:

"Fellow-countrymen, can you hear me distinctly?"

The simple question dispersed what might still separate the President and his people, and created a strong tie uniting the leader and the masses.

The strange question was quite unexpected. The President of the Republic had forsaken all ceremonial and formalities, he had become the Vietnamese people's "Father Ho."

"Fellow-countrymen, can you hear me distinctly?" Everyone was deeply moved by the love of President Ho Chi Minh for his people, that of a father for his children. Everyone felt that the President was just a man like himself, that he was near the people and friendly to them, that he belonged to the people, and was a man whose love for the people was boundless.

In answer to the President's question, half a million voices thundered, "Yes!" And for me as well as for the others this was the best, the deepest souvenir of that historic Independence Day.

NEW AGE

Dandakaranya

Rehabilitation Impossible In Near Future

As a development scheme, Dandakaranya may have good prospects in the future if the many hurdles that face it today are overcome. But that is a very long-term process and the resettlement of displaced persons cannot wait that long. So the question of rehabilitation of camp refugees in West Bengal has to be tackled separately from the Dandakaranya Project.

THIS is the impression of three Communist Legislators of West Bengal who with Legislators of other parties toured Dandakaranya recently. The three Communist Legislators, Niranjan Sen, Satish Prakasi and Samar Mukherjee, have in a statement summed up their impressions of the tour during which they covered seven hundred miles and visited several development centres and worksite camps.

Though the group of sixteen Legislators had discussions with the Dandakaranya Development Authority (DDA), the time at their disposal was too short to get a comprehensive idea of the real state of affairs in Dandakaranya. They met a number of displaced persons but the lack of time was again a heavy handicap and prevented them from getting to know all the complaints and grievances which the displaced persons wanted to relate to them.

The Legislators' first impression of the project is that it is not only not ready at all, but the progress of work itself is very unsatisfactory. Absent are even the preconditions for formulating a master plan for the project.

Problem Of Water

A major problem of the project is the problem of water, both for drinking and for irrigation purposes. This problem remains unsolved to this day and the prospects of a solution in the future are also uncertain.

The experiment with tube-wells has failed, the majority of the wells have proved to be unusable. The only hope now lies in the preservation of rain water through the construction of surface reservoirs and tanks. This also can be treated only as an experiment and it has to be seen whether the fate of the surface reservoirs and tanks will be any different from that of the tube-wells. The coming monsoon has already been missed—the reservoirs and tanks cannot be built in time, and so this experiment will have to be held over for another monsoon. No talk of resettlement of refugees here can even be broached before this problem is solved.

Then comes the question of reclamation and development of land. Tractors and mechanised units are being used, but with their existing capacity not more than 50,000 acres of land can be reclaimed in a year. This will be land enough to settle at the most 5,000 agriculturist families.

According to the Dandakaranya Development Authority,

not more than 400 families are expected to be rehabilitated before the monsoon sets in this year. This will mean that another fourteen hundred families who are still in worksite camps will continue to remain there till June 1961, since the work for their rehabilitation can be begun only in November.

Even those who have been allotted land are not very happy with its quality. Except in one case, families who have been allotted land in Boregaon all complained that the yield was very poor. How can they manage with the seven acres of land allotted with such poor yields?

The main employment which the displaced persons are getting now is earth-cutting. In many places the earth is rocky and earth-cutting becomes not only an arduous task but it also lowers the income from it to very meagre proportions. And at present these displaced persons have no source of any subsidiary income, either. Naturally they are demanding that they should either be sent immediately to the rehabilitation sites or sent back to West Bengal.

There are plenty of other grievances. The worksite camps are too far from each other. Each camp, generally consisting of fifty families is located on the side of the road but is surrounded by forests. So much for the promise of creating in Dandakaranya the environment of a new Bengal. Market places and post offices are far removed from the

camp; medical and educational facilities are extremely inadequate—there is no provision yet for higher secondary education; transport is a big problem; the refugees are still living in tents which in most cases are totally worn out; clothing and blankets are not supplied regularly; arrangements for light are extremely insufficient; and so on and so on.

Just a few days prior to the arrival of the Legislators, in some camps material for new tents was distributed, and some clothes and garments of odd sizes. The idea was perhaps to mislead the visitors about the actual conditions.

The question uppermost in the minds of the displaced persons is that of the title to the land—a question which is still being kept vague. They are very concerned about their future which will continue to be precarious even after re-

habilitation because they have no legal right to the land. To add to their misgivings, they have been orally informed that they have only the right to use the land for five years.

Setting out all these facts about the Dandakaranya Project, the three Communist Legislators say in conclusion:

"The Dandakaranya Project, we are told, is a development-cum-rehabilitation project. Already a huge amount has been spent but with very poor results. If the existing reality be the basis for judging the future, we find no prospect for satisfactory rehabilitation in the near future of the thousands of displaced families who are now in West Bengal camps. Under these circumstances we cannot advise them to go to Dandakaranya. As a development scheme it may have good prospects in the future in case the main hurdles mentioned above are overcome, but that is a very long-term process, and the resettlement of displaced persons cannot wait for such period. We wish success to the Dandakaranya Project but are of opinion that the rehabilitation problem of camp refugees should not be tagged with it."

BHOOLE BISARE CHITRA by Bhagwati Charan Verma. Rajkamal Prakashan, Delhi. Price: Rs. 11.00.

OUTSTANDING CONTRIBUTION TO HINDI FICTION

THIS novel is a study of the break-up of the joint patriarchal family, the collapse of old social values and the emergence of new values based on the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggles of the people. It gives a vivid picture of the numerous contradictions through which the new patriotic and democratic consciousness, especially of the middle classes, develops.

The central figure is Jwala Prasad who begins life as a nayab tahsildar and retires as a tahsildar. He is an important cog of the mighty British machine of exploitation. His father Shivalal was only an arzanavis, a hanger-on of law-courts, fleecing poor peasants and petty landlords. He inherited the greed and dishonesty of his patwari ancestors, men who constituted the lowest rung of the British bureaucracy in the villages. He died heart-broken because his son was too honest for him.

Jwala Prasad is honest, accepts no bribes and is conscious and proud of being a pillar of British rule in India. Like his father, he also drinks and gives his heart to a woman other than his wife. He is tormented by the parasitic family of his uncle Radhe Lal and after a great deal of internal as well as external conflict, he is able to get rid of them.

Incidentally some of the worst vices of the old patriar-

chal family are found in Radhe Lal's household; his son Shyam Lal's wife is beaten by several members of the family simultaneously. Jwala Prasad opposes this mildly though he is unable to check it. His son Ganga Prasad becomes Deputy Collector and is sent to Delhi to make arrangements along with other officials for the great dardar of the King Emperor. Here he falls in love with Santo, the wife of a jeweller, and maintains the family traditions so far as sex and liquor are concerned.

After the First World War, Jwala Prasad becomes a reliable tool in the hands of his employers for suppressing the national movement. But some Englishmen in their racial arrogance insult him and he decides to revolt. He thinks of resigning but hearing of Hindu-Muslim tension, he concludes that India would never be free and hence it is better for him to continue as a happy slave as before.

His uncle Gyan Prakash had gone to England to study law; he tells Jwala Prasad of the humiliation to which Indians are subjected in Europe. Gyan Prakash becomes an active worker of the Congress but is unable to influence Jwala Prasad who because of excessive drinking dies of consumption.

His son Naval is very much devoted to his father. He carries out his last wish to marry his sister Vidya to a rich and unscrupulous person. Vidya opposes this marriage but the brother is adamant, treating

the wish of his father as sacred.

Both Vidya and Naval are quite different from their parents. They represent the new spirit of youth that was revolting against conservatism. Naval could have gone to England and joined the I. C. S. as his might-have-been father-in-law is a Rai Bahadur and is extremely kind to him. But Naval is repelled by the selfishness and greed of this family. He goes to attend the Lahore Congress, listens to the speeches of Congress leaders and takes part in the law-breaking campaign initiated by Mahatma Gandhi.

His sister Vidya shows even greater courage. She is beaten cruelly by her husband and father-in-law but she returns to her home, becomes a teacher in a school, attends the Lahore Congress session with her brother, and becoming a political worker herself proudly bids farewell to her jail-going brother.

Oppression of woman is an important feature of the old patriarchal family. It has been intensified by the new worship of money of the modern age. Vidya's revolt has been depicted with great sympathy and power. After driving her away from his house, her father-in-law visits her once to demand an undertaking from her that when her husband marries again, she would not demand any maintenance allowance from him.

BOOK REVIEW

CONTRIBUTION TO HINDI FICTION

Vidya complies with this request but before leaving her, he warns her: "Remember that there is no divorce in Hindu law. For the rest of your life, you will remain the wife of Sidheshwari (his son). If I ever hear of your misconduct or corruption, I shall have you sent to jail at once." Vidya takes off her chappal and runs after her father-in-law to give him a suitable answer but the coward runs away in his tonga and Vidya

* SEE FACING PAGE

TRAVEL

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NATIONAL COUNCIL RESOLUTION

ENSURE END TO APARTHEID OR WALK OUT OF C'WEALTH

Text of resolution adopted by the National Council of the Communist Party of India at its session on May 6.

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India places on record its severe condemnation of the barbaric policy of apartheid pursued by the Government of South Africa, in defiance of the U. N. Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights.

This policy has reached new depths of horror in the mass murders of African men, women and children at Sharpeville and Langa, in the banning of patriotic organisations, in large-scale arrests and in a general regime of terror against the African people as a whole and against all those of Asian and even European descent, who have refused to submit to the degrading measures of racial discrimination.

The apartheid policy seeks to crush the independence movement of the African people of South Africa, to prevent them from becoming rulers in their own land. It seeks to compel African labour to work in conditions of slavery, unequal and low wages in the most profitable gold and diamond mines and factories in South Africa.

The National Council congratulates the tens of thousands of people who have braved the most brutal repression and bestial violence. The Council salutes the African working class on launching political general strikes against the segregation and pass laws and their slave conditions of life and work.

The National Council greets Indian citizens of South Africa for carrying forward their heroic tradition of fighting racial discrimination. Solid-

arity between Indians and Africans is a vital necessity of the common struggle against apartheid which is directed against both.

The mass butchery by the South African Government has roused the conscience of humanity as never before to the necessity of putting an end for all time to the inhuman racist policies. The Security Council has called for a halt to racial discrimination. The Indian Parliament has unanimously condemned the racist murderers of South Africa.

The African people are demanding and taking action against the South African Government: the recent Afro-Asian Conference for Positive Action has called for economic sanctions and boycotts, the breaking of diplomatic relations with South Africa by independent Governments, the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth, firm U. N. measures to stop the racists. The Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference at Conakry has proposed a united Afro-Asian economic boycott of South Africa and the continuation by Afro-Asian Governments of the breaking of diplomatic relations with South Africa.

The Afro-Asian heads of Government, present at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, also raised the question of racial discrimination and have given expression to the strong feelings of the Afro-Asian peoples against the South African Government.

The National Council of the

Communist Party of India joins the rest of the Indian people in appealing to Prime Minister Nehru to see that the Commonwealth Conference takes steps to ensure an end to the apartheid policy, failing which Prime Minister Nehru and other Afro-Asian Prime Ministers should walk out of the Commonwealth Conference and make it clear that India and other Afro-Asian countries will not remain members of the same Commonwealth of which South Africa is a member.

The Council further urges upon the Government of India to take the initiative in organising an economic and diplomatic boycott of South Africa by all Asian and African countries. The Council also appeals to the Government of India to take all necessary initiatives with other Afro-Asian Governments, within the U. N. for sanctions against South Africa.

The National Council calls on all units, members and supporters of the Communist Party of India to join hands with all organisations and parties in the country to hold meetings and rallies of solidarity with the South African independence movement and to collect funds for the victims of racialist terror.

The Indian people wholeheartedly support the call of the African peoples, endorsed by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference, for the observance of June 26 as South Africa Day for a united worldwide protest against the crimes of the South African Government and for universal support to the African peoples' movement for independence and against apartheid.

SUMMIT ISSUES

From Page 3

proach to the disarmament problem, an approach corresponding to the requirements of the complete abolition of the cold war. This new approach came from the Soviet proposals, placed before the 14th Session of the U. N. General Assembly by the Soviet Premier, on September 18, 1959:

"It is not the balance of armaments, which every State tries to interpret to its own advantage and to make it serve its own ends, but the absence of material means of waging a war by States that is the most effective and solid guarantee of peace, which meets not only remote ideals but the urgent demands of the people."

This is indeed a breathtaking idea. It has captured the imagination of the peoples of the world for the vistas that it has thrown open before mankind. As the Soviet Premier expressed it from the rostrum of the U. N.: "General and complete disarmament would provide the opportunity to switch enormous material and financial outlays from the manufacture of the instruments of death over to creative purposes."

Disarmament Negotiations

The impact of these proposals on the minds of the people was too powerful to be ignored by the Western Powers. A ten-nation Disarmament Committee met at Geneva on March 15 this year, to examine these proposals. On April 29, it adjourned to resume its work again from June 7.

From the beginning of this conference, two trends—differing in principles—were evident.

The delegation of the Socialist countries, wanting to carry out the U. N. decision on general and complete disarmament, had worked for the drafting of a disarmament treaty with a coordinated and concrete disarmament programme aimed at the complete liquidation of all means of war.

Their work was based on the assumption that there should be no control without disarmament and no disarmament without control.

But the NATO Powers in the conference attempted to put control as a substitute to disarmament. Their counter-proposals neither provided for liquidation of the means of waging war, liquidation of military bases on foreign territories, cessation of military production and appropriation of funds for military purposes, nor did they provide for abolition of War Ministries and General Staffs and other military establishments.

In fact, the West's interest in control without disarmament became evident from Eaton's proposal of "concrete measures on disarmament" providing for only measures to control the launching sites and outer-space vehicles and so on, with the right to quarterly inspection on the location of armed forces.

The NATO Powers' intentions in making these proposals are too transparent.

In the words of the New Statesman, "the West is demanding the establishment of an inspection system with tentacles all over the world (including the Soviet Union) while offering no disarmament in return."

Such are the two positions on the two most important international problems.

As the Summit date is approaching, the nuclear-happy elements in the ruling classes of the Western countries have stepped up their machinations to see the meeting founder on cold war rocks.

The Soviet Premier himself had to characterise the recent pronouncements of Herter, Nixon and Dillon as bearing "an ill omen" to the coming Summit meet. The U. S. President's intention to set a time-limit to his presence in Paris does not forebode well for the conference either.

The outrageous violation of Soviet territory by a U. S. espionage plane, the pronouncements and deliberations of the recent NATO Council meeting in Istanbul, the publication early last month of a white book by the U. S. Congress giving the false impression that Summit talks could achieve nothing, the resolution adopted by the U. S. House of Representatives on May 2, asking Eisenhower "to seek restoration" of so-called "fundamental freedoms" for the Eastern European Socialist countries—all these are indications of the fact that the cold warriors in the Western countries are working overtime.

Khreshchov's Appraisal

Appraising the situation on the eve of the Summit Conference, Khreshchov has warned: "The latest moves of our partners in the forthcoming talks, their statements on their position and certain actions give little grounds, unfortunately, for hope that the Governments of the nations whose heads we are to meet are really looking for concrete solution."

Approaching the Summit, hence, cautiously one has to keep in view the broader perspective of the general trends in the development of the international situation.

For, in his speech at Baku, on April 25, after declaring that from the talks with Eisenhower, President of the United States, Macmillan, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, de Gaulle, President of France, Gronchi, President of Italy, Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, Sukarno, President of Indonesia, Ne Win and U Nu, Burmese statesmen, Zahir Shah, king of Afghanistan and Daud, Prime Minister of Afghanistan, "we gained the impression that they understand the need of facilitating a further relaxation of international tension and of solving international disputes through negotiations and not through war," the Soviet Premier went on to conclude: "I think that the favourable process of international relations will further continue."

—R. B. SHARMA

NEW AGE

PAGE FIFTEEN

AFTER S. KOREA, TURKEY



After Syngman Rhee in South Korea it is the turn of Menderes in Turkey now to face the holy wrath of the people. Despite martial law, despite turning the country into a virtual prison, despite the show of military might with American tanks, there is no city in Turkey which does not laugh at these repressive measures, which does not raise the only cry which echoes and reechoes throughout the country—the cry of freedom, which does not raise the one demand which has become universal—that for the resignation of the U.S. puppet Menderes.

It all started when in an attempt to rig the forthcoming elections, Menderes tried to ram a resolution through the National Assembly banning all political activities. Students in Ankara protested against this on April 21, and it spread to all cities. The Menderes Government tried to suppress them with massacres and arrests. The result is that the whole country is ablaze now and Menderes' American masters themselves are expressing concern at the way events have developed. And they have plenty of causes for concern.

For ten years the anger of the people has been simmering and it is its outburst that is being seen now. Ever since it came to power in 1950, the Menderes Government has bound Turkey more and more tightly to the war-chariot of the United States and turned the country into a semi-colony.

The Menderes Government joined the aggressive Nato Bloc and Baghdad Pact which has now become the CENTO; it accepted the "Eisenhower Doctrine", signed a bilateral military agreement with the United States. The whole country was thus turned into a vast U. S. military base—on Turkey's territories of 70,000 square kilometers, there are more than a hundred and ten U. S. airforce bases, ten army-navy bases and innumerable small radar stations. The United States is now stepping up its scheme to establish missile-launching bases in Turkey and introduce atomic weapons into that country.

Mercenary Army

The Turkish army has practically become U. S. mercenaries and is completely under U. S. control. Most of the country's military expenditure has been borne by the United States and U. S. military personnel are posted in all Turkish military units.

Under U. S. direction, Turkey participated in the war of aggression launched against Korea by the United States and offered Turkish troops as cannon-fodder. As a pliant tool of U. S. aggression in the Middle East, Turkey repeatedly threatened the Arab countries with deployments on their borders and engaged in subversive activities against these countries.

All this has inevitably led to the continuous aggravation of the economic difficulties of Turkey. As the burden of military expenditure becomes ever

heavier, Turkey's national debts are mounting. The country's external trade shows an unfavourable balance every year, prices are soaring and the people live in great misery.

Turkey's 1960-61 budget gives an idea of the staggering military expenditure. It runs to 1,468 million liras, nearly ten per cent higher than that of the previous year. According to the country's Finance Minister, Hasan Polatkan, a roughly equal sum from foreign "aid" and other sources has also been earmarked for the country's militarisation. In addition is a big portion of the appro-

riations for economic development which are actually channelled to the construction of strategic highways running to the Soviet border, and modernisation of Turkish ports as naval bases for use by the United States.

Another catastrophic aspect of this policy of militarisation is the huge foreign debt which Turkey has contracted. According to Foreign Minister Zorlu, Turkey has already borrowed 3,000 million dollars from foreign countries and it is estimated that this sum cannot be repaid before the year 2000.

The brunt of the acute economic situation and the deterioration of the chronic economic ills as a result of these policies pursued by the Menderes Government has been borne by the working people. According to Turkish Press reports themselves, food prices had risen 340 per cent since 1950 and prices of clothing and footwear by about three times and all this when workers' wages have remained practically unchanged.

Thousands Unemployed

Istanbul, Izmir and other industrial cities have become centres of serious unemployment. At the end of last year, nearly 160 rubber factories were closed down in Istanbul throwing on the streets about 8,000 workers. The partial paralysis of the textile industry has also resulted in

the lay-off of thousands of workers.

The Turkish peasantry is no better off. Prices of farm produce lag far behind those of manufactured goods, evictions of farm tenants and discharge of labourers by big farms, which find the use of machinery more profitable, are a common occurrence in rural areas. Whole villages have become desolate as their inhabitants desert them and move to the cities only to find that the situation is equally desperate there with job-seekers wandering the streets.

Brutal Suppression

Inflation has run apace with militarisation. Currency in circulation had increased by 350 million liras from June last year to the end of January this year and in February it was announced that an additional "sufficient amount" of new notes were issued by the Central Bank.

spread, and thousands of people—students, teachers and lawyers—were taking part in demonstrations in Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir.

Menderes' American masters were left in no doubt as to what the Turkish people hated most. In Istanbul, the centre of the demonstrations was the vicinity of the City Hall where the Nato session was to begin on May 2.

First a 24-hour curfew was imposed on Istanbul, then martial law was imposed in Ankara and Istanbul. The Military Governor of Istanbul—the same Fahri Ozdilek who was the Commander of Turkish troops under U. S. Command in the U. S. war of aggression in Korea—proclaimed that any demonstration would be met with armed forces, that troops had been ordered to open fire even on the smallest meeting. Armed soldiers were patrolling the main streets of this biggest city of Turkey and strategic points were being heavily guarded by U.S.

dust by demonstrators and Menderes' repressive machinery is being faced with courage and heroism.

Explosive Situation

The situation remains explosive in all Turkey, so explosive that Menderes who was stuck in Ankara could not even attend the opening session of the Nato Conference in Istanbul. A signal warning to all puppets is the fate of this Prime Minister today.

Four thousand Ankara students, office workers and civil servants, on May 5, stopped Menderes' limousine in Ankara's main Ataturk Avenue, shook their fists in his face and told him to resign.

Despite heavy police and cavalry protection and volleys of fire, Menderes was stopped three times by angry demonstrators during his drive down the Avenue to confer with President Calal Bayar. When he came out of his car and ordered the demonstrators to disperse, he was answered with boos and shouts, "Menderes, resign!"

ANOTHER U. S. PUPPET NOW FACES PEOPLE'S WRATH

What has become more unbearable to the Turkish people is that the Menderes Government has gone on brutally suppressing the people who resent and oppose its anti-national policies. The people have been deprived of almost all their democratic rights. The Communist Party and all other democratic organisations are banned, worker's strikes are outlawed, freedom of speech is restricted, political meetings, Press Conferences and issuance of political statements are prohibited. Many newspapers have been closed down under ridiculous pretexts, between 1950 and 1958, 800 editors and others working on newspapers and periodicals were imprisoned.

The Menderes Government employed more frenzied means to suppress the opposition and broad masses of the people as the elections to the National Assembly drew near. It sent hooligans and troops to beat up Opposition leaders, a three-month ban on political activities was announced.

And it was this new ban that ignited the flames of the people's wrath accumulated over the past ten years.

The demonstrations were touched off by the protests of the students in Ankara and

the protest movement soon tanks.

All this show of armed might could not prevent the people from expressing their wrath. A huge anti-Government rally was held in Istanbul on May 2 and about 3,000 people, mostly students, gathered to demonstrate in the square before the City Hall where the Nato Conference began its session. The demonstrators held high a banner inscribed with the word "FREEDOM".

Demand Is Freedom

When a detachment of troops with fixed bayonets charged on them in an attempt to press them to retreat, they began a parade chanting, "Freedom! Freedom!"

In the port city of Izmir, five thousand people demonstrated when reports became current that some of the Nato delegations were to visit this city, where Nato's Southeast European Headquarters are situated. The demonstrators shouted slogans and sang the Turkish national anthem and resisted the attack by troops for nearly an hour.

Everyday, in every city, martial law and curfew orders are being trampled in the

He was stopped again two blocks farther on, when he came out of his car once more, his hair unruly and his shirt-tails pulled out, and shouted, "Why are you demonstrating? What is this all about." Again he was met with shouts of "resign, resign!"

Menderes switched into another limousine but a few blocks after, he was again stopped. He changed into a third car which managed to carry him to his destination.

U. S. imperialists are extremely uneasy over the developments in what it had always considered as its stable base. If such an explosion of the people's wrath cannot be prevented even in Turkey and South Korea, what "tranquil and happy land" will there be left any more for U. S. imperialism in the so-called free world it dominates?

President Eisenhower himself was reported to have asked U. S. Government officials to keep themselves closely informed on developments in the political situation in Turkey.

UPI, in a Washington despatch on April 29, said "any development which might endanger Turkey's strength and stability would be viewed