

# TIBET IN THE U.N.

—THE BLOC BEHIND

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

NEW DELHI

The story of the inclusion of the so-called question of Tibet once again on the agenda of the United Nations' General Assembly is a sordid tale of how Indian reactionaries and traitors are working hand in glove with the imperialists not only behind the back of the Government of India but against it. And that again is not all. They have the audacity to bully it—the Government of their own country, in consonance with the representatives of imperialist countries.

THE story takes us to Jai Prakash Narain, that arch enemy of peace and amity among nations, operating under the cloak of Sarvodaya and Jivandan.

For though J.P. did not attend the General Assembly, he was very much there. His interest in the happenings there was evident from his statement, issued rather abruptly, making a venomous attack on Soviet Premier Khrushchev for proposing a three man-Executive for the U.N.

## Gesture To Dog

Jai Prakash's spirited defence of the Secretary-General was not a mere command performance. It was also a gesture J.P. had to make in order to win the Secretary-General's support for the move on Tibet.

Jai Prakash Narain had delegated for the job the notorious J. J. Singh—an expert hand, who know his friends in America well. J. J. Singh is, nonetheless, working in close collaboration with and under the regular guidance of J. P. and has been regularly posting him with the latest developments in connection with the "move".

I have before me his "first report". It is dated September 28, 1960, and has been posted from "17 East 54th Street, New York 22, N.Y." J. J. Singh took lodge at the Beekman Hotel where Mr. Krishna Menon also was staying so that "I meet him on and off in the Delegates' Lounge and, also, sometimes coming in or going out of the Beekman Hotel."

## Lobbying Of Delegations

J. J. Singh "arrived here on Sunday, the 18th of September and as the special session of the General Assembly on the question of Congo was in session, I was able to start my work right away."

In the beginning, however, the results were not very promising. "You will

be rather disappointed," he informed J.P. "to learn that when, in accordance with your desire I approached the subject of political rights of the Tibetan people, both of these gentlemen (i.e. Dato Nik Ahmad Kamil, Malayan Ambassador in Washington, who is head of the Malayan delegation at the U.N., and Mr. M. C. Jotisi Devakul, Acting Permanent Representative of Thailand at the U.N.) said that they had instructions from their Governments not to touch the "juridical aspects" of the Tibetan question. "I had no alternative," confesses J. J. Singh, "but to give up that angle."

But J. J. Singh was not the man to be daunted. He contacted Ernest A. Gross who "used to be Deputy leader of the U.S. delegation at the U.N. when the Democrats were in power. He is an old friend of ours."

"I have had several conferences with Mr. Gross,

## Pessimistic Analysis

"I was amazed at the pessimism displayed by Mr. Aiken. In blunt words, he told me, 'Mr. Singh unless you can get the active support of the Indian delega-

and we have hammered out a resolution."

But the hammering out of the resolution was only part of the job and it did not mean an end of the difficulties. "Yesterday, Mr. Gross and I had lunch with Mr. Frank Aiken, the Minister for External Affairs for Ireland and Chairman of their delegation this year.

tion, my suggestion would be not to move any Resolution."

"Mr. Aiken told me that last year the Indian delegation did a lot of propaganda against the resolution and he was afraid that if the Indian delegation were to do that this year, the chances for the passage of the resolution would be 'exceedingly slim'. And he added that even if the resolution were to pass, it is likely to have a 'greatly reduced' majority. This, in Mr. Aiken's opinion, will do more harm than good."

But, continues J. J. Singh, "I am not easily discouraged though "I must say that Aiken's analysis depressed me greatly."

WHO are the Indians who are working so hard to help the U.S. State Department to put the so-called "Tibetan question" on the U.N. agenda in violation of the declared policies of India.

First, let us introduce J. J. Singh, who is mentioned in the despatch alongside by our Special Correspondent.

J. J. Singh, former President of the India League of America, is once again back in that country. He is known to the high-ups who matter in the U.S. and the State Department also trusts him.

J. J. Singh went to the United States on the behest of Jaiprakash Narayan. Narain told Pressmen in New Delhi on September 11 that "the Afro-Asian Council" of which he is the President, "was also deputing two of its members, Purushottamas Tri-

cumdas and J. J. Singh, to go to New York and help the Tibetan delegation in presentation of its case." (Indian Express, September 12)

Tricumdas is an old discredited PSP member, who was also associated with the notorious Democratic Research Service which was once severely criticised by Prime Minister Nehru himself. He was the moving figure behind the so-called International Commission of Jurists which discovered "genocide" and so on in Tibet, just to prepare the brief for taking the Tibetan issue to the U.N.

This triumvirate—Jaiprakash, J. J. Singh and Tricumdas—are the moving force which day in and day out criticise the Government of India's policy vis-a-vis Tibet. Before this delegation of Messrs. J. J. Singh and Tricumdas left India for New York, Jaiprakash

Narain told the Press in New Delhi, "steps had already been taken by Malaya and Thailand to bring the Tibet issue before the General Assembly."

Before leaving for New York J. J. Singh had the temerity to express the hope that the Government of India would support the inclusion of the Tibetan question on the U.N. agenda in the General Assembly.

When the question came before the General Assembly, the votes against included, besides the Socialist countries, those of Guinea, Indonesia, Mali and Yugoslavia, while thirty-five countries abstained from the voting.

Speaking on the question, representative of the Soviet Union V. Zorin declared that the Soviet delegation emphatically objected to the Steering Committee's recommendation on placing the so-called "Tibetan

Question" on the agenda of the Fifteenth Session of the General Assembly because it fell within the internal competence of the Chinese State."

The Indonesian representative, Subandrio, said "Tibet... is a part of China, a fact generally recognised before the People's Republic of China was formed." He pointed out that the U.N. had no right to intervene in the internal affairs of a sovereign State.

That is how the Indonesia and the Soviet representatives reacted. (We know that the Indian stand is also the same.)

On the other hand, the United States and its military allies voted for the inclusion of the issue on the U. N. agenda, J. J. Singh and Tricumdas by canvassing support for the inclusion of the issue on the U.N. agenda were in effect working for the policies of the U.S. State Department.

# NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

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## J. P. - J. J. SINGH -STATE DEPT. LINK-UP

J. J. Singh considered it necessary to assure Mr. Aiken and Mr. Kamil that whether the Government of India votes for the resolution or not... the Indian delegation this year will not propagandise against the resolution." But suppose the Indian delegation did not behave? "I told them that if they do so, I intend to expose them in the Indian Press."

## Pressurising India

J. J. Singh and J. P. Narayan, both experts by now in international rela-

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## The evidence on record

## FRESH THINKING : NEW INITIATIVES

ON other pages we publish a round-up of the reactions of the World Press as also our own, to the Indian stand and move in the current U.N. session. The influential Right-wing dailies have been more loyal than the king in running down Prime Minister Nehru's role in the world assembly. But the facts of life cannot be suppressed for long and the world situation is so tense that both the good and the evil inevitably come up on the surface for all to see for themselves.

Karanja in his colourful and realistic despatch from the U.N. Headquarters concludes with three typical comments, overheard in the Press gallery of the U.N.:

"Nehru lost a resolution—but won the heart of the whole assembly."

"He might have won a few votes for Nixon—but he lost the world for the United States."

"Americans tried to teach Nehru a lesson—but he learnt another."

Saner elements inside the U.S. itself have begun to realise where their rulers are leading them and how and where they are misbehaving with the uncommitted nations and its logical consequence.

For example, the influential and independent U.S. journal *The Nation*, October 8, under "Those Pesty Neutrals", wrote, "The trouble with the State Department is that the only neutrals acceptable to it are those willing to unite with us in an anti-Communist crusade which, unhappily, becomes less attractive in nice proportion as ICBM's increase in range, accuracy and numbers. The idea that neutralism is ipso facto immoral persists in the current State Department thinking but, where it formerly made little sense, now it makes none at all. The sums Mr. Eisenhower proposes to spend in Africa and Asia will be wasted for he regards them as advance payments for services to be rendered in the cold war."

### Reaction's Game

The Indian Right knows that it cannot achieve a formal repudiation of neutralism. Its main tactic, therefore, is to work towards Indian isolationism and consequent passivity in Indian foreign policy. They cannot rely upon the facts of life nor use any cherished national principle to openly work up a campaign for Indian support to the West. They, therefore, concentrate upon slinging mud at Khrushchov and distorting Soviet proposals and their nearness to the Indian stand.

Despite the pressure of reaction at home and abroad, Nehru went on record to state that Khrushchov was really anxious for peace and by implication that the West, for the time being at least, was opposed to the relaxation of cold war tensions. He once again gave general support to Soviet disarmament proposals and politely stated objections to Eisenhower's "Open Sky" proposal.

Pandit Nehru's own story of the unscrupulous Western manoeuvres in scuttling the

five nations' resolution has shaken those elements in the ruling circles who had fondly imagined that India had only to maintain gentlemanly neutrality and it will win the attention of all. Circles close to the Prime Minister also report his shock at the way the U.S. authorities treated some of the members of the U.N. and not only Khrushchov and Castro.

### A Big Gain

A big gain has been to the Prime Minister himself, through his personal experience of the functioning of the U.N. apparatus as he saw it operate in practice. It has given him more than a jolt. It is leading to a re-assessment of the soundness of the official information chain that led from the U.N. Headquarters to the various desks at the External Affairs Ministry and finally as it came up to his table.

It has been realised how wrong and undeserved were the earlier praises of Hammarskjöld. The U.S. domination of the U.N. Executive and administrative organs was crudely and rudely revealed more than once during the session and Pandit Nehru has drawn his own lessons and is working up new proposals.

The change for the better in the political climate of New Delhi is implicit even in what the Political Correspondent of the Statesman, October 18, writes about the new analysis of official expert that "it was a good thing that the procedural frustrations implicit in the U.N. system were so dramatically exposed". The Prime Minister is "now giving more thought to improving some of the agencies of the U.N. without, just now, opening up the general question of revision of the Charter." The Indian suggestion is that the Secretary-General should himself acquire generally acceptable advisers, and not mere deputies and thus "mitigate the situation highlighted by Mr. Khrushchov."

India has also come to the conclusion that the Security Council also needs reform and expansion. "The balance between them (the capitalist and Socialist camps) is not in the ratio of four to one (as represented in its permanent membership) but of one to one." The U.N. began with over 50 members and now it has nearly 100.

This is a very big change indeed but it is not at all reflected inside the Security Council and India is going to press that "the position of the new big and small countries of Asia and Africa will require to be recognised before long in the arrangements within the U.N." The imperialist countries, of course, want to maintain the status quo and the USSR has been fighting for equal and just representation of all the three groups of States, the capitalist, the Socialist and the uncommitted ones.

### Discovery Of Africa

A remarkable change for the better, from the Prime

Minister's visit to and experience at the U.N., has come over our Congo policy. Rajeshwar Dayal has produced a Progress Report which would have linked India with the colonialists in the same unprincipled and compromising manner as in 1950. Dr. Anup Singh had done in Korea. The heads of African States told the truth to Pandit Nehru, as one freedom-fighter can talk to another, and the Prime Minister helped to disengage the Indian diplomat being used as a catspaw by the U.S. State Department. As the Congo-lessee saw the first positive results of Pandit Nehru's intervention, in their typical warm-hearted and generous manner, they came out in demonstrations with "Long Live Dayal!"

### Doubling Indo-Soviet Trade

And the good news is that plans for doubling Indo-Soviet trade, within the next three years, are being boldly worked out under the new arrangements that the representatives of the two countries have negotiated.

Under the new arrangements India, will import from the USSR machinery, machine-tools, precision instruments, electrical machinery, petroleum products, helicopters and aircrafts, non-ferrous metals, fertilisers and newsprint.

The USSR will buy from India tea, coffee, sheep wool, goat skin, shoes, woollen and cotton textiles and handicrafts.

The balance of trade is in India's favour. Last year India exported to the Soviet Union goods worth Rs. 30.38 crores while imports from the USSR amounted to only Rs. 16.65 crores. This is attributed to the wholesome phenomenon that the Soviet authorities are utilising Indian repayments for the Bhilal plant for buying Indian goods. "India thus will have a first rate steel plant in lieu of tea, coffee and shoes," a leading Soviet official told the IPA correspondent.

### New Indian Initiative

A new healthy breeze is sweeping through the peace-hungry world with India as a big part of the same. This is reflected in the new Indian initiative backed by 20 nations of Asia, Africa, Latin America and including some European States as well urging the General Assembly to take "immediate and constructive steps in regard to the urgent problems concerning world peace."

Undeterred by the earlier five neutral Powers' resolution, India along with all other peace-loving States has placed the ball back in the Western imperialist court. The cold and hot war warriors are not having their own way. They will be disarmed, step by step, made to listen to the voice of reason. It is here that the patriotic Indian Press and public opinion have a big role to play.

### MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL

INDIA'S foreign trade balance is minus with all the capitalist groups of countries. It is, however, a growing plus with the Socialist countries.

The Indian visit of a high-powered Soviet delegation, headed by the USSR Minister of Foreign Trade Patolichev, to discuss the further working out of the Five-Year (1958-63) Trade Agreement between our countries, is an event of im-

portance in the background of our serious foreign exchange crisis.

The trade relations between the two countries are very new. The trade turn over in 1953 was only Rs. 60 lakhs but last year it jumped up to Rs. 47 crores. Today India holds the first place in the Soviet foreign trade outside the Communist camp.

### Congress Crisis

CRISIS within the Congress is no more news. Crisis inside the Congress Party in State or another, over one issue or the other, has become a normal feature of the Congress organisation. With years, instead of any abatement or solution, there is only expansion and intensification of this phenomenon.

A special meeting of the Central Parliamentary Board on October 18 will consider the situation facing the ruling party.

In its editorial entitled "Time to Act", the Times of India October 18 writes—

"There is no room for any make-believe now. The question which faces the ruling party today is not the future of its Ministry in one or two States but its own future. That the divisions in the party should have come to a head in half a dozen States at the same time shows how far the rot has spread."

In Assam, Andhra, U. P., Mysore and Orissa the organisational and parliamentary wings of the party are in open conflict and the ministerial group itself is divided into warring factions. The old-style patch-ups work no more, they are followed by worse burst-ups later.

### Situation In U. P.

The most dramatic is the situation in U. P. where Sampurnanand is on the way out but C. B. Gupta has no majority inside the legislative party. He is, therefore, all for unity and loyalty to the High Command. His is the typical case of *nau san chuhe ka kar hilli Haj to chali!*

In Assam, the language formula, evolved with the help of Pandit Pant and embodied in the Bill due to be placed before the legislature continues to create trouble. The tragic events of the recent past have obviously taught nothing to the Congress leaders.

### Machinery For Private Sector

The USSR is the world's largest producer of industrial goods. India, however, is importing only five per cent of her requirements of machinery from it. Again 80 per cent of these Soviet imports are for public sector.

The Soviet trade organs have prepared a plan to boost their exports for the Indian private sector as well. They have recently supplied a complete plant for a textile mill at Dehradun. They are prepared to set up more such 15,000-20,000 spindle textile mills in other parts of the country.

Besides offering machinery on competitive terms and accepting rupee payment, the USSR is also taking steps to provide repair facilities for their machinery.

The perspective of growing Indo-Soviet trade has begun unfolding itself. It is no more a Communist demand but every section of the Indian people, including national bourgeois elements, welcome it with the frank recognition that it is to our mutual advantage. It is besides a new triumph of the policy of peace-

ful co-existence which in turn helps India's economic independence.

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### On-The-Eve Estimate

Walter Lippmann, in his column in the Washington Post (September 6) wrote: "Cuba and Congo, Castro and Lumumba, have been a new experience for which we were not prepared, and are only beginning to understand. A year ago, the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union was confined to countries in Europe and in Asia which were physically contiguous to the Russian and Chinese land masses. But now the Soviet Union's influence has extended into far distant continents, into Africa and the America."

"...Castro is relying on the Soviet Union to prevent any form of military intervention, including a blockade or quarantine (organised by whom, Mr. Lippmann, except the United States?) against him. He is also relying on Moscow, as the sugar and oil deals have shown, to counteract economic sanctions by the United States."

Lippmann concluded mournfully: "The experience is bewildering and frustrating not only because it is so novel and so unexpected, but because it does not fit the concepts to which we are accustomed."

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— P. C. JOSHI

(October 18)

OCTOBER 23, 1960

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## WESTERN PRESS SURVEY

Khrushchov has left Manhattan, the U.S. ruling circles and Press have heaved a sigh of relief. More. There is a sudden outburst of gloating self-appreciation. Khrushchov has returned defeated, he didn't get anything out of his voyage to the United Nations—that is the tune at the moment being played in Washington.

IT is not necessary to quote Prime Minister Nehru in New Delhi on October 17 to see how false this victory chant is. The Political Correspondent of the *Hindustan Times* reported Nehru as telling his Cabinet colleagues and senior officials that he "did not agree with those in the West who thought Mr. Khrushchov has lost more than he had gained by his performance in New York. The Soviet Prime Minister, on the contrary, made quite a dent in the thinking of a large number of uncommitted and new nations by his several radical proposals."

### Khrushchov's Party

"The real point about the zoo-like spectacle at the United Nations is," said the commentator, "quite simply that this is Nikita S. Khrushchov's party. Much more than the U.N. Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld, he is the host here."

"If he had not decided to come without invitation, the meeting would be the customary wordy assemblage of Foreign Ministers. All the intricate manoeuvres by which the Soviet diplomacy produced the result are not recorded. Also unrecorded are the intricate but sadly unsuccessful manoeuvres of the American diplomacy which were designed to prevent this result..."

Pointing out that the coming of these leaders (Nehru, Nasser, Tito) might seem rather trivial

the proposal for a comprehensive discussion of disarmament at the present plenary sessions of the United Nations General Assembly. There was the proposal for the immediate abolition of all colonies. There was the proposal to restore to People's China her lawful rights in the United Nations. There was the proposal for the reorganisation of the U.N. Secretariat.

The Washington rulers said "no" to every one of them—except for agreeing to the General Assembly discussing the colonial question—and by procedural methods, by manipulation of votes, illegal rulings and all the gimmicks of Tammany Hall, they got their way. And it is this that is being paraded as Khrushchov's defeat.

It is not necessary to quote Prime Minister Nehru's assessment of this claim, because the U.S. and Western Press itself, despite the latest self-*vaunted* smacking of lips, has for weeks been singing dirges for Western policy.

Even before the 15th Session of the U.N. General Assembly met on the banks of East River, the mourning had begun.

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mate. And after the session began, it was repeated by Joseph Alsop in his well-known column in the *New York Herald Tribune* (September 21).

Once assembled in New York, the Western leaders had really nothing to say. As the *Daily Telegraph* (London) had already noted, "In the abstract there was and is much to be said for the Western leaders using this meeting of the General Assembly as a platform for announcing any new plans... But the truth is that the Western Powers have no such plans. Until Mr. Khrushchov announced his intentions of turning the session into a giant circus none of the Western leaders had begun to rehearse any startling new acts. They had not even bothered to suggest that they were definitely going to appear..."

### Policy Of "No"

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### Gone Are Those Days

The same day, Washington columnist Chalmers Roberts analysed the situation from a different angle and came to the same assessment—in the process revealing how the U.S. has been using the U.N. for its own purposes—evidence if it ever was necessary to support Khrushchov's demand for re-organisation of the U.N. Secretariat.

The columnist warned in his despatch that the days were gone for ever when America could use the United Nations for its own purposes.

He said: "In fifteen years since its founding as a collection of victors in World II, the United Nations for all practical purposes has been under

the control of the United States and its allies...

"In the intervening years the United States made use of the United Nations when it wished and ignored it when it wished... but those days are gone for ever."

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### Defensive Speeches

When the speeches were delivered, whether of Eisenhower or Macmillan, or of Diefenbaker or Menzies or Nash, it became clear that all they had come to do was to parry the concrete Soviet proposals.

This defensiveness of the Western position has been not-

ed most of all by the Western Press itself.

The Washington Post, for instance, said that whereas "Khrushchov is conducting a vigorous, unceasing, diplomatic offensive" which is having a particularly strong impression "on the Afro-Asian delegations," the objective of the USA's U.N. representatives is merely to "dismiss Khrushchov's ideas."

The main effort of U.S. diplomacy, the paper frankly admitted, was "to prevent his (Khrushchov's) aim of having the General Assembly discuss disarmament from being realised."

The National Association for Planning in a report (U.S. Foreign Policy in the Changing World) urged the U.S. leadership to work out "a dynamic policy of their own" and to launch an "initiative" course that would "wrest the initiative out of the hands of the Russians."

What sort of a victory was it? *Washington Post* wrote editorially on October 7:

"There are times in diplomacy when it is far better to leave well enough alone. That was very much the case, we believe, with the resolution in the U.N. sponsored by the five neutral leaders..."

### No Dynamic Policy

The U.S. imperialists are incapable of having any dynamic policy—the present U.N. session itself has proved it again.

The Fifteenth Session of the U.N. General Assembly is marked for the admission of the newly-independent African

States—which is generally recognised to have changed the whole complexion of the United Nations.

The *New York Times* editorially commented on September 23 on this aspect: "There are reasons to suppose that Mr. Khrushchov particularly looks upon such a development (organisation of a third bloc of States in the U.N.) with concern."

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else except in the Communist bloc.

"This proceeding is 'victory' for the West only in the shallowest sense..."

The paper in a despatch from Chalmers M. Roberts said: "Americans here concede that the performance left a bad taste in the mouths of a lot of delegates, friendly to the U.S. One Western figure here called it a pyrrhic victory. But Americans felt that they had to beat it by any means. Why?"

### Attack On Nkrumah

Explaining that as a practical fact the neutrals could not really force Eisenhower and Khrushchov to meet, Roberts said, but in the process they had put the Americans in worse light than Khrushchov.

The Canadian *Globe and Mail* pointed out editorially, "Never before has the U.S. taken such a beating in the U.N. or have so many of its allies turned against it."

"The American policy on Africa which reached a high point with Mr. Eisenhower's address to the United Nation's Assembly endorsing the ideal of 'non-committed continent' has been severely jolted by the indefensible allegation of Mr. Herter, (U.S.) Secretary of State, that President Nkrumah had put himself into the Soviet camp."

"This remarkable statement came after Nkrumah's United Nations speech in which he had said nothing that could possibly substan-

Prime Minister Nehru was chosen as the target of attack. Commenting on his General Assembly speech the *News Chronicle* said, "Nehru is being naive in supposing that anything constructive would be likely to come at this stage from a private meeting between President Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchov. What is worse, he is playing into Russia's hands by proposing it."

And Alistair Cooke reported to the *Guardian*: "Mr. Nehru's passion was not cooled by night's sleep and he came before the Assembly this morning in a new guise or rather as a man stripped of his old Harrowian guise which alternately amuses and puzzles the Asians and Africans and generally reassures the Anglo-Americans. Gone was the formal script and with it the infections of the Oxford Union and other collateral hopes that Mr. Nehru may after all mellow into a Smuts of Asia, a former ward of the empire but now a well-groomed ally."

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### Attitude To Neutralism

So that is the role of the neutral—to mellow into a well-groomed ally of the West! Well justified was Richard Scott when he wrote in the *Guardian*:

"I think we have to admit that so far the Soviet Union has shown markedly more sympathetic attitude than the Western Powers to international neutralism. It is not so long ago that the American Secretary of State in the person of Dulles gave it as his solemn opinion that in politics neutrality was an immoral concept. The official American opinion has certainly

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OCTOBER 23, 1960

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# UNANIMOUS

Editorial

THE world craves for peace but the U.S. rulers are only keen to keep up tension. They talk of peace all the time, but do everything they can to scuttle every constructive move, as is writ large in their non-stop manoeuvres in the U.N. They did succeed in torpedoing the Five Power Resolution on resumption of contacts between the Big Two. Their victory, however, was nominal and momentary. Before they could breathe afresh and think out new plots, they were faced by Krishna Menon, with the Twenty Nation resolution, appealing to all nations to use their "utmost endeavours" to ease international tension and promote world peace. It was unanimously passed by the 91 nations present in the U.N. session. The rulers of U. S. can only cut themselves adrift still more from world public opinion if they continuously keep up their cold war manoeuvres.

Our country with legitimate pride greets the wise and sustained efforts of our U. N. representatives who are loyally carrying forward the great task initiated by the Prime Minister himself, in consultation with other Afro-Asian and peace-loving nations.

The new resolution is not as specific as the earlier Five Power one was but if honestly accepted, it outlaws the cold war. It voices the world's anxious desire for a lessening of tensions and promotion of mutual trust and confidence. We share Pandit Nehru's hope that this resolution proposed by India, supported by 20 nations of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe itself, and unanimously passed by the U.N., will pave the way for calm consideration of world problems.

This victorious Indian initiative is only the first step. It has to be kept up to give colonialism its due burial and scatter the clouds of war.

Some indications of Indian foreign policy moves in the coming days were outlined by the Prime Minister in his address to the M.P.s.

The structure of the U. N. has to be changed but not "in a hurry".

The world situation may "go out of hand" if there was no speedy agreement on disarmament during the next two or three years. Nehru is all support for Khrushchov's bold proposals.

The Indian Prime Minister was himself freshened up by what he learnt of the African freedom tide from the African representatives themselves. He more than anybody else should have realised how weak and wrong, if not worse, have been the reports from Indian diplomatic channels about this major sector of the struggle against colonialism. A real clean up is urgently called for if India is not to lag behind in its duty to those who are fighting to regain their national freedom as we have won ours.

Pandit Nehru's polite compliments do cover up the past sins of the U. N. Secretary-General but his support for convening the Congolese Parliament and the joint India-UAR proposal to seat the Lumumba Government representative in the U. N. are some real recompense and guarantee of a better and worthier future for Indian policy in Congo.

The Indian Prime Minister is keeping the flag flying but immense pressure is being exerted by the Western colonialist powers, above all the U. S. and U. K., to paralyse Indian initiative and weaken India's voice in the critical battle for winning world peace and the liberation of remaining colonies that loom ahead.

Indian public opinion must remain ever vigilant and go all out to silence the champions of the imperialist West, the scribes of the monopoly-controlled heavily subsidised press and the Rightwing politicians, who can only climb up under alien shelter.

Wisdom and passion is the need of the hour to score new victories, with ever-growing allies, for India's foreign policy of world peace, colonial liberation and international cooperation.

(October 19)

# Khrushchov Back MOSCOW'S GRAND WELCOME

By Cable From MASOOD ALI KHAN

THE Soviet Premier is back in Moscow after his epochmaking and historic peace mission to New York where his initiative, drive and energy transformed the Fifteenth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations into a memorable occasion and an event of such immense significance that its great impact on future developments is yet to be fully realised.

But one thing is clear even today, this momentous session has become an unprecedented landmark in the history of the United Nations and the seeds sown in New York are going to spread out and bring forth an abundant harvest.

The United Nations Organisation is never going to be the same again. For the first time in the history of the U.N., imperialism has suffered a major defeat within the walls of this international organisation where hitherto it had held all ropes in its intriguing hands.

## The Wind Has Changed

The unanimous acceptance of the Soviet proposal that the declaration concerning liberation of colonial peoples must be debated in the Plenary Session of the Assembly was a big shattering blow to the colonialists and warmongers and it brought the tidings that the wind has changed.

How soon the hated colonial system is to end, how soon the chains fall and the subjected peoples raise their heads and straighten their backs depends to a large degree on us, the free nations of Asia and Africa.

"We address representative of those lands of Africa and Asia which acquired independence recently. We want that at the present historical moment, when the struggle of the colonial peoples for their complete liberation reaches a new intensity, these representatives should show the required understanding and responsibility," declared Nikita Khrushchov making an impassioned appeal to the recently liberated nations.

The imperialists declare now that they participated in the colonial systems only to prepare these countries for freedom. They want to destroy the memory of their crimes and "all this is done to drag you to their side so that representatives of those countries which were colonies themselves till recently should become today the supporters of the colonialists and help them in preserving the colonial system."

Addressing representatives of Asia and Africa and Latin America, Khrushchov uttered these moving words: "Remember that the fate of your brothers on the African continent depends to a large extent on you. The colonialists want to do their dirty work by your hands. That is why the Soviet Government appeals to you to use your determination and to

show that you know how to defend not only your own interests, not only the interests of your own peoples and States but that, having acquired independence, you remember those who still suffer under colonial slavery."

Khrushchov's moving speech on the 12th of this month did a lot to sway the vote in the Assembly and drove the imperialists to beat a hasty retreat but its significance does not end there.

## Battles To Come

There are battles to come during this last round of the liberation struggles and the voice and prestige of the nations of Asia and Africa and the influence of India are to play a vital role. It is for us to see that our full weight is felt on the side of freedom and enlightenment in this noble cause of liberation of mankind.

The Soviet Premier arrived back in Moscow in a happy mood and the crowds at Vnukovo Airport and lining the route into the city gave him a tumultuous welcome. People started gathering two hours earlier and soon on both sides of the Leninsky Project they stood twelve and fifteen deep. The enterprising ones climbed lamp posts and other vantage points. People showed their sincere and enthusiastic approval of the Soviet leader's dramatic fight in the cause of peace at the United Nations.

Apart from the radio and newspapers, Soviet Television played an important part in keeping the people well-informed of the day-to-day developments at the United Nations. With a time lag of one or two days, millions watched the sessions and Press Conferences, receptions, meetings and other events. This gave everybody the feeling of participation in all that went on in New York.

We could see the shining eyes of the representatives of Asia and Africa and the crestfallen faces of the Western diplomats during Khrushchov's speeches, during Khrushchov's meeting with the first meeting of Soviet Premier and Fidel Castro at the Assembly, their warm handshake and embrace, Khrushchov's improvised Press Conference from his balcony, his meetings with leaders of resurgent Asia and Africa, ordinary Negro workers embracing and kissing him in the land where the law of lynch still prevails. Khrushchov's visit to Negro quarter of Harlem in New York and his fighting interview on the American Television before his departure.

All these happenings came pulsating with life before the eyes of the viewers and they not only heard but saw every gesture, expression and movement sometimes more revealing than many columns in newspapers.

People here were shocked to hear that the U.S. warmongers had planned to send another plane into the airspace of the Soviet Union just before the U.N. Session began and only when Khrushchov warned U.S. Ambassador Thompson in Moscow this flight was cancelled.

## Another Spy

And yesterday Pravda published the account of the trial of another American spy, Mark Kaminsky, who came to the Soviet Union as a tourist with a friend of his and criss-crossed the country—Vyborg—Leningrad—Moscow—Minsk—Moscow—Kharkov—Kiev—Lvov—Uzhorod. They were caught while trying to smuggle out films, notes and maps.

He had marked on maps and in coded notebooks, radar installations, military aerodromes, radio-stations, power-houses, communication centres heavy industry plants and a lot more. This Mark Kaminsky of Jefferson Township, Michigan State born 1932, stood before the Military Tribunal of the Kiev Military Region and pleaded guilty to the charge of espionage after being confronted with overwhelming evidence of his crimes. He was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment. He appealed to Presidium of Supreme Soviet USSR and, considering his confession of guilt and repentance, the Presidium changed the sentence to expulsion from Soviet Union.

So the American war-mongers persist in their dark deeds and the need for vigilance is as great as ever. The Soviet Premier has not yet made his usual report to the nation after his return home and is expected to address a mass rally soon where he is bound to sum up the results of his U.N. visit and review the international scene.

## TIBET IN U. N.

\* FROM FRONT PAGE

tions, must have known that conspiring and intriguing in this vein against one's own country's delegation with the officials of other countries, is what is called, in common parlance, treason. And persons indulging in such activities are dubbed as traitors.

The report then goes on to describe in detail the attitude of the Indian delegation. "Krishna gave me to understand that Government of India, once again, is likely to abstain this year. That was very disappointing, so I have decided to take the bull by the horns and seek an interview with the Prime Minister."

"If the Prime Minister tells me that the Government of India intends to abstain again, I will cable you so that you can marshal public pressure through meetings, through letters to the Prime Minister, and through editorials among friendly newspapers."

This is how Indian reactionaries in collusion with imperialism and its agents are working to bully and pressurise the Government of India to bring about changes in its foreign policy.

MOSCOW, October 19

# SCRAP-BOOK

## NEHRU'S MISINFORMERS

NEHRU'S speeches and actions in the United Nations have surprised many and dismayed some. In a sense what was most welcome of all was the change in tone and approach to Congo and, indeed, to Africa as a whole. Circles close to the External Affairs Ministry describe the change thus—from supporting Hammerskjold to supporting Lumumba. What needs explaining, however, is not the present change but the previous stance.

The Prime Minister is reported to have made many officials hot under their collars by the biting remarks about their lack of information and absence of understanding of the African personality.

It was not till his meeting with Guinea's Sekou Toure that Nehru began to feel that he had been fed with the wrong news and ideas about Africa. This feeling hardened to certainty after his meetings with Nkrumah and Nasser.

Questions are being asked as to why he had not earlier found out the facts by correspondence with the African leaders.

The answer, some reliable and well-informed persons relate, is that the memos on the Congo came to the Prime Minister following personal study by the trusted Foreign Secretary S. Dutt. And there seemed to be no reason, therefore, to doubt their veracity.

This particular mandarin reportedly was most upset by his trip to New York. He has stopped over for a holiday in Italy but, one fears, he will be back soon enough at counterfeiting memos.

Another source of Nehru's misinformation was our man in the U.N. He was in a position to know the kind of backstairs intrigues that were going on between the U.N. Secretary-General and the Americans. He knew very well the African resentment at our stand on the Congo. But all this was not passed on to the Prime Minister.

It is reliably learnt that the reports sent by C. S. Jha on the Congo were drafted after consultation with Hammerskjold on the plea that they had to be as up-to-date as possible. But it is sad to have to report that C. S. Jha is likely to keep his Prize post and Nehru will go on getting U.S.-censored reports.

## PATIL'S BLACKMAIL

SADOMA PATIL is doing his best to see that the PL-480 funds do the utmost

sabotage of the declared Socialist objectives. His offensive against State trading in foodgrains has been carried a stage further, despite the pious resolution of the National Development Council.

Punjab and Madhya Pradesh are surplus States—the former has two lakhs maunds of surplus wheat and the latter over one lakh. The State Governments are rather worried since Patil has started dumping his American wheat at prices lower than those at which Indian wheat can be sold. The buffer stocks, which were supposed to meet shortages, are being used to damage our own producers.

When these Governments approached the Food Minister with their problem and asked for help, they found themselves facing a bloodsucker. He was quite prepared to lift the stocks at the prices that Punjab and Madhya Pradesh wanted. But he also demanded a price.

Quite bluntly he asked them that they should give up their "fads", i.e. State trading and restriction on the movement of foodgrains. If they refused to pay this price, they could sit on their wheat for all he cared. They had their problems and he had his—it was a simple case of quid pro quo.

The State Governments are still to give their reply. They are reported to be waiting till the Prime Minister can spare some time for them. Let us hope that they do not have to wait too long nor in vain.

## CONGRESS CORRUPTION

WITH what fanfare it was announced that the Congress had set up a high-powered body which would look into all the cases of corruption that might be made against Congressmen. The sceptics were told to hold their tongues and wait for a non-violent purge.

Nothing much was heard of what this probe commission was doing and who was being investigated, although charges and counter-charges of corruption continued to be made publicly by Congressmen against Congressmen. This showed scant respect for the commission, whose members were just itching to look into just these sort of charges.

Now alas! it appears to have been decided that the commission had best wind itself up. In all these months of existence, only two cases were brought to its notice. And they were quite trivial. The public—including the Congress public—just refused to coope-

rate. Obviously they have long given up hope of checking corruption with the help of any Congress-appointed body.

And as for the prize charges—against Kairon, for example—the High Command felt that too much politics was involved to leave it entirely to the commission. The top leaders themselves would do the investigating.

So cynicism at the top and the bottom finished off the commission and nobody seems even to care.

## RUNNING DOWN INDIA

A FRIEND sent me a clipping from the Washington Post of October 3. It is entitled "Personality Cult in Indian Politics". Some choice bits are—

"The base of Indian democracy is caste loyalty and votes are largely sought and given on that basis. At the apex, the leadership is sustained by the personality cult....

"The development of personality cult is not always the result of manoeuvres by the bosses who enjoy power. The cult has flourished because it provides an escape to the average Indian who has been brought up in the master-servant, elder-younger and guru-chela tradition and wishes to avoid taking responsibility for decisions. We lack the tradition of taking counsel among equals, of forming a team and assuming collective responsibility....

"While the influence of caste at the base and the personality cult at the apex give our democracy a feudal content, the safety valve which kept a feudal society going is not operating....

"The people of India are not convinced that hard work on their part is the final answer to their troubles. They still believe that relief must come either from the Government coffers or from the treasures of the exploited moneyed classes."

Quite a classical composition on slandering our people and their institutions. But before shooting off a protest to the American Embassy, let me give you the author's name—Banga Das, unfortunately Indian. It was specially produced for the American Press and not just lifted from one of the Indian journals.

How long are we going to allow ourselves to be run down in this fashion for the private profit of a defunct editor with a dollar-soul?

—Onlooker

October 17.

# COMMUNIST PARTY'S CAMPAIGN FOR AMITY IN ASSAM

\* From Our Correspondent

In Assam, the Communist Party has launched a Statewide campaign for peace, amity and friendship among the different communities and for the rehabilitation of the refugees. The recent floods, which caused very large-scale devastation throughout the Assam Valley districts, did adversely affect this campaign.

UNDER the leadership of the Party Secretary, Phani Bora, a squad toured Nowgong, Raha, Jamunamukh, Jalaguti, Bokakhat, Bongaon, Beruabamungaon, Golaghat, Titabor, Mariani and Jorhat.

In all these places, big public meetings were held which were attended by people of both majority and minority communities in large numbers. In Sibsagar Division, several meetings were organised by the Party during the last few weeks, which were addressed amongst others by Promode Gogoi, member of the Secretariat of the State Council of the Party.

While stressing the need for rehabilitation of the uprooted families and restoration of peace and friendship amongst the communities, Gogoi and other speakers criticised the Government policy of rehabilitation, which is partisan and riddled with corruption. He also criticised the actions of the Government in the matter of rehabilitation as well as in that of maintaining law and order. He said that certain small fry are suspended from their offices and some few boys arrested under the Preventive Detention Act. But the real culprits, the Government, the Cabinet members, the leaders of the Pradesh Congress and so many others of their kind remain at large and untouched. He vehemently criticised the Government policy vis-a-vis the student community, which was one of creating more frustration among them through strangling their democratic rights.

## Partisan Efforts

The Government of Assam has, in fact, refused to enlist the cooperation of the political parties in the task of rehabilitation which was so strongly recommended by the Parliamentary delegation. They have been trying to run it through their party organisation and the officials.

As a result, it is widely believed that only those who can manage to satisfy the Congress leaders and the officials with a share are getting the loans and grants. Moreover most of the badly affected people have not returned to their homes and, therefore, they have not been able to apply for the loans and grants.

## Confidence Returns

As a result of this campaign, the first of its kind, people are regaining confidence. The Party opened a few camps in Kamrup, Nowgong, Golaghat and Sibsagar districts. Comrades from these camps are carrying on propaganda, as well as collecting actual statistics of the affected people and properties lost or damaged so that rehabilitation work can be efficiently carried out and corruption and partiality adequately fought.

The situation is normal now, although psychological rehabilitation will take time. The Durgotsav festival contributed a lot towards revival of the age-old friendly relations between the two communities. A good number of refugees are yet outside the State or in Cachar and have not returned to their old homes. This has weakened the fight for rehabilitation. Stay outside for long will only deprive the people of their legitimate dues for pro-

Phani Bora in his speeches explained the Party's stand on the language issue at

\* SEE PAGE 12

Bihar can now boast of four Universities, one in each of the four administrative Divisions of the State, Patna, Muzaffarpur, Ranchi and Bhagalpur. What- ever it may mean in terms of upgrading the standard and quality of higher education, as well as its broad- ening—and by general consensus, it may not mean much—it nevertheless goes a long way to satisfy re- gional ambitions. This was the bait which the State Government decided to give for muzzling University autonomy and tightening its grip over higher educa- tion in the State.

IN May last when the Bill for establishing the four Universities came for discus- sion before the State Legisla- ture, it was no less a person than Ramcharitra Singh, the then Treasurer of the Patna University, who hit the nail on the head by declaring that the Bill was not aimed at im- proving higher education in the State. It was only another weapon in the hands of the ruling junta in its factional struggle.

**Surprise Move**

Ramcharitra Singh had reasons to know. The moving spirit behind the Bill was his one-time Private Secretary, Krishna Kant Sinha, who had moved on to Deputy Minister- ship after the boss left the Cabinet, and who, by virtue of piloting this Bill successfully, has qualified himself for high- er rewards at the hands of the ruling party.

In fact Krishna Kant Sinha proved a shrewd third- ward. During the three months' long Budget session of the State Legislature, he did not let anybody even so much as suspect the existence of the Bill and on three days' notice flung it at a flabbergasted House which was getting ready to disperse. The members were all taken by surprise. They all had the feeling of having been tricked. They were

about to depart. Colleges were going to be closed for the summer vacation and neither teachers nor stu- dents would be there to build up any resistance to the proposed Bill. The Gov- ernment could not have chosen its time better.

The Deputy Minister for Education nonchalantly ap- pealed to the House to pass this "non-controversial" Bill without much ado; not even a fortnight was allowed to the Select Committee to consider and make its recommenda- tions. The House extended its session to pass the Bill, and the Deputy Minister made an air-dash to Ranchi to obtain the Governor's assent to the Act.

That is how the four new Universities in Bihar came into existence.

The Bill nevertheless gave

rise to the bitterest contro- versy. Barring a few loyalists, both the Patna and the Bihar Universities as a whole, the Vice-Chancellors, the Treas- urers, the Senate, the Tea- chers' Associations, all oppo- sed the Bill. Despite their im- pending doom, the Senates of the two Universities proceeded with their meetings in the normal way, and took deci- sions which they considered proper. The ruling majority in the State Legislature coun- tered the move by deciding that all decisions taken by the two Senates subsequent to the moving of the Bill should be considered void.

While the opposition inside the Congress Party itself was considerable, following almost the traditional division in that party, it was suppressed. The PSP and the Communist mem- bers of the Legislature Select Committee appended a joint note of dissent which was ignored.

**Unequal Fight**

That is how the fight went on. From the beginning it was an unequal fight, with the element of initiative and sur- prise on one side. It is still going on—a one-sided fight, with arbitrary transfers, re- movals, and even 'promotions' of teachers who are consid-

University bodies like the Se- nate, the Syndicate and the Academic Council is taken away. While in bodies like the Academic Council some tea- chers will be there, all the de- partments and faculties will not be represented on them which is bound to affect their work adversely.

The crudity of government- al interference was sought to be somewhat softened by the recommendations of the Joint Select Committee.

The provision that the Chancellor will appoint the Vice-Chancellor and the Treas- urer but only on the advice of the Chief Minister was mellowed by dropping the latter clause. On the other hand, the provision which empowered the State Govern- ment to carry on inspection of colleges and take whatever steps they liked without re- ference to the Senate, Syndi- cate, the Academic Council or any other body of the Univer- sity was amended to include the Chancellor with the State Government. The Education Minister, Kumar Ganganand Singh, was frank enough to admit that the amendments were verbal.

The opposition to the Bill in Patna was most intense on the question of the change in the teaching character of the Patna University. When the then existing University in

appointment of the new Vice-Chancellors of the four new Universities this prin- ciple has been completely bypassed. The new incum- bents are retired Judges of the High Court with no ex- perience of teaching or University work.

While nobody seemed to mind the departure of the former Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University (who besides being a hard-boiled bureaucrat was closely associated with the Society for Cultural Freedom, and was a votary of Jai Prak- ash Narain) yet the manner in which he was made to go was rather unseemly. He had submitted a memorandum to the Chancellor and was wait- ing for a reply. It is reported that he was rudely asked on the telephone to hand over charge and quit. He had been reappointed for another term of five years (at the instance of the President, it is said, and to the chagrin of the Chief Minister). He insisted on com- pleting the term. But he was told that the University of which he was appointed Vice-Chancellor did not exist any more.

**Additional Handicap**

The teachers of the Patna University are working under an additional handicap. The cadres of all the universities are "pooled" and are being re- allocated at will. The sword of transfer is hanging over the heads of those who had the foolhardiness to earn the dis- pleasure of the Education Department. But mostly the victims are members of the old ruling group in the Patna University who had entrench- ed themselves in key positions. The doyen of them, the old Registrar, has been sent to the new University at Ranchi to give the benefit of his old and rich experience in setting up a new University. Thus the old vested interest in the Patna University is broken and thrown out, the new group that is entrenching itself consists of henchmen of the ruling group in the State. Not only has the Government obtained the right to interfere in the affairs of the Univer- sities, thanks to this coup de main, the two have fallen in line.

ed inconvenient to the powers-that-be.

The underlying principles which guided the State Edu- cation department in draft- ing the Bihar Universities Bill were two-fold: to deny and suppress the democratic role of teachers in adminis- tering the University and secondly, to suppress the au- tonomy of the University and reduce it virtually to the position of a department—or more precisely, a sub- department in relation to the Education Department of the Government of Bihar.

The new Senate will be do- minated by nominated mem- bers. While a graduate of four years' standing can seek election to the Senate, a tea- cher cannot become a member before he has completed ten years of service, and that too, through a process of rotation.

**Teacher's Right Taken Away**

The teacher's right to vote, his right to be elected to the

1952 was bifurcated into two—the Patna University as the teaching university, and the Bihar University as the affil- iating and examining body, it was stipulated that the work- ing of the Patna University would be re-examined after ten years and to introduce any changes if necessary.

The Patna University Tea- chers' Association rightly pointed out that neither was the ten-year period over, nor had any re-examination of the working of the teaching University been made. The change in its character at this stage was arbitrary. The De- puty Minister of Education could only take shelter behind the University Grants Com- mission, which he said, had refused to permit a fifth teaching University.

**Appointment Of Vice-Chancellors**

It is now a universally accepted principle in Uni- versity administration that only those persons should be appointed Vice-Chancel- lors who have some expe- rience of teaching work. Dr. Radhakrishnan has insisted on at least six years' expe- rience of working in a Uni- versity or ten years' as Prin- cipal of a college. In the

**A BANKER directs U. N. ACTIVITY in CONGO**

**... And his name is DAG HAMMARSKJOELD**

by ART SHIELDS

NEW YORK  
A banker—I'm sorry to say—is directing the United Nations Congo Ope- rations.

Bankers always put invest- ments before people. That's true in Africa and elsewhere. And this banker follows the ways of his kind. He sets a tough policy towards Premier Lumumba, who opposes fore- eign monopolies. And a soft policy towards Moïse Tshom- be, the Katanga mining stooge. Lumumba, the pa- triot, was driven from office, while Tshombe, the traitor, was protected. And colonia- lism survives a little longer.

The banker behind the Congo job is Dag Hammar- skjoeld, the U. N. Secretary- General. Hammarskjöld was Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Bank of Sweden before entering U. N. service. And he was an influential figure in the world's money markets for many years.

The U. N. Chief comes from a long wealthy line. The eldest sons in his family have been Knights of the Kingdom of Sweden for 350 years. His father, Knut Hjalmar Ham- merskjöld, was a Conserva- tive Prime Minister in the First World War. Other Ham- merskjölds have been Cabinet members.

Sweden is a little country. But its financial aristocracy is extremely rich. Its bankers have big investments in Bel- gium, Britain and the USA. And one can understand Ham- merskjöld's sympathy with the Belgian, British and Rock-efeller investors in the Congo today.

One can also understand President Eisenhower's en- thusiasm for Hammarskjöld. For Hammarskjöld's ties with American finance were espe- cially close.

**Cold War Old-Timer**

These ties were tightly knitted in the late 1940's, when the cold war began. The cold war was officially started by President Truman and Secretary of State Marshall. And "Marshall Plan" billions began flowing into Europe with two objects in mind: 1) to drown the Left-wing forces in Italy, France and other lands. And 2) to finance American com- panies in their drive to con- trol the economy of Europe.

And Hammarskjöld gave up the high banking post he had held for eight years, and began handling Ameri- can money as a Marshall Plan executive. This cold war story goes back to 1947 when Hammarskjöld sat on the organising committee that set up the Marshall Plan.

In 1948, Hammarskjöld be- came a Marshall Plan full- timer. His title was "Vice- Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Organisa- tion for European Economic Cooperation". This was other- wise known as the "OEEC"—a cold war weapon against Left-wing Labour and the So- viet Union.

This background casts a shadow on Hammarskjöld's recent protestations of his "impartiality" and "objecti- vity" in the Congo dispute.

Hammarskjöld worked hand in hand with W. Ave- rell Harriman, the big in- vestment banker, in this cold war campaign. Harriman was Marshall Plan chief in Europe, with an Ambassa- dor's title. A friendship be- tween the two bankers began that continues today. And Harriman gave a warm O.K. to Hammarskjöld last month after touring the Congo for Kennedy.

Hammarskjöld doubtless remembers the Wall Street harvest that he helped to reap in the Marshall Plan drive. Hundreds of American branch plants sprang up in Europe. And Uncle Sam's Dollar be- came King.

That wasn't all. Commun- ists were expelled from the Governments of Belgium, Italy and France.... This was part of the price that the Marshall Planners exacted for "aid". And militant Left-wing trade unions were weakened for a time.

**The Congo Prizes**

Meanwhile, the big Bel- gian, British and American investors are playing for giant stakes in the Congo. The Belgian holdings alone have been estimated at four billion dollars by Business Week. The American inter- ests come second. And the imperialists fear they may lose much of their ill-gotten gains if Lumumba triumphs over Hammarskjöld.

These Congo stakes include such prizes as:—

- The rich diamond mines of Kasal Province, which the Guggenheims share with the Belgians and British;
- The huge palm oil and palm nut plantations of the British Unilever (Lever Brothers) interests, that furnish the soap that is sold to American housewives to the tunes of soap operas;
- Many rich properties of the Rockefellers Socony Mobil Oil company, the Texas Oil, Shell Oil, Arco Steel U. S. Plywood, International Business Machines, etc.
- The banks of the Belgians Societe Congolese du Ban- que, in which California's Bank of America holds a 15 per cent stock interest.

Above all the fabulous mines of the Union Miniere du Haut Katanga Co., which the Bel- gians share with British and Rockefeller interests.

These mines furnished the uranium for the atomic

massacre in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. They supply most of the world's cobalt, and a substantial share of the world's copper, zinc, tin and other metals. And their ulti- mate wealth is hard to guess.

The London Observer, Brit- ain's largest Sunday paper, said (July 10) that the Union Miniere's stock was estimated at seven hundred million pounds sterling, that is al- most two billion dollars in 1955. Its stock tumbled seven- ty-five per cent down since as the result of political uncer- tainties. But it could be ex- pected to shoot up again if the imperialists get firm con- trol of the Congo.

The London Observer re- ports the following sensation- al fact about the Union Miniere stock ownership:—

Some 22 per cent of the stock of this Congo mining trust belongs to the Central Government of the Congo. And Lumumba, we may note, is the legally elected head of the Central Government.

The Belgians have refused to turn this 22 per cent over to Lumumba—or even to their stooge in Leopoldville, Colonel Mobutu. They prefer to give it to Moïse Tshombe, whom they own body and soul, instead. But the legality is all with Lumumba, as Dag Hammar- skjoeld knows well.

The Rockefellers know this too. But the Rockefel- lers are the world's most ag- gressive imperialists. They first entered the Congo in August 1906, when the first John D. furnished the funds to build the railroad to bring Katanga ore to the sea. The Rockefellers bought six hundred thousand shares of the mining stock in 1950. They are reported to have increased their holdings substantially since. And Gov- ernor Nelson Rockefeller wants the United States to prepare to fight for his Congo investments. But this is 1960, Mr. Rocke- feller. And the tides of history are against you.

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# THE AGRARIAN QUESTION IN INDIA

★ ★

**FOLLOWING** are extracts from E. M. S. Namboodiripad's speech at the discussion on the Liberation Movement and the Agrarian Question held recently in Bucharest.

It is a matter of great honour for me to represent the Communist Party of India in this exchange of views and experience between the theoretical and practical workers of the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The discussions have shown the great variety and multiplicity of forms in which the agrarian problem presents itself, in the various underdeveloped countries. May I add that, so far as India is concerned, we have the same variety and multiplicity of forms in which the problem expresses itself in the various States of our own country, and, in some States even between different regions and districts.

## Kerala Experience

I may just quote the example of what we experienced when undertaking the Land Reform Legislation in Kerala, where, as you know we had a Communist-led Government in 1957-59. We first attempted to have the same legislation for the whole State, but found that what was suitable for one part of the State did not suit the rest of the State. We, therefore, had to change it and make two sets of provisions applicable to the two parts of the State. This is true of many other States as well.

However, behind all this variety and multiplicity of forms in which the agrarian problem expresses itself in the various parts of India, the class and political content remains the same for the whole country. Whatever the particular juridical peculiarities of different States, they all cover the same essence—that of increasing domination of money and the world market superimposed on the old system of feudal relations.

The historical origin of this should be traced to the days when the foreign British rulers were getting their grip over the economy of the country and were using it to bring India under the sphere of their economic domination. They destroyed the old self-sufficient villages and transformed the system of production—instead of each family producing for its own consumption as before it began to produce for the market.

While this change in the rural economy brought India into the sphere of the world capitalist market, the British rulers were careful not to destroy the old system of feudal domination over the rural poor. The result was that the Indian peasant was brought under the double yoke of feudal and capitalist exploitation, which took the forms of landlords' rent, usurers' debt and interest, merchants' profits and Government's taxes.

The peasants naturally rose in revolt against such a system of oppression and exploitation. A large number of heroic bat-

ties were fought by them in the various parts of the country—such as the Santhal insurrection of 1855-56, the indigo cultivators' strike of 1860, peasant uprising in Pabna and Bogra in 1872-73, the Maratha uprising of 1875, and the Moplah uprising of 1885-1896. These however were spontaneous revolts without proper leadership and with no clearly formulated programme of action.

It was only in the last years of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the present century that the growing bourgeois democratic movement started giving expression to the mass peasant discontent. Among the resolutions adopted by the Indian National Congress in the early days of its life were demands for the reform of the land revenue policy of the Government, for the abolition of forced labour and of forced contributions for supplies, for measures of relief from agricultural indebtedness, for free and compulsory primary education, etc.

Later on, when the great leaders of the bourgeois national movement, Tilak and Gandhi, assumed the leadership of the movement, they too formulated certain demands of the peasantry as part of the programme of anti-imperialist action.

But one remarkable feature of these resolutions and programmes was that they were all directed against the British Government—peasants' demands directed against the landlords, the usurers and other internal exploiting classes found little or no place in these programmes.

## Beginning Of Organisation

There was, however, one positive aspect to these resolutions and programmes—the efforts to bring the mass of the peasantry into action against the British rulers. Once roused into action, the peasants are not likely to remain the same old unorganised mass, only spontaneously rising in revolt which, for that very reason, is bound to be suppressed. On the other hand, they began getting organised as part of the anti-imperialist army of the Indian people.

That too at a time when the October Revolution in Russia was having its impact on the working people of the whole world, and naturally of India too. Ideas of Socialism and Communism were fast spreading among the people of India, and small groups began to be formed among the ranks of the anti-imperialist fighters. Within the Indian National Congress itself, radical groups began to get formed and started thinking of reforms in the land system.

All this slowly led to the formation of peasant associations in some part of the country. Partial struggles not only against oppressive taxes imposed by the Government, but also against landlords' rent and moneylenders' interest began to be fought. All this led, in the year 1936, to the formation of the All-India Kisan Sabha with the central slogan of abolition of landlordism without compensation.

The formation of this organisation signified the emergence of the working class as the leader of the fighting peasantry. No more were the peasants leaderless and unorganised (as they were in the nineteenth century), nor were they under the leadership of the bourgeoisie which was not prepared to lead the peasantry in its fight against the landlords and the usurers (as they were in the first three decades of the present century). They are now having their own independent organisation headed by Socialists and Communists who have a clear programme of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle. The peasant association was, at the same time, allied to the trade union movement which was fighting for the improvement of the conditions of the working class.

## Worker-Peasant Alliance

The alliance of the trade unions, the peasant associations and other organisations of the working people, fighting along with the bourgeois democrats organised in the Indian National Congress, became a powerful lever to raise the consciousness and the sense of organisation of the peasantry. It was this that led to a number of heroic peasant struggles in the various parts of the country, which reached the highest form in Telengana where the peasants, led by the Communist Party, waged an armed struggle for nearly two years against the autocratic rule of the Nizam.

These movements and struggles however took place at a time when the conditions of struggle were simpler than they are today. Those were days when the dominant desire of the people of India was to build the unity of the Indian people to put an end to the British imperialist rule. The bourgeoisie was anxious to keep the mass of peasantry within the anti-imperialist movement. It, therefore, formulated certain radical demands of the peasantry. As a matter of fact, the resolutions of the Indian National Congress adopted at Karachi in 1931 and at Faizpur in 1937 helped the drawing together of the anti-imperialists organised in the Congress and the peasants organised in their associations.

Although the dominant leadership of the national bourgeoisie was unwilling to carry out the programme which they themselves had accepted on paper, nevertheless the fact that such a programme was accepted helped the further consolidation and strengthening of the organised peasant movement. The bourgeoisie being then in opposition to the British, it had to direct its main fire against the British, and not against the growing forces of the working class and working peasantry. The task of the Communist Party and its allies was, therefore, to see that the programme adopted by the Indian National Congress was taken to the mass of the people, and, what is more, to make that the basis of organised action by the peasantry.

Today, however, the situation is different. It is far more complex.

The bourgeoisie is in power and not in opposition. Furthermore, having come to power, they are anxious to keep the landlords, usurers and other exploiting classes allied to them. The growing forces of the Left, particularly the Communist Party, are to them a dangerous enemy. They therefore, are making compromise after compromise with their class allies, the landlords, the usurers, etc.

At the same time, their interests are totally different from those of the landlords, usurers, etc. Interested as they are in taking the economy along the capitalist path, the bourgeoisie wants to put certain curbs on the landlords' and moneylenders' exploitation. They, therefore, have to formulate a programme of land reforms which would not naturally be liked by the landlords and moneylenders.

This conflict between the bourgeoisie on the one hand and the feudal classes on the other, goes on simultaneously with the alliance of these two sections of the ruling class who are interested in maintaining their joint rule and in preventing the consolidation and strengthening of the forces of the working class and peasantry. This existence of conflict and alliance between them makes the task of the Communist Party rather complicated and difficult.

reviewed in preparation for the forthcoming Congress of the Party. I will, therefore, just briefly explain to you the main features of the problem as it presents itself.

Ever since the country attained independence and the bourgeoisie came to power, it has taken several measures in the direction of reforming the land relations. The programme which the ruling party, the Indian National Congress, adopted in this direction is, on the face of it, a radical progressive programme....

## Bourgeois Practice

This programme, if implemented, will no doubt strike a heavy blow on the feudal elements in the country. For, it would mean not only that the old type of feudal landlords will have their property rights curtailed, but even the new type of landlords will be deprived of the right to enrich themselves at the expense of the common people as they like. Furthermore, it would help the common people to start building a new life on democratic lines.

The bourgeoisie, however, does not carry out this programme in the manner in which it is envisaged in the resolutions formally adopted by

inadequate to meet the requirements of the situation. For, the essence of these policies is the effort of the bourgeoisie to transform the land relations in the country and from feudal to the capitalist.

When they speak of abolishing intermediaries, what they have in mind is the establishment of the new type of landlord (who appropriates surplus value through the exploitation of wage-labour), in place of the landlords of the old type (who collect rent from cultivators to whom they lease their land). What is more, the old type of landlords are given huge sums as compensation for the rights which they are being deprived of, besides a good portion of their land itself as "self-cultivated" land. This type of "abolition of landlordism," therefore, helps the old type of landlords to transform themselves into landlords of the new type.

Similarly, the legislation for reduction of rent, security of tenure and right of purchasing ownership are also calculated to enable a narrow stratum of well-to-do peasants to become rich peasants, or even capitalist landlords. They enable those who have some savings to become landowners, and use this newly-acquired ownership to expand their cultivation and enrich themselves. Furthermore, the legislations providing for these rights of the tenants also enable the landlords to

This whole scheme was announced to be the means through which India would develop its own "indigenous form" of "Socialist society" without "violence and dictatorship" that accompanied the establishment of Socialist society in one-third of the world.

## Failure Of A Programme

Eight years of the work of the Community Development Blocks have utterly disproved these claims. The several Evaluation Reports, prepared under the auspices of the Community Development Ministry, show how tragic has been the failure of the movement to generate people's enthusiasm....

All this makes it clear that no basic change has been made in the attitudes and behaviours of the people; that, on the other hand, fresh efforts on new lines are to be made if a "silent revolution" is to be brought about, as was announced at the time when the Community Development was launched.

The Communist Party, however, does not take a negative attitude to the Community Development movement. For, while not solving the basic problem of the country, the movement does help the peasantry (if they are properly organised)

TILL the October Revolution in Russia, there were only two capitalist paths for the solution of the agrarian problem—the Prussian path and the American path. After the October Revolution, however, there is a third path, the Socialist path. The former give rise to repeated crises, while the latter leads to rapid and uninterrupted growth of the economy.

This particular conclusion, arrived at by Lenin in the early days of the Communist International, was emphasised by several speakers who took part in the discussion on the Liberation Movement and the Agrarian Question, jointly organised by the Journal The World Marxist Review and the Rumanian Institute of Economic Research at Bucharest on September 15, 16 and 17.

The above conclusion was corroborated and strengthened by the abundant statistical and other factual material placed before the conference by delegates from the Asian and African countries who took part in the discussion.

After the opening speech delivered by the Director of the Rumanian Institute of Economic Research, Comrade Manuilsky, Comrade Khaled Bagdache initiated the discussion with a description of the agrarian situation in the two parts of the UAR—

Egypt and Syria. He was followed by delegates from Morocco, Algeria, Iraq, etc., and two Institutes of Economic Research in the Soviet Union, and the discussion was concluded on the last day by a two-hour-long report by the Second Secretary of the Cuban People's Party, among the non-Arab Asian countries represented at the conference were India and Ceylon.

It was reported to the conference that a similar conference had already been held in Havana, participated in by the Latin American countries. It was also announced that the papers read at the two conferences would be given in a summarised form in the Journal World Marxist Review and that the whole material, unabridged, would be brought out in book form.

The delegates were happy at this opportunity for the exchange of views and information on one of the crucial issues affecting several hundreds of millions of people living in Asia, Africa and Latin America, who are either fighting for full national independence, or for preserving the independence already secured and strengthening it further by developing their economy along the path of industrialisation without

the stresses and strains involved when the capitalist path of development is taken. They were only sorry that time was not adequate for a proper discussion of the various issues that were raised in the papers read at the conference.

Similar discussions have already taken place on other important issues affecting the working class and democratic movement of the world, such as those on the role of the national bourgeoisie, industrial relations, etc. These, too, were organised jointly by the Journal, the World Marxist Review, and the Institute of Economic Research of one or the other Socialist countries. Among the questions that have been proposed for discussion in the future is economic development in the underdeveloped countries. The experience gained by the Indian people in the working of their Five-Year Plans is an aspect of this problem which the theoretical and practical workers of other countries are, in this connection, watching with keen interest.

This was the first time that the Communist Party of India was able to send its representative for the discussion. It was, further, hoped that, in future discussions, our Party will make its contribution.

—E.M.S. NAMBOODIRIPAD

★ ★

## E. M. S. Namboodiripad's Survey

### At Bucharest Meet

There is every danger of either overestimating the extent of their alliance (which leads to the tactics of fighting the two sections of the ruling class simultaneously and equally) or of overestimating the extent of their conflict (which leads to the tactics of supporting the bourgeoisie).

## Questions Of Importance

This complicated situation has naturally raised several questions of a theoretical and practical nature which are of importance for the Communist Party of India. One of these is: what is the extent of the growth of capitalism in the rural areas?

Arising out of this question is another: is the organised peasant movement to be directed primarily against the remnants of feudalism, or against the newly rising forces of capitalism?

Similarly, the question as to the exact role which the independent organisations of agricultural labourers, as distinct from the peasantry, should play in the agrarian movement.

All these questions have been discussed in the Party for nearly a decade. The result of these discussions was summed up in the Resolution adopted by the National Council of the Party in 1958. The experience accumulated by the Party during the last two years from its work on the lines laid down in that Resolution is now being

them. That is why, when the Communist Party was able to form a Government in one of the fourteen States of the country, in Kerala, we declared that our Government will try to implement what the Congress Governments failed to carry out. And it was in this light that our Government in Kerala drafted its Agrarian Relations Bill. On every aspect of the agrarian question, that Bill followed closely the guiding lines of the Central Government's Planning Commission. Yet, the Indian National Congress, which was then in opposition in the State of Kerala, opposed the salient features of the Bill and organised a joint campaign with the landlords against that Bill and for the unseating of the Government that introduced it. This, as you are probably aware, was what ultimately led to the dismissal of our Government. And now the Central Government has sent back that Bill to the State Legislature with instructions to carry out certain amendments of a reactionary nature.

While this example shows how the bourgeoisie is not prepared even to implement what has been accepted by it on paper, the same is confirmed by what is happening in other States....

The Communist Party, however, does not confine itself to exposing the gap between the professions and the practices of the bourgeoisie in the direction of agrarian reform. The Party points out that, even if fully implemented, the policies are

take possession of large extents of land held by tenants who thus become absolutely landless.

As for the fixation of an upper limit, or ceiling, on landholdings, there are so many exemptions from it that many of the big landlords, and most of the medium landlords, are able to evade the ceiling law. They, for example, divide their families in such a way that every new family is enabled to keep land up to the ceiling. Again, the law provides that plantations, lands held by religious or charitable institutions, lands used to the cultivation of special crops, and even "well-managed farms" are exempted. All the exemptions, together with the various subterfuges resorted to by the landlords, make the ceiling a farce. In States where, according to original calculations, several hundred thousand acres of land should have been made available for distribution, no more than a very tiny fraction of the original figure could actually be made available....

## Agricultural Production

Another aspect of the agrarian question in India is the organisation of peasants for increase in agricultural production and to improve the standards of their social and cultural life. The efforts made in this direction are concentrated in what is known as the Community Development movement....

to improve technique and raise productivity, to raise their living standards and to organise a higher and better social and cultural life for themselves....

As a matter of fact, it has been our experience that, wherever the Communist Party, the Kisan Sabha and the Agricultural Labour Association, together with other progressive organisations, are able to intervene effectively, the Community Development Blocks, the panchayats, the cooperatives and the organisations of youth, women, children and cultural workers can be used to further advance the cause of the rural poor.

At the same time, we do not blind ourselves to the basic character of the Community Development movement. Launched as it is by the Government of the bourgeoisie (which itself is allied to the landlords), manned as it is by superior officers drawn from the upper classes, the facilities afforded by the Community Development have a tendency to favour the rural rich, rather than the rural poor....

You will see from all this that both in relation to the land reforms laws adopted by the Government as well as to the Community Development movement, our Party has to adopt a realistic policy, flexible when fixing the lines of tactical approach to them, but firm with regard to fundamentals.

We have to recognise the advances registered in the direction of curbing feudalism,

increasing productivity and facilitating the organisation of a new life for the rural poor. We should, therefore, organise the rural poor with a view to taking advantage of, and to securing further improvements in, the land reforms laws and in the organisation of Community Development and similar activities.

At the same time, we should recognise that the policies pursued by the Government do not make any basic change either in land relations, or in the pattern of the social and cultural life in the rural areas. Nor has production increased to the extent necessary to overcome food shortage which is today as serious as a decade ago. We have, therefore, to go on educating the people in general, and the peasantry in particular, regarding the basic weaknesses and shortcomings of governmental policies and the need to change them.

## Basic Problem

It is to this end that our Party in its Madras resolution formulated a set of demands which should become the basis of peasants' action....

The realisation of even these demands would not solve the basic problem of the rural areas. They will only put curbs on the exploitation of the rural poor. The real problem is the backwardness of the whole national economy, which makes far too many people dependent on land. Approximately 70 per cent of the Indian people depend for their livelihood on land which therefore is overpopulated. This pressure on land, together with low agricultural techniques, makes for extremely low levels of national income and standard of living.

India is among the countries with the lowest levels of national income and standard of

living. It is this state of affairs that has to be put an end to.

This can be done only if the rate of industrial development is quickened much more than it is today....

I would now conclude with briefly touching on two very important aspects of the agrarian question.

## Left & Right Mistakes

The first is the proper relationship that should be established between agricultural labourers on the one hand and poor and middle peasants on the other. This question is acquiring greater and greater importance, since the ranks of the agricultural labourers are ever-increasing....

At the same time, there are large number of poor and middle peasants who, in several parts of the country, exceed the agricultural labourers in number. Both these together constitute the bulk of the rural people and both are interested in the solution of the agrarian problem in a way different from that of the bourgeoisie. It is, therefore, of great importance that they are united against the common enemy, while differences among them are peacefully settled.

The other question which is also important is the proper relationships to be established between the pauperised sections of the non-cultivating landlords and tenants who happen to hold land under them. This is an important problem, since many of these "landlords" are so poor that they have had to leave their villages in order to take jobs as clerks or even industrial workers; it is in this hunt for jobs that they have leased out their land. While they are, of course, "landlords", they are part of the rural poor, whom it should be the endeavour of the Communist Party

and the Kisan Sabha to take with them. We should not equate them with the big landlords who should be firmly fought. Relations between such "landlords" and their tenants should, therefore, be dealt with in a way different from other landlord-tenant relations.

The damage that can be done by an incorrect approach to these two problems is immense. Both Left-sectarian and Right-reformist deviations from the line of the alliance of the rural poor will strengthen the position of landlords in the rural areas.

I may just mention in passing that, when our Party reviewed the working of our Government in Kerala, particularly the way in which we worked out the land reform legislation, we came to the conclusion that elements of Left-sectarianism on these two questions on our part enabled our opponents to mobilise a good section of the middle peasants and small landlords against our Government.

There are, on the other hand, several other examples where our Party neglected the task of organising the agricultural labourers and helping them to fight for improvement of their living and working conditions, thus committing Right-reformist mistakes; in such places, reactionaries were able to mobilise the agricultural labourers against the peasants.

The conclusion, therefore, is clear that we should consciously fight within ourselves against these tendencies. As I have mentioned above, some of these questions are still under discussion in our Party. The views I have placed before you are, therefore, of a provisional character. Our Party Congress, meeting in February next, will give its final views on them and then we hope to acquaint you with our stand.

# THE U. S. ELECTIONS

★ FROM RANESH SINHA

The basic dynamic of life in the USA is the intensifying general crisis afflicting the system of imperialism. The United States is its bastion; here, the might of monopoly capitalism is the greatest, and the affluence, brazenness and depravity of its rulers are most blatant.

At the same time, here the contradictions reflecting the crisis are most glaring. Among the rich and their servants, they manifest themselves in a grossness of immorality without equal since the most decadent period of ancient society. Among the middle strata they show themselves in a mounting sense of alienation and loss of purpose without precedent in our U.S. history; mental illness has become epidemic in its proportions, alcoholism and tranquillisation are universal nostrums. In the arts a fantastic corruption permeates the scene.

## Mounting Protests

From both strata, and especially from the latter, warnings of disaster are mounting, and even principled protests are appearing. Particularly from growing numbers of artists, professionals, scientists, and assorted intellectuals, expressions of disgust with the utter foulness that dominates their sphere are becoming more and more numerous and vigorous.

From the working masses, significant rumbling and outbursts are appearing, ranging from the heroic four-month-long strike of 500,000 steel workers in 1959 to the impending strike (as these lines are written—end of August—Editor, N. A.) by the workers of the Pennsylvania Railroad—the largest in the country.

Mutterings verging on the point of rebellion are coming from the farm belts as the crisis in agriculture deepens with no prospect of solution in the offing. Mr. James F. Patton, President of the National Farmers' Union, emphasised the well-known facts again in his letter to the President last April: he pointed out that net farm income was 30 per cent below that of 1953; that farm prices were only 60 per cent of parity, or that the break-even point; that the average per capita income on the farm is about half that of the city dweller, and that one hundred thousand farm families are being forced to leave the land every year.

## Sign Of Decay

Special discontent fills the hearts of the 32,000,000 officially admitted to be 'improved', plus—there is considerable overlap—the 25,000,000 'darker folk', Negro, Puerto Rican, Mexican American, who suffer not only dire material disadvantage but also barbaric racist persecution.

One of the signs of decay in the social order of the USA is the starting of public services, especially education and health and housing. This is particularly important in helping to explain the 'juvenile delinquency' which a delinquent society has made of fearful proportions. At the

same time, it is part of the scandalous neglect of older people, one of the chief symbols of the callousness that marks the dominant 'way of life'.

## Rising Militancy

The newest element here, however, is the rising militancy and popular sweep of the opposition to the decay, injustice, and exploitation. Never in a long history of magnificent struggle have the Negro people been so aroused, so united, and so insistent upon full equality as now. Not since the 1930's has there been so much movement, stirring and debating among youth as there is today—with once again, the Negro youth showing the way. Never since the Townsend movement in the New Deal days have the aged been so aroused and so effectively organised as they are today. And signs of rank-and-file revolt and pressure in the trade union

have had a clear-cut issue, they have chosen the progressive side; whenever they have been faced with a choice between candidates in which one clearly represents reaction and the other at least some protest against reaction, they have voted against reaction. (The exceptions, such as Senator Goldwater in Arizona, are exceedingly rare).

In statistics, the result has been that while the Republican and Democratic Parties each received exactly 49 per cent of the total votes in the 1950 Congressional elections, in 1954 the percentages were 47 and 52, and in 1958 they were 44 and 53 respectively. In terms of office, this means that today the Democrats have 346 members in Congress (Senate and House) to 186 for the Republicans; they control 34 Governorships to 16 for the Republicans; and of the 177 largest cities with elected Mayors, Democrats number 123 and Republicans 49.

## The Two Parties

Big Business, of course, dominates both political parties. The fact is, however, that ever since Franklin Delano Roosevelt, in particular, its most

from the Democratic Party and establishing a new people's party.

Increasingly the bourgeoisie seeks to empty the political process of any real content. Hence, the tendency is to choose 'middle-of-the-roaders', or, as the Liberal-Democratic paper *The New York Post* put it (July 20, 1960), to give the electorate 'a choice between two middle ways'. Naturally distinctions between parties and their candidates tend to be blurred.

## Need For New Party

"We give an impression of staging an election which is but a race with one horse, or, one might say, two parties and two candidates split from the same monolithic whole." (C.L. Sulzberger, *New York Times* July 25, 1960)

In programme the Democratic Party does present the more liberal outlook in its labour plank as contrasted with that of the Republican Party. In the decisive areas of civil rights and particularly in peace and disarmament, however, there is little to choose either between the candidates or their party platforms.

It is true, nevertheless, that Nixon personally and the Republican Party in general are identified with the worst of McCarthyism and red-baiting and the worst of the Dulles 'liberation', 'massive retaliation' and 'brinkmanship' lunacies; in this sense, as the American people more or less keenly feel, the re-election of a Republican administration will be viewed by the world as a vote of confidence in a suicidal and bankrupt foreign policy.

This ruling-class policy of camouflage and transparent demagoguery, however, has a boomerang tendency. More and more millions of the people became disillusioned about the two-party system; many seek other ways of expressing their needs and demands. Sometimes it means still working within the two-party system, especially the Democratic Party; or working within the party framework whilst setting up independent committees; others, especially the Negro masses, break away from the framework and battle independently in their own organisations.

## Communist Stand

Increasingly, too, there has been discussion about the need for a new party; most significantly this has come more and more frequently from trade union and Negro leaders. When, for example, the leadership of the AFL-CIO endorsed the candidature of Kennedy-Johnson, there was a notable lack of enthusiasm; only 18 of the 29 members of the General Board even bothered to put in an appearance. A Phillip Randolph, the Negro leader and President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, explicitly withheld endorsement, saying 'there was not enough difference between the candidates'

and suggested the need for a new, labour-based party.

In this situation, the Communist Party refuses to endorse either candidate; it rejects a 'what's the use' attitude; it recognises that the majority of the masses still prefer the Democratic Party and still do not see how to break away from the two-party system. But its main efforts will be devoted to developing independent political action by the masses themselves, where they battle on issues of immediate and overwhelming concern to themselves.

The Party believes that the process of disillusionment with the two-party system is well advanced and that it will be pushed forward as the masses themselves learn, through struggle, that they must take matters into their own hands, create their own organs, choose their own leaders and implement their own programmes.

## Two Prime Considerations

There are, said the State's National Executive Committee on August 14, 1960 (and published in full in *Political Affairs* for September), two primary considerations:

- How can we reach, work with, and influence workers, Negroes, farmers, the aged, the youth, liberals, progressive, and the broader Left to enter into determined, persistent mass pressure campaigns of all kinds, at all levels, from the simplest to the highest forms—for peace, in support of colonial struggles, for civil rights and for a full range of labour and social legislation; and
- How, through these efforts, can we help to further the growth of grass-roots independent political movement, in the first place involving the trade unions, but including such other independent pressure movements as can be developed among all sections of the people.

## Meaning Of The Elections

The real meaning of the 1960 elections is to develop still further the people's confidence in their own strength, to help them see more and more clearly the ruling-class trap that is the two-party system, and so assist in unfolding a true popular groundswell that will produce a mass party of the trade union movement, the Negro masses, the poorer farmers, the harassed middle class, the distressed professional and intellectual, and the distraught youth.

With such a new party, the grip of monopoly capitalism upon life in the USA will be successfully challenged, a positive outcome to the struggle for peace will be assured, and a splendid life of creativeness and dignity will open up for the hundred and eighty millions of our country.

The Estimates Committee of the U. P. State Assembly which enquired into the working of the Churk Cement Factory had said, this being the only unit of any importance in the public sector in the State it was the special responsibility of the management "to prove that only the public sector can produce the best results in the interest of the country and the people..." (Eleventh Report, P. 37)

HOW have the U. P. Congress Government and its representatives discharged this responsibility?

## Delay In Erection

First, let us take the history of the factory. Construction was undertaken in 1949 and, for this purpose, the Government of Uttar Pradesh had entered into an agreement with a British firm of consulting engineers, namely Messrs Shearer Foges & partners with effect from December 16, 1948. In 1949-50 orders for machinery were placed with another British firm, Messrs Vikers Limited. The factory was to be set up by the end of 1951, or latest by the beginning of 1952. Actually the factory could be ready only in September 1954.

Commenting on this the Estimates Committee has remarked: "Thus there was a delay of nearly two-and-a-half or three years, as a result of which the cost went up and the income which could have accrued to the Government from its production did not accrue..." (Page 8)

According to the Committee, if the factory had been commissioned in the three years or less proper for it and had not taken six years and four months a saving of Rs. 29 lakhs could have been effected in the following manner—Excess due to rise in prices: Rs. 15,00,000; establishment expenses: Rs. 10,00,000; and on designs, maps, etc., which had to be paid to Henry Pooley after the death of Shearer: Rs. 4,00,000.

## 100 Per Cent More Cost

Delay entailed continuous increase in the cost of erection. Shearer himself had estimated the factory to cost Rs. 2.17 crores. In 1951, Shearer enhanced this estimate to Rs. 3.8 crores. By 1953, it was increased to Rs. 4.43 crores. Finally the cost came to Rs. 4.68 crores—nearly 100 per cent more than the original estimate!

Who was responsible for this delay and excessive expenditure? The various officers and departments concerned. The least that can be said about them is that they took no care, they did not bother how long it took or how much it cost the exchequer. As we shall see later, too, they treated the whole thing as a picnic—a picnic to enjoy which they were paid fabulously high salaries and allowances.

But if not more, at least equally responsible for the colossal losses were the various British firms which handled this prize enterprise. See their record:

Messrs Shearer Foges were

first appointed consulting engineers in 1948 for three years on a remuneration of Rs. 235,000 to be paid in 36 instalments. On August 20, 1950, there was another agreement with them under which they were to be paid an additional sum of Rs. 200,000 in 24 instalments for completing the entire work of designing and preparing the site plan. These had to be prepared latest by April 1951.

This firm, which had later become only the firm of Shearer, took Rs. 401,069, out of which Rs. 175,000 was only for preparing the drawings and the designs. But even by October, 1951, when Mr. Shearer unfortunately died in Bombay, the work of drawings and designing had not been completed and in 1952 the Government had to employ two other British firms, Messrs J. L. Kler & Co. and Messrs Henry Pooley, to complete the job. The Government had to pay for this again—Rs. two lakhs to J. L. Kler & Co. and Rs. 3.5 lakhs to Henry Pooley & Co!

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Pooley had estimated that the output of the factory would be 231,000 tons per year; but in the contract there was no provision that he would be responsible for this much output. The committee says, "There was no penalty clause." On the contrary, the agreement said that in case the production was less and the engineers incurred losses "for reasons beyond their control", the Government would "give consideration" to them "that is compensate them!" (Page 80)

There was no clause providing for the training of Indian engineers and technicians so that they could learn the processes of manufacture. If this were there "the Government would not have experienced the difficulties which it had to at the crucial moment and there would not be such an unconscionable burden of expenses on the factory." (P. 10)

## Neglect Of Plant

One might have expected that the British firm would at least look after the five crore plant which was so trustingly placed in its charge. But this

But the output of cement story of irresponsible planning and wasteful execution these figures tell.

The Estimates Committee has worked out in detail and analysed the expenditure on the construction of the factory and pointed out that the expenditure of at least Rs. 6,913,400 was not necessary.

## Higher Cost Of Production

The result of this all-round waste and under-production has been that the production cost of cement per ton which was calculated by Henry Pooley to be Rs. 41.48 averaged Rs. 47.00 per ton in 1954-55, Rs. 51.44 per ton in 1955-56, and 50.80 per ton in 1956-57 and Rs. 48.46 per ton in 1957-58.

Henry Pooley had calculated that depreciation and interest on capital investment would come to Rs. 12.96 and Rs. 0.50 per ton of output. He had based these calculations by adding ten per cent on machines and five per cent on buildings. But now only 6 1/4 per cent is being charged as

story of irresponsible planning and wasteful execution these figures tell.

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It has further said that, "If a correct policy had been followed in relation to the expenditure on buildings, a saving of Rs. 5,000,000 could have been effected..." (p. 13)

The Estimates Committee has criticised the unconscionable pay scales of the officers. It has also pointed out the superfluity of a number of them. It observes that a saving of Rs. 270,000 could have been easily effected in the administrative expenditure which has gone up by 30 per cent in the last four years without any corresponding rise in efficiency. (Pages 27 and 33)

## Huge Salaries

On page 17 of its Report, the Committee points out that during the Second Five-Year Plan, when it was decided to double the output of the factory from 700 tons per day to 1400 tons per day, Rs. 1,116,000 were just lost due to faulty tendering and long-winded negotiations with firms for the

# CHURK : Symbol Of U. P. Govt.'s Bungling And Waste

Thus instead of Rs. 435,000, Rs. 961,069 was spent on designs, plans and their supervision.

Is what the report of the director, dated June 5, 1958, says:

"The general condition of the plant as taken over from Henry Pooley was not at all satisfactory, a number of units required extensive repairs and overhauls. The condition of the apron feeder, jaw crusher and the hammer mill at the quarry and of the raw mills, slurry thickeners and kiln rollers at the factory is one of anxiety... The position of diaphragm plates for the raw mills is also precarious..." (quoted in the Report of the Estimates Committee on Page 11)

This is how our British friends, who boast so much of their business morality apart from their professions of friendship, served us. They exploited the pleasure-loving, inefficient and not too honest officers of the administration, took lakhs and lakhs of rupees from us and reduced our plant to shambles.

## Production Behind Plan

What about production?

Shearer had estimated the factory's annual output at 240,000 tons. Later, he said it would be 231,000 tons per month. The clinkers were to be produced at the rate of 219,000 tons per year or 18,292 tons per month.

depreciation on machines, still they come to Rs. 17.97 and Rs. 0.88 per ton.

While contracting with the Government agencies the British firms had given a rosy picture of everything and by means of it extracted the most advantageous conditions for themselves. They took care that there was no clause in the agreement that would bind them to fulfil their commitments. The U. P. Government's officers were, it seems, only too obliging. The result is that not one of their assurances has proved to be true. In no respect can this five-crore plant compare favourably with any of the other cement factories in the country.

The cost of production of the ACC is Rs. 55.02 per ton, that of Rohtas Rs. 59.38, but in the case of the Churk Cement Factory it adds up to Rs. 65.72 per ton. Similarly, "other production expenses" in the case of the ACC come to Rs. 13.05 per ton, in the case of Rohtas Rs. 8.24 per ton, and in the case of the Churk Factory they come to Rs. 28.00 per ton! The expenses on depreciation come to Rs. 3.83 per ton in the case of the ACC, Rs. 3.24 per ton in the case of Rohtas, but in the case of the Churk Factory they come to Rs. 17.00 per ton. No comment is needed on the

supply of the requisite machinery. Another Rs. 150,000 were lost due to rise in prices during the long period of wasteful negotiations. And yet another Rs. 600,000 on housing, because the recommendations of the Estimates Committee in this regard were disregarded.

To indicate the irresponsible method of planning and calculating, the Committee acidly observes that Rs. 958,000 which comes to about four per cent of the total cost were put under the heading "Unforeseen and miscellaneous contingencies"!

## One Crore Squandered

Hence even taking the main items on which, according to the findings of the Estimates Committee headed by a Congress member, wasteful and unnecessary expenditure was incurred, we see that at least one crore of rupees could have been saved. This comes to over 20 per cent of the total cost of the plant. (The major losses are indicated on pages 12, 17, 13 and 17 of the Report.)

The corrupt and inefficient administration of Uttar Pradesh has broken even its own previous records.

MASTER'S VOICE

WHILE India fought for a worthy and noble stand during the great U.N. debate on questions crucial for mankind, the reactionaries at home made frantic efforts to keep her back.

The foul and treacherous action was led by the Praja Socialist Party and the Bharatiya Jan Sangh. On every issue, whether it was the question of the cold war, or of achieving disarmament with international control or of restoring sovereignty to patriotic Congo, they struck discordant notes and made vicious attacks on the Indian stand.

The Jan Sangh characterised the Five-Power Afro-Asian resolution aimed at easing the cold war tension as "wholly misconceived" and it dubbed Nehru's speech as "sound and fury signifying next to nothing."

PSP's Janata wrote through its cherished columnist A. D. Gorwala of His Master's Voice fame: "Citizens of India no doubt congratulated themselves on the very seemly speech with which the Prime Minister recommended it to the session. Alas, that seemliness was short-lived, Nehru does not seem to have learned yet that petulance in public is not permissible."

As everyone knows "misconceived" and "unseemly" represent exactly the views of the U.S. rulers on the subject. And America reacted in a most unbecoming manner to the resolution; it almost got jittery so much so that it took the most unseemly measures to throw the resolution out, measures so rough and rude

# SPOTLIGHT

## Jan Sangh-PSP Onslaught On Nehru's U. N. Stand

that it left the whole world agape with amazement.

The measures were described by Correspondents covering the U.N. session as "sleight of hand". But neither the Jan Sangh nor Gorwala mentioned a word about it. Verily, their propaganda methods are as crude as the steps of their masters.

### IN DEFENCE OF U.S. STAND

ON the question of disarmament, the Jan Sangh attacked Nehru's stand that controls without disarmament would have no meaning and, therefore, to talk of giving priority to control was extraordinary. It defiantly took cudgels for the American stand against the Indian, declaring:

"The Prime Minister talked slightly of the USA when he considered it very 'extraordinary' that great nations should argue about priorities in disarmament and control on disarmament."

It further said: "The USA is hardly wrong in insisting on a satisfactory control system.... Such lack of controls would put democratic USA at a severe disadvantage."

The Jan Sangh again resorted to a very crude method, dishonestly distorting the whole issue which was very correctly posed by Rajaji in the following words:

"The process of disarmament and the process of controlling must no doubt go on together and side by side. But the firm agreement about disarmament must precede the investigation into what the machinery of controls must be. This is what, as I apprehend the position, Mr. Khrushchev has been saying and he is not wrong. He does not ask that the process of disarmament should be completed before agreement is reached on the machinery of controls. What he rightly objects to is to give priority to the investigation and negotiation of the system of controls, without the parties having firmly decided on disarmament and assured each other about it." (Swarajya)

I am sure the Jan Sangh weekly which often reproduces Rajaji's articles in its columns, will not dare reproduce this "slighting talk" of his against the USA. It will thoroughly expose its

dishonesty and bankruptcy if it does.

### SUPPORT TO ARMS RACE

AND Janata's Gorwala has attacked the very idea of disarmament as a pivotal step to lasting world peace, stating: "Disarmament is certainly most desirable, but in present conditions its non-acceptance does not increase very appreciably the chances of war."

Janata's columnist votes with both hands for the arms race. Keep on America, he chimes in, dutifully expressing the hope that "the Government and the people of the USA are sparing no efforts or expenditure to maintain and even better their comparative position."

While poor Gorwala cannot even contemplate with equanimity the giving up of such shameless antics for fear of losing his job, will the PSP dare repudiate this stand?

### BETRAYAL OF FREEDOM

ON the question of Congo, again, while India, through Nehru, demanded that the present elected Parliament of Congo should be helped to meet and function, every type of military and semi-military personnel of Belgium be made to leave Congo and the integrity of Congo be maintained, the PSP and the Jan Sangh deftly caught imperialist propaganda balls and tried to push these among the Indian people.

They struck a completely discordant and treacherous note. None of the two, it must be noted, even made a mention of the Congolese Parliament, the sovereign representative of its people.

This question has assumed importance in view of the fact that with the emergence of the Swatantra Party, the Jan Sangh appears to have lost some of its financial supporters, as considerable portions of Big Business help nowadays are diverted to the Swatantra Party.

Although the RSS is still said to have a big financial reserve, the Jan Sangh leadership is believed to have recognised that if it has to put up a good fight at the next General Elections, it must from now on replenish its funds. According to one estimate of the Jan Sangh leaders, two crores of rupees will roughly be required by the party for the General Elections in 1962.

—GARUDA

wrote in the Janata: "The Congo Government have shown themselves to be impotent and otiose.... Some federal device would seem to be called for.... they are certainly far from being fit for self-government. Consequently, it should not be too difficult to get general accord about the necessity of U.N. trusteeship."

A smart piece of chicanery indeed. But it reminds strongly of the antics of our own toadies and Aman Sabhaites of three decades ago. They also talked of our unfitness to rule ourselves without any foreign bosses!

One also recalls the pretty "federal device" that the British had once sought to impose on us. Their Federation went phut. In Congo today the Belgians, Americans and the whole NATO gang are the most anxious for a federal device so that they may retain mineral rich provinces like Katanga in their clutches.

### VISIT TO DOLLAR LAND

FROM the above, it seems PSP and the Jan Sangh have entered a competition as to who can please America most. With the general elections drawing nearer, the theory of compulsions seems to be having a compelling effect.

Currently, the Jan Sangh's Lok Sabha leader Atal Behari Vajpayee is touring the Dollar Land as a dear guest of the American Government. We learn from the Jan Sangh weekly Organiser that Vajpayee met Gurujil Golwalkar before leaving "and secured his blessings for the journey; Gurujil also gave him a message for the American people. The contents of this message, Vajpayee said, "richly summed up the Bharatiya viewpoint about Indo-U.S. relations."

And Vajpayeeji has already found the Americans to be "extremely generous." It is time Asoka Mehtaji undertook post-haste a repeat tour of his "great democracy."

### TAILPIECE

DONATIONS from genuine supporters could be secured, it is confidently hierarchy, provided the Jan Sangh's message is succinctly put across before the world.

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October 17.

# NEHRU AT THE U.N.

PRIME Minister Nehru is back in New Delhi from the Fifteenth Session of the United Nations General Assembly. The people of the country are rightly proud of the role he played in New York.

All sections of opinion in this country had expected that the five-nation resolution moved by Nehru would be accepted by the U. N. Assembly. Even those who generally do not agree with Nehru's foreign policy had forecast that the resolution would be adopted.

Thus the Free Press Journal, October 3, said: "This resolution will be debated upon soon. Representing as it does the views of the uncommitted nations whom both the U. S. and the USSR are anxious to woo, the chances are that this resolution will not only be adopted but followed up to its immediate logical conclusion. It may be that 'renewal of contacts' broken off at Paris will not produce any miraculous results but it is bound to improve the climate in which continued contacts could prove fruitful."

The Times of India which is unashamedly pro-West wrote: "The five-Power resolution is so anaemically inoffensive that it will probably receive the unanimous approval of the U.N." (October 3)

Dalmia's editorial scribe got badly tripped this time. Even he could not foresee how far the U. S. and the Western camp would go!

### Sharp Reaction

When the Western Powers with the help of their supporters torpedoed this move the reaction of the Indian Press in general was as sharp as of the Prime Minister himself.

Writing about it, The Free Press Journal of October 7 said, "The present intention of the Big Powers is to control the United Nations rather

than to promote peace. It is a pity that those very Powers which swear by the United Nations' Charter are themselves trying to sabotage it in their rivalry to control the world body."

The Tribune generally prods the Prime Minister from the Right but on October 8 it wrote, "The failure of the U. N. General Assembly to adopt any resolution on the resumption of the East-West talks is a measure of the deterioration which has taken place in the world situation since the U-2 incident."

The National Herald of the same date is much more forthright. Editorially it wrote: "The Argentine amendment was mischievous and was obviously inspired by Western Powers and supported by the Latin American bloc. These amendments could legitimately be resolutions in themselves but as amendments they sought to destroy the five-Power resolution, and when the General Assembly President, Mr. Boland, gave his

# INDIAN PRESS ROUND-UP

strange ruling that it was not the Argentine amendment but the words in the resolution which the amendment sought to delete which require a two-thirds majority, the resolution had to be withdrawn."

It further pointed out that "the Big Powers have imposed their own pattern on the General Assembly."

The Hindu is traditionally pro-West and conservative. It editorially wrote, "The whole episode leaves a bitter taste in the mouth—at least among the numerous small Powers...." (The Hindu, October 9)

The above are old estab-

lished nationalist papers of their respective regions. This, however, does not mean that in this country forces which blindly support the moves of the Western diplomacy and oppose the non-alignment policy advocated by Nehru are absent. As a matter of fact they are very much there.

Thus, The Hindustan Times of October 3, thought the "five-Power resolution seems superfluous." This was a clever way to play down the significance of the resolution and also mask the Western mischief in opposing it.

The Times of India of October 7, bluntly criticised Nehru for rejecting the Australian amendment which proposed a Four-Power summit and got four votes.

It said: "To have dismissed it as a 'jumble of words' and 'trivial' was in effect to evade it and also the obligation to explain precisely why the amendment was unacceptable."

Its conclusion was, "It is, if anything, a lesson in how not to conduct world affairs." (Times of India, October 7).

The above two influential Right-wing dailies are not alone. It is also necessary to sample the icy comments of the highly paid columnists who sell the U. S. line through the other influential dailies.

### Pro-American Scribes

D. R. Mankekar, writing in the Indian Express of October 12, tells us: "Reports suggest that the U. S. State Department saw red in the resolution, decided it was Communist-inspired and mobilised forces to fight it tooth and nail." And then follows the picture of Pandit Nehru as a "sadder and wiser man—disillusioned and embittered by the cynical practices he witnessed at the United Nations."

Durga Das in "A Political Diary" gloated over Nehru's failure in the U. N. and wrote: "The U. N. Session has cut every one to his size. No nation or individual has risen in stature and many have shrunk." (Tribune, October 11)

The Prime Minister has shrunk in the esteem of this scribe of the U. S. lobby because his masters at Washington have been badly upset by his bold and independent stand at the U. N.

"Argus", in his "Delhi Dairy" in the Eastern Economist, October 7, has written as if he was being really smart, only to expose to the naked eye his own crude pro-Americanism: "The Prime Minister has placed India's point of view well, though, it seems to

# TAGORE CENTENARY COMMITTEE IN SOVIET UNION

MOSCOW, Oct. 19

To celebrate Tagore's Centenary in May next year, a Jubilee Committee has been formed here with famous Soviet poet, Nikolai Tikhonov, at its head. The Committee includes many prominent writers, scientists and representatives of Government institutions. Yesterday the Tagore Jubilee Committee held its first meeting in Moscow. Many evenings to celebrate Tagore Centenary are

planned in Moscow and other towns of the Soviet Union; a new edition of Tagore's collected works is to be published and many lectures and talks on the life and work of the poet are to be organised all over the country.

The Soviet Union intends to celebrate the centenary of our poet in a big way and you shall hear more of this from me as the preparations develop.

me a little too angrily for diplomatic exchanges.

"The powerful manner in which he has expressed himself is not likely to make greater friends for us in the West.

"I believe our support to China's candidature has been overdone.... under the influence of Mr. Nikita S. Khrushchev....

"The Prime Minister has lent a little to the Russian side, thereby dislodging his contact with the Western

These pro-Western commentators seek to hide the truth. They do not want to tell the Indian people that Nehru's stand on the question of the East-West talks, Congo, colonialism, admission of the Chinese People's Republic, and lastly changes in the U. N. structure has been duly appreciated not only in India and the Afro-Asian countries but in the Socialist world as well. They are hiding the fact that Nehru's wise words have found an echo in the Western countries too.

### Afro-Asia's New Status

The Indian Express, more often, than not, disagrees with Nehru's foreign policy but on the new status and just right of Afro-Asian nations, it stated on October 7:

As far as the independent Press of our country is concerned Nehru's contribution at the U. N. has been widely acclaimed.

Thus the National Herald said as early as October 5: "This advice may not be heeded in the present atmosphere but it will be found to be as sound as impartial."

The Tribune observed on the same date: "Mr. Nehru's address to the U. N. General Assembly is noted for its passionate plea for peace-through collective security and disarmament and for facing the problems with courage and imagination...."

"The world can ignore Mr. Nehru's words of wisdom only at its peril."

### Clearer Stand

One need not reproduce other like statements to show that the Indian Press in general except the pro-American fringe has supported Nehru's views.

Pandit Nehru has not returned sadder but wiser from his experience of this U.N. Session. He has been able to evolve a clearer

stand on many issues where earlier he was not so definite.

The Tribune of October 13 has commented: "It is very significant to our mind that the man who first scoffed at the Soviet suggestion that the U. N. Secretary's post be replaced by a triumvirate ended by urging a diffusion of the Secretary-General's powers."

So also on the U. N.'s role in Congo he was more clear-cut and plain-spoken for the restoration of parliamentary authority.

Nehru's demand for admitting the People's Republic of China in the U. N., later forcefully reiterated by the Indian Defence Minister, Krishna Menon, found new supporters in the Assembly.

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# ASSAM

\* FROM PAGE 5

per rehabilitation. Under no plea, be it of abnormality or insecurity, should the refugees stay outside the State or their own homes.

### Language Formula

THE people were rightly apprehensive about the round-table conference's outcome. So far as the Assam Valley is concerned, almost all are of the opinion that the State Language Bill should be passed so that there is no immediate cause of any further agitation. But the Congress and PSP leaders of Cachar, more particularly of the PSP, are out to create new trouble. They are opposed to any compromise as are the Hills leaders.

So the position now is that our Party's resolution is the central point of mobilisation. Section of Cachar Bengalees, sections of the Hills and broadly speaking Chaliha agree with our stand. The APCC and the PSP also are coming much nearer now. As a result of all these negotiations, a formula has been evolved broadly basing upon our stand on the language issue. Home Minister

Pant did not invite our Party for discussion on this issue, though he met the PSP leaders.

Our final position is that Assamese will be the State language and English will be continued in administration and in the Hills region until its replacement by Hindi, and Bengali in the district of Cachar at the district level. The bigger sections of Cachar seem to have agreed to such a formula. The Hills remain divided. Mikir and North Cachar Hills fully support the above and certain sections of the Mizo, Garo and Khasi would not have opposed it.

As regards its reaction in the plains, when the Congress has agreed, the PSP has shown inclination to fall in line and the Communist Party also has been agreeable to such a compromise since July last, opposition will not be strong although, of course, a section of people might oppose it.

Some Hill district leaders will also be agitating in opposition till the coming General Elections. But the agitation is likely to be weak as the Hill areas are divided on the issue of separate Hills State. In fact, the Mizo, North Cachar and Mikir Hills are more or less against the idea. Only the Garo and Khasi areas are for

it but there are differences among them also. So the demand for the separate Hills State seems to have gone out of the picture.

### Chauvinists At It Again

In Cachar the dreamers of greater Bengal, mainly in the garb of the PSP and some non-party individuals, will continue the agitation. They held a meeting in Shillong the other day. Bengali Congressmen also lent support to it from behind the scenes. The speeches were very provocative and dangerously inflammatory. They are planning to hold a series of meetings in the Bengalee majority areas of the Assam Valley also. We are trying to persuade them not to resort to such an agitation now.

In any case, ours is the only party which could remain united. Party units of the Assam Valley and Cachar have been championing the Party's stand on the issue passionately and vigorously. Our stand has been considered the most reasonable and our position has been highly esteemed by all sections, though the chauvinist sections of all communities denounce us.

## GOVERNMENT'S REBUFF TO OIL MONOPOLISTS

THE Oil and Natural Gas Commission is understood to have decided this week to accelerate the programme of search for oil in the areas round about Cambay and Ankaleshwar, and also near Ahmedabad and Kutch.

In taking this decision the Commission was encouraged as much by its splendid 100 per cent success in striking oil in the Cambay area, as by the necessity to reduce the heavy drain on foreign exchange on account of oil imports.

### FITTING BACKGROUND

This decision of the Commission—a tribute to its own purposiveness as well as to the unstinted and purposive assistance rendered by the Soviet and Rumanian experts—provides a fitting background to another decision of the Ministry of Mines and Oil, which if true, will scotch the possibility of the foreign oil monopolists gaining any more foothold in oil refining in the country than they already have.

According to the Statesman (October 17), the increased demand for oil products, now or in future, will be met entirely from increased production in the public sector refineries. "An obvious implication of this policy", adds the news-

paper, "is that Burmah Shell's 15-month-old expansion plan—with which the company has linked an offer to revise the unpopular features of the Refinery Agreement—will not be sanctioned".

The official estimate of demand for oil products at the end of the Third Plan places it round about 12 to 13 million tons, which will also be the combined capacity—with increases in the capacities of the two public sector refineries at Gauhati and Barauni from 2.75 to four million tons, and setting up of a medium-sized refinery at Cambay with Soviet assistance—of all the refineries in the country at that time. The oil industry's estimate of consumption is, however, higher which it cites as plea for its own expansion.

### GOVERNMENT'S REASONS

The Government has not accepted this plea—not because it does not visualise any further increase in demand during the period, but because it rejects the idea that "the industry's projects are more reliable than those of the Government." Further, as certain imports will in any case be unavoidable—as for instance of kerosene and high-speed diesel oil, in which the country will be deficient even at the end of the Plan

—no purpose will be served by permitting expansion of refineries which do not produce these categories.

The Government also feels that it would cost the country less—that, too in rupees—to import some of these products from the Soviet Union—till the time the public sector is able to produce them at home—than to let foreign combines expand their refineries at huge costs of foreign exchange.

### INCONSISTENCY IN POLICY

While welcoming this rebuff by the Government to the overtures of the oil monopolists and their indigenous proponents it is necessary to point to a little inconsistency of its own. How can it hope to keep the pressure upon these monopolists—to build an independent oil industry—if at the same time keeps the door open to these very interests to come and prospect for oil in the country?

This inconsistency is all the more marked in the Government's policy towards the coal industry. The shortfall in production in the public sector, due largely to inefficient working of the National Coal Development Corporation, and the shortage of metallurgical coal which affected the steel industry recently,

## INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

emboldened the private industry to demand a greater share for itself in the Third Plan. It refused to work its mines to the full unless the lease of the contiguous areas was also allotted to it. It also demanded an increased subsidy by way of stowing assistance for deep and difficult mining.

The Government, seeing through the pressure tactics of the private coal-mine owners, had resisted these demands till recently. The Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel, Sardar Swaran Singh, had even gone to the extent of declaring that coal was too vital an industry to be left to the private sector to exploit.

### RETROGRADE STEP

Now, however, a certain rethinking seems to have been done by his Ministry.

## Sugar—Purposive Policy Needed

SUGAR is another industry which has been very much in the news this week. It is also an industry with which the fate of a good many of our agriculturists is closely interwoven.

India can now pride herself as being in the front rank of sugar-producing nations. With over 200 modern factories, and a production of nearly 24.20 lakh tons this year, she is now in a position to even export some sugar.

In the manufacture of sugar machinery mainly in collaboration with Czechoslovakia, she has been making rapid strides while the production this year exceeding Rs. 35 million as against Rs. 3.2 million in 1956. By 1963 India would be manufacturing, every year, twelve complete sugar plants of the capacity of 1,000 to 1,250 tons, and the equivalent of about nine complete plants by way of expansion and replacement requirements of the industry.

### WHO HAS GAINED!

While all these are really welcome developments, marking the progress of an important industry, the lack of a clear-cut and purposive sugar policy on the part of the Government makes its fruit go into wrong channels. With increase in production, prices have also been going up, with only the industry and the dealers gaining in the bargain. The Government took too long to requisition the stocks with the mills and clamp controls when the prices were too high, and when it did, the then

for, according to the Indian Express, October 14, "the Government is understood to have accepted the main demands of the mine-owners". The Indian Express report specifically refers to the two demands mentioned above—i.e. increased subsidy on deep and difficult mining, and grant of the lease of the areas, contiguous to the existing ones.

This being a newspaper report its veracity cannot be vouchsafed for. But if it is true—as it might be—it is definitely a retrograde step. In fact, the adoption of such a policy of succumbing to the demands of the private sector will be more in tune with the "re-orientation" in policies demanded by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry than the Industrial Policy Resolution which reserved coal entirely for development in the public sector.

Agriculture Minister confessed that he had no power to bring the defaulters to book.

The Government has recently been stressing the need to increase sugar exports. S. K. Patil has even proposed that India should cash on the current controversy between Cuba and the United States to push exports to the latter. While nothing has come out of it—and nothing should, for Indian sugar can do better than to tarnish the fair name of the country by stepping in to fill the vacuum created by the U.S. refusal to buy sugar from Cuba—there will be markets enough for it in Africa, West Asia and elsewhere.

### ELIMINATE MIDDLEMEN

Together with exports, however, it is necessary that the Indian people—producing and manufacturing it—should be increasingly enabled to partake of its benefits. This requires a fair price to the cultivator and a reasonable price to the consumer—both of whom have so far been the loser vis-a-vis the mill-owners and the dealers who buy cane from the one and sell sugar to the other.

To fulfill both these requirements it is necessary that the Government increasingly steps in to itself take the place of the middle men and ensure justice both to the producer and the consumer.

—ESSEN

October 18

## ASSASSINATION IN TOKYO

THE cold-blooded murder in Tokyo of the redoubtable Japanese fighter for independence, democracy and peace, the Socialist Party Chairman Inejiro Asanuma is an event of gravest import for all of Asia.

The "human locomotive", as he was called, had devoted all his life to opposing militarism and fascism. Deeply hated by the Americans, he was a key figure in the Japanese people's great upsurge against the imposition of the "Security Treaty" with the USA, resulting last June in the cancellation of Eisenhower's visit and the resignation of Kishi.

When stabbed to death he was addressing a forum on the next month's general elections. Other speakers were the Chairman of the Democratic Socialist Party who had already spoken and the President of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, the present Premier Hayato Ikeda who was to follow.

### Murderer—A Fascist

The meeting was not a Socialist Party meeting and it was not being managed by them. There were swarms of policemen and plain clothesmen and the Prime Minister of the country sat on the dais close by while the leader of the biggest Opposition party spoke on the issues in the elections and the policy of his Party.

The fascists had a free field. They hoed and cat-called and scattered leaflets as Asanuma spoke. It was in this setting and atmosphere that the assassin, seventeen-year-old Otoyō Yamaguchi, a member of the notorious fascist organisation, the "Great Japan Patriotic Party" as also of a so-called "Asian Anti-Communist Youth League", leaped up on the platform and stabbed Asanuma twice with a long knife on the left side of the chest, and no one tried to intervene to stop the assassin and save the veteran patriot, the 63-year old fighter for the cause of the country.

### Govt. Held Responsible

No better illustration of how the ruling party and its Government and police would now carry out their proclaimed policy of opposing violence "both of the Right and the Left" is needed than this murder itself. That is exactly how a Rightist Government, determined to continue in its subservience to foreign imperialism, shamelessly parades under the cover of fighting violence "both of the Right and the Left", meanwhile securing the domination and destruction of the democratic forces.

The Japanese people refuse to be hoodwinked by this pious talk and by the half-hearted action that Government has taken. They demand

through continuing protest demonstrations the resignation of the Ikeda Cabinet.

Speaking on the morning after the murder Kaora Ota, chairman of the General Council of the Socialist Party, told its 19th Extraordinary Convention that the assassination showed that the ruling circles were gripped with uneasiness in face of the great strength of the people displayed during the campaign against the revision of the "Security Treaty".

### Demand For Resignation

It laid bare, he said, the character of the Ikeda Cabinet which had been trying to hide its warlike face from the people and the General Secretary of the Party, Koza Minaguchi, declared, "Ikeda must resign immediately assuming his responsibility for the murder of Asanuma and also for the riddling of the Security Treaty". He stressed that the struggle against the treaty would continue.

The Communist Party in its statement on the murder similarly demanded that the Ikeda Government resign at once, "assuming the responsibility for this incident." The statement said:

"The dagger that killed Chairman Asanuma is aimed at workers, peasants and all other people of Japan. The murder is the direct result of dangerous instigation by the reactionary forces who are burning with hatred for the democratic movement of the Japanese people for peace, independence and neutrality."

"No matter who is the direct organiser" the Japanese Communist Party said, "U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital are responsible for the assassination."

### Communists' Call

It called upon the working class and other sections of the people to take vigorous action "to smash the Hayato Ikeda Cabinet's plot to revive fascist rule in the country." "The Government and the Liberal Democratic Party are now bent," the Communist Party statement said, "on trampling on the right of the people to freely express their opinion in the coming general elections." It expressed confidence that "such nasty designs will surely be shattered by powerful protest actions of the Japanese people with the working class as their core."

Sohyo, the 3.7-million-strong trade union centre, also demanded Ikeda's resignation.

As revealed by Asahi Shimbun there are now in Japan 350 fascist organisations having a membership of 30,000. They came together April last year in the "New Japanese Association" and since then relations between them and the ruling party have become closer.

Meanwhile as if to indicate their approval, the Japanese Economic Rehabilitation Council, organisation of big monopoly capital meeting two days after Asanuma's murder, sanctioned 800 million yen for the election fund of the ruling party.

### Asanuma's Testament

In the speech which Asanuma was making while he was murdered he analysed once again the situation in which Japan finds itself, thanks to the subservience to the USA in which the Liberal Democratic Party's Government has placed the country. The problem of the U.S. Japan Security Treaty was the most important for Japan, he said.

"As a result of the revision forcibly carried out by the Government, Japan which had suffered from the stationing of foreign troops for 15 years, will have to allow her territory to be used by the U.S.

forces for ten years to come. This is an extraordinary situation unprecedented in the history of Japan."

Asanuma further said: "The Japanese Constitution provides clearly that Japan should abandon war and should not maintain any strategic military forces. Under this constitutional clause Japan is forbidden to conclude any military alliance treaty with foreign countries. The Government's action of concluding the new military treaty obviously constitutes a gross violation of our constitution."

"In the military bases which Japan offers the U.S., the U.S. forces enjoy extra-territoriality. This means that Japan is not yet completely independent....

"To become a completely independent State, Japan should have the U.S. troops return home and have all areas occupied by the United States returned to Japan. To free herself from U.S. occu-

pation, Japan must become a neutral country."

He further said, "The principal aim of Japan's diplomacy must be to help form a new collective security set-up including Japan, United States, China and the Soviet Union. Such a collective security set-up will be based on the principles of independent foreign policy, respect of territory and non-aggression against each other."

### Pledge Of The Left

"We regard it as our most important duty in the coming general elections to warn the Japanese people against the danger of war arising from the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty"

The Japanese Socialists, Communists and the SOHYO have all pledged to work for the completion of Asanuma's unfinished task.

## Laos Govt. Blocks U. S. Interventionist Attempt

THE emissary of the State Department who had gone to Laos to threaten that little State with dire consequences for refusing to knuckle under to the Rightist rebels and for opening negotiations with the Neo Lao Haksat Party and for opening diplomatic relations with the USSR, had to return empty-handed.

Speaking to the Hindu correspondent Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma said on October 15 that whatever the U.S. might decide about its suspended aid to his country, his Government's policy of neutrality "shall not be affected in any way."

He described it as the "only conceivable policy" for Laos.

He also voiced his firm conviction that agreement would be reached with the Neo Lao Haksat Party.

Since the August coup d'etat of paratroop captain, Kong Lae which made the American-backed Rightist Government flee the capital, the U.S. imperialists have resorted to open and unashamed interference in Laos's internal affairs, opposing the policy of peace, neutrality and national harmony proclaimed by the Phouma Government.

### U.S. Officials In Vientiane

On October 12, the day following the opening of the talks between the Government and the Neo Lao Haksat Party, Assistant Secretary to the State Department Graham Parkinson leading a group of high-ranking U.S. officials rushed to Vientiane. He put forth the demand to Premier Phouma that he immediately break off talks with the Neo Lao Haksat Party.

Similarly on October 4, the U.S. Navy's new C-in-C in the Pacific John V. Sides declared that in view of the crisis in Laos the Seventh Fleet was prepared "to see that the free peoples of Asia remain free." He assured that "the Fleet will be in the right place at the

This came as a climax to earlier attempts to check the unfavourable course of events in Laos. Shortly after the August coup, Eisenhower had said that the U.S. was "following the situation just as earnestly as we can" and was "certain to take any kind of action that seems to be indicated."

Thrice in course of August the State Department issued statements declaring non-recognition of the set-up after the coup and its "continued recognition of the old Laotian Government (the Tiao Som-sanith and Phoumi Nosavan regime.)" After Phoumi Nosavan and Boun Oumma Cham-passak formed their counter-revolutionary alliance, the State Department immediately issued a statement on September 10 to back the rebel clique. It claimed that "a revolution had started in Laos" and declared that it would support "efforts... against Communist encroachment from without or within."

### Fleet Ready For Action

A few days later the U.S. despatched an aircraft carrier with more than one thousand marines aboard and three destroyers of the U.S. Seventh Fleet into the South China Sea in preparation for intervention in Laos. Commander of U.S. Naval forces in the Philippines, Carsons, referring to the Laos situation on September 17, said that the Seventh Fleet was "very much ready for action."

Similarly on October 4, the U.S. Navy's new C-in-C in the Pacific John V. Sides declared that in view of the crisis in Laos the Seventh Fleet was prepared "to see that the free peoples of Asia remain free." He assured that "the Fleet will be in the right place at the

right time when things happen," and made it clear that the theatre of operations of the Fleet covered "the extensive area stretching from Japan down into Southeast Asia."

Simultaneously throughout this period the SEATO kept conspiring against the independence of Laos. Thailand was made to give full support to the Nosavan rebels, allowing them to pass through Thai territory and munitions to them. Support to rebels was given even from guns fired from Thai territory.

### Attempt To Split Laos

Attempt was also made to intervene through the U.N. Repeated suggestions for sending "Good Offices" teams from the U.N. "to resolve the present crisis in Laos" were made.

All these attempts have ignominiously failed and Parkinson has had to return empty-handed. But the U.S. imperialists are not the ones who are reconciled to such defeats. According to the Hindu report plans have been discussed to physically split Laos into two if possible, as is the case in Vietnam, by recognising the Nosavan clique established in Savannakhet as a parallel Government.

This immediately is considered too risky in view of the authority and prestige the Phouma Government enjoys all over Laos. Hence short of recognition the U.S. will continue to give all aid possible directly and through Thailand to Nosavan. For example the salaries of Nosavan rebel troops continue to be paid by the U.S. despite its stoppage of military aid to Laos.

—ZIAUL HAQ

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## WESTERN PRESS SURVEY

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moved quite a long way from that rigid biparted viewpoint. But the United States is still inclined to feel that those who are not for them are against them whereas the Russians are more optimistic and work on the theory that those who are not irretrievably against them can eventually be won over to them."

And the San Francisco Chronicle complained: "The United States, and particularly many of its elected representatives in Congress, has tended to disallow 'neutrality' and regard it, in fact, as an ugly word. There has been a tendency to insist that we demand commitments from small nations, on the theory that if you're not with us, you are against us."

### Neutral Reaction

And the reaction in the neutral countries to this U.S. 'vicinity'? Let one of imperialism's best friends in India speak. Here is Taya Zinkin's despatch to the Guardian:

"John Foster Dulles must have clapped in his grave when the defeated Nehru quietly withdrew the five-nation resolution calling for a harmless meeting between Eisenhower and Khrushchov."

"What Khrushchov's tantrums could not achieve, the Western bloc had done by fid-

dling. The Argentinian amendment literally snatched the Russian defeat from the jaws of victory.

"Just when the Indian opinion was being critical of Nehru for his 'plattitudinous' contribution to the New York imbroglio, the Western bloc, as one Indian put it, with a sudden fury had shown that it could never change its imperialist spots....

"Everyone I have spoken to predicts that the outcome of New York will be to strengthen the pro-Russian ministerial group in Delhi....

And the most panicky of all comments was of the Wull Street Journal: "The neutrals are swinging to the Left in the cold war, threatening U.S. policy."

### Issue Of U. N. Secretariat

Even as Nehru reached New York, the Western world had tried to take comfort from the fact that Khrushchov was isolated in his demand for the reorganisation of the U.N. Secretariat.

The New York Post reporting the Prime Minister's arrival, said: "Nehru delicately

sprinkled cold water on Khrushchov's proposal for a three-man U.N. Secretariat, praised Secretary-General Hammarskjöld...."

But it soon became clear that not supporting the Soviet proposal did not mean support to status quo. Asian-African statesmen spoke of the change in the world situation and the need for U.N. to reflect this. Nkrumah suggested three Deputy Secretaries and Nehru himself was proposing the appointment of political advisers to help the Secretary-General while the demand for expansion of the Security Council was becoming universal.

The Washington Post commented: "Mr. Nehru cautiously and other Afro-Asians openly, while generally opposing Khrushchov's demand for replacing the post of the U.N. Secretary-General with a triumvirate of the East-West and neutral representatives have advocated some changes in the Secretariat to correct its 'Western' leanings."

So, even on this issue it was the West and specially the U.S. which wanted to keep its stranglehold on the U.N. that was getting isolated.

Where then is the victory which the Western Press has suddenly begun talking about? Is it only to raise a little even the drooping morale of the camp? With this the position in the Western Press, gone is the glee of the pro-Western campaigners in our own Press.

# NEHRU-AYUB TALKS

## —THE ALIEN FALSIFIER AND HIS INDIAN COLLEAGUES

JOHN Ridley, the New Delhi Correspondent of the London Telegraph in the September 27 issue of his paper has published a string of tell-tale lies which deserve wide attention by Indian public opinion and prompt action by the Government of India.

He wrote: "There is a distinct feeling of disappointment in India that the Joint Communiqué issued by Nehru and Ayub at the end of their talks last week, discloses no new approach to the Kashmir problem which has bedevilled Indo-Pak relations for the past thirteen years" (emphasis ours).

**THIS IS LIE NO. 1.** It only discloses the author's fond wish and was obviously meant to build up the atmosphere for Ayub's tall and loud demand on Kashmir that followed soon after.

### Withdrawal Of Troops

He further states: "I understand that although no 'no-war' agreement was signed; it was decided for the time being that there should be an absolute cease-fire agreement on the Indo-Pak border so that troops deployed there could be sent to areas where they are now needed—in India's case to Ladakh and NEFA areas where the Chinese are reported to be posing huge forces."

**THIS IS LIE NO. 2.** It is cunningly designed to exploit Indian concern over the dispute with China to denude the frontier with Pakistan of all Indian troops so that their puppet Field-Marshal Ayub may merrily march his U.S.-armed troops into Kashmir Valley and face India and the world with an accomplished fact, just as Ayub's predecessors had successfully done before, soon after partition, and created the "Azad Kashmir".

Ridley goes on to state, "This 'secret agreement' is the one the Indian army leaders had

been pressing hard during the past year."

**THIS IS LIE NO. 3.** We cannot easily conceive of the Indian GHQ counselling such an unwise and unpatriotic course of action. It is for the Government of India to find out if there are any such Indian Generals and give them the sack.

John Ridley is no ordinary liar. He is the Correspondent of an influential Tory British daily, duly accredited to the Government of India.

### Expel Slanderer

Indian self-respect as well as the country's safety and security demand that he be summarily expelled from our country. Back at home he can manufacture as many lies as he likes from his fertile imagination.

He cannot be allowed to enjoy the hospitality of our country and the status of a foreign Correspondent accredited to our Government and use this respectable position to—

- Slander the Indian Government that it entered into a secret treaty with Pakistan behind the back of Parliament and public opinion;

- Slander the Indian Army High Command that it is all for weakening the nation's defence against Pakistan in the name of strengthening the frontiers with China.

Such slanderers must be shown no leniency for they also act as conspirators and propagandists of their own, the devil's cause.

### Indian Counterparts

Let us recall who in the Indian Press and among the public figures have been mouthing the slogan which Ridley claimed had been sanctified in the alleged secret treaty.

On the eve of Pandit Nehru's departure to Pakistan to sign the Canal Waters Treaty, a virtual Press campaign was organised advocating a military disengagement on the Indo-Pak frontier and achi-

eve a military concentration on the Indo-Chinese frontier instead. General Cariappa has been tirelessly advocating this, M. R. Masani on behalf of the Swatantra Party also pressed this on the Prime Minister's attention.

Birla-financed and Da Costa-edited Eastern Economist, dated September 16, acclaimed Masani for making "a suggestion which deserves to be considered" with the argument, "our enmity against Pakistan has been overdone and our security against China is not adequately safeguarded on that account."

Editorial-writers and columnists of the Hindustan Times, Times of India and Indian Express, all the pro-Western publicists advocated the same slogan with all the crooked arguments they could conceive.

Ridleys, being aliens, can be easily expelled but the anti-national publicists and politicians need a sustained campaign till they wag their tongues no more nor use their poisoned pens any longer.

## CHITTAGONG : A NEW U.S. NAVAL BASE

### Seventh Fleet For Bay Of Bengal

**P**RESIDENT Ayub's two successive war-like speeches during the first week of October claiming Kashmir and threatening to use the Pak armies were no empty words.

About the same time that the Pak dictator was thundering fire in West Pakistan, Rear Admiral Andrew Jackson, Commander of the U.S. Navy in the Middle East, was on a tour of East Pakistan abroad an American naval ship.

The American Naval Chief made no secret of his mission. On October 6, he held a Press Conference at Chittagong and declared:

- That the U.S. Seventh Fleet in the Pacific was ever ready to come to the Bay of Bengal and Chittagong "at any moment of threat."

- That East Pakistan was a major and a very important sector "from the free world's defence point of view."

- That it was "highly desirable" to build a "strong naval force" in Chittagong port.

- That to use Chittagong for "defence" was one of the reasons of his trip to East Pakistan.

The above makes abundantly clear the source of Ayub's assumed strength and the inspiration behind his bellicosity.

The very fact that U.S. imperialists have become so desperate as to bring something more than their cold war, a live U.S. naval base at Chittagong, only shows how real is the U.S. threat to:

—Peace in our sub-continent;

—Indo-Pak amity and good-neighbourliness.

There is yet time to act before it is too late. The whole country must demand with one voice that Prime Minister Nehru immediately warn the U.S. Government that the establishment of a U.S. naval base at Chittagong and any moving the Seventh Fleet into the Bay of Bengal will be considered by India as an unfriendly and hostile act.

October 18

### DELHI

### UNIVERSITY

## JAN SANGH ROUTED

**T**HE Jan Sangh and its supporters have been controlling the Delhi University Student's Union for the last three years. This year, however, they have been routed by the united efforts of the progressive students, from the Youth Congress to the Student's Federation.

The Jan Sangh lost all the three key-posts of President, the Vice-President as well as the General Secretary.

During the election campaign the Jan Sangh was roundly exposed for using the union for advancing its communal activities for hobnobbing with the Americans and the international student's organi-

sations bossed by them, for soliciting American scholarships for themselves, for going abroad on U. S. charity and so on.

The Jan Sangh, however, put up its hardest fight. They threw dinner parties and mobilised numerous cars to run around begging for votes. The all-India leaders of the Vidhyarthi Parishad turned up "to lead", their "tough guys" from the city came to "help". But all this was of no avail. They lost heavily.

The new President, Viresh Pratap Chowdhary, broke all earlier records by securing the highest votes ever cast, 99 out of 155. In Delhi University the elections are indirect. The individual

colleges elect the Supreme Council which in turn elects the office-bearers. The proud victor is a Congress boy, son of the Congress whip of the Delhi Corporation.

The Student's Federation has done very well in the college elections this year. S. F. boys have been elected Presidents in three important post-graduate research institutions of the University.

After defeating the Jan Sangh the patriotic and progressive boys whether Congress-minded, Communists, or non-party Left are determined to keep their unity intact and not let the Jan Sangh raise its ugly head again inside the campus.

## KERALA : STUDENTS' CYCLE RELAY

**T**HE Kerala Student's Federation (S.F.) has organised a cross country Statewide cycle relay to popularise the memorandum submitted by it to the State Government.

We give below extracts from a letter of the S. F. President, Antony Thomas, who is leading the relay.

"The relay started from Kasargode at the north end of Kerala. We have already covered more than hundred and thirty miles including thirty miles through the high ranges. This evening (October 10) we have reached Tellicherry. I am

writing this after the grand public meeting held at Jawahar Ghat.

"I have never witnessed such enthusiasm among our students for the last one decade. Never before in the history of the Kerala students' movement has any programme attracted so much attention as this cycle relay.

"Small kids practised cycling only to take part in our relay. Many of them cried when asked to go home after completing the distances fixed for them.

"Excluding the receptions planned previously we had

to face thirty-five impromptu receptions and compelled to drink more tea than was good for us. At three places we were garlanded with coins.

"We have already covered 25,000 people in the meetings so far held.

"It is heart-warming experience. Comrades from Kozhikode District which we are to visit next threaten to break our existing records. I will write about it next and also send photographs which will convey a better impression of the youthful enthusiasm than my words can."

Relieved & Comforted

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