

4060-g

SAA

AUG 17 1961
COPY

NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

VOL. IX, NO. 20 MAY 14, 1961 25 nP.

GOA GETS GOING

In our middle pages this week we print the full first-hand account of the new Goa guerrilla actions. All Indian national elements had already got together to unitedly work up a national campaign for the liberation of Goa. But nothing was happening inside Goa. The rotten, brutish and terroristic regime of dictator Salazaar's agents made normal political life, all peaceful mass struggles, impossible. The heroic and daring among our blood brothers, born and bred right inside Goa, have begun the guerrilla struggle for the final liberation of Goa, to unite arm-in-arm with the rest of us liberated Indians, to rejoin the richly varied Indian family, as its newest and distinctive member. The long lost brothers and sisters will meet again, that great day is now clearly visible, and no more far off.

Portuguese Agents Come Rushing To New Delhi!

EVERY Indian, all our national parties can help to bring that day nearer. The more one contributes to Goan liberation, the dearer he will be to the long-suffering Goans and ever-expected Indians. The beginning of the guerrilla struggle in Goa cannot but be warmly greeted by Indian national opinion. The Free Press Journal of Bombay is no Left paper but typically traditional nationalist. Soon after the first reports of guerrilla actions came out in the Press, and being in Bombay it must have known more, it editorially wrote: "India could not have been reminded of its debt in Goa more dramatically than by the recent raid on the Portuguese fortress of Betim in Goa. Goan nationalists, long in a state of stupor, have now revived the battle by their brave action. "Since India won its independence by peaceful and orthodox means, there will be many here who may look askance at the violent methods of their countrymen in Goa. But who will deny that they are being driven to violence or that patriotism is their mainspring. "It has long been clear that Salazar respects nothing but might—the might of the barbarians that let loose a fusillade of bullets on unarmed satyagrahis. "Goans and other Indians have so far refrained from answering violence with violence. But patience has its limits and if the Goans have now been driven to take up arms against the oppressive agents of Lisbon, there is no need for them to justify their action. Freedom justifies itself. "The revolt that began in Nagar Havell must find its

climax in Goa. Whatever be the final decision of the Goans and however opposed the Government of India may be to 'violence', they may be assured that Indian public opinion is with them." The new guerrilla actions have warmed up the whole situation inside Goa. The common Goans, according to our Correspondent, are happier and more confident than ever before. It is not the Goans alone. The very firing of the guerrilla shots in Goa, in the background of the armed national upsurge in Angola, has brought about significant changes in the camp of the occupationists.

Within 24 hours of the devastatingly successful guerrilla action at Betim, the Times of India reported two European Portuguese soldiers deserting and crossing over to Indian territory, "for political reasons". It added: "Tension is also reported among the European population in Goa which numbers about 200 families. The Governor-General has restricted his own movements for safety reasons." Below are extracts from the letter of a Goan officer, stationed in Panjim, the capital of Goa to his friend in Nairobi, as reported back by the PTI Correspondent: "Tension is building up and

Annapoorna Climbers, Greetings!

WE greet, along with the rest of our countrymen, the climbers of Annapoorna—Lieutenant M. S. Kohli, leader of the expedition, Sonam Gyatso and Sherpa Sirdar Sonam Girmi. Their untiring patience, epic courage and marvellous toughness is the embodiment of the best virtues of the common Indian people. Under British raj Indians could only act as coolies to the white mountaineers. In independent India our own mountaineers are coming up. They stir the nation's pride in its unbounded capacity and fire the imagination of our youth giving them confidence that there is nothing they cannot do and should not dare. The very fact that the Indian party was successfully led by an Indian soldier is an assurance that India's honour and sovereignty is in the hands of plucky defenders. The very fact that an unclimbed ancient Himalayan peak was successfully climbed by young Indians is a living reminder to Indian ruling circles that the rising generation would not put up with a life of frustrated hopes and unrealised dreams. The example of the Annapoorna climbers ought to stir new thoughts and inspire bolder action to clean up and rebuild our national life. (May 10)

RUSH FUNDS TO ORISSA

THE election battle in Orissa has now entered its crucial phase. All the parties have completed the initial mobilisation of their forces. They are now fanning out to reach all their potential voters to influence many, many more. Meetings, demonstrations, pamphleteering, leaflet distribution, etc., are proceeding apace. The Congress has thrown in all its resources. Not to speak of propaganda material, money is flowing like water. The Ganatantra Parishad is spending on an equally lavish scale. Our comrades are working at a tremendous tempo. The people are responding in a big way and the chances are bright of our improving our position in the Assembly. But our comrades are seriously handicapped by lack of money. The generous gifts of the Oriya masses will not suffice. The entire Party throughout the country must rally to our comrades in Orissa. Polling takes place on June 2. There is not a day to be lost. Money must be rushed immediately to the Communist Party office, Cuttack. I appeal to all Party members and sympathisers to contribute to their capacity. **AJOY GHOSH** General Secretary New Delhi, May 10

when one African country after another took arms, to liberate themselves. We have now no doubt that the Portuguese emissaries will similarly fall in the case of Goa, which is a part of our own national soil, its guerrillas our own flesh and blood. It is not only the "Gandhians" who are being tried out but also the big Gujarati capitalists who have huge investments in Goa as well as economic footholds in Angola and Mozambique. In Goa, Gujarati Big Business controls the valuable mines, supplying raw materials for NATO's needs. They are also the organisers of the vast and astronomically profitable smuggling racket. They do not outright oppose the national position but use their ill gotten wealth to get false reports sent to New Delhi and slander whichever political group or Goan leader is playing the most unifying and patriotic role at the moment. It is not difficult to identify their big chief and influential spokesman in New Delhi! The days when the Portuguese could use Indian ideological prejudices and political weaknesses to perpetuate their rule are gone. Goa is part of Indian national territory but it is not a part of the Indian Union yet. Every Goan patriot who is fighting the Portuguese with arms or otherwise is our most esteemed and beloved fellow-fighter. He is completing the battle for Indian independence whose great big victory was celebrated on August 15 when the Tricolour was raised over the Red Fort and the Union Jack pulled down. The Goan guerrillas are carrying on the grand fight to do the same good job at Panjim. Who will have the heart, the nerve or the brains to openly condemn or disown them? He cannot but fall foul of the Indian people and unmask his dirty and ugly face. —P. C. JOSHI

UNDER INDIAN SWARAJ —Videshi Capital Welcome!

NOTES OF THE WEEK

NEW AGE has not been lagging behind in exposing official weakness that under the rule of a leadership that itself fought the British enslavers and exploiters under the twin slogans of Swaraj and Swadeshi, foreign private capital was being offered opportunities after facilities, to make inroads into the Indian economy. The same leaders would have exclaimed 20 years ago that it was all anti-Indian and only cleared the way for foreign exploitation.

But what was so far being done piecemeal, almost clandestinely, i.e., under official secrecy, is now being done openly and formally, under the vast and blue Indian sky. Through a formal policy statement, on May 7, the Union Ministry of Commerce and Industry has brazenly invited foreign capital participation in India's economic development and that too with special reference to the Plan projects.

The foreign monopolists opposed Indian industrialisation but they failed. They resisted the expansion of the public sector and again they did not have their way. They began, more and more boldly, to dictate to the Indian Government that if foreign "aid" was really sought for the Indian Plan, the private sector must have vast pastures open to it. Since we have neither the machines nor technical men to start new and big industries, foreign private capital must come in to help, as the only way out.

The association of the Congress Government with Indian capital has grown closer and closer. The growth of the Indian private sector has been so big and quick that the Indian monopoly groups have become bold and influential enough to put profit above national interest. Their sustained prodding of the Indian Government has gone on alongside the persistent pressure from the World Bank and the Western aiders. This double-track race has won for the Western monopolists what they had failed to achieve ever since India won independence, i.e. their welcome in India on their terms. The mass of Indians, cannot but condemn it as exploitation of our wealth and man-power.

The unashamedly pro-colonialist Economic Times, May 8, writes: "It is considered significant that the Government should have decided to issue the formal statement, welcoming foreign collaboration, after Parliament's budget session had ended. The Government's policy on this subject had been strongly criticised by M.P.s on both sides of the House, and some Congress members had called for curbs on joint ventures involving foreign capital investment."

WHY THIS CHANGE?

What prompted this indecent haste, the Congress leadership publicly swallowing its own industrial policy? The Aid-India Club met in Washington, dispersed

inconclusively without promising anything concrete or definite. This dismayed Indian official circles. The Washington get-together of the India's "aiders" was announced to take place again May end. Hence this Indian official statement in between, to publicly assure the foreign monopolists that henceforth the Government of India would permit them to come in and was willing and eager to meet their demands, which it had rejected so far as a matter of national policy.

Let us note which are "the new fields where foreign capital would ordinarily be welcome." The list is long and breath-taking:

"Iron and steel structures; iron and steel castings and forgings; iron and steel pipes; special steels; non-ferrous metals and alloys; boilers and steam-generating plants; equipment for transmission and distribution of electricity; furnaces; marine diesel engines; industrial machinery, including major items of specialised equipment used in specific industries, and general items of machinery used in several industries such as equipment required for various unit processes; ball, roller and taper bearings; speed reduction units; machine-tools; tractors; earth-moving and construction machinery; plastics; industrial and scientific instruments; fertilisers; organic chemicals; fine chemicals and intermediates; industrial explosives; industrial gases; agricultural chemicals such as insecticides; dyestuffs and drugs, including the production of basic intermediates; newsprint and pulp."

The list covers more than 20 major categories of industries. Quite a number of these were officially out of bounds for the private sector or in the category that was kept open as the common region but with the primacy and priority of the public sector guaranteed.

ONLY A BEGINNING

This list again is only "illustrative" and not exhaustive and the official statement promises that it will be "subject to revision from time to time." This in plain terms means that the above constitute not the last ditch concessions to foreign capital but the first in a long line of retreat from the traditional Indian position. The above point gets still more highlighted when we equally carefully scan "fields in which foreign capital is not ordinarily needed. This list includes banking, insurance, trading and commercial activities and plantations."

Would any Indian thank the Government for assuring that India is not turning to the path adopted by Pakistan or suddenly restoring back the old days of the British Raj?

The key and strategic industries needed for defence and the like, under Schedule A of the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956, stood totally banned for private capital, foreign or Indian. The official statement, however, has not even held on to this position

as the nation's strongest point of defence and advance which can never be toyed with. "In special circumstances, however, exceptions may be made where, after full consideration, this is found to be in the public interest."

NO INDIAN MAJORITY

To the vigorous Communist opposition to permitting foreign private capital entering the country, the official spokesmen used to answer back self-righteously and with evident confidence that effective control and ownership were being retained in Indian hands by providing for majority participation by the Indian side.

Even this pretence of majority share-holding is now gone. The new official statement has avoided stipulating any ratio of foreign capital to Indian capital. It has gone out of its way to state that the ratio of capital shares by the two sides in the joint ventures, will be judged on merits. As a fig-leaf from the past, the verbal reiteration is made, "Indian majority holding would be generally welcome." Indian majority would no more be an imperative but would depend upon the sweet will of the foreign partner!

The Parliamentary interpellations and various debates during the last two years revealed that the pre-condition of Indian majority holding has been waived in ever-growing numbers while sanctioning permits for starting new industries. The new official statement will transform what was so far a trickle into a flood.

NEW INCENTIVES

Foreign monopoly capital demanded the right to enter virtually any field of Indian industry unchecked. It has been met more than halfway. It demanded that Indian majority in the partnership should go. This point, too, has been conceded. It also demanded "incentives" to make it worthwhile to invest in India. The Finance Ministry, in its informal note last month, submitted to the M.P.s' Consultative Committee, had included them almost wholesale, just as demanded by the foreign capitalists.

This public official statement, however, does not give any detailed and explicit enumeration of the incentives which the Government will offer new foreign capital that will come in. But, as the columnist of The Economic Times stresses, "It reiterates the Government's desire to attract foreign capital by maintaining flexibility in the Government's approach to schemes involving foreign collaboration." Every sin against the nation and the people that the Government of India commits in the interest of capital is covered up by its self-proclaimed virtue of "flexibility" as against what it calls "dogmatism", which it associates with the Communists, only to cover up its own deviation from national principles.

It also stresses that the old British companies continuing to operate in India regard investments in India as a good way of preserving their existing interest and trade and of securing the continuing goodwill of the Indian authorities towards their activities.

SKY—THE LIMIT

The sky is now the only limit for foreign capital

participation in the Indian private sector. This can't be dismissed as Communist criticism but follows directly and literally from the very text of the official statement.

"If any project is approved for development in the private sector and, if imported plant and machinery are required, foreign capital investment would ordinarily be welcome as a form of financing the project."

There is not enough foreign exchange to import machinery for starting new industries. The World Bank and the like are prepared to give loans for what are called social overheads, i.e. developing road communications, railways, irrigation, power, etc., so that Indian economy may acquire the technical preconditions for modern capitalist exploitation. They, however, refuse to give loans to the Indian Government to start industries in the public sector.

Indian private capital does not have foreign exchange to import the needed machinery. The foreigners exploit this weakness of the Indian situation by proposing that they could give machines, and technical know-how to the Indian private sector provided they got their terms all along the line. They have got them now.

The British Certificate

THE Federation of British Industry is the top organisation of the leading British monopoly firms. It set up a working party under Mr. Lincoln Steel which visited India, toured the industrial areas, met their Indian doubles, Indian planners, Ministers, officials, etc. They also produced a report on "The British Industry and the Development of India". It was released on the same day as the Indian official statement dealt with above.

This report by the specialists of the Federation of British Industry came to the conclusion that on the whole the climate for private foreign investment in India was "reasonably good". The Indian Government is prepared to "countenance the making of reasonable profit and pay few difficulties in the way of repatriation of capital and earnings; indeed, new investments in India had to some considerable extent been offset by such repatriation.

"The market is large and highly protected by either tariffs or quotas, in most of the cases where manufacturers in India can supply the major part of domestic requirements. Further, in recent years the Indian Government has manifested a more cooperative attitude towards private capital investment."

The Government must be put on the mat and made to repudiate this dangerous, harmful, anti-Indian statement of policy.

If the British companies in India and the still bigger Federation of British Industry chiefs are confident that they can carry on and continue to grow in business in India, the picture clearly becomes one of the road-blocks on the way of India's economic independence.

The Yankee Way

HERE is a proposal to set up a National University in the country. The project will cost Rs. 15 crores, 50 per cent of the estimated cost will be borne by the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller one. Grants from the American FL-480 funds are also expected.

This so-called National University will be modelled on Oxford and Cambridge and Yale and Harvard, where the British and American imperialist ruling class educates and trains its own sons and recruits to learn and serve its interest faithfully and competently. Is it such a model that can be called "national" in our country?

"Many distinguished professors from abroad" are expected to join the staff or undertake visiting assignments. It needs no flight of the imagination to realise what ideological orientation will be the fate of Indian students under such foreign professors.

This is not all. The Ford Foundation authorities are anxious to have a major share in the matter of appointment of the staff. This is no small matter.

If the Americans can dare dictate this way today about an educational project, to which they are contributing only a donation what will they not do tomorrow, after they have invested their capital in our country in a big way. They will then seek to dictate the policy and the composition of the Government, nothing less. Only look at Pakistan, our own neighbour, and the Latin American countries, the neighbours of the USA. This happens wherever U.S. private monopoly capital is poured. It then runs riot.

ROUSE THE NATION!

It is true that India is not Pakistan nor Guatemala. But our present strength and strategic position should not blind us to the new and grim dangers which inviting foreign private capital in a massive way during the Third Plan implies. Our own national tradition must be our guide. The living experiences of numerous Afro-Asian and Latin American countries is warning enough. Rousing the country against the new Indian official statement is the task of the hour.

The Government must be put on the mat and made to repudiate this dangerous, harmful, anti-Indian statement of policy.

— P. C. JOSHI

(May 9)

MAY 14, 1961

CEYLON COMMUNISTS CALL

Defeat Reaction's Plot To Overthrow Government

The following is the text of the statement issued by the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Ceylon after a meeting on April 26 last:

THE events of the past fortnight represent a new stage in the offensive of foreign and domestic reaction against the victory of the people in July 1960.

As the Communist Party warned, the reactionaries did not give up their fight after the failure of their offensive over the schools take-over in December 1960 and January 1961.

They have sought to utilise certain grievances of the minorities to organise a campaign that is aimed, not

at solving language questions, but at rousing communalism, bringing down the Government and destroying the gains of July 1960.

Immediately prior to the declaration of a state of emergency, the leaders of the Federal Party showed in word and deed that they regarded language questions as purely secondary and that their real aim was to paralyse the existing organs of administration in the north and east and set up parallel administrative organs of their own.

The action of the Ceylon Workers' Congress in striking a purely political strike against the Government at this juncture must be strongly condemned.

It is exceedingly strange that the Ceylon Workers' Congress, which refused to join the 1953 hartal against the UNP Government over the increase in the price of rice and which has not called a major strike for the economic demands of its own members, should seek to use its organisational strength in support of the Federal Party.

Recent events have made it quite clear that foreign and local reaction are seeking, step by step and in hidden and open ways, to unite all movements against the Government into a general offensive aimed at bringing down the Government and the restoration of reaction to power.

Despite its differences over certain aspects of the Government's handling of those matters, the Communist Party considers that the urgency of the present situation demands that all progressive forces that contributed towards the election victory should now unite to assist the Government and fight back reaction.

The central issue today is not one that concerns language or community. It is whether progress or reaction will win. Once the offensive of reaction is defeated a settlement on the other questions can and should be reached.

The Communist Party appeals to the working class

and all progressive forces to unite to defeat reaction.

It appeals to the progressive forces among the Tamils and the estate workers of Indian origin to oppose all attempts by foreign and local reaction to exploit their special grievances in order to secure sinister ends aimed against the progressive movement as a whole.

Recent events in the Congo and elsewhere have shown clearly how foreign imperialism and domestic reaction utilise separatism to strike at the independence and progress of newly-free countries. The people of Ceylon, to whatever community they belong, must not allow this to happen here.

KANPUR MILL LOCK-OUT

—THE FACTS

THE management of the Kanpur Swadeshi Mills has declared a lock-out since May 1, 1961. The Labour Minister of Uttar Pradesh, Smt. Sucheta Kripalani, replying to questions in the U.P. Assembly justified the lock-out and blamed the workers for taking recourse not to lawful but to illegal means to secure redress of their grievances.

Here below we print extracts from a letter from Kanpur's veteran trade union leader S. S. Yusuf addressed to S. A. Dange, General Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress, giving the background of the situation and where it stands today.

In 1953, the management of

the Kanpur Swadeshi Mills (12,000 workers in three shifts; over 2,000 looms; over one lakh spindles) under the plea of financial stringency first played off one shift, then changed to a four-hour shift, system calling workers to attend twice in a day, against which the workers went on strike.

At that time, there were many unions. Most of the non-Congress union leaders were put behind bars. After 35 days of heroic struggle, the workers were forced to enter into a compromise through the INTUC to work four hours extra in a week; Saturday shift with nine hours each and one nine-hour shift on Monday. The compromise was accepted ex-

actly as an experiment to be tried for some time.

A committee of three (manager, labour officer and Arjun Arora) was made to review the financial stringencies of the mill after some time. But that some time did not end for more than seven years.

Meanwhile, the Sooti Mill Mazdoor Sabha (SMMS) was formed; the eighty-day strike took place in 1955 wherein abolition of the nine-hour shift was demanded. Arjun Arora, as SMMS Secretary, repeatedly demanded a meeting of the three-man committee but in vain.

Now, having waited for seven years, the workers gave notice on March 2, 1961, to the effect that they will work according to the normal shift hours even on Saturdays and Mondays from March 25, 1961.

Seeing the mood of the workers, the three-man committee meeting was called hastily, negotiations followed and the millowners offered to stop one extra hour on Monday. There was scope for further negotiations but the management refused.

Since March 25, Swadeshi workers have been refusing to work the extra four hours with exemplary unity, discipline and peace. This struggle has become a source of inspiration for all sections of Kanpur working people. The rayon workers went on strike on April 18 and won a partial victory. The Jajmau tannery workers also went on strike.

On the last wage day, April 20, the Swadeshi management deducted 11 days' earned wages out of 13 as fines. Most of the workers received nothing. Our slogan was, "Do not take the meagre wages", "Work according to amount of wages paid." Production went down. The management tried its level best to provoke the workers into a clash inside the mill or a strike but in vain. Finally the management abruptly locked out the Swadeshi Mills on May 1.

Since March 26 the SMMS

has been holding public meetings at textile mill gates and central Sunday rallies without fail. There was a May Day rally and procession on April 30. Five thousand workers from five textile mills, after working in the first shift on May 1, took out a militant May Day procession.

The SMMS has now given a notice for token strike on June 5 for the following demands:

- (1) Abolish nine-hour day in Swadeshi and Laxmi Ratan Mills.
- (2) Disburse earned wages of Swadeshi workers.
- (3) Implement Wage Board

Award in Lal Imli, Elgin No. 2 and Atherton West; (4) Four annas bonus in all mills; (5) Permanent jobs for temporary and substitute workers; (6) Service gratuity scheme for old workmen; (7) Recognition of SMMS. The above notice-cum-memorandum was placed before the Labour Commissioner on May 1.

By June 5, in case the Swadeshi dispute continues, there will be a strike. Relief is the key of the present situation and a Citizens' Committee is being formed for that purpose.

CURB ON TEXTILE WORKERS

—AITUC Protests Against New Bill

The Secretariat of the All-India Trade Union Congress has issued the following statement in New Delhi on May 4:

THE Cotton Textile Workers (Central Wage Board Recommendations) Bill, 1961, introduced by Government in the Rajya Sabha is claimed to be to enforce the implementation of the recommendations of the Textile Wage Board. But under this garb, a virtual ban is sought to be imposed on the right of the textile workers in this country to the right of collective bargaining and the right to raise disputes in regard to wages and to go on strike in support of any such demand.

The report of the Textile Wage Board was presented over sixteen months ago and the recommendations have yet to be implemented in many centres. Even those millowners who have implemented them have done so only after strike or threat to strike had taken place. In face of this recalcitrant attitude of the millowners, the Standing Labour Committee and other tripartite committees decided to make the recommendations statutorily binding upon all employers. But there was no question of putting any restrictions on workers' rights.

By the penal provisions in the Bill, viz., that "no claim for further revision of basic wages... shall be entertained by any-

body or authority as an industrial dispute for a period of five years from the first day of January 1960, and during the said period of five years, no manual worker or clerk shall go on strike..." and declaring such strikes "illegal" under the Industrial Disputes Act, the Government has clearly gone beyond the consensus of opinion expressed at the tripartite conferences. Further, this restriction even goes beyond the scope of the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947. While awarding limited benefits to the workers, the Government is simultaneously attacking the hard-won rights of the workers.

The AITUC, therefore, protests against the introduction of these clauses in the Bill and calls upon the Government to withdraw these anti-labour provisions in the Bill and do justice to the workers of the textile industry.

The Secretariat of the AITUC further calls upon all affiliated unions to protest against these retrograde provisions of the Bill by holding demonstrations and meetings and appeals to their affiliates, irrespective of their affiliations, to raise their powerful united voice in condemning this move of the Government and guarantee withdrawal of these provisions.

MAY 14, 1961

NEW AGE

PAGE THREE

PAGE TWO

NEW AGE

BAN THEM!

Editorial

THE MADHYA PRADESH communal riots shocked all, roused disgust everywhere as the real sordid story became known. The poison began to spread, the tension did not ease and in fact grew in other States. The guilty men kept it up.

The righteous demand spontaneously grew from below that communal parties must be banned. The grim and shattering memories of 1946-47 and of the Mahatma's murder began coming back. The black past was not dead but was raising its head again, in an uglier form.

This subject acquired importance enough to be debated long and seriously inside the ruling party and the Government. There is strong support for the proposal inside the Congress but there is also opposition, both pro-communal infection and misguided.

When the matter was debated inside Parliament, the Home Minister announced that the Government was all against communalism in our national life and the question of banning the communal parties was being considered and needed further consideration. The matter is, therefore, hanging fire.

Communalism, and its twin brother casteism, are the foulest and most poisonous diseases in Indian life, nothing is more demoralising, degenerating and disruptive if we take India's unity and integrity, sovereignty and security, democracy and fraternity seriously.

The hesitation and arguments of the misguided are due to the historically outmoded and ideologically confusing bourgeois liberal background of most of the Congress leaders.

One of the arguments is that not the laws but public opinion shall be changed to combat and eliminate communalism. When the communalists threaten the life and liberties of other Indian citizens, successfully rouse mass frenzy and the guardians of law and order express helplessness, what else is the real way out except to outlaw the gang that goes on challenging and defying the laws of the land despite the existence of these laws.

Another argument is that the communal parties cannot be quite banned under the Indian Constitution. The obvious answer is that if it is really so, amend the Constitution. The plain fact is that the communal parties stand against everything good, noble and forward-moving that our Constitution despite its defects provides.

Still another argument is that if these communal parties are denied legality and civil liberties today, it may lead to denying the democratic rights of others tomorrow. The plain truth is that the communalist leaders and Press misuse the democratic liberties provided under the Indian Constitution to disrupt Indian democracy and subvert the Indian Constitution itself.

Recall their references to Prime Minister Nehru, Defence Minister Menon, Oil Minister Malaviya, to our neutral peaceful foreign policy, to the public sector, land ceilings, and, of course, banning our Party. Whom do they regard as their enemies, what national policies do they seek to change and what type of black reaction are they actively working to install in power in our country?

If Indian communalism, of all shades and brands, organised in political parties, is tolerated under the laws of the land, and allowed to grow stronger and stronger under the very shadow of the Indian Constitution, and by misusing the democratic rights, it guarantees to individuals and organisations, then is Indian independence and sovereignty secure, Indian democracy safe, Indian unity and honour guaranteed?

We are firmly and fervently of the opinion that Indian communalism is the biggest single, and no more insignificant, enemy of Indian independence, democracy, of our nation's unity and of our peoples welfare and future.

We have no doubt that the more the pro-imperialist role and present criminal disruptive activities of India's communal parties are seriously and publicly discussed the louder and more universal will arise common demands from all the corners of the country, and from within all national and democratic parties—

— To the Government, to ban the communal parties;

— To each other to unite to eliminate and crush communalism, its spokesmen, Press and organisations from Indian public life.

— To the people to join up in their millions to weed out the communal pest so that India's national life may grow, healthy, fraternal and strong.

(May 10)

Laos: On The Eve Of Geneva

While statesmen from participating countries converge on Geneva for the Fourteen-nation conference opening there on May 12, the situation inside Laos follows the pattern created by U.S. aggressive and obstructionist tactics as foreseen in these columns last week.

THE Souvanna Phouma Government and Neo Lao Haksat forces have effectively carried out from May 3: the cease fire order given to them by their High Commands. The other side has, according to a "Voice of Laos", Laotian Government radio, broadcast been indulging in systematic violations of the cease fire. Between May 3 and 7 they were guilty of 29 such breaches, some of them serious. They have refused—with the object of preventing the start of the Geneva Conference—to come to the conference table with the Souvanna Phouma Government and the Neo Lao Haksat Party, procrastinating over the venue of such a conference. Instead of seeking to solve the question of a unified Government through this conference they have used the King to summon the National Assembly in their territory and under the shadow of their American-supplied guns. They plan to announce on May 11 the formation of a "coalition Government" of their own.

Harriman has visited Vientiane and has made the King issue a statement against the Geneva conference, calling it "outside interference in internal Laotian affairs". Poor King! He had not a word to say about the massive US interference despite an international agreement, necessitating once again an international conference to rid the country of outside interference.

Referring to the formation of a coalition Government in Laos, the statement of the Neo Lao Haksat spokesman declared that in view of the prevailing circumstances and for the sake of a speedy settlement of the question of Laos by the peaceful means of negotiations, Prince Souvanna Phouma decided to enlarge the lawful government headed by himself so that the Neo Lao Haksat party and those in the Savannakhet faction who were in favour of the policy of peace, neutrality and national unity, may join the coalition government at an early date in the service of the country.

However, the statement said, the Savannakhet faction, taking its cue from US imperialists rejected this sincere move on the part of Premier Prince Souvanna Phouma and coerced the King into convening the old National Assembly on May 11 to form a unilaterally so-called "coalition government".

"Naturally", it said, "this government like the present 'government' of the clique of Phoumi Nosavan and Boun Com and Champassak could only serve as an instrument in sabotaging the cause of peace, neutrality and national unity of Laos and the Laotian people will in no case recognise such a puppet 'government'."

Harriman even had the temerity to claim that Nehru agreed with him on the "model of neutrality" Laos is to be made to follow!

The head of the legal Government of Laos, Prince Souvanna Phouma has made the position of his side on these and connected questions clear. At a press conference in Phnom Penh on May 6 he said, "In any case I am in favour of the Geneva conference opening at the scheduled date."

He said, "It is wrong to say that the Geneva conference will deal with the internal affairs of Laos." The conference was "to define the neutrality and independence of

As for the appointment of a Laotian delegation to the international conference, the Neo Lao Haksat statement declared that this delegation must be chosen on the basis of a coalition government which will be formed by enlarging the present lawful government.

"In case the tripartite meeting called by the lawful Government fails to form a coalition government before May 12, then each of the three parties should send its own delegation to the international conference."

The statement further proclaimed that the people of Laos would never agree to the arrogant demand of the bosses of the Savannakhet faction that the leaders of the lawful Government and the Neo Lao Haksat Party which they described as the other party, proceed to Luang Prabang which is under the control of the aggressor forces and the traitor troops and get into contact with them for the formation of a delegation to the international conference.

Despite U.S. and its puppets' manoeuvres, it is now clear that they will not be able to torpedo the opening of the Geneva conference. The delegations of the Souvanna Phouma Government and of the Neo Lao Haksat Party as visualised in the above statement are on their own to Geneva.

Other countries' delegations too are reaching Geneva. Only the U.S. Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, has announced that he will go to Geneva only for a day. This is one better than his predecessor John Foster Dulles at the 1954 Geneva Conference. He at least had stayed there for a considerable time and had walked off in a huff at quite an advanced stage.

Referring to the formation of a coalition Government in Laos, the statement of the Neo Lao Haksat spokesman declared that in view of the prevailing circumstances and for the sake of a speedy settlement of the question of Laos by the peaceful means of negotiations, Prince Souvanna Phouma decided to enlarge the lawful government headed by himself so that the Neo Lao Haksat party and those in the Savannakhet faction who were in favour of the policy of peace, neutrality and national unity, may join the coalition government at an early date in the service of the country.

However, the statement said, the Savannakhet faction, taking its cue from US imperialists rejected this sincere move on the part of Premier Prince Souvanna Phouma and coerced the King into convening the old National Assembly on May 11 to form a unilaterally so-called "coalition government".

"Naturally", it said, "this government like the present 'government' of the clique of Phoumi Nosavan and Boun Com and Champassak could only serve as an instrument in sabotaging the cause of peace, neutrality and national unity of Laos and the Laotian people will in no case recognise such a puppet 'government'."

Harriman even had the temerity to claim that Nehru agreed with him on the "model of neutrality" Laos is to be made to follow!

The head of the legal Government of Laos, Prince Souvanna Phouma has made the position of his side on these and connected questions clear. At a press conference in Phnom Penh on May 6 he said, "In any case I am in favour of the Geneva conference opening at the scheduled date."

He said, "It is wrong to say that the Geneva conference will deal with the internal affairs of Laos." The conference was "to define the neutrality and independence of

As for the appointment of a Laotian delegation to the international conference, the Neo Lao Haksat statement declared that this delegation must be chosen on the basis of a coalition government which will be formed by enlarging the present lawful government.

—ZIAUL HAQ

(May 10, 1961)

WESTERN AID FOR PLAN

by ESSEN

The Aid-India Club has met and dispersed to meet again on the last day of this month. In the meantime, New Delhi has been kept guessing regarding the aid which might ultimately be had from its member countries. Among the latter also some sort of a tussle has ensued, with the United States taking the lead in coaxing others not to be squeamish in giving aid.

THIS state of affairs—of practically no result, except that the member countries themselves are at loggerheads—contrasts sharply with the rosy hues with which the pen-pushers of the monopoly Press had painted the Air-India Club.

This was the saviour, they had shouted in unison, upon whose generous impulses the whole Plan was based. Without its bounties, about whose availability, however, there could be little doubt, the entire Plan edifice will topple down. Hence the need to continually create a climate congenial to the U.S. ruling circles, and also to avoid taking any step which might annoy them or their West German and other confederates.

Bitter Truth

It was in pursuance of this objective that the Commissioner-General, B. K. Nehru, rushed back to New Delhi to advise the Government to go slow with some of its economic policies. In oil especially he is reported to have suggested that offers from foreign private oil cartels should not be spurned, lest the investors in general, and their Governments in particular, be scared into closing their half-open purses. And although the report about this particular advice was sought to be half-heartedly contradicted it could not be suppressed.

This was the state on the eve of the Club meeting, advertised as being the most crucial from India's standpoint. But now that it has been adjourned, without anybody in New Delhi being any the wiser about the likely aid from its member countries, the advertisers are silent. Even the inspired leak about the reported offer of the United States to lend one billion dollars during the next two years has not served to enliven their drooping spirits. They know full well the slips between a Presidential proposal in the U.S. and its ultimate approval by Congress. Hence their caution, and reticence to rush in with hallooings, which they would have done if they had been really sure of their benefactors.

Conditional Offer

Apart from the need for Congressional approval the reported U.S. offer is conditional this time on other Club countries coming out with a matching contribution. This bids to be even a bigger hurdle to cross than the former. To date their aggregate contribution amounts to about 600 million dollars—that is 400 million

dollars short of the target—and already the most important of them, West Germany, has made it known through its Foreign Ministry spokesman that "it would not be able to provide as much aid to India as had been suggested by the Aid-India Club" (The Statesman, May 5). With Britain, Canada and Japan being only minor contributors there is not much hope of this shortfall being made up. What will then be the fate of the U.S. offer remains a moot question, but more about it anon.

In any case, the main idea behind its formation was to bring all these aiding countries together to serve through their aid the ends which the United States wanted to achieve in India. These, too, were made manifest through a series of World Bank reports, prepared by its periodic missions to India, the latest being the one prepared by Hoffman which was the subject of a long article in New Age last year.

MAY 14, 1961

offered. As such, it is not a disinterested aid meant solely to help develop India's economy. On the contrary, it is permeated with ulterior motives of keeping India at a low level of development. Such an India can always be kept dependent on advanced capitalist countries, and be ultimately forced to toe their line in world affairs.

Their Miscalculation

In planning this strategy, the brains-trust of the World Bank, and the U.S. Government, however, failed to take note of the potentiality of the Socialist world for giving aid of another type: to help India create a base of heavy industries to build her independent economy. They did not realise also that the Socialist aid could be so inexpensive, or be offered on such easy terms of repayment. All these characteristics of the Socialist aid, which have by now become common knowledge, stole the thunder out of the Club countries' aid and showed it for what it really was, a thinly-veiled attempt to keep India tied to their own apron strings.

The Socialist aid foiled

What, however, are the prospects of this condition being fulfilled? West Germany, as is known, has already expressed its inability to give more than it has already promised. Otherwise, too, West German aid is so

much before the Club meeting, quite a few responsible people in New Delhi had begun to take their words at their face value. In fact, even the Prime Minister's unexpected tribute to the U.S. President, soon after the latter's abortive attempt to end Cuba's independence, which he himself had condemned in no uncertain terms, is open to interpretation in this light. And yet, all these hopes have failed to bring forth any categorical offer of assistance either from the United States, or any other member of the Club.

It is this prospect of being presented as a "show-piece" of the Club's magnanimity, and a prize-horse, which has the Club's backing, which should make our Government sit up and ask whether all this patronage is really worth the loss in self-respect, and danger to Plan policies which it necessarily involves.

These are a few of the implications of the Aid-India Club, which are certainly not unknown to the Government. It also knows that contrasting with this Club is the happy family of Socialist nations, where the leading country, the USSR, does not have to browbeat the other members into giving more aid to India and other countries. Nor does it have to hold out the threat that either they yield to its dictate, or else it too will close

its purse and leave the hopeful beneficiary-to-be in wilderness.

Furthermore, the Government is also aware of the purposiveness marking the Socialist aid, the importance of the projects for which it is given, and the low rate of interest charged on it. It knows, too, the fillip this aid has given to India's export trade, and the training it has enabled her personnel to get. And all this without throwing even so much as a hint about the need to change this or that internal or external policy as a precondition to aid.

It is this type of aid which we need more and more in days to come, and not the other type which is not only slow in coming, but is also conditional on so many ifs and buts. This does not mean that we should not canvass for aid in the Club countries, or not accept it gratefully whenever it is offered on terms as good as those of the Socialist countries, but we can surely see to it that only these terms are offered by the Club or it gives up the pretence of being our friend and well-wisher.

Thus, without wishing it herself, India, which stands for non-alignment, will be

not been all in vain, for,

NEW AGE

offered. As such, it is not a disinterested aid meant solely to help develop India's economy. On the contrary, it is permeated with ulterior motives of keeping India at a low level of development. Such an India can always be kept dependent on advanced capitalist countries, and be ultimately forced to toe their line in world affairs.

Queer Method

An offer has no doubt been made by the first, but it is conditional on others also contributing as much. In other words, either all help together or none helps at all. A queer way indeed to help a developing nation.

What, however, are the prospects of this condition being fulfilled? West Germany, as is known, has already expressed its inability to give more than it has already promised. Otherwise, too, West German aid is so

much before the Club meeting, quite a few responsible people in New Delhi had begun to take their words at their face value. In fact, even the Prime Minister's unexpected tribute to the U.S. President, soon after the latter's abortive attempt to end Cuba's independence, which he himself had condemned in no uncertain terms, is open to interpretation in this light. And yet, all these hopes have failed to bring forth any categorical offer of assistance either from the United States, or any other member of the Club.

It is this prospect of being presented as a "show-piece" of the Club's magnanimity, and a prize-horse, which has the Club's backing, which should make our Government sit up and ask whether all this patronage is really worth the loss in self-respect, and danger to Plan policies which it necessarily involves.

These are a few of the implications of the Aid-India Club, which are certainly not unknown to the Government. It also knows that contrasting with this Club is the happy family of Socialist nations, where the leading country, the USSR, does not have to browbeat the other members into giving more aid to India and other countries. Nor does it have to hold out the threat that either they yield to its dictate, or else it too will close

its purse and leave the hopeful beneficiary-to-be in wilderness.

Furthermore, the Government is also aware of the purposiveness marking the Socialist aid, the importance of the projects for which it is given, and the low rate of interest charged on it. It knows, too, the fillip this aid has given to India's export trade, and the training it has enabled her personnel to get. And all this without throwing even so much as a hint about the need to change this or that internal or external policy as a precondition to aid.

It is this type of aid which we need more and more in days to come, and not the other type which is not only slow in coming, but is also conditional on so many ifs and buts. This does not mean that we should not canvass for aid in the Club countries, or not accept it gratefully whenever it is offered on terms as good as those of the Socialist countries, but we can surely see to it that only these terms are offered by the Club or it gives up the pretence of being our friend and well-wisher.

Thus, without wishing it herself, India, which stands for non-alignment, will be

not been all in vain, for,

NEW AGE

COLONIALIST HEADQUARTERS

The battle between the colonialists and the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America is gaining in intensity, and its smoke is drifting over the global scene of international affairs. The armies of the national-liberation movement are forging ahead. The colonialists are suffering setbacks and are gradually retreating, but they are still putting up a strong resistance, engaging in subversion, espionage, and marshalling up their reserves. The colonialist coalition has still powerful forces at its command. Who is heading this coalition?

ITS members seem to be acting in the open, its operations are directed by the Governments of the colonial and non-colonial Powers, prominent reactionary politicians act as their spokesmen. The headquarters of the coalition are at the Secretariat of the United Nations, and its chief clerk is Mr. Hammarskjöld.

That is the way the scene is set for the public. But things assume a different complexion behind the scenes. The actual though secret, headquarters of the international army of colonialists stands way above the Governments of the capitalist countries, and its membership is composed of persons who look upon Hammarskjöld and his like as on mere errand boys. Actual policy is controlled by an international clique of billionaires who pocket the lion's share of the super-profits reaped in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Their number is very small indeed. The leading colonial sharks today are not the businessmen who own a concession or plunder some colonial sector or make a fortune in colonial trade. The colonial pirates of the second half of our century are despoiling wholesale entire continents. Their annual profits run into hundreds of million dollars, hundreds of thousands of workers and semi-serfs are toiling in their enterprises and concessions in all parts of the world. Their financial and trade speculations influence the policies of the capitalist Powers.

Oil And Uranium

What modern colonialists are mainly attracted by in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are oil and uranium which have become a decisive factor in the development of industrial and military power. The oil and uranium concessions so far seized by the capitalist monopolies are worth tens of milliards of dollars, but their owners are aspiring to hundreds of milliards. Plunder on this scale has never before been achieved in the history of mankind.

Simultaneously a race is in progress for grabbing concessions of copper, cobalt, chromium, tin, iron ore, diamonds, rubber, sugar-cane, and bananas. The principal stockholders of the monopolies controlling all this wealth belong to the richest men in the capitalist world.

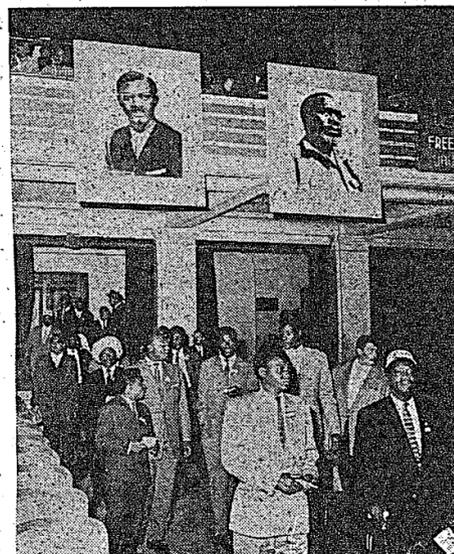
What is just as significant

is that it is the same handful of billionaires that is operating in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Wherever a fight flares up between the imperialists and

mining companies, banks, trade and transport firms, "survey" syndicates, etc., in these five areas amounts to many hundreds. The concessions are controlled by capitalists of many nationalities; the boards of directors are composed by financiers whose names are not familiar to the public; but the names of the concerns are more often than not the same.

Let us have a glimpse at Big Business in the Congo.

It is no longer a secret that the actual boss of the Congo under Belgian administration was the copper and uranium concern Union Minière du Ka-



THEY DEAL THE DEATH BLOWS Leaders of Africa who are dealing blow after blow to colonialism seen entering the hall of the Third All-African People's Conference held in March end in Cairo.

the national liberation movement, wherever the colonialists may be in quest of new sources of natural wealth, almost everywhere the supreme command of their forces is assumed by the same persons. The actual facts are very revealing indeed.

Billionaires And Central Africa

At present there are five major battlefields on our globe where the forces of the monopolies fight against the peoples of under-developed countries: Central Africa, Algeria, the Arab East, South-east Asia, and Latin America. In each of these areas a few financial oligarchies, head the colonial exploiters: the Rockefeller, the Mellons, the Morgans, the Rothschilds, the brothers Lazard, and the Catholic financial group connected with the Vatican.

The number of capitalist

by A. LEONIDOV

Four leading stockholders control the concern: the Brussels bank, Societe de Belgique which is financing the governing Catholic Party of Eyskens and is connected with the Vatican; the Belgian royal family, who actually founded the Union Minière, the British concern, Tanganyika concessions, financed by the Rothschild bank and the British royal family, and, finally, the U.S. International Basic Economy Corporation, which has a holding in the Union Minière through Tanganyika Concessions. The Chairman of that American corporation is Nelson Rockefeller, U. S. No. 1 billionaire, at present the Governor of New York State.

The London Observer wrote last year that participation in the Belgian interests in the Congo offers the Rockefeller brilliant opportunities for profitable deals. The ore there is excellent and the business is run efficiently. The only doubts which may arise is over the political aspect of this deal.

It was to remove these doubts that Dag Hammarskjöld was hired.

The Rockefeller have an interest in other colonial ventures on the African continent, which has been described as the world's richest spoils by Gunther, Chairman of the American Committee for African Affairs, set up by the henchmen of the colonialists. Two years ago total American investments on the "Black Continent" amounted to 2,000 million dollars, twenty times as much as before the war.

David Rockefeller, the head financier of the dynasty, journeyed in 1959 through the African countries and gave the signal for getting things underway on a large scale. In the Congo he had special conferences with the Belgian colonial administration. Today there are already more than 200 American corporations whose profits are several times as large as their investments; the Rockefeller are, of course, in the lead. Thus the whole mechanism of American diplomacy and imperialist policy is working in support of the Congolese adventure of the colonialists.

The Big Four

Side by side with the Rockefeller the Franco-Anglo-American Lazard Bank, which also belongs to the top financial oligarchy, has an interest in the Union Minière through the International Basic Economy Corporation. Before the Second World War the Lazard Bank backed the pro-Munich politicians in several European countries; it had on its payroll the French Foreign Minister Georges Bonnet and was connected with Neville Chamberlain's "Cliveden set" in Britain.

Today the Lazards and the Rothschilds are the main investigators of the French colonial policy. Although the head office of the cosmopolitan bank is in Paris, its heads are residing in New York. In the Congo the Rockefeller, Rothschilds, Lazards and the Belgian financial group are

acting in concert, and it is their influence that determines the policy of the colonialists in Central Africa.

When the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs de Vigny breathes fire and brimstone against the Congolese people, he is not speaking only in the name of the reactionary Belgian Government but also as a former director of the Societe Commerciale et Miniere du Congo controlled by the Rothschilds.

When Belgium's Premier Eyskens sends troops to the Congo, he is acting not only as the leader of clerical party in power but also as a former official of the Bank of Diamonds in Antwerp.

When the former Chairman of the British Conservative Party Waterhouse drafts a plan of Katanga's secession from the Congo, he acts in the capacity of Chairman of Tanganyika Concessions which has a 40 per cent share in the profits of the Union Minière and itself owns huge concessions close to the Congo.

And when the new U.S. Secretary of State Rusk defends Dag Hammarskjöld, well-informed persons will point out that before his latest appointment Rusk was on the board of directors of the Rockefeller Foundation.

It has been acknowledged since ages that in the imperialist world, business and politics work hand in glove. And we have daily evidence of this modern colonial business.

Stakes In Algeria

Let us now have a glimpse at what is going on northward, where another big battle is raging between the colonialists and the national liberation movement.

War in Algeria is in its seventh year. The French people curse this war, which according to official figures costs them daily 1,000 million old francs and is gradually exhausting the country. Although France has not a chance of forcing the Algerians into submission, the colonialists will not budge an inch from their position. In Paris it is asserted that this cannot be helped because France must supposedly safeguard the interests of the French settlers in Algeria. This is sheer nonsense, of course—what is actually behind the French policy is the Sahara, oil.

In the Sahara Desert, which forms part of Algeria, vast oil deposits have been discovered, and they promise to transform that area into one of the world's leading industrial centres. The deposits are at present estimated to run into several thousand million tons. Sahara's oil output went up from 1.3 million tons in 1959 to 6.5 million in 1960 and is to go up to 18 million tons this year, thus exceeding Mexican production. Production costs are about 25 per cent of the price prevailing on the American market. No wonder that the prospects of Sahara oil are as exciting to the monopolies, if not

* SEE PAGE 10

GURUDEV'S CENTENARY

by ROMESH CHANDRA

The celebrations of the birth centenary of Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore have already broken the tight cordon of "official committees" and "official functions", with all their "pomp" and strait-laced protocol. And Gurudev is being remembered in little homes, in the laughter of children, in the lullabies of mothers, in the marching feet of workers returning from factories.

GURUDEV'S centenary celebrations are carrying his message to humanity far and wide throughout our own India and abroad in all other continents. But the celebrations, as the year 1961 grows older, are equally doing something more; they are marking a new stage in the development of the cultural movement in this country; they are opening up a new chapter in the history of the cultural life of our vast millions.

By this one should not understand only that new theatres and institutions are being built by the Government and opened by Ministers. We need theatres badly and cultural institutions can meet a great need of our creative workers; and if these new grand buildings which are being dedicated to Gurudev can really be placed at the service of the popular drama, music and dance groups in the capitals of our States, and the institutes are run democratically and not made instruments for patronage and "V.I.P." bombast—then they will be more welcome.

New Awareness

But when one speaks of a new stage in our cultural development, one is thinking of something else: one is thinking of the efforts being made by the most significant of our writers, our painters, our musicians and dancers, our stage actors, our film workers—to weave round the centenary celebrations a series of vital festivals, discussions, seminars and symposia. These activities are bound to lead to a new awareness of the duties and responsibilities of the creative worker in this period of stupendous victories of Man. And this new awareness will mean new writing, new painting, new music, building on the glory of our past, our heritage and tradition—and linking ourselves with the new epoch when we are literally storming the heavens above.

The All-India Committee of the Tagore Centenary Peace Festival is taking a lead in helping forward, organising and giving direction to this cultural ferment of the Tagore Year. It has called on writers and artists in all States to participate in all-embracing cultural festivals as a prelude to the all-India Festival at Calcutta from November 3 to 13.

What will these festivals be? And will they be different from the "official" celebrations? Now, of course, the creative workers of each State will decide on their own forms of the Festival—forms rooted in their own traditions, based

on their own conditions and needs. But the common characteristics will be: (a) OPEN TO ALL: All creative workers irrespective of ideological or other differences, the old and the young, the celebrated ones and others just groping into the sunlight—all will be participants in each festival; there will be no exclusions on any ground. (b) BEST OF OUR CULTURE: Each Festival will aim to carry to the people the best of Rabindranath's works as well as the best of the cultural work of the State concerned. Each artist will perform in his own medium in honour of Gurudev; artists can dedicate their best to Rabindranath; the poet his finest lyric to the greatest poet of our land; a musician can compose a new symphony for this centenary year (the famous musician Ustad All Akbar Khan has already promised the Peace Festival Committee that he will prepare a special composition dedicated to Tagore and play it at the Festival in November).

The Festivals will thus be rich gardens of the flowers of our culture in full bloom, nourished in the strengthening soil of Rabindranath's centenary year.

(c) CHARTER OF CREATIVE WORKERS: Together with performances of drama, music and dance, there will be

Peace Festival Planned All Over Country

gatherings of the men of culture, devoted to the examination of cultural developments in different fields, in the 20 years since Tagore died. What is being written? What is being sung? In which direction is it going?

And with it, there will be serious examination of the various governmental and semi-governmental cultural bodies and projects help more effectively the development of the cultural life of the people. A Ministry of Culture now exists. The Akademi is there. New theatres are under construction. There are official and semi-official organisations working for the betterment of cultural relations with other countries.

The leading Bengali writers meeting in Calcutta strongly criticised the Sahitya Akademi the other day. There is no lack of criticism of other Akademi and bodies and precisely by those whom these institutions are supposed to serve—the writers and artists themselves.

The Tagore year must lead to organised efforts to ensure that these institutions, on which so much of the taxpayers' money is being spent, serve cultural interests better than they do today. This is possible if the writers and artists untidely make concrete and constructive proposals for improvements and create the necessary machinery themselves to maintain a vigilant liaison with these bodies.

Again, what do the writers

and artists expect of a Ministry of Culture? And by "writers and artists" one means the mass of writers and artists and not any coterie of "stars" who bask in the lucrative sunshine of official patronage. What is the protection they seek from rapacious publishers? What is the help they want for destitute writers and artists, who have given their life's blood for India? Where are the much-talked about writers' and artists' housing schemes and cooperatives? Where are the bursaries and travelling grants for men of culture to go to other lands to study freely?

The Tagore Centenary Peace Festival will churn the many proposals and demands that the tens of thousands of our treasured cultural workers can and do make. And out of it all will emerge, perhaps, a sort of charter of the men and women of art and literature.

(d) COOPERATION WITH MASS ORGANISATIONS: The Tagore Centenary Peace Festivals will help to create a bond between the writers and artists and the mass organisations of workers, peasants, women, youth and students. In each of the organising committees in each State, there are representatives of these organisations working side by side with the creative artists. The mass organisations, apart from participating actively in the Festivals proper, will themselves arrange meetings and functions during the Festivals to hear of the poet's message and to come into close contact with the writers and artists.

(e) PEACE, INDEPENDENCE, HUMANISM: Special emphasis will be laid in all activities in connection with the Peace Festivals on Gurudev's writings on Peace, on national independence and on humanism. The All-India Committee is planning a publication containing translations in English of selections of the poet's works on these questions. The State Committees may be able to bring out editions in our own languages of those selected writings.

(f) FRIENDS FROM ABROAD: A number of writers and artists from other lands are expected to attend, bringing with them their countries' message of tribute to Rabindranath's memory. Their participation in the discussions and in the performances of the Festivals will serve to emphasise the internationalism of Tagore and the great reverence in which he is held in all lands.

(g) EXHIBITIONS: Exhibitions of arts and crafts, of cultural developments, of paintings will form an integral part of all the Festivals. In everything beautiful, made by the hands of man, is the spirit of Tagore. And to his glory will be dedicated the exhibits—be it a phulkari hand-embroidered with the love of a Punjab grandmother; or a horse made with the unparalleled skill of a Bankura craftsman; or for that matter, a head in ebony fashioned by a master sculptor of Africa, a mosaic from Italy, a wooden doll from Moscow.

Rumbling Of New Upsurge

Will all this be done? Or are all these just the "plans" of dreamers?

The answer is: there are already the rumblings which can be heard by those who want to hear. Did you hear the glorious songs of our poets in all our languages on the murder of Lumumba, on the victory of Gagarin? They were the products of the new upsurge.

Rabindranath, during his life-time, inspired to action the many patriotic writers, who dared, to raise their banners against the barbarism of British imperialism. This year, twenty years after he left us, Gurudev again is with us, giving new inspiration. And as he is read and read again, as never before, as millions who only know his name but had not heard him, now listen to his voice of revolt and protest against the realities of the dying order—a great big upheaval in our cultural life is beginning to be visible.

The voice of Tagore in 1961 has become a trumpet in every workers' and artists' ears, rousing him from his slumbers, to action, to his battle post in the struggle to build a new India as a proud part of a world in which the peace, independence and humanism preached by Gurudev reign supreme.

—Mohit Sen

(May 1)

GOA GUERRILLAS GO INTO ACTION

APPEAL AND WARNING

We of New Age have been trying to do our bit for Goan liberation and wanting to do more.

We felt small when we regularly read in the daily Press that our fellow fighters against Portuguese imperialism in the African continent, in Angola, were going ahead, attacking the Portuguese military garrisons and virtually making Salazar's men prisoners inside their fortresses.

WE felt humiliated when we heard that influential elements inside the Indian ruling circles were fooling round with the idea that the liberation of Goa will automatically lead to the liberation of Goa! We know of Goan helplessness before the strong official Indian stand. We were sick of empty words, however sympathetic and noble which only kept up the stalemate, were unmanly, un-Indian.

From Our Correspondent

hot, sweet and bitter, we agreed so often and heartily, we also disagreed violently sometimes.

Their tale is as simple as our common people and heroic in our best national tradition.

Thrilling Reports

When during March and April, tiny bits of news appeared in the daily Press about guerrilla actions having started in Goa, we were thrilled. We knew that the monopoly-controlled Indian Press campaign for Western foreign aid will never give due publicity to the Goan guerrillas' heroic efforts.

It was decided that I rush up to Goa and bring back a first-hand story.

Earlier from the Goan leaders, I had heard that there was demoralisation, frustration and cynicism within Goa, all because India was not doing its duty by them. They had now, however, done their duty by India. When I reached there, I found the atmosphere transformed, full of confidence, conspirative seriousness, fraternal warmth.

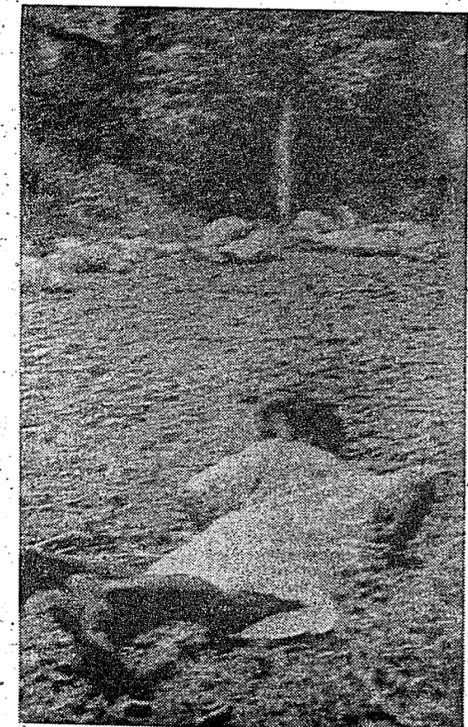
My contact and host led me straight to the hide-out of the leading guerrilla commander. I had known him by name, a 100 per cent Goan nationalist and a bit of anti-Communist as well. I feared that when he knew that I came from New Age and my name I might not get much of a welcome.

Hearty Welcome

My fears turned out to be utterly false. We shook hands. His first words were — "We were debating last night, lying under the moonlight, in the jungle outside, as to who will come to us first from the motherland, a Communist, Socialist, Congressman or a sensation-mongering journalist. I am really happy that a Communist comrade is the first to come to greet us for what little we have been able to do. Much more, very much more needs to be done. We must all work together, at all costs. That is the only way to Goan liberation and kicking the Portuguese out of here!"

The young commander made a picture, with hands folded and legs kicking. As I pulled out the camera he burst out laughing: No, not yet! New Age readers will miss a live, tell-tale photograph but will also understand how it is not yet possible.

I had a real good time of my life, with the guerrillas and their commanders. We talked and talked, warm and



mandos. They secretly met in a district town inside Goa itself and chalked out a detailed programme of organising armed struggle against the occupation forces of dictator Salazar.

The War Council decided to set up zonal commands and adopt guerrilla tactics.

The struggle was planned in three phases—(1) passive sabotage; (2) active sabotage and guerrilla attacks; (3) establishment of free pockets.

To advance the liberation struggle the guerrillas decided to cripple the enemy's communications, administrative machinery and economic life-line.

Recruitment And Training

The first and most urgent task the War Council decided upon was to recruit and train the requisite number of guerrilla fighters. I asked why this was necessary, they had large numbers of trained and tested volunteers from the 1954-55 struggle. They patiently and smilingly explained to me that they did not want to draw in those Goan patriots who had settled in Bombay or other neighbouring districts first because they did not want to cause any embarrassment to the Indian Government; secondly, because most of them had become very well-known to the Indian border police as well as Portuguese spies. I admired their political and planning foresight.

War Council Set Up

I learnt that they began as early as January 1961 when they set up the first War Council of Goa Com-

Facing a hail of Portuguese fascist bullets, satyagrahis crawl forward. This was on August 15, 1955. Those days are coming back—days of heroic action for Goa's liberation.

the thick jungles, in record quick time. They then set up the Base Headquarters of Goa Commandos, with trained personnel and some equipment which however was both outmoded and inadequate. The War Council met again and decided to launch Operation Confiscation, dare-devil raids to seize arms, ammunition and equipment from the enemy forces themselves.

Heroic Failure

Querim was a strong enemy outpost, three miles from the district military headquarters of the Portuguese in Northern Goa and about eight miles from the Indian border.

It was manned by 50 soldiers, Portuguese and Goans mixed, under a Portuguese Commander, equipped with wireless and most modern NATO automatic weapons, machine-guns, sten-guns, auto-rifles and three-inch mortars.

The post was a strong concrete building with regular loopholes, fire-lanes and flanked all around with high barbed wire entanglements.

In the night of March 23, at 01.30 hours, a small platoon of Goa Commandos boldly attacked this post. They were armed with only two sten-carbines, two pistols, four shot-guns and a few very old grenades—the left-over equipment from the days of old, as far back as 1956.

This tiny task force of 12 Commandos divided into four groups. One for the road-block, placed about a mile away, in case military reinforcements came to the rescue of the enemy forces which were to be attacked. The second one to attack from the front, and other two from the flanks for the same job.

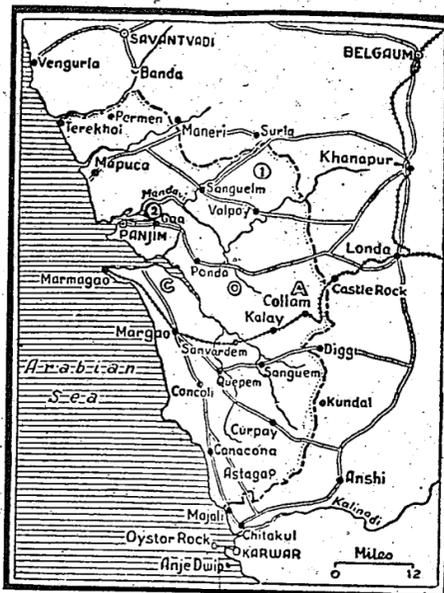
As per plan, all the groups crawled into position. The task force Commander, covered by two guerrillas, sneaked closer to the wires and started cutting them, strand by strand, to make a big enough gap for the assault group to rush in.

Meanwhile, the dogs started barking non-stop and alerted the whole post. The sentry switched on the powerful search-lights but could not detect the raiders who had already taken cover. Unfortunately, one of the Commandos covering the leader, who was busy cutting wires, showed unnecessary enthusiasm to defend the Commander and opened up on the Portuguese sentry, with his sten-carbine, before time and thus gave away his position.

Non-Stop Firing

The Portuguese garrison immediately closed all the doors and windows and resorted to a furious barrage of machine-gun fire through their loopholes and fire-lanes. They blazed away with all their weapons, including the three-inch mortars.

The flank parties responded to the enemy fire, with a view to draw it in their own direc-



Nine miles from the border, marked 1 is the Querim outpost which was the target of the first guerrilla act. Forced to retreat, their next target was Betim, marked 2, just one mile above Goa's capital Panjim across the river. The success of this action was beyond the imagination of the commanders themselves.

tion, so that the Commander could finish his job of cutting through the wire entanglements.

The job was done. The gap was made. The Commander along with the assault group rushed in. They placed demolition charges against the wall to blow it off. The fuses were old, and the explosive itself had deteriorated with age. The charges did not work. Despite all their ingenuity the Commandos could not ignite them.

Orderly Retreat

In sheer desperation the Commander hurled three grenades, one after another, against the closed doors of the Portuguese post, to shatter them open, but again it was all of no avail. All the three grenades went dud.

It was again the same sad story of old deteriorated explosives inside the grenades. There was nothing that could be done now by patriotic spirit or technical skill. They emptied the pistols into a loop-hole of the post and gave the signal to beat retreat.

All the while the enemy garrison was firing away non-stop, with all the weapons on hand.

The Commander left his two lads behind to keep the garrison busy with their senseless fire-works by themselves firing a few shots and throwing crackers all around. This way the enemy was kept busy, smoking out its ammunition till six in the morning. It is a very moderate estimate to state that they must have fired off more than 2,000 rounds of ammunition that

night, numerous hand-grenades and mortar shells.

The Commandos after pulling out reformed themselves at the road block with the hope of ambushing the enemy reinforcements that might come to the aid of the Querim post from the nearby garrison. They waited till 06.00 hours but none ventured to come to their aid, although they had implored their headquarters on the wireless.

The Commandos failed to achieve the military objective but they did not want to go back without doing something. They pasted up the whole area with posters. The same poster appeared all over Goa including the Capital City, the same night. It was entitled "Appeal and Warning", Appeal to brother Goans and warning to the Portuguese usurpers. Their slogan: FREEDOM OR DEATH! (see box).

In this action the enemy suffered two casualties, one killed, one injured. The Commandos suffered no casualties but left behind a two-cell torch and three dud grenades. The Lisbon Radio claimed these as hauls of "war material!"

Successful Action

The Commandos had no wounds to lick and set out to plan a bigger and bolder action, despite their first failure.

Betim is a strongly fortified Army garrison near Panjim, the capital of Goa, only a mile away, across the river, from the residential palace of the Portuguese Governor-General.

An April 25, at 20.00 hours, this military post was attack-

ed by a handful of Goa Commandos.

This place stirs Goan patriotic memory. Earlier, on the eve of the 1955 struggle, when Goa was plagued with frustration, demoralisation and disunity all around, Mohan Ranade, in sheer desperation had attacked this very post and all by himself. He walked in, all alone, and boldly opened fire with his sten-carbine, shot down three Portuguese soldiers and in return got riddled with enemy bullets and fell down on the spot.

After six long years, the same post was again raided, on the same day, and at the same hour, but this time it was the Portuguese garrison that was over-powered.

Outpost Captured

In the early hours of this evening, the Commandos wearing uniforms, with badges of rank and cap, crest, etc., drove with breath-taking boldness, in a commandeered army station wagon, right into the garrison. The guard on duty took them for their own troops, promptly opened the gate and saluted the Commander very smartly. The Commandos jumped out of the vehicle, over-powered the guard, disarmed the sentry, rushed in, and successfully took possession of the garrison armoury.

The whole action went off with clock-work precision. The Portuguese garrison was taken by surprise, the like of which they had not even dreamt.

After a brief but sharp encounter the whole garrison surrendered, and was made to march out of their lairs, all hands up and one by one bound up. The victorious patriot forces greatly and joyously loaded up all the war material they could carry away in the vehicle—automatic weapons, rifles, pistols, grenades, and several boxes of ammunition. Sitting atop the army vehicle they triumphantly drove through the town square, a busy traffic and trade centre and distributed the leaflet, "Share your Duties". Its refrain was Jai Goa! (see Box).

They raised slogans like Mohan Ranade Zindabad, Dr. Tristao Cunha Zindabad, Azad Goa Zindabad, Down with Salazar, Death to the Fascist Rulers, and so on.

People's Response

The assembled crowds lustily responded to the slogans raised by the Commandos.

The enemy suffered in men and material. They lost the Portuguese officer who was commanding the garrison and two other ranks. And more are reported to have sustained bullet injuries and lying in precarious condition in the Panjim military hospital.

The patriotic forces suffered no casualty, either in men or in material. All safe and victorious drove back to

their Zonal Command Headquarters, with the captured booty intact. They captured war material will now come in handy in planning future, bolder, and many more actions during the coming months.

The Goan liberation struggle has begun anew and no power on earth can stop its march into the bosom of the Indian motherland.

The impact of these two actions on Goan opinion has been uplifting. Everybody is asking where the next blow will fall and when. I asked the Commanders about their next plan, they smiled and said, stay with us and you will see it with your own eyes. It was a very tempting offer but I had to resist it.

The call of duty to the Goan brothers and Mother India demanded that I must rush back and see the heroic story printed first.

Before leaving them, I asked: What can New Age do to help?

The prompt answer was, "Come again and bring other newsmen as well. All are welcome, only they have to be genuine Indians and not NATO agents!"

I am passing the invitation round.

Victory In Sight

I asked again: anything our Party could do?

"Bless us and do just what you can to help Goan liberation. This is also our request to every Indian political party and national leader."

A young thoughtful-looking -serious-beyond-his-age Com-mando got up and with suppressed excitement, slowly said, "The Portuguese want u. disowned, condemned for being violent."

The Commander frowned at him, he slumped and sat down.

The policy of the Goan Commandos is to indulge in no controversies but just fight.

I am all admiration for them. The Goan Commandos by their guerrilla actions have raised high the Indian national banner amidst the huge living front of Afro-Asian-Latin American national upsurge, the anti-colonial fighters of Cuba, Congo, Angola, Laos will look towards Goa and be glad as the Goans are looking towards them and drawing strength.

Let every Indian make the Goans feel that we are with them heart and soul. That will inspire them with unbounded courage to hound the Portuguese out of Goa, Daman and Diu. One has only to go to Goa now, watch the utter panic of the Portuguese occupation forces and see the new-found confidence of Goan patriots to realise, as no words can communicate, that it is possible here and now, before the year is out.

Following is a translation of the poster which Goan guerrillas pasted all over the town after their attack on the Querim outpost:

WE make it known to all the people that we are determined to continue the struggle that was started in June 1946 and again in July 1955 when Dadra and Nagar Haveli were liberated from foreign stranglehold.

Querim is the first shot of this renewed struggle. We are confident that this will awaken the Goans and this conflagration will spread all over Goa and before the end of the year this hollow edifice standing since four-and-a-half centuries will be reduced to ashes.

WE APPEAL TO OUR BRETHREN

We would like you—the police, the soldiers and Government officers—to understand that we look upon you as our own Goan brothers. You should know that we have started this struggle of ours for the people of Goa. This is the struggle for truth and libe-

ration, and hence do not go against it and become the enemies of the people. In Africa, in Brazil and elsewhere, Salazar is being kicked on all sides. So see this with your eyes wide open and think over it. And if you are intelligent, give all support to our struggle.

Think over it and clear out.

You have been warned. AZAD GOA ZINDABAD! PEOPLES STRUGGLE ZINDABAD! FREEDOM OR DEATH!

Think over it and clear out.

You have been warned. AZAD GOA ZINDABAD! PEOPLES STRUGGLE ZINDABAD! FREEDOM OR DEATH!

SHARE YOUR DUTIES!

only. For that 12 lakh Goan hands will have to become active. While working for it, you may not get happiness. You will have to undergo a lot of suffering and misery. You will have to shed blood, sweat and even sacrifice your lives. You will have to sacrifice your all. And that we all must do. Just as the mother bears all sufferings for her son, we have to bear all this hardship so that our next generation may live in happiness.

Therefore, to all people—whether young men or grown up, men or women, residents of Goa or outside—our demand is: Do not sit idle! In this final struggle, every one must carry out his share of duties. For this, we have chalked out a programme of action in which we have provided for everyone to make his contribution according to his capacity. If in accordance with this programme the people render all help to the patriot forces and oppose and non-cooperate with the Portuguese imperialists, then before the end of this year, Goa will be liberated. We make this promise to you.

JAI GOA! FREEDOM OR DEATH!

more, as the wealth of the Congo.

They believe that in the near future the Sahara will take the place of the Near East as Western Europe's chief source of oil. Thus the subsoil of the "Black Continent" yields another inexhaustible source of riches. The French colonialists have decided to hold on to Algeria at all cost. And who owns the Sahara oil concessions?

Many companies have been formed, but there are not more than half a dozen concerns claiming the ownership of this mineral wealth.

The Rothschilds come first since they have shares in a number of recently founded companies: Compagnie Française du Sahara, Cofrepe, Francarep, Cofmer, and a few others.

The Banque Lazard Freres comes second—they also have a share in the Compagnie Française du Sahara and interests in Reprefrac and Eurofrep. These two French financial dynasties have merged their oil interests in the Sahara in a holding company called SFP.

The leading French oil concern Compagnie Française des Petroles has also obtained important concessions: 30 per cent of its stock are owned by the French Government, and the balance by the Rothschilds and other Paris banks and monopolies. Among the shareholders there are influential catholic businessmen and members of the church hierarchy—the Archbishop of Paris, for instance.

The French oligarchy is not alone in the field of the Sahara oil. The American and British monopolies are just as keen to get their share of this plum. Here, too, the Rockefeller group claims special privileges. Jointly with the Compagnie Française des Petroles they are controlling the firm Esso Saharjenn, which has obtained valuable concessions near the Algerian-Tunisian frontier. They also have shares in the Finarep Company which has interests in other oil concessions.

In 1960 the investments of the American oil concerns in North Africa were only \$34 million below their investments in the Near and Middle East. Valuable tracts in the Sahara have been acquired by the Morgans (through the firm Newmont Mining Corporation) and the British Shell and British Petroleum Company who have shares in the French concerns.

They Pull The Strings

The stake in the Congo is uranium, copper, and cobalt; in Algeria it is mainly oil. In both cases the leading contenders are the same. Compared to the Rockefellers, Rothschilds, Morgans, Lazards, the Shell and British Petroleum Company and the Compagnie Française des Petroles, the other concerns who are out for a share of the spoils are just "small fry" who get the crumbs off the table of the tycoons. In this case again we can see how the colonialist monopolies are acting hand in glove with the colonialist politicians. The forces behind the scenes are pulling the strings which set in motion the puppets on the stage.

Until recently Paul Delouvier—for many years office

chief of Rene Mayer of the Rothschild Bank—was the Delegate-General of the French Government in Algeria, and in this capacity shaped the policy in the colonial war.

Albin Chalandon, General de Gaulle's former Chief Secretary and now Secretary-General of the governing party U.N.R., was in the past the managing director of the Banque Commerciale de Paris, controlled by the Rothschilds.

Louis Jaquinot, Minister of State in de Gaulle's Cabinet, is a big shareholder in the Banque Lazard.

Jean Guillot, who formerly held an important post in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, is a partner of this Banque Lazard.

The chairman of the Compagnie Française du Sahara is Henri Bonnet, former French Ambassador to the USA.

Leon Noel, a former Ambassador and Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Gaullist party RPF, is now on the board of directors of Rockefeller's French subsidiary Esso Standard. And so on and so forth.

The list of French politicians on the payroll of colonial monopolies is even longer than that of their Belgian colleagues. This by and large explains the inflexible position adopted by Paris in respect to Algeria. The orders are issued by the headquarters of the international colonialists,

and the bourgeois politicians have been trained to obey their commands.

It must be borne in mind that Sahara oil and Congolese uranium are not the only objectives of the international monopolies, who look upon the whole African continent as a giant cave of All Baba, which must be kept under lock and key. Today Africa yields 60 per cent of the gold mined in the capitalist world, more than 80 per cent of cobalt, 30 per cent of chromium ore, and close to 50 per cent of copper.

The Rothschilds have interests in North Rhodesia's copper mines, Mauritania's iron ore, Gabon's uranium, Guinea's aluminum, and Senegal's phosphates.

Through the Newmont Mining Corporation and the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa the Morgans have an interest in the South African gold, diamond, copper, uranium, coal, and lead mines.

West German Claims

The wealth of the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique is controlled by the Lisbon bankers jointly with the Belgian catholic finance interests who are strangling the Congo.

Quite recently claims to a seat at the colonialist headquarters and to colonial super-profits have been ad-

vanced by West German monopolies. The kings of the Bonn Republic own no colonies but they want to take a hand at plundering the former French possessions at least on the same footing as they are cooperating with the French monopolies in the European coal and steel union or in the manufacturing of nuclear and rocket weapons.

The Krupps, Thyssens and other Ruhr magnates have made a deal with the Rothschilds and the steel kings in Lorraine for joint exploitation of Mauritania's iron ore. The Deutsche Bank has joined the European consortium for the development of African natural resources (Congo-Safrique) in which the Lazards are partners.

Ruhr Kings And Sahara

But the Ruhr kings are interested primarily in the Sahara where in addition to oil vast deposits of iron have been found, estimated at 3,000 to 4,000 million tons.

The Bonn neo-colonialists are striving to build up, through combining the Ruhr and the Sahara, a new monopoly empire which could challenge not only the Rothschilds, Lazards and the de Wendels, but the Rockefellers and Morgans as well.

The international colonialist oligarchy is torn by deep

from one to four dollars for every invested dollar. The Aramco Concern earned in one year 581 million dollars; the annual gross profits of the Kuwait Oil Company run as high as 300-400 per cent of the invested capital.

In 1959 oil output in the capitalist world totaled 885 million tons, of which 500 million were produced in the Near East, Latin America, Africa, and the dependent or formerly colonial countries of Asia.

The fifth and last member of the cartel is the already named Compagnie Française des Petroles, which cooperates in the Sahara with the Rothschilds and Rockefellers and whose shareholders are top Paris financiers. This monopoly owns 23.75 per cent of the shares in the Iraqi Petroleum Company and six per cent in the Iranian consortium.

Big Five In Oil

The Big Five of oil interests—the Rockefellers, Mellons, Royal Dutch Shell, British Petroleum, and Compagnie Française des Petroles—are the ones that control the policies of the colonialist powers in the Near and Middle East. The influence they exert on the policies of the United States, Britain and France in this area has been the topic of many books. Probably in no other field of colonial policy is the merger of State and monopoly aims as cynical and outspoken as in this particular case.

It is significant enough that for years Nelson Rockefeller was President Eisenhower's personal adviser and that all the U.S. Secretaries of State who have been in office in the past 12 years were connected in one way or another with Standard Oil.

In England, the outstanding statesman Winston Churchill was closely connected with the British Petroleum, formerly known as the Anglo-Iranian Petroleum Co.

Lord Monckton, chairman of the British Iraqi Petroleum Co., was Minister of Defence in Anthony Eden's Cabinet.

His predecessor was Cunningham, the First Sea Lord; one of the directors of that company now is Lord Weeks, former deputy chief of the Empire General Staff.

The Suez Canal Co., which still exists in Paris, and is in close contact with the oil Big Five, had for years on its board of directors outstanding French and British diplomats. This company is mainly controlled by the Rothschilds and the Paris catholic financiers.

The fourth battlefield is in Southeast Asia, and the situation there has its own specific features.

In some parts of that zone the monopolies have lost their positions for their concessions and enterprises have been either fully or partly nationalised. In other areas—for instance, in Laos, Cambodia, Thailand—the imperialists, primarily American, have not yet started to get the spoils at the same rate as in Africa or the Near East, because in their fight against the national

Another leading American partner in the Near-Eastern oil cartel is the Mellon group that owns half the shares of the Kuwait Petroleum Company. In 1959 this concern's profits totaled \$832 million.

British interests are represented in this cartel by two monopolies: the Anglo-Dutch firm Royal Dutch Shell (connected with the Rothschilds and Morgans), and the British Petroleum Company, some of whose shares belong

to the British Government. The assets of these two monopolies which lead the modern brand of British colonialism have a book value of more than \$5,500 million; this includes 47.5 per cent of the shares in the Iraqi Petroleum Company, 54 per cent of the shares in the Iranian oil consortium, half the shares of the Kuwait concern, and a number of concessions in the Persian Gulf area.

The fifth and last member of the cartel is the already named Compagnie Française des Petroles, which cooperates in the Sahara with the Rothschilds and Rockefellers and whose shareholders are top Paris financiers. This monopoly owns 23.75 per cent of the shares in the Iraqi Petroleum Company and six per cent in the Iranian consortium.

The Banana Empire

Until a short time ago it was believed that the United Fruit Co., was controlled by Boston financiers, among them the Cabots, Lodges and Coolidges, through the First National Bank of Boston. But in 1959, after the revolution in Cuba, the chairmanship of banana trust was suddenly assumed by the lawyer Thomas Sunderland who had been for years the legal adviser of the Standard Oil of Indiana.

Thus the Rockefeller dynasty got control of the Banana empire. This explains many features of recent U.S. policy in Central America. The masterminds of colonial subversion got down to business in this area.

During the Second World War Nelson Rockefeller held the post of Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs in the U.S. Government. In Latin America the Standard Oil group is mainly interested in oil concessions. The Caribbean area of Central America alone yields 165 million tons of oil—almost one-fifth of the annual capitalist output—and the bulk of the oilfields belong to the Rockefellers and Mellons. The former control the Creole Petroleum Co., the Colombia Petroleum Co., the International Petroleum Co., and the Atlantic Refining Co.; the latter control Mene Grande Oil Co. The Morgans, the Royal Dutch Shell, the British Petroleum, a number of "independent" American operators, and the Catholic Church, too, have oil interests in the Caribbean, but the Rockefellers and Mellons are far ahead of them.

Latin America is the third continent on which the flames of the battle against the colonialists are mounting high. A different part of the world, different people, a different ancient culture. There is little similarity between Cuba and the Congo, Venezuela and Saudi Arabia. But for those who make billions of dollars of profits in colonial ventures national borders or economic distinctions do not exist.

For instance, one might wonder what have the Rockefellers to do with the growing of bananas or sugar cane? The point is that the revenue of colonialist monopolies is growing at such a fantastic rate that they are constantly faced with the problem of finding new ways of investing their endless flow of profits. The monopolists have only one solution for this: to re-invest in colonial exploitation. Hence, the billionaires have interests in every colonial area and in every branch of colonial business.

For half a century Central America was regarded as the demense of the Boston concern, United Fruit Co., which was called by American stockbrokers "the banana empire," and by the peoples inhabiting that area the "green mon-

ster." This concern seized in Central America the best lands over an area of 537,000 acres; it owned 2,300 kilometers of railways, a fleet of 55 ships, its own ports, sugar-cane and cocoa plantations, its own press, radio, and police. The Governments of eight Central American republics were put in office by the United Fruit Co., and removed when they incurred its displeasure.

The business turnover of the concern exceeds \$300 million, its profits for ten years (1949-59) totalled \$945 million. A cluster of bananas which costs the company one dollar is sold for five.

The Banana Empire

Until a short time ago it was believed that the United Fruit Co., was controlled by Boston financiers, among them the Cabots, Lodges and Coolidges, through the First National Bank of Boston. But in 1959, after the revolution in Cuba, the chairmanship of banana trust was suddenly assumed by the lawyer Thomas Sunderland who had been for years the legal adviser of the Standard Oil of Indiana.

liberation movement they are guided chiefly by military, strategic and political considerations.

However, in Southeast Asia there are many British, French, American and Dutch concerns which owned formerly or are controlling now rich concessions: petroleum, tin, silver, lead, rubber, tea, sugar cane, tobacco, etc. There are hundreds of concerns of this type, but it is the same oligarchies that reign supreme in this area, too. Here are a few examples.

The biggest monopoly in Southeast Asia is the Anglo-Dutch trust connected with the Rothschilds known as the Royal Dutch Shell which obtained in the past vast oil concessions in Indonesia.

The Rockefellers, operating through the Standard Vacuum Company, and other firms also have an interest in Indonesian oil. It was from this source that the reactionary elements in Indonesia were subsidised who launched a rebellion against Soekarno's Government.

The British Petroleum Company which has important interests in the Arab and Sahara oil also owns a sizable lot of shares of the Burma Oil Company (British) which seized the Burma oil fields at the beginning of the century. The Burma Corporation which controls the tin, silver and lead mines in Burma is connected with the Imperial Smelting Corporation (non-ferrous metals monopoly), and with the Union Corporation belonging to the Rothschilds.

Indo-China offers another example. When it was a French colony the leading colonial monopoly there was La Banque de l'Indochine (Paris) in which the Lazards are big shareholders, and La Compagnie Française des Chemins de Fer de l'Indochine et du Yunnan, whose chairman was Pierre Getten of the Rothschild bank. Those are the golden levers that set in motion the SEATO mechanism.

Latin America

Latin America is the third continent on which the flames of the battle against the colonialists are mounting high. A different part of the world, different people, a different ancient culture. There is little similarity between Cuba and the Congo, Venezuela and Saudi Arabia. But for those who make billions of dollars of profits in colonial ventures national borders or economic distinctions do not exist.

For instance, one might wonder what have the Rockefellers to do with the growing of bananas or sugar cane? The point is that the revenue of colonialist monopolies is growing at such a fantastic rate that they are constantly faced with the problem of finding new ways of investing their endless flow of profits. The monopolists have only one solution for this: to re-invest in colonial exploitation. Hence, the billionaires have interests in every colonial area and in every branch of colonial business.

For half a century Central America was regarded as the demense of the Boston concern, United Fruit Co., which was called by American stockbrokers "the banana empire," and by the peoples inhabiting that area the "green mon-

ster." This concern seized in Central America the best lands over an area of 537,000 acres; it owned 2,300 kilometers of railways, a fleet of 55 ships, its own ports, sugar-cane and cocoa plantations, its own press, radio, and police. The Governments of eight Central American republics were put in office by the United Fruit Co., and removed when they incurred its displeasure.

The business turnover of the concern exceeds \$300 million, its profits for ten years (1949-59) totalled \$945 million. A cluster of bananas which costs the company one dollar is sold for five.

* SEE FACING PAGE

ENEMIES OF PEACE AND FREEDOM

Cuban revolution are illuminating the entire Latin American continent. The colonialist headquarters is seeking to co-ordinate its operations. It is, therefore, quite logical that the Standard Oil group decided to rally under its leadership all the colonialists who are active in Latin America, and to make a treaty with the United Fruit pirates.

The Rockefellers have other interests in Latin America besides oil and bananas. For instance, in Cuba they controlled the Punta Alegre Sugar Corporation, on whose board of directors is David Rockefeller. They also have shares in the railway monopoly Cuba Company. Here their interests are interlocked with those of the Lazards, who are so active in the Sahara and have a share in the Union Miniere in the Congo. The Morgans, Harrimans and Guggenheims own copper mines in Chile and Mexico (Anaconda Co. and Kennecott Copper Corporation). The Anglo-American-West-German Schroder Bank, which had financed Hitler, has an interest in the International Railways of Central America, 48 per cent of whose shares belong to the United Fruit Co.

These financial interests threaten the cause of peace to a far larger extent than one might assume on the face of their activities in Africa, the Near and Middle East, and in Latin America. The actual truth is that these financiers are at the same time engaged in other lines of business. The heads of the leading colonialist monopolies are also heads of the great munitions monopolies who rake in huge profits from the manufacturing of nuclear and rocket weapons.

Fabulous Profits

Since the war the rate of profit of certain American corporations in Latin America has been as high as 100 and more per cent. To give up such profits and return to the peoples the wealth that belongs to them would no more suit the Rockefellers, Mellons and Morgans in Latin America than it would in Africa or the Near East. There, like on all other continents, colonialists and generals are staking their all.

The politicians are acting as recklessly as their principals.

The late John Foster Dulles was a shareholder of the United Fruit; so are Cabot Lodge, former U.S. representative to the United Nations, and John Cabot, former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs.

On the board of directors is General Bedell Smith, former head of U.S. intelligence and Ambassador to the USSR; Forbes, former U.S. Ambassador to Japan; and MacCloy, President Kennedy's adviser on disarmament problems.

The State Department's Central American division is acting now as in the past in the capacity of some sort of a "political bureau" of the banana empire. The latest efforts of the United States to launch jointly with Guatemala's President Idigoras (an appointee of the "green monster") an armed intervention in Cuba were dictated by the joint headquarters of the United Fruit and Standard Oil.

There are other people involved in these dealings. The oil kings also have their undercurrent diplomats. For

instance, the former Assistant Secretary of State and "expert" on Latin American Affairs Herbert Hoover, Jr., has a partnership in Mellons Venezuela Refining Corporation.

The story of Africa and Asia is repeating itself in Latin America. In the forefront of the imperialist camp are the same financial interests and the same integration of monopolies and reactionary political forces.

Munitions Kings

We have watched the play of the leading actors on the world colonial scene, personified by giant monopolies controlling the wealth of many areas, ranging from the heart of Black Africa to the island in the Caribbean Sea that has risen up in arms. The sinister role played year after year in world affairs by the big monopolies is evident to millions of people. The magnates of colonial exploitation are to a large extent responsible for the present tension in international relations. But what has been described above does not present the whole picture.

These financial interests threaten the cause of peace to a far larger extent than one might assume on the face of their activities in Africa, the Near and Middle East, and in Latin America. The actual truth is that these financiers are at the same time engaged in other lines of business. The heads of the leading colonialist monopolies are also heads of the great munitions monopolies who rake in huge profits from the manufacturing of nuclear and rocket weapons.

To begin with such strategic raw materials as the monopolies export from the under-developed countries—oil and uranium—are used for arms production.

For example, it has been estimated that ten per cent of the oil concerns' business is due to the sale of aviation fuel and other petroleum products to the Pentagon. A special U.S. investigating committee found that Rockefeller's Aramco concern has pocketed vast profits from the sale of Saudi Arabian oil to the U.S. Navy. Only very few people know exactly how much colonialist monopolies earn from the sale of African uranium for nuclear weapons to the U.S. Government.

More important still is the fact that the major munitions factories in the capitalist world are the property of the billionaires who are financing the colonialist monopolies. It is hard to say from which source the financial oligarchies pocket bigger profits.

For example, the Rockefellers and Mellons control the Martin Co. which manufactures for the Government military aircraft, guided missiles, intercontinental ballistic rockets, and equipment for atomic reactors. The Rockefellers participate in the Olin Matheson Chemical Corporation which supplies to the Government

fuel for rockets and guided missiles; in the Vitro-Corporation which takes part in the production of H-bombs; in the MacDonnell Aircraft Corporation and the United Aircraft Corporation which manufacture for the Pentagon and Nato aeroplanes, helicopters, and rocket engines.

The Mellons control the international aluminum trust Alcoa; the nuclear and chemical corporation United Carbide, which operates the government uranium plant at Oakridge, the Kellery Chemical which supplies rocket fuel, the chemical concern Coppers, and partly the electronic monopoly Westinghouse which manufacture atomic engines for the U.S. Navy.

The Morgans have an interest in the General Electric Co. which sells \$1,000 million worth of munitions a year; in the General Motors and Ford motor and tank concerns; in the military chemical monopoly of the DuPonts; in the nuclear and chemical concern Monsanto, and in many other similar corporations.

The Rothschilds are financially allied with the British munitions concerns of Vickers, Imperial Chemical Industries, and Associated Electrical Industries. The Lazards are financing the British munitions concerns Rolls Royce and English Electric Co., the French chemical concern Caint Denis, the Norwegian monopoly of heavy water for nuclear production Norsk Hydro. They also have an interest in the West-German chemical concern Badische Anilin.

Cold War Champions

This completes the picture. The same monopolies who are growing richer and richer from the labour of the Africans in the Congo and Sahara, the Arabs and Iranians round the Persian Gulf, the Venezuelans, and Guatemalans in the Caribbean Basin, are also waxing fat on the arms race in Europe and America. The same politicians who are urging the bourgeois countries to engage in colonial provocations, are also intensifying the cold war. The monopolists of this type are out and out enemies of peace—they are the secret colonialist headquarters.

Due to their efforts there is an international coalition of colonialists who have united in spite of their inner antagonisms. They are pulling the strings which move the puppets at the U. N. Secretariat. Their henchmen direct the joint action of the imperialist states wherever the oppressed peoples rise up and throw off their fetters.

At some future date mankind will have accurate estimates, on the one side, of the profits reaped by the international financial oligarchy from colonial exploitation and the arms race, and on the other, of the cost in blood to humanity of this kind of business. Then the indictment of the colonialists and their accomplices will be complete.

GET ACQUAINTED WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COLONIALIST OLIGARCHY

BRITISH MONOPOLISTS HOLD W. BENGAL TO RANSOM

For over six weeks now, Calcutta and the vast industrial region around it have been in the grip of a very serious power crisis. Despite official assurances that the electricity position would begin to improve in another two or three days, the situation has only been deteriorating and a solution to the crisis is nowhere in sight.

The State's economy and every section of the people have been victims of the power crisis.

Industrial production in and around Calcutta has gone down by 20 per cent, the worst affected industries being jute and engineering. Workers are threatened with cuts in their already inadequate wages and lay-off and unemployment.

Sudden shut-off of electricity without any prior notice has necessitated postponement of even emergency operations in some nursing homes.

Water supply is facing disruption, threatening aggravation of the cholera epidemic. A few days ago, about 70,000 people in three wards of Kamarhaty Municipality had to go without

water for four hours at a stretch because water could not be pumped from the local pumping station due to power failure.

With no fans in this grueling heat, with lights switched off in many areas giving scope to the anti-social elements, with the suburban train service dislocated, it looks as if Calcutta will have to stay on with this power crisis for some time to come.

Naturally, the question is being asked: Why this power crisis?

Calcutta's power supply is in the hands of a British monopoly concern, the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation (CESC), and 330 megawatts of the area's requirement of 410 megawatts come from the three main generat-

ing stations of the CESC and the rest from the DVC.

The present crisis is said to be due to the complete breakdown of all the three turbo-alternators at the CESC's New Cossipore Station and the situation has been further aggravated by frequent breakdowns of one or the other unit of the DVC.

The CESC's explanation is that because the DVC had failed to supply the power which it had promised to make available, it had to work its New Cossipore generating station to its full capacity and hence there was no opportunity for overhauling the turbo-alternators. Yet another explanation the CESC is trotting out is that it did not get the necessary foreign exchange to import essential spare parts and other equipment needed for the turbo-alternators.

Knowledgeable circles see no validity in these explanations, they say that with the power supply that was avail-

able, the CESC could have easily taken up one unit after another for thorough overhauling.

What is evident from all this is that the present crisis has been deliberately created by the CESC so as to press certain of its demands.

FIRST, the CESC has been wanting to expand its generating capacity by importing equipment from Britain. About two years ago, it had applied to the State Government for permission to set up a new generating station in South Calcutta. This demand was rejected because the national policy is to rely more on the public sector to meet the growing need for power.

SECOND, the CESC has been demanding the renewal of its present licence which expires in 1970. In the policy of taking over private concerns by State Electricity Boards when their licences expire, the CESC sees the end of its 70-year monopoly.

THIRD, the CESC has been demanding that electricity rates should be enhanced—a demand without any justification. During the 60 years the company has been doing business here, it has increased its capital more than three-fold and its permanent assets are about ten times what they were in the beginning. Yet the company has the cheek to ask for an increase in the present rates.

A memorandum recently submitted to Dr. B. C. Roy by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, organisation of British monopoly capital in West Bengal, goes to confirm the misgiving that the present power famine is a deliberate creation of the CESC.

The memorandum says that "the most fruitful method of increasing available supplies during the next decade is to concentrate additional expansion on the licensed supplying companies" and demands that the period of the operating licences of these companies should be extended and "an alteration in the financial terms of the Electricity Supply Act should be made to allow a higher rate of return."

The West Bengal Government's policy in relation to the CESC has been one of appeasement and surrender. It renewed the company's licence in 1950 in the teeth of strong public opposition and even in the present crisis, instead of setting up an expert committee to probe into the power famine, the Government has used the powers vested in it under the Indian Electricity Act to enforce the CESC's plan for a drastic curtailment of power supply to industrial consumers.

The West Bengal State Council of the Communist Party has in a statement demanded an enquiry into the causes of and responsibility for the breakdown, the immediate taking over of the CESC by the State Government, firm rejection of the proposal to enhance electricity rates and no retrenchment and full compensation to the workers for any loss of earnings.

The State Council has called upon "all those who have the interests of West Bengal, on the public as well as industrialists to stand unitedly in the hour of crisis to build up a powerful movement" for the realisation of these demands.

The ground floor of the projected hospital is nearly complete. But, it is only the beginning. It will cost at least lakhs of rupees to complete it. The main hurdle now faced by the organisers is lack of necessary funds. A few days ago, leading doctors and distinguished citizens of Calcutta, including the Chief

TEST OF CONGRESS SINCERITY

The troubles besetting the Congress-PSP-Muslim League alliance in Kerala seem to be coming to a head with no solution yet to the vexed problem of finding a new Speaker to the Kerala Legislative Assembly.

AFTER the mid-term elections in 1960, as a result of the understanding between the three parties of the coalition, Muslim League nominee K. M. Seethi Saheb was elected Speaker.

Now that the General Elections are approaching the Congress High Command has decided that the Congress should have no truck with any communal organisation. So, when the Speaker's office of the Assembly fell vacant after the death of the Muslim League leader, the Congress in Kerala was faced with a difficult problem.

The impression that Sankar and Chacko have conveyed to the Press after their discussion is that the Congress High Command would not like to do anything which would upset the present arrangement in Kerala.

From Mercara, R. Sankar has gone to Delhi to continue the discussions with Prime Minister Nehru and Union Home Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri.

Inside Congress

One section of the Kerala Congress led by its President C. K. Govindan Nair and Industries Minister K. A. Damodara Menon, which had been strenuously trying to terminate the coalition with the PSP and the League for some time, saw in this the opportunity to throw the League out of the alliance.

Their hands were strengthened by the reported directive of the Congress High Command about no alliance with communal parties.

But the majority of the Legislature Congress Party and its leader R. Sankar and Home Minister P. T. Chacko are in favour of the alliance continuing.

The Legislature Congress Party met in Trivandrum on May 1 and decided to depute R. Sankar to have discussions with Congress President Sanjeeva Reddi and the leaders of the PSP and League in Kerala before a final decision was taken regarding the election of the Speaker.

Chief Whip of the party T. A. Thoman told Pressmen after the meeting that members were in favour of continuance of the present alliance of the Congress with the PSP and the Muslim League in the State. He said that earlier there was "such a tacit

understanding" that the Speaker's office should go to the Muslim League.

Sanjeeva Reddi, while in Mercara to attend a Congress workers' convention, held discussions on the Kerala problem with R. Sankar who was deputed by the Congress Legislature Party and also KPCC chief C. K. Govindan Nair and P. T. Chacko who were present in Mercara.

Though at a later Press Conference he avoided the question, all that the Chief Minister said at the Kozhikode District PSP Conference was enough indication of the official PSP stand—that it would like the Muslim League nominee to again become Speaker.

League leaders themselves have not been mincing words as to what they want.

M. Mohammed Ismail, President of the Indian Union Muslim League, said in Ernakulam on May 6 that the Speaker's office should go to the nominee of the Muslim League. This, he said, was one of the terms of the understanding among the parties of the Coalition Ministry.

He also denied reports in a section of the Kerala Press that the Muslim League would eschew politics and convert itself into a "social" organisation like the Nair Service Society and the Catholic Congress. This was in reference to a proposal that had been made that the Muslim League should cease to be a political party and League members in the Assembly should become associate members of the Congress or the PSP and then there would be no difficulty in getting one of them elected as Speaker.

It is against this background that the Kerala Legislative Assembly will meet on June 8 and elect its Speaker the next day.

A Few Questions

What will the Congress do? The answer to this question is not yet available, but it is in this answer that the people and even large sections of Congressmen will look for the sincerity of Congress declarations against communal parties and organisations.

Last time, it was while he was on his way back from Kerala that in Nagpur Lal Bahadur Shastri said the Muslim League should be banned. Within weeks, the Congress and League flags were flying together in Kerala and the Congress and the League were together fighting the Communist Party in the mid-term elections.

This time Sri Shastri is talking of a ban on communal parties. But what will Congress practice be in Kerala?

Will it find it convenient not to put up a nominee for the Speaker's office and also a candidate for the by-election caused by the death of the late Seethi Saheb and allow the Muslim League to win both?

Or will it accept Sri Sankar's contention that the Muslim League in Kerala is not a communal party and so an alliance with it is possible?

SCRAP-BOOK

GOD SAVE US FROM OUR FRIENDS

PRESIDENT Kennedy's "brother-in-law," Mr. Shriver, Director of the U. S. "Peace Corps", has come and gone. And now, as a result of his successful visit to India, we can look forward to a big influx of young and charming American men and women, who would be leaving behind the comforts of their affluent society and come to live with us to share the privations and hardships of our Indian lives.

Describing the training courses at work, the magazine said: "In Alaska a similar force worked with Eskimo scouts in the tundra.... In the Philippines, another detachment on manoeuvres against the 2nd airborne battle Group of the 503rd Infantry, slipped through the jungle lines, dropped imitation poison (the real stuff in actual operations—Ed.) in the drinking water.... In the Philippines, the stealthy marauders are part of a select band of 1800 specialists who make up the U.S. Army's Special Forces, a growing nucleus in U.S. military operations. Their job is to drop behind enemy lines, to rally partisan bands and teach them the prickly science of guerrilla warfare....

"Guerrilla fighters at the key European operations centre at Bad Tolz, sport a variety of languages ranging from Russian through most of the tongues and dialects" of the European Socialist countries. If, for example, the country is Hungary, they must know how to find a street in Budapest, be able to talk knowingly about the principal Hungarian poets, and know the proper words for romance.

We saw in Cuba recently for what purposes such trained "Special Forces" were sought to be used and there should be no doubt that it is for this sort of training and eventual operations that the "Peace Corps" will be used in a country like ours. Only the label is different, the content is the same—"Special Forces".

Or will it take the stand that while the Congress in general cannot have any truck with any communal organisation, Kerala is an exception and in that State such an alliance can be permitted?

ORISSA FUND

In the list of donations to the Orissa Election Fund published in NEW AGE weekly of April 30, 1961, the following two contributions were left out: Karnataka delegation at the Party Congress Rs. 25 T. C. Narayanan Nambiar (Kerala) Rs. 51

So, at long last, we know who it is that has been organising the anti-Dalay anti-Indian campaign in the Congo for the last so many months—spreading tales that India was out to grab territory in the Congo and Africa "to settle its surplus population!"

—GUEST DIARIST

FIRST OF ITS KIND IN INDIA

Students' Health Home

RIGHT in the heart of Calcutta, work has already begun on a hospital of an entirely novel type. A spacious ground floor, for an eight-storeyed building is now under construction. Dr. Amiya Basu, an eminent cardiologist of Calcutta, is the President of the Students' Health Home which is building the hospital.

Going round different portions of the ground floor, one could not but feel proud of this noble endeavour of our student community.

The inspiring story of the Students Health Home movement reveals what a splendid wealth of initiative and organising ability lies hidden in the youth of our country despite all the talk of student "indiscipline."

Self-Help Movement

Some ten years ago, a group of medical students of Calcutta began to feel that students themselves should take the initiative in organising a self-help movement without waiting for Governmental action, which was not yet anywhere in sight. R. G. Kar Medical College took the lead, and the Students' Unions of the medical colleges in Calcutta, assisted by some young doctors, put forward a scheme for a student hospital in 1951.

A convention of students, doctors, educationists, journalists and other prominent citizens was held. But the scheme was stalled for the time being due to lack of funds.

A fresh start on a more modest scale was made in 1952, with a plan for free examination of students by a panel of doctors, together with a chest clinic for the exclusive use of students. The simple yet daring idea was conceived of an annual

membership fee of one rupee, out of which would come the bulk of the funds for these medical facilities. The hospital was now regarded as a definite goal rather than the immediate objective of this self-help movement, which would develop step by step.

Soon after the movement was launched, membership enrolment was taken in hand and the scheme of free diagnosis through a panel of doctors came into operation from September 1953. The panel today includes more than a hundred leading medical men and specialists of the city.

Arrangements were also made by the Home for treatment of students suffering from T.B. in sanatoria in India and in France, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and in the sanatorium maintained by the International Union of Students (IUS) in Peking for Asian-African students.

The next big step forward, from diagnosis to actual treatment, was taken in April, 1956, with the opening of the Central Examination Clinic, X-Ray unit and Central Drug Store.

Today, the facilities the Students' Health Home offers to its members are as follows: free examination at the Central Clinic, health centres at Jadavpur University, Kalna College and at the chambers of the panel doctors; laboratory examination of blood, etc., at one rupee per sample; radiological investigation at four rupees per plate; medicines and medicaments from the Home's Central Drug Store for a token payment of 50 nP for three days' requirements and supply of spectacles at ten rupees; hospitalisation in the city's hospitals and arrangements for the treatment of T.B. patients. Health surveys and annual vaccination and inoculation drives represent another aspect of the Home's activities.

The Home has been trying to extend the benefits to mofussil students as well. Besides opening branch clinics inside Jadavpur University campus and at Kalna College, it recently rented a house in Calcutta for the accommodation of student-patients from the districts to enable them to receive all the facilities available to Calcutta members. Membership of the Home is open to students of colleges affiliated to any of the West Bengal's four universities.

A Proud Record

The services rendered by the Home despite inadequate funds make a proud record. Between September 1953, and December 31, 1960, the total number of cases treated by the Home was 20,450, including 255 cases of pulmonary tuberculosis. There were 2,185 laboratory tests, and 2,874 cases were X-rayed.

The benefits which students get can be best brought out by a comparison of the fees usually charged in Calcutta for medical examination and treatment and the rates of the Students' Health Home:

Patients	Normal cost	Cost at the Home
1. Suffering from minor ailments and requiring three days' medicine	Rs. 8/- to Rs. 12/-	50 nP
2. Requiring specialists' advice	Rs. 47/- to Rs. 528 to Rs. 98/-	Rs. 5.50 (excluding diet)
3. Suffering from T.B.		

One of the most remarkable features of this self-help movement is, as pointed out by the President of the Health Home as early as April 1956, that the "benefit is drawn as of right without the stigma of humiliation or charity." The relationship between the Home and its members is not one of charity,

nor are the facilities offered of the American type of relief, compelling the recipient to publicise the "gift" and the "generosity" of the giver.

By tackling the problem of student ill-health on the principles of self-reliance and co-operation, the Students' Health Home set an example which, one should have thought, would be welcomed without reserve by the Government. The State Government has been informed of the Home's activities at every stage, and two seats on the organisation's working committee have been kept vacant for the Government's nominees. But, curiously enough, the Government's attitude has been one of indifference. However, in 1960, at the instance of Chief Minister Dr. B. C. Roy, the State Government made an ad hoc grant of Rs. 9,515 to the Home.

The State Council has called upon "all those who have the interests of West Bengal, on the public as well as industrialists to stand unitedly in the hour of crisis to build up a powerful movement" for the realisation of these demands.

The ground floor of the projected hospital is nearly complete. But, it is only the beginning. It will cost at least lakhs of rupees to complete it. The main hurdle now faced by the organisers is lack of necessary funds.

A few days ago, leading doctors and distinguished citizens of Calcutta, including the Chief

Justice of the Calcutta High Court, issued an appeal, urging upon "all men and women to contribute their mite for the successful and early materialisation of this scheme of Student Hospital, the first of its kind in India."

—J. B. HOITRA

NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

EDITOR: P. C. Joshi

Printed by D. P. Sinha at the NEW AGE PRINTING PRESS, 5, Bhanderavallan Estate, Band Jhansi Road, New Delhi, and published by him from 74, Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi.

Phone: 25794
Telegraphic Address: MARKBADI

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

INLAND: Yearly Rs. 12.00; Half-yearly Rs. 6.00 and Quarterly Rs. 3.00.

FOREIGN: Yearly Rs. 20.00; Half-yearly Rs. 10.00.

All cheques and drafts to be made payable to T. MADHAVAN and not to NEW AGE.

TAGORE CENTENARY IS A PEOPLE'S FESTIVAL

From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

WORLDWIDE celebrations of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Poet Rabindranath Tagore would have begun by the time these lines are in print.

In West Bengal, the celebrations are being held in a manner befitting the great occasion. Hundreds of organisations all over the State have made elaborate preparations, either jointly or separately, to pay homage to the memory of the Poet.

Some of these organisations are observing 1961 as the Centenary Year and their celebrations commenced from March last. But the overwhelming majority of the functions in connection with the anniversary are being held for a week or a fortnight beginning May 8, the birthday of the Poet.

FESTIVAL MOOD

It is difficult to describe the mood of the people on this occasion even when one is in their midst. The atmosphere of a great national festival now pervades the whole of West Bengal, particularly Calcutta, the birthplace of Tagore. This is because in honouring him the people are adding nothing to his immense stature, they are only remembering gratefully that in an unfree India he inspired them with the message that it was inalienable right of every nation to be free, he taught them to value all that was best in humanity and in the glorious heritage of our own country.

All sections of the people—educated and uneducated, Bengalis and non-Bengalis, workers, peasants, middle-classes, students, youth, women, young boys and girls, educationists, scientists and others—are participating in the celebrations. I have not seen any other occasion which has been celebrated here on such a vast scale.

The Workers' Unity Committee at Kidderpore (Calcutta) and the railway workers at Assansol are celebrating the Centenary.

The Bengali and non-Bengali railway workers at Kharagpur and peasants from nearby villages are jointly paying tribute to the memory of the Poet.

The steel workers of Burnpur are holding a festival for which no entrance fee is being charged.

Middle-class office employees in Calcutta have drawn up elaborate programmes.

Petroleum and port workers also have made similar preparations.

Many trade unions of workers and office employees celebrated the occasion from May 1 to 8.

The programmes drawn up by innumerable celebration committees cover a wide range of items, some of which are refreshingly original.

These include baithak and public meetings, lectures, discussions and symposia on the different aspects of Rabindranath's versatile genius, construction of buildings dedicated to the memory of the Poet, setting up of study centres and libraries, organisation of exhibitions and melas, holding of competitions in essay writing, Rabindra Sangeet, recitation, painting, needle-work and other forms of art and craft, staging of Tagore's dramas, variety performances, publication of brochure and commemorative volumes on the Poet's life and his thoughts on different subjects, exchange of Panichshe Baisakhil (May 8) greeting cards with his imposing figure printed on them, village development work (establishment of dispensaries and libraries, repair and construction of roads, sinking of tube-wells), etc.

The highlight of all these items, however, is the melas or fairs. In Bengal, it has been the tradition to pay homage to a poet by holding a mela. For instance, for over 750 years, a mela dedicated to Poet Jayadeva has been held year after year at Kenduli village in the Birbhum District of this State. At these fairs people congregate on their own and there is a free exchange of ideas as also of the works of artists and craftsmen who come from far and near. It was this kind of spontaneous, joyful and popular celebrations that was after the Tagore's heart.

The Tagore Centenary All-India Committee, which is composed of well-known figures from all walks of life, has decided to celebrate the Poet's birth centenary by organising a week-long Rabindra Mela in Calcutta in November next.

The Committee has also decided to publish a selection of Rabindranath's writings on world peace, national independence and humanistic subjects in general as well as an anthology of poems, articles, songs, stories, paintings or sketches contributed by eminent writers and artists from all over the world. The World Peace Council has assured its full cooperation to the Committee in the difficult task of compilation and translation of the second anthology.

RABINDRA MELA

The West Bengal Tagore Birth Centenary Committee set up by the West Bengal Government has organised a 25-day Rabindra Mela and a 16-day festival of song and dances at the Ranji stadium in Calcutta.

Other items of the programme drawn up by the Committee are the holding of symposia on Tagore from next June and publication of a commemorative volume and a short biography of the Poet. On the Union Government's instructions the Committee is

further putting up tablets at all places which were visited by the Poet or where he lived and carried on his literary activities.

The West Bengal Government has taken over the Poet's ancestral residence at Jorasanko in Calcutta and has turned it into a Tagore University and Museum, to be opened by Prime Minister Nehru on May 8.

"Vichitra" which has been built in Santiniketan with funds granted by the Union Government is expected to become the premier Rabindra Memorial Institution and a centre of Tagore studies. It is designed to house a museum and a gallery of Tagore's paintings numbering about 2,500.

The Visva Bharati, dream-child of the Poet, will celebrate the occasion on May 8, on August 7 and in December 1961. Eminent intellectuals from all over the country will participate in an Educational Conference on May 8. About 50,000 people are expected to visit Santiniketan on this day. The celebrations in December next will be attended by international leaders of thought and action.

Calcutta University's celebrations have begun from today (May 8), but because of holidays and examinations, the main functions will be held for a week in November. The University has also decided to establish a Chair to be named after the Poet.

There is hardly any district, sub-divisional or even important rural centre where preparations have not been made to celebrate the Centenary. The programme of the Amta Thana United Centenary Celebration Committee is a model in this respect.

CONSTRUCTIVE WORK

The committee has drawn up a phased programme, spread over nine months. In the first phase (March to middle of April), popular lectures and picture posters on Tagore were organised in villages to acquaint the rural people with the life and work of the Poet. About 550 people were also trained in Rabindra Sangeet.

The programme in three subsequent phases includes visit to rural areas by the Central Cultural Squad, repair and construction of village roads, sinking of tube-wells, establishment of dispensaries, libraries and centres for the teaching of Rabindra Sangeet and collection of facts and figures on the economic and social conditions in the villages.

The main celebrations are naturally being held today (May 8) the hundredth birthday of the Poet. In Calcutta alone, functions will be held in a big way in about 20 different areas. The main centre of attraction, however, will be the Poet's Jorasanko residence which has become a place of pilgrimage.

Fortieth Anniversary Greetings

TO RUMANIAN WORKERS' PARTY

The following is the text of the message sent to the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party on the occasion of its 40th anniversary on May 8 by Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India sends its warm fraternal greetings and hearty congratulations to you on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of your Party.

Holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, your Party traversed a heroic path in ultimately leading the Rumanian working class to power in your country, in the conditions of the historical victories of the Soviet armed forces over fascist forces.

It is a matter of great joy and a source of great inspiration to us to observe that under the tried leadership of its Central Committee and its First Secretary, Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej, the Rumanian Workers' Party is successfully leading the Rumanian working people to the completion of the building of Socialism in their country.

As a member of the mighty world Socialist system, the successes achieved by today's Rumania are also successes for the world forces of peace, progress and Socialism.

We are happy at the gradual strengthening of friendly relations between our country and the Rumanian People's Republic. With gratitude we recognise the importance of the help that your country is now in a position to accord to us in building one of the key sectors of our national economy, namely the oil industry of our country.

On behalf of the working people of India, we hail your achievements and wish you further successes in the cause of peace and Socialism.

Long live the Rumanian Workers' Party!

Long live the friendship between the Indian and the Rumanian people!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

To Communist Party Of Czechoslovakia

The following is the text of the message sent to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on the occasion of its 40th anniversary on May 14-16 by Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India.

On the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the foundation of your Party, on behalf of the National Council of the Communist Party of India I send you our warmest greetings and hearty congratulations.

Guided by the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism, blazing a glorious trail in the history of the international working class movement, your Party has always been in the forefront of the struggles of the Czechoslovak people for a better and happier life.

With pride we recall the role played by our Czechoslovak comrades in leading their compatriots in the fight against the fascist hordes during the Second World War and shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet armed forces to the historical victory over fascism.

Highly inspiring for us is the record of your Party in successfully and peacefully transforming the national democratic revolution in Czechoslovakia into a Socialist Revolution within three years after the victory over fascist forces and then in completing the building of Socialism in your country in just fifteen years.

Today, highly industrialised Socialist Czechoslovakia stands in the mighty world Socialist camp as a bulwark and shield for the world forces of peace, national independence and progress.

With feelings of great joy, we observe the continuous strengthening of friendly relations between our two countries. With gratitude, we remind ourselves today of the help on an increasing scale which Socialist Czechoslovakia is able to give to our country in our industrial plans so vital for our national economy.

On behalf of all Communists and the working people of India, we hail the achievements of your Socialist country and wish your Party further successes in leading the brotherly Czechoslovak people to the triumph of Communism.

Long Live the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia!

Long Live the friendship between the peoples of India and Czechoslovakia!

Long Live Marxism-Leninism!

KENNEDY'S HUNDRED DAYS

SPEAKING in the capital of Armenia on May 6, Khrushchov uttered this grim warning: "The international situation had worsened of late." He added that the manoeuvring of the imperialist aggressors against Cuba were greatly worrying the people of the world.

He further said: "The coming to office of a new Government in the USA gave some people the hope that the new leaders of the United States will show a more reasonable approach to the solution of international questions, including the question of disarmament. This would have led to the improvement of all the international climate."

Obviously, this "more reasonable approach" has not been adopted, on the contrary, there are indications that there will be a tenacious pursuit of the insane policies of the old Eisenhower administration.

Thus far the Kennedy administration seems to have drawn all the wrong lessons from the smashing defeat inflicted on its policy of aggression in Cuba. The President has called in for counsel one after another of the rejected, most reactionary politicians and public figures—from Nixon and Goldwater to Hoover and MacArthur.

To investigate not the crime of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) but the failure of the crime, he has appointed the former General of the U. S. armed forces in the Korean war and the arch-warmonger Admiral Arleigh Burke. He has not conferred with the opponents of military adventure and aggression, but on the contrary made thinly-veiled threats against the civil liberties of those U. S. newspapermen and others who dare to expose his dangerous gambles.

Ignoring the outraged protests of world opinion and the more mature counsel of his Atlantic partners and Latin American allies, he continues to declaim the Kennedy Doctrine of the right to intervene against Cuba and any other country which, in his opinion "threatens" the "national security" of the U.S.

The Soviet delegate, Tsarapkin has time and again pointed out that the control organisation could operate efficiently only if it would be headed by an administrative council of the representatives of the three groups of countries in the world today and if all decisions would be taken by agreement between members of this body.

Similarly on the question of a moratorium on nuclear weapons tests, the Western side has adopted an intransigent attitude. Seeking to prevent a resumption of tests and making concessions to the Western Powers, the Soviet Union has proposed that the nuclear Powers undertake to proclaim a moratorium on nuclear explosions which will temporarily not be covered by the treaty, i.e. that there should be no tests while negotiations continue. To this the Western Powers' only reply is that, in any event, the moratorium on

tests should not exceed three years.

Whereas the Soviet Union is alarmed by the prospect of resumption of nuclear tests and devotes its efforts to preventing this, the U.S. and the U.K. seek to reduce the period of moratorium to the minimum in order to have done with it as soon as possible.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt wrote in the New York Post (May 2): "We must realise that guns never really changed ideas... We badly need to think over and re-appraise our foreign policy all over the world."

Noting this menacing trend the London Economist (May 5) wrote: "Frustrated by their failure to get the first man into space and Dr. Castro out of Cuba... they (the Americans) are tempted to conclude that the time for negotiation is over and the moment for blunter measures is at hand... To those who hold this point of view, it must be said, with due respect, that they misunderstand both the nature of the cold war and the causes of its recent frosting over."

Obviously, this "more reasonable approach" has not been adopted, on the contrary, there are indications that there will be a tenacious pursuit of the insane policies of the old Eisenhower administration.

Thus far the Kennedy administration seems to have drawn all the wrong lessons from the smashing defeat inflicted on its policy of aggression in Cuba. The President has called in for counsel one after another of the rejected, most reactionary politicians and public figures—from Nixon and Goldwater to Hoover and MacArthur.

To investigate not the crime of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) but the failure of the crime, he has appointed the former General of the U. S. armed forces in the Korean war and the arch-warmonger Admiral Arleigh Burke. He has not conferred with the opponents of military adventure and aggression, but on the contrary made thinly-veiled threats against the civil liberties of those U. S. newspapermen and others who dare to expose his dangerous gambles.

Ignoring the outraged protests of world opinion and the more mature counsel of his Atlantic partners and Latin American allies, he continues to declaim the Kennedy Doctrine of the right to intervene against Cuba and any other country which, in his opinion "threatens" the "national security" of the U.S.

The Soviet delegate, Tsarapkin has time and again pointed out that the control organisation could operate efficiently only if it would be headed by an administrative council of the representatives of the three groups of countries in the world today and if all decisions would be taken by agreement between members of this body.

Similarly on the question of a moratorium on nuclear weapons tests, the Western side has adopted an intransigent attitude. Seeking to prevent a resumption of tests and making concessions to the Western Powers, the Soviet Union has proposed that the nuclear Powers undertake to proclaim a moratorium on nuclear explosions which will temporarily not be covered by the treaty, i.e. that there should be no tests while negotiations continue. To this the Western Powers' only reply is that, in any event, the moratorium on

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

tests should not exceed three years.

Whereas the Soviet Union is alarmed by the prospect of resumption of nuclear tests and devotes its efforts to preventing this, the U.S. and the U.K. seek to reduce the period of moratorium to the minimum in order to have done with it as soon as possible.

NATO'S OSLO MEET

This bellicose obstinacy is being carried forward in the Oslo meeting of the NATO Council of Ministers which opened on May 6. A Pravda commentary noted that "the American delegation is going to Oslo with new strategic plans. The essence of the proposals... will be a new attempt to continue the policy of the nuclear arms race, combining it with a new intensification of the race in conventional armaments."

It goes on to note the special propaganda being put out by the U. S. about so-called "limited and local wars." It then warns: "It should be clear to all that with the amount of inflammable material there is in world politics at present, there can be no guarantee that a small military conflict in Europe will not develop into a world war involving the use of nuclear arms."

This warning is only underlined by the first speech of Dean Rusk at Oslo. He stated that the U. S. would maintain its forces in Europe and that it considered that NATO's nuclear and conventional forces should be strengthened. He stressed that the U.S. would feel lonely if there was no NATO.

He added that the "prospects are not too bright at the nuclear test ban negotiations" and that the U. S. would "try" to draw up proposals on disarmament by July 1. "The U. S.-Soviet negotiations which will continue in the meantime will only concern procedural questions, such as the choice of the members of a disarmament commission."

THREATS ON BERLIN

And most ominous of all, Dean Rusk runs true to form by combining a description of the aggression against Cuba as "an error of judgment" with outrageous and provocative remarks about the status of Berlin and a peace treaty with Germany. He went so far as to threaten that dire consequences would follow should the Soviet Union conclude a separate peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic.

The U. S. drive to war, thus, continues unabated. The new feature is that since the fiasco over Cuba Kennedy has decided to go ahead even more openly and recklessly. Recognition of this fact should lead not to pessimism but to greater vigilance, firmer action. Peace does not depend on Kennedy and can

be imposed on him quite as much, if not more, than on Eisenhower.

Neutrals' Summit

THERE has been a great deal written recently about the projected Neutral Nations' Summit, scheduled to be held in Cairo some time prior to the next U.N. General Assembly, i.e., before September of this year. The idea is said to have been sponsored in the first place by Nasser and Tito.

The aim of this conference is said to be to hammer out a common approach to world problems so as to give greater weight to the efforts of this international grouping at future conferences.

Another objective is to draw into the neutralist group more nations as they emerge from colonialism or as they effect drastic changes in their foreign policy.

It has been reported in some sections of the Press that the Government of India's policy is scarcely more than lukewarm. Pandit Nehru is stated to be against any fresh attempts at grouping, albeit of neutral countries. He is further stated to have questioned the utility of such a conference considering the diverse attitudes of various neutral countries on controversial international problems.

It would be all to the good if these reports about the Government of India's response were subsequently found to be untrue and it turned out that it was an enthusiastic supporter of the idea of a neutrals' conference.

PROVOCATIVE CAMPAIGN

Such a gathering would help to clarify issues and enable India to realise how strong is the feeling of many fellow neutrals on questions such as the Congo, Cuba, Laos, West Irian and so on. It would also enable India to play an even worthier role on the question of disarmament and the relaxation of international tension.

The Federal Party's campaign assumed an openly separatist and provocative character just when it was becoming generally known that the Government had refused to be dissuaded from proceeding early with the Petroleum Bill.

Certain Federal Party leaders have never made any secret of their sympathy with the West. Some even went so far as to propose that the Queen should be written to and persuaded to intervene in the present crisis. It is no surprise that certain western diplomats dashed to Jaffna to "watch" the satyagraha campaign.

No one denies the genuine grievances of the Tamil people in the North and the East nor will anyone deny them or anyone else the right to oppose the Government. And the democratic forces in Ceylon have rightly criticised some of the repressive acts of the Government.

But no democrat in India can lend the slightest support to an agitation which seeks to split up Ceylon and has the aim of bringing down a Government which has been valiantly pursuing radical anti-imperialist policies, in collusion with the Western imperialist Powers.

Actually, the best proposal that the Government of India could make at the present stage would be to insist on the calling of a Second Bandung Conference with invitations to non-Afro-Asian States to send observers. Such a conference would obviate the danger of a weaken-

ing of the alliance between the neutralist and Socialist nations and focus attention upon the common anti-imperialist tasks of preserving peace and rapid national reconstruction.

The Ceylon Situation

THERE is a lot of misunderstanding in our country about what is happening in Ceylon around the language agitation. This lack of clarity is due to a failure to assess correctly the nature of the contending forces in our neighbouring country.

The present Government of Ceylon, in spite of some vacillations, is pursuing a vigorous anti-imperialist policy and enjoys the critical support of all the progressive forces in the country, including the Communist Party. It is vehemently and viciously opposed by all the reactionary forces who have launched one agitation after another, very much on the lines of the "liberation struggle" in Kerala in 1959.

It began with the Catholic Bishops starting a civil disobedience movement when the Government announced the take-over of denominational schools. The Federal Party, which leads the Tamil agitation, planned its hartal in the North to coincide with this campaign.

Folled by the firm stand of the Government, the reactionaries struck again when the Petroleum Bill, aimed against the Western oil monopolies, was announced. The U. K. High Commissioner and U. S. Ambassador openly participated in the intensive campaign against the Bill.

DANGERS ARE THERE

No doubt such a conference has its dangers, particularly so with Yugoslavia's energetic advocacy of it. Yugoslavia would no doubt endeavour to commit the neutral nations to supporting its nefarious "two blocs" theory and attempt to split the growing alliance between these nations and the Socialist camp.

The presence of Cuba, Guinea, Mali, Ghana and some other States would, however, militate against the success of this manoeuvre.

Actually, the best proposal that the Government of India could make at the present stage would be to insist on the calling of a Second Bandung Conference with invitations to non-Afro-Asian States to send observers. Such a conference would obviate the danger of a weaken-

ing of the alliance between the neutralist and Socialist nations and focus attention upon the common anti-imperialist tasks of preserving peace and rapid national reconstruction.

—MOHIT SEN

Despite Shortcomings A HISTORIC STEP

It is only thanks to the unrelenting mass pressure of the women's movement in India that a Dowry Prohibition Bill in howsoever a diluted form has been finally passed by India's Parliament.

IT was for this Bill that for the first time in its history Parliament has had to hold a joint session. And as Renu Chakravarty, who among Parliament's women members has striven the hardest and the longest to get the measure through, pointed out in the very opening sentences of her speech, the fact of the joint session having had to be held was indication of the fierceness of the resistance to vital social reforms measures that is latent in our society and comes up every time such a measure is brought forward.

It was as long ago as 1954, during the first Parliament, that Renu Chakravarty and Uma Nehru had brought forward a non-official Bill suggesting restraint on dowry. That Bill was withdrawn on the understanding given by then Law Minister C. C. Biswas that Government itself would soon introduce a comprehensive measure to ban dowry.

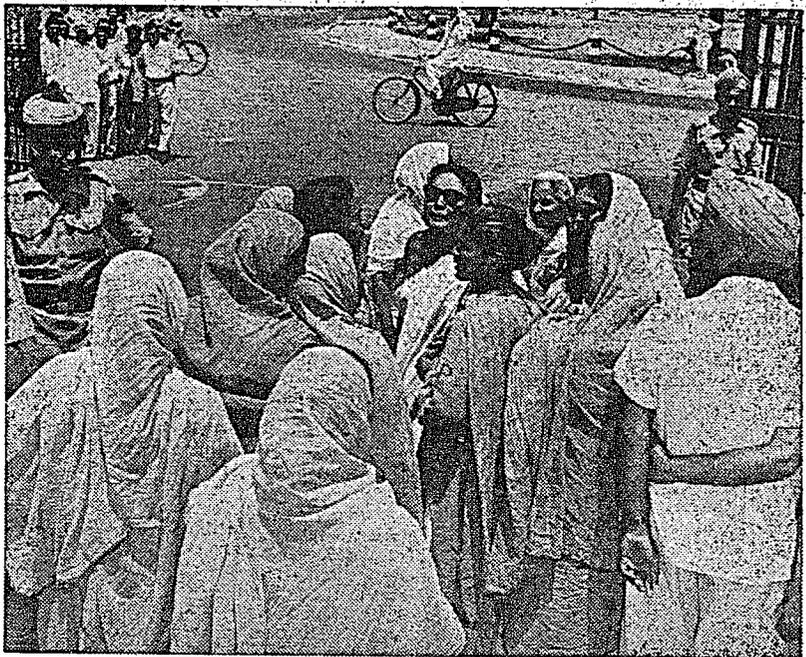
Even since, the women's organisations in the country, particularly the National Federation of Indian Women, had campaigned for such a measure. In the autumn of 1958, seventy-five leading members of various women's organisa-

tions met Law Minister A. K. Sen and presented him with 18,000 signatures collected from various parts of India asking for the introduction of the Bill.

With the introduction of the Prohibition of Dowry Bill in Parliament and in view of the fact that already the Hindu Women's Right of Succession Act had been adopted, the National Federation of Indian Women redoubled its efforts. A torrent of letters and appeals from all over the country flowed to all leading members of Parliament. A large number of meetings were held, petitions with 25,000 signatures from West Bengal and 14,000 from Punjab besides those from several other States were forwarded to the Law Minister.

The Lok Sabha having passed the Bill, it came to the Rajya Sabha and complications arose. The Lok Sabha had passed Clause Four of the Bill which made the demanding of dowry a legal offence; the Rajya Sabha did not accept this.

The Lok Sabha had also laid down that gifts, etc., given at the time of the marriage to the bride should not exceed the limit of Rs. 2,000. This had caused confusion re-



★ Communist M.P.s Renu Chakravarty and Parvati Krishnan with women demonstrators before Parliament House. ★

garding the definition of dowry. The Rajya Sabha laid down that dowry was that amount which was given in consideration of marriage. It thus removed the limit of Rs. 2,000 and also excluded gifts and clothes and other parts of the bride's trousseau which are normally given to her by the parents.

The Lok Sabha did not agree to these amendments and the need arose for convening a joint session of both Houses—the first in the history of India's Parliament. A campaign was now run by the National Federation of Indian women for the speedy convening of the joint session. The Federation's stand on

the disputed issues was—
FIRST, that both the demanding and the taking of dowry should be made legal offences. It insisted that Clause Four be retained because the real pressure for dowry was at the negotiation stage of marriage.

SECONDLY, the Federation supported the Rajya Sabha's definition of dowry, namely that which is given in consideration of marriage, which excludes gifts, which according to the Federation were not to exceed Rs. 2,000 in value.

THIRDLY, the Federation insisted on contravention of the law being made punishable with both imprisonment and fine.

When the joint session met on May 6, Government took the line of appeasing the opponents of the measure. This was done through amendments proposed on their behalf.

On the issue whether demand for dowry should be made a penal offence, a proviso was brought at the last minute in the name of Deputy Law Minister Hajaranavis saying that: "No court shall take cognisance of any offence under this section except with the previous sanction of the State Government or of such officer as the State Government may by general or special order, specify in this behalf."

Communist and other M.P.s in course of the debate pointed out that this involved a double judicial process and made it very difficult for any aggrieved party to seek redress. On the question of gifts, the explanation adopted by the Lok Sabha but not accepted by the Rajya Sabha, legalised dowry under the name of gifts. The Congress Party refused to take a positive stand and left the question to its members. The retention of the explanation was voted with a very narrow margin: 230 to 192. This big loophole was left open for continuing the barbaric system.

Despite these serious shortcomings the adoption of the Dowry Prohibition Bill by the joint session of the two Houses of the Indian Parliament is a historic step of social reform. For the first time there is a measure on the Statute Book that makes the asking, taking and giving of dowry

directly or indirectly—and abetment in any of these a crime liable to be punished with imprisonment up to six months or a fine of Rs. 5,000. But as Renu Chakravarty, at the conclusion of her speech, pointed out, "only passing a law is not enough."

"We know very well", she said "that unless social consciousness is roused, social evils cannot be rooted out." She said that just as the Communist Party at its Congress at Vijayawada had adopted a resolution on the subject and decided that "it is the duty of every Communist wherever he may be to fight against this evil," the Congress Party and all political leaders and social reformers should take this up and organise social boycott of people who take dowry and not go to their weddings.

Parvati Krishnan and Bhupesh Gupta also spoke in the debate.

The struggle to have the measure adopted by Parliament has brought together women of different viewpoints both inside and outside Parliament. They hope to continue their cooperation to eradicate the evil from society.

—ZIAUL HAQ

PARTY CONGRESS RESOLUTION

The Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of India adopted the following resolution on the prohibition of dowry:

"The Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of India, conscious of its responsibility to fight against feudal customs and ideas, enjoins upon all Party members to take a lead in society to fight against the evil of taking and giving of dowry—which is one of the most pernicious evils prevalent still in our society. This Congress is also of the opinion that women should be given equal rights in property.

"It welcomes the convening of the joint session of Parliament to pass the Prohibition of Dowry Bill and demands that both the taking and demanding of dowry be made punishable by law."

Democracy—Congress Pattern

—Show-Cause Notice To Chheharta Council

The Punjab State Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India has adopted the following resolution on May 8, 1961:

THE State Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India strongly condemns the attempt of the State Government to supersede the Municipal Committee, Chheharta. This committee has been among the best functioning committees in the State.

Among its nine members there are five Communists including its President, two Congressmen including its Vice-President and two non-party Municipal Commissioners. Despite this varied political composition, this committee has functioned unanimously throughout the last nine years and has been completely free from political and group rivalries.

The committee has been able to achieve this remarkable unanimity because it has always made it a principle to function in the interests of the people. It is completely free from any kind of corruption and nepotism. It has progressively made avail-

able more and better civic amenities to the people.

It has raised its income by taxing the rich and has provided tax reliefs to the poor. It is one of the very few urban local bodies in the State which have not imposed such reactionary taxes as cycle-tax, octroi, etc.

Its employees and especially the Class IV employees have better service conditions than in most other committees.

By its good work the committee has won the support of almost the entire population of Chheharta.

The functioning of the committee has been commended even by local bodies inspectors and officers in their inspection notes. Yet the Government has most shamelessly charged the committee with persistent default in performance of its duties without any solid facts or concrete cases.

The real fact is that this committee has never been liked by those elements who being members of the ruling party consider it their birthright to get undue favours. These very

elements have sought to whip up an artificial agitation about a suspended municipal employee, though it has proved a flop—except a small handful, the people of Chheharta have rallied en masse behind the committee.

The committee has not been liked by the Government because it has refused to accept its illegal directives and more so because the functioning of this committee has been offering a sharp contrast not only to some other committees but even to Government policies.

The attempt to supersede this committee is a serious attack on the democratic rights of the people. It is an example of the growing tendency in the ruling party to tolerate only those local bodies which kow-tow to it. The State Executive Committee, therefore, appeals to all mass organisations and all democratic minded people including Congressmen to strongly protest against this attempt and ask the Government to withdraw the show-cause notice issued to the Chheharta Municipal Committee.