

BRUTAL BLOW TO PEACE

U.S. LAUNCHES ON NEW ROUND OF NUCLEAR BLACKMAIL

By ZIAUL HAQ

The last minute appeal made by Prime Minister Nehru to the United States to desist from launching upon its new series of nuclear tests in the atmosphere, at least as long as the Geneva talks were on, has received the characteristic reply. Within hours of the appeal being made the U.S. exploded over the Pacific the first bomb of the series. In all, forty tests are now threatened to be carried out by the United States till the present series can be considered complete.

It is difficult to foresee all the far-reaching terrible consequences that are going to follow from this detonation of April 25. Prime Minister Nehru while referring to the consequences in the form of increasing fall-out which accumulating to a certain degree might assume a dangerous level for human life, pinpointed the still more serious threat when he told the Lok Sabha on April 24 that "these tests may lead to a progressive deterioration in the atmosphere and a possibility of actual conflict, actual war."

What he said before the U.S. exploded its latest bomb appears so real now after the explosion has actually taken place. The series of events that might now follow seriously threaten to reach their culmination in "actual conflict, actual war."

Betrayal Of Faith

Nehru's appeal had pointedly drawn attention to the fact that the U.S. was going to launch upon its atmospheric tests series at a time when not only that talks in Geneva were in progress but also at a stage when in those talks the non-aligned countries had put forward certain proposals which the nuclear powers had agreed to consider.

"I would have imagined" Nehru had said, "that as they are considering these matters any test taken before this consideration is completed would surely come in the way of that consideration."

It has happened exactly the way Nehru had anticipated. While the U.S. and the West promised to consider the proposals of the non-aligned, presumably in regard to sitting observation posts to monitor nuclear tests on neutral territory, they went ahead to make nonsense of that assurance to the non-aligned powers by launching on the current series.

The Western Powers headed by the United States were never happy about the participation of the non-aligned powers in the Geneva Disarmament talks. They found it so much of a nuisance. Now, with the new rounds of tests they have happily got out of that uncomfortable position by scuttling the Geneva meeting.

As for the Soviet Union, it had made its position abundantly clear, that it was not going to be bullied into accepting U.S. demand for on-the-spot inspection of Soviet territory for enforcement of tests ban.

So long as there is no agreement on general and

complete disarmament, the Soviet Union would never allow outsiders to probe into its defence installations.

That position was perfectly clear to the whole world and despite high-powered Western propaganda to misrepresent it, it was understood by overwhelming majority of mankind.

For the U.S. and its allies to pretend that they could bully the Soviet Union into accepting their demand for espionage facilities on Soviet territory by starting atmospheric tests is a little too much. In fact as admitted now by State Department spokesman, Lincoln White; even if the Soviet Union had accepted the impossible Western demand, the present test series would have been launched nevertheless.

Pravda as early as April 10 had exposed this game of nuclear blackmail and what really underlay it. "It is doubtful", it wrote "that the sense of reality was lost so much that they really do hope to force a mighty socialist power to agree to legalising a system of international espionage under the guise of inspection."

"The Western leaders had many opportunities to see that ultimatums have no effect on Soviet people. They realise this, and, nevertheless cling to their unacceptable and useless demands on control (of nuclear tests). Why?"

"It seems the U.S. leaders want to have nuclear tests in the atmosphere at all costs."

Pravda had also revealed that after finishing with this series which started on April 25 it was not a nuclear test ban agreement that U.S. was going to seek. It referred to a U.S. Government spokesman's pronouncement who had said:

"The U.S. will not stop halfway after holding a series of tests in the Pacific. Not a test ban agreement, but new nuclear mushrooms are seen behind the mushroom clouds of the forthcoming Pacific tests."

So, there is no doubt that, launching upon the current series of atmospheric tests in face of world-wide protests and the biggest ever protest demonstrations in their own countries, the U.S. rulers and their camp-followers have launched upon a new effort to blackmail the whole of humanity, including above all the non-aligned, to knuckle under and submit to their diktat on international issues.

The Kennedy administration's policies in this regard fully carry forward and develop the Dulles tradition and they are bound to meet with even more ignominious debacle.

NEW WAGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

VOL. X, NO. 17

NEW DELHI, APRIL 29, 1962

25 nP.

BUDGET-IMPROVEMENT BUT NO BASIC CHANGE

The first post-election Budget has been presented. The emphasis is very definitely on Post-election. Many had expected that the present budget would be a worse edition of the pre-election one. But it has to be said that the contrary is the case.

In the previous Budget it will be remembered that of the extra Rs. 63 crores additional taxation only an infinitesimal Rs. three crores was the share of direct taxation. This time of the Rs. 71 crores additional taxation as much as Rs. 27 crores is the share of direct taxation. It should be further noted that additional indirect taxation comes down — perhaps, for the first time in many years — from Rs. 60 crores to Rs. 44.5 crores.

The elections have had their impact. The fact that the Congress mass base has been further shaken — both from the Right and from the Left — has even affected the so-called imperturbable Morarjibhai. The lesson is clear — more hard knocks for the Congress may knock some more sense into its financial policies. Another lesson is equally clear — it is possible through various forms of mass pressure to knock some sense into Congress fiscal policies.

Before examining the detailed figures of the Budget some mention has to be made of its underlying philosophy. Praise must be given to Morarji's ghost writer for the precision and elegance of the Budget speech. But it must also be said that similar credit cannot be given for the fundamental assumptions underlying the approach and methodology.

Of course, it is refreshing to read that India's attempt at planned development has led "to a worldwide recognition of the value of planning as an instrument for the uplift of the less-developed countries". This affirmation of faith in planning is a refreshing rebuff to the Swatantraites outside and within the Congress.

But, immediately afterwards we are presented with a concept of planning which reduces this vast endeavour to the stale and outmoded attempt at an increase of the "savings fund" available to a community at any given time.

This is financial and static programming par excellence. We miss here the

dynamic and comprehensive physical approach which alone can give us even the semblance of actual planning.

Another serious flaw in the basic approach of the Budget is the attempted apology for the overwhelming role assigned to indirect taxation in all the Budgets—past, present and future. It is stated that indirect taxation itself

By
Mohit Sen

can be a form of progressive taxation. It is further stated that excise duties on automobiles, refrigerators and air conditioners hit the rich and not the poor and hence indirect taxes are not to be cavilled at.

Morarjibhai goes on to say that recent study has shown that "indirect taxes in India have been progressive in their incidence. That is to say, the higher the total expenditure of a family on an average, the higher the proportion of the total expenditure it pays in indirect taxation."

"Not only that, but the degree of progression was also shown to have increased as more and more articles not entering appreciably in common man's consumption was subjected to excise duty."

Following from this piece of sophistry the cruel conclusion is drawn "it would be equally impossible to meet all our requirements for both Plan and non-plan expenditures without mobilising the part of the incomes that accrue to the poorer sections of the community."

"Undoubtedly, the richer sections must carry an increasingly larger share of taxation and poorer sections must benefit progressively more through developments. That is part of our concept of a socialist state."

Contrast this homily with the actual figures. Whereas Union excise duties have in

creased from Rs. 79.23 lakhs in 1951-52 to Rs. 4,63.69 lakhs in 1961-62, direct taxes have only increased from Rs. 1,84.90 lakhs to a little over Rs. 4,00.00 lakhs in the same decade. And studies of academic and even official economists have revealed that the inequality in Indian society has increased through the years of planned development.

Even the learned author of the Budget speech would not deny that direct taxation is a far more progressive and egalitarian method of raising resources than indirect taxation. So if equality and justice is the aim direct and not indirect taxation must be imposed. Yet, it is the latter rather than the former that has found favour with the Congress rulers who claimed to be building an India which is based on economic democracy and social justice!

Even in the present Budget with its welcome increase in direct taxation as much as two-thirds of the additional taxation comes in indirect form.

Dishonest Claim

Moreover, it is close to dishonesty to claim that the bulk of indirect taxation has been in the shape of excise duties on luxury goods. Nobody with a modicum of knowledge and honesty can deny that the bulk of indirect taxation under Congress dispensation has been on such items as tea, tobacco, matches, cloth and the like which quite definitely enter into the consumption pattern of the low-income groups.

Moreover, this has been accompanied by a steep rise in the prices of essential food items, specially at the retail level, and with rising rents, railway fares, and increasing difficulty in finding employment.

Unless the Congress has the elementary decency to accept the reality of the situation it is difficult for it to adopt adequate policies.

An alternative method of developmental finance was available to the Ministers and the advisors of the Congress

*SEE PAGE 13

CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF CEYLON

The Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party considered the report of its delegation to the 22nd CPSU Congress and the documents of the Congress itself. The Central Committee endorsed the work of its delegation to the 22nd Congress. The following is the text of the Central Committee statement released on April 8, 1962.

I
THE 22nd Congress is an outstanding landmark in the history of the CPSU and the International Communist movement. It is a Congress of communist construction, the advance of socialist democracy and the defence of peace. It provides fresh encouragement and renewed assurances of success to the peoples who are fighting to win their national independence or to defend, consolidate and develop the national independence that they have recently won.

The main and outstanding contribution made by the 22nd CPSU Congress was its adoption of a concrete and realistic programme to build a communist society in the USSR within the life-span of this generation. This is the first time in world history that such a programme has been evolved.

Communist society, the ancient dream of progressive mankind, is the expression of the highest form of humanism. Under Communism, "everything is for the sake of Man, for the benefit of Man." It provides all its members with creative labour and abundance, freedom and equality, happiness and brotherhood. It gives practical effect to the great principle: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs."

The decisions of the 22nd CPSU Congress ensure that the material and technical basis for such a society will be laid in the USSR over the next 20 years.

By 1980, total production in the USSR will increase by 500 per cent, with industrial output increasing by 600 per cent and agricultural output by 350 per cent. In the words of N. S. Khrushchov, "another five industrial and more than two agrarian countries like the Soviet Union to-day will be created in our beautiful land."

By 1980

By 1980, Soviet industry will produce nearly twice as much as is now produced in the whole of the non-socialist world combined. It will generate 50 per cent more electric power than all other countries are generating.

By 1980, the Soviet people will have the highest standard of life in the whole world. They will have the shortest but, at the same time, the most productive and highest-paid working day. Their opportunities for leisure, cultural pursuits, recreation, scientific and technical training, self-improvement, education and good health will far outstrip those of persons in any other country. In addition to the advanced system of social benefits that they now enjoy, they will have rent-free housing,

free public transport and a vast number of other free public services. Their moral and social outlook will be remoulded and attain the highest levels.

Within this 20-year period of transition from socialism to communist society, the last vestiges of inequality inherited from class society will be abolished. The differences between town and countryside will disappear as the level of the towns. Invidious distinctions between physical and mental labour will be ended. Real equality between women and men will be realised in all fields.

Success Of Socialism

This practical and inspiring plan to build a communist society in such a short historical period was made possible by the rapid rate of development and brilliant achievements that the social-

ist system has secured for the USSR over the past 44 years. These past successes are a sure guarantee that the Soviet people will carry out fully and on time the great tasks set by the 22nd CPSU Congress.

They have shown in practice that socialism is more effective than and superior to capitalism in securing the swift and full development of a country and that all those who fight to set their countries on the path to socialism and communism are animated by the highest patriotism.

The programme of communist construction adopted by the 22nd Congress represents a confident challenge to the world of capitalism and imperialism to compete peacefully, if it can, with the Soviet Union and the socialist world system in the spheres of political, economic, social and cultural development. It seeks to prove the superiority of socialism and communism over capitalism not in the arena of armed might or world war, but in the field of providing greater material, cultural and moral benefits for Man. None time of the major capitalist powers, however, has dared to accept this challenge as yet.

Socialist Democracy

A SECOND STRIKING FEATURE OF THE 22ND CPSU CONGRESS WAS THAT IT PROCLAIMED THE FURTHER ADVANCE

OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY AT A TIME WHEN, THROUGHOUT THE CAPITALIST WORLD, THE BOURGEOISIE ARE INCREASINGLY DESTROYING EVEN THE INSTITUTIONS OF BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY ITSELF.

In the leading capitalist country, the USA, the McCarran and Smith Acts are being savagely enforced in order to destroy the political rights and democratic liberties of the working people. In a number of countries of Asia and elsewhere, including Ceylon, reactionary coup d'etat have taken place or have been attempted. Throughout the entire capitalist world the dictatorship of capital is day by day assuming more open and ferocious forms.

Yet it is precisely at such a time that the 22nd CPSU Congress took a whole series of decisions to reinforce, perfect and extend socialist democracy.

The dictatorship of the proletariat will be transformed into a state of the whole people. Many functions that the state now performs in the fields of economy, culture, justice and the maintenance of public order will increasingly be undertaken by trade

states that will include a solution of the problem of West Berlin have been warmly received and supported by all peoples who value peace.

At the same time, the sharp reminder by the 22nd Congress of the immense defence capacity of the USSR has helped to cool the fevered brains of the most aggressive imperialist circles, who hope to solve their crisis through military adventures against the world of socialism and the peoples fighting against imperialism. These circles have now to reckon with the fact that any such adventures on their part will only end in their system and themselves being destroyed.

Hope For Freedom Struggle

The 22nd CPSU Congress is also a tremendous source of hope and inspiration for the national liberation struggles that are sweeping colonialism out of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The CPSU and the Soviet Union have more than once proved in practice that they are the staunch friends, allies and champions of former colonial

peoples who have recently won or who are fighting to win their national independence. The fact that fraternal delegations from a number of national democratic organisations of several African countries were present at the 22nd Congress as guests is a symbol of the new ties that are being established between the CPSU and the national liberation struggles of oppressed peoples.

The victorious march of the Soviet Union towards communism will greatly increase its capacity to support the liberation struggles of nations fighting for their independence, and to assist newly-free nations to overcome rapidly the backwardness inherited from imperialist rule. It will also involve a shift in the correlation of world forces that will make it even more difficult for the imperialists to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries or to establish forms of neo-colonialism.

that exist speedily to complete the remaining tasks of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal democratic revolution and to take the path of non-capitalist development to socialism through National Democracy.

The Central Committee therefore calls on all members of the Party to make a deep study of the new CPSU Programme and the decisions of the 22nd CPSU Congress and to popularise these among the working class and the people.

CPSU Programme

The Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party also supports the many important decisions of the 22nd CPSU Congress directed towards relaxing international tensions and strengthening the world-wide struggle to defend and maintain peace.

The Soviet Union's proposals for general and complete disarmament, for fixing a time limit within which what remains of the colonial system will be abolished and for the conclusion of a peace treaty with the two German

tical, political and practical problems of this transition.

It makes a profound and valuable analysis of the main phenomena of contemporary world developments.

It generalises the experiences of the Communist and national liberation movements throughout the world and the experiences of socialist construction in the USSR and the rest of the socialist world system.

It provides all who fight for peace, freedom, socialism and communism with a powerful ideological and political weapon to inspire their various struggles and to guide them to success.

The new CPSU Programme will be of great value to the Ceylon Communist Party and the working people of Ceylon. By forcefully and brilliantly stating what Communism really stands for, it will help to attract new forces to our cause. It will help to strike a powerful blow against anti-Communism, which imperialism and Ceylonese reaction have adopted as their main weapon in order to undermine and split the unity of the nationalist and socialist forces.

The Central Committee is also of opinion that the new CPSU Programme and the magnificent perspectives of communist construction adopted by the 22nd Congress will help our Party and the people of Ceylon to use to best advantage the possibilities

Naitonal Council Of Communist Party Of India Mourns COMRADE AJOY GHOSH

The National Council of the Communist Party of India commenced its meeting on the morning of April 23 by adopting the following resolution of homage and condolence on the death of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, the General Secretary of the Party:

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India pays its deepest homage to the memory of our beloved Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India. In Comrade Ajoy Ghosh's so premature and sudden passing away, our Party has lost an outstanding guide, our people a noble patriot and leader and the International Communist movement a staunch Marxist-Leninist.

Comrade Ajoy Ghosh's entire life and work was an example of selfless dedication to the service of the nation, to the cause of the working people and of socialism. In his early youth, he joined the revolutionary movement against alien rule and faced, along with immortal martyr Bhagat Singh, the wrath of British imperialism. But nothing could daunt this valiant fighter or suppress his revolutionary ardour. With his mind ever so receptive to progressive ideas, with his high intellectual power, Comrade Ajoy Ghosh came over to the greatest revolutionary ideology of all times — Marxism-Leninism. He joined the ranks of the Communist Party of India and soon his exceptional revolutionary qualities and his revolutionary prevision, his courage and devotion to the cause, elevated Comrade Ajoy Ghosh to the highest leadership of the Party.

At a critical period of the Party, when it was on the one hand, ideologically, politically and organisationally disarrayed and on the other was still facing heavy repression at the hands of the Government, Comrade Ajoy Ghosh took the helm of the Party as its

General Secretary. The responsibilities he had to shoulder were naturally stupendous as they were highly exacting. It was no easy task in those days to reorganise the Party, take it out of the difficult conditions and find it a correct political bearing. Comrade Ajoy Ghosh fulfilled his assignment with remarkable courage and ability. One of the great merits of his leadership was that he knew how to move with changing times and combine firmness in principle with flexibility in practice.

Under Comrade Ajoy Ghosh's dynamic leadership, our Party not only correctly charted its course but emerged onto the national scene as a truly major political force. Many notable advances have been made in this period and many significant victories won in the cause of the working people. These achievements of our Party stand today as a tribute to Comrade Ajoy Ghosh's wise leadership and dedicated service.

Comrade Ajoy Ghosh won high distinction in the ranks of the International Communist movement and brought our Party and our working people great honour and credit. If he was a staunch patriot to the tip of his finger, he was equally a steadfast champion of proletarian internationalism. Comrade Ajoy Ghosh made a valuable contribution to the creative development of Marxism-Leninism by the present-day international Communist movement and his role in the Moscow meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties of 1957 and 1960 will be ever remembered.

Comrade Ajoy held dear to his heart the cause of the unity of the world Communist movement and, indeed, himself played a significant role in defence and promotion of that unity. How to constantly consolidate and strengthen this unity on the basis of

Marxism-Leninism was his constant thought.

Acutely conscious of the role the working class and the Party have to play in the remaking of the nation and for taking the country forward, Comrade Ajoy Ghosh devoted all his thoughts and energies to uniting all democratic and patriotic forces in the struggle for the consolidation of our independence and for a better life. He worked for imparting the ideas of scientific socialism to our masses who are today searching for solutions to the problems of unemployment and hunger, poverty and backwardness.

Always proud of the role India is playing today in the world arena for the defence of world peace and for peaceful co-existence Comrade Ajoy Ghosh spared no effort to further heighten this beneficial role of our great country in the interest of all mankind. Comrade Ajoy Ghosh was a loyal friend of all peoples fighting for their national independence and he worked untiringly for mobilising our people in active support of all freedom struggles.

To promote the cause of world peace and national independence, Comrade Ajoy Ghosh attached the greatest significance to the friendship and cooperation of India with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Not only did he cherish this friendship and cooperation, he always made his contribution towards strengthening it. These contributions of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh live in particular in the growing friendship between India and the Soviet Union.

The void created by his passing away will be difficult to fill but the National Council of the Communist Party of India will always bear in mind the noble tradition of humility, understanding and foresight of our departed leader and endeavour to carry forward his unfinished tasks.

in the CPSU and the Soviet Union and developed with harmful consequences during the period 1934-1953 have been correctly analysed in the resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU of June 30, 1956, and in other documents of the CPSU and other fraternal parties. Both the special, definite and concrete historical circumstances under which socialism had to be built in the USSR and certain negative personal qualities of J. V. Stalin, who held the post of General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU from 1922 to 1953, contributed to these developments.

the restrictions on democracy which were necessary during the period of intense class struggle when exploiting classes were being dispossessed and the foundations of socialism were being laid.

Role Of Stalin

As General Secretary, J. V. Stalin stood at the head of the struggles of the Party and the people during this period of great socialist changes. He defended and fought actively to carry out the political course and programme of socialist construction mapped out by Lenin. As an outstanding theoretician and organiser, he led the fight of the CPSU and the Soviet people to defeat the attacks and intrigues of external and internal counter-revolution and to rout the Trotskyists, bourgeois nationalists and Right-wing opportunists whose policies would have led to the restoration of capitalism. His great services in ensuring the victory of socialism in the USSR and in developing the world Communist and national liberation movements earned him immense prestige, popularity and authority both at home and abroad.

Novel Tasks

After the victory of the October Socialist Revolution of 1917, the CPSU and the Soviet people were called upon to undertake tasks which no one else had undertaken before.

They had to apply and test in practice truths that had, until then, been confined to the realms of socialist theory.

They were called upon to build socialism in a relatively backward, agrarian country, ruined by imperialist and civil wars, encircled by hostile imperialist states and subjected continuously to external blockade and attack and to fierce internal resistance from dispossessed classes.

This complicated international and domestic situation demanded a high degree of

arbitrary punishment and reprisals against many honest Communists and Soviet people.

The reports and speeches at the 22nd CPSU Congress have revealed that the replacement of the Leninist norms of Party life by a cult of Stalin's personality had harmful consequences that extended beyond the distortions of socialist democracy and legality.

It led to certain mistakes in agriculture, in the management of industry, in domestic and foreign policy, in the conduct of the war against fascism and in relations with other Communist Parties. In the sphere of ideology, too, the cult of the personality restricted the creative development of Marxism-Leninism and encouraged dogmatic and authoritarian tendencies.

Harmful Consequences

All this is not surprising as the judgements of an individual leader, however brilliant, outstanding or devoted he may be, are always open to one-sidedness and error and can never be a substitute for collective leadership.

The restrictions on inner-Party and state democracy, which were necessary during the period of the struggle to ensure the victory of socialism in all spheres of national life, were gradually transformed into regular features of Party and governmental life. The wrong theoretical justification given to this in 1937 led to the state security organs being given a special and undue status. These agencies gradually passed out of the control of the Central Committee and came under Stalin's personal control. The situation became even worse after 1938, when Beria came to the head of the state security system, and led to

the personality cult is alien to Marxism-Leninism. It is an abnormality, an excrescence that has nothing to do with the essential nature of socialism, the Communist Party or the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This is proved conclusively by the facts that (a) socialism was built and made great progress in the USSR despite the hampering effects of the personality cult, and (b) the CPSU and Soviet socialist society were able to find within themselves the necessary forces to overcome and abolish the personality cult and its harmful consequences.

The Trotskyists, too, have sought to distort the CPSU's

These frantic efforts are not surprising.

Alien Growth

These ideologists desperately need to confuse issues in order to hide from the peoples of the capitalist world both the tremendous achievements of socialism in the USSR and the magnificent programme of building Communism adopted by the 22nd Congress.

They are also crestfallen that the CPSU's courageous correction of past mistakes has robbed them of their favourite argument about the incompatibility of socialism and democracy.

Ideologists Of Confusion

Both before and after the 22nd CPSU Congress, the ideologists of the bourgeoisie and of Right-wing Social Democracy, revisionism and Trotskyism have sought to argue that the harmful consequences of the personality cult had their roots in the essential nature of socialism, the Communist Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat or in a so-called "degene-

Statement On 22nd Congress Of The CPSU

II

THE 22nd Congress developed still further the political course and historic decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU which, as the 1960 Declaration of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties so correctly affirmed, initiated a new stage in the world Communist movement and promoted its development on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

An important feature of these developments has been the resolute and successful struggle that the CPSU has waged between the 20th and 22nd Congresses to eradicate the harmful consequences of the personality cult that prevailed during the latter part of the period when J. V. Stalin headed the CPSU and the Soviet state, and to restore collective leadership and other Leninist norms in Party and state life.

The main reasons why a cult of the personality arose

W. BENGAL TO HOLD YOUTH FESTIVAL

From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

The West Bengal youth festival is taking place from May 19 to 27 at the Ranji Stadium, Calcutta, under the banner of National Integrity, Peace and Friendship. It is being held in honour of the 8th World Youth Festival, which will take place at Helsinki from July 27 to August 5 next.

DELEGATES elected from the West Bengal Festival will carry to Helsinki the rich heritage of our ancient culture of our people's love for peace and international brotherhood.

The appeal addressed by the West Bengal Youth Festival Preparatory Committee to the youth of the State says: "We want to see the destruction of all weapons of mass murder. We want total and complete disarmament..."

"Only youth can rid the world of the poison of suspicion and hatred and bring about an atmosphere of international friendship and co-operation, free from war tensions."

BY NOW A TRADITION

Similar West Bengal Youth Festivals, like the one taking place next month, were held in honour of the 5th, 6th and 7th world youth festivals at Warsaw, Moscow and Vienna respectively. The great success of these festivals was due to the enthusiasm and labour of all sections of youth from all parts of West Bengal. It is no exaggeration to say that the youth festival has now become a part of the tradition of the youth of this State.

At this year's Festival, young men and women from all over West Bengal will come together to display their achievements and talents in the fields of music, dance, games and sports, discussions, debates and so on. They will also reiterate their determination and unity, to work for national unity, to work for the achievement of the vital needs of youth, and to rally in support of world peace and friendship.

Scores of youth and student organisations, clubs, sports and cultural associations are participating in the Festival.

The Festival has created a stir even among the youth in the countryside, and preparations are already under way to hold local Festivals in new areas. Regional Festivals will take place for the first time in West Dinajpur, Raiganj, Burdwan, and Durgapur, Purnia, Mathabhanga and Dinhat.

The participation of a cultural squad of advasis from West Dinajpur, another squad of folk dancers from Purnia and a team of cyclists from Cooch Behar (North Bengal), cycling all the way to Calcutta, will lend colour to the central youth festival.

It is not merely that the cultural functions this time will provide plenty of variety and entertainment; the young people are paying special attention to constructive work in the rural areas.

To cite a few instances, charitable dispensaries will be built at some places in Tamul (Midnapore district) on the occasion of the local youth festivals. The laying of unmetalled roads has been undertaken at Andul (Howrah district), night

State during the next three weeks.

A broad-based Preparatory Committee for the Festival at the State level has been formed with Vivekananda Mukherjee, Editor of Yugantar, as the President and Satyajit Roy, famous film director, and P. C. Sorcar, well-known magician, among the Vice-Presidents.

The patrons include the Mayor of Calcutta Corporation, the Rector of Jadavpur University, the Leader of the Opposition, well-known writers, educationists and journalists and prominent figures in the sports world.

NEW BURDENS ON THE PEOPLE

IMPOSITION of increasingly heavier financial burdens on the masses of people on the plea of planned development of the country has already begun, now that the Congress Government is once again saddled in power and the overriding consideration of the general elections is no longer there. Passenger fares and freight rates on the railways have been increased. More taxes are to follow.

Taking the cue from the Government, big industrialists, businessmen, profiteers and other vested interests have also launched the offensive against the living standards of the people, which are already below the bare minimum.

In West Bengal, big merchants and profiteers forced up the rice prices by two to three rupees immediately after the elections. Since then, the prices of all other essential commodities have been steadily on the increase. And, now the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation (CESC), the biggest British concern of its kind in the country

has decided, with the approval of the West Bengal Government to enhance the rates for electricity supplied to different categories of consumers.

It is claimed by the Company that owing to an increase in the cost of production and distribution it is no longer able to earn the "modest" reasonable return allowed to it under the law.

But, even a cursory glance at the accounts of the Company shows that its financial position is quite sound and that it has been raking in huge profits for the past few years.

FABULOUS PROFITS

Between 1946-59, the Company's net assets increased by about 300 per cent from Rs. 11.10 crores to Rs. 31.62 crores. During the period 1951-59, it made net profit (excluding taxation) of Rs. 20.23 crores, the profits exceeding the paid up capital by seven crores of rupees.

This is not, however, the end

of the sordid story. Some years ago, the Company appropriated, with the permission of the State Government, Rs. 1.04 crores out of net profits, the amount being the surplus over and above the Reasonable Return, which should have gone to give relief to the consumers.

Secondly, in 1960 and 1961, the CESC purchased power from the DVC at the rate of three naya paise per unit, but sold it to the consumers at 19 nP per unit. The huge profits made by the Company on this score can be imagined from the fact that during these two years the DVC supplied to the CESC 60,000 kW and 80,000 kW of electricity.

That the Company has been doing a roaring business is abundantly clear from the fact that during the year ended March, 1961, the Company sold 195.50 crore units of energy—an increase of 13.80 crore units over the previous year. In fact, the sales of energy have been going up every year for the past 14 years and over this period total sales have increased more than three fold!

The present enhancement in the electricity rates will further swell the profits of the Company. This is evident from the statement of a spokesman of the State Government that the new rates will yield additional revenues of Rs. 2.5 crores per year.

It is being claimed by the Company that the rate of increase is small and that it will affect only a small section of the consumers. The new rates schedule, however, makes it abundantly clear that every single consumer will be affected, because the rental for electric meters installed in houses, buildings, factories etc. for recording the amount of electricity consumer has been increased from 25 nP to 50 nP per month. All families who use electric cookers, and

heaters, radios and refrigerators, will have to pay more.

Small-scale and cottage industries using electric motors and other equipment will be particularly hard hit.

REPEATED BREAKDOWNS

Under planed economy in our country, the use of electricity for industrial as well as domestic purposes will expand rapidly in the coming years. Repeated breakdowns in power supply during March-April last year underlined the acute shortage of power even then. In these circumstances, the British monopoly concern cannot be permitted to hold the country to ransom.

The CESC maintains an extremely top-heavy and expensive establishment with all the paraphernalia of its Head Office in London and very highly paid British officials there as well as here. It is needless to say that there is enough scope for drastically cutting down the expenditure under this head.

Pointing out the above facts, Jyoti Basu, MLA, Leader of the Opposition, said in a Press Statement on April 20:

"I would strongly urge upon the State Government to withdraw forthwith its consent to the enhancement in rates and to appoint a High Power Commission to probe thoroughly into the working of the Company and to find out whether the increased cost, if any at all, can be covered by economies in the expenditure on establishment."

"But if the Company insists on having its pound of flesh, the Government should take over the CESC, as the Communist Party has repeatedly demanded both inside and outside the State Legislature."

The Railway Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh new to his present portfolio, has presented to the newly elected Third Lok Sabha, a Railway Budget with proposals for a general over-all increase in fares and freights on all commodities and passengers.

HE estimates that as a result of this new taxation he can get an additional revenue of Rs. 21.26 crores, raising the total budgeted gross revenue for the coming year to Rs. 545.36 crores. He envisages the ordinary working expenses to go up to Rs. 356.80 crores, thus leaving a gross profit of Rs. 188.56 crores.

Without such an increase in fares and freights the former Railway Minister Jagjivan Ram, while presenting his interim budget only a few weeks ago, estimated a gross earning of Rs. 524.10 crores and a gross profit of Rs. 178.50 crores.

While there existed a profit of Rs. 178.50 crores according to Jagjivan Ram's budget, one wonders as to how the need arises for an increase in fares and freights?

In his speech the Minister gives as the reason the enhancement in dearness allowance ranging from Rs. five to 10 to class IV and Class III employees.

The expenses that may accrue on this account according to him equal Rs. 12.20 crores. This could very well be taken from the profit of Rs. 178.50 crores already envisaged by Jagjivan Ram.

But without doing so, he introduces new taxes which shows that the enhancement of the dearness allowance is but a false plea to tax the people and to utilise the occasion to put the workers against the rail-

way users. It is a calculated move to conceal the real state of affairs.

When the Railways are already enjoying a boom and earning more profits each year at the existing rates of fares and freights, to resort to increases in fares and freights is impermissible.

If his argument is that for

- 25 per cent increase in terms of number of passengers originating;
- 84 per cent increase in capital outlay;
- 70 per cent increase in working expenses;
- Only 2,47,161 employees more were employed including the number of 12,422 on construction works. This works out to only 25 per cent increase of employees.

(Source: Railway Board's Report)

With an increase of only 25 per cent employees, a

Coming to the actual burden, it is clear that it will fall upon the low income group, industrial workers, petty businessmen and ultimately the consumer and the public at large. The increase in freight will directly lead to a rise in prices of all commodities including food-stuffs.

So also the increase in fares to the extent of about 10 per cent on class III and class II travel. This requires no elucidation as it is clearly aimed at the common man.

proposals and undo the harm.

Coming to his other arguments, viz., if this increase in fares and freights is not resorted to, he would become a debtor to the general revenues to augment the developmental schemes. I may submit that the way he poses the issue is misleading. He is authorised to take temporary loans from the general revenues, if need be, for developmental purposes.

The Railway Convention Committee of 1954 in its resolution recommended that in the event of the Development Fund not being in a position to meet the expenditure chargeable to that fund from its own resources, money should be advanced from general revenue.

It further stated "it shall, however, be open to the Railways to repay these loans in instalments from appropriations to the Development Fund in more prosperous years and, thus, liquidate the debt and the interest liability thereon" (Para 29).

The same view was held by the Railway Convention Committee of 1960. Even in such an extreme situation increasing fares and freights is not justified. Further, the general revenue has in its possession a large amount of cash belonging to the Railways in various forms, and particularly in the form of the Revenue Reserve Fund which is practically dead in operation but had to its credit Rs. 55.36 crores by March 1962.

One wonders why this defunct Reserve Fund is kept open and unused if it is not

to him is to withdraw the

*SEE PAGE 12

THE RAILWAY BUDGET

By K. Anandan Nambiar M. P.

The Five Year Plan outlays the railways should contribute more, let him say so. He has no need to drag in the poor, under-staffed, under-paid employees on whose shoulders the main brunt of railway transport has fallen during the last eleven years of the Plan period.

While examining the statistics of the Railways' working of the past 11 years, we find the following revealing facts:

- 100 per cent increase in goods traffic in net ton-

100 per cent goods traffic increase and 25 per cent passenger mile increase, has been achieved. No further proof is required to show the tremendous increase in workload put on the employees' shoulders.

With all that they have produced a profit of over Rs. 178 crores. Then, while giving a very small increase in D.A., why should the Minister accuse them before the public as the culprits for the increased burden in fares and freights?

The argument put up for a "small increase" in the rate of season ticket is self-contradictory — if it is so small an increase, it could very well have been omitted!

The Railway Minister, therefore, has no justification whatsoever for increasing the fares and freights. The whole country resents it and he will be opposed by one and all from Cape Comorin to Himalayas for this injustice. My appeal to him is to withdraw the

On the Occasion of May Day

THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CUBA

and

THE EMBASSY OF CUBA IN INDIA

Extend Warm Greetings on Behalf of the

CUBAN PEOPLE

TO ALL THE WORKERS OF INDIA

CPI National Council

CONDOLENCE RESOLUTIONS

The National Council of the Communist Party of India meeting in Delhi adopted the following condolence resolutions.

Comrade Bankim Mukherjee

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its sense of deep grief at the demise of Comrade Bankim Mukherjee, a member of the National Council of the Communist Party of India and Vice-President of the All-India Kisan Sabha.

Comrade Bankim Mukherjee threw himself into the freedom movement in the days of the non-cooperation movement and ever since had been a prominent leader of the National movement. He had organised and led powerful strikes of workers and peasants against imperialism, which had their impact on the course of the national movement.

Attracted by the ideas of

Marxism and Leninism, he joined the Communist Party in the year 1936 and organised the trade union movement in Bengal. He was a Vice-President of the AITUC.

Later he organised the peasants of Bengal and led many of their struggles including the famous Tebhaga struggle of 1946.

He was a member of the Bengal and West Bengal Legislature for a long number of years and his strident voice and advocacy of the cause of the workers, peasants and tolling people in the Assembly had greatly helped the trade union, peasant and democratic movements.

Like many of our founders who had to face repeated jail and hard life in building the movement of the down-trodden against heavy odds, Comrade Bankim Mukherjee had been suffering for many years from ill-health. But despite his ill-health he was throughout an active leader of the Communist Party and kisan movement. The National Council pays its homage to the memory of Comrade Bankim Mukherjee and pledges

to carry forward the great traditions of devotion and unflinching loyalty to the cause of the Party which characterised his entire life.

Comrade B. Srinivasa Rao

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its deep sense of grief at the death of Comrade B. Srinivasa Rao, one of the founders of the Party in Tamilnad and member of the National Council of the Communist Party.

Early in his life, Comrade Srinivasa Rao threw himself into the freedom struggle, faced brutal lathi-charges repeatedly at the hands of the police and suffered imprisonment many a time. His name was a by-word in Madras city for unflinching courage and devotion to the cause of freedom.

Attracted by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, he toiled hard in the early thirties to lay the foundation of the

Communist Party in Tamilnad and ever since had been one of the leaders of the Party which characterised his entire life. It was he who laid the foundation for the powerful kisan movement in Tanjore and other districts of Tamilnad. He had led many a struggle of the peasants and agricultural labourers throughout Tamilnad.

Repeated incarceration and the hard life he had to face in building and leading the kisan movement had told on his health and he had been suffering for a long number of years. Despite ill-health last year he threw himself into the biggest Statewide struggle of the kisans of Tamilnad against the unjust provisions of the Land Reform Bill and led the struggle. He died in harness at the height of the struggle.

His was a dedicated life, dedicated to the cause of freedom, to the cause of the workers, peasants and tolling people, to the cause of socialism and communism.

The National Council pays its homage to his memory and sends its condolences to the members of his family.

POWER & COAL SHORTAGES CREATE SERIOUS CRISIS IN ANDHRA INDUSTRIES

BY K. L. MAHENDRA

The Government of Andhra Pradesh has announced a 20 per cent cut in the supply of electricity and has informed that this position of scarcity might continue for the coming two to three years. In practice the Government has reduced the quota of power supply by 30 to 50 per cent for small scale industries.

THIS has created a serious problem for the industries in Andhra Pradesh, which though comparatively backward has been witnessing the growth of some industries in the recent period.

The cut in the supply of electricity will mean immediate stoppage of all expansion schemes, would mean closure of shifts in some factories and will mean that the existing capacity for production will not be fully utilised. This will lead to retrenchment in the factories throwing the workers on the streets.

The Federation of Chambers of Commerce, Andhra Pradesh, in a strong memorandum has suggested expediting the schemes proposed under the Third Plan and setting up of a number of Thermal plants to meet the growing requirement.

The small industrialists who are the worst sufferers have stated that if immediate steps are not taken some of the units will either close down or might shift to other places, where power is available.

Makhdoom Mohiuddin, Leader of opposition in the Legislative Council pointed out the issue in the last session of the Council, but no proper reply was forthcoming from the treasury benches. The trade unions in the City have raised their voice for more power.

What exactly is the position? The installed capacity went up from 99,000 k.w. in 1951 to 192,000 k.w. in 1959. But during the last three years there has been a meagre increase in this capacity. It reached 213,000 k.w. in 1961 and stays at that even in 1962. It is expected that the generating capacity will go up to 273,000 in 1963 and 330,000 k.w. in 1964.

But the demand for power in Andhra Pradesh as estimated by the Central Irrigation and Power Commission is at 240,000 k.w. in 1961 and 675,000 in 1965-66 which will also have to provide for 142,000 k.w. for rural electrification in 1966.

The total industrial demand within the next two years for the state comes to 192,000 k.w. whereas the sanctioned is for 97,000 k.w. and the load released has been only 64,000 k.w. If the power supplied for agriculture and domestic consumption is added to this it is clear that there is not the sufficient power to honour commitments. The demand for domestic consumption during its peak hours is met by disconnecting the other loads.

Further, the above figures show the maximum capacity and not the effective capacity. For instance while the maximum capacity of Niz-

amsagar project is 15,000 k.w., only 10,000 k.w. is available during the best part of the year.

There is a severe shortage of supply at Hyderabad and Visakhapatnam even for the existing industries, leave alone the number of new industries that are coming up.

The question that poses itself is why this sudden crisis? What are its immediate causes?

Some of the proposed schemes have not yet been taken up due to difference of view between the State Government and the failure on the part of Government of India to release foreign exchange.

Some of the state government loans, permitted the private sector to set up thermal stations and taken other steps to overcome the problem whereas the Andhra Pradesh Government woke up to the problem only just now after failure of development for the last three years.

The Sileri Hydro Project is held up because of the dispute between Orissa and Andhra Pradesh.

The Nagarjunasagar Hydro Project and the Srisailem have to wait for the report of the Gulhati Commission on river waters dispute.

Negotiations are under way for a Thermal project at Kothagudem with the World Bank, and for the Ramagundam project there is no response as yet from the Development Loan Fund.

Such are the causes which have led to the present crisis of power. This was known to the Government but because of its callousness it failed to take immediate steps for the setting up of Thermal stations.

Apart from this, the Government of Andhra Pradesh has been apathetic to the development of power and industries in the state. During the first and the second plans, power was ignored and even according to its own version the State Government thought of laying stress on the development of power only during the Third Plan. Hence Rs. 64 crores i.e. 23 per cent have been allotted for power in the Third Plan.

The per capita consumption of electricity was 2.5 units in Andhra in 1950-57 while the all India figure was 14 and in the neighbouring states of Madras and Mysore the per capita consumption was 16 and 45 respectively.

Even at the end of Third Plan the power generated in Andhra Pradesh will be 358,000 k.w. compared to 6,166,000 k.w. in all the states—that means about 5 per cent although the area and population of An-

dhra Pradesh is 8 per cent of the whole country. The generating capacity will be 358,000 k.w. while the actual requirement will be about six lakh k.w.

Already the State is backward industrially with the result that the per capita income of Andhra Pradesh is 231 compared to 265 all-India average and the Government holds out the prospect of increasing the per capita income to 258 in 1965-66 when the all-India figure would have reached 311.

It is necessary that the Plan targets regarding power supply are revised in conformity with the demand as estimated by the Central Water and Power Commission. The target should be raised to six lakh kw so that industrial development is accelerated and not held up. For this purpose the Government of India should see that the river disputes are settled early, foreign exchange is immediately made available and the negotiations with the World Bank and the D.L.F. are concluded.

The proposed Thermal projects at Hyderabad and Visakhapatnam at a total cost of Rs. three crores should be immediately sanctioned so that one lakh kw is available within next six months.

Czechoslovak experts' team has offered to supply small thermal plants of 6,000 kw which should be availed for the Sanatanagar and Azamabad areas and other industrial estates in the State.

The Polish offer of a Thermal plant should be ex-

amined and fully utilised for the increase in the supply of power.

Such are the urgent steps necessary to overcome the present crisis of power, to safeguard against the future scarcity and for unhindered development of industries which is advancing at snail's pace.

Now added to this has come the coal crisis due to the cut in Wagon supply. K. L. Neogy, the Chairman of the Transport Policy Committee, has indicated that the transport crises may continue as the transport requirements in a growing economy have not been fully realised.

The transport crisis is an all India crisis and Andhra Pradesh has its own share of suffering. For the last one year one has witnessed how the Ministries for Coal and Fuel and of the Railways have blamed each other for this state of affairs.

Doubts have been expressed by the industrialists and others that the allocation for transport during the Third Plan is inadequate compared to the expected growth in traffic. It was estimated that by the end of the Second Plan the Railways would be called upon to carry 180 million tons of goods and Rs. 800 crores were allocated for the Railways in the Second Plan. But the goods traffic increased only to 154 million tons from 91 million tons at the end of the First Plan.

In spite of this lower requirement transport bottlenecks have developed. It is expected that the goods traffic consisting mainly of steel, coal and cement will increase by 91 million tons and Railways will be called upon to meet the goods traffic of 245 million tons in 1965-66. But the allocation for the Railways is Rs. 890 crores in the Third Plan. Targets of expenditure have been given in the Plan but how actually they propose to

meet the increased requirements is not mentioned.

Shortage of wagon first and foremost affects the coal transport as the coal producing areas are located in particular regions and the coal is to be transported to all parts of the country.

Government proposes to meet the situation by creating dumps and transport of coal from the dumps to the required place by road. Some other steps too have been taken. For instance Southern Railway gets its coal by sea route though it suffers a loss of Rs. two crores.

It is necessary to find both short term and long term solutions for the wagon shortage and the coal crisis. At present the Railway authorities provide 1,784 wagons for Andhra Pradesh though the allotted quota is 2,040. The proposal is to reduce the same to 1,147 wagons a month. This will hit very badly the coal supply thereby affecting the industries.

Andhra Pradesh Chamber of Commerce has opposed the idea of dumps on the ground that the roads in Andhra Pradesh are not suitable for heavy usage and are not so developed.

Further, they have asked that Singareni coal be given to Andhra Pradesh. At present Andhra Pradesh gets its coal requirements from Madhya Pradesh and Singareni. Coal is allotted at present keeping in view the nature of industry and the required quality of coal.

In these circumstances the Government of India should see the special conditions prevailing in Andhra Pradesh and should restore the existing supply of wagons. The Government should immediately reexamine its plan for the Railways so that our developing economy is not caught in a transport crisis leading to a disturbance in the industrial life and holding up of progress.

Publish Betterment Levy Report

THE Punjab State Council of C.P.I. through a resolution adopted on April 15 has raised its voice of vigorous protest against the Congress Government's attitude in neither publishing the Report of the 25-member Betterment Levy Committee nor taking any steps to implement its unanimous recommendations.

The Communist members of the Assembly had given notice in the current session of a Resolution demanding implementation of the recommendations of that Committee and the ballot for the resolution had been drawn in the name of Mahkan Singh Tarsika in the first place for non-official day on April 5. But the Congress ruling party jettisoned discussion on the resolution by prolonging discussions on a non-official, non-controversial resolution for extension of education in Kangra and other hilly regions for two days.

Repeated closure motions moved by our legislators were defeated by means of Congress majority just to forestall dis-

ussions of the Resolution.

The unwillingness of the Congress leaders even to have a discussion on the resolution in the State Assembly shows that they do not want to face the issue squarely and solve it. The 25-member Betterment Levy Committee was appointed by the State Government in the wake of the peasant movement in pursuance of its promise to reduce the levy amount to the lowest limit possible. The Committee had an overwhelming majority of Congressmen and was presided over by the Pradesh Congress President, S. Darbara Singh. The Committee made unanimous recommendations which if implemented would nullify the amount of Levy.

These recommendations constitute a vindication of the cause of the peasantry. The plea put forward by S. Darbara Singh in his speech in the State Assembly that the question will be solved only after the Central Government had decided the issue of reduction in the interest rate of Bhakra loans due to

the State Council demands that—

- 1) The Report of the Betterment Levy Committee be published forthwith;
- 2) Such of its recommendations which concern the State Government be implemented forthwith;
- 3) The Central Government be urged to accept recommendations like reduction in interest, moratorium on interest till 1962, and contribution of a share to Bhakra expenditure at an early date;
- 4) The realisation of advance payment of levy be suspended forthwith.

More Light On Morarji Group's Anti-Menon Activities

More light on the well-known anti-Krishna Menon activities of Shantilal Shah during the recent election campaign has been thrown by a public statement issued by Mohanlal Mehta "Sopan", who was discharged from the editorship of Janmabhoomi for refusing to be an accomplice in the treacherous game.

SHANTILAL Shah, formerly Labour and Law Minister and now Education Minister in the Bombay Government is managing trustee of the Saurashtra Trust, who runs the Janmabhoomi Group of papers.

Mohanlal Mehta "Sopan" had been twenty-one years editor of the Janmabhoomi before he was fired on December 3 1961. His arbitrary discharge has once again posed the fundamental question of adequate safeguards for the rights of working journalists.

In the statement released by him to the press in Bombay on April 18, 1962, "Sopan" says that it was only with a view not to embarrass Shantilal Shah during his election campaign that he had deliberately kept quiet during those days, despite insistent demand to explain his sack.

Anti-Menon Article

"Sopan" reveals in his statement that it was as early as June 30, 1961 that Shantilal Shah forwarded to him for publication in the Janmabhoomi "an anti-Menon article published in an English weekly."

"The policy of the Janmabhoomi to my mind was quite clear. As the accepted policy of the paper, it had to support the official candidate of the Congress Party and to oppose all his rivals."

"On going through this article (forwarded by Shantilal Shah for publication), I felt that it did not fit in within the accepted policy of Janmabhoomi."

"The article implied that the next General Election was not a contest between the Congress Party and other political parties, because no party was in a position to defeat myself in the Hall to see and listen to all that took place there."

"According to the writer of this article, the real contest was between one faction of the Congress party as against the other. And therefore the followers not only of the Congress Party but also of other opposition parties must work to defeat Sri Menon and all his supporters and thus secure the

victory for the other group. "The most objectionable and regrettable element of this article was that it expressed the aim of weakening Sri Nehru to some extent" by bringing about the defeat of V. K. Krishna Menon.

"Sopan" further thought that publication of the article in question would "also create misunderstanding about Sri Morarji Desai" because his name frequently occurred in this article, "obviously boosting him up as against Nehru and Krishna Menon."

"Sopan" was able somehow to avoid publishing that particular article. But as the elections approached he had to face the situation.

The next incident, he says in his statement, took place on October 16. A conference was held in support of Acharya Kripalani in Sunderabai Hall. I sensed the importance of the matter and presented

SACKED EDITOR'S CHARGE-SHEET AGAINST SHANTILAL SHAH

I wrote an article in Janmabhoomi on October 17 which was based upon my impressions of the speeches delivered and also of the total atmosphere which prevailed in the conference.

I had not the least suspicion that the article would shake up Sri Shah to his deepest roots.

I had often protested rather strongly against the intemperate criticisms by Acharya Kripalani about Congress in general and Sri Nehru in particular and therefore as such the article had no fresh point to present. But in the evening on that day, Sri Shah rang me

up. What he said could be briefly summarised as under:

"Why did you write without consulting me? Do you realise what will be the consequences of this article as far as you are concerned? It is my order that you must not write the second instalment of this article (the article was incomplete) and must see me immediately to give an explanation about this article."

My reply was this: "What I have written is in accordance with the policy of Janmabhoomi and this attitude has often been expressed before. I have done no wrong. I would like to get your written order about leaving the article unfinished so that I can send a written reply to the same."

Finally it was agreed that we may terminate this incident by finishing my article and then we should sit together to thoroughly discuss the whole issue.

We then discussed the candidatures of Acharya Kripalani

everything to my discretion. I realised quite late that as in the case of that article in the weekly, this was my second illusion.

On November 29, 1961 I got a message from Sri Shantilal Shah that I should see him at his residence. When I saw him on November 30, he gravely informed me that a few Trustees and Directors had a meeting in Delhi and some of the Trustees had expressed their dissatisfaction with me.

Sri Shantilal Shah told me that he had been defending me all along but since I was not accommodating him about the Kripalani-Menon issue, he also was feeling in the same way as some other Trustees felt. This was indeed a conjunction of Gujarat politics with the Kripalani-Menon contest.

He then gave me an idea about the "decisions" taken in Delhi and informed me that they had decided to put cer-

its copies to all the Trustees and the Directors. In this letter of July about the attitude of Sri Balwantrao Mehta with regard to the Ten Year Rule controversy in Gujarat. I expressed my doubts and fears and repeatedly demanded a written clarification about the policy of Janmabhoomi and (instituting) the practice of issuing written instructions to me.

This letter of mine was made the cause of my discharge.

In connection with this letter, two other Trustees had called me to see them in the evening of December 3. Many things were discussed in this meeting and it was felt that a new basis for mutual understanding and adjustment was being created. But the very next morning I experienced a bolt from the blue. Sri Shantilal Shah curtly informed me about my discharge first on the phone and then at 11-15 p.m. in the night by a letter.

There were no talks, no negotiations, no demand for any evidence supporting the points made by me in my letter and absolutely no reference to the conversations between myself and the two trustees on the previous night. The reason given for my discharge was that I had made certain allegations in my letter and thus forfeited their confidence as an Editor.

I was not dismissed but discharged and thereafter they forwarded to me what they thought to be my dues. But I declined to accept the cheque.

Editor's Rights

After all these events, I wrote Sri Shah telling him that I considered all the steps taken against me as unfair, illegal and totally unjust and therefore, I was not in a position to accept them. I wrote that I had remained as an Editor for more than twenty years and these papers are managed by a Trust created for public welfare. Since I considered my discharge as both unjust and illegal I would like to get the decision of any impartial arbitrator. I very humbly requested arbitration from him.

Since then I have received a letter from Sri Shah rejecting my request for arbitration and thus my path has been made more difficult.

The point which I want to insist upon is whether I can demand and expect some sort of justice from a public Trust. Can I not secure even an arbitration?

It is a matter of intense pain and surprise to me that the Trustees who in their other fields of activities, have always stood by the principles of arbitration and who always harp upon the peaceful settlement of all issues have declined my very

*SEE PAGE 14



Manubhai Shah in Action! (Courtesy: Marmik Weekly)

COHESION OF FORCES OF CUBAN REVOLUTION

AN EDITORIAL
FROM PRAVDA

(Following is the full text of an editorial carried recently by Pravda.)

It has already been reported in Pravda that Comrade Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the National Leadership of the Integrated Revolutionary Organisations (ORI) and Prime Minister of the Republic of Cuba, appeared on March 26 over the radio and television with a major speech in which he raised the basic questions of the further development of the Cuban revolution and of the construction of a Marxist-Leninist Party.

IN his speech Comrade Castro called upon the members of the Integrated Revolutionary Organisations and all the people of Cuba to work more persistently for strengthening the unity and cohesion of their ranks in the name of the development of the revolution and for the defence of its gains.

This call assumes a special importance at the present moment when the Cuban revolution is tackling vast problems of the construction of a new life and when, at the same time, the dark clouds of new aggression, which is being prepared by the North American imperialists, are closing in over heroic Cuba.

Cuba, this first free territory on the American continent, provides for all the Latin American countries a remarkable example of the outstanding achievements that can be scored by a nation which has put an end to the rule and arbitrariness of the Yankee imperialists, a nation which has become the master of its country and its destiny.

It is precisely this that throws out of balance the gentlemen from Washington



On Guard: A Cuban soldier on the look-out for U.S. invading planes.

more than anything else. They are not averse to resort to the most reckless military gambles in order to extinguish the torch of the Cuban revolution which illumines the way to freedom for all the peoples of Latin America.

Facts show that the imperialist circles in the United States are intensifying their preparations for a new armed aggression against the young republic.

The people of Cuba, whose vigilance has been increased by the revolution, are preparing to repulse the aggression threatening them and defend the gains of the revolution on the banners of which the appeal to build socialism is inscribed. The revolutionaries of Cuba clearly realise that one of the main factors of the strength and invincibility of their cause, of their successes in the construction of a new life and in the defence of their gains is the unshakable unity of the whole nation and of its revolutionary forces.

The Cuban people now need unity more than ever before for it is the decisive factor which ensured for them a victory over Batista's

bloody regime and over the counter-revolutionary gangs of American hirelings at Playa-Giron.

Desire For Unity

The general desire for unity of all the revolutionary forces was clearly manifested in the movement for the formation of a united Marxist-Leninist party, that would embrace the progressive representatives of the working class, working peasants and progressive, intellectuals, i.e., all the creative forces of the people, and direct their efforts towards the realisation of tasks of the socialist revolution.

The joint Marxist-Leninist party is rising naturally from three political forces — the July 26 Movement, led by Fidel Castro whose heroic fighters, under most trying conditions, unfurled the banner of freedom in the Sierra Maestra mountains; the People's Socialist Party, the party of the Cuban Communists, which sacrificed the lives of many of its finest sons to victory, and the March 13 Revolutionary Directorate, the patriotic student movement.

The joint struggle of all the forces of the revolution under the guidance of the national hero of the Cuban people, Fidel Castro, was crowned with a glorious victory: the banner of freedom and independence waved over Havana and the whole of Cuba.

Building up a single Marxist-Leninist party in a country where a revolution triumphed only three years ago is not a simple and easy job. The Cuban revolutionaries are fully aware that their task is not mechanically uniting the three forces, but setting up a monolithic Marxist-Leninist party, united both in aspects of theory and organisation.

The establishment of the Integrated Revolutionary Organisations is a vital step toward a single party, based on Marxist-Leninist principles. At the same time, it is a new stage in the development of the Cuban revolution.

The cohesion of all the revolutionary forces of Cuba under the guidance of the ORI completed the process, which began much earlier, since January, 1959, and struck a decisive blow at the splitters. The process of cohesion proceeded under difficult conditions.

Imperialism and its agents tried in every possible way to instigate conflict between representatives of different revolutionary organisations, but the aspiration for unity of the revolutionary organisations and the new revolutionary ideas prevailed. They triumphed because they responded to the interests and hopes of all working people of the country.

A decisive and principled struggle to assert socialist ideas is characteristic of the Cuban revolutionaries. The experience of the Cuban revolution once again shows that the carrying out and successful development of a truly people's revolution is possible only in inseparable ties with the masses.

These principles lie in the foundation of the Integrated Revolutionary Organisations of Cuba and their work, and are permeated in the speeches and actions of the ORI leaders — Fidel Castro and his comrades-in-arms in the Sierra Maestra, fighting, active members of the People's Socialist Party, all who fought for the establishment of a revolutionary underground in town and countryside, and for the cohesion of patriotic, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal forces in a united front of battle against the pro-American Batista dictatorship. Among the 20,000 fallen fighters were members of all the revolutionary forces

The Integrated Revolutionary Organisations leadership has trenchantly criticised from points of principle the sickness of dogmatism and sectarianism in both theory and practice, a disease which cannot be tolerated in the ranks of Marxist-Leninists.

The Statement issued by the Moscow, meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties noted that dogmatism and sectarianism "deprive revolutionary parties of the ability to develop Marxism-Leninism on the basis of scientific analysis and to creatively adapt it to the concrete conditions, isolate Communists from the broad sec-



The Peaceful Life that is threatened by U.S. imperialism: Children playing in a kindergarten.

which rallied round the Integrated Revolutionary Organisations of Cuba.

Stronger Unity

This unity became stronger in the years following the revolution. It grew stronger in time of the agrarian reform, nationalisation of imperialist property, the cultural revolution and other measures which provided conditions for the gradual transition of Cuba to the stage of socialist transformations in town and countryside.

Guided by the well-known Leninist precept, according to which how far a revolutionary Party is serious about it depends first of all on its attitude to its own mistakes, the Cuban revolutionaries rightly view criticism and self-criticism as one of the basic principles in the work of the Integrated Revolutionary Organisations.

Cuban revolutionary leaders of late have subjected to frank criticism from points of principle the mistakes that some comrades have made in agricultural development, planning, the enlistment of the masses in production management, the organisa-

tion of supplies for the population, etc. In doing so they attach paramount importance to a real consolidation of all revolutionary forces, to the strengthening of contacts with the masses, to the consolidation of collective leadership, and to the practice of Leninist standards in Party life.

However, not everyone was able to notice these changes and draw the proper conclusions from them. The virus of sectarianism, Castro noted, engendered grave errors in the building up of the apparatus and particularly in the establishment of the primary cells of the United Revolutionary Organisations. The main person to blame for this is Anibal Escalante, who performed the functions of Integrated Revolutionary Organisations secretary for organisational matters.

"It pains us," Castro said, "because for many years Anibal Escalante was a real hon-

ored to dedicate all their energy to the advancement of the revolution are being moulded and steeled.

pared to dedicate all their energy to the advancement of the revolution are being moulded and steeled.

It is stressed in the ORI decision that the United Party should be built up on the Marxist-Leninist principle of democratic centralism, that it should absorb all the best in the working class, in the people, should build its activities on the principle of combining young and old cadres, resolutely combating dogmatism and sectarianism.

The decisions of the ORI National Leadership are imbued with faith in the strength of the Party, in the strength of the revolution. As F. Castro stressed, the revolution in Cuba "has unambiguously declared itself a Marxist-Leninist revolution and, within the framework of Marxism-Leninism, we in a self-critical manner are revealing our mistakes. Let no one have any illusions! We shall not take a single step backward, only forward! We must become the vanguard Party of the working class, the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the proletariat."

Marxists-Leninists boldly reveal mistakes, not in order to bring joy to the imperialists, but to accomplish their own aims with still greater success. The principled criticism by the National Leadership of the ORI of sectarian mistakes testifies to the strength of the Cuban revolution; it will contribute to the successful completion of the establishment of a single Marxist-Leninist party in Cuba with unshakable unity of will and action of all Cuban revolutionaries, "old" and "young," guerrillas and underground fighters, former members of the Movement of July 26, the People's Socialist

Combine Young And Old

The necessity for correctly combining young and old revolutionary cadres in the National Leadership, and in the provincial, municipal and primary organisations is dictated by life itself, is a Marxist-Leninist principle.

During the period of the impetuous development of the revolution, under conditions of a sharp ideological struggle, the utilization of tested revolutionaries at responsible posts is of great importance.

At the same time the deepening of the revolution, the spreading of Marxist-Leninist ideas among the wide masses of the working people urgently raises the task of a bolder utilization for leading political work of young cadres as well, cadres who have grown up and become steeled in the revolutionary struggle.

The correct combination of old and young cadres, the utilization of rich revolutionary experience and revolutionary enthusiasm is one of the true guarantees for strengthening and correctly developing the united Marxist-Leninist Party which is being formed, for solving the tasks of socialist construction.

Dictated By Life Itself

Thus the measures being at present carried out by the National Leadership of the Integrated Revolutionary Organisations are dictated by life itself. This is why they will be of outstanding importance for the successful advancement of the Cuban revolution.

It is not surprising that the enemies of the Cuban people are in every way attempting to interpret at random these measures, not stopping short at striving to present them as a "split" in the ranks of the Cuban revolution. The New York Times, for instance, several days ago said, that "Premier Castro's denunciation of communist 'militants' was seen here as creating an entirely new situation in Cuba."

It is not without reason that the saying goes: a hungry hen dreams of millet. However, this time as well the ill-wishers of the Cuban people will have nothing for their pains.

Before the landing of their hirelings at Playa Giron the U.S. imperialists also based their calculations on the "instability of the rear" of the Cuban revolution, on "inevitable anti-Castro uprisings." The salvos of the revolutionary armed forces of the Cuba shattered those illusions.

Still more resounding fiasco and ignominy await the imperialists now, when Cuba has grown much stronger and more mature.

Marxists-Leninists boldly reveal mistakes, not in order to bring joy to the imperialists, but to accomplish their own aims with still greater success. The principled criticism by the National Leadership of the ORI of sectarian mistakes testifies to the strength of the Cuban revolution; it will contribute to the successful completion of the establishment of a single Marxist-Leninist party in Cuba with unshakable unity of will and action of all Cuban revolutionaries, "old" and "young," guerrillas and underground fighters, former members of the Movement of July 26, the People's Socialist

Cuba Is Not Alone

Cuba is not alone. It has many loyal friends in Latin America and far beyond it. The mighty Soviet Union stands in the front ranks of these friends. Soviet people, who made incalculable sacrifices in the struggle against



Parliament of the People: A mass rally in Havana.



Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the National Leadership of the Integrated Revolutionary Organisations and Prime Minister of the Republic of Cuba.

Party and the Revolutionary Directorate of March 13.

The unity of will and action of the heroic Cuban people, rallied behind the revolutionary government, the Integrated Revolutionary Organisations, their National Leadership and the recognised leader of the Cuban revolution, First Secretary of the National Leadership of the ORI, Comrade Fidel Castro, are an earnest that any attempts of aggression on the part of the US imperialists and their hirelings will end in a still more ignominious collapse than was the case at Playa Giron a year ago.

Ever new contingents of mankind are embarking on the road of building a new life. This is an irresistible process which will go on growing. No evil forces of reaction can stop it. The cause of the Cuban people is a great and just cause.

Imperialism, hold the revolutionary cause of the Cuban people near to heart. The hearts of Soviet people are with the heroes of Cuba. The Republic of Cuba, as has been stated clearly by the head of the Soviet government, N. S. Khrushchov, can always rely on assistance and support on the part of the Soviet people.

It is said unequivocally in the Soviet government's statement of February 19, 1962, that "the known warnings of the Soviet government, addressed to the enemies of People's Cuba, remain valid today as well."

All progressive mankind, admiring the courage of the heroic Cuban people, who have started the construction of the foundations of socialism under the leadership of the Integrated Revolutionary Organisations, supports the just struggle of the people of Cuba for the right to decide questions of the domestic life and foreign policy of their country.

Combined with the determination of the Cuban people freely to build their new life and defend it, this support and international solidarity are a guarantee that the Cuban revolutionaries, the entire Cuban people will overcome all difficulties and move constantly forward, realising the great socialist ideas.

Assam Oil Royalty Issue

From Madhusudan Bhattacharyya

For sometime now much has been talked and discussed about what is called the oil royalty dispute. The general impression from the current Press reports has been that it is essentially a dispute between the State and the Union. Statements by prominent persons at State as well as Union level, far from dispelling that impression, further strengthened it.

CONSEQUENTLY, in many quarters it has raised the question of inter-relationship of the State and the Union. But behind all this seeming dispute between the State and the Union Governments lies a sinister conspiracy of the foreign—British, to more precise, oil monopolists against our national interest. The royalty dispute, in reality, is between the foreign oil interests and India's national interest. It is well known that oil has been exploited in Assam, and that was the only centre of oil exploitation in this country until very recently, ever since the last decade of the

last century. India was then under British rule and it is no wonder that the terms secured by the Assam Oil Company, a monopoly concern of British capital, were overwhelmingly in favour of this British monopoly company.

Even when the lease to the AOC was renewed just three years before India's Independence, it provided for only 5 per cent royalty, though the prevailing rate throughout the capitalist world at that time varied between 15 to 20 per cent. It is no secret that the oil monopolists have their intricate mechanism of operation. Very few indeed can properly grasp these intricacies. So even when there was a revision in 1949, after Independence,

the Rules provided for 10 per cent royalty for new oil concessions, leaving the old rate of 5 per cent for old concessions unaffected.

But the foreign oil sharks could not reconcile themselves even to this. They started their game to upset this. When in 1960 the Oil India Ltd. and the Government of India entered into an agreement about oil exploitation in Naharkatiya areas, the AOC tried to take advantage of the situation and turn it to good account for themselves.

Again, if the pipeline charges were added to the crude oil price, the public sector refineries would be put in a disadvantageous position to compete with the private sector refineries. If the pipeline charges were deductible from the delivery price, the Assam Government was to lose.

The Assam Government very naturally took strong exception to this decision. But a sort of a fait accompli was sought to be imposed on it.

The foreign oil interests did not stop at this; they practised an outright fraud. They deposited royalty with the Government treasury at Dibrugarh, the district headquarters of Lakhimpur in which the AOC refinery is situated, at the new rate which Assam Government had not agreed to accept. Royalty for the second half of the outgoing financial year was deposited at the new rate.

Subtle Policy

They pursued a very subtle policy. At first they managed to fix what is called the delivery price of Naharkatiya crude oil to the public sector refineries, stressing all the time that this price should be competitive with the landed price of Middle East crude. Thus through their manipulations, the delivery price was fixed lower than the landed price of Middle East crude by about Rs. 13 per ton.

Now it is known to all that oil prices are fixed arbitrarily throughout the capitalist world. The Middle East oil sells at an arbitrarily fixed notional value and is always kept below American prices with a view to deprive the Middle Eastern Governments of their legitimate share in their own national assets.

Judged in this background it is easy to see that the delivery price of Naharkatiya crude oil was fixed arbitrarily, without any relation whatsoever to the actual cost of production. Once that was done, the foreign oil interests took their next step. They now fixed what is called the pipeline charges.

After they had done that, they came forward with their next demand that the pipeline charges should be deductible from the delivery price.

The matter was not referred to the Assam Government and its representative on the Directorate of Oil India Ltd. either could not understand the real implication of this subtle move or was too indifferent to national interests to go deep into the matter. He gave his consent to the proposal.

After that agreement had been made, the Assam Government was told that because of these two agreements (delivery price fixation and pipeline charges, deductible from delivery prices) the value of Naharkatiya crude had automatically fallen from Rs. 72 per ton to Rs. 48 per ton and therefore, the rate of royalty would also fall from Rs. 7.2 per ton to Rs. 4.8 per ton.

Thus a peculiar situation was created for Assam Government. If delivery price were charged, this vital public sector industry would be very badly affected to the advantage of the private sector, which is in the grip of the foreign monopoly.

It should also be noted that the AOC refineries have the advantage of discounts from their Middle East oil producing concerns which our public sector refineries do not have. So to charge the delivery price of crude oil would be greatly

Fait Accompli

They falsely represented to the Deputy Commissioner of Lakhimpur district that the amount that they were paying was at the old rate and thus duped him to accept the deposit. The whole game of the AOC was to force a settlement upon the Government of Assam.

Their sinister game is further evident from the fact that while invoking the 1950 agreement (mentioned above) in support of their royalty rate, they tried to gloss over the fact that the said agreement did not cover the former Digbol concessions, rather these were clearly exempted. They sought an arbitration on the ground that the price of crude oil should not vary between Naharkatiya and Digbol, only a few miles apart from each other.

Here too they would not admit that the price of Naharkatiya crude had not changed; it was lowered by deducting the transport charges which were not involved at Digbol.

The AOC's next move was to lower the well-head value at Digbol to Rs. 48 per ton and then pay only 5 per cent of that value as royalty on the strength of 1943 agreement. But they conveniently forgot that the 1943 agreement laid down a minimum royalty of eleven annas per barrel or Rs. 6.6 per ton.

According to some here there can be no question of revising the well-head value now; instead, they suggest that the well-head value should be fixed at something like Rs. 48 per ton and 16 per cent of it should be fixed as royalty payable to Assam Government.

There may not be an immediate agreement on this suggestion, but it is felt that both the Assam Government and the Union Government should approach the problem keeping in view the conspiracy of the foreign oil monopoly against our attempt to acquire independence in this vitally important sector.

EVIAN AGREEMENT HAILED BY HENRI ALLEG

EMINENT JOURNALIST, NATIONAL HERO OF ALGERIA



Henri Alleg addressing a press conference in Berlin.

SPECIAL INTERVIEW TO NEW AGE

★ From P. K. Kunhanandan

Henri Alleg, Algerian patriot and revolutionary, smart and youthful looking editor and director of Alger Republican, the only consistent anti-imperialist daily of Algeria which was suppressed by the French authorities in 1957, gave an interview to New Age on April 7. Alleg was guest of the Journalists' Association of the German Democratic Republic.

HENRI Alleg has a heroic revolutionary career. In June 1957, he was arrested by the notorious French paratroopers (Paras). Apart from being fascist in their cruel methods of persecution and oppression of the Algerian patriots, the Paras were also the backbone of the putsch, which later brought de Gaulle to power. They suppressed his paper for its consistent anti-imperialist policy.

Till 1957 the cruelty and criminal persecution of Algerian patriots were little known to the outside world. Henri Alleg was the first to tell the world about the inhuman fascist torture, which he himself had heroically withstood and which was meted out to arrested Algerian freedom fighters.

Within 12 days of his arrest his hands still trembling after nerve-breaking torture in prison, Alleg wrote on bits of toilet paper a full account of the notorious Paras' method of torture. These bits of paper were smuggled out to Paris, and published under the title The Question, which roused world public opinion, against the terrible French persecution in Algeria.

Henri Alleg was sentenced to many years imprisonment and in 1961 was transferred to a prison in France. There on a dark foggy night, he cut the iron bars of his high prison window and escaped from French captivity.

Now this Algerian hero sits before me smiling, in a socialist country where he is free and admired for his bravery, and answers my questions with sharp intelligence and with full confidence in Algerian liberation.

The second main task is the restoration of law and order in the country as quickly as possible. The peace of our country is being disturbed by the Fascist OAS gangsters now. This means it is necessary to destroy the OAS organisation and its activities in Algeria.

Further, it is necessary to introduce full democratic liberties for the citizens, which were denied or suppressed by the French colonialists. All papers suppressed by the French imperialists will have to re-appear (among them he mentioned his own paper, Alger Republican).

QUESTION: Could you explain the "compromise" you mentioned earlier?

ANSWER: The Algerian Provisional Government itself considers that the peace of Evian is a compromise.

The Algerian people heroically fought against the most powerful colonial army which has ever been seen in the world. Against a population of 10 million Algerians, unarmed or primitively armed, not less than 800,000 regular soldiers with most up-to-date arms and communications were engaged in a bloody seven-year fight. Above all, the colonial army had the help of the U.S. imperialists and the Bonn Government. Still it was impossible to destroy the Liberation Army.

The compromise at Evian also illustrates the correlation of political forces. The colonialists were forced to recognise the Provisional Government of Algeria as a power with whom the "mighty" imperialists have to negotiate.

In the Evian agreement two principal concessions were made. The principle of the complete independence of Algeria as well as its territorial integrity and national sovereignty was recognised by the imperialists. That means there will be no partition of Algeria and no separation of the Sahara, which the colonialists had insisted upon in all former negotiations.

The unity of our dear motherland is maintained. That is a great thing, as you know from your own experience of the partition of India in 1947 by the British imperialists.

Nevertheless, the peace of Evian is still a compromise, with certain very good and certain unpleasant features. And so, Algeria's fight for full independence will go on until complete political and economic freedom is finally attained.

QUESTION: What are the next tasks of the Provisional Executive of Algeria that is in charge of the administration now?

ANSWER: Its immediate task is the preparation of a referendum on the question of self-determination. There is no doubt that the overwhelming majority of the Algerian people will vote for the independence of the country. The Provisional Executive will collaborate with the remaining French authorities but on the basis of our independence and territorial sovereignty.

But despite all handicaps and difficulties, the Evian peace agreement offers the Algerian people new possibilities to realise their national will.

QUESTION: In which way did the Bonn Government interfere in Algeria against her people?

ANSWER: It is generally known that a Paris-Bonn Axis is working to exploit the riches of Algeria and the Sahara. This monopoly axis was actually expanded into a military axis on the battlefields against the Algerian people.

The West German Government gave not only economic help and material help to the French colonialists, but also military help. The activities of the former Nazis in the notorious Foreign Legion are well-known. Hundreds of former SS storm troopers participated in all the bloody massacres of the Algerian people.

Millions of dollars spent for the bloody colonial war of suppression in Algeria came from the coffers of the giant imperialist powers and monopolists. That is why the Algerian people know very well how to distinguish friends from foes, for example, between East and West Germany.

After answering my questions sitting on a sofa in his room in Hotel Johannishof in Berlin, Henri Alleg enquired about the conditions of the Indian people. He expressed his personal heartfelt thanks as well as the gratitude of thousands of Algerian freedom fighters for the sympathy, solidarity and brotherhood shown by the Indian people. He especially mentioned the democratic Indian press, which had stood firmly by the Algerian people's struggle.

QUESTION: What will follow a line of positive neutralism, that means, it will not join any of the existing power blocs?

But the Algerian people know very well what our country owes to the Socialist countries. Our people are conscious of the generous help given by the Socialist camp in our war of liberation, in the past, now in the present and what further help it would give in the future.

The Algerian patriots also know that the French imperialists got moral and material help from the imperialist powers, especially from the West German Government, which sent even men and arms to fight against our people.

QUESTION: How do you evaluate the Evian peace negotiations and the Algerian cease-fire of March 19?

ANSWER: With the Evian peace a new era for Algeria began. The basis of the Evian peace is not an overwhelming military victory over the French colonialists. This could not be the goal of the Algerian war.

Our liberation movement wanted the French colonial government to recognise the independence and sovereignty of our country. This goal has been attained. And that is the real victory of the Algerian people.

QUESTION: How do you evaluate the Evian peace negotiations and the Algerian cease-fire of March 19?

ANSWER: With the Evian peace a new era for Algeria began. The basis of the Evian peace is not an overwhelming military victory over the French colonialists. This could not be the goal of the Algerian war.

Our liberation movement wanted the French colonial government to recognise the independence and sovereignty of our country. This goal has been attained. And that is the real victory of the Algerian people.

QUESTION: What are the next tasks of the Provisional Executive of Algeria that is in charge of the administration now?

ANSWER: Its immediate task is the preparation of a referendum on the question of self-determination. There is no doubt that the overwhelming majority of the Algerian people will vote for the independence of the country. The Provisional Executive will collaborate with the remaining French authorities but on the basis of our independence and territorial sovereignty.

But despite all handicaps and difficulties, the Evian peace agreement offers the Algerian people new possibilities to realise their national will.

QUESTION: In which way did the Bonn Government interfere in Algeria against her people?

ANSWER: It is generally known that a Paris-Bonn Axis is working to exploit the riches of Algeria and the Sahara. This monopoly axis was actually expanded into a military axis on the battlefields against the Algerian people.

Katju's Return Will Not Improve Matters In M. P.

From Our Correspondent

Bhopal, April 15:

Dr. Katju's dramatic return has raised some fundamental questions. But the uneasiness, anxiety, and subdued anger expressed by the Deshlahra group has confirmed the charge that the defeat of this "old guard" from his home constituency was partly engineered and it was this group which hatched the conspiracy to eliminate him from the State Congress.

ANOTHER thing which is crystal clear now is that Dr. Katju will not be welcome to this group and they will not leave any stone unturned to maintain the status quo and to oppose his efforts to assume the leadership of the State Congress legislature party.

Besides this there are many fundamental issues which are being posed among political circles here. First of all, the propriety of setting up Dr. Katju with the support of a feudal raja who just recently defeated a Congress candidate with the support of the Jana Sangh.

The ruler of Narsingharh, who has assured Dr. Katju of his unconditional support, was elected from this constituency in the 1962 election with a very big margin. But he resigned the Assembly constituency since he had also been elected to the Lok Sabha. How far this decision of the High Command to set up Dr. Katju from this constituency is morally correct and politically wise is being asked here.

No Consultation

Secondly, the way in which the High Command took this decision is being termed arbitrary—even the bosses of the State Congress were not consulted. Deshlahra is reported to have formally recorded his protest to the High Command. Of course, the reasons why the Congress leaders kept this decision secret from the State leaders are very obvious. But it is being

asked that if such leading Congressmen could not be relied upon even to this extent, how far can they be made to accept Dr. Katju as their leader at the High Command's behest.

If the High Command had lost faith in the State Congress leadership, it was its duty to dissolve it, as has already been demanded by the ex-Ministerialists.

Another question which is being posed here is whether Dr. Katju's return will be acceptable to all the sections of the Ministerialists. The way the things are moving do not indicate this.

It is being claimed by the Deshlahra group that the Mandloi Cabinet is functioning smoothly; Deshlahra also issued a statement to this effect. The daily press supporting Deshlahra is coming out almost daily with write-ups that the differences between the groups have been patched up and that Dr. Katju's return will undo all that has been done to achieve the unity in the State Congress.

Birlas' Role

It may be mentioned here that those who are opposing Dr. Katju are being supported by the Birlas and many other State business houses. In the Congress at the all-India level they are linked with the Morarji group. They are opposed to Nehru's policies and many of the top men of the PCC group played a very dirty role in the communal riots. The business houses feel that they can continue to exploit the State resources freely, according to their own terms if Mandloi holds the reins of the administration.

How much these financial circles were interested in Congress politics was made clear when Mandella, Birlas' man, openly criticised group politics in the Congress while addressing the annual session of the Madhya Pradesh Organisation of Industrial Employers. Chief Min-

ister Mandloi and Finance Minister Gangwal (whose sons are working in Birla concerns), who were present at the function, did not dare say anything against this unbecoming and indecent behaviour of an employee of the Birlas.

Further, it is also being asked whether Dr. Katju's resumption of the leadership will improve the administration and whether it will help in uniting the opposed groups. The past record does not give grounds for much hope. It was during his tenure that the State witnessed many communal riots, the State employees' strike, the mis-handling of the Bastar affair and many other administrative and political lapses.

In the Congress organisation also he did nothing to end group politics. He always posed as being above group politics and by remaining neutral allowed groupism to grow.

It is well known here that Dr. Katju lacks in initiative and dash. He relies too much on the bureaucracy and postpones decisions on many important issues. His faith in secularism can also be questioned. He personally may be a believer in secularism but in the last five years he could never impart that attitude to his administration. The way he contradicted Nehru's stand on the riots puts his secularism in doubt.

Not only a section of the Congress but the general public is also not very happy about Katju's return to State politics. They wonder whether at this old age he will be able to serve this State.

If the High Command decides to impose Dr. Katju on unwilling Congressmen it is bound to widen the gulf of disunity in the organisation and it is only natural that the Jana Sangh will take full advantage of this situation.

The most regrettable fact about the Congress in this State is that there are few Congressmen who sincerely believe in the ideology of their party. Even those who want Katju's return are those who feel that they will be able to enjoy power freely under his leadership.

Uncalled For Increase In Fares

*FROM PAGE 5

for making excuses for creating artificial indebtedness and to open the way for fresh taxation!

This argument is only to meet the Railway Minister's so-called justifications for increase. It does not mean that we approve of the way these allotments are made to the various funds and the way they are used.

The Railway Convention Committee of 1954 resolved that the maximum depreciation allowed was to the tune of Rs. 35 crores, taking into consideration the cost of materials and the rate at which the depreciation should be allowed.

But instead, immediately after this recommendation, the Railway Ministry got the Depreciation Reserve Fund raised to Rs. 45 crores through the form of Parliament without assigning any justifiable reason.

Over-Capitalisation

It is the practice all over the world to allow a maximum of 2.5 per cent on the capital investment for depreciation, granting a forty-year life for locomotives, rolling stock and other properties.

Even according to the over-capitalised capital charged, by the end of March 1962, being Rs. 1,700 crores, the depreciation that can reasonably be allowed is only Rs. 42½ crores per annum from the current year.

This includes buildings, bridges and other permanent way construction, which normally have a life of more than 40 years.

As against that figure the depreciation amount had been raised to Rs. 45 crores in 1956 itself and is now further raised to Rs. 70 crores, annually, for the next five years from 1961, as recommended by the Railway Convention Committee of 1960. This recommendation was erroneous and improper.

Instead, the Committee could have been straightforward and asked for the utilisation of all the amount in the Depreciation Reserve Fund for the Plan. This would have been straight dealing, rather than giving it a colour of meeting the depreciation requirements.

Here I would like to quote what is stated in the White Paper given by Jagjivan Ram to show that our railways have been saving the maximum possible and are meeting the main brunt of the Five Year Plan needs from their own resources.

"It has also been possible for the Indian Railways to consistently earn a net surplus after meeting all expenses including appropriation to depreciation fund and the prescribed fixed return on government capital (dividend) which secures to the general exchequer a margin over and above the average rate at which interest is paid by the Government of India on public debt.

"A small margin will still remain, even if all allowance is made for some of the higher-rated external loans raised by the Government of India in recent years for the Railways" (p.2).

Here I can rightly add that

there exists no justification for an increase in the rate of interest (dividend) from four to 4.25 per cent on the capital charged.

The Railway Convention Committee of 1960 increased this rate to find an excuse to take away a larger amount from the Railway's earnings, so as to create room for artificial deficits and to open the door for further taxation, which the Minister is now generously imposing.

The Railway Convention Committee of 1954 had asked the Railway Board to assess the element of over-capitalisation so as to find out the real capital which is to be charged for the purpose of payment of depreciation and dividend.

Not only did the Railway Board not do this, it has shelved the issue altogether to conceal the actual state of affairs — that far less real capital has been invested.

Thus, one can see through the game of the Railway Ministry in making different allotments, a procedure they inherited from the Britishers and want to perpetuate. Britishers did it to fool the Indian public, to find justifications for their plunder. Do we also want to do the same?

It is high time that we change those methods and tell the people straight as to what are the financial results of our Railways working, rather than do it in a very dubious way, as is at present. As a result of the increased workload to the extent of 100 per cent in the ton-mileage and 25 per cent in the passenger traffic, without proportionate increase in employees, the efficiency has fallen, resulting in more accidents. Line capacities have not increased appropriately.

Why More Accidents

Accidents are on the increase. According to the statistics supplied by the Ministry 88.8 per cent of the accidents are due to failures of engines and rolling-stock. Recently, collisions are on the increase, which shows serious defects in the operational methods.

One can easily understand the reasons for failures of locomotives and rolling stock. It is due to bad maintenance and repairs.

A rigorous economy drive has been introduced during the last two years, reducing the number of workmen in the repair and maintenance sheds and in the open line.

More and more employment of casual labour in the sheds has caused serious damage to efficiency. In many sections raw recruits of casual labour are running on engines as firemen and casual labourers have taken the place of other labour force in the sheds and in the operating and transport departments.

Working hours have been increased. The maintenance staff of the rolling stock, gate watchmen, pointmen, etc., are being made to work 12 hours instead of eight hours. No amount of representation by the unions has any effect on the administration.

The men working on the

Permanent Way are not increased and more and more casual labourers are employed to save expenditure with the result the track capacity has gone down considerably.

With the heavy increase in traffic, there should be more men at work but quite the contrary takes place.

Practically no leave-reserves exist. Normal sanction of leave does not take place. Men are forced to go on medical leave as an alternative. Vacancies of station masters, drivers, traffic clerks, etc., are being kept unfilled for years together creating sometimes a near paralysis in the lines. Any number of instances can be quoted from all railways.

Non-supply of essential materials is another serious handicap creating serious impediment to normal working. Facts and figures can be quoted to prove that.

Saturation point has been reached on the Southern Railway and it has crossed the ceiling point. Unless this zone is bifurcated, it has no go but to deteriorate. Administratively, it has to be broken into two smaller units and then only any improvement in the transport on this railway is possible. A probe is required to find out the real situation on other railways, too, of a similar nature.

Frequent and unnecessary administrative changes have also had their share in lowering of efficiency. For instance, the introduction of divisionalisation on a wrong understanding that it was successful in some parts has been followed in almost all railways and we find the result is chaos.

Formerly, the district officials had a grasp over their district when the unit was small. Now, with the introduction of big divisions with 700 to 800 miles of length with an average of 15,000 employees, the officials in charge have lost grip over the work and the workmen.

Besides the confusion created in operational matters, much more chaos and lethargy have crept in in staff matters making it all the more confounded.

Dissatisfaction among the employees has reached its climax in all departments. If the divisional superintendents and the personnel officers have not reported the true position to the Railway Ministry, it is because of the fear of being accused of inefficiency. Many of them are putting up with it only with a view to passing the buck to some one else at the earliest opportunity.

Over-crowding has become a chronic disease. Even after huge expenditure by the Railway Ministry in two Plans, it has not been reduced, let alone eradicated. It is on the increase.

If more efforts are made to utilise the existing line capacities and rolling stock, some more through passenger trains can be introduced and the congestion in the third class reduced.

Over-Crowding

In this, we have to take a bold stand to do away with

the air-conditioned coaches, which are a heavy burden on the travelling public and that, too, in Express and Mail Trains. The present state of affairs in the country does not warrant such a luxury. Saloons used by Railway Officers are to be done away with. They can travel in the ordinary upper-class compartments for their official duties. All this will add to the seating accommodation of III class passengers.

Better cooperation and consultation with the employees locally would open up ways and means to increase passenger accommodation.

Even High Courts have upheld this most reactionary procedure. In no other Government service or Ministry, does such an obnoxious procedure exist. The Railway Ministry tops the list in the practice of such retrograde steps.

We all expected that after the withdrawal of the general strike of the Central Government employees in July 1960, a conciliatory attitude would be forthcoming in dealing with the employees.

But we are sorry to find that about 200 employees under the Central Government are still dismissed, removed or under suspension for participation in the strike.

Railwaymen who are included in this should be taken back on duty. In the case of more than a thousand men whose promotions and increments are blocked or barred due to their participation in the strike, there must be a review.

Finally, it has to be pointed out that this year's Railway Budget has revealed the grim situation that prevails in the single largest state-owned organisation. It could not yet rise to the occasion to tackle the transport problems presented by planned development. It is in the grip of various unresolved contradictions.

Labour Relations

About labour relations, the Minister has given a very rosy picture. I would wish it to be as visualised by him. But the facts are quite contrary.

The Railway Ministry is not following a uniform policy in dealing with organised labour. It is guilty of partiality, nepotism and favouritism with the result that relations have become strained. It is high time a uniform policy is evolved in dealing with labour organisations.

The application of the Rule 149 of the State Railway

Establishment Code to summarily terminate the services of employees without assigning reasons, has created terrible resentment in the minds of all sections of employees.

The protection given by article 311 of the Indian Constitution is taken away by the Railway Ministry under Rule 149, taking shelter under the clause of the contract entered into by the employee at the time of employment, whereby on a month's notice on either side, employment can be terminated.

Even High Courts have upheld this most reactionary procedure. In no other Government service or Ministry, does such an obnoxious procedure exist. The Railway Ministry tops the list in the practice of such retrograde steps.

We all expected that after the withdrawal of the general strike of the Central Government employees in July 1960, a conciliatory attitude would be forthcoming in dealing with the employees.

But we are sorry to find that about 200 employees under the Central Government are still dismissed, removed or under suspension for participation in the strike.

Railwaymen who are included in this should be taken back on duty. In the case of more than a thousand men whose promotions and increments are blocked or barred due to their participation in the strike, there must be a review.

Labour Relations

About labour relations, the Minister has given a very rosy picture. I would wish it to be as visualised by him. But the facts are quite contrary.

The Railway Ministry is not following a uniform policy in dealing with organised labour. It is guilty of partiality, nepotism and favouritism with the result that relations have become strained. It is high time a uniform policy is evolved in dealing with labour organisations.

The application of the Rule 149 of the State Railway

Budget

*FROM FRONT PAGE

Cabinet. This method would certainly not have ruled out a measure of indirect taxation. But the emphasis would very definitely have been on firstly, a decisive increase in direct taxation and secondly, on a rapid extension of an ever-increasing surplus-yielding public sector.

Take direct taxation first. The present Budget expects to get an additional revenue of Rs. 10.25 crores through increasing the rate of tax on Indian companies from 45 to 50 per cent (excluding export earnings).

Can it be denied that this sum could be doubled and even trebled if the excess profit tax had not only been maintained but increased — rather than scrapped — in scope and efficacy?

The present Budget has a long paragraph on the question of increased revenues from short-term capital gains. But all it expects to receive from rearrangements of taxes on capital gains is Rs. 50 lakhs.

Can it be denied that if the Government had seriously tried to tax speculative capital gains at the same rate as ordinary income and completely outlawed benami transactions, it would have netted in a sum very many more times more than this paltry sum?

Scrapping Kaldor

The present Budget has begun the process of piecemeal scrapping of the Kaldorian scheme of preventing sophisticated tax evasion. The Expenditure Tax is to go while the revenue from the Wealth Tax is to increase only by Rs. two crores.

Can it be denied that if the Kaldorian scheme had been applied in the manner in which the author had intended quite some hundreds of crores of Rupees would have flowed into the Government's treasure chests by now?

As a matter of fact the Economic Weekly of April 21, had calculated that it was quite feasible to increase direct taxation by as much as Rs. 40 crores without radically disturbing the available methods of tax collecting under the Congress regime. If this had been done then indirect taxation in the pre-

sent Budget would have come down to about the same as the increased figure of direct taxation.

As for a profit-yielding public sector nothing is said beyond the platitude that what is required is "not only efficient and economical operation of public sector plants, but a policy of charging a proper fee or price for the services and products supplied by the public sector".

The Explanatory Memorandum, accompanying the Budget speech, discloses the scandalous fact that the average total percentage of profit earned by state enterprises is 0.3!

Nationalisation Taboo

Not only should profit-yielding enterprises be brought into the public sector via nationalisation but its "fees" oriented in a manner to siphon off monopoly profits. But the Budget contains not even a hint on this score.

It has been rightly pointed out by a Congress MP that another way of reducing the burden on the people would be to streamline expenditure and, thus, to curtail waste. His remarks are even more pertinent in the context of the official calculations that non-developmental and, to an extent, non-plan expenditure has shown a steep rise in the recent period.

It is quite obvious that some sort of commission or special committee of Parliament would have to go into this whole question of cutting down on unnecessary expenses.

Another rather alarming aspect of the economic situation is underlined in this Budget speech. It is pointed out that "our foreign exchange reserves have declined to very low levels and the need for conserving foreign exchange... is greater than ever today".

The serious nature of this decline is brought home in the Economic Survey for 1961-62: "Basically, the weakness in the balance of payments in the current year is a manifestation of a structural deterioration in regard to the invisible account.

"With the progressive decline in foreign exchange reserves and the sizeable increase in external indebtedness, the current invisible account in our balance of payments has now emerged as a net

INDIA-CHINA DISPUTE

*FROM BACK PAGE

restrictions on their activities during their stay in India.

The allegation that the Tibetans who have taken refuge in India have been allowed to form a government in exile is completely baseless."

The beginning of the restoration of mutual trust would demand that such statements are taken at their face value and the battered edifice of good-neighbourly relations of these two great countries is slowly rebuilt on these foundations.

source of drain whereas it yielded a net surplus of Rs. 100 crores per annum only a few years ago; and repayment obligations on foreign debt have been rising".

This would indicate that the time is approaching when we will have to suffer the consequences for the wrong and anti-national foreign trade policy and foreign aid begging from the financial sharks of the Imperialist West, which the Congress rulers have so freely indulged in.

To meet this situation the Budget has recommended very inadequate remedies. It has set aside Rs. one crore for export promotion and development and also given the incentive of tax rebate for certain commodities, like tea and jute, which can be exported. It has, however, given no indication whatsoever that the Government intends to radically change the pattern and direction of our exports.

Less Than Half-Way

This then is the most serious failure of this Budget. It is much less than a half-way house to a real democratic and plan-oriented Budget. The advance that it registers over its predecessors is an extremely limited one.

But this advance is itself an incentive to the democratic movement to broaden its ranks and to rally its forces for bringing nearer the day when a Budget will be presented that will adequately reflect national needs and popular aspirations.

Italy's New Censorship Law

From S. BENSASSON

THE policy of compromise between the Christian Democratic Party and the Socialist Party, established through the "left-of-centre" cabinet formula, has produced its first negative result through the approval of a new law on censorship.

Although the new law improves, to a certain extent, the old one, at the same time, a fraud on all those who fight for the freedom of artistic expression.

We must recall in the first place that, for more than one year, the leading figures of the Italian cultural world, and specially those of the theatre and films, have fought a hard battle to abolish every form of preliminary administrative censorship on all theatre shows and films.

In the course of this struggle a vast united front was formed, including, amongst others, the Communists and the Socialists.

Naturally nobody even dreamt of defending pornography. But the excesses and stupidities of ministerial censorship were terrible and frequent. Censorship not only came down against everything that was considered, rightly or not, contrary to "decency" but also ideas and political opinions. The personalities of

ROURKELA AFFAIRS

REPLY TO C.M.

THE following statement was issued by Gurcharan Patnaik, Secretary of the Utkal State Council of the Communist Party of India at Cuttack on April 19.

The Chief Minister Sri Biju Patnaik has threatened to ruthlessly suppress the Committees in connection with Rourkela affairs.

It is true that the Rourkela lockout affair will give a rude shock to any patriot. By this lockout there has been great loss of national wealth. But why did this lockout take place? Who is responsible for this?

The whole question was that the unorganised Khalsia and helpers who are working in higher posts demanded confirmation in their said posts. Consistently their demands were rejected for the last two years. They were directly negotiating with the authorities and till the declaration of the illegal lockout they were not attached to any Union.

The authorities turned down their simple demand and curiously enough the Deputy General Manager (P) threatened the workers with dismissal and went round with pistol. Police was called for, four workers were arrested and released afterwards.

In spite of such provocations the workers remained peaceful and the authorities promised them to fulfill their demands within twelve hours. But instead a lockout was

declared and in order to save them from the illegal declaration of lockout, the authorities put the blame on the workers that the workers resorted to strike. But the workers did not resort to strike.

After this, the Union took up the cause of the workers and approached the authorities for conciliation and still the authorities did not pay any heed to it.

In brief this is the whole affair.

From this it is clear that the authorities of the Rourkela Steel Plant are responsible for this loss of national wealth and they are to explain their conduct.

The Hindustan Steel have always shown utter disregard towards the Government of Orissa. They have consistently trampled underfoot the interests of Orissa. The Congress Government has always felt small before the Central Government and Rourkela authorities in putting forward the cause of workers and Orissa as well.

In order to cover up his weakness and incapacity Sri Biju Patnaik has put the entire blame on the Communists. It is really regrettable. The working class will never excuse the anti-working class actions of the so-called "Socialist" Chief Minister.

Still we appeal that the Orissa Government should take firm steps to meet the just demands of the workers and see that the authorities are properly dealt with.

the cultural world saw themselves obliged to rise against this institution, which was a heritage of fascism.

A bill was prepared by the National Association of Film Authors, which abolished preliminary administrative censorship, reserving for the magistrates the role of repressing, through a special procedure of urgency, the possible offence of obscenity.

A single right to a preliminary decision was accorded by this bill to the administration (through an elective commission), viz. which films should be forbidden to those under 16 years of age.

Socialists Compromise

This bill was equally supported by the Socialists and the Communists. But, following the formation of the "left-of-centre" government, the anti-censorship front broke up. The Socialists accepted a compromise consisting in the abolition of preliminary censorship on theatre shows, while maintaining it on films, with regard to anything which may be considered to be "against decency".

But the excesses and stupidities of ministerial censorship were terrible and frequent. Censorship not only came down against everything that was considered, rightly or not, contrary to "decency" but also ideas and political opinions. The personalities of

"against decency" by the party in power.

This definition has been enlarged to cover, in fact, everything which might be considered an "attempt against the Christian concept of life", "against all religious and patriotic values which are the heritage of the nation".

A compromise was reached also on this point, through an amendment saying that the term "decency" is to be considered in the spirit of the Constitution. But, as the Constitution does not say anything explicit in this regard, it is clear that the Ministerial censorship commission will be able to continue.

Embarrassed at having to surrender their anti-censorship stand to keep up their collaboration with the government, the Socialists had proposed an amendment that on December 31 1963, the validity of this law should expire, implying that after this censorship would have to be abolished.

But, they were, later, obliged to withdraw this amendment and to turn it into a recommendation asking the government to "favour the ripening of conditions allowing, later, a more democratic regulation of censorship".

This episode reveals the danger of the opportunist tactics of the socialist.

NEW AGE
COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

EDITOR: P. C. Joshi

Printed by D. P. Saha at the NEW AGE PRINTING PRESS, 5, Jhandewalan Estate, M. M. Road, New Delhi, and published by him from 14, Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi.

Telegraphic Address: MARXBADI
Phone: 225794

SUBSCRIPTION RATES
ENGLAND: Yearly Rs. 12-0-0;
Half-yearly Rs. 6-0-0 and
Quarterly Rs. 3-0-0.
FOREIGN: Yearly Rs. 20-0-0;
Half-yearly Rs. 10-0-0.
All cheques and drafts to be made payable to T. MADHAVAN and not to NEW AGE.

CEYLON PARTY ON 22ND CONGRESS

condemnation of and principled struggle against the harmful consequences of the personality cult in such a way as to suggest that their political positions have been confirmed. Nothing is further from the truth.

The so-called "criticisms" by the Trotskyists of certain excesses that took place in the USSR during these difficult years were not aimed at correcting distortions of socialist legality but at attacking, discrediting and seeking to undermine the entire concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat which, as history has confirmed, is an essential and necessary feature of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

Life itself has thrown into the rubbish-bin of history the so-called "theories" of the impossibility of building socialism in a single country, of the inevitable "degeneration" of Soviet society, of "permanent revolution" and other fundamental political positions of Trotskyism.

No attempts by the Trotskyists to use the CPSU's struggle against the personality cult in an attempt to "rehabilitate" Trotskyism will succeed. The unprincipled struggles waged by Trotsky and the Trotskyites against Leninism, against the CPSU, the international Communist movement and the victorious advance to socialism in the USSR have not been forgotten. While criticising and correcting the mistakes made by Stalin, Communists will continue to give him his due role in historical developments and to oppose and struggle against the ideological positions of Trotskyism.

The resolute, principled and successful struggle that the CPSU has conducted against the personality cult

and its harmful consequences was not only necessary to correct mistakes and distortions of the past; it was also essential in order to eliminate all dogmatic political positions and restrictive practices that stood in the way of mobilising to the full the creative initiative and energies of the CPSU and the Soviet people, which are essential for the rapid transition from socialism to communism.

Soviet Experience

The Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party believes that all fraternal Communist and Workers' parties, including our own, have many important and valuable lessons to learn from the experiences of our Soviet comrades in regard to the cult of the personality and the struggle against it.

This is particularly so in countries where small-producer economy, which is one of the breeding grounds for the rise of personality cults, continues to flourish. But these lessons can be most usefully learnt and applied if the struggle against the manifestations of the personality cult is conducted not in a spirit of either extolling or denouncing Stalin, but by clear and careful analysis of the various social and other factors that make it possible for personality cults to rise and flourish.

At the same time, in assessing the role played by Stalin in historical developments, a clear distinction should be made between the positive and negative aspects of his work and leadership. The many outstanding contributions that he made to the advance of the USSR, the CPSU and the international

Communist movement should be appreciated and supported while, at the same time, criticising, repudiating and correcting his mistakes, distortions and violations of socialist democracy.

The fact that even such an outstanding leader and Marxist-Leninist revolutionary as Stalin could have been affected by the cult of the personality and lapse into grievous errors is all the more reason for all Communists to study with great care and attention the experiences of our Soviet comrades in this regard and to apply the lessons of these experiences to our own work.

Study Lessons

It calls for a deep and proper study of the Marxist-Leninist principles of the respective roles of the masses, classes and individuals in making and shaping history; for distinguishing clearly between the cult of individuals and the proper authority of leaders and for constantly appreciating the value of and enforcing Lenin's principles of democratic centralism within the Party.

Although the Ceylon Communist Party has functioned and continues to function under different circumstances from those of the CPSU, the Central Committee considers that the Communists of Ceylon have important lessons to learn from the experiences of our Soviet comrades in regard to the need for proper collective leadership at all levels of the Party; for establishing the continuous control of the Party over the actions of all leaders and over the various departments of its work; for combating all tendencies towards subject-

ivism and loyalty to individuals rather than to Marxism-Leninism and the Programme and policies of the Party; for strict observance of the principles of Party functioning set out by Lenin; and for establishing correct relations between leaders and rank-and-file members and between the Party and the people.

The 6th National Congress of our Party in December, 1960, discussed shortcomings in Party work and took important decisions in order to correct

them. The experience of our Soviet comrades, as generalised at the 22nd Congress, will help our Party to understand more profoundly the reason for and the ways of overcoming some of these shortcomings.

The Central Committee therefore resolves to make a more comprehensive study of the lessons that our Party can learn from the experiences of our Soviet comrades and to initiate a discussion within the Party or the basis of such a study.

III

THE Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party also considered the serious situation that has developed within the Albanian Party of Labour, a situation to which reference was made by many fraternal Parties from the rostrum of the 22nd Congress.

The Central Committee expresses its grave concern at the political course now being adopted by the present leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour, in particular by Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu.

These leaders are departing from the principles of proletarian internationalism and are rising in opposition to some of the important agreed conclusions of the meetings of fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957 and 1960.

The Central Committee also considered the speech made by Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the APL at Tirana on November 7, 1961 in answer to these criticisms. Such a speech cannot but arouse grave anxiety and opposition from other fraternal parties. It is inconceivable how

Enver Hoxha, who claims to speak from the positions of Marxism-Leninism, could basely accuse the CPSU and its leaders of revisionism and fawning on imperialism; justify and extol some of the worst features of the personality cult; openly challenge the agreed conclusions of the international communist movement on such basic questions as peaceful co-existence and the importance of the decisions and course of the 20th CPSU Congress; and try to split the international communist movement by seeking to draw invidious distinctions between various fraternal parties.

The present political course of the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour endangers the unity of the socialist camp and the international Communist movement. It is detrimental to the cause of socialist construction in Albania itself. The Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party hopes that the principled criticisms made by other fraternal parties of this dangerous political course will help the Albanian Party of Labour to correct these mistakes.

BONN HOLDS UP TALKS ON WEST BERLIN

★ From P. K. Kunhanandan

THE progress of Washington talks on West Berlin between Dean Rusk and Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin was temporarily blocked by West German objections. Talks resumed last Monday (April 16) did not make any headway due to U.S. fear for West German line.

The State Department contacted Bonn again this week in an effort to eliminate differences between U.S. and West Germany over some phases of the four point American plan which was designed as a counterpoise to the Ubricht plan and the Soviet working paper on West Berlin.

This American plan was deliberately leaked out to New York Times by West German authorities who were given an advance copy by the State Department. This was done two days before the talks were to begin, deliberately to sabotage the talks in advance. The State Department protested to Bonn but the latter denied its responsibility. The plan contained following U.S. proposals:

1) A non-aggression pact between NATO and Warsaw pact powers pledging

that the existing borders in Europe would not be changed by force.

2) An agreement among nuclear powers not to supply nuclear weapons to any country not possessing them at present.

3) Establishment of mixed East and West German committees to deal with practical problems of trade, cultural exchanges, communications and travel and

4) Establishment of an international authority to control access route to West Berlin from West Germany in which both German states would be represented.

Lacunae In Plan

The new American plan however does not mention the Oder-Neisse frontier by name, which was not acceptable to West Germany and its allies, and falls short of any formal recognition of the same. Though it bars the three nuclear powers from giving nuclear weapons to others, according to Dean Rusk's reported conception, the agreement would still leave NATO free to build up its own nuclear force with U.S. weapons

whose warhead would nominally be under American control.

But even these old-wine-in-new-bottle proposals were not acceptable to the West German Government. They were understood to be objecting to the whole plan and most strongly to the fourth point which would recognise GDR's voice on proposed international body to control allied access to West Berlin.

West Germany is also opposed to the first point which would amount to formal recognition of GDR because it is a member of Warsaw pact with which West Germany has to sign a treaty.

Dean Rusk would have proposed formal submission of this plan to Dobrynin last Wednesday and was trying through his Ambassador in Bonn to ease the fears of West German authorities, assuring them that there was nothing new in the plan. But Bonn in the meantime sent an SOS to Rusk to hold it back for a few days. As a result Rusk and Dobrynin were restricted to reviewing past arguments and procedure to be followed in their meetings.

In the meanwhile Dean Rusk has emphasised again the imperialists' determination to remain in their posi-

tion in West Berlin (though there are reports that the strength of the occupation army may be reduced if Soviet Union accepts this American package plan), and unhindered access to West Berlin through GDR's sovereign territory. The GDR on the other hand made it clear that it would not accept any proposal that would infringe

upon the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic though it is always prepared to discuss any plan with anyone to preserve peace in the continent.

The imperialist camp is divided on the West Berlin question. The Socialist camp is further united in its struggle for easing tension in Berlin and preserving world peace.

From Page 7

Journalist Victimized

reasonable request for arbitration. This only means that I should think of legal proceedings either to prove the facts or to get justice. I have contributed my humble mite in the growth and shaping of this institution for twenty-one long years and the institution has been a great help in the progress and development of my personality. Will it be fair either for myself or for the institution to face each other in a court of law?

Reiterating his demand for arbitration "Sopan" has indicated his willingness to accept U.N. Dhebar, Ravishanker Maharaj, Gulzarilal Nanda or any other person of their calibre and standing as arbitrator. The Trustees of Jan-mabhooni should also be ready to do the same, he says.

YOUTH TO CONQUER NEW HEIGHTS

FROM MASOOD ALI KHAN

The fourteenth Congress of the Komsomol opened in Moscow on Monday (April 16) amid scenes of great enthusiasm and youthful excitement. About four thousand delegates representing the nineteen million strong Young Communist League thronged Kremlin's Palace of Congresses on a bright sunny spring morning and their laughter, optimism, gaiety and the all-round infectious atmosphere of friendship and goodwill overwhelmed all those present.

The poet has rightly said "Communism is the youth of the world and the young have to build it". And now we can add that it is they, the present generation, who have to live in it, too, as declares the CPSU Programme.

Here gathered in this hall are the best of the best, the builders of the huge dams, the conquerors of the virgin lands, the sailors of the Arctic seas, the explorers of the South Pole and the travellers of the cosmos beyond with star dust on their boots.

Thousands of lights glittered in the huge Assembly hall and songs of impatient, daring youth filled the hall when at 10 o'clock sharp Khrushchov and members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Sergei Pavlov, First Secretary of the Komsomol and foreign guests representing youth organisations of many lands appeared on the flower bedecked platform.

Stormy applause and shouts of "Glory to the CPSU", "Friendship", "Peace" and "Lenin is with us", resounded in the Palace again and again. Yuri Gagarin, the hero cosmonaut and the Uzbek girl Tursuna Akhunova cotton grower and hero of socialist labour and the well-known miner Kuzma Severinov triumphantly brought the red and gold banner of the Leninist Komsomol into the hall.

The Congress of the Komsomol meets every four years. This time 3,878 delegates were elected, one for every 5,000 members and three times more than attended the last Congress, 1,678 are women delegates, 43 per cent of the total.

More than 60 foreign delegations attended the Congress. Asia, Africa and Latin America are represented in a big way and of course, the youth of socialist countries is present in large numbers.

Frol Kozlov read out a message of greetings on behalf of the Central Committee of the CPSU which declared that the Komsomol Congress was meeting at a remarkable time when the Soviet people were working for the implementation of the Programme of Communist construction drawn up by the historic 22nd Congress.

The message calls for the education of Soviet youth in the heroic traditions of revolutionary struggle and ideas of Marxism-Leninism and to prepare staunch and educated young men and women who love labour, are intolerant of deficien-

cies, formalism and bureaucracy.

The message said that the youth had to be drawn into the administration of the affairs of society and expressed conviction that the 19-million Komsomol with its inspired labour, would march in the vanguard of Communist construction and add new pages to the history of Communist victories.

Most of the first days proceedings were taken up by the report delivered by the First Secretary of the organisation, Sergei Pavlov.

DEEDS THAT INSPIRE

He spoke of the great and concrete deeds which enthralled the youth and raised the role of the Komsomol in the life of Soviet society. Forty-eight blast and smelting furnaces, 34 rolling mills had been built and 8,000 kilometres of railway line electrified in the USSR with the active participation of the youth.

The raising of bumper crops was a top priority of the Komsomol in the countryside and the virgin lands which gave billion of pounds of grain were the first line of the agricultural front, where over 42 million hectares had been ploughed up in recent years.

Pavlov pointed out that the moral code of the builders of Communism embodied the ethical principles, which were the heritage of many generations of revolutionaries and at the same time expressed demands which could arise only in the period of full-scale building of Communism.

Referring to problems of aesthetic education Pavlov said "simple and exquisite, convenient, light and economical — these are the distinguishing features of our modern style. Its foundation is spirituality, the world outlook of new man free from slavery and oppression and from the prejudices of the capitalist past".

The Leninist Komsomol had always been and remained an active force in the international youth movement. There were Communist organisations of youth in nearly 70 countries now with over 65 million members.

The Soviet youth regarded it as their internationalist duty to render them all-out assistance in the struggle for social progress against oppression and injustice and for a bright future of the young generation.

The Komsomol Secretary

announced that the organisation which now had 19,400,000 members, included ten million young workers in industry and one million engineers and specialists in agriculture. About 10 million new members joined the Komsomol in the course of last four years.

Pavlov's report was very critical and outspoken and lashed out against all inefficiencies, bunglings and mismanagement, non-serious attitude towards labour, irresponsibility and superficiality of certain organisations and youth leaders.

He called for less paper work, conservatism, formalism and phrase-mongering. Good intentions would not increase productivity, he said.

Heroism was not only tenacity and bravery but also knowledge and mastery of technique and he gave detailed examples of the inexhaustible reserves of production that exist in every enterprise.

Pavlov devoted a lot of time to problems of agriculture and declared that if the present machinery were to be fully and efficiently used, the crop yield could be doubled.

He called for special care for adolescents and teenagers and to see that adolescent labour legislation was everywhere properly observed. When injustice was done to some worker it was the duty of the Komsomol to intervene and defend him and he gave instances of organisations which had failed to do this.

The Soviet society was based on Communist morals

where man was brother to man. The young man and women of today tend to take all the facilities and welfare of the socialist state for granted and forget the poverty, misery, unemployment and fear that prevailed in the capitalist world, where crime, politics and business had joined hands and there was freedom to commit moral and social outrages for those who had money.

The Congress passed a resolution triumphantly declaring that the youth will spare no effort or energy for the successful implementation of the majestic plans of building a Communist society.

ENHANCED ROLE

The resolution stressed the need for increasing the participation and role of the Komsomol in the nationwide struggle for creating the material and technical basis of Communism and the successful completion of the Seven-Year Plan.

The debate showed the great upsurge the 22nd Congress and the new Programme have brought about among the youth.

It seemed that the inspiring targets and perspectives have made the young people even more impatient and intolerant of the weaknesses which still remain and they are determined to see that the decks are cleared for future advance.

The youth want to take initiative, want more responsibility on their shoulders and want a quicker advance. They are the generation which is to build and enjoy the fruits of Communist society.

The delegates and guests greeted with a stormy ovation Nikita Khrushchov, as he walked to the speaker's rostrum.

Nikita Khrushchov said: "We, representatives of the older generation, have already made a good start in the building of a new society. Now the older generation hands the baton over to you, the young people. You shall carry with honour and pride this baton — the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin, the banner of communism".

"DREAM, DARE AND WORK"

Khrushchov stressed that the Lenin Young Communist League worked and studied well. "History," he said, "has not known such mass labour heroism as displayed by the Soviet young people in past years."

"The great feat of the YCL in the development of virgin lands and the resources of Siberia will go down for ever in the history of the Soviet Union and will be an inspiring example for generations to come. The homeland and the Communist Party thank the young people for this".

The First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee urged the youth to dream, to dare, to work as required by our great epoch, to master all the gamut of knowledge accumulated by mankind, to be front-rankers in everything, to be wholly devoted to the Communist Party, to bear aloft the banner of communist construction.

"This", Khrushchov said, "means service to the socialist homeland, to the cause of communist construction".

He pointed out that every one must contribute his share of work to the common cause in Soviet society. He spoke about the need of being intolerant to those who do not work, thereby robbing society.

"The old world," Khrushchov said further, "has never given up attempts to attack us. But it is not so easy now to do this, although there are yet hot-heads abroad, who dream of it."

HOLIDAY OF SPRING

SPRING has arrived and with sunny days rejuvenation and revitalisation of all the forces of nature has begun. The heaps of snow have at last melted, in Moscow, the first shoots of green grass have appeared and soon the bare branches of trees will get their new spring attire.

Spring means the awakening of the forces of life and it is only appropriate that here they celebrate the birthday of a man whose name is inseparably connected with the renewal and revitalisation of the human spirit, as a holiday of spring.

Lenin's birthday has become a day of happiness and rejoicing which all men of goodwill and good intent all over the world join.

Sunday, April 22 was a beautiful sunny day in Moscow. Red flags fluttered in the breeze and thousands of Muscovites and foreign guests came to the

Mausoleum on the Red Square to pay their homage to their leader and teacher, to a man who embodied within himself the heights attainable by the human genius.

More than two thousand old Communists veterans of the Revolution and the barricades slowly laid a wreath to their great leader, comrade and friend. And there were the representatives of the young, the Pioneers who with their flags unfurled in salute to the founder of their happiness and joy.

More than 18 thousand people visited the Lenin museum on Sunday.

In the evening a meeting was held in the Bolshoi Theatre to mark the great day. Nikita Khrushchov made the introductory remarks and the main speech was made by Il'ichov, Secretary of the Central Committee.

Newspapers published many unknown documents and letters of Lenin and rare photographs that especially bring out and emphasise the human quali-

ties of Lenin's character. People who knew and worked with Lenin recall his regard for his comrades, his concern about their welfare, his love for children and the special measure he took to safeguard them during the difficult famine years.

Articles in Izvestia on Sunday spoke of Lenin's love of good music, Beethoven in particular. And there was an account of how Lenin had listened to the Ninth Symphony at a morning concert at the Bolshoi.

Another writer recalled how she had once found Lenin gazing at the bright stars in the Moscow winter sky from the window of his cabinet and he had mentioned his interest in astronomy and star constellations during his young days.

In short, every aspect of Lenin's life and character has profound interest for the Soviet people and their love and devotion to his memory and the cause to which he dedicated his life in deep and limitless.

RAMPANT PERSECUTION IN U. S. A.

Send Protests To Attorney-General And Ambassador

Persecution of the Communist Party of the USA under the McCarran Act continues unabated. The Gus Hall-Benjamin J. Davis Defense Committee has issued an appeal to the American people to support its efforts to free Gus Hall and Ben Davis presently under indictment under the McCarran Act.

It further called for the quashing of the indictment against the Communist Party. Hall and Davis leaders of the Communist Party of the USA, are now under \$5,000 bail each, pending trial.

We publish below the appeal addressed to the American people by the Hall-Davis Committee, issued under the signature of Chairman Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Exec. Secretary James J. Torney:

Appeal

NOW the bell tolls for all of us!

When the McCarran Act was passed at the height of the McCarthy era, few understood its dangers. It was just another law on the books — not very real.

And as the McCarthy hysteria died down many said, "It's over... it can never really happen in America... it's too flagrant a denial of the Bill of Rights."

But on June 5, 1961, the Supreme Court upheld the Subversive Activities Control Board's order requiring the Communist Party to register

as an agent of a foreign power. The decision sidestepped all issues of the constitutionality of the law itself; it convicted the Party without a trial.

In the ten months since that date our constitutional liberties have taken a shameful beating. For the first time in the history of our country a political party has been put in the dock.

The government demands that Communists declare themselves guilty of treason... of plotting violence... For refusing to subscribe to these charges, for refusing to register the Party under the infamous provisions of the McCarran Act, today two men are facing prison sentences.

GUS Hall and BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, leading spokesmen of the Communist Party, USA, have been arrested on charges which could mean 30 years in prison and \$60,000 in fines. They are out on \$5,000 bail-pending trial.

And so the McCarran Act is no longer "just a law on the books"... it is a living danger to the rights of millions upon millions of Americans.

For the threat is not to Gus Hall and Ben Davis

alone not to Communists alone. The threat is to every progressive, liberty-minded man and woman in the United States.

The attack upon the Communist Party is only a wedge; let it succeed and we'll have "open season" on so-called "Communist Front" and "Communist infiltrated" organizations... on popular movements... on trade unions and liberal organizations.

The proof? Already the House Un-American Activities Committee lists 622 organizations as Communist "fronts." Emergency Detention Centres (pronounced Concentration Camps) are ready to shut their gates upon thousands if the Ultra-Right today's McCarthyites... are allowed to have their way.

Today the Communist Party is under attack. Tomorrow it will be the trade union member who fights for wages, then the Negro who fights for his rights... and then the foreign born, the Woman-for-Peace, the family that doesn't want bomb shelters. "State-of-mind Communists" is what the Birchites call them.

And if the Ultra Right isn't stopped in time history will take a giant step backward.

But this needn't be! Reaction can be stopped... the tide can be turned!

BUT IT MUST BE STOPPED NOW! Now, before we become a nation of frightened



Ben Davis and Gus Hall

citizens who have learned to live in a climate of fear... now, before we become a populace cowed. The newly-formed HALL-DAVIS DEFENSE COMMITTEE calls on you to help turn the tide.

The Appeal calls on people to write to Attorney General Robert Kennedy at the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., urging strongly that the indictments against Hall and Davis and the Com-

munist Party be dropped, and firmly denouncing the application of the McCarran Act.

It also calls on people to help the Committee with money, for the legal defense of Hall and Davis, and for a mass education and protest campaign in their behalf.

In India, protests should be addressed to the US Ambassador, Embassy of United States, Chanakyapuri, New Delhi.

Border Settlement, A Distant Hope

★ From Ziaul Haq

While there is no marked deterioration in the Sino-Indian border dispute, there is no prospect of an early settlement either — this would seem to be the upshot of all that has been revealed so far in the current session of our own Parliament as well as in the published documents relating to the recently concluded session of the Chinese National People's Congress.

WHILE China is keen upon separating the question of the renewal of the treaty on trade and intercourse between its Tibet region and India which expires on June 3 from the question of settlement of the border dispute, India finds it difficult to discuss it in isolation from the bigger question which has plagued the relations between the two countries now for over three years.

Although there is a report of a fresh incursion by China into Indian territory, according to a reply given in Parliament by the Minister of State for External Affairs, Lakshmi Menon, there has also been withdrawal of a post alleged to have been established earlier by China on Indian territory. The new Chinese post regarded as an incursion is at a point six miles West of Sumdo in Ladakh area near Qash river.

The earlier post which the Chinese say they never established and India now accepts as having been withdrawn is the one at Daulatbeg Oldi in Western Ladakh. India had detected this post in January 1962

but it is no longer there, Lakshmi Menon told the Lok Sabha on April 19.

China has at long last published the officials' report which had been submitted by the two countries officials' teams after their prolonged labours in December 1960. It will be recalled that India published the report on February 14, 1960 and its non-publication so far by China had been repeatedly criticised by the Indian side.

Officials' Report Published

A spokesman of the Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China issued a statement in Peking on April 13 in which he said:

"During the Third session of the Second National People's Congress, the Chinese Government distributed to the deputies to the session 22 notes exchanged between the Governments of China and India in the past four months and the report of Chinese and Indian officials on the Sino-Indian boundary question

submitted in December 1960."

The spokesman's statement then attempts to survey developments in regard to the dispute since Premier Chou En-lai visited India two years ago in the unsuccessful bid to seek a settlement.

This tendentious survey unfortunately leads one to the conclusion that the advance from comparatively silent to a more vocal diplomacy is not going to help to bring the desired end of friendly negotiations any nearer.

Insisting on the Chinese case as made out in the officials' report that the McMahon Line is "illegal and null and void", etc., the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman tried to show that India's stand was unjust, by summing it up thus:

"That is to say, the Indian side considered the Chinese territory in the eastern and middle sectors of the Sino-Indian boundary which has already been occupied by India to be Indian territory and the Chinese territory in the western sector of the Sino-Indian boundary which is not occupied by India to be also Indian territory.

"To this the Chinese side certainly could not agree", he declared.

Since the failure of the officials' talks, the Chinese spokesman alleged, "Indian military men have pushed forward step by step into Chinese territory in the Western sector, and in the face of

such circumstances, "while lodging stern protests" "the Chinese Government has exercised the greatest self-restraint," and at the same time, "has not slackened a bit its effort for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question through friendly negotiations and for an improvement of the Sino-Indian relations."

It was as part of these efforts, the Chinese spokesman suggested, that China sought separate negotiations for a new agreement to replace the one of 1954 regarding trade etc. with Tibet. India, he complained, had "rejected that friendly proposal of China."

Equally unfair, according to the Chinese spokesman, is India's stand on the boundary question which he summed up thus:

"It (Government of India) said that it is not against negotiation but, to hold negotiation, China must first of all vacate the so-called aggression on India, that is to say, China must first withdraw from its own territory in the western sector of the Sino-Indian boundary.

"It further said that it also stands for the maintenance of the status quo of the boundary but, to maintain the status quo China must, again first withdraw from its own territory in the Western sector of the Sino-Indian boundary so as to 'restore the status quo'."

After estimating the Indian

stand in such absolutely negative terms, the Chinese spokesman declared, "this attitude of the Indian Government is in fact tantamount to summary rejection of negotiations, rejection of the maintenance of the status quo and, hence, summary rejection of the peaceful settlement of the boundary question."

Not Helpful

While nobody would deny the complex and difficult situation with which China as well as India are confronted over this boundary question and finding a settlement for it, it is difficult to see how such a sweeping pronouncement as the one quoted above can help either side. It does not correspond with reality and therefore cannot help in reducing the hurdles that stand in the way of negotiations.

Equally sweeping are Chinese accusations against the Government of India in regard to Tibetan reactionaries, who have been granted asylum in this country, whatever the clandestine activities that they might be carrying on. Despite any lapses that might have come to the notice of the vigilant eyes of the Chinese Government, the fact remains that India has all along continued to recognise

*SEE PAGE 13