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# PERFIDY IN PARIS

## NEW AGE COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

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SUNDAY, MAY 22, 1960

25 nP.

### U. S. AGGRESSORS — Caught And Exposed

#### Editorial

We share the regret of peace-loving humanity that the Big Four came to Paris but dispersed and failed to get together. We also express the indignation of the

peace-hungry world against the U. S. imperialists who shamelessly played the saboteur's role.

THE U-2 spy-plane was no ordinary affair, nor did it concern the USSR alone. It dramatically symbolised the U.S. policy of shameless aggression. The U.S. has military bases all over the world. Its spy-planes do not confine their flights over the territory of the USSR alone. It is only the glory of Red rocketry that it shot down with snerring aim the U.S. spy-plane. In the plain words of Khrushchov, "The Americans had been caught with their hands in the cookie jar." More, the U.S. pilot owned up the guilt.

The arch-criminals of the Pentagon, the State Department and their chief, the U.S. President, all twisted and turned, disowned and owned responsibility, bluffed and blustered, but all in vain. The more they spoke, the more they isolated

themselves. The moral isolation of the U.S. Government has never been greater.

Here was a Government that claimed to send its spy-planes over other countries as its right.

Here was a Government that used other's territory as its base of aggression without the permission of the Governments concerned.

Here was a Government that insolently claimed the right to violate the territorial integrity and sovereignty of other nations as its right.

It was a shocking situation only relieved by the hopeful fact that there was another Government, mightier and wiser, of the USSR, that could stand up to its intimidation, aggression and fantastic claims, hold the mirror to its face, and make humanity the judge.

With no escape possible, the U.S. President promised to suspend (but not halt) the spy flights. No self-respecting Government, least of all the Government of the USSR, could sit at the same table with the representative of such a Government to talk peace, honestly and frankly, and in a businesslike manner.

In the inimitable words of Khrushchov, "When you catch a cat in the pigeon coop trying to steal pigeons the only thing to do is to grab it by the tail and knock its head against the wall." This has been very neatly and successfully done and right before the gaze of common men the world over.

The aggressor has been caught red-handed and unmasked.

\* SEE PAGE 13



KHRUSHCHOV IN FRANCE

### Ike & Co. Planned The Scuttle

by Cable from ZIAUL HAQ

PARIS, May 19

The Paris Summit Conference which powerful American circles never really wanted has finally been scuttled by them, with the other Western Powers fully abetting the crime in its final stages.

DELIBERATE carrying out of the spy plane's provocation right on the eve of the Summit followed first by lying statements and finally by enunciation of the doctrine of the "right" to violate in peacetime the territory of another country with aggressive overflights, claiming that far from constituting aggression and threat to peace these were necessary for the sake of peace itself—all this made the situation for the Soviet Union as it came to the conference in Paris an extremely difficult one.

It had worked all these years for a detente and for the substitution of the doctrines of positions of strength and brinkmanship with the methods of peaceful negotiations for settling outstanding questions. And now when it came to a climax of these efforts it was faced with what amounted to a demand by the United States for recognition of the latter's right to carry on an uninterrupted aggression against the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries. In effect the Americans demanded that the Soviet Union come to the Summit on the basis of the recognition of such a right for them.

That was the very re-

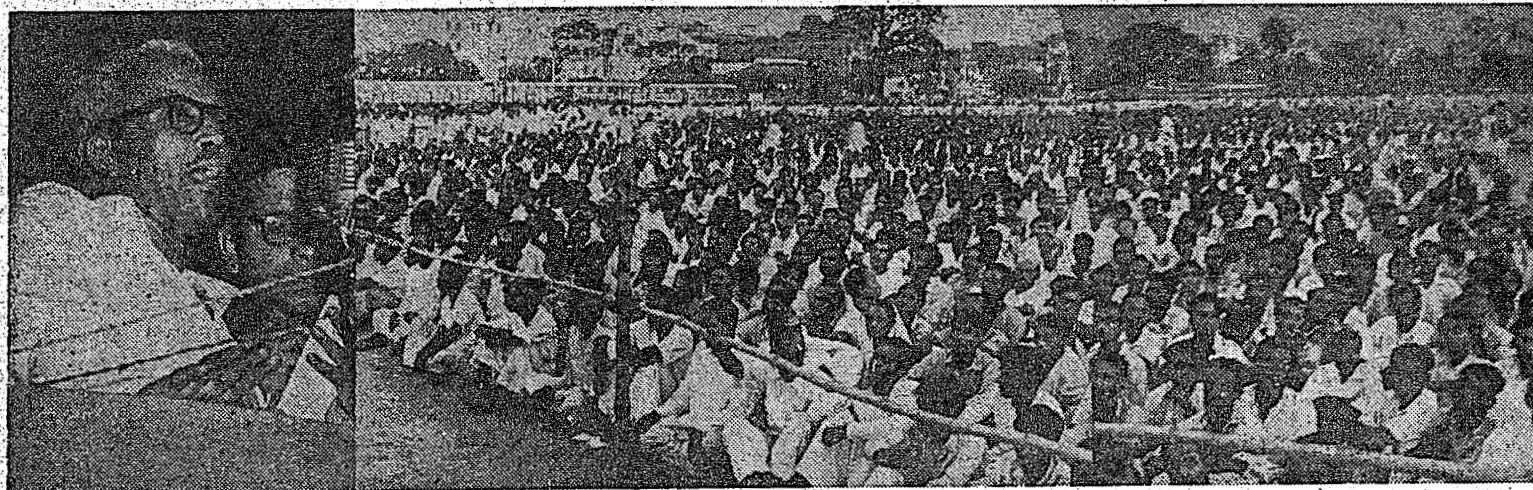
versal of the process of the ascent to the Summit and negation of its very purpose. Khrushchov was left with no choice except to demand a complete and thorough removal of that massive and fundamental obstacle and a categorical and unequivocal withdrawal of the doctrine the United States was seeking to impose.

It was only at this stage, and never before, that Eisenhower committed himself to the tardy, ambiguous formulation of the aggressive overflights having been 'suspended' and that they were not to be 'resumed'.

And even as Eisenhower was talking like this in Paris, Nixon, as reported both by New York Times and Herald Tribune, was at that very moment telling a television audience in America that he had been privy to the timing of the May Day aggression and still endorsed it. Thus the doctrine of the right of uninterrupted aggression was far from withdrawn.

On Monday it had been clearly announced that a recess would be observed on Tuesday, a day of reflections as de Gaulle had defined it

\* SEE PAGE 4



E. M. S. Namboodiripad reports CPI National Council decisions to Calcutta rally.—SEE CENTRE PAGES



# UTTER ROUT IN CALCUTTA BY-ELECTION BRINGS TO A HEAD

From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA CALCUTTA, May 16.

The Praja Socialist Party in West Bengal is now facing the severest political and organisational crisis in its life. The immediate cause of the crisis is, no doubt, the ignominious defeat of the party's candidate in the recent by-election from the South-West Calcutta Parliamentary constituency. But differences of opinion and dissensions inside the party had been growing for quite a long time, and the resignation of the party's Chairman, Dr. Suresh Banerjee, in protest against its decision to contest the by-election has brought the crisis to a head.

Serious differences arose inside the PSP in September, 1959, when the party's leadership suddenly withdrew from the united food movement and seceded from the Price-Increase and Famine Resistance Committee, which was composed of the representatives of all Left parties in this State.

## Shift To Right

Since then the PSP leadership has abandoned the path of Left unity and shifted more and more to the Right. An anti-democratic orientation in its policies was clearly evident. Bitter opposition to the Communist Party and increasingly closer relations and understanding with the Congress and its Government became the keynote of the leadership's new tactical line.

But the betrayal of the people's cause has its own logic, and the policies pursued by the PSP leadership were no exception to it. Little wonder that it committed the most brazen act of treachery just on the eve of the historic food struggle of August-September, 1959, when Dr.

that had existed inside the party became very acute after the Roy-Ghose agreement. Voices of protest were raised against the policies of the leadership, and it was abundantly clear that the party was passing through a crisis.

## Crisis Commences

P. C. Ghose, then Chairman of the West Bengal PSP, issued a statement jointly with the Chief Minister, Dr. B. C. Roy, with the object of sabotaging the impending struggle.

Not only that. To cover up their own treachery PSP leaders malign the eighty martyrs who were shot down or beaten to death by Dr. B. C. Roy's police, as "goondas". Furthermore, when the State Assembly met in September, 1959; PSP members, along with their Congress counterparts, refused to pay homage to the hallowed memory of these beloved sons and daughters of the people. Meanwhile, the differences

It came up on the surface for the first time in the party's annual conference at Contai (Midnapore District) last January where the differences between a section of the leadership and the rank-and-file on the one hand and the dominant leadership on the other turned out to be so uncompromising that Dr. P. C. Ghose, author of the betrayal in August, 1959, had to be removed from the Chairmanship of the party and Dr. Suresh Banerjee elected in his place. Dr. Ghosh, on his part, declined even to be a member of the party's Executive Committee or Parliamentary Board.

defeat the Communist Party and not the Congress.

## Chairman Resigns

And, true to their professions, they launched the most venomous campaign of lies and slanders against the Communist Party, making an unscrupulous use of the regrettable dispute between India and China.

But the democratic people of Calcutta who had already seen the real face of the PSP gave it the rebuff it richly deserved. Its candidate lost his security deposit, having polled only 5,536 votes just over four per cent of the 135,319 valid votes cast. Even in the Fort area, which the PSP claimed to be its "stronghold", its nominee secured 1,270 votes as against 5,845 polled by Indrajit Gupta, Communist leader, who won the by-election by defeating the Congress candidate by a margin of 13,313 votes.

This disastrous debacle of the PSP had naturally thrown

assumed such proportions that immediately after the meeting two party workers came to blows in the open, right in front of their party office! It is significant that the points raised at this meeting included:

- The party leadership's policy of close collaboration with the Congress.
- Decision to contest the Parliamentary by-election.
- Nomination, in consultation with the Congress, of Sudhir Ghose as the PSP candidate for the recent Rajya Sabha election.
- Indirect cooperation with the Congress in the Calcutta Corporation, especially on the issue of the election of the Mayor.
- Uncalled-for attacks on India's foreign policy.
- Left unity.

## Convention Planned

The West Bengal Executive Committee of the PSP, which met on May 13, decided to hold a State convention of the party in the near future, evidently to wriggle out of the present crisis. But unless the party's leadership gives up its blind anti-Communism and pursues democratic policies, the convention will neither resolve the crisis nor stop the disintegration of the party. Commenting on the present state of affairs in the West Bengal PSP, the Amrita Bazar Patrika, which is no critic of the party, wrote on May 12:

"No political party in a parliamentary democracy can have any constructive part to play unless it has a definite ideology, a precise policy and a clear-cut programme. The PSP seems to have none of these. Its declared objective does not differ much from that of the Congress; its policies appear to be more negative than positive and are shaped in particular circumstances with an eye to gaining advantage over its rivals rather than achieving a definite goal; it has hardly any programme which differs strikingly with that of the ruling party. The overall result is that the PSP... has been able to create no confidence in the public mind."

the entire party into the melting pot.

The party's Chairman resigned within a few days of the by-election. The Secretary of the State branch came out with a long statement, trying to explain away the resignation as being due to the Chairman's "poor health", and seeking to justify the party's decision to contest the by-election. But, when asked by reporters, Dr. Suresh Banerjee indirectly admitted that his action had been precipitated by a number of factors, including the recent by-election.

Desperate efforts were made to persuade him to continue in office till the next annual party conference with a view to creating the impression that there were no differences inside the party. But Dr. Banerjee stuck to his decision, and his resignation had to be accepted by the State Executive Committee.

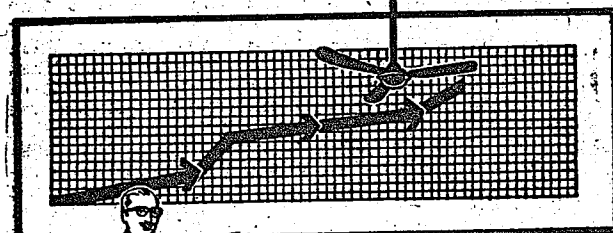
Strong resentment has also been voiced by the PSP ranks against the policies of the leadership especially its entente with the Congress.

## Meeting Ends In Fisticuffs

An emergent meeting of the ordinary members of the party was convened in Calcutta on May 9, presumably to explain the leadership's policies on several issues. But it ended in utter confusion. Internal dissensions have

# W. BENGAL PSP CRISIS

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## Their Intention

Ultimately, the consent of the Central Executive was secured. This was precisely what Atulya Ghose, boss of the West Bengal Pradesh Committee, was reliably reported to have asked for in course of his secret consultations with Dr. P. C. Ghose. The Chairman of the State PSP was reported to have been kept in the dark about these developments. The West Bengal leaders, who were insistent on fighting the by-election, made no secret of their real intentions. In their very first election meeting, they declared that their sole objective was to

# LAND REFORMS : HOLLOWNESS OF CONGRESS PROTESTATIONS

Since the last all-India session of the Kisan Sabha at Mayavaram in April 1959, many local struggles of the peasantry have taken place. But the struggle of the people of West Bengal for the supply of foodgrains at fair prices in August-September, 1959, was the most important struggle in which the peasant masses participated on a large scale last year. That mighty glorious struggle of the people was a magnificent demonstration of the unity of the masses both in the towns and rural areas of the State and it is a matter of pride for our Kisan Sabha in West Bengal that they were able to bring about widespread and effective participation of broad masses of the peasantry in the common struggle for food. Over a hundred people lost their lives in that struggle. Let us pay our homage to the martyrs who laid down their lives in these struggles.

THE Nagpur resolutions of the Congress on land reforms and cooperative farming had created fresh hopes in the minds of our peasant masses that at last the Congress Government and leadership have become alive to their problems. I had occasion to refer to this in my speech last year to the 16th Annual Conference. I then pointed out:

"The Nagpur resolutions of the Congress on ceilings on land holdings and organisation of cooperatives to serve the various needs of the peasantry are welcome moves. However, while welcoming these resolutions, we cannot shut our eyes to the experience of the last 11 years of Congress rule. The fact that the Congress, though belatedly, has been forced into an obligatory acceptance of ceilings on land holdings is itself a great victory for the Kisan Sabha, who raised this slogan first in the country and has ever since conducted a sustained campaign.

"But this victory which is as yet only in principle, cannot be and will not be translated into practice unless we organise and conduct determined struggles in unity with all progressive sections of the Indian population, isolate the reactionary vested interests both within and outside the ruling party, conduct sustained political and ideological campaigns against them and in the process build up an invincible mass organisation of kisan masses to force the unwilling hands of the ruling party to put their professions into practice.

"Any illusion that the passing of the Nagpur resolutions by the Congress paves the way for a smooth transformation of the agrarian relations in India is not justified by past experience or present trends...."

## Forebodings Confirmed

While experience has confirmed our forebodings regarding the bona fides of the Congress, it has also exposed our weaknesses. The fact remains that we in the Kisan Sabha could not mobilise the broad masses in support of our slogans and to conduct a sustained mass campaign to force Congress Governments to translate into practice their vaunted professions.

The events since then have once again proved the lengths to which the vested interests will go to prevent

(8th Round) about 24 per cent of the operated area is held on leases of various kinds. In fact in certain States, e.g. Punjab the area under tenancy is as high as 37 per cent of the operated area.

## Tenancy Reform

In the field of tenancy reform, there are three important measures: regulation of rent, security of tenure, and conferment of ownership on tenants. It had been recommended in the Second Five-Year Plan that the rate of rent should not exceed 1/4th or 1/5th of the gross produce. We demanded that the minimum should be 1/6th. A number of States have adopted legislations to regulate rates of rent. There are large variations in the rates fixed in the various States. For example, in Punjab, it is still 1/3rd of the gross produce; in Madras it exceeds even 1/3rd in some cases. In Andhra,

the adoption and implementation of any radical programme of land reforms. The Nagpur resolution of the Congress was the provocation for the birth of a reactionary Right-wing party in our country, viz. the Swatantra Party. And ever since, the party's leadership has blatantly and categorically proclaimed itself against any ceilings on land holdings, against cooperatives, etc.

The vested interests have raised such a hue and cry against the land reform proposals of the Congress at Nagpur that it will be correct to say that they have to some extent succeeded in pushing the Congress Governments and organisation backwards from their earlier positions. It will also be a folly for us to ignore that the campaign of the Swatantra Party, Jan Sangh and other such elements have created sufficient confusion among the broad masses of middle class elements both in the towns and the countryside that they have begun to feel apprehensive of radical land reforms. We have to admit that we have not been able to conduct a counter-campaign, both ideological and political, to explain our point of view to the broad masses of peasants.

## Inside The Congress

It should also be not forgotten in this connection that the opposition to ceilings on land holdings is not merely to be found outside the ranks of the Congress. In fact the story of the sabotage of the comprehensive land reform measure enacted by the Communist-led Government of Kerala both by the Congress organisation at State level and the Central Government—the President's refusal to give assent to the Bill as passed by the Kerala Assembly—is an eloquent testimony to the hollowness of Congress protestations in this respect.

Broadly speaking there are two aspects of land reform which we should give serious attention to. First is the question of tenancy laws and the second is the question of ceiling on land.

Tenancy reform is important because, in spite of the abolition of the zamindari system, quite a sizeable area is held by tenants and sub-tenants of landholders under varieties of arrangements. According to the National Sample Survey

ings legislation by the end of 1959.

Legislation to restrict landholdings had already been enacted in the following States: Assam, Jammu and Kashmir, Pepsu area of Punjab, West Bengal, former Hyderabad and Himachal Pradesh.

But except in Jammu and Kashmir State, in none of these States have the legislations been implemented properly. One of the aims of fixing ceilings on existing holdings was to make available surplus land for distribution among the landless labour and poor peasantry. But it is an index of the ineffectiveness of these ceiling legislations that practically no surplus land has been made available. On the other hand the imposition of ceilings has led to large-scale evictions of existing tenants and accentuated the insecurity of tenants.

Recently a number of State Governments have brought forward fresh legislations for

tion is considerably reduced. By the exemption of ten standard acres for dowry purposes for each female member, the ceiling extent is further permitted to be raised. By further exemptions to orchards, gardens, land needed for sugar-cane cultivation for sugar factories, land needed for dairy farms, grazing land, etc., and many other such provisions to raise the ceiling limit, the whole idea of ceiling on land is made into a farce.

THIRDLY, the implementation of the legislation faces the tenants with mass eviction. In the lands to be taken over by the Government as surplus land, no occupancy right is granted to the tenants now tilling them. The cultivating tenant's family can continue to do so only up to his lifetime. If the surplus land is taken by the Government from a person or from a trust, the Bill categorically provides that the cultivating tenant therein must give up the land in his possession. The Bill aims in several ways at depriving the land in the possession of cultivating tenants and almost gives up any concern to protect the tenants who are tilling the land and growing the crops.

## No Distribution Of Land

Over and above all this, there is nothing in the Bill which guarantees the distribution of the surplus land, if any, which will come into the hands of the Government.

The ridiculousness of fixing ceilings without any provision to prevent evasion of ceilings by prior transfer is illustrated by the report in a Madras daily. The Mail, Madras, of April 12, 1960, said that "the uncertainties over the size of holdings led big landholders to panic division of property.... Until towards the end of March and even in the beginning of the month before the Bill fixing up land ceilings was introduced in the legislature on April 6, there had been hectic division of land. In Tanjore District, there was an instance where a landholder spent Rs. one lakh on stamps alone and another in Coimbatore spent Rs. 95,000 on stamps. In fact a lot of stamps had to be rushed from Madras to some of the districts where

Jammu and Kashmir and West Bengal, it is as much as 1/2 of the gross produce in some cases.

However, rent regulation can be successful only where the tenants enjoy security of tenure. It is here that the greatest failure is to be seen. Even though many States have put laws giving security of tenure to tenants on the Statute Books, in practice it has been found that these laws are riddled with so many exemptions and loopholes as to leave sufficient opportunity to landlords to evict peasants on the slightest pretext.

## Shortcomings Of Legislation

I give below some of the serious shortcomings of the ceiling legislation proposed by the Madras Government, which are more or less common to most of the other proposed legislations.

FIRST, the Madras Bill enables both individual and family holdings to have land up to the ceiling. Several alienations of land and benami transfers have freely taken place in the last seven or eight years. The Government took no steps to prevent these alienations. Hence the right to even an individual to own land up to the ceiling limit reserved in the Bill only shows that the Government is helping to legalise all the alienations made by the big landlords to defeat the very aims of a ceiling legislation.

SECONDLY, completely contrary to the Second Five-Year Plan recommendation that the ceiling should be such as to yield a net annual income of Rs. 3,600, the Madras Bill fixes that an acre of land which pays a land revenue of Rs. ten or more per acre should be considered a standard acre and that 30 such standard acres should be the ceiling. In consequence the possibility of any surplus land for distribu-

**A. K. GOPALAN**  
Presidential address to 17th  
annual session of All-India Kisan  
Sabha, Ghazipur, May 17 to 19.

\* SEE PAGE 15

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# SCRAP-BOOK

## THE ANDHRA TUSSELE

It all started with Sanjeeva Reddy being elected as the Chief Minister, being the Congress President has not saved his followers from being pushed out step by step by that arch-intriguer Aluri Sanyanarayana Raju. A. C. Subba Reddy had held on as the Industries Minister in spite of all the pressure tactics of Aluri. He had been encouraged and prodded by Sanjeeva Reddy and instructed to go ahead with contesting one of the nine seats for the Election Committee, which will distribute the tickets for the next General Elections.

This open interference by the ex-Chief Minister even as the Congress President was thoroughly resented by the power-intoxicated Raju group. They decided to force matters to a breaking point. Sanjeeva, puffed-up poor soul, was goaded to take the issue as a matter of confidence in the Ministry itself. Aluri Raju had a personal grudge to settle besides. Subba Reddy had, as Industries Minister, upheld the objection of the State Industries Department to the action of the Government-owned Singareen Collieries, Ltd., in donating Rs. 10 thousand to the 60th birthday celebrations of the Andhra Deputy Chief Minister.

It is further reported that Aluri Raju had been emboldened in his proddings of Sanjeeva by the fact that a section of the High Command, headed by Morarji, was anxious to consolidate its hold over Andhra Pradesh. What has, to an extent, quered their pitch is that, apart from Sanjeeva Reddy, Pandit Pant has taken affront at this hurried and hasty move of Morarji's henchmen in Andhra. He feels that Subba Reddy could have been reprimanded at the most, out the public disgrace of portfolio-stripping was far too high-handed.

All concerned have rushed to Delhi and hectic talks and intrigues are going on. Sanjeeva Reddy will himself soon rush back from Orissa, while Morarji is fretting at his having to go abroad so soon — perhaps, before the tussle is decided. Some compromise will no doubt be evolved in keeping with the balance of power at Delhi and Hyderabad.

It seems a naive Pressman, overlooking this background, asked Raju for the difference in principle between Subba Reddy and Sanjeeva. Raju's reported answer was that the Correspondent must be a Red — why else would he enquire about principles whenever there were Congress squabbles.

## ANOTHER SUICIDE

ASWANT SINGH CLAIRE was a brilliant Punjab Engineer. He held an important post as superintending engineer at the vital Nangal project. His work and abilities proved a fair future. The nation needed him. Yet a

few days ago this man cut short his own life. Sorrow descended on his family and gloom on his colleagues. Why this tragedy?

As with so many of other events of sorrow and anger this death, too, can be laid at the doors of the power-rights inside the ruling party. In the Punjab, it is common talk that even senior officers have to link security of service with the ruling Congress cliques. Trouble descends, however, when clique displacement comes about.

Claire's woes began when he went to give evidence to the Union Deputy Minister for Law in connection with the tube-well scandal which involves the State Agriculture Minister Gian Singh Rarewala.

Claire was one of the three technical officers associated with the assessment of the price of the tube-wells, whose sale through family members Rarewala is alleged to have arranged at inordinate cost. Claire is reported to have testified his previous assessment when before the Union Deputy Minister.

This consistency and honesty was terribly disliked by some very influential Congress leaders. And since his views were made known in front of a Punjab police officer, they soon came to be widely known. So these big-wigs decided to strike. It is widely reported that their first step was to arrange for the disappearance of certain vital papers connected with the tube-well case from Claire's file. It was very necessary if he ever had to defend his views.

Then another twist of the knife. This brilliant engineer was due to promotion. This was denied and dark hints dropped — some form of a character assassination campaign was started against him. Finally, an "anonymous" (the voice was scarcely disguised) phone call on May 6 threatening him, it is said, with the prospect of physical and moral disfigurement. Feeling that justice would be denied or at least retarded, Claire ended his life.

## CABLE FROM PARIS

\* FROM FRONT PAGE

In his pompous way. Three thousand Pressmen gathered at Palais Chailott were witness to that. Still, on Tuesday after the Western heads met privately, de Gaulle issued an invitation for a meeting of the Big Four to be held at three in the afternoon. Khrushchov who had been away in the countryside returned hurriedly just before three o'clock as the Western heads had started gathering at the Elysee Palace for the proposed meeting. Khrushchov repeatedly addressed enquiries and sought clarification as to the purpose of the meeting — whether it would discuss the removal of the obstacles placed before the Conference or whether it was an attempt to impose the starting of substantive negotiations without any bothering to remove the obstacles. His enquiries went unanswered. Only after the Western Three had concluded the three o'clock meeting with

This kind of tragedy is not only shocking but intolerable. We cannot allow Congress politicians to literally play with the lives of the talented and the honest. The least that can be done is to institute an immediate judicial enquiry.

## FREEDOM TO MURDER

OUR Capital is blessed with all manner of freedoms — that is, the average citizen was already grumbling about freedom from water during summer and freedom from a regular milk supply during both winter and summer. Now the authorities have decided to give him a new blessing — freedom to be murdered in broad daylight.

The other day a man sitting in an auto-rickshaw was set upon by some toughs in the heart of New Delhi beaten up, stabbed, to death in view of hundreds of persons. None could intervene since the toughs brandished daggers but a squad of armed police were near at hand. It was scandalous that they stood by and said this was not their job. Needless to say the police took almost an hour to turn up.

The very next day towards the evening another group of rowdies caught hold of a young man again in Connaught Circus and belaboured him on his body and head with soda-water bottles. Again a policeman was just an interested spectator — the police squad turned up 45 minutes later. Heaven help Delhi!

Many people talk that this unholy inactivity of the police can only be accounted for by the links that the underworld has with it. When it comes to beating up workers the police are quick enough. Then why this delay in front of murderers and gangsters? Pantil may let us know; if he can take time off from factional wranglings.

—ONLOOKER  
May 18.

# PARTY NEWS

## GREETINGS TO HO CHI MINH

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India has sent the following greetings to Comrade Ho Chi Minh on his 70 birthday on May 19:

It is with great happiness, dear Comrade Ho Chi Minh, that we greet you on your seventieth birthday and wish you many more years of life and service in the cause of Communism.

Yours, Comrade Ho Chi Minh, is a life that gives courage to all revolutionaries, your devotion to the cause of the working class and unwavering loyalty to Marxism-Leninism inspire us in our own battle for Socialism.

You, Comrade Ho Chi Minh, have become the legendary hero not only of your people, you are held in the highest of esteem in all countries. Your simple, austere life, the trials and sufferings you had to undergo in the long years of struggle for your country's independence make you specially beloved to the people of India.

You were already a staunch fighter for Vietnam's independence by the time you appeared before the Versailles Conference after the First World War to demand Vietnam's autonomy from the French. Your work in Paris to organise Vietnam's freedom struggle led you to the Socialist and to the Third Communist International founded by Lenin.

Your life since then has been one of which every revolutionary can be proud — participation in the Chinese Revolution in the twenties, years of underground activity in many Asian countries in the thirties, followed by years of partisan warfare against the Japanese during the Second World War till the great day dawned for your country and people — September 2, 1945, when the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was founded with you as its President.

Hard were these years. You had to change your name a hundred times, you had to engage yourself in dozens of professions and trades, you had to spend months and months in prison under the most horrible conditions, you were sentenced to death once. You came out of it all, more steely, more determined, as only a Communist revolutionary can.

The French imperialists did not give you respite even after the founding of the Republic. They tried to strangle your freedom and then you had to lead your people's war of resistance.

The whole world was astounded when the Vietnamese people under your leadership inflicted the crushing defeat on the French at Dien Bien Phu. An army which the imperialists thought were ill-trained and ill-equipped faced a modern army and smashed all hopes of the French imperialists of holding Vietnam under subjugation. We looked on in admiration and applauded this historic victory.

Came the Geneva agreements and peace. You have since been building your Republic and striving ceaselessly for the unification of your country. There is no doubt that success will be yours.

With your life and work, with your steadfastness and devotion to the cause of the working class and Communism, you have inspired us and taught us invaluable lessons. When we greet you on your 70th birthday, allow us to express our gratitude to you for this.

We have had you in our midst. Every section of our people was impressed by you when you visited India. On this seventieth birthday of yours, let us express our fervent hope that the friendship between our two peoples will grow stronger every day in the interests of Asian peace and freedom.

Allow us again to wish you long life in the service of the Communist movement.

Fraternally yours,  
Secretariat of the  
National Council of the  
Communist Party of India.

## 40 YEARS OF INDONESIAN C. P.

THE Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India sends its warmest fraternal greetings to the Central Committee and all members of the valiant Communist Party of Indonesia, which completes forty years of glorious work and achievements this year.

The Communist Party of Indonesia was born on May 23, 1920, of the liberation struggle of the Indonesian people against Dutch imperialism and the impact on it of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Since the day of its birth the Communist Party of Indonesia has stood in the forefront of the freedom struggle of its people. Incredible are the sacrifices borne by the Indonesian Communists and innumerable its martyrs who have brought glory to the Party and nation.

In the difficult days of the Japanese fascist occupation of the country the Communist Party of Indonesia skillfully organised armed struggle and other forms of united mass struggle. Invaluable was its contribution to the August 1945 Revolution which laid the foundations of the country's independence.

In the following years our Indonesian comrades carried on courageous struggle in the difficult conditions of extreme white terror after the Madian provocation in 1948. It emerged from this trial with full credit, regrouped its forces and forged ahead in fulfilling the new tasks which confronted it from 1951 onwards.

Since that time under the leadership of the Central Committee, headed by D. N. Aidit, the Communist Party of Indonesia has advanced with seven-league strides.

It has become a vast mass party with one-and-a-half million members. It has entrenched itself unshakably in the hearts and very lives of Indonesia's toilers. It has

\* SEE PAGE 13

## KERALA NEWSLETTER

Where Hitler and McCarthy failed, P. T. Chacko has decided he would try his hand. P. T. Chacko is the Home Minister in the Kerala Congress-PSP Coalition Cabinet. He is neither the Chief Minister nor the Deputy Chief Minister. But he is certainly the strong man of the Ministry.

AND naturally, P. T. Chacko is the representative in the Cabinet of the Catholic Church and money-bags who were mainly responsible for organising the overthrow of the Communist-led Government and installing the present Congress-PSP Coalition in office.

Recently addressing the Palghat District Congress Conference this strong man of the Pattom Cabinet said: The Communist Party is organising study classes in Kerala to prepare Party workers for a mass struggle in the near future.

The Communist Party, the Police Minister said, after its election defeat is discarding its cloak of democracy and is getting ready to go back to the "Calcutta Thesis", which, according to Chacko, was a call for murder and arson.

The Minister was ready to grasp any opportunity to unleash a mass struggle.

It is inconceivable that a responsible Congress Minister has issued such a statement, worthy of a Forester who became so deranged in his mind by dread of Communism that he walked out of a sixth floor window into empty space to become the late Mr. Forester.

Specially does the statement read strange when it is realised that the Minister belongs to a party which did take every opportunity to organise subversive struggles to overthrow the Communist-led Government in Kerala.

P. T. Chacko talks fantastic nonsense when he calls the "Calcutta Thesis" a call to murder and arson. What he refers to as the "Calcutta Thesis" is the Political Resolution of the Second Congress of the Communist Party of India held in Calcutta in early 1948 and it certainly was not a call to murder and arson.

Nor does the Communist Party come out of and go back to this "Calcutta Thesis" every time an election is held and its results are announced. In that case, the Communist Party which went back to the "Calcutta Thesis" after the Kerala elections must be coming out of it after the Calcutta by-election result.

A Minister, even if he belongs to the Kerala Congress, has to talk a little more sense when he is addressing the people.

## Study Classes

Now to get back to the Police Minister's complaint, his objection is to the Communist Party conducting study classes, quite contrary to his expectation that the Party would be totally paralysed after the mid-term elections.

These study classes are conducted quite openly — there is nothing conspiratorial about them. It is part of the Communist Party's activities to raise the political and ideological level of its members and to inculcate a scientific attitude in them.

If the Minister had cared to find out, he could also have found out that in all these classes, as part of the activities of the Party, it had been emphasised

recruitment to Government. It violates the fundamental rights guaranteed to every citizen by the Constitution, it is political discrimination, it reduces the Public Service Commission into a farce and, above all, it gives extraordinary powers to the police.

## Against Communists

Whatever the new rulers of Kerala might mean by "subversive activities" this rule is directed only against the Communist Party, for those who did actively participate in the "subversive liberation struggle" to overthrow the legally-elected Communist Government of Kerala are all getting jobs under the new dispensation. There is a report that even the person who, at the height of this "liberation struggle" hoisted the PSP flag in the place of the National Flag over the Trivandrum Collectorate, has been taken on the personal staff of a Minister.

It is also worth remembering how this regulation used to be worked in the period before the Communist Ministry was in office. If the police thought a person had near or far relations with the Communist Party, he was debarred from entering

State is meant a State where all the other departments are made subservient to the police department, Kerala under P. T. Chacko's Ministry, its fast acquiring that distinction.

Government Service, his friends and relations were also kept out. People who were members of social organisations in which Communists were active, even members of Executive Committees of reading rooms in which Communists were also members could not enter Government service.

It does not require very much imagination to see that once the police are given such over-riding powers, they will find in it an easy way of making money. For, an innocent person even, who has nothing to do with the Communist Party, if he wants to get the clearance certificate from the police will have to adequately grease the palms of the new sect which P. T. Chacko is grooming to rule Kerala State.

## Police Certificates

That is shot No. 1 fired by P. T. Chacko in his anti-Communist crusade.

## Suspensions And Transfers

The second is the threat he has held out to all Government officials. Ever since he assumed office, the Home Minister has been talking of the Communist "fifth column" in Government service.

From such hints it has now come to the stage of direct action. Officials are being suspended under various charges and their cases are being sent to a tribunal for investigation.

## \*FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

The Home Minister has said that he intends to include about 600 Government officials in his "black list" to be so sent for investigation by the tribunal.

About 20 suspensions have already been ordered from the police and other departments. Among such suspended officials are police Sub-Inspector C. D. Sadasivan Pillai, against whom the charge is that he had filed a case against some pro-liberationists; DSP Hussein — charge: that he worked during the elections; a head constable and three constables of the Changanasseri police station for wrong behaviour, etc.

Along with this is the shake-up that has been started in the services with transfers, demotions, etc.

Some police officers are already very actively anti-Communist, the assumption of office by the Congress-PSP Coalition has revitalised them. But those who are reluctant to beat up and torture innocent people are being told, through these suspensions, transfers and demotions, that if they want to keep their jobs they would better start beating up the Communists.

One does not have to imagine any more how the revitalised police will act when their Minister openly says that the main Opposition party in the State is

In addition, the prisoners used to subscribe for and get two copies of the Communist Navajeevan, one copy of the Muslim League's Chandrika, one copy of the Catholic Deepika, two copies of Kerala Bhushanam, two copies of the Communist Navayugam weekly and a copy of Blitz. Friends outside used to send them copies of New Age.

In short, there was no restriction on anything that was being legally published. That was in the days of the Communist Ministry.

But today Deshabhimani, Navajeevan, Janayugam, Navayugam, New Age, Blitz are all banned. The prisoners are now supplied with six copies of the Mathrubhoomi; two copies of the Chandrika, one copy each of the Malayala Manorama and Express.

## Pushkin Banned

That is not the end of the story. On April 5 last, the jail authorities removed almost all the books from a Communist prisoner's cell. Among them were Pushkin's Captain's Daughter, C. Achutha Menon's Kerala's Economic Problems, a number of plays by such well-known playwrights as K. T. Mohammed, pamphlets released by the Public Relations Department when the Communist Government was in office, and a few ideological pamphlets.

It requires a police Minister of P. T. Chacko's ignorance to decide that Pushkin's Captain's Daughter is either obscene literature or not up to the standard — the two grounds on which entry of literature into jails is to be guided according to the Minister.

To put the police in charge of the State, P. T. Chacko needs a reliable police apparatus. He has visited all the districts in connection with this reorganisation of the police department, finding out from his partymen who are the reliable and who the unreliable among the police officials. Whatever transfers, suspensions, etc., have taken place have made it obvious that this reorganisation of the police department will be based more on political and regional considerations than for administrative reasons.

Thus has P. T. Chacko launched his anti-Communist crusade. The fate of other such anti-Communist crusaders has not taught him anything. Perhaps he believes in learning only from his experience. He will — and not before long.

## Chacko's Illusion

In a speech recently in Kottayam, E. M. S. Namboodiripad said: There is a Communist Party here because our State and our people need it. The Party did not grow because of anybody's kindness. It was nourished by kisans, workers, middle-classes and intellectuals through twentyfive years of work and sacrifice. Thousands became martyrs in this struggle. Nobody need cherish the illusion that they can destroy the Communist movement. Many have tried it in the last hundred years, they have all failed.



## THE SOVIET SPACE-SHIP

### Universal Acclamation

A space-ship is going round the earth—orbited by the Soviet Union on May 15, 1960. Acclamation has been unanimous all over the world over this tremendous feat of Soviet science.

PROF. LOVELL, Director of the Jodell Bank Observatory in Britain, learning of the latest outstanding achievement of Soviet science, said that the weight of the Soviet space-ship was amazing.

L.J. Carter, Secretary of the British Interplanetary Society, said that the Soviet rocket, in his opinion, "is as powerful as the Saturn rocket will be which is expected to be ready for flight testing in three or four years' time. Thus the Russians have maintained their lead in rocketry."

A National Aeronautics and Space Administration spokesman in Washington extended to Russia "heartiest congratulations." "It is a very good experiment."

The France Presse Agency, commenting on the successful launching of a space-ship in the Soviet Union, pointed out that this was the heaviest of all artificial earth satellites ever launched. The agency compared the data of the first three Soviet Sputniks with the data of the space-ship and emphasised that "the Soviet Union has made a big leap in increasing the weight" of Sputniks by launching the latest satellite.

Prof. M. Clark of Canberra University, said that the successful launching of the Soviet space-ship was fresh brilliant evidence of the incomparable development of Soviet science and technology. The new space vehicle launched by the Soviet Union, he said, will yield fresh scientific data to mankind which might be of great interest for all people on earth. The success of Soviet scientists once again proves conclusively that the Soviet Union is far ahead of other countries in rocketry.

### Exceptional Accuracy

The exceptional accuracy of the launching of the first space-ship, designed in preparation for manned space flight, is indeed amazing, Calin Popovici told a Correspondent of the Rumanian News Agency, commenting on the latest success of Soviet scientists.

Prof. Popovici, who is head of the Astrophysics and Artificial Satellite Department at Bucharest Observatory added that the weight of the space-ship and the possibility of controlling the movement of the ship and the cabin are new exclusive elements and an outstanding success.

Nikola Bonev, Director of Sofia's Observatory, declared: "The launching of the space-ship is a striking manifesta-

operate for the sake of all mankind."

Inside the Soviet Union, comments made by Soviet scientists have drawn attention to the tremendous significance of this latest achievement.

The launching of a space-ship attests, above all, to the outstanding power of Soviet rocketry, Prof. Georgy Pokrovsky, a prominent scientist, has declared. It is due to the successful development of the power thrust of rockets, their increased weight, size and structural durability.

The Egyptian astronomer, A. S. Asaad, Professor at Cairo University, said: "This is wonderful!"

Dr. Hairy, Deputy Director of the Helwak Observatory, who had attended the Tenth

## Soviet Lead In Rocketry

Congress of the International Astronomical Union in Moscow, said: "We scientific workers of the Egyptian region of the United Arab Republic admire the latest Soviet achievement in the conquest of space."

"The launching of a space-ship in the Soviet Union cannot but help directly to strengthen world peace. We and all peoples of the world want no 'open skies' as some statesmen suggest but open hearts on the part of these men so that scientists could co-

phasised. "Its space rockets are more powerful than those sent up in the United States."

The four figures: 80 kilograms, 500 kilograms, 1.5 tons and 4.5 tons are ample evidence of the spectacular achievements of Soviet rocketry, Igor Merkulov, Vice-Chairman of the Astronautics Division of the Aviation Sports Federation of the USSR, declared. These figures are the weights of the first three Soviet artificial earth satellites and of the space-ship launched now. The weight of Soviet

## The Pressurised Cabin

On May 15, 1960, the Soviet Union orbited a space-ship around the earth. According to available information the satellite-ship was put into pre-calculated orbit which is close to circular and some 320 kilometres above the surface of the earth where it separated from the carrier rocket's last stage.

The satellite-ship's initial period of revolution around the earth is 91 minutes. Its inclination to the equatorial plane is 65 degrees. The satellite-ship weighs 4,540 kilograms without the last stage of the carrier rocket. The ship has a pressurised cabin on board which contains a dummy spaceman with all the necessary equipment for future manned flight and, moreover, various instrumentation weighing 1,477 kilograms together with the sources of power supply.

The launching was undertaken to perfect and check the satellite-ship's system ensuring its safe flight and controls, its return to earth and necessary conditions for space crew. This marks the begin-

ning for difficult endeavours to build reliable space-ships guaranteeing safe manned flights into outer space.

When necessary information is received from the satellite-ship the pressurised cabin weighing some 2,500 kilograms will be separated from it. In this case it is not planned to retrieve the pressurised cabin which after the due checking of its reliability in operation and separation from the satellite-ship, will, as the space-ship itself, begin descending on command from the earth and burn up in the denser layers of the atmosphere. The space-ship is equipped with a "Signal" radio-transmitter operating on frequency 19,995 megacycles both in telegraph and telephone transmissions.

Besides, the transmitter of the space-ship is fitted out with special radio equipment to play back data on the operation of its instrumentation and for exact measuring of the orbit's elements. The power supply for scientific and measuring instruments is provided by chemical and solar batteries.

## MAN'S FLIGHT TO PLANETS SOON

Sputnik III alone exceeded the total weight of all the earth satellites launched by the Americans.

The Soviet Union is in the lead in rocket technology, Igor Merkulov also emphasised. The high performance of the Soviet rockets shows that the day is not far off when Soviet people will be able to make flights to other planets of the solar system.

By the launching of the space-ship, Igor Merkulov said the Soviet Union has demonstrated once more that it is exploring outer space for peaceful ends.

Tashmchamed Kary-Niyazov, an Uzbek Academician, declared that the Soviet Union had again demonstrated its lead in space exploration by launching a 4.5 ton space-ship. "This is a perfectly logical experiment. It clearly shows that the Soviet Union is bringing nearer the day when space travel will pass from the dream stage into one of practical reality."

I. Klimentko, Chief of the Stalingrad Satellite Tracking Station, said that the scientific value of the earth-circling space-ship was enormous. It will explore the nearest reaches of space and help ascertain the effects that acceleration, cosmic rays and other phenomena will have on space travellers.

For the past few years the Soviet Union has been conducting scientific research and designing work to prepare a manned flight into outer space.

The Soviet Union's achievements in the creation of artificial earth satellites of huge weight and size, the successful testing of powerful rocket carriers capable of orbiting a sputnik weighing several tons have paved the way to building and testing a space-ship for long manned flight into outer space.

The analysis of the initial data received from the satellite-ship shows that the instrumentation installed and the equipment are functioning normally. The ground stations are keeping regular track of the satellite-ship.

By 22 hours (Moscow Time) on May 15, the day it was launched, the space-ship satellite had made 14 circuits of the Earth. The ground tracking stations continue picking up information on the functioning of the experimental instrumentation installed on the sputnik. The listening stations are receiving the signals of the sputnik's transmitters.

The incoming telemetering data show the space-ship's instrumentation to be functioning normally. The dependable pressurization and heat regulation equipment ensure normal conditions for life in the detachable cabin.

The electronic processing of the stored findings of the observation of the flight of the space-ship satellite has shown its actual orbit to be in good agreement with the calculated one. The orbit of the

huge Soviet space-ship which on May 15, began its peaceable flight around the world ushers in a new stage in the conquest of space, the well-known astronomer Nikolai Barabashov, Member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, said.

This space-ship is the world's biggest man-made cosmic body. Its flight is an important step towards man's conquest of space.

The Sputnik has a 2.5-ton special cabin exactly like those the first space travellers will use in the near future. The cabin is equipped with everything needed for the travellers' safety. It is dependably pressurised and the necessary temperature is maintained in it.

The effect of cosmic radiation is being watched. The instruments are reporting information on the way the prescribed conditions of the flight are being complied with.

It is safe to say now, Academician Barabashov remarked, that manned flight to the planets of the solar system is not far distant. Because of the large size of the space-ship it will, probably, be easily visible to the naked eye like a bright star.

The flight of the Soviet space-ship cannot but delight all honest and sensible people. It demonstrates the true peaceful aspirations of the Soviet Union. Let the peaceful achievement of the USSR finally melt the "cold war" ice at the Summit meeting, Academician Barabashov concluded.

The basic mistake of the CPI leaders at that time was that they had fallen prey to "Leftist" slogans, that they did not seriously endeavour to explain the situation, that they wanted to solve all problems at one blow—liquidate feudalism, free the country of the Dutch, smash all imperialists, overthrow the reactionary Government, liquidate the rich peasants, liquidate the national bourgeoisie.

It was in such a situation that Dutch colonial Government provocations followed one another in quick succession, in the form of dismissals of strikers, arrests of peasants, the closing down of schools set up by the CPI for Serikat Rakjat, bans on workers' newspapers, arrests of workers' leaders, etc. Especially in order to deal with the peasants, the Dutch created terrorist gangs such as, for example, the Serikat Hedjo in Priangan.

All this led to the outbreak of a people's revolt on November 12, 1928 in Java, and in the beginning of 1927 in Sumatra. Following the outbreak of this revolt, the CPI came forward to give it leadership, as far as possible. The CPI's attitude of speedily giving leadership to this people's revolt was a correct one.

During and after this revolt, the weaknesses of the Party became very apparent, for example: the lack of unanimity in the Party leadership concerning this revolt, the lack of preparations to safeguard the Party cadres and leaders, the lack of coordination between actions in one place and actions elsewhere, the lack of any link between the actions in the countryside and those in the towns, etc.

Apart from this, there were also such people as Tan Malaka, at that time a leader of the CPI, who did not take resolute action prior to the revolt but condemned the revolt after it had broken out. More than that, he and his clique openly adopted Trotskyite practices by setting up a new party (the Indonesian Republican Party) in a situation when the CPI was faced with the white terror of the colonial Government and its lackeys.

The number of CPI members in 1924 (1,140) was very large by comparison with the membership of the Communist Party of China which numbered only 900 before the May 30th Movement of 1925. This is proof of the fact that the CPI grew rapidly even though it faced great obstacles from the Dutch colonial Government.

But the Party was not able to consolidate the broad sympathy of the masses and the many members of the Party. The Party did, indeed, carry out the important task of arousing the spirit of anti-Dutch-imperialism among the people, but it was not able to consolidate what it had already achieved.

The Communist Party of Indonesia was born on May 23, 1920. Its birth was preceded by the establishment of trade unions and by a political association (founded in May 1914) which called itself the *Indonesische Social Democratische Vereniging (ISDV)*. This was an organisation which brought together the Indonesian and Dutch revolutionary intellectuals, which aimed at spreading Marxism among the Indonesian workers and people.

UNDER the impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the development of the Indonesian revolutionary movement, the ISDV became the Communist Party of Indonesia (CPI). Within a short period, the CPI rapidly expanded its influence among the workers and their trade unions. Under its leadership big and victorious strikes took place in Java and Sumatra. Thus inaugurated the first stage in the history of the CPI, which lasted till 1926.

The advances achieved by the workers' movement struck fear into the Government and the most frightening thing for them was that the influence of the Communists was growing.

At the CPI Congress in Kota Gede, Jogjakarta, in December 1924, it was registered that the CPI had 38 sections with 1,140 members while the Serikat Rakjat (People's Union), a "substructure" of the CPI had 46 sections with 31,000 members.

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### Leftist Mistake

### Illegal Party

After the 1926 revolt, the CPI was banned by the Dutch colonial Government and this inaugurated the second stage which lasted till 1945. Since the CPI could no longer work legally and since it had been attracted by "Left" slogans, the revolutionary masses who had previously been led by the CPI welcomed the Left-wing nationalist Party, the PNI (Indonesian Nationalist Party) which was established in 1927. Many CPI cadres and members entered this Left-wing party and also entered mass organisations. But the activities of the CPI cadres and members were not well led at that time because the Party did not yet have a new central leadership.

Then like a sudden flash of lightning on a hot summer's day, in February 1933, the *Zeven Provincien* (a Dutch warship) mutiny occurred, an event which was warmly welcomed by the workers of many countries. This event was important in reviving the spirit of resistance of the Indonesian people against Dutch colonial power. Later, in July 1933, there was the threat of a railway strike in Java which the Dutch Government managed to prevent only with great diffi-

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culty and with the help of the Indonesian reformists.

In the regions resistance grew, mostly in the form of individual actions—evidence that the spirit of resistance was increasing. Dutch suppression of workers' actions and people's resistance was facilitated by the fact that the CPI had not yet succeeded in properly reforming its central leadership. From 1932, the CPI worked underground basing its activities on an 18-point programme.

### Resistance Grows

The change in the international situation which took place with the coming into power of the fascists in Germany greatly influenced the political situation in Indonesia.

It was in order to work out and practise the anti-fascist political line that Musso returned to Indonesia in 1935. He not only brought this new political line but he also succeeded in drawing together again the cadres of the CPI and building a new Central Com-

mittee. But Musso could not remain in Indonesia for long; he had to leave the country quickly because the Dutch Government had got wind of his activities. Thus he did not have the opportunity to do much towards building the Party.

On the initiative of a few Left-wing nationalists and a few Communists, a legal people's organisation called Gerindo (Movement of the Indonesian people) was formed. The formation of the Gerindo gave new strength to the national independence movement and the anti-fascist movement. On the initiative of the Gerindo and some other democratic parties, the Gapi (Indonesian Political Union) was set up.

Even in the ranks of the Peta (Defend the Fatherland) Army (set up by the Japanese and consisting of Indonesian soldiers and officers under Japanese leadership) revolts broke out and the most famous of all was

of their own experiences, became conscious of the brutality and bestiality of Japanese fascism. The anti-Japanese spirit spread among the people, anti-fascist organisations sprang up everywhere, of which many were under the leadership of CPI members and cadres, many of whom were, at the time, being hunted by Japanese spies.

The Japanese unceasingly persecuted the Communists. Due to the lack of a well-knit organisation, the Japanese were frequently able to arrest important CPI cadres. But despite that, Japanese cruelty did not extinguish the people's resistance. Revolts broke out everywhere, such as in Singaperana, Indramayu, Semarang and elsewhere.

This resolution reminded the Party of its most important tasks which had been neglected or completely overlooked during the August Revolution.

The conclusion drawn in the resolution was that the CPI's principal mistakes during the August Revolution had been caused by the weaknesses in the Party's ideology. In view of this, it was decided that Party members must study Marxist-Leninist theory.

Thus it was that with the resolution, the foundations were laid for better work by the CPI in the sphere of the united front, the armed struggle and the building of the Party.

The CPI's new policy made possible the development of a new upward trend in the Indonesian revolution. Public meetings held by the CPI, at which the CPI's new programme was explained, were attended by tens and hundreds of thousands of people. The masses enthusiastically welcomed the CPI's call to continue the independence war against Dutch imperialism.

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the Peta army revolt in Blitar, Kediri (East Java).

Under the pressure of the masses whose spokesmen were the still young revolutionary leaders, among whom were CPI members who had led underground organisations during the Japanese occupation, the Republic of Indonesia was proclaimed on August 17, 1945.

### Third Stage

This August 17, 1945 Proclamation was a manifestation of the yearnings of the Indonesian people for independence, which had never been extinguished during the three centuries of Dutch colonisation and which had grown stronger during the Japanese occupation. It also marked the opening of the third stage in the Party's history.

Despite the fact that the blood of patriots flowed in this struggle and despite the various military attempts made by the Dutch imperialists to crush the Republic, it remained in existence.

One extremely fortunate thing was that, at the beginning of the revolution, theoretical books on Marxism-Leninism were brought in from Australia and Europe. But these books were written in foreign languages, mainly in English and Dutch, so that the number of cadres who could study them was extremely limited.

Very little attention was paid to the work of translating theoretical books into Indonesian by the dominant elements in the leadership of the Party at that time. But nevertheless these theoretical books made possible the birth of a backbone in the Party from among those cadres who had the opportunity to read them.

In a situation in which the August Revolution was meeting defeat, the CPI at its conference in August 1948, on the proposal of Musso, approved a resolution entitled "The New Road for the Republic of Indonesia" as the way out of the complicated situation facing the Republic of Indonesia at that time.

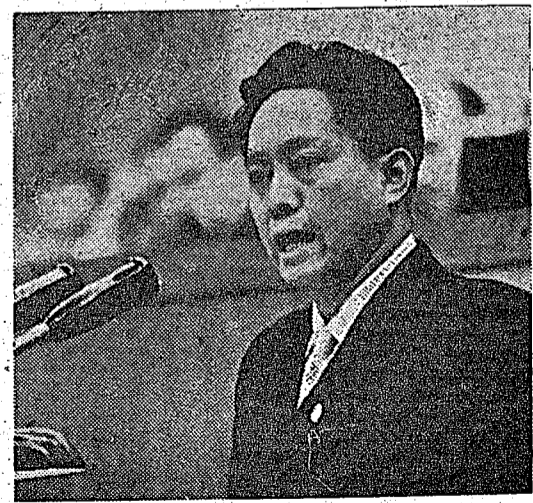
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★ SEE PAGE 14



Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party  
D. N. Aidit.



# E. M. S. REPORTS ON NATIONAL COUNCIL SESSION TO CALCUTTA RALLY

## Communique

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India at its meeting on May 12, 1960, resolved that the Fifth All-India Congress of the Party will be held from January 16 to 26, 1961, near Vijaywada in Andhra Pradesh.

The National Council elected Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad to its Central Secretariat. It granted leave for three months to Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of the Party on grounds of health. During this period, Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad will act as the General Secretary of the Party.

The National Council elected a Commission consisting of Comrades S. A. Dange, E. M. S. Namboodiripad, P. Ramamurthy, P. Sundaraya, Adhikari, P. C. Joshi and Bhupesh Gupta to prepare a Draft Programme for discussion at the Party Congress.

In its concluding session, the National Council passed resolutions on the Nehru-Chou talks, Summit Conference and the Manipur People's struggle. The Council also passed a resolution on long-term political prisoners in Tamilnad, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh, urging their immediate release.

The various State Conferences are to be concluded in the first week of October. During the middle of October, the National Council will meet to finalise the Political Resolution and Report to be presented to the Party Congress.

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A fifty-thousand strong crowd gathered on May 12 at the Calcutta Maidan to hear the leaders of the Communist Party of India, who had just concluded the five-day session of the National Council of the Party.

THE newly-elected Acting General Secretary of the Communist Party, E. M. S. Namboodiripad, declared at the meeting that the National Council was of one view that it was essential to wage a sharp struggle against the Right forces in India. It was also of one view that in this struggle, it was not possible to avoid the struggle against the Congress and Congress Governments.

### Grave Problem

He stated that the problem how to combine the struggle against reaction and the struggle against the Congress and Congress Governments was precisely what needed further study and thought. This was a grave problem confronting not only the Communist Party

but the entire democratic movement in India.

Regarding the approach and attitude to this question there did exist certain differences in the Communist Party. This was only natural at the stage of discussion. But the newspapers and certain political quarters sought to make fanciful propaganda out of this very natural development. E. M. S. Namboodiripad firmly declared that the forthcoming Party Congress in January 1961 would take a final decision on the question.

At the start Bhupesh Gupta, who presided over the meeting, declared that the National Council had given its General Secretary three months leave on grounds of health. During the absence of Ajoy Ghosh, E. M. S. Namboodiripad would function as the General Secretary.

E.M.S., in a frequently applauded speech, stated that

only a few days ago various newspapers and political circles had shouted hoarse about the "grave differences" on the India-China dispute that were rocking the Communist Party. There had been differences but the lie to this propaganda was given by the Meerut Session of the National Council which had completely unified the Party.

He said that certain forces were going all out to sabotage the discussions and negotiations that had started to settle the India-China dispute. He appealed to the people, on behalf of the National Council, to defeat these evil machinations.

### Significant Events

He said that in the recent period certain significant events had taken place, especially after the Nagpur Session of the Congress. The Swatantra Party and other reactionary forces had reared their head. As a result, those in the Congress who had advanced

proposals for agrarian reforms and State trading had had to retreat.

Two Five-Year Plans were nearly over. The country had advanced to some extent. Simultaneously prices had risen, unemployment had increased and many other problems had come up. It needed serious discussion as to how these weaknesses had to be overcome. Although there were differences of approach and emphasis, the Party was of absolutely one opinion on two basic questions:

FIRST, that it was necessary to wage a determined struggle against the reactionary forces in India. This struggle had to be waged in unity with all progressive forces.

SECONDLY, in this battle against reaction it was impossible to avoid struggle against the Congress. Those who wished to fight reaction would have also to fight against the Congress and Congress Governments.

Namboodiripad explained the various resolutions that

had been adopted by the National Council. Appealing for the release of long-term prisoners, he asked whether it was just for the PSP-Congress Government in Kerala to release thousands of prisoners who had participated in the illegal struggle to oust the Communist-led Government, while the Congress was adopting a totally different policy in other States?

### Situation in Kerala

Referring to the situation in Kerala, he stated that the PSP-Congress Coalition had started a severe attack on all the gains the masses had made under the Communist-led Ministry. In this connection he cited the discriminatory policy pursued by the present Ministry against the toddy tappers cooperatives, the coir workers' cooperatives and labour contract societies.

He also mentioned the policy of banning Communists from all recruitments to

Government posts and of disallowing Communist papers and magazines in the jails. Lashing out against these narrowly partisan and unconstitutional activities, E. M. S. declared that all that the Communists in Kerala asked for were the rights given to all by the Indian constitution. He appealed to all right-thinking people to protest against these undemocratic practices.

S. A. Dange, who spoke next, was sharp, witty and sarcastic in his sallies against the reactionary forces. He said he was ready to concede all good intentions to the Government of India and Pandit Nehru but the path they were following to reach these objectives was not a practical or fruitful one.

He stressed the importance of economic independence after political freedom had been won, the foundations of economic independence could be laid only by attaining self-sufficiency in steel, machine-tools, and mineral oils. In this field India has seen that her true friends are the Soviet

Union and other countries of the Socialist camp.

He said that there was fundamental difference between the help from the Socialist camp and the so-called imperialist "aid". The latter was governed by narrow interests and the profit-motive — it could not be relied upon.

He illustrated this with a reference to the American wheat loan, which while it would "drown many persons," did nothing to promote our self-sufficiency in food. On the other hand, the Soviet Union sent trac-

## CONCEDE MANIPUR'S DEMAND FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVT.

Text of resolution on Manipur struggle adopted by the National Council of the Communist Party during its Calcutta session, May 6 to 12.

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India strongly condemns the wanton repression which has been unleashed against the people of Manipur today for having dared to voice the demand for a responsible Government.

On more than one occasion, the police has resorted to firings; indiscriminate lathi-charges and use of tear-gas shells have become a common occurrence. Hundreds of people, including many women and students, have already been seriously injured. Section 144 Cr. P.C. has been promulgated and curfew imposed. Manipur Rifles and the Bihar Armed Police have been commissioned to patrol the streets.

raid the homes of peace-loving citizens in order to terrorise and silence them. It is a matter of deep shame that the helpless people of Manipur who are directly under the Central Government should have been subjected to such unprovoked police atrocities. It does not speak well of the Central Government first to deny self-rule to Manipur and then suppress its people through intimidation and violence. The present policy of the Central Government in regard to Manipur is wholly undemocratic and cannot but give rise to serious complications.

It is high time the Government of India realised that the present set-up in Manipur has completely failed to meet even the minimum aspirations and strivings of its people. On the contrary, what now pre-

vals in Manipur in the name of Central administration is an arbitrary Chief Commissioner's regime, totally divorced from the life of the people.

This regime thrives on unmitigated oppression and abuse of authority, on ever-increasing corruption and misuse of public funds. Almost every department of Manipur's administration including public health and education has become a hunting ground for self-seekers who are responsible to none but their patrons in the bureaucratic hierarchy. The situation would seem intolerable for any self-respecting people.

The entire Manipur has now risen in just protest against the present regime and the towns and villages are all stirred by a massive, peaceful movement for the installation of a responsible Government. One of the most remarkable features of these stirrings is that women are taking part

in the satyagraha and other forms of mass activity in large numbers.

The people of Manipur are moved by no narrow partisan or parochial considerations. They are moved by fundamental urges for democracy and for an honourable civic existence. The National Council of the Communist Party of India would appeal to the Government of India to desist from their repressive measures and review the entire situation with sympathy and understanding towards Manipur's very legitimate and just demand for a responsible Government.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India sends its warmest greetings to the people of Manipur in their peaceful democratic struggle and honour. The Council appeals to the democratically minded people of our country to extend their active support to Manipur's just cause.

### RESOLUTIONS

## ON NEHRU-CHOU TALKS

Text of resolution on Nehru-Chou talks adopted by the National Council of the Communist Party of India, meeting in Calcutta on May 12.

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India notes with satisfaction that following the recent talks between the Prime Minister of India and the Premier of the Chinese People's Republic, there has been some lessening of tension in the relations between the two countries.

Although it is a matter of regret that a solution has not been found in these talks to the India-China border dispute, the decisions of the two Governments to continue discussions at the official level and to take measures to avoid any border incidents and maintain tranquillity in the border areas are undoubtedly positive achievements of the Nehru-Chou En-lai talks.

Whatever the present difficulties, the National Council is confident that, given the approach of goodwill and friendly discussion, a peaceful solution of the India-China border question will surely be found.

The cooperation and friendship between India and China have not only given world the Panchsheel and the Bandung Spirit, but indeed profoundly influenced the course of history in the entire Afro-Asian region and strengthened the larger cause of world peace.

an integral part of their wider destructive strategy against Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace.

It is understandable, therefore, if all Afro-Asian nations and indeed all peace-loving people the world over so earnestly desire that the problems between the two great countries, embracing one thousand million people, be resolved in the interests of all humanity.

The talks between the two Prime Ministers and their declarations for continuing efforts for a peaceful settlement of the dispute have been acclaimed by all right-minded people. In such constructive efforts on their part, Prime Minister Nehru and Premier Chou En-lai can count upon the most fervent wishes of all those who stand for friendship among nations and for freedom and peace in the world.

The National Council, however, warns that there are powerful forces, both within the country and outside, who are interested in keeping the dispute between India and China alive and in causing discord and tension between the two countries. Ever since the issue came to the forefront, these forces have spared no effort to embitter the relations and prevent every move in the direction of peaceful negotiation. They have exploited the tragic development not only to pull India and China apart, but to assail even India's policy of peace and non-alignment. In fact, their attacks against India-China friendship are

The positive gains of the two Prime Ministers' talks have made the imperialists abroad and reactionaries at home more desperate and there is no doubt that they will try all possible means to spoil the atmosphere and frustrate discussions and negotiations.

The National Council regrets to note that certain utterances coming from official quarters are sometimes found to be out of tune with India's basic policy of peaceful negotiations and are taken advantage of by the reactionary forces to further their ends.

In this situation great responsibilities devolve on our people in defending the policy of peaceful negotiations on the India-China border dispute as also the larger cause

of India's policy of peace and non-alignment. The National Council of the Communist Party of India appeals to all sections of the people who stand for these policies to make their contribution in improving the atmosphere still further so that the efforts at peaceful settlement of the India-China border dispute progress and become successful.

The Council strongly condemns this heinous action of the U.S. imperialists which contravenes all canons of international law and civilised behaviour. The world has been particularly shocked at the brazen attempts of the U. S. Government leaders to justify this crime against peace.

The Council has been particularly perturbed by the fact that the territory of our neighbour Pakistan has been used as a base for the espionage mission and thus brought the danger of nuclear war to our door-steps.

The Council heartily welcomes the reported invitation to our Prime Minister by Premier Khrushchov for a discussion on this matter of urgent importance to both of our countries. It hopes that our Prime

Minister will, in keeping with the important role that our country has played in the struggle for world peace, take adequate steps to meet this threat to the Summit meeting as well as to the security of India.

Peoples' vigilance and constant struggle alone can ensure success at the Summit and steps towards disarmament.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses concern at the refusal of the Congress Governments to release the long-term political prisoners who have been in jail for several years, in spite of repeated representations urging their release.

In Tamilnad, there are fourteen such Communist prisoners—twelve of whom are in Madurai jail, one in Coimbatore jail and another in Cannanore jail in Kerala State. They are convicted in conspiracy

cases and other cases of 1949. Two of those originally so sentenced are already dead and the others are suffering from serious ailments.

In West Bengal, there are several such long-term political prisoners convicted in the Dum Dum, Kakabip, Jessop and Basirhat cases of 1949-50.

In Andhra Pradesh, although 50 long-term and life imprisonment prisoners were released, two more long-term Communist prisoners are still in jail custody at Rajahmundry jail.

In a completely different situation from the one obtaining in 1949, when two General Elections have come and gone, and the Communist Party is accepted as the leading Opposi-

tion Party in the country, and especially when all these young men have served a large portion of their heavy sentence already and undergone all the privations of jail life for several years, one fails to understand the refusal of the Government to release them, unless they want to be inhuman and vindictive.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India, therefore, earnestly urges the immediate release of all these long-term political prisoners in Madras, West Bengal, Kerala and other State jails. The National Council appeals to all the people of India to raise their voice for the release forthwith by the Government of all these political prisoners.

The Indian people firmly believe that disarmament has become a most vital issue for the future of humanity as a whole. Disarmament is the road to a lasting peace. Disarmament can end the mis-

perfection of the ICBM—have created a situation where imperialist statesmen themselves are compelled to respond to the worldwide demand for Summit talks on disarmament and other important international issues.

Nevertheless, the imperialists have by no means given up their lunatic plans for war. Imperialist military pacts continue to be strengthened, nuclear rearmament of Western Germany is being completed rapidly. France continues its tests of nuclear weapons in Sahara and its bloody war against the Algerian people.

The unparallelled growth of the forces of peace, national independence and Socialism and the change of the entire world balance of forces against the imperialists, together with the tremendous scientific advances of the most recent period—particularly the launching of the Sputnik and the Lunik and

## Summit And Disarmament

Text of resolution adopted by the National Council of the Communist Party of India on Summit Conference and Campaign for Disarmament during its Calcutta session, May 6 to 12.

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India greets the heads of the Governments of the four Great Powers who are about to begin their historic Summit meeting in Paris. The Council joins the rest of the peoples of the world in expressing the hope that the Summit meeting will lead to early initial agreements for total and universal disarmament.

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## Release Politicals!

Text of resolution on release of long-term Political Prisoners adopted by the National Council of the Communist Party of India, during its Calcutta Session, May 6 to 12.

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses concern at the refusal of the Congress Governments to release the long-term political prisoners who have been in jail for several years, in spite of repeated representations urging their release.

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# BEHIND ADENAUER'S RAVING

TOWARDS the end of last month, from the rostrum of the Ninth Conference of West Germany's ruling party, the Christian Democratic Union, the West German Chancellor, Adenauer, warned the "free" world: cooperative farming in the East, in the German Democratic Republic, was "a provocation to all free nations." and hence "I think a suitable answer will be given to this in Paris" (i.e. at the Summit Conference).

How terrible must be this cooperative farming that the Chancellor wants it to be on the agenda of the Big Four meet!

The Chancellor was, in any case, greatly perturbed. For, the GDR has just completed the introduction of cooperative farming over its territory, while forcible evictions of peasants in West Germany are leading to mounting opposition from the farmers. Agriculture in the two German States, with two fundamentally different social orders, is developing towards large-scale farming via two diametrically opposite paths. In the GDR, the Socialist course has the consent of the peasants and guarantees them material security and a prosperous life, in West Germany the capitalist path goes against the mass of the farmers, spells ruin for them.

The GDR inherited from the past the village with conventional and out-dated methods of production. So, after the rout of Hitlerite fascism, one of the first measures taken was the implementation of the land reform, in accordance with the Potsdam Agreement.

All landed property exceeding 100 hectares (247.1 acres) as well as the estates belonging to war criminals and active Nazis were expropriated. A total of 3.3 million hectares of land was thus pooled and distributed to approximately 560,000 persons. It was their personal, inheritable property, and it was free of all debts.

The beginning was not so easy for the new peasants short as they were of machines and tools, houses and out-houses and without enough cattle. The State came to their help. In the first postwar year alone, 95,000 houses, 104,000 stables and cow-sheds, and 38,500 barns were built for the new peasants. Through the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association, the peasants themselves also helped one another. The greatest assistance of all was the setting up of the Machine-Hire-Stations (later the Machine-and-Tractor Stations). Equipped with machines and tools, they contributed decisively in giving a quick boost to production.

As time passed, the peasants realised the advantages of cooperative farming, and in their ever increasing numbers took to the Socialist path in agriculture.

Look at these impressive figures: 1952—first peasants join the producers' cooperatives; 1953—number increases to 138,254; 1955, end of first Five-Year Plan, cooperatives cultivating 1,279,000 hectares,

20 per cent of GDR's arable land; 1957—3,691 coops were cultivating 1,631,882 hectares end by end of 1958; the figures had risen to 9637 and 2,386,000 hectares. 1959 was a particularly successful year. If till then the peasant masses were joining the coops more or less sporadically, for exam-

ple during and after the harvest time, in that year started a steady flow of peasants into the cooperatives. Entire villages turned into cooperative villages. More than 50,000 farmers cultivating a total of 410,000 hectares decided to take up Socialist large-scale farming.

At the end of 1959, 50 per cent of the whole arable land in GDR was cultivated by cooperatives. Since the beginning of 1960, 2.5 lakhs more peasants with an additional 25 lakh hectares of land have joined cooperative farming. And what does this mean

go into industry or to get jobs as agricultural labourers on one of the estates.

Why are the poor and middle peasants being forced out of their plots of land? Because the aim which the West German ruling circles have set for themselves is to subordinate agriculture to the interests of the monopolies, estate-owners and inveterate militarists. Subordination of the interests of the peasantry in West Germany to the over-riding aggressive political considerations of the Bonn Government—that is the picture which West German agriculture presents today.

Instances that can be cited are many.

The European Common Market, to which West Germany belongs, plans the abolition of agricultural protective duties and the increase of import quotas for farm produce within the next twelve years. That means further price pressure and greater sales difficulties mainly for the poor and middle peasants.

The West German monopolies are increasing consumer goods exports in the interests of higher profits and are holding the gates wide open for an ever-growing import of agricultural products, turning West Germany into a dumping site for surplus farm produce from other Common Market countries.

The West German law on the redistribution of land, promulgated on July 14, 1953 is built up in the main upon the Reichs Decree on the Concentration of Scattered Holdings passed in 1937, and takes over from the latter the fascist compulsory measures. As to how this law is being implemented, the following example gives an eloquent idea.

Therese Arnold from Holzaberg in Bavaria, refused to allow redistribution of land on her 18-hectare farm, because her farm would not be able to meet the high cost of concentration—up to 1,000 marks per hectare. Nevertheless, the surveyors appeared, a caterpillar tractor ploughed new field boundaries right through the middle of her land. Mrs. Arnold threw herself in front of the tractor to protect the property with her very body. She was dragged by the policemen and locked up in a prison, till the land redistribution was over in her area.

The splitting of her land into eleven fields was not all. She was also asked to pay the costs of concentration, amounting to 12,000 marks. On her refusal, a cow of hers was mortgaged, as the first instalment of the interest on the amount due from her!

Mass discontent in West Germany is brewing. With 200,000 poor peasants expelled from their holdings after getting heavily indebted to the owners of the big agricultural estates, with a further eight to nine lakhs of small holdings threatened with ruin in the coming years, how can one expect the West German Chancellor not to rave at the GDR when it announces the triumph of its agrarian policy.

## LEAP FORWARD IN GDR'S AGRICULTURE



In the German Democratic Republic farmers remove boundary stones of fields as they join cooperatives and improve their agriculture.

to the peasants and to the people in East Germany?

To the peasants, it means more prosperity. They remain owners of their soil which they have pooled in the cooperatives as their share for common cultivation. They employ the most up-to-date technology and the latest scientific achievements for raising production level and increasing the well of their coops. The fruits of common labour are shared commonly by the tillers of the soil.

For the country, it means an unrestricted increase of agricultural production, an increasing supply of foodstuffs and raw materials for consumer goods industries at lower costs—in short, a considerable rise in the standard of living of the whole population of the GDR.

In July 1958, the Fifth Party Conference of the German Socialist Unity Party had adopted the magnificent programme for the execution of the main economic task in the GDR: to catch up and to surpass by 1961, the per capita consumption of all important food and consumer goods in West Germany. Agriculture has already reached such a level in the GDR

## WHILE FARMERS FACE RUIN IN THE WEST

that not only can this target be attained but the GDR can press on to the world's top level in the course of the next few years.

Against this what has Bonn to offer?

Under the slogan, "Transfer the soil to the better farmer", the concentration process in the direction of capitalist estate farming has been going on in West Germany. More than 200,000 farms have already become victims of this disastrous development since 1949. And yet this is merely the beginning.

The fact that at present the minimum size of the so-called family enterprise is set at 30 to 40 hectares (from 75 to 100 acres) in West Germany, demonstrates the dimensions already assumed by this modern, eviction of tenants. For 90 per cent of all West German farms are under this guide line. Part of them would have to be extended, but the larger part vacated. The only choice thus for many farmers is either to

**Nordwest Zeitung**  
Hilfen für die Landwirtschaft

**Auktion in Bokhausen**  
Landwirt Hermann Decker, Bokhausen, 1881 wegen Aufgabe der Landwirtschaft am Sonnabend, dem 10. März 1960, um 14 Uhr mittags, öffentlich meistbietend auf längere Zahlungsfrist verkaufen:

**7 Teile Hornvieh**  
1 hochtrag. Kuh

**Auktion in Borbeck**  
Landwirt Heinrich Ficken in Borbeck, 1881 wegen Aufgabe der Landwirtschaft am Sonnabend, dem 10. März 1960, um 14 Uhr mittags, öffentlich meistbietend auf längere Zahlungsfrist durch mich verkaufen:

**8 Teile Hornvieh, als:**  
3 Kühe, Anfang April kalbend

**Meljendorf**  
Landwirt Heinrich Diers 1881 wegen Aufgabe der Landwirtschaft am Sonnabend, dem 10. März 1960, um 14 Uhr mittags, öffentlich meistbietend auf längere Zahlungsfrist bis zum 1. Oktober 1960 durch mich verkaufen:

3 Kühe, Anfang April kalbend  
2 Milchkühe  
1 Kalkalb

In West Germany the newspapers advertise the auction of land of ruined farmers.

# SPY FROM THE SKY

MOSCOW, (Delayed)

THE story of the capture by Soviet farm-workers of the pilot of the U. S. spy plane shot down on May Day near the Urals industrial centre of Sverdlovsk has now been told here.

Vladimir Surin, an ex-army sergeant now working as a driver on a State farm, said: "The day was unusually fine and sunny—simply made to order for the holiday. Mother, father and I sat down for our May Day dinner at about 11.

"Suddenly we heard a shrill noise like a siren. I rushed out, but couldn't see anything except a white puff of smoke in the sky. I thought it was perhaps a May Day rocket. But then there was an explosion and a pillar of dust in the field."

### HE HAD A GUN

Seeing a person coming down by parachute, Vladimir Surin and his friend, Lenya Chuzhakin, rushed in the latter's Moskvich car to where the parachute was coming to earth—"We were very much afraid he might make a bad landing and get caught in the high-voltage wires," said Surin.

"We got there just in time; the parachutist lay on the ground. He had made a rather bad landing on his back. We ran to him. We had one thought—to help a chap in trouble.

"He wore light camouflaged coloured overalls, a helmet like those worn by tank men, with a shock absorbent lining and a white top to it. Over his face was a visor and oxygen mask.

"We helped him take off his gloves and headgear. We saw that he was a fit, well-built chap about 30, still young but going grey around the temples.

"We began to fold the parachute and saw foreign letters on it. At the same time I saw he had a pistol, who had run up. Even then we did not realise that we were face to face with an enemy. It did not tie up with our holiday mood.

"We didn't say anything. And the pilot kept quiet. Then Tolya Chermisin took his gun and we took him by the arms and helped him to the car, surrounded by a crowd who had come up to help."

They put him in the front seat of the Moskvich between Lenya Chuzhakin and Tolya Chermisin, while Vladimir Surin and Fyotr Asabin, ex-World War II soldier, went in the back.

"We did that just in case. Perhaps he might suddenly want to do something to

himself. But at the same time we tried not to give offence in any way—perhaps it might all prove to be a misunderstanding.

"His bearing was confident and calm. One felt he was well trained. Probably he had been to a good school. He never said a word and only in the car gestured that he wanted a drink.

"We stopped at the first cottage and the housewife brought a glass of water. When we got to the State farm office Chuzhakin rushed to phone the village Soviet. By this time a captain and a first lieutenant had arrived.

### PACKETS OF MONEY

"They questioned the pilot in German. He shook his head. They began to search him. They opened the zips on his overall. In pockets in the sleeves were watches, while he had packets of Soviet money in an inside pocket.

"Then another bag he had with him, but which had apparently fallen elsewhere or been deliberately thrown away was brought. It contained a saw, pliers,



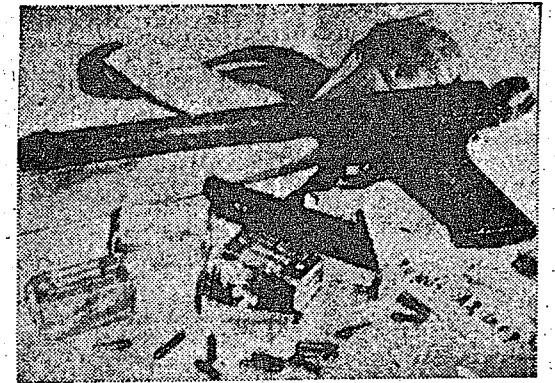
TAKEN FROM THE PLANE: ABOVE: Wads of rouble notes, knives (two), watch, ring and other items including the hypodermic suicide needle. BELOW: Revolver and supply of ammunition carried by the American pilot.

## Soviet farmers

narrate

story of

## pilot's capture



BELOW: Two more gold watches, six more gold rings and their neatly labelled packages.

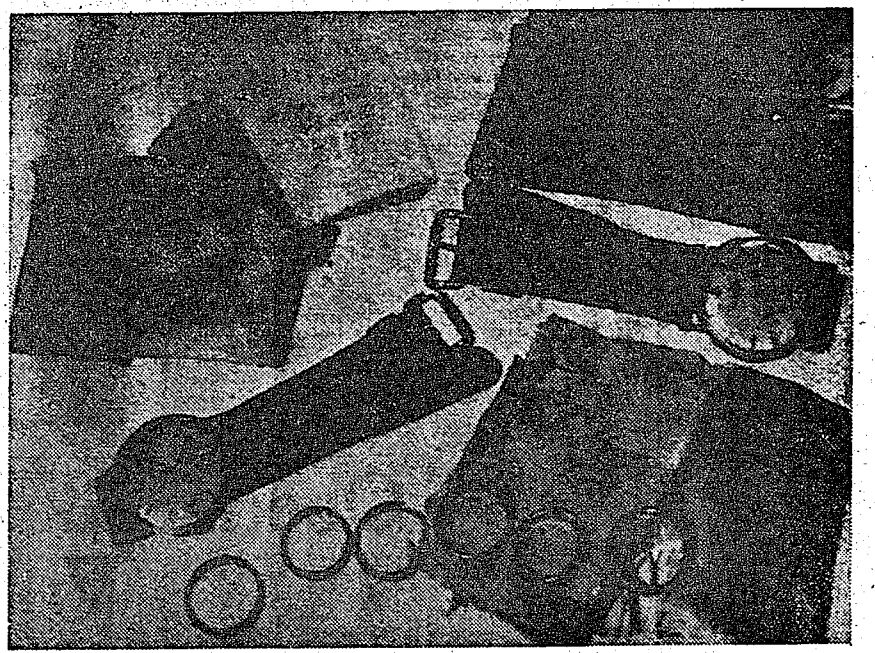
fishing tackle, mosquito net, trousers, hat, socks and all sorts of packages—clearly he had packed carefully and was ready for a long journey.

"The pilot all the time pretended that he understood no Russian. But when the director of the State farm, Mikhail Berman, said 'No smoking in here' he immediately pushed the ashtray away," said Surin.

### AWARDED MEDALS

The key role in bringing down the U. S. plane, flying at more than 60,000 feet at some 560 m.p.h., was played by First Lieut. Eduard Feldblum, one of twenty officers, N.C.O.s and men awarded orders and medals following the incident.

Lieut. Feldblum was in charge of the radar team tracking the plane and directing the ground-to-air missile.





## OUR LONDON LETTER

by OHEO GOOPTU

Dr. Hastings Banda, better known in his own country as Kumuzu, has recently been in London. This outstanding leader of Nyasaland was imprisoned on charges of inciting violence against the British Government, which were subsequently found to be totally unsubstantiated and baseless by the Devlin Commission instituted by the Tory Government itself.

A WORLDWIDE protest movement has now secured his release. He is travelling abroad seeking the support of the peoples of those countries to his country's aspiration for achieving complete independence from imperialist rule.

### How It All Began

Until the end of the nineteenth century when it was practically stopped, the French and the Portuguese traders used to carry out regular raids on the Nyasas and force the people into slavery. The Christian missionaries trekked into the country in the eighteenth century and faithfully carried out the mission of accumulating enough "judicial powers" which, in due course, were dutifully handed over to the British Consul stationed in the country. By a complex process of manipulation a Protectorate, called British Central Africa,

was declared in 1882, which was renamed Nyasaland in 1907.

It is perhaps clear from the above account that the people of that country were never conquered militarily by the British Imperial Government. The Nyasas suddenly found themselves under the "benevolent umbrella of British Protection" resulting from a number of treaties. These "treaties" were agreed to by their Chiefs, though the point here to note is that the Chiefs were in most cases quite unable to understand the language in which these "mutually beneficial" treaties were written!!

### Federation Imposed

To increase the benefits already enjoyed by the people of Nyasaland as a result of the British "Protection", the Tory Government, in 1955, imposed the Federation upon the country

# NYASALAND DEMANDS SELF-GOVERNMENT

against the bitterest and undivided opposition of its people — federation with Northern and Southern Rhodesia. "Between 1953 and 1959, there were at least five delegations of one sort or another from Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia to London, — but the warnings of these delegations were ignored."

The opposition of the Nyasas, in particular, had been so complete that Sir Robert Armitage, Governor of Nyasaland, declared: "The African is reluctant to accept federation because he cannot believe that he will ever be allowed to play a role equal to that of the European. He distrusts both federation and the movement towards greater independence for the federation, because he insists that this means a continued and fiercer domination by the White man over the Black." (Federation News Letter, April 19, 1958)

### Dr. Banda Interviewed

That was more than two years ago. Since then, the militancy of the Africans in Nyasaland has increased immensely and the people are united as never before to do away with the Federation permanently.

When I asked Dr. Banda, after he had addressed a select gathering, to put briefly his objection to the Federation and to the endeavour of the European settlers to gain Dominion status, he took no time to reply:

### Continued Subjugation

The Federation and its proposed status as a Dominion could only mean the continued subjugation of my people by the European settlers present in the Federation. Most of the White settlers in the Federation fanatically believe in the doctrine of superior race, of racial segregation. Of course, they do not say so openly. But everything points to the undeniable fact that the settlers are out to perpetuate their present dominating status indefinitely. And that, I cannot allow to exist."

As Kanyama Chiume, one of the youngest leaders of the nationalist movement in Nyasaland, has stated elsewhere: Freed even from the weak reins imposed by the British Government (i.e. if the Federation gains Dominion Status—O.G.), the Federation could do as they please and turn the whole combined country into a repetition—if

in a different form—of South Africa.

Dr. Banda forcefully answered the claim of the supporters of the Federation like Sir Roy Wellesley (now attending the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London) and Sir Edgar Whitehead that it had brought about great benefits to the African people in Nyasaland. "Benefits? For whom?" he asked. "In order to pay taxes, etc., nearly 2/5 of my people have to migrate to surrounding countries to earn money."

### Demand For New Constitution

He agreed with me that the average African in Nyasaland earned about 1s. 4d. to 2s. a day, whereas the taxation had increased by nearly 50 per cent. "And as for political benefits," he continued, "well we all know. All political and trade union activities are severely restricted. Many of my colleagues have been put behind bars as political detainees. No, there is no democracy in the Federation."

In answer to a question from another correspondent as to whether he would remain within the Federation if Southern and Northern Rhodesia became a modern democracy, he replied that he might agree to that if only the democratic principle of 'one man one vote' was unhesitatingly accepted and given effect to throughout the Federation.

Dr. Banda, who is witty and tempestuous and as Tom Driberg has described him, 'a real high wind from Nyasaland', while addressing a meeting earlier categorically stated that he wanted a new democratic constitution for his country in the coming Constitutional Conference in London on Nyasaland which would grant true self-government to the country. He declared that he wanted a legislature which truly reflected the popular view.

He added that the leaders elected freely under adult suffrage under the new constitution would certainly fight to break up the Federation. After all, Dr. Banda said, there could not be any real self-government in Nyasaland within the Federation. "We do not want to serve under a glorified Legislative Assembly dominated by the White settlers," he added.

When asked in the meeting if he was anti-Asian, Dr. Banda said that he was neither anti-Asian nor anti-European. But, he added, he was definitely 'anti-domination' of one racial group over another. He criticised those Asian leaders in Nyasaland who were asking for party with the Africans in the legislature. "How can you have it? There are about 3,000,000 Africans in my country. The Asians number 9,000 and the Europeans 8,000 approximately. Is party possible under the circumstances? Nyasaland is our own country. We do not want to be dominated by anyone."

Since 1955, this company has handled a total of 135 million dollars of South African securities, thus helping to keep the apartheid Verwoerd Government in power. The Dillon Read Company itself owns ten thousand shares in the O'Kiep Copper Co.; fifty thousand shares in the Tsemel Lead, Zinc & Copper Mine Co., and eighteen thousand shares in a holding company that controls the O'Kiep and Tsemel companies.

## THE AMERICAN SCENE

of this went to finance the purchase of gold mining equipment and materials. But there are two recent items of special interest—a loan to the Government Electric Supply Commission for power facilities in the production of strategic materials; and another for "aircraft, repair equipment and related spare parts."

Finally, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in which the U.S. is dominant has given eight loans to South Africa totalling over £70 million.

U.S. imperialism, heeding the call of Dulles, will be ready to give economic support to the newly established nations who win their political independence, if this means bigger profits and a controlling hand and a squeezing out of imperialist rivals.

That is why all the newly arising African leaders get invitations from the Government to visit America. They will have to be constantly on their guard to protect their independence from a crew of bandit imperialists who are not one whit better than those whose chains they throw off.

—John Williamson

## U. S. Hypocrisy Over S. Africa

BEHIND the hypocritical "regrets" of the U.S. State Department about "the tragic loss of life" in South Africa and its claim to "deplete violence" (American Negroes must be laughing at this cynicism), the big monopolies and investment bankers must be in a round of State Department conferences figuring out how to extend their economic and political influence in South Africa—at the expense of both Britain and Africa.

### DULLES' DICTUM

Shortly before he died, the late John Foster Dulles said that it was "of the greatest importance that the U.S. should strengthen its activities in Africa." Earlier, Congressman Bolton, reporting on an American mission, laid down five American goals in Africa which included "an interest in the evolution of Africa in a manner not inimical to our democratic type of Government . . . (nor) unfriendly to our way of life; (and) the hope of having access to the raw materials of that continent . . ."

The latest figures indicate American investments in the Union of South Africa as totalling \$211

million, according to the Wall Street Journal. There are 180 companies involved, 60 companies actually operate plants or subsidiaries there. These include the Carborundum Co., Chicago Pneumatic Tool Co.; Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing; Crown Cork and Seal Co.; Sperry Rand; Standard Oil of California and Vick Chemical.

In addition Fords, General Motors and Chrysler motor companies all operate assembly plants; while Firestone, Goodyear and General dominate the tyre field. The International Harvester Co. runs a thriving business.

In addition the investment bankers Dillon, Read & Co.—with State Deputy Secretary of State Dillon was long associated—recently floated a 40 million dollar loan that involved 11 commercial banks. The money became available in January of this year and the Wall Street Journal said it was for "general purchases."

Then the Export-Import Bank, an agency of the U.S. Government, reports that over its 25 years of existence it extended credit to South Africa firms amounting to 155 million dollars of which 90 million dollars are still outstanding. Most

# SOVIET STAND AT PARIS

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United States and I agreed on an exchange of visits. Last September I paid such a visit to the United States. I was very gratified by this visit, by the meetings and conversations which took place in the United States, and I expressed my gratitude for this.

The President of the United States was to return the visit. We agreed that he would come to the Soviet Union on June 10 and we prepared a hearty welcome for this distinguished guest.

Unfortunately, the provocative aggressive actions against the USSR have now created such conditions which deprive us of the possibility to receive the President with proper cordiality the Soviet people accord their welcome guests. Now we cannot display such a cordiality towards the President of the United States since the provocative flights of American military reconnaissance planes have created conditions obviously unfavourable for this visit. The Soviet people cannot and do not want to be hypocritical.

That is why I believe that the visit to the Soviet Union by the President of the United States should now be postponed and a date for this visit should be fixed when conditions are ripe for it. The Soviet people will then be able to display proper cordiality and hospitality with regard to the distinguished guest representing a great power with which we sincerely want to live in peace and friendship.

I believe that Mr. Eisenhower and the American people will understand me rightly. The Soviet Government declares that, on its part, it will continue to do its utmost towards a relaxation of international tension, towards the solution of problems which still divide us; in doing so we will be guided by the interests of strengthening the great cause of peace on the basis

of peaceful coexistence between States with different social systems.

The following morning (May 17), Nikita Khrushchov had a brief talk with Correspondents who are on duty for nearly 24 hours a day at the gates of his residence in the Soviet Embassy.

In the course of this impromptu Press Conference, held directly in the roadway of the narrow Rue de Grenelle Nikita Khrushchov replied to several questions.

He said again that Soviet participation in the summit would only be possible if the United States acknowledged that it had committed an act of aggression by sending a military reconnaissance plane on a spying mission into the Soviet air space, apologised publicly, condemned its actions and announced that they would never be repeated. Failing this, Khrushchov said, we shall go home.

Replying to another question, Nikita Khrushchov said: It may be that we shall leave by air tomorrow. En route we shall stop over in Berlin where I want to see my friends Walter Ulbricht, Otto Grotewohl and others.

Nikita Khrushchov told Correspondents that he would not leave without saying good-bye to them at a Press Conference. I must tell you, gentlemen, Khrushchov said, that I will meet you without fail.

Asked whether he intended to go sight-seeing in Paris, Khrushchov said that he might have a little outing with Marshal Malinovsky but where, he joked, is a secret.

Later on the same day, the Press Group under the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers reported: As was agreed in the course of the preliminary meeting between the heads of the four great Powers in Paris, May 17 should have been, on suggestion of President de Gaulle who was then in the chair, a day of meditation over the statements made by the heads of Government.

## INDONESIAN C. P.

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emerged as the first party in the country and as the leading patriotic force impelling the people forward to completing the tasks of the national-democratic revolution. It stands out as a powerful bulwark of Asian solidarity and of world peace. In this work and its policies the Indonesian Communist Party staunchly adheres to and upholds the great banner of proletarian internationalism.

Great are the efforts made by the Central Committee and all comrades for the ideological consolidation and steeling of the entire Party in the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism. Creatively applying these teachings and the concrete conditions of Indonesia, decisively rejecting and smashing all revisionist "theories," the Communist Party of Indonesia has charted the path of advance for the nation at the National Congress held last year.

The Communist Party of India and the entire democratic movement in our country have followed with deep attention and admiration the manifold activities of the Communist Party of Indonesia.

Our two peoples are bound together by ancient ties and a common experience of long and glorious fight against imperialism. They have both emerged to independent statehood following the defeat of fascism in the Second World War. They have both made big contributions to the cause of Asian solidarity and world peace. Their solidarity and fraternity are based on common experience, common needs, common friends and, indeed, a common destiny.

In the strenuous struggle in our own country we Indian Communists have drawn inspiration from the heroism of our Indonesian comrades.

We have been moved and honoured by the frequent messages of solidarity and support that the Communist Party of Indonesia has addressed to us.

It is, therefore, a matter of special joy to us that our Indonesian brother Party has entered the forty-first year of its existence. We salute its mighty achievements. We wish it with all our hearts still greater successes and victories in the cause of freedom, democracy and peace.

Glory to the Communist Party of Indonesia!

At the time when Khrushchov and Malinovsky were in the French village, Pleurs sur Marno, conversing with the farmers, who recalled the days of joint struggle, a report was received from Paris via police channels and through Correspondents that a heads of Government meeting was fixed for three o'clock at the Elysee Palace.

Upon his return to Paris Khrushchov received President de Gaulle's letter confirming his intention to hold this meeting. The letter did not clarify, however, whether the point in question was to have another preliminary meeting on the results of the meditation day or an attempt was being made to call the summit meeting unilaterally.

Nikita Khrushchov asked the French side to specify the nature of the forthcoming meeting—this request was immediately made by telephone.

No answer was given to it. In the meantime the heads of the three Western Powers arrived at Elysee Palace. Failing to receive an answer to his enquiry, Khrushchov sent President de Gaulle the following letter:

"Mr. President, "In connection with your letter of May 17 of this year, which you addressed to me, I am confronted with the following obscurrence, on which the letter sheds no light.

"As I stated yesterday, I, as the head of the Soviet Government, am ready to take part in the Summit meeting if the United States Government removes the obstacle which does not permit me to take part in this conference. This obstacle would be removed if the President of the United States declared that the American Government condemned the recent provocative actions of the American aviation against the Soviet Union, regretted these actions, would take steps to punish the guilty, and would give assurances that no actions of this sort would be permitted against the Soviet Union again.

"It goes without saying that I am ready, as I have already informed the Director of your Cabinet, to take part in the meeting if it is of a preliminary nature."

In answer to this letter President de Gaulle sent the following reply after the conclusion of the unilateral meeting of the heads of Government of the three Western Powers at Elysee Palace:

"In reply to the questions raised in your letter, I hereby specify that the meeting was intended to begin the discussion of problems, which we agreed to consider at the Summit meeting, and was, therefore, to have the nature of the first sitting of this conference."

This statement cannot but evoke surprise inasmuch as it is common knowledge that Nikita Khrushchov outlined clearly in his statement at the preliminary meeting the conditions on which the Soviet Government was ready to take part in the Summit meeting.

Since President Eisenhower had not made a public statement after the preliminary meeting condemning the provocative actions of the American aviation against the Soviet Union, promising to punish the guilty and declaring that such actions would not be

permitted against the Soviet Union again, it was absolutely clear that there could be no question of opening the Summit meeting on May 17 under these conditions.

The reason for these unilateral actions of the Western Powers became clear from the statement made at a Press Conference in the evening of May 17 by the United States President's Press Secretary Hagerty that the Summit conference was allegedly to be opened on that day, but that this could not be done due to the absence of the Soviet representative and that the United States President deems the summit conference over.

No matter what diplomatic manoeuvres the Government of the United States may undertake in an attempt to mislead public opinion, it cannot escape responsibility for

wrecking the top-level conference.

It is common knowledge that precisely the United States Government has torpedoed this meeting, which was awaited with such hopes by the peoples of all the world, through its aggressive actions against the Soviet Union on the eve of the summit meeting and its stubborn refusal to bear responsibility for these actions.

The Press Group under the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers is authorised to state that the Soviet Government, confirming its unshakable will for peace and for settling disputed international questions through negotiations, again declares that the Soviet Union is ready, as formerly, to sit down at the summit conference table if the United States eliminates the obstacle to this conference, created through its fault.

## EDITORIAL

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ed before all who have eyes to see and hearts that yearn for a peaceful life. This is a great gain which really lays the foundation for a real Summit, in a more suitable and businesslike atmosphere.

The desire for peace, for reduction of international tension, for a successful summit is so wide and irrefragable that the Big Three, while dispersing, have kept the door open. And Khrushchov, before his departure for Berlin, announced his conviction that the Summit will certainly meet after the U.S. Presidential election and earlier if the Western Powers create the suitable climate.

The dihard U.S. imperialist game of sabotaging the Summit in practice while paying lip homage to it in words is a losing game. It is not only the world balance that is tilting more and more against them but public opinion inside their own camp is turning against their mad moves.

The U.S. Press, even the traditional supporters of their Government, have bemoaned the "mishandling" of the U-2 incident by their official spokesmen and concede that the cold war can be intensified no more the old way, and the U.S. carry on as if its writ ran round the world except the Communist sector.

All the Special Correspondents cabling from Paris concede that France's de Gaulle and U.K.'s Macmillan were not one with the U.S. President and his advisers, they tried to salvage the situation. And the Soviet view is that they were not firm enough. The unity of the Western Big Three, stands seriously strained and these strains will inevitably grow till the U.S. sees sense.

The hitherto loyal satellite regimes of Pakistan and Turkey have publicised their protest to the U.S. Government against the misuse of their airfields.

The Western camp is in disarray, suffering confusion, and the more it acquiesces in the U.S. imperialist right to violate the national territory of other countries, the more their own people will turn against them and demand different policies. Khrushchov's is no empty threat that the next time it will be the bases from where the U.S. planes come that will be blasted out of existence.

Soviet might is used for the defence of peace and advance of

science and technology in the service of man. Soviet rocketry unerringly shot down America's U-2, flying 12 miles up over their skies. Soviet science sent gain which really lays the foundation for a real Summit, in a more suitable and businesslike atmosphere.

Soviet diplomacy has worked, against all odds, for a Summit to settle all problems through negotiations, and it has become the slogan of the day in all countries and for all civilised Governments to work for and implement in their own way.

It will succeed sooner than most realise because there is no other way out before humanity, in terms of sanity, honesty and the right to live and build our own lives according to our own desires.

India's spokesmen have rightly expressed their regret but as the dust settles down, Indian diplomacy and public opinion must give clearer and firmer support to a platform of international detente that will pave the path to a successful Summit under a clearer sky and in a cleaner atmosphere. Can India permit the U.S. imperialists to blatantly violate Panchsheel and claim it as their national policy? Can India acquiesce in the U.S. Government using bases in our neighbouring Pakistan? If they can be used against the USSR today, is Indian security safe tomorrow?

Loyalty to our national policy of Panchsheel and menace to our own safety and sovereignty with U.S. bases in Pakistan tell us along what lines India must and will move in the coming months of rapid world developments.

(May 19, 1960)

Just Out  
PROGRESS  
OF LAND  
REFORM  
—A Critical Review  
by  
N. Prasada Rao  
Communist Party  
Publication  
Price: Rs. 1.25



# MIZO-CONGRESS RIFT IN ASSAM

The recent decision of the Mizo Union, to break off from its alliance with the Congress has given a new turn to the political scene in Assam. In pursuance of this decision of the Mizo Union, Thanlhura, Chief Parliamentary Secretary to the Government of Assam, belonging to the Mizo Union, has tendered his resignation. There are two members, belonging to the Mizo Union in the State Assembly, of which one is Thanlhura. These two members will now sit with the Opposition in the Assembly.

BORN out of a struggle against the Shylos—the semi-feudal chiefs unique among the tribes in Assam—the Mizo Union emerged in the period after the Second World War as the only political mass organisation of the Mizos. The Shylos were hereditary chiefs in the Mizo hills, with absolute ownership over all lands in the district. They kept the rest of the population in a state of serfdom. Jhum land—for shifting cultivation—was settled by the Shylos annually with the tillers; but the Shylos had the right to evict any tiller from any land, including his dwelling at any time so that the non-Shylos could not construct any "puca" houses. The Shylos extracted forced labour from the non-Shylos. The best cultivable land was invariably retained by the Shylo and the peasant within his jurisdiction had to cultivate it for the Shylo without any remuneration.

With the growth of population in the district and

the declining fertility of soil, pressure on Jhum land began to increase and the peasant began to smart under the tyranny of the Shylos that bred discontent among them. Thus the Mizo Union was formed organising and leading the struggle of the peasant masses against the Shylos in the mid-fifties. Eventually the Shylos were dispossessed of their rights, though with compensation, after the Constitution was enforced.

With such a tradition of struggle, the Mizo Union had also to fight against the foreign missionaries. More than 80 per cent of the Mizo population are Christians, mainly under the American Baptist Mission. These missionaries, no doubt, rendered very valuable service at the initial stage in giving a script to the Mizo language, preparing dictionaries and some books. Credit should also go to them for establishing the first schools in the districts so that

in the pre-independence days the percentage of literacy in the district was about 16, which did not compare badly with the all-India percentage of literacy at the time.

The first few generations of the newly educated Mizos were naturally obliged to the benevolence of the missionaries. But the "tree of knowledge" began to bear its fruit much to the chagrin of these "messengers of civilisation." Thirst for knowledge began to grow. A handful of students who could manage to come for higher studies out of the cloistered precincts of the Hills, felt the exhilaration and the contact with the world outside, and they went back to tell their people of what they saw. This engendered a widespread urge for knowledge among the Mizo people. Demand arose for the establishment of more schools. But the Baptist Mission benefactors had by now become wiser and they would not let the people taste the pernicious fruit of the tree of knowledge. Private attempts at establish-

ment of schools were resisted and foiled by the church, and this only evoked strong resentment among the faithfuls themselves. Thus was initiated a move against the foreign missionaries. The struggle for a national church got mingled with the struggle against the Shylos.

As the Mizo people's struggle against the exploiting Shylos began to grow, the latter put up a bitter resistance. But they knew that they could not do it unless they could rally at least a section of the people. So, with a view to diverting the people's attention, they formed a parallel political organisation called the United Mizo Freedom Organisation (UMFO). This organisation very soon raised a separatist slogan. It declared that since the tribal people living in the Indo-Burma border, the Kachins, were the kinsmen of the Mizos—an assertion which is probably not without foundation—the Mizos must unite with their kinsmen and so the district should merge with Burma. Against this separatist move, it was the Mizo Union that fought hard.

Thus from its very inception, the Mizo Union maintained a healthy trend. Later, when the slogan for a separate Hills State was raised, it did not become its champion. For some time it

toyed with the idea until it was rejected by the States Reorganisation Commission. Earlier, in their struggle against the Shylos, in 1948-49, the Mizo Union had to face repression at the hands of the Congress Government. But later they became an ally of the Congress and ever since the first general elections in 1952 this alliance was sustained, notwithstanding "some differences of approach to certain questions", as some Mizo Union leaders put it.

The present rupture is understood to be the result of the State's Government's alleged lukewarm attitude to relief operation in the famine stricken Mizo District. But what intrigues observers is that while communicating the decision of the Mizo Union to break away from the alliance, the three-man delegation of the organisation that met the Chief Minister told the latter that they did not question the bona fides of the State Government, though they felt that there was scope for further improvement in the supply of foodstuffs in the district.

One would agree with this contention, but when the famine situation was gradually developing, the Mizo Union, as a partner in the Government, was not known to have taken much note of it, nor did it complain of any

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## Indonesian Communist Party

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Afraid of the new upward swing in the Indonesian revolution, Dutch and American imperialism and its Indonesian hirelings intensified their activities and decided upon measures to smash the CPI and the independence movement led by the CPI.

In the middle of September, 1948, an incident occurred in the army in Madiun between the group which agreed to the then Government's reactionary and provocative policy and the group which remained faithful to the revolution.

This event was manoeuvred by the Hatta Government and it was said that in Madiun the Communists had carried out a seizure of power and that they had established a Soviet State. On the basis of this lie, the Government called on its entire apparatus to hunt down, arrest and murder members and sympathisers of the CPI.

Thus the Second White Terror broke out, a duplicate of the white terror of the Dutch Government in 1928-27. But this second one was much crueler and more bestial than the first. Masjumi members were also mobilised to hunt down, arrest and murder Communists—almost all the old leaders of the Party were killed. In such a situation, there was nothing else for the Communists to do but to take up arms and defend themselves with all their might against the White Terror which was then raging. This lasted till 1951 when the fourth stage in the Party's history opened.

The period began with the Central Committee Plenum in April 1951, which succeeded in drafting the CPI Constitution. This draft, after being sent out to the lower organisations, gave rise to widespread discussion in the Party. Without awaiting its adoption by the Congress, the

entire Party was simultaneously prepared to use this draft Constitution as a basis for everyday activity of building the Party and the practical experiences gained during its implementation.

The discussion and implementation of the CPI draft Constitution greatly stimulated the growth of the Party, raised the political level of Party members, brought to life inner-Party democracy and criticism and self-criticism in the Party, strengthened the discipline, ideology and unity of the forces of the Party.

The Party began to understand and implement its two basic tasks, that is, the task of building a united front and the task of building the Party. All this took place with a reactionary Government in power, the Sukiman (Masjumi) Government.

Under the continuous pressure of the democratic people's movement, as the national bourgeoisie inclined more and more to the Left, and as a result of the contradictions within the domestic ruling clique, the Sukiman Government was forced to resign and on April 1, 1952, there was established the Wilopo (Partai Nasional Indonesia) Cabinet, the progressive aspects of whose policy were supported by the CPI.

The formation of a Government whose policy contained progressive aspects and which was supported by the working class and the masses of the people, proved that there was an upsurge in the revolutionary movement in Indonesia. It indicated the growing unity of the national forces, including the national bourgeoisie in face of the reactionary forces from abroad and at home. In such a situation, the revolutionary movement, the CPI were able to grow within certain limits. New conditions of work and new tasks had appeared on the horizon and the CPI boldly

tackled them. In March 1954, the historic Fifth CPI National Congress was held with the purpose of answering all the important and basic problems of the Indonesian revolution, of improving the Party's work in building the united front, of answering all the basic problems of the building of the Party and of strengthening the CPI's ties with the masses.

At this Congress, all the documents drawn up by the Plenum of the Central Committee in October 1953 were approved. Apart from that, the CPI General Election Manifesto was adopted and it was decided to expand the Party membership and organisations.

Following this Congress, the CPI has made brilliant and uninterrupted progress under the leadership of its Central Committee, headed by its Chairman D. N. Aidit. In the elections to the Parliament and to the local bodies held a few years ago it has come out as the leading party in the entire country. Its membership has steadily grown and is the biggest in the non-Socialist Asian countries, coming to over one-and-a-half million members.

In its recent Sixth Congress held last year, the CPI summed up the experience of its work and charted out its path of advance in the extremely complex situation that has developed in Indonesia. It has adopted the line of extremely flexible tactics, while at the same time building the strength of the Party on the granite foundations of the worker-peasant alliance.

The Communist Party of Indonesia is a great inspiration and example not only to its own people but to Communists and democrats the world over. Its Fortieth Birth Anniversary is an auspicious day for Asia and the world.

Long Live the Communist Party of Indonesia!

FROM PAGE 8

there was acute shortage and in many instances, the Government knew there had been blackmarketing in stamps." No doubt, a ceiling legislation which does not nullify such transfers will be a sham one.

### Vinoba Bhawe's Criticism

No less a person than Acharya Vinoba Bhawe has been extremely critical of the proposals of land reforms of State Governments. During a two-hour discussion between Acharya Vinoba Bhawe and members of the Planning Commission at Meerut recently, the organiser of the Bhoodan movement is stated to have expressed "doubts whether the land reforms proposed in various States would make available substantial areas of land for distribution among landless labourers. He was also not sure if legislation on tenancy and related matters already undertaken would be adequate."

In the context of the failure of the Second Five-Year Plan to achieve the desired results in agricultural production, we have to examine the plan for agriculture in the Third Plan. According to Press reports, the tentative outlay on agricultural programmes during the Third Plan will be Rs. 1,000 crores including Rs. 400 crores for Community Development and Cooperation. Some of the production targets proposed for attainment during the Third Plan are reported to be: food-grains — 105 million tons, sugarcane — 92 lakh tons in terms of gur, cotton — 78 lakh bales, and jute — 65 lakh bales.

This allotment will be in addition to the allotment for major irrigation works and rural credit. Thus it will be seen that the Third Plan allotments will be substantially higher than those during the Second Plan. But the problem of agricultural production is not merely that of funds. There is a controversy going on in the Press and also between the Ministry of Food and Agriculture and the Planning Commission regarding the insufficiency of the allocations for agriculture.

It would seem from these bickerings that funds alone stand in the way of increasing agricultural production. This is the crux of the problem. Today, rural development work and agricultural extension programmes barely touch the vast peasant masses. They are not drawn into active participation in the movement for higher production. Primarily this is due to the basic failure to effect radical land reforms and any programme which does not take into account the miserable plight and lack of security of the basic masses of peasantry is bound to lead to only meagre results. But the importance of administrative changes, especially decentralisation and democratisation of the structure of the administration, should also be properly realised along with radical land reforms. It is only this two-pronged drive that will achieve quick and lasting results in the agricultural sector.

### Experience Of Plans

The question of increasing agricultural production in our country has to be tackled from the point of view of utilising the available resources to the maximum advantage.

The experience of the First and Second Five-Year Plans has shown that even the meagre funds allotted has not been fully utilised in promoting agriculture and what has been utilised has not gone to help the large masses of peasants, but has flown into the pockets of big landlords, corrupt officials and the inept bureaucratic apparatus. The major beneficiaries of the Community Development and other programmes have been the richer sections of the rural people. This has been pointed out year after year in the

evaluation reports on Community Development. Last year, the Punjab Government appointed a committee under the chairmanship of General Mohan Singh to review the working of rural development work. The Committee in its report points out that "although it is claimed that 80 per cent of rural Punjab has now been covered by the programme (Community Development) nothing substantial has been achieved so far."

### Benefits To Upper Strata

The Committee feels that even such achievements as are claimed begin soon to crumble away. "In some of the old projects which were started as far back as 1952 and were once applauded for the good work done we found very little trace of development work either physical or in the people's outlook." Regretting the lack of results, the Committee

ing by fits and starts, this meagre increase has been very unsteady and uneven and has to a greater or lesser extent still been dependent on the forces of nature. The index of agricultural production (base 1949-50) which stood at 103 in the quinquennium ending 1938-39 that preceded the Second World War declined to 97 in the quinquennium ending 1950-51, that preceded the First Five-Year Plan. During the First Five-Year Plan, a certain amount of progress was made and the index of agricultural production averaged 123 during the first three years of the Second Plan period (1956-57 to 1958-59).

But a large part of this increase in production was mainly achieved by the extension of cultivation to hitherto uncultivated lands and only a very small part was due to the effect of improved methods of cultivation. The unevenness in production achievements has been staggering between different

organising this section cannot be over-emphasised.

Both from the political and economic points of view, it is the agricultural labour which should form the bulwark of our organisation. We have, therefore, to take urgent steps to organise agricultural labour unions and affiliate them to regular Kisan Sabha units.

### Distribution Of Waste Lands

The problems which should demand our attention in this connection are:

- Fixation of minimum wages at all levels of operation.
- Higher wages with increase in productivity and increase in cost of living;
- Social oppression and caste communal and religious persecution;
- Employment;
- Indebtedness;
- Distribution of waste and

# KISAN SABHA'S TASKS

says that out of 133 blocks which it studied from reports, only 20 had done good work and of the 11 it studied on the spot, even the progress of expenditure was satisfactory only in four.

But more revealing is the Committee's observation that "the poor and backward sections of the community have not accepted the programme as their own." Giving the reasons for it, the Committee says that village-level workers are in touch only with the middle or upper class farmers, "thus confining their work mainly to classes which hardly represent ten per cent of the village population."

### Crux Of Problem

This is the crux of the problem. Today, rural development work and agricultural extension programmes barely touch the vast peasant masses. They are not drawn into active participation in the movement for higher production. Primarily this is due to the basic failure to effect radical land reforms and any programme which does not take into account the miserable plight and lack of security of the basic masses of peasantry is bound to lead to only meagre results. But the importance of administrative changes, especially decentralisation and democratisation of the structure of the administration, should also be properly realised along with radical land reforms. It is only this two-pronged drive that will achieve quick and lasting results in the agricultural sector.

### Experience Of Plans

The question of increasing agricultural production in our country has to be tackled from the point of view of utilising the available resources to the maximum advantage.

The experience of the First and Second Five-Year Plans has shown that even the meagre funds allotted has not been fully utilised in promoting agriculture and what has been utilised has not gone to help the large masses of peasants, but has flown into the pockets of big landlords, corrupt officials and the inept bureaucratic apparatus. The major beneficiaries of the Community Development and other programmes have been the richer sections of the rural people. This has been pointed out year after year in the

parts of the country and even between cultivators in the same area. Take, for example, Assam where traditional (as against the plantations) agricultural production has increased only by four per cent average during the Second Plan over the quinquennium preceding the First Plan, five per cent in Chhota Nagpur area of Bihar and 0.1 per cent in eastern U.P. whereas in the Punjab it has risen by 58 per cent and 130 per cent in the Kaira District of Gujarat compared to the pre-First Five-Year Plan quinquennium.

Similarly the average yields of rice per acre in different States vary between 400 and 1,200 lbs. while the highest yields obtained in crop competitions vary between 3,000 and 9,000 lbs. per acre. What these figures tell us is that while the vast majority of our agricultural economy is in an extremely backward condition, the potentiality for improvement is unlimited. We have only to tap this potential in a proper manner and we will be reaching the era of plenty in agricultural production.

First, while the problem of agrarian relations still continue to be the major problem in our midst, we cannot shut our eyes to the new awakening among the peasant masses. This awakening prods them for attaining higher and higher cultural and material standards. The peasant realises today that it is not enough to have land, but he should also know better techniques and should attain better levels of education to achieve better results from the available land. To the extent we are able to help the peasant masses in increasing agricultural production we will be coming nearer to them. It is, therefore, necessary that while our cadres should be the most militant defenders of the interests of kisans in their struggle for land and security, we should also be in a position to help them constructively by teaching them better methods of farming, helping them to procure better seeds, manure, etc.

### Agricultural Labour

Every year we have been discussing and passing resolutions on the question of agricultural labour, but very little is being done to organise agricultural labour in the country. According to certain calculations 39.8 per cent of the rural families are wage-receiving category against only 25.1 per cent who come under the wage-paying category. The intermediate group which are both receiving as well as paying wages is 35.1 per cent of the rural population. It can thus be seen that 60 per cent of the rural population comes under the category of wage-earning population and the importance of

fallow and surplus land; and

—Housing and House sites. We should as a matter fact pay serious and immediate attention to the question of distribution of all waste lands among agricultural labour and poor peasants. This is a demand which we have been placing every year. Let us take a decision here and now that if the Government does not take steps over a specified period say, the next six months, the Kisan Sabha will call upon the agricultural labour and poor peasants to occupy all waste lands and start cultivation immediately.

Finally, I come to some of our urgent tasks. First of all, I wish to emphasise that our style of work has to change if we are to make an impact on the peasant masses in the changed circumstances of today. What are those changed conditions?

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The Kisan Sabha cadres should undertake a study of modern farming methods; those of our Kisan Sabha cadres who own lands should themselves become model farmers by scientifically applying the fruits of research to their lands and showing higher results. We should also help kisan masses in getting education, run adult education centres, help in the building of schools, hospitals, wells, and cooperative societies, credit institutions in rural areas, etc. It is only by such a multi-pronged drive among the peasantry that we can win their confidence and make our Kisan Sabha the bastion of their rights and the hope of our peasantry.

In this connection, I would suggest that there should be one-full time worker of the Kisan Sabha in every village. This should be our target. Regular classes should be held Statewise to educate our Kisan Sabha workers on the problems of political, organisational and production work among the peasantry. Unless we raise the style and the quality of work and improve the methods of approach and organisational pattern, we will not be in a position to move forward in the coming period.

Let us be clear, concluded A. K. Gopalan, that in the coming period we are going to face serious tasks. This requires, he said, not merely day-to-day agitational struggles for land and security, but also a constructive approach towards production and other social, material and cultural needs of the peasants.

## ASSAM

\* FROM FACING PAGE

lack of Governmental initiative at an earlier stage when there was, indeed, room for such criticism. Now when the Government, at least gives the impression that it is anxious to send relief to the district—though lack of easy means of communication and, perhaps, some amount of bureaucratic bungling, have made the task rather very difficult and have affected the speed of relief operation—the Mizo Union suddenly decides to break away from their long-standing alliance.

This background makes it rather difficult to accept their explanation without a grain of salt.

Political observers here hold that the move of the Mizo Union has been inspired more out of political reason than for their concern for the famine-stricken people of the district. The opportunist stand of the Mizo Union leadership on a number of questions exposed it to a serious threat both from a Left-wing inside the party and from their opponent, the UMFO.

This development, has, however, exposed Chief Minister Chalia's tribal policy to very serious criticism from his opponents inside the Congress.

Though there is nothing to suggest any basic change in the Chief Minister's tribal policy as a result of this decision of the Mizo Union in the near future, there are, however, indications that the relation between the Congress and the various organisations of the Hills people may undergo certain changes before long.

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## Calcutta Rally

\* FROM CENTRE PAGES

the imperialists. The Stanvac and Burmah Shell refineries were not prepared to produce lubricants.

For all these years the British found precious little oil in India. But now with the help of the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries India was developing her oil industry.

He firmly declared that all efforts had to be made to eliminate the imperialist grip on our country. Through these efforts alone our country could progress and in this the Socialist camp was our true friend.

S. A. Dange said that taking help from the imperialist countries was not harmful in itself. But we should do it with our eyes open and "see that our pocket into which the aid goes remains our own."

He said that the country's production was increasing, the steel and oil industries were being built up. But the Communist Party still asked one basic question: who was getting the benefits? The idea seemed to be that the masses were to toil and produce while the capitalists, landlords or American imperialists were to enjoy the fruits—this would not be tolerated. The people would toil, they would also reap the benefits.

Referring to the barbaric atrocities in South Africa, he said that Pandit Nehru had moved a resolution on the subject in Parliament, which

was unanimously adopted. But at the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference Nehru had not displayed even the same strength as Nkrumah and Tengku Abdul Rehman—these latter two Premiers had refused to sit together with South Africa's representative. Compromises were necessary from time to time, but at a time when there was universal indignation Nehru had only displayed deplorable weakness in not associating himself with it.

Referring to the recent American air intrusion, Dange said that the U.S. imperialists had wanted an example of Soviet strength—"this has now been provided". In this connection he criticised Nehru's policy of now tilting this side and now the other side. "Be friends with all, but whose is the aircraft and whose the territory trespassed upon—be clear about this and frame your policies"—this was his advice to the Prime Minister.

At the end, Bhupesh Gupta referred to the disastrous defeat suffered by the PSP in the recent South-west Calcutta by-election. He called upon the PSP workers to ponder deeply on the reasons for this reverse.

He also appealed to the people to take up the cause of increasing the circulation of the Party's daily Swadhinata. He strongly urged that the mass foundations of the Party in Calcutta be even more firmly laid and widened. In this way the Party would become a genuine mass party.

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NEW AGE

MAY 22, 1960

NEW AGE

MAY 22, 1960



# PARIS

On May 16, a preliminary meeting attended by Charles de Gaulle, Harold Macmillan, Dwight Eisenhower, Nikita Khrushchov and the persons accompanying them who came to Paris in accordance with the agreement on the Summit conference was held in the Elysee Palace, Paris.

THE preliminary meeting was also attended by M. Debre and Couve de Murville from France, Selwyn Lloyd from Great Britain, Christian Herter and T. Gates from the United States and A. A. Gromyko and R. Y. Malinovsky from the Soviet Union. At that meeting the Soviet Premier read out the following statement:

## Khrushchov's Statement

As is known, a provocative act is known to have been committed recently with regard to the Soviet Union by the American Air Force. It consisted in the fact that on May 1, a United States reconnaissance aircraft invaded the Soviet Union while executing a specific espionage mission to obtain information on military and industrial installations on the territory of the USSR.

After the aggressive purpose of its flight became known the plane was shot down by units of the Soviet rocket troops. Unfortunately, this was not the only case of aggressive and espionage action by the United States Air Force against the Soviet Union.

Naturally, the Soviet Government was compelled to give appropriate qualification to these acts and show up their treacherous nature which is incompatible with the elementary requirements of the maintenance of normal relations between States in time of peace, not to speak of it being in gross contradiction with the task of lessening international tensions and creating the necessary conditions for the fruitful work of the summit conference.

This was done both in my speeches at the session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and in a special note of protest to the United States Government.

The State Department of the United States at first gave the ridiculous version that the American plane had violated the frontier of the USSR by chance and had no espionage and sabotage assignments of any kind.

## U. S. Govt.'s Responsibility

When irrefutable facts clearly proved the falsity of this version, the State Department of the United States on May 7, and later the Secretary of State on May 9, declared on behalf of the United States Government that United States aircraft intruded into Soviet territory on military espionage missions in conformity with a programme endorsed by the Government of the United States and the President personally.

Two days later President Eisenhower himself confirmed that American flights over Soviet territory had been and remained calculated policy of the United States.

The same was declared by the United States Government in its note to the Soviet Government dated May 12. Thereby the Government of the United States is crudely flouting the generally accepted standards of international law and the lofty principles of the United Nations Charter which has also been signed by the United States of America.

The Soviet Government and the entire Soviet people met with indignation these statements by leading statesmen of the United States as did every honest person in the world who displays concern for the destinies of peace.

Now, that the heads of Government of the four Powers have come to Paris for the conference, the question arises how it is possible to fruitfully negotiate and examine the questions confronting the conference, when the Government of the United States and

# MAY 16 & 17

the President personally far from deploring the provocative act—the incursion by an American military plane into Soviet territory—on the contrary, declared that such actions will continue to be the national policy of the United States towards the Soviet Union.

How can agreement be sought on the various issues which require a settlement with the object of reducing tension and eliminating suspicion and distrust between the States, when the Government of one of the great Powers bluntly declares that its policy is intrusion into the territory of another great Power with espionage and sabotage purposes, and consequently, aggravation of tension in international relations?

It is obvious that the proclamation of such policy, which can be carried through only when the countries are in a state of war, dooms the Summit meeting to complete failure in advance.

We, naturally, take note of the declaration of such a policy by the United States Government and state that in case of repeated intrusion by American planes into the Soviet Union we shall shoot such planes down.

## Warning To Aggressors

The Soviet Government reserves the right to take appropriate retaliatory measures in all such cases against those

who violate the state sovereignty of the USSR and engage in espionage and sabotage regarding the Soviet Union.

The Government of the USSR declares once more that appropriate measures will be taken also with regard to those States which, by permitting American military bases to be set up on their territory, become accomplices in the aggressive actions against the USSR, not excluding a blow against these bases.

## Threat To USSR

In this connection it is impossible to ignore President Eisenhower's statement that he could not take part in the Summit meeting under the threat of the conclusion of a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic, though what he called a threat was merely a statement by the Soviet Government of its firm determination to do away with the vestiges of the war in Europe and to conclude peace, thus, to bring the situation, especially in West Berlin, in line with the requirements of life and the interests of safeguarding peace and security of the European peoples.

How then can the Soviet Government take part in discussions under conditions of an actual threat, made by the Government of the United States which declared that it would continue to violate the frontiers of the USSR and that American planes had flown and would fly over Soviet territory?

The Government of the

United States is done by the Government of the United States the Soviet Government sees no possibility of fruitful negotiations with the United States Governments at the Summit. It cannot be among the participants in the talks where one of the parties bases its policy with regard to the Soviet Union on treachery.

If under the obtaining conditions the Soviet Government were to participate in negotiations clearly doomed to failure, it would thereby become a party to the deception of the nations, which it has no intention of becoming.

It stands to reason that if the United States Government were to declare that in future the United States will not violate the state borders of the USSR with its aircraft, that it deplors the provocative actions undertaken in the past, and will punish those directly guilty of such actions, which would assure the Soviet Union equal conditions with other Powers, I, as the head of the Soviet Government, would be ready to participate in the conference and exert all efforts to contribute to its success.

As a result of provocative flights by American military planes and, mainly, as a result of these provocative flights being declared for the future as the national policy of the United States of America against the Socialist countries, new conditions took shape in international relations.

It is but natural that under such conditions we cannot work at the conference, we cannot work because we see the position from which they

want to talk to us—under the threat of aggressive espionage flights. Espionage flights are known to be carried out for intelligence purposes in order to begin war.

## Deception Of The Public

Therefore, we reject the conditions created for us by the United States of America. We cannot participate in any talk and even in the solution of the questions which are quite ripe, we cannot do so because we see that the United States has no desire to come to agreement.

The United States is regarded as the leader in the Western countries. Consequently a conference at present would be a waste of time and deception of public opinion in all countries. I repeat, under the obtaining conditions we cannot take part in the talks.

We want to participate in negotiations only on the footing of equality, with equal opportunities for both sides.

We deem it necessary that the peoples of all countries of the world, that public opinion should understand us correctly. The Soviet Union does not abandon efforts to achieve agreement and we are certain that reasonable agreements are possible, but apparently not now but at some other time.

However, to make this possible it is necessary, first, for the United States of America to declare that it deplors the provocative policy which it

called a policy of "free" flights over our country, to abandon this policy, to admit that aggression was committed and express regret.

The Soviet Government profoundly believes that if not the present Government of the United States, then the next one, and if not the next one, then the one after that will understand that there is no other alternative but peaceful coexistence between the capitalist and Socialist systems. Either peaceful coexistence or war which will bring disaster to those now carrying through an aggressive policy.

## Adjourn The Summit

Therefore, we believe that some time must be allowed to elapse for the new questions to crystallise and for those shaping the political line of the country to analyse the responsibility they have assumed by proclaiming an aggressive line in the relations with the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries.

Therefore, we would think that there is no better way out than to put off the heads of Government conference for some six or eight months.

The Soviet Union, for its part, will not relax its efforts to achieve agreement. I think that public opinion will understand our position correctly, will understand that we have been deprived of the possibility to take part in these talks.

However, we firmly believe in the necessity of peaceful coexistence because to lose faith in peaceful coexistence would mean that mankind is doomed to war, would mean to accept the inevitability of war, and in present conditions it is well known what calamity war would bring to all peoples on earth.

I should like to address the people of the United States. I visited the United States, met there with representatives of various sections of the American people and I profoundly believe that all sections of the American people want no war.

The only exception is a small fanatic group in the Pentagon and the militaristic circles backing it which line their pockets on the arms race, make tremendous profits and which ignore the interests of the American people, in general ignore the interest of the peoples of all countries and carry through an adventurist policy.

We express gratitude to President de Gaulle for his hospitality and the opportunity to meet in Paris, the capital of France. We also appreciate the effort of the Government of Great Britain and Prime Minister Macmillan personally.

We regret that this meeting has been torpedoed by the reactionary quarters of the United States of America, as a result of the provocative flights of American military aircraft over the Soviet Union. We regret that this meeting failed to yield results awaited by the peoples of the world. Let disgrace and responsibility for this rest with those who have proclaimed the pirate policy vis-a-vis the Soviet Union.

It will be recalled that President Eisenhower of the