

NIZAM'S SHARE DEAL

Easy Profit of Rs. 1.6 Lakhs

Speaking in the Rajya Sabha on March 19, on the supplementary demands for grants for 1962-63 for the Ministry of Home Affairs, Bhupesh Gupta referred to the sale of 10,830 shares of the TELCO by the then Hyderabad Government to the Economic Adviser of the Nizam, at a lower rate than the prevailing market value of the shares. According to Bhupesh Gupta, the profit made by the Nizam through subsequent sale of these shares was to the tune of Rs. 1,60,793-10-0.

Quoting from the official documents, Bhupesh Gupta alleged that "the matter is sought to be hushed up" despite auditors' findings and Central Government's knowledge of this transaction. Below are relevant excerpts from Bhupesh Gupta's speech:

To begin with, I will deal with the case of the sale of 10,680 shares of the TELCO, by the then Hyderabad Government to the Economic Adviser of the Nizam of Hyderabad, Mr. C. B. Taraporewala. The sale took place when the States had not been reorganised.

Very few people knew what happened at that time, but suddenly the Supreme Court of India by an order dated December 21, 1959, directed the appointment of an auditor to audit the accounts of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Charitable Trust.

In pursuance of the orders of the Supreme Court, Messrs. A. F. Ferguson and Company, Chartered Accountants, Bombay and New Delhi audited the Accounts and their audit report dated 22-10-60 was received by Mr. Rai Trimbaklal, Director of Endowments and Joint Secretary, Board of Revenue, Andhra Pradesh, in his capacity as Director of Endowments.

What did that audit report say? It said:

"It appears that at about this time Khan Bahadur Taraporewala acting for H.E.H. the Nizam, was offered by the Government of Hyderabad, some 10,680 rights at a price of Rs. 10 per share which was substantially lower than the prevailing market value of the rights."

I may point out that the 'rights' referred to are the right shares of the Tata Locomotive and Engineering Co. Ltd., and that the prevailing market value of the rights was not less than Rs. 25 per share as revealed by the audit report itself.

That is the Government authority. In the same report it was also mentioned:

"However, the sale proceeds of 10,680 rights which were first sold were credited to the personal account of H.E.H. the Nizam."

QUICK-PROFIT

The reference here is to the sale of rights belonging to the Nizam's Charitable Trust. The report further mentions:

"However, it is clear that H.E.H. the Nizam personally made a profit equivalent to about Rs. 1,60,793-10-0 representing the difference between the price at which the rights belonging to the trustees were sold on the market at Rs. 2,67,193-10-0 and Rs. 1,06,400-0-0 paid by him to the Government of Hyderabad for the purchase of the rights. H.E.H. the Nizam would not have earned this profit during a short period of time in the absence of the Trusts Holdings."

The shares were sold at a lower price than the prevailing market price at that time. What happened? This audit report was sent to the Joint Secretary of the Board of Revenue who is in charge of Endowments in the old Hyderabad Government, the Andhra Pradesh Government later on, Mr. Trimbaklal.

He suspected certain things, that certain shady deals may have occurred. He got in touch with the Central Government and he was dealing with the matter in his hands. On October 17, 1961 Mr. Trimbaklal, Joint Secretary of the Hyderabad Government, wrote a letter to the Accountant General at that time. Here is an interesting thing:

"I have addressed a D.O. letter No. 1171/CL/59, dated 13.4.61, which you may kindly see. Twice I met you in Office and personally explained certain matters with regard to the purchase of 10,680 Telco Shares belonging to Government, by Sri C. B. Taraporewala. I also showed you the photostat copies of the letters which I received in Delhi from Shri D. L. Darbari."

Mr. Darbari is the Superintendent of the S.P.E. under the Home Ministry.

"I am extremely grateful to you for having given me sufficient time to explain this case. I hope you will certainly take necessary action whatever you consider proper."

This was the letter which Mr. Trimbaklal wrote to the Accountant General of the Hyderabad Government of that time. And that letter was acknowledged by him, I think, on the same day. He then wrote a letter to the Hyderabad I.G. of Police, Mr. Nambiar.

"I met our Chief Secretary about four days back and I was directed by him to contact you in connection with the purchases of Telco shares by Shri Taraporewala from Government. I was told that the files and the photostats received from the Central Special Police have been sent to you for investigation. I have consulted in this matter with the leading advocates. They are of opinion that the matter is quite clear and the case of forgery etc. can be fully established. The course suggested is to prosecute the concerned person. I hope you will take immediate necessary action."

If you want to know the details and any further information in this regard, I am prepared to see you and give all the information required. Kindly let me know as to when I may see you in this connection.

Yours sincerely,
(Trimbaklal)

This letter of October 20, 1961 was acknowledged and so the case was before the Andhra Pradesh Government. Then what happened? The Central Government seems to have ordered a prosecution but nothing further seems to have happened and what is regrettable is that the Central Intelligence Branch or the Special Police Establishment are practically out of the picture, although this is a kind of evasion of income tax. It amounts to a breach of

trust. It amounts to cheating a charitable trust, the Nizam's Trust. Nothing happened then. What happened in the future? That is very interesting.

CENTRAL & STATE GOVTS. KNEW IT

This Joint Secretary of the Board of Revenue, Hyderabad, is in charge of the Endowments, I mean Shri Trimbak Lal. He met the Chief Secretary of Andhra Pradesh and explained to him the position, and about what he thought was an unfair deal, or a shady deal with regard to these shares. After that meeting and in order perhaps to put it on record, he wrote a letter to the Chief Secretary himself.

In that letter to the Chief Secretary, Mr. Trimbak Lal wrote thus: The letter is dated October 5, 1961 and bears the number D.O. No. P/4684/61. It runs thus:

"Dear Sir,
I met you in your office at about 4-0 p.m. on 3-10-61, and showed you the photostat copies of the letters which I got from Shri S. L. Barhari from Delhi. These copies I have already shown to the Chief Minister, when he was in Delhi, on 28.9.61. These photo copies leave no doubt about the forgery and fraud that has been committed. These are very serious criminal offences about which, I am of opinion, that the Government should take necessary action. In case no prompt action is taken by Government, it is feared that these matters will be taken up by the public which could make the position of the Government very awkward. As the matter is very serious, I consider it my duty as a Government servant to bring

Vol. XI

No. 13

New Delhi
March 24,
1963

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Therefore, the matter was under investigation according to the letter of the Chief Secretary himself. Then this Shri Trimbaklal wrote another letter, this time to the Investigating Officer, marked "Top Secret". This letter he wrote to Mr. Anand Ram, Superintendent of Police, Investigation Branch, C.I.D. Hyderabad, and the Superintendent of Police, Mr. Anand Ram, wrote in reply to Mr. Trimbaklal. It is dated November 29, 1962. It runs thus:

"Dear Shri Rai Trimbaklal,
Sub: Sale of Telco shares—
Alleged forgery and cheating by Sri C. B. Taraporewala, Financial Adviser to H.E.H. the Nizam Regarding.

Ref: Your D.O. letter No. T.2/62-3/dt. 24.11.62.

my knowledge. This information I gave to the Chief Secretary, considering it as my duty through my D.O. letter No. P/4684/61 dated 5-10-61. After that I had no interest in the matter and it was left to the Government to take whatever action it considered proper.

After a lapse of one year, you again contacted me on phone and came to my office with some other officers of your Department and told me that the Government had taken a decision to take action in this case and start prosecution against the concerned person under alleged forgery, cheating and criminal breach of Trust. On your personal assurances and your showing me the file in which the opinion of Public Prosecutor was also there and there was an

BHUPESH GUPTA DISCLOSES DETAILS OF GREAT HUSH-HUSH

the above facts to your notice."

"During my stay at Delhi, I was informed that Mr. and Mrs. C. B. Taraporewala are secretly contemplating to go away to Pakistan with a lot of jewellery worth several lakhs. This information is also from most reliable sources."

"I hope that after due consideration of this serious matter, the Government will take suitable action whatever it considers necessary."

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
Rai Trimbaklal."

Later on a letter was also written to the Home Department. The Chief Secretary wrote a letter to the Joint Secretary, Board of Revenue, Shri Trimbaklal, on the 17th October, 1961, and it is like this:

"The matter referred to by you is being attended to and the Government are considering what action would be appropriate in the matter. I am writing this to suggest that if there is anything you wish to convey, you may write to me direct without unnecessarily marking copies to any one else since having regard to the nature of the contents it is desirable that any kind of risk is avoided."

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- M. P. Pai."

The complaint in the case was obtained from you on the specific orders of the Chief Secretary and the progress made in the investigation of the case is being intimated to him from time to time."

So this was being intimated to the Chief Secretary.

"If you desire to know the progress made in the investigation of the case, you may please approach the Chief Secretary to Government in the matter."

Yours sincerely,
Sd/ S. Anandaram."

So the matter was investigated, according to this letter of the November 29, 1962. Such is the position. But what is happening, we do not know. The Central Intelligence Department and the Special Police Establishment of the Home Ministry came. Even so we do not know what happened. Here again I would invite the attention of the House to a letter written by Mr. Trimbaklal, may be in despair, to Mr. Anandaram, Superintendent, CID Hyderabad. He wrote like this:

"My dear Shri Anandaram,
You are fully aware that in the course of my other work and duties in the case of H.E.H. the Nizam's Charitable Trust, certain matters in connection with the sale of TELCO Right Shares by Government had come to

endorsement of Chief Secretary that I complied to your request in lodging a formal written complaint, the draft of which was prepared by Public Prosecutor. When the written formal complaint was obtained by your Officers on 3.9.62, you and others also assured me that the maximum time that will be taken will be one month in filing the case in the Court.

You are quite aware that I had my own doubts about this and that seems to be coming out true. On telephone whenever I asked about this, you were kind enough to assure me that everything is quite ready and shortly action is going to be taken. Inaction in this case has created a very awkward and painful situation personally to me of which you are fully aware.

I hope you will be kind enough to intimate me immediately whether there is any action going to be taken by you or not, so that I may do what

*ON PAGE 13

ON OTHER PAGES

Communist Unity is our Banner (Editorial)

page 4

S. A. Dange on Asan-African Workers' Conference. Centre pages

Partial Tax Relief Due To Public Pressure

★From Chakrapany

Public pressure and resentment against the unjust tax burdens sought to be imposed on them in the State budget for 1963-64 had its effect; the Finance Minister has been forced to announce concessions to the extent of Rs. 130 lakhs out of a total of Rs. 4.85 crores covered by his new tax proposals.

The Finance Minister R. Shankar has declared that he would give up his scheme to reintroduce tuition fees in standards 6 to 8 in schools and also his proposal to increase entertainment tax on tickets costing below one rupee. Both these concessions have been welcomed by all sections as significant victories.

As had already been reported in last week's New Age, the Finance Minister in his new budget had sought to impose a number of additional levies, almost all of which would hit the common man in one way or other. Apart from the two levies mentioned above, he had sought to increase duty on electricity and increase in multipoint sales tax (from 2 to 3 per cent) and bus fares (20 per cent). This is in addition to the expected additional yield of Rs. 80 lakhs from the increased rate of 2 per cent inter-state sales tax introduced by the Union Government and Rs. 60 lakhs expected from increased stamp duties.

These proposals, and particularly the idea of taxing children for going to school, had evoked universal indignation and there was sharp criticism against the budget both inside and outside the State Assembly. Not only the Communist Party which took up the issue in a big way, but Congress circles also came out criticising the new taxes. Criticism was voiced by Congress newspapers too.

It was pointed out that neighbouring states like Madras and Mysore had not proposed any new imposts this year and Kerala government also could have followed their example if only it had tried to take bold measures to effect economy in a notoriously inefficient and inflated administrative machinery and to scrap prohibition.

CONGRESS CRITICISM

Such was the strength of feelings among the public over the new taxes that in the Executive Committee of the Pradesh Congress which met in Alwaye on March 9, strong objection was taken to some of the Finance Minister's proposals, specially against the tuition fees. Inside the Congress Legislature Party also there was strong criticism against the budget proposals. The result was that the Finance Minister had to bow before this pressure and come out with the announcement of concession.

While these concessions are important in themselves, very many bad features of the budget still remain and the people are far from being satisfied. The Communist Party has given a call for a power-

TRIVANDRUM:

down the unauthorised school. The Chief Minister instead of enforcing the order of the Regional Director, had permitted the school to be run. Again, the Village Volunteer Force now being organised throughout the State, it was pointed out, has become an instrument of coercion and oppression by the ruling party. It is completely dominated by Congress. Only Congressmen are being enrolled as volunteers and only Congress officials are appointed as Dalapathis and Upadalapathis. Although the declared objective of this organisation is to do voluntary work in the villages to increase agricultural production by building village roads and taking up minor irrigation works etc. it has been turned into a pocket organisation of the ruling party in the village with consequent harassment to others.

The Dalapathis imagine that they are endowed with authority to order people about and even to take law and order into their own hands. An instance of this kind of activity was cited on the floor of the Assembly. A "summons", issued by a certain Dalapathi to a school teacher asking her to show cause why she should not be proceeded against for an alleged "offence", was produced and read out in the Assembly. The "offence" committed by the poor school teacher was that she had objected to a village road being constructed through her land without obtaining her permission. For this, she was threatened by the Dalapathi with dire punishment.

CHARGE OF CORRUPTION

As a background to this, one may recall the instance of allegations against one of the prominent Congress leaders and ex-minister G. Chandrasekhara Pillai which were first voiced by a Communist member in the Assembly last year and which subsequently came to be substantially proved in a court of law.

Communist MLA, N. N. Pandarathil had alleged in the Assembly last year that Chandrasekhara Pillai, who holds key positions in the co-operative movement in the state had been instrumental in passing on government money to the extent of Rs. 75,000 to a bogus handloom textile co-operative society as loan for purchasing machinery etc., which were nothing but scrap.

Pillai had then denied the allegations and challenged Pandarathil to repeat the same outside the House, in which case he said he would take action for defamation. When two newspapers took up the challenge and published the allegations, Pillai sued them for defamation. But not only were the editors of the papers acquitted by the court, but the Magistrate in his judgment expressed the view that most of the allegations were true. More allegations were heard in the Assembly against the same Congress leader this time. Also N. N. Pandarathil this time gave instances in the Assembly to show that Chandrasekhara Pillai was indulging in similar activities with regard to two other societies, one a carpenters' society and another a coconut-husk society, both of which had been granted large sums of money by the Co-operative Department.

Among other charges levelled on the floor of the Assembly is one against R. Balakrishna Pillai, also a prominent leader of the ruling party, who, it was pointed out, has been running an upper primary school without government sanction and in defiance of the orders of the Regional Director of Education to close

by a certain Dalapathi to a school teacher asking her to show cause why she should not be proceeded against for an alleged "offence", was produced and read out in the Assembly. The "offence" committed by the poor school teacher was that she had objected to a village road being constructed through her land without obtaining her permission. For this, she was threatened by the Dalapathi with dire punishment.

The Home Minister replying to the debate did not try to defend or excuse these misdeeds. On the other hand, he promised to inquire into these matters and to see that such things do not recur. Corruption in administration has also been highlighted and brought into public attention by the recent suspension orders passed by the State Government against two senior officers in the State Service. Both have been suspended pending enquiry into charges of corruption.

One of them, S. Govinda Menon, IAS, and First Member of the Board of Revenue has been suspended following a judgment of the Kerala High Court in which the learned judge made a number of serious observations against the conduct of the officer concerned in leasing out nearly 30,000 acres of temple lands to private parties. These latter are persons belonging to the ruling party and associated with the Nair Service Society of Mannath Padmanabhan.

In the other case, the Director of Public Relations, V. R. Narayanan Nair has been sus-

ended pending enquiry by anti-corruption department about defalcation etc. Since both these officers belong to the Nair community, the Nair communal press has started a tirade against the Home Minister, who incidentally happens to be a Catholic.

The Communist Party has come out exposing this communal outcry and lending strong support to the actions of the government directed against corruption in administration.

An element of some political significance in the current scene in the state is the recent change in the attitude of the PSP towards the government. It will be recalled that the PSP, after their walk-out from the coalition when Congress whisked away their leader Pattom Thanu Pillai to be made the Punjab Governor, had declared that their attitude will be one of responsive cooperation to the government.

Lately they have decided to give up this role and go into direct opposition to the government. Accordingly, the effectiveness of the opposition in the Assembly has also increased. Two rebel PSP members, who had resigned some time back because of their differences with Pattom Thanu, have now rejoined the PSP and one of them was elected the leader of the PSP Assembly Party. During the voting on budget demands, both PSP and Muslim League voted for a cut motion pressed by Communists to criticise the misuse of emergency by the government. The voting was 40 in favour and 61 against.

The Karnataka State Council of the Communist Party has decided to observe a "Release Week" from March 29 to April 6, when meetings and demonstrations will be held at important centres to demand the release of arrested Communist leaders.

The State Council in its resolution, while welcoming the release of three detenus, points out that all the detenus, except three, are members of the State Council, two are MLAs, one an MLC, and some are members of the local bodies. The resolution says:

"It is clear that the Government is trying to paralyse and smash the Communist Party and its mass movement in the name of national defence by continuing to keep them in jail. The Council has repeatedly declared that the charge of activities prejudicial to the National Defence against these detenus is baseless and false."

The resolution has drawn attention to the lack of proper facilities and treatment inside jail and demanded payment of allowances for the families of detenus.

HOW ATULYA GHOSH IMPLEMENTED HIS CALL

West Bengal Congress President Atulya Ghosh made a dramatic "appeal" the other day to the State Government to release all Communist prisoners in view of the coming bye-elections.

This "sincere" appeal was implemented almost immediately afterwards by the arrest of yet another Communist MLA, K. Nagendra Roy Chowdhury at the gate of the Assembly on March 15.

Addressing a public rally under the auspices of the Communist Party and the Marxist Forward Bloc on March 15, Communist leader Somnath Lahiri pointed out how this arrest proved that the Congress Government and leaders of West Bengal were

not utilising the opportunity afforded by the bye-elections to launch a campaign in support of national policies against Right reaction—but were only persisting in their anti-Communist attacks.

Lahiri drew attention to the remarks made by Judges while granting bail to Communist prisoners. He asserted that the guilt of not a single Communist arrested under Defence of India Rules had been proved.

RAJASTHAN DEMANDS RELEASE OF DETENUS

Statewide rallies were held on March 17, demanding the immediate release of detained Communist leaders of Rajasthan, Mohan Poonamiya and Iqbal Singh, in pursuance of the decision of the State Council of the CPI to observe a day demanding their release.

Meetings were held at all important places. H. K. Vyas addressed meetings at Hanumangarh, Raisingnagar and Sriganganagar. Resolutions demanding the release of these leaders were passed.

A huge rally held at Fali was addressed by Hariram, MLA. In Alwar also a rally was held. Similar meetings were held

RELEASE COMMUNIST DETENUS

WEST BENGAL MPs' MEMO TO THE PRIME MINISTER

Communist Members of Parliament from West Bengal have submitted a memorandum to the Prime Minister regarding Communist detenus and other Communist prisoners in West Bengal.

Not a single one of the nearly 120 detenus has, however, been released up-to-date. These detenus and prisoners include a number of outstanding personalities of Bengal's freedom struggle, the leader of the Opposition and 13 MLAs and 4 MLCs, a number of Municipal Commissioners, professors, and teachers and well known leaders of mass organisations. Among them are also five leading women Communists including a member of the State Assembly.

The memorandum points out the totally vindictive conditions under which the majority of Communist prisoners are being kept and demands their immediate release. The Prime Minister and the Home Minister have been urged in the meanwhile to ensure that the following demands are immediately met:

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- 1 All detenus should be placed in Division I.
- 2 All detenus must be given at least some pocket allowances to meet the expenses of the essential requirements.
- 3 In all deserving cases, a family allowance should be granted.
- 4 Other grievances including those of the under-trial political prisoners should be sympathetically considered and redressed.
- 5 Daily newspapers should be provided at Government cost.

The memorandum emphasises the urgent necessity for the release of all Communist prisoners in view of the impending bye-elections.

RELEASE CAMPAIGN IN ASSAM

The Assam State Council of the Communist Party of India, at its three-day meeting at Gauhati from March 7 to 9, decided to launch a State-wide campaign for the release of detenus and for popularising the Party's policies on urgent political issues.

This campaign will be conducted intensively during March and April. A series of meetings, at least seven in each district, will be held. On April 2, there will be central rallies held all over the State in district and sub-divisional headquarters, where resolutions demanding release of detenus will be adopted. There will also be a mass signature campaign on a petition for the release of detenus.

As revealed in Parliament by the Home Minister, the Assam Government has detained the largest number of Communists in any State. Out of a total of 114, about 51 are

detained outside Assam, in Bahrampur jail in Orissa. Only 15 Communist detenus have been released so far. Among the detenus are 30 members of the State Council of the Party, 11 members of the State Executive Committee (out of a total of 17), and five out of the seven members of the State Secretariat. The release campaign was launched at a public meeting at Gauhati on March 8, where the Chairman of the Communist Party of India, S. A. Dange called for the immediate release of all detenus.

Spotlight

by Garuda

WHERE LIES THE U. S. INTEREST?

Many have questioned the propriety of the U.S. and British envoys' obtrusive presence during the fourth round of the Indo-Pak talks in Calcutta.

As the Times of India wrote: "It is surely rather extraordinary that the U.S. Ambassador and the British High Commissioner have chosen to post themselves so prominently on the sidelines. The paper commented: 'It is rather unusual, to say the least, for the representatives of foreign Governments to associate themselves in this way with negotiations with which they are, on the face of it, not directly concerned. If their advice is required, it can surely be obtained at short notice without the delegations having the foreign representatives looking over their shoulder, so as to speak, from one day to another.' (March 14)

Prof. Galbraith later hurriedly called a press conference and offered some kind of an explanation for his overtures. He is reported to have said that the USA was seriously concerned with the security of the sub-continent and had "very heavily committed its resources to it." (Times of India report, March 16)

But this explanation, one is constrained to say, only leads up a blind alley. It is already too well known that America's commitment to the Pakistan part of the sub-continent is heavy. This is also a patent fact that America has quite consistently evinced a kind of interest in the Kashmir part of the sub-continent which is directly prejudicial to India.

Hence, when the USA pleaded her heavy commitment or serious concern, it always rubbed Indian opi-

nion the wrong way. Such is the harsh fact of life, and it will not do us or the Americans any good to gloss over it. But it never explained anything new.

In this connection, a friend sent to me the cutting of a very interesting news-item which appeared in the Times of India last June. I cannot resist the temptation of quoting below the item in full with heading, date-line and all:

REASON BEHIND U. S. ATTITUDE

KASHMIR PROBLEM

New York, June 20: "The Chicago Sun Times" correspondent Mr. Frederick Kuh, in a dispatch from Karachi, says: "The United States enjoys certain facilities in Pakistan, the precise character of which is a secret."

Some diplomatic observers at the United Nations are understood to have been saying privately that this is a powerful factor governing the United States' attitude regarding the Kashmir issue. Part of these facilities enjoyed by the United States are believed to lie in the Pakistani-occupied northern areas of Kashmir—but this is the first time that there has been a reference to the matter in the American press.

Mr. Kuh says: "U.S. espionage flights (from Pakistan) were cancelled by the then President, Mr. Dwight D. Eisenhower, and have not been resumed. But it seems probable that Pakistan still serves as a base for the United States' intelligence activities along the southern rim of the Soviet realm."

Pakistan is also a potential base for operations in the event of war."

There has been a lot of speculation on the subject ever since the USA and Britain, taking advantage of the crisis caused by China, hammered open the lid, wisely put by India, on the Kashmir question.

We have had reports of some very tendentious solutions being favoured in Washington and London. The Indian people are terribly interested to know the precise position about these. What exactly did our "intelligent and far-sighted as well as good friends" (to quote the words of our Swatantra veteran, Rajaji) say and do in Calcutta? That is the sixty-four million dollar question of the day.

THE Thought, unable to hold its patience any longer, has blurted out a suggestion concerning Kashmir which, I think, is quite significant.

This is what it says: "...the valley could be helped to be an autonomous unit under, say a governing Mayor. The Mayor could be made answerable to a locally elected council for supervising the internal administration of the valley" (March 16)

This "Faltzbar" tabloid has never been conspicuous for respectability. But the aquarium to which the fish belongs is quite well known. Hence, the formula suggested by it deserves to be noted. I hope it will duly be done, for this formula is nothing but a sinister re- past of what had been steadily stealing up on us—the sell-out of Kashmir for snatching back Ladakh!

Assam

★From Madhusudan Bhattacharya

Problem Of Internal Security Highlighted Debate On Governor's Address Ends

The debate on the Governor's address in Assam Assembly which concluded with the Chief Minister's reply on March 7 revealed the main political trends in the State.

The 41 members who took part in the debate covered a wide range of subjects; but by and large the debate, highlighted the issue of Pakistani infiltration into Assam which has been one of the major planks of agitation of most of the political groups of the State. It is this issue, centering around which the group rivalry in the ruling party of the State has been continuing; it is this issue that has shaped the political alignments in the State.

Spokesmen of the loosely-knit United Opposition Front, led by the PSP, and holding widely divergent views on most issues, seemed to have found a common ground with some members of the ruling party, who are generally identified as belonging to what is called the anti-Ministerial faction, on the issue of Pakistani infiltration.

That this is one of the major problems of internal security of the State is admitted on all hands. It was some of the members of the Congress who stressed that the issue was a national one rather than a communal one. Particularly significant was the speech of O. K. Das, one of the old guards of Assam Congress and a former Minister. From him came the much needed emphasis on the necessity for restraint in speeches on this

denunciation of a community had nothing in common with facts. The Speaker reminded the members that though they would not attract the provisions of the Defence of India Rules for their speeches inside the House, yet they should exercise restraint in the interests of communal harmony. The Chief Minister in his reply to the debate further clarified this point, and emphasised that the speeches inside the House received wide publicity and unless there were restraint in these speeches, "we might ourselves be responsible for a communal flare-up."

The Chief Minister appeared to face the House this time with greater self-confidence than he could do on other occasions. This might be partly because of the "more consolidated" position of the Ministerial group of the ruling party now than it was some time back, and partly because he felt that steps taken to deport unauthorised entrants from Pakistan into Assam were yielding results.

He, however, admitted that the figures of infiltrants were on the basis of "indirect assessment" but asserted that whatever might be the figures, every unauthorised entrant must go. He, however, could not disclose the number of infiltrants deported so far, as he thought that it would not be "in the public interest" to do so.

Notwithstanding the confident tone of the Chief Minister, it is still doubtful if he has been able

to hold its patience any longer, has blurted out a suggestion concerning Kashmir which, I think, is quite significant. This is what it says: "...the valley could be helped to be an autonomous unit under, say a governing Mayor. The Mayor could be made answerable to a locally elected council for supervising the internal administration of the valley" (March 16)

This "Faltzbar" tabloid has never been conspicuous for respectability. But the aquarium to which the fish belongs is quite well known. Hence, the formula suggested by it deserves to be noted. I hope it will duly be done, for this formula is nothing but a sinister re- past of what had been steadily stealing up on us—the sell-out of Kashmir for snatching back Ladakh!

COMMUNIST UNITY IS OUR BANNER

Editorial

COMMUNISTS all over the world are today devoting all their energies towards a key and vital task: that of strengthening the unity of the international Communist movement. That is why there is widespread acclaim for the initiative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to hold bilateral talks with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, "in the interests of strengthening our friendship and better mutual understanding."

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China sent its reply to this letter of the CPSU on March 9. The fortnight between the receipt of the CPSU letter and the sending of the reply was unfortunately used by the Chinese Party, not to improve the atmosphere, but to poison it as never before by the publication of the most slanderous attacks against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal Parties.

The voluminous nature of these abusive documents has been interpreted, in circles hostile to the international Communist movement, as being the preparation for a worldwide platform for the erroneous dogmatist policies of the Chinese Communist Party.

In complete contrast with the tone of fraternal solidarity, which permeates the letter of February 21 of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the editorials of *People's Daily* and the *Red Flag* are full of venomous hostility, which ill-become such self-proclaimed champions of Communist unity. Not only that. The editorial pronouncements of the Chinese Communist Party are dangerous departures from all accepted and commonly agreed principles of inter-Party relations.

The Communist Party of China arrogates to itself the right to interfere in the internal affairs of other Parties and decide which are the "genuine" Communists and which are not. The editorials go further: they call on the "genuine" Communists virtually to split their Parties, for they place those Communists, who differ with the Chinese Party, outside the pale of the Communist movement, in the ranks of the renegades and traitors to the Communist cause.

Communists all over the world deeply regret this persistence of the Chinese Communist Party in continuing its disruptive polemics and its totally impermissible interference in the internal affairs of other Parties.

In its reply to the CPSU, the Chinese Party now says that it will "temporarily suspend" public polemics in its newspapers and periodicals—"apart from the articles which we have already published." Those who stand for Communist unity will always welcome any suspension of public polemics: but the fact remains that today, all over the world, the slanderous attacks contained in the articles of the Chinese Party "already published" are being translated and distributed on the widest possible scale. Dogmatism's vile assault on the international Communist movement mounts in intensity, despite the so-called suspension of polemics.

The World Marxist Review (*Problems of Peace and Socialism*) of February 1963 editorially points out the differences which exist between the Parties adhering to the positions of creative Marxism and their critics, headed by the Chinese Party, on the key issues of peaceful co-

existence, of the struggle to banish war from the life of society, of disarmament, of transition to socialism. The Review's editorial states:

"The critics of the Parties adhering to creative Marxism advance no positive programme, no consistent political line which would really facilitate the practical struggle against imperialism and ensure tangible gains for the revolutionary movement."

"Difficulties are also being created in the international trade union, youth and women's democratic organisations and in the peace movement, which are being pressed to adopt a line that would alienate large sections of the population from the democratic movement."

"Clearly, this is an attitude that may lead to a split in the international Communist movement."

The editorial pinpoints the utterly unprincipled and baseless concept advanced by the Chinese Party of an "oppor-tunist" "majority" and a "principled" "minority" in the world Communist movement.

Let all disruptors understand that "there can only be one international Communist movement and one Communist Party in each country, just as there can be only one truth."

How can unity be achieved? Can it come about automatically, spontaneously, without struggle? On the contrary, struggle alone can bring about unity, struggle against all deviations of Marxism-Leninism, against dogmatism and revisionism, against splitters of every sort.

Debate and discussion in the international Communist movement are necessary. But such debate and discussion cannot be conducted in the hostile and abusive manner in which the *People's Daily* and *Red Flag* editorials have been written. If Communists engage in debates and discussions among themselves, they do so as comrades, battling for a common cause. The Chinese Party resorts to calumny and insult; it brands Communists with whom it disagrees as 'henchmen and apologists of the imperialists.

Assailing the dogmatist refusal to see the new, the same editorial says:

"No one can call himself a creative Marxist who denies the existence of the new features of our time. And if one recognises these new features, one cannot but see that this new epoch necessitates a new political line, a new strategic concept of the international revolutionary movement. One cannot agree in words with some aspects of this new strategic concept and in deeds depart from it in the basic respects, narrowing down the possibilities for struggle against imperialism."

The Moscow Statement of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1960 rightly states:

"It is the supreme internationalist duty of every Marxist-Leninist Party to work continuously for greater unity in the world Communist movement."

All Communist Parties are dedicated to this great and vital task. Every crack in the unity of the international Communist movement is hailed with glee by the imperialists and reactionaries, by all the enemies of our movement. To cement the cracks which have appeared must be the common concern of all Communist Parties.

The international Communist movement can and shall assert its unity. Our solidarity is our shield, our sword, our banner.

(March 20)

Notes of the Week * By Romesh Chandra

INVISIBLE UMBRELLA?

The Lok Sabha debate on demands for grants for the Ministry of External Affairs was marked by a full-throated support for the policy of non-alignment. All but Swatantra Rani Ghyatri Devi, declared themselves votaries of non-alignment. The Prime Minister himself repeated his determination to adhere to this policy.

BUT the question being seriously asked in political circles in the capital is this: Is the "umbrella" already spreading its deadly shadow over our heads—an umbrella, invisible at present perhaps, but as dangerous to our independence and sovereignty as the visible variety in other countries?

The U.S.-Commonwealth Air Mission to India has completed its report after several days' secret confabulations in London. But the report has still not been shown to the Government of India, increasing suspicions as to its provisions. According to a *Hindustan Times* report from London, the Mission's offers to India would be decided in the light of "various political considerations."

Meanwhile, the rush of Indian Ministers to London and Washington to discuss further defence assistance has created further speculation as to the nature of the agreements we are likely to make with the UK and US Governments.

The open and unashamed intervention of the U.S. Ambassador and the U.K. High Commissioner during the recent Indo-Pakistan talks in Calcutta have been sharply commented upon in all circles.

Defence Minister Chavan in reply to questions in Parliament, has revealed that U.S. and U.K. armed personnel have been stationed on our soil (in small numbers at present, it is true), and have evidently the right to observe and review the use of the arms and equipment they have given us, and to see if these arms and equipment were being used exclusively for the purpose for which they have been given—namely defence against Chinese aggression.

It is clear that the greatest vigilance must be exercised by the Government and people of India against the imperialists' efforts to establish their bases, in all but name, and hoist their air umbrellas, again in all but name, over India.

The imperialists' umbrellas—visible or invisible—have chains as all the countries which have entered into imperialist military pacts know to their cost. India, determined to preserve its independence, refuses the umbrella and the chains that are part of it.

"Though Mr. Desai hoped that he was distributing burdens equitably, the only group who may feel they have got off lightly are the millionaires. No fresh attack of significance has been made on India's wealthy minority."

CPI PUBLICATIONS ON QUESTIONS OF IDEOLOGY

The Communist Party of India has decided to publish all the available materials on questions of ideology that have arisen in the international Communist movement.

THESE will be available in a series of booklets. Booklet I will contain: 1) Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the Central Committee of the CPC dated February 21, 1963 regarding the proposal of a conference of all brother parties; 2) Reply of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the Central Committee of the CPC; and 3) Editorial of

the World Marxist Review (February 1963) summing up the issues.

Booklet II will contain: 1) *People's Daily* on "differences between Togliatti and us"; 2) Togliatti's reply and 3) Luigi Longo on "Structural reforms and its revolutionary significance".

SUPER PROFITS

THE Big Business lobby is working non-stop. The Tata reputation has already pressurised both the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister. The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry has held its session—with one of the star Jains of Vivian Bose Report fame in the chair—and called for the scrapping of the super-profits tax.

The entire machinery of the monopolist press has gone into action against the super-profits tax. Birla's *Eastern Economist* describes it as "a colossal folly" and says that "in a budget of unredemmed savagery, this, of all features, is the most savage."

Geonka's *Indian Express* calls the super-profit tax "a foolish measure," "unrealistic" and one which would cause "irreparable damage" to the economy.

The Commerce explains the politics behind Big Business criticism of the super-profits tax. It says that responsible for the heavy taxation is "the independent foreign policy, the failure to realise the danger of international Communism and to join hands in good time with countries that are determined to contain Communism."

And then Commerce means that "friendly countries in the free world such as the U.S., U.K., Canada and West Germany "will not approve of the super-profits tax!"

This would be the most terrible calamity of all! A budget—without the "approval" of our masters! Servility could not go further.

As a fallpiece and for the benefit of other lackeys, may I add the following comment on the Indian Budget from the *London Economist*:

"Though Mr. Desai hoped that he was distributing burdens equitably, the only group who may feel they have got off lightly are the millionaires. No fresh attack of significance has been made on India's wealthy minority."

Rajasthan

BUDGET HITS PEOPLE WHILE PRINCES & RICH GO SCOT-FREE

COMMUNISTS SUGGEST ALTERNATIVE MEASURES TO RAISE RESOURCES

Jaipur: The Rajasthan State Council of the Communist Party has decided to observe March 28 as a protest day against the new taxation measures of the State Government, which hit the common people. Meetings on this day will also popularise the alternative measures which have been proposed by the Communist Party for the raising of resources, without putting more burdens on the poorer sections of the population.

THESE alternative measures include the following:

1. The old feudal princes of the State are being given annual privy purses by the Government of India, which total about Rs. 70 lakhs. At least 50 per cent of these could be cut and the money made available to the State for its development. Or the total amount could be taken as a compulsory loan for ten years and made available to the State Government for its special needs, arising out of the present situation.

2. In the various cities and towns of the State, the former rulers and the jagirdars have huge pieces of land of which they obtained possession purely functionally or on the nominal payment of one paisa per yard. This land they have sold or are selling at very high rates. This profit they have made without any "effort" of any sort. What is necessary is that by law, 50 per cent of this profit should be taken over by the State Government.

3. All the money-lenders, all the contractors, etc. are people who are earning professionally and should be taxed. At least a licence fee could be levied on them, keeping in view their turnover. If properly done, this alone would mean an income of about one crore.

4. The programme of nationalisation of passenger road transport services should be speeded up. This would mean a net profit of at least one crore during the year. Even when only 15 per cent of the routes have been nationalised, by now, there is already an anticipated income of Rs. 30 lakhs this year.

5. Serious efforts should be made to economise the expenditure. The size of the Cabinet should be reduced.

6. It is necessary that at least in this period of stringency, the lakhs of rupees that are being spent on providing the "facility" of free light, water and guards to the former rulers should be immediately stopped.

7. Steps should be taken to see that all salaries above Rs. 1,000 are given only in bonds.

8. The export trade in wool and mica should be taken over by the State Government.

These and such other measures on these lines could easily ensure an increased revenue of more than double of the present tax levy.

Far from moving in the direction of the above suggestions, the budget and the taxation proposals of the State Finance Minister are in exactly the opposite direction.

First, about the quantum of the new taxes. The Finance Minister in his Budget speech has stated that the total incidence of these new taxes would be about four crores. Informed circles, however, discount this as a cons-

* From H. K. VYAS

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least the major part of them, fall in the same category. The general rates for sales tax have again been increased. Only last year, the general rate was raised from 4 per cent to 5 per cent. This year it has been further increased to 6 per cent. In respect of some commodities, it has been raised to 10 per cent.

Foodgrains till now were free from sales tax. This time, wheat and rice etc. have been subjected to a sales tax of 2 per cent and jowar and bajra 1 per cent.

There is an increase in almost every tax. The surcharge on stamp duty has been raised from 30 per cent to 50 per cent; sales of immovable properties would be subject to still greater taxes. Rates of duties on diesel oil and petrol have been increased.

Besides the levy of surcharge on land revenue, which we have already discussed, this general increase in the sales tax rate and the imposition of sales tax on foodgrains, etc. will hit the common people heavily. It will also disrupt the commerce of this State.

It is because of these obnoxious features and nature of the majority of these proposals, that the State Council of the CPI in a resolution has condemned these tax proposals as an unjustified and unnecessary burden on the backs of the common people.

As the State Council in its resolution states, there is no denying the fact that the needs for a quicker development of this State and strengthening of the defence potential do require greater effort and resources. That is not the point at issue.

The real rub is that the State Government has persistently refused to take precisely those

measures which would result in securing the necessary resources without putting burdens on the common man.

Resentment and discontent against the budget taxation measures has been widespread. The right opposition parties, specially the Swatantra and the Jan Sangh, are of course opposed to the tax proposals; but their propaganda is "If you want to have plans and planned development and the public sector, here is your reward."

In this way, they are utilising the discontent of the people to discredit the whole policy of independent economic development.

The reactions in the Congress Party also have been adverse. Many Congressmen have raised the question as to why urban properties and the money-lenders and contractors and such classes are not taxed. As a matter of fact, despite two meetings of the Congress Assembly Party, it has not been possible for the Cabinet to secure approval of its proposals. The tone of speeches and criticisms inside the party has somewhat unnerved the Cabinet, and discussions have already begun to substitute some tax proposals for the present ones, and thus minimise the opposition.

It is obvious that the present policies of the State Government are neither conducive to quicker development nor to speedy mobilisation of available resources. It is a policy of continued concession and protection to the feudal interests and the vested big business interests. No wonder that the heavy load of tax proposals emanating from this class policy has evoked general criticism and condemnation.

ARBITRATION IN PUBLIC SECTOR

NEW DELHI, March 18
Industrial relations in public sector enterprises are proposed to be put on a new and more stable footing, reports IPA.

THE Union Ministry of Labour, it is learnt, is working on a scheme which will provide for acceptance of arbitration by workmen and managements as the governing principle of industrial relations in the public sector.

This is considered necessary in view of the general dissatisfaction felt over the stage of industrial relations in the public sector at present. The Industrial Truce resolution of November 3, 1962 has been found wanting in providing a long-term basis for peaceful and cooperative relations between workmen and managements in both the public and private sectors.

It is felt that industrial relations in the public sector need to be greatly strengthened to enable it to cope with its enlarged responsibilities in the emergency. Since direct action on the part of the workmen and adjudication as a method of settlement are ruled out in the public sector, arbitration has to be offered as the most effective alternative to govern labour-management relations in this sector.

Acceptance of the principle of arbitration where an industrial dispute cannot be resolved by direct negotiations of the officialdom on the one side and will make workers' organisations more responsible on the other.

Several hurdles, it is stated, need to be crossed before the scheme can be enforced. Various Central Ministries connected with the public sector undertakings have to be brought round to accepting it. The trade union organisations with their different affiliations in this field have also to be persuaded to give up the traditional methods of direct action and adjudication in favour of arbitration.

The Union Labour Minister is currently holding consultations with the employing Ministries as well as Labour leaders on the present state of industrial relations in the public sector enterprises and the arbitration scheme. This is being done as part of the general review of industrial relations since the emergency, both in the public and private sectors.

Another Tripartite Meeting: Review of Industrial Truce

The AITUC demand for a review of the Industrial Truce, it now appears, is going to be accepted soon. Gulzari Lal Nanda, Minister for Labour and Employment has already indicated that another tripartite meeting should be held to assess the situation. He has also consulted the leaders of the trade union movement in this regard, it is learnt.

The review of working of the Truce Resolution by the Labour Ministry for the fifth meeting of the Consultative Committee for the Ministry that was held on March 14 is revealing. Though, in its usual streak the Ministry has sought to convey the impression that most of the complaints made by the unions about violation of the Resolution by the employers during the Emergency were exaggerated, the fact that emerged from it was that the Ministry had to admit that the employers have not fulfilled their responsibility under the Truce Resolution.

The review inter alia stated that "the employers have not lived up to their obligations in regard to retrenchment, lay-off and dismissal and discharge of workmen. In the matter of voluntary arbitration the lapses on the part of the employers are more pronounced. In the matter of

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★ From Ajoy Dasgupta

UNJUST TAXES WILL BE OPPOSED

Communist Leaders Declare at Calcutta Public Meeting

CALCUTTA, March 17:

At a largely attended public meeting held at the Calcutta Maidan on March 15, Communist Party leaders explained the Party's policy in the present political situation and demanded immediate release of the political prisoners in the state and declared that the Party would fight the bye-elections on the tax and other domestic issues.

THIS is the party's first public meeting in Calcutta since the declaration of the emergency, apart from the special meeting on the occasion of the Republic Day, and was held jointly with the Marxist Forward Bloc. It was presided over, by Biren Roy, member of the State Organising Committee of the CPI.

While pledging their wholehearted support to the policies pursued by the Government of India regarding national defence, non-alignment, honourable and peaceful settlement of the border dispute, the party leaders at the same time categorically explained their difference in approach on the policies pursued by the Congress Government regarding development of the country's economy and improving peoples' living standard.

The meeting passed resolutions on the Colombo proposals, release of political prisoners and fair treatment in jail, tax burden and high prices, and the recent gold control order.

The meeting called for a broad democratic front to fight the right wing reactionaries. Another resolution condemned the execution of anti-imperialists and Communists in Iraq.

Subrid Mullik Chowdhry, leader of the Marxist Forward Bloc said that his party was bound by fraternal ties with the Communist Party. He said that the positive role which the Communist Party's resolution played in raising the workers, peasants and tolling millions would never be effaced by anti-communist slanders.

Somnath Lahiri in his speech recalling that the AICC President Sarvodaya, while addressing a public meeting at the same place a few days back, said that Communist Party of India's resolution against Chinese aggression was one of the major factors in the cease-fire and withdrawal of forces by the Chinese, and added that while the AICC leaders could appreciate the positive role the Communist Party played and that there could be no national unity, so urgent for successfully carrying out the tasks of national defence and development, without the Communist Party, the leadership of the State Congress was following a blind anti-communist policy.

He further said that a section of the Pradesh Congress leaders seem to be in sympathy and support of the activities of such anti-Nehru, anti-nonalignment forces as the PSP, Jan-Sangh, Acharya Kripalani and General Cariappa and that it was the Communist Party which was the only force in the State upholding the basic national policies.

Lahiri condemning the continued oppression and arrests of Communists, asked how the bye-elections could be held fairly, if such a situation persisted. He further said that the Party had put up candidates only in two constituencies, and whether it would support Congress can-

didates in other seats depended on how wholeheartedly these candidates supported the basic national policies of the country.

Bhowani Sen, Secretary of the State Organising Committee of the Party said that the danger of border clashes had not been completely eliminated as China had not accepted the Colombo proposals in toto, while India had done so. He said that the CPI had appealed to the world Communist movement to see that China also accepted the proposals.

He further said that when the ominous clouds of Chinese aggression loomed large in the horizon, Cariappa, Kripalani, Rajagopalachari and others began to croak calling the communists traitors.

Bhowani Sen said that on the questions of national defence and nonalignment, there was agreement of views between the Communist Party and the Congress. But the Party stood against the taxation policy of the Congress Government, which laid the burden on the shoulders of the poor peasants, workers and middle classes.

Arrest Tax Evaders

He demanded reversal of the taxation policy and nationalisation of banks, jute mills, wholesale gold trade and asked why the Tatas, Birlas and Jains, who evade taxes to the tune of crores of rupees were not arrested under DIR?

He criticised Government's policies which led to the rise in prices, scarcity of food, growing unemployment, including lakhs of goldsmiths rendered unemployed by the recent Gold Control Order, and repression on democratic movement and said that it was on the basis of these differences about the policies in developing country's social and economic structure that the Communist Party would contest the Congress in the bye-elections.

Demanding release of all political prisoners before the bye-elections, Bhowani Sen said that in spite of all slanders the Communist Party would go to the people with its policy with the conviction that truth always prevailed on the end.

Biswanath Mukherjee, another

member of the State Organising Committee said that though the Chinese Communist Party was violently attacking the CPI as lackies of Indian reactionary bourgeoisie, their dogmatic mistakes had isolated them from world communist movement and China's action in regard to the Sino-Indian border dispute helped only the world imperialism and the reactionaries inside India, who are attacking the CPI as agents of China. In spite of these attacks from within and outside, Indian Communists would carry on their work in the interest of the people of India and the forces of socialism and peace, he said.

No Advance in Indo-Pak Talks

US and UK Envoys Exert Backstage Pressure

CALCUTTA:

The fourth round of talks between India and Pakistan on Kashmir and allied issues brought them no nearer to solution of the pending problems.

IN spite of long and intimate meetings between Sardar Swaran Singh and Z. A. Bhutto, leaders of the two delegations during the 4-day session, the conference ended in uncertain notes, with the differences remaining as wide as at the beginning. The only positive aspect is the decision to have a fifth round of talks to be held at Karachi from April 22.

Shedding the cloak of feigned displeasure with Pakistan on her signing the Sino-Pak border agreement, and the reported reluctance to be available during the Calcutta talks, the envoys of USA and UK come down to Calcutta—Prof. Calbraith, the US Ambassador, on his "switching brief" and Sir Paul Gore-Booth, the British High Commissioner, on the ostensible reason for being available to either of the delegations if it chose to "hold consultations" with him. Both of them saw Pakistan delegation leader Bhutto before the talks began and also met India's delegation leader Swaran Singh during the talks.

At the opening session itself India wanted to ascertain whether in view of the happenings during the interval between the third and fourth round of talks—the signing of the Sino-Pak Border Agreement—Pakistan was serious about their talks on Kashmir and other related matters.

Indian delegation conveyed the strong feeling of the Indian people and the Government of India over the matter. Pakistani representative tried to wriggle out of

KALANTAR, a Bengali weekly, published a news-item about the activities of some persons in the West Bengal branch of the Government-backed Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, on March 16. It is reported that this office is manned mostly by the members of the PSP and Swatantra Party.

The present Secretary of the West Bengal branch is reported to be also working for the USIS Press

Department and that work is also carried on from the office of the Nidhi. The Nidhi has a research centre and it is reported that the Centre is utilised for preparing press materials for the USIS. It is reliably learnt that the indecent attack on Binoba Bhav, published in a Calcutta daily, was prepared in this very office.

The Kalantar has called for immediate probe into the affairs of the West Bengal branch of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and asserted that many startling disclosures might come out if such probe is made thoroughly and of course quickly.

Though India found no relevance of this issue with the matter under discussion, it was decided to examine the issue through the two Governments' appropriate ministries. It was also decided that questions of boundary in Assam, Tripura and Gujarat areas will also be discussed at the ministerial level separately.

But on the main issue, the difference not only remained where it was, rather seemed to have widened. This is borne out by the remark made by Pakistani delegation leader Bhutto at his late night meeting with the press on March 14, where he said that they had been labouring to get back to the position they reached at Karachi. But they could not reach a point from where a possible solution of the Kashmir problem could be effectually discussed.

A disturbing feature of this round of talks is the almost open interference of the envoys of the USA and the UK. The Calcutta Statesman reported: "It is no more a secret that the US Ambassador Prof. John Kenneth Calbraith, and the UK High Commissioner, Sir Paul Gore-Booth, worked hard at private meetings with the two leaders and at receptions to help prevent the talks from foundering."

Prof. Calbraith himself admitted of paying attention to the negotiations while talking to the pressmen, though he denied the charge of interference. He remarked pontifically that "India has come to see herself as the responsible Power in the situation" and has realised the danger of division to the subcontinent, which weakness would be exploited by China.

While raising the threat of Chinese aggression he tried to evade the question as to whether Pakistan's pact with China held any threat to the subcontinent. He tried to justify his attention in the talks on the ground of "the amount of heavy resources they had contributed" to this area and said that he preferred to show neglect in all these matters.

This clearly showed that the US envoy was trying his best to interfere in the affairs of our country and trying to force acceptance of handing over Kashmir to Pakistan, its SEATO and CENTO partner, utilising the Chinese aggression and the "aid" his country has given to India as excuses.

When the talks came to the question of delineation of the international boundary in Jammu and Kashmir, the basic differences of approach were reported to be renewed. It is learnt that the Pakistani demand came virtually to the position of partitioning Kashmir State so that the whole of Kashmir valley and a considerable part of Jammu, including even the Jammu town, would become part of her territory.

Pakistan's claim is based on its concern for communications to the different portions of the occupied territories from the mainland, it is presumed. Rejecting this "irrational proposition" and "unreasonable proposal" of Pakistan, India is believed to have laid stress on adjustment of cease-fire line, keeping questions of strategy and security, among other things, fully in view.

While difference over the Kashmir problem remained as wide as before, the Pakistani side brought in an "extraneous" element in the talks. This relates to the alleged measures against muslim immigrants in Tripura and Assam.

FOURTH REFINERY MUST BE

Speaking on the fourth annual report of the Indian Refineries in Rajya Sabha on March 14, Bhupesh Gupta drew pointed attention of the House to the fact that in regard to setting up the fourth oil refinery, the Government of India has departed from the framework of the Industrial Policy Resolution. The fourth refinery is being set up with 49 per cent foreign participation. Bhupesh Gupta sharply criticised the oil policy of the Government and called for proper orientation in this regard. He demanded that the fourth refinery must be in the public sector and set up in Kerala.

Below are extracts from his speech.—Editor. In this connection I should like to go a little into this question of refining and other related matters in regard to oil industry, and I think the time has again come, after a lot of confusion which has arisen as a result of certain statements emanating from the Ministry and other quarters, for explaining the Government's policy as to where it stands today.

AS far as we are concerned, our views are very clear on this subject. In short, we would like the entire oil industry, in all its stages—exploration, refining and distribution—to be in the hands of the State sector. We would like to do away with private ownership in any of these phases of oil industry.

The trouble now is that the Government seems to be back-stepping from its old position; otherwise the question would not have arisen today, after all these years of experience after the passing of the Industrial Policy Resolution, of giving participation in the State sector industries to certain foreign concerns.

As has been pointed out by Mr. Arjun Arora, there is a proposal that in the new oil refinery that may be set up in the South or any other place, foreigners should be given participation although the majority shares should be in the hands of the States. We are totally opposed to this capitulation.

Now, I should like to make one point clear. I do not agree with Mr. Arjun Arora when he suggests that in the new refinery, the fourth one, should not be in the South. I think it is absolutely essential that it should be in the South, and in Kerala.

Now, the point he was trying to make was that there were no crude oil sources there, their own sources of crude. But then we have been allowing the British and the American concerns to have their refineries in our country and they were importing their crude from the Persian Gulf and other areas. If the Americans and the British could do that, so also the people of Kerala can have their refinery there and the crude can be supplied from other parts. So this is not a valid argument at all. I think Kerala is 100 per cent justified in pressing its claim for the refinery, that it should be in the South in Kerala, the fourth refinery, and it should be in the public sector.

Government Back-stepping

Now, when I said that the Government was back-stepping, I had in mind certain statements of the hon. Minister. I need go into them. There is business about it, where there should be absolute clarity in the matter of oil. The oil industry and its future expansion should be absolutely in the public sector and the refineries should be in the public sector and so on.

I was looking back and I found an interesting thing which appeared in the London Observer of the April 17, 1961. I am reading out the relevant portions:

"The recent World Bank report has condemned India's oil policy as 'ideological' and impractical in view of the country's desperate scarcity of foreign exchange."

"Mr. B. K. Nehru is reliably understood to have urged Mr. Morarji Desai, the Finance Minister and Mr. Malaviya to make some concessions to the foreign Oil Companies before the coming meeting of the 'Aid India Club' group of the western nations which is consulting over the foreign currency investment in India. Mr. Malaviya has clearly been unmoved."

"On the basis of these figures, the Oil company diplomats have gone to work in America and (Aid India Club) has politely suggested to Mr. B. K. Nehru that it is hardly its job to make good the foreign exchange deficits which could be avoided by a different oil policy."

This appeared in 1961 in The London Observer. And since that time pressure has been going on. I may be wrong, but now in the present emergency they are in a better position, especially the Americans, to put pressure on this Government and then even the "unmoved" Mr. Malaviya becomes vulnerable to pressure.

Wrong Estimates

It seems, that the calculations of the Government have also gone wrong. Originally it was thought that at the end of the Third Plan we shall be requiring 13 million tons of oil and petroleum products. But now it appears from the re-thinking and the revised calculations that our requirements will have gone up to 17 million tons, and on that basis there will be a big gap of some 3 to 4 million tons.

They think that the three refineries in the State sector will produce 4.5 million tons to be begun with and then it could be raised to 7.25 million tons, while the private sector will produce 7.4 million tons and so the total will be 14.65 million tons. But even when this reckoning we find that there will be a net gap of two or three million tons.

Now, if we have to carry on with imports, we will be suffering heavy losses. Therefore, the fourth refinery and the speeding up of the work of the existing ones have become absolutely essential, and the setting up of the fourth refinery in Kerala is an urgent necessity for the entire nation.

Not only for the people of Kerala, but for the entire nation, it is an urgent necessity, from

that point of view. Therefore, we should like to have a clear idea as to where we stand. We are importing petroleum products. I have certain figures here and it seems over. If a little Ceylon could do it, the distribution and so on of oil, why can't we do that? Oil must not be in foreign hands.

These heavy imports have to be curtailed. One of the ways to do so is to start our own refining units in the public sector, and having Indian-owned refineries, broadly speaking. We should, at the same time, reduce the import of crude oil and for that we need rapid expansion and also exploration in the matter.

The Soviet engineers and oil experts and also those of Rumania have told us that we have considerable reserves of oil. They have given figures and they are larger than those given by Stavac experts. It is certain that we have considerable reserves of oil in this country. Therefore, exploration is also very important. Otherwise we will have to fall back upon imports of crude oil from other countries.

Now, as far as the industry is concerned, I think you will agree that the cost accountability side of it should be set up according to the report of the Damle Committee into the workings of these privately owned oil refineries in our country. There has been all ways an evasion of this task.

It was pointed out that enormous profits were made and the country and the public exchequer were being cheated by the foreign monopolists in the matter of costing, by the Standard Vacuum Oil

Government is very slow in this matter. As far as we are concerned, we would like the refineries of the Burmah Shell, Stanvac and others, to be taken over. If a little Ceylon could do it, the distribution and so on of oil, why can't we do that? Oil must not be in foreign hands.

The hon. Ministers talk about our defence and the building up of our defence potential. But strengthening our defence potential does not mean leaving oil in the hands of the foreigners. Orientation here means that there should be proper orientation in the matter of supply, installations and all that.

According to our reckoning and from their own reports, we find that the oil companies like the Burmah Shell have some 38,000 persons in their various oil installations all over the country. Any army movement, any military movement would be at once known to the Burmah Shell and other foreign oil concerns, for the simple reason that our trucks and other military vehicles will have to go to them for re-fuelling and all that kind of things.

These foreigners have invested Rs. 150 crores in this industry and the annual outflow of earnings and dividends come to an enormous figure every year. This is a big drain on our foreign exchange resources at a time when we need it most. So a very large amount the country is losing as far as the oil industry is concerned. Therefore, we should have boldness and courage and we should proceed in that direction.

No Capitulation

Now this is the position. Therefore, defence orientation in oil means no capitulation by the Government to the private sector or surrender to the private sector. Defence orientation, if you want to use it for strengthening the country and to strengthen its defence potential, means orientation in the direction of the nationalisation of the oil industry.

Therefore, the approach should be clearly re-defined, in view of the glut of confusion that has arisen. We have great apprehensions, because we find that pressure is being put on the Indian Government in order to secure certain concessions. The Americans and others who were

IN PUBLIC SECTOR

Company, the Burmah Shell Oil Company and the Caltex Oil Company.

The cost accountants are reported to have observed that the Burmah Shell made a profit of 36.55 per cent on capital in 1955, 30.20 per cent in 1956 and 31.62 per cent in 1957. The Stanvac's profits in this period ranged at about 28.8 per cent, sometimes less and sometimes a little more. The Caltex made a profit of 44.6 per cent in 1951 and 41 per cent in 1954. The position today is the same, essentially enormous profits.

On the import and sale of kerosene also they make a lot of profit. But before I come to that I would like to say that Mr. Sahant, who was appointed by the Government to go into the affairs of these companies, found out and stated it in his report that these companies made an excess profit by all kinds of manipulations, because of our dependence on them, of the order of Rs. 50 crores.

On kerosene, of course, they make a profit. The turnover earnings on kerosene by these companies have been Rs. 60.5 crores. At what price they buy the kerosene, we do not know. Some four or six times their purchase price or import price they sell it in this country and this mystery has not been resolved. I mean the import price of kerosene and its sale price. And now kerosene has been the subject of all kinds of imposts and so on. That again is a problem to be gone into.

Therefore, the refineries have to come through. But I think the

put in a tight corner because of public opinion here and also because of the courageous stand that the Ministry took on certain matters, now feel that since the Emergency is there and India is facing certain difficulties in the matter of foreign exchange, here is a golden opportunity again to renew their pressure on the Government and seek the concessions that they have been striving to get from the Government.

He has been the subject of terrific pressure and he is the person or target against whom much is written in the journals of the Western countries and their journals here. But at the same time there seems to be a certain inclination towards the private sector and the foreigners. That is why I should like him to go into the question of the refineries. We can develop our refineries in the public sector and no doubt we must do so. Have four, and, if necessary, five of them, in the public sector. The question arises: Can we have them in the public sector?

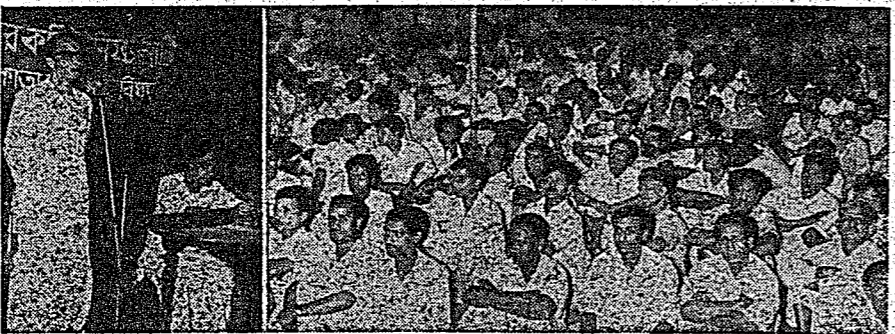
Yes, we can. Rumania, the Soviet Union and certain other countries are prepared to help us. They help us in such matters in the public sector. We know very well how the Soviet Union were prepared to supply us crude oil at much cheaper price and because of some conflict the work could not be carried.

The British and the American concerns here, specially Burmah Shell and Stanvac, refused to refine the crude oil imported from sources other than their own. It seems nowadays they have agreed to waive that kind of wrong stand and they are prepared to spend their foreign exchange for importing crude from other sources. But we feel from reading whatever we get that

No Concessions

No concessions should be given, no matter what happens. The country's policy with regard to oil has been finalised and settled. There is no re-opening of the question at all. We follow the Industrial Policy Resolution. And in the course of the discussions on the Third Plan, time and again, Members from both sides of the House, in both Houses of Parliament, have made it clear that oil must be in the public sector and the public sector alone.

I venture to appeal to the Government to nationalise what is there in the private sector, and if there is some resistance to that stand for the time being, there is no justification whatsoever for having all these foreign concerns here and yielding or capitulating before the oil tycoons and oil kings who want to carry on their plunder.



Bhowani Sen addressing the public meeting

ASIAN-AFRICAN WORKERS' CONFERENCE: *The Proposal And Some Questions*

Indonesian Preparatory Committee For Asian-African Workers' Conference C/o Department Of Labour-Indonesia

Jakarta, 27 December, 1962

To
All-India Trade Union Congress
4 Ashok Road, New Delhi, India

Dear friends:

We herewith inform you that the Joint Secretariat of Indonesian Trade Union Federations, consisting of K. B. K. I. (Central Council of Democratic Workers Union of Indonesia), SARBUMUSI (Central Board of Indonesian Moslem Trade Unions), SOBSI (Central Organization of All Indonesian Trade Unions), GOBSI INDONESIA (Indonesian Islamic Associated Trade Union Movement), GASBIN-DO (Federation of Indonesian Islamic Trade Unions), SOBRI (Central Organization of Trade Unions of the Republic of Indonesia), have with the support of local and vertical trade unions throughout Indonesia unanimously agreed to call upon workers' organizations in both Asian-African continents to make efforts towards the realization of an Asian-African Workers' Conference.

This unanimous attitude of the Indonesian workers is founded on the consideration, that workers movements and conditions in Asia-Africa have now reached that stage of development, which could allow the fulfilment of the long felt need of holding a Conference for the purpose of jointly holding discussions on the problems faced by the workers' movements and the peoples of Asia-Africa.

As a first step, the Joint Secretariat has set up a Preparatory Committee which is charged with making preparations for an Asian-African Workers' Conference according to a guiding outline provided by the Joint Secretariat. This Committee has in the meantime drawn the following conclusions to be brought before Asian-African workers' organizations for further consideration:

1. A proposed general outline and basic themes for the coming Asian-African Workers' Conference, the idea of which has obtained a widespread approval among workers in both continents.

2. An appeal to all workers and workers' organizations in Asia-Africa to seek consolidation of unity and solidarity through the coming Asian-African Workers' Conference.

3. A proposal that the workers' organizations in eleven countries will agree to act as co-sponsors of the Conference, namely, Indonesia, Japan, The People's Republic of China, India, Ceylon, Singapore, Iraq, United Arab Republic, Morocco, Ghana, and Guinea.

4. A proposal that the national workers' organizations to be appointed as members of the Sponsoring Committee as well as those to attend the Conference shall represent to an as wide as possible extent the existing workers' movements and workers' groups in their respective countries.

5. A proposal that the coming Asian-African Workers' Conference will be held in one

of the Asian-African countries in the earliest possible time in 1963. In this case Indonesia is prepared to act as host-country of the Conference. The Preliminary Conference of the Sponsoring Committee may be held in any country according to preference.

6. Prior to the Preliminary Conference, the Indonesian Preparatory Committee planned to contact the workers' organizations in the other ten proposed sponsoring countries in order to discuss the necessary preparations for the Conference. For this purpose three delegations of two persons each are planned to visit the workers' organizations in the ten countries in the months of January and February 1963.

We hope that after having received this information and proposals you will let us know your findings and opinions, particularly about the necessity of holding an Asian African Workers' Conference. We are convinced that the success or failure to realize an

Proposed General Outline And Basic Themes Of The Asian-African Workers' Conference

To all workers in the Asian and African countries!

One of the most urgent international tasks of Asian-African workers is to convene an Asian-African Workers' Conference, which idea was already born at the Asian-African Conference in Bandung in 1955.

The Asian-African workers are the main elements in the struggle for independence of the Asian-African peoples which constitute the core for the implementation of the country's upbuilding, after they achieve their independence.

The Asian-African workers, supposedly the most advanced forces of the "new emerging forces" of their respective countries, must therefore actively participate in determining the historical road of the Asian-African peoples' destination to achieve a just and prosperous society, free from all kinds of exploitation, in which human rights are highly respected.

A constructive friendship among the Asian-African countries led by the working class, mutual understanding and solidarity among the peoples of the newly independent countries would form a strong bond to eradicate imperialism, colonialism in Asia and Africa, and could simultaneously remove the main obstacles hampering the realization of world peace. A workers' Conference, attended by the Trade Unions of the Asian-African countries based on common historical principles and national aspirations to build up their respective countries will constitute a united front in the struggle to abolish imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Guided by the political principles laid down at the Asian-African Conference in Bandung and in the spirit of the Summit Conference in Belgrade, we resolve to carry out the above mentioned tasks together. The main issues facing the Asian-African countries at present are as follows:

Asian-African Workers' Conference will entirely depend on the enthusiasm shown by the workers' movements in Asia-Africa. We therefore will highly appreciate it if you can let us know of the prevailing main opinions of the workers' organizations in your country on this matter before the departure of our delegations to the ten countries mentioned above.

The Indonesian workers do not have the slightest doubt and are fully confident that they can count on your warm approval of the efforts to be made for the realization of the coming Asian-African Workers' Conference for the sake of a successful consolidation of unity and solidarity in the common struggle to banish imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism from Asian-African grounds in particular and from the whole earth in general, to defend national freedom, to preserve world peace and to promote social progress.

In conclusion, we would like to avail ourselves of this opportunity to convey on behalf of all Indonesian workers our friendly greetings and message of solidarity to all workers in your country.

The Executive Council Of the Indonesian Preparatory Committee for Asian-African Workers' Conference.

WHAT DOES INDONESIA AIM AT ?

We are publishing below papers and documents regarding the proposal to hold an Asian-African Trade Union Conference. To hold regional conferences for certain specific problems is a common practice in the world trade union movement. There has been an African trade union conference, a Latin American trade union conference, a European one and so on. But there has been no Asian conference nor an Afro-Asian.

Of late, Afro-Asian writers, journalists etc., have had conferences and consultations. So the Indonesian proposal to call an Asian-African Trade Union Conference should be quite welcome. But certain questions of importance have been raised with regard to the proposal, which have been stated in the AITUC circular reproduced alongside.

The ideological differences in the Communist movement have been introduced by the Chinese comrades, in all mass organisations in which they participate, viz., the Peace Council, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Federation of Democratic Youth and so on. The Afro-Asian Solidarity organisations also have not remained immune from this attack.

The question is—will this proposed conference follow the same pattern? The exclusion of the Soviet Trade Unions from the sponsoring countries (while Singapore "as a country" is not forgotten) and the failure to consult the World Federation of Trade Unions show that the proposal is not as innocent as it is presented to be.

The Indonesian comrades have been very generous with their advice to the Indian comrades on questions of internationalism, support to Nehru's non-alignment policy and purity of Marxism-Leninism. They have in fact accused us openly with having betrayed the working class.

But in this proposed trade union conference, they have thrown away all their "pure" Marxism and class positions.

For example, they have joined hands with three trade union organisations, which are based on religious brotherhood. Secondly, they seem to be holding the conference and locating their offices under the auspices of the Indonesian Government, which, we believe, is not yet a "Dictatorship of the Proletariat"

to make Asians and Africans fight each other. By stirring up the ideological, political and social differences, by force or through deceit, the imperialists drag several Asian-African countries into aggressive military pacts to serve the political, economic and military interests of imperialism.

Through subversion, terror and intervention, efforts are being carried out by the imperialists to wipe out anti-imperialist governments in Asia and Africa and to replace them by puppet governments willing to obey and carry out their command. Through various constrained forms of economic and trade relations, followed by political and military obligations, the imperialists are actively trying to make several Asian-African countries dependent on them.

III. Those facts are clear proofs that the imperialists, although suffering severe blows and heavy losses by the peoples' struggle, are still trying to defend the slavery and robbery system. The imperialists have never transferred and will never transfer the sovereignty to the oppressed peoples.

Independence in one form or another will never be accorded voluntarily by them to the people. What they have done in the past and intend to do in the future is to prevent their own abolition, namely by creating new forms of colonialism. Through financial intervention, trade agreements and the so-called Economic Development Plan, the imperialists are

but is a Martial Law Government. And it is noteworthy that the General Secretary of the Indonesian Communist Party and another leading comrades are advisory ministers without portfolio in this Government.

Thirdly, the Indonesian and the Chinese comrades, who thundered against Yugoslav revisionists, have accepted "the political principles laid down" at the summit conferences of Bandung and Belgrade. How does Belgrade find acceptance with the Indonesians whereas the Chinese have been denouncing it? Does it mean that Indonesian comrades differ with the Chinese? Not at all. It means that having accepted Government help and co-operation and as Dr. Sukarno, the head of the Government, was a participant in the Belgrade conference, the Indonesian comrades have agreed to accept the principles or spirit of the Belgrade Summit, despite the denunciation of Tito and Nehru, who participated in that conference along with Sukarno.

These three points, which we have stated above, show how our Indonesian comrades while denouncing our policies as chauvinist, class-collaborationist etc., are doing things which we in India have never done. We have not taken Prime Minister Nehru's governmental auspices for our conferences nor has he posted military Martial Law officers at our conferences, as is done in Indonesia.

We have not sworn loyalty, as a class organisation, to Belgrade summit or any other summit. We have not joined hands as a class organisation with any communal or religious brotherhood of trade unions, and India has not got any such big trade union organisations either.

No doubt our Indonesian brothers are pure internationalists and all the above things may be right for them in their situation. But then, they should not talk to us poor Indian Marxists from a high moral pedestal of purity, though we admit we have yet to learn many things in Marxism.

We hope this Conference is not another step in the direction of a split from the World Federation of Trade Unions or a new centre to denounce the "impure" in the trade unions of Asia and Africa.

—S. A. DANGE

V. To realise these lofty ideas toward the consolidation of unity and solidarity among Asian-African Trade Union Movement, the Joint Secretariat of the Indonesian Trade Union Federations, composed of K.B.K.I., SURBUMUSI, S.O.B.S.I., S.O.B.R.I., GOBSI-INDONESIA and GASBIN-DO, is of the opinion that an Asian-African Trade Unions' Conference can be a means in the realization of the spirit toward unity and solidarity, which so far has been clearly displayed by their common struggle to defend the vital interest of the workers and peoples of Asia and Africa.

This idea, gaining wide hold within the Asian-African trade union movement, needs more and more to be realized, considering further militancy of the Asian-African peoples in demanding their just national rights in order to build an independent, democratic and prosperous future.

VI. The experience of the Asian-African peoples confirms that in the decisive struggle at present cannot be otherwise but to unite themselves in the ranks of the new emerging forces of the world, namely the anti-imperialist, the anti-colonial and anti-neo-colonial forces. These progressive forces, which manifest themselves in the forces of the peoples and the workers of the Asian-African, Latin-American as well as socialist and capitalist countries, are developing uninterruptedly, and will finally abolish and eradicate the old established forces, which manifest themselves powers of

imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and feudalism in all their reactionary forms. A firm attitude is therefore urgently needed by the Asian-African workers to demonstrate their wish in accordance with their national aspirations, i.e., to further strengthen their co-operation with the new emerging forces in order to pave the way for the eradication of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism from the Asian-African soil.

AITUC CIRCULAR

The following circular was sent by S. A. Dange, General Secretary of the AITUC, to Members of the General Council on March 4 in connection with the proposed Asian-African workers' conference.

Dear Comrades,

The AITUC office received on February 21, by sea mail, a big despatch from the Indonesian trade union centre, SOBSI. The despatch is described as "Letters from SOBSI to Foreign Friends". (SOBSI is the name of the principal Indonesian Trade Union Centre affiliated to the WFTU).

Generally so far, these "letters" have been in the form of usual information documents on the problems of the workers in Indonesia.

But this time, the despatches contain some special matter, which call for the attention of all the trade unions of the AITUC.

The despatch contains a circular letter from the National Council of the SOBSI, addressed to the trade unions in Asia and Africa, from Djakarta, dated January 1, 1963. The letter is as follows:

"We are pleased to send you the General Outline and Basic Themes to be submitted to the Asian-African Workers' Conference by the Joint Secretariat of the Six Indonesian Trade Union Centres, i.e., SOBSI, KBKI, SOBRI, SARBUMUSI, GOBSI-INDONESIA and GASBIN-DO.

"In connection with this intention of the Joint Secretariat to open the Asian-African Workers' Conference during the coming May Days, we kindly request you, dear Brothers, to send your opinion and probable proposals to:

The Joint Secretariat of The Indonesian Trade Union Centres,
18 Djalang Segara,
DJAKARTA, Indonesia."

Along with this circular letter, we also got other circulars dated October 3 and December 27 signed by the above-mentioned six Indonesian trade union centres.

From these circulars and the drafts sent with them, we learn the following.

1. That Six Indonesian trade union centres have decided to call a conference of the trade unions of the two continents of Asia and Africa, for which they have established a Secretariat in Djakarta.

2. That eleven countries are proposed by them to act as co-sponsors of the conference. These eleven countries are: (1) Indonesia; (2) Japan; (3) China; (4) India; (5) Ceylon; (6) Singapore; (7) Iraq; (8) UAR; (9) Morocco; (10) Ghana; and (11) Guinea.

3. That a draft of the basic platform of this Conference is already adopted by the Preparatory Committee which is the Joint Secretariat of the six Indonesian centres.

This Committee is sending three delegations to consult the workers' organisations in the other ten countries.

We are giving herewith the circular letters of October 3 and December 27 as also the General Outline of the Basic Manifesto or "Themes" as they call it. The Preface to the Basic Man-

ifesto says that the six Indonesian centres "are nowadays making serious preparations for their coming Afro-Asian Workers' Conference. For this purpose, a Presidential Council was established, which issued a "General Outline and Basic Themes" to be submitted to the aforementioned Asian-African Workers' Conference. Then follows the Basic Manifesto.

A FEW QUESTIONS

All this looks rather too sudden. Everything seems to be already decided, the Basic Manifesto, the list of sponsoring countries, the time, the place, etc. Still a delegation is going to consult the TU organisations in these ten and perhaps other countries. The AITUC will certainly like to meet these comrades for consultation.

But then, for the knowledge of our trade unions, certain things have to be pointed out.

The activities of the trade unions in Asia and Africa are an important part of the world trade union movement. As such, the World Federation of Trade Unions from its very inception has been paying great attention to the trade unions of Africa and Asia. Special conferences of the unions of Africa have been held and a united trade union movement and centre has been sought to be built there.

At one time, a Bureau of Asian trade unions was also established and was functioning for some time. It held a conference in Peking in 1950. But after some years, the Bureau was dissolved.

Of course, not all the Afro-Asian centres are under the guidance of the WFTU. Some are under the influence of the ICFTU which, as is known, is not playing an anti-colonial and unifying role in these countries. But at present, almost the whole of the world TU movement and the national centres of Asia and Africa are divided between these two centres, with a few being neutral or not affiliated to either of them.

While we should appreciate the initiative of the six Indonesian centres and particularly of the SOBSI which is the biggest in Indonesia and is affiliated to the WFTU, we would have preferred, if those Afro-Asian centres which are affiliated to the WFTU, had first consulted among themselves about this proposal and then taken these steps. The representatives of trade union centres of Asia and Africa such as the SOBSI, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the AITUC, the TU centres from Africa, etc., often meet each other at the WFTU headquarters. But, so far, no such proposal was raised or discussed there to our knowledge.

There was a world conference of trade unions at Leipzig on December 15, on the question of Common Market. But the Indonesian comrades of the SOBSI did not tell us of the AITUC about this proposal. Nor was the WFTU Secretariat in which the SOBSI and the ACFU have members, mention this subject.

We would prefer, therefore, that the SOBSI comrades and

others have a preliminary exchange of thoughts under the guidance of the WFTU Secretariat or Bureau and then proceed to take other agreed steps.

In the trade unions of Africa, very significant changes are taking place, in which both the WFTU and the ICFTU are playing a role. Those who are spearheads of the movements of peace, national liberation, anti-colonialism, trade union unity, etc., cannot neglect to take note of the role of the WFTU and other currents of TU unity in Africa and Asia, while calling for such a Conference.

We are aware of the fact that not all the TU organisations in the proposed sponsoring countries are in the WFTU; for example, the big organisation of the SOHYO in Japan. At the same time, they are not hostile to the WFTU and even send observers to the WFTU Congress. They certainly will not object; if we who belong to the WFTU have preliminary exchange of thoughts on the subject, among ourselves.

SHORTCOMINGS

As regards the sponsoring countries, we find one serious shortcoming in the list. In all Afro-Asian or Asian questions, and conferences, the Asian Republics of the Soviet Union are always given an important place. Why they should not have been given a place in this list of eleven co-sponsors is not clear.

One more significant fact we learn from the circular of October 3, is that it is signed for the Joint Secretariat by the Chairman, who also is the Minister of Labour in Indonesia. In the circular of December 27, the address of the Preparatory Committee of the Conference is given as C/o Department of Labour, Indonesia.

This raises the important question as to whether this conference is being held under the joint auspices of the Government of Indonesia and the six TU centres and how far the restrictions under the Martial Law will apply to the conference. We got no enlightenment on this from any of the circulars. But from the news despatches of the SOBSI, we find that the restrictions are quite severe.

There is one more question we have to raise. It is important and necessary to raise it. All are aware that there have been controversies and difference of opinion in the international working class movement on those very questions, some of which are mentioned in the Draft of the Basic Themes, circulated by the Indonesian Centre. These differences have expressed themselves and sometimes very bitterly in all mass organisations including the trade unions. They have come up in the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conferences, the latest being at Moshi. Is this new Asian-African Trade Union Conference going to be another battle-ground for those differences? Is it going to be the starting point of a new Afro-Asian TU Centre with or without those differences? We wish these questions were not there. But unfortunately, they are there and our TU movement cannot ignore them as every international gathering of mass organisations has been forced by some to go into them. If the same is to be repeated here, should we not think twice, before jumping into it? Moreover, the omission of the Asian Soviet TU centres, the omission to consult the WFTU, etc., leads one to put this question beforehand. We

are giving herewith the circular letters of October 3 and December 27 as also the General Outline of the Basic Manifesto or "Themes" as they call it. The Preface to the Basic Man-

We would prefer, therefore, that the SOBSI comrades and

THE CONFERENCE PROPOSALS

*FROM CENTRE PAGES

emerging forces toward the establishment of a new world, peaceful, free from imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, by means of mutual assistance in the political, social, economic and cultural fields.

1. Political field.

To render support to the workers and peoples of Asia and Africa, especially to those in Asia and Africa, in their struggle for full national independence, democracy, social progress, free from exploitation of man by man and liberated from the domination of foreign monopolies.

2. Social field.

To ensure the well-being of all-nations of the world, to conduct a peaceful coexistence among the countries and nations with different political and social systems, and to consolidate world peace, the Asian-African workers must take a stand on the following problems:

1. Common efforts and actions for a complete termination of production, stockpiling and testing of nuclear weapons in the space or outer-space, on land, sea or beneath the earth.

2. Common efforts and actions to realise complete and general disarmament under strict international supervision. Progress of science and technology should be conducted for the well-being of mankind.

3. Common efforts and actions to ease international tensions, among other things by settling all disputes between countries through peaceful negotiations on equal basis and with tolerance.

4. Common efforts and actions to abolish sources of war and international tensions through common struggle:

(a) against imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist system and all their manifestations in the

political, economic, cultural, social and military fields.

(b) against military treaties, military blocs and foreign military bases.

(c) against all forms of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of other countries, to defend the right of every state and nation for self-determination and to choose their own social system.

3. Economic field.

1. As regards the principles of self-determination and the wish to be treated equally on international level, all economic and trade relations must be established on the principle of mutual benefit without political or military obligations.

2. To ensure normal international economic and trade relations all forms of embargo, blockade and discrimination must be banned.

The European Common Market, used to cover up the trust and cartel systems, constitute a tool of common exploitation by the imperialists in the raw-material-producing countries.

The European Common Market (ECM) is in fact an economic weapon of the imperialists against the liberation movement in the Asian-African countries and against the ever-growing industrial progress in the socialist countries.

It is a monopoly of funds and forces for its participants, which is in fact nothing but a manifestation of neo-colonialism.

4. Cultural field.

It is necessary to establish cultural agreements among the Asian-African workers and peoples, particularly concerning the aspects related to the development of their daily life.

To reach this aim, it is necessary to exchange delegations, information and experiences among the Asian-African Trade Unions.

ration and unity among the peoples of Asia-Africa and of the whole world such as the Asian-African Conference in Bandung in 1955, the Asian-African Students' Conference in Cairo in 1960, the Asian-African Women's Conference in Cairo in 1960 and the Summit Conference in Belgrade in 1961.

Also the holding of meetings and seminars reflecting a broad unity among Asian-African peoples, or the establishment of bilateral as well as multilateral exchange-visits among Asian-African peoples are very important means that may help to realise a close cooperation and unity among all forces which are struggling fiercely against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and for the preservation of world peace.

With the purpose of solving the above-mentioned problems jointly, the Federations of Trade Unions of Indonesia representing about seven million Indonesian workers, have since long entertained the idea of holding an Asian-African Workers' Conference on a broad basis without discrimination of political conviction, religious beliefs and organisational affiliation.

The necessity of jointly holding discussions on the above-mentioned problems on a brotherly and friendly basis and in a sphere fully filled with the spirit of solidarity among all workers in the world, are all the more felt at this time when the collective foe of Asian-African workers and peoples, namely imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, are continuously making efforts to preserve colonial status and to invoke international tensions which are shaking world peace.

Joint discussions, held in the spirit of mutual understanding and mutual respect among all workers and their particular organizations, are also necessary for the purpose of strengthening the respective national tasks in the political, economical, social and cultural fields in order to obtain social progress for the workers in each country.

The workers of Indonesia in this case represented by the six Federations of Trade Unions mentioned hereunder, are fully convinced that beside the struggle to obtain full national freedom and independence there are many more questions that have to be faced together by all workers in the world, especially the workers in Asian-African and Latin American countries, in the political and economic fields as well as in the social and cultural fields. It is but appropriate if the Federations of Trade Unions of Indonesia are expecting helpful thoughts from all mass organisations of workers in Asia-Africa and all over the world.

Djakarta,
October 3, 1962.

Joint Secretariat of
Indonesian Trade
Unions Federations.

(Sd.)

Chairman, Minister of Labour
(Ahom Erningspradja)

MEMBERS

DPS. KBKI, (Central Council of Democratic Workers Union of Indonesia) —Sd., K. Prawirasoma.

PP. SARBUMUSI, (Central Board of Indonesian Moslem Trade Unions) —Sd., M. A. Alatas.

DN. SOBSI, (Central Organization of All Indonesian Trade Unions) —Sd., Tju-gito.

DH. GOBSI INDONESIA (Indonesian Islamic Associated Trade Union Movement) —Sd., A. Sjarifuddin S.

PB. GASBIINDO, (Federation of Indonesian Islamic Trade Unions), —Sd., Agus Sudono.

SECUMP. SOBRI, (Central Organization of Trade Unions of the Republic of Indonesia), —Sd., Sukirman K.

AITUC CIRCULAR

*FROM CENTRE PAGES

hope the Indonesian comrades and those centres whom they have already consulted will not misunderstand us, because we want a conference of unity and not a conference of differences and disunited behaviours.

We hope we shall have the opportunity to meet our Indonesian friends and clear up some of these questions. In any case, a conference of such a nature, embracing more than half the world has to be taken seriously and prepared properly. So it seems on the very face of it that we can do very little about it by May 1963.

We propose to put these points and documents before our trade unions for their information. The next meeting of the General Council of the AITUC should discuss them and suggest steps for better realisation of the proposed conference if it materialises. For the present, we have informed the WFTU centre and the Indonesian centres about these questions, suggestions and our approach.

S. A. DANGE,
General Secretary, AITUC



In Convalescence

In Convalescence, one needs a restorative tonic. At this stage SADHANA SIDDHA MAKARADHWAJA acts quickly and most effectively.

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Adhyaksha—Dr. Jages Chandra Ghose,
M.A. Ayurved-Sastri, F.C.S. (London) M.C.S. (America) Formerly Professor of
Chemistry, Bhagalpur College.
Calcutta Centre
Dr. Nares Chandra Ghose
M.B.B.S. (Cal.)
Ayurvedacharya.

MARCH 24, 1963

UMBRELLA!

Some reactionary circles in India want the American "umbrella" to protect them. American dollars for economic development and American arms and missile umbrella for national independence—is their recipe. If we object, they say: Even the biggest countries of Europe are doing it. Why not poor India?

So, Ministers and millionaires are all flying to see how the umbrella can be brought to India. Being backward technically, they have also to learn how to open it, though once opened, they may never be able to shut it.

But the picture of Europe kneeling down before the USA and hiding under the umbrella is not a true picture. Even the imperialist and monopoly circles of Europe would prefer their own leaking house to that of the American umbrella.

De Gaulle of France exploded the American myth. He rejected the American offer of a Polaris missile umbrella and kicked at Britain begging to enter the Common Market, as she wanted to come in as America's Trojan Horse!

The Canadian Government refused to take American nuclear war heads despite American threats to their economy.

Even the American dollar has been in difficulty and had to ask help from the European market and the British pound sterling had to ask for Russian gold shipments to arrest its own falling value.

The war-mongering NATO block is in "disarray".

It is interesting to see how the wellknown political commentator and wellwisher of American imperialism, Walter Lippmann, looks at the whole scene. Indians, who are infatuated with American wealth and strength, NATO unity and the umbrella, would do well to read Lippmann's survey which he wrote for the NEWSWEEK of March 18.

Editor

THE UNRAVELLING ALLIANCES

—Walter Lippmann

THERE has been some objection in official Washington to the use of the word "disarray" to describe the condition of the Western Alliance. It is not easy to find the one right word. But no matter what we call it, there is under way a radical change in the alliance.

The crux of it is in the relation between the United States and its allies. General de Gaulle did not himself cause this change, but he is the first to be acting upon it. It has been in the making for at least ten years. Western Europe is no longer dependent upon the United States for economic development. On the contrary, the United States find its financial position in the world vulnerable to European attack and dependent upon European cooperation. And while the United States is still the only nuclear power in the West, it is so vitally involved in the security of Western Europe that it could not disengage itself in Europe even if it wanted to. The United States must hold its umbrella over the general while he fashions some kind of nuclear force.

The striking thing about the deterioration of American influence in Europe is that it is running parallel to the deterioration of Soviet influence in Asia. The old rule of the cold war used to be that each side tried to exploit disruption on the other side. That rule is not working today. When Chairman Khrushchev was in trouble for his Cuban adventure, Red China gave him a push into deeper trouble by attacking his protégé, India. There was no rally within the Communist alliance, and we refrained from trying to exploit the Russo-Chinese schism, knowing that if we did we would draw the Russians and the Chinese together. Likewise, when the Western Alliance became unraveled, Nikita Khrushchev refrained from probing our disunity. For he too has learned that

influence of the United States in Europe will be restored. At the time of general's explosive press conference on Jan. 14, it was possible to suppose that the five other members of the European economic community would resist his veto. They would have liked to.

Shattered Illusion: But two months have passed, and it has become evident that Gaullist France is a stronger political power than all the five others. Another of our many illusions—that West Germany, is richer and therefore stronger than France—has been shattered. In fact West Germany, though rich and competent, is without self-confidence and is unable to oppose the will of General de Gaulle. We had forgotten how shattering was the disgrace of Nazism and the devastating defeat. Germany is still in the post-war era. France under General de Gaulle has emerged from the postwar era.

He is the leader of a country which has to reappraise, revise, and readjust policies put together during a half century of European dependence on the wealth and power of United States. In the world today, the United States is on its own to a degree which no man now in the United States Government has ever known before.

This country faces severe competition and the American people will have to learn that they have much to learn. European industry is by way of being at least as sophisticated technologically as our own, and our advantages in resources and a mass market are disappearing.

We shall be challenged in all the world markets and we shall need the kind of discipline which human beings submit to only when they know they are challenged.

whereas in 1961 this item alone accounted for over one crore dollars.

However, this does not mean that the Polish mining machinery industry meets the entire demand of the mining industry. It meets to the extent of 93 per cent of the requirements and the rest is met by imports. By 1965, when the present five-year Plan (1961-65) will have its full run, even this import will be eliminated, meeting the entire demand for all kinds of machines from home production.

The spectacular development of the mining machinery industry

in Poland has given rise to a whole branch of science and technique. Poland's experience in this line can match the achievements of any advanced country. An off-shot of this development are the many agreements foreign Governments and private businessmen have concluded with foreign trade agencies of Poland specialising in the export of mining machinery and technical know-how.

An outstanding example of Poland's potentialities in this field is the Indo-Polish project for sinking the deep-shaft mines, biggest of India's deep-

shaft coal mines, at Sudamdih in Dhanbad coal belt. Initial work on this project was started early in March 1962 and production is expected to commence in three or four years' time. The much needed coking coal for India's steel mills will come from Sudamdih at the rate of 2.2 million tonnes annually when fully operated in 1969-70.

The Sudamdih colliery will have many firsts. It is the first mine in India to be developed with Polish collaboration. It will

*ON PAGE 12



Polish miners being decorated by Polish President on Miners' Day.

Polish-Indian Cooperation In Coal Mining

In this age of unravelling the mysteries of the atom and of conquering space, can one say that a stage is fast coming when mankind will have left behind the "coal age" and entered the "atomic age" for a new source of boundless energy?

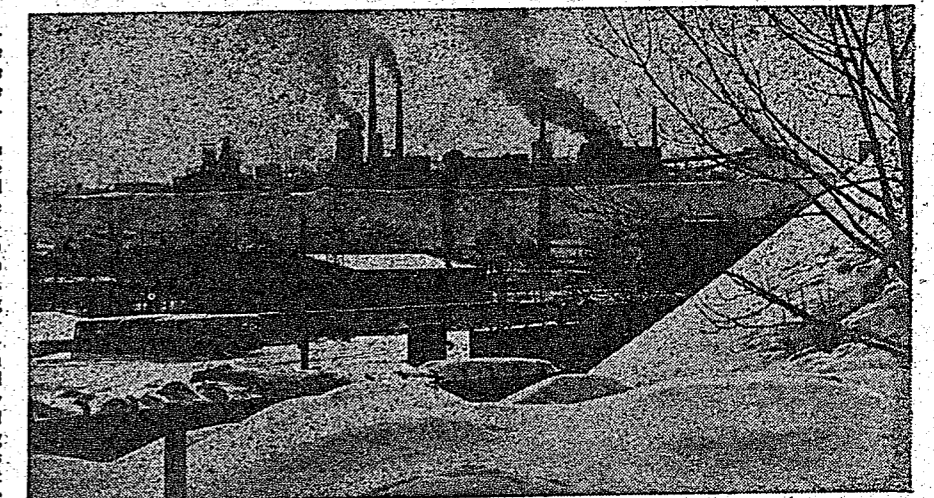
It is not so by any stretch of imagination. And for generations to come it will not be so. For, coal is still the primary and cheapest source of energy, employed on a massive scale by practically the entire world to keep going the life-lines of nations. Steel and coal are still the ingredients which determine the growth and might of any nation, its progress and perspectives. This incursion into the semantic is only an attempt to emphasize how indispensable coal is in everyday life.

Even before the last world war, Poland was known the world over as a leading producer and exporter of coal. In 1938 Poland's coal output was 36 million tons or 2.8 per cent of the world production. And in 1961 she produced over 106 million tons of coal, securing the sixth place among the leading coal producers of the world.

Both in the per capita output (3420 kgs.) and in the export of coal, Poland occupies high places in the world, in the latter second only to the United States of America.

How has this stupendous achievement become possible within a relatively short period of time since the last war? The answer to this question simultaneously answers the question how Poland can help India in her coal development programme.

Development of the mining machinery industry, the fundamental pre-requisite for increasing coal output, is the one branch of Polish industry that has forged ahead beyond recognition. Today more than 15,000 wagons load with 172,000 tons of mining machinery leave Polish factories each year. In 1950 the export earning from this branch of the national economy was only a little more than one lakh dollars.



A Landscape of Lower Silesia coal basin in Poland.

MARCH 24, 1963

NEW AGE

PAGE ELEVEN

PAGE TEN

NEW AGE

The formation of the European Common Market and the concern over it in most of the Afro-Asian countries underlines the pernicious heritage of colonial economy in these countries.

KENYA'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS Need For Establishing New Contacts

By JOSEPH MURUMBI
Treasurer, Kenya African National Union

OUR economies were developed as appendages to those of the metropolitan colonial powers. The salient characteristics of such colonial economies are too well known to need recapitulation here. But I would mention them briefly as a background to the more detailed consideration of our own economic problems.

The basic features of the colonial economies are three: Firstly, they are sources of raw materials for the industrialized capitalist countries of Western Europe and North America. Secondly, they provide markets for manufactured goods from these countries. And, finally, they are an outlet for capital investment which yields high returns.

For the people living in countries with such economies the result is brutal exploitation, extremely low wages and miserable living conditions. These economies are predominantly agricultural and usually based on the production and export of one or two agricultural commodities or minerals. There is little or no industry to speak of. A very large proportion of the population lives in entirely subsistence economy.

It is this subsistence sector which provides the low wage labour for the towns and plantations where metropolitan capital is located. Opportunities for local accumulation of capital are extremely limited — not only because of the low per capita income, but because a large proportion of profits are repatriated to the metropolitan countries.

Many of the countries in Africa and Asia which have attained independence are still shackled to the capitalist countries of Western Europe and North America because of the colonial structures of their economies. The pattern of their trade continues to be very much the same as before. As everyone knows, the terms of trade are constantly moving against raw material producing countries, so that we have to sell more and more merely to maintain export earnings, while the prices of manufactured goods imported remain constant or even increase. Although many independent African and Asian countries are desperately striving to develop economies which will serve the interests of their own people, they are not finding it easy.

Neo-Colonial Menace

One of the reasons for this is the inability of many of these countries to combat neo-colonialism which presents itself in the form of continued economic control from the capitalist-imperialist powers of Western Europe and North America. The European Common Market must be seen in its true colours as an extremely powerful neo-colonial menace.

Independence without economic emancipation is meaningless. The imperialist fork that has pinned us down has two prongs — political domination and economic control. It is not enough to be liberated from direct political control alone. True liberation can be realised only when control exercised through economic domination is overthrown as well. In the light of this background, I shall now consider in some detail some aspects of the economy of Kenya.

In addition to the normal aspects of colonial economies, there is the additional factor in Kenya of the actual settlement here of a considerable expatriate population consisting of Europeans and Asians. In the economic sphere, this fact is reflected in the predominance of these

two communities in agriculture, commerce and industry. A disproportionately large share of the national income accrues to these two communities. Out of an estimated total national income of £224 million, Africans receive no more than £100 million. On a per capita basis this works out at £12 per head for Africans and £413 for non-Africans for the simple reason that Africans constitute 98 per cent of the population.

Even out of the £12 per head for Africans, about 40 per cent is accounted for by subsistence production, so that the actual cash income per head of Africans is only about £5. Out of a total cash income in agriculture of about £48 million, African farmers get only £10 million or 22 per cent. The rest goes to about 3,600 European farmers whereas African farmers number about 1 million. A large part of the European income is for plantations and a good portion is repatriated to Britain.

Shocking Disparity

In the sphere of wage labour, Africans who constitute 90 per cent of the employed population earn only £78 each, whereas the average European wage is £1,365 per head, for no more than 4 per cent of the total numbers in employment. The most brutal exploitation of Africans takes place on European farms where the annual wage is only £45 per worker. In dollars this works out at \$11 per month.

Kenya can be likened to Algeria in so far as the colonial structure of our economy is characterised not merely by simple exploitation of peasants but also includes a great deal of production under direct European control. Everyone knows of the consequences in Algeria of the extensive sabotage of the economy by the Colons on the eve of Algerian independence.

The danger of similar sabotage in Kenya cannot be altogether excluded. In fact, it is already taking place on a small scale and is the major cause of the considerable unemployment in the country. As a result of the success of the nationalist movement, a vast amount of capital has been removed from the country.

This will cause serious problems for an independent Kenya striving to speed up economic development. We are being constantly reminded that capitalists will not invest unless they have confidence in the country — in other words, they want freedom to continue the exploitation of the people. We are not prepared to give anyone such freedom. But at the same time we have to strive for rapid economic growth.

A crucial element in the achievement of such growth would be extensive reorganisation of the economy along socialist lines. This will not be welcome by the capitalists and we shall have to try and pull ourselves by our own bootstraps as far as possible, and with disinterested help from friendly countries.

At this juncture we might reflect on the tragic waste of vast resources in the manufacture of armaments. Even a very small proportion of such expenditure by the great powers of the world would, if utilised to help the poorer countries, be of immense help in lifting them out of their poverty. This is not to say that we support the cause of World Peace for mercenary reasons alone, but we do say that world disarmament which has humanitarian consequences as well is doubly desirable.

I have already mentioned the

danger to Afro-Asian countries posed by the European Common Market. No country in the world has been able to build up a high station in a vital element in the basis of agriculture. Industrialisation is a vital element in the raising of living standards.

In the scheme of things envisaged by the organisers of the European Common Market, the Afro-Asian countries will continue to remain exporters of raw materials and food not produced in Europe. Tariffs against the import of manufactured goods are intended to be so high that it would be almost impossible for us to sell manufactured goods there.

We are being constantly told that we have a comparative advantage in raw material production, whilst Western countries have a similar advantage in manufactured goods. This is a fallacious and cunning argument against the development of industry in our countries.

The moment we are able to compete successfully in European markets, the cry of sweating labour immediately goes up from manufacturers in Europe, as if God ordained that we shall never have comparative advantage or even equality in manufacturing goods. The European Common Market has already succeeded in associating with itself some of the former French colonies. The apparent benefits of such association with ECM are illusory. While we recognise the menace of the European Common Market and the fact that the colonial pattern of our trade is a key element in exploitation by capitalist countries, we must think more positively of ways and means of altering things to our own benefit.

Unbalanced Trade

The tasks confronting us in this respect are enormous. I should like to give a few examples in the field of trade. Seventy-three per cent of Kenya's exports go to Western Europe and America, Britain taking almost a third of these.

Of the rest, 13% go to Asian countries, less than 2% to the Socialist countries and only 9% to African countries. As far as imports are concerned, the pattern is not very dissimilar, 66% coming from Western Europe and America, 23% from Asia, and again less than 2% from the socialist countries and, again, 9% from African countries. It should be one of our first tasks after gaining independence to boycott trade with fascist South Africa.

This pattern of trade is not peculiar to Kenya. Most of the African countries would show a similar direction of trade. Political independence becomes meaningless when seen in the light of these facts. To secure economic emancipation it is necessary to industrialize as well as to diversify the pattern of our economic relations with other countries.

Within Africa greater co-operation is absolutely fundamental towards industrialisation and the alteration of our pattern of trade. The necessity for this is clearly seen in the Pan-African movement which strives towards the unity of the African continent. But I must say in all humility that our attachment to national sovereignty seems sometimes to be stronger than our desire for unity.

Through no fault of our own, many African countries are too

small to be able to support a programme of industrialization on their own. Many of the independent states in our continent have a population of less than 2 million. But as part of a greater unit of neighbouring states, a population sufficiently large to support an extensive programme of industrialization can be mustered.

To be realistic we must begin by trying to secure such unity on a regional basis. This is what we are striving to achieve through PAFMECSA in East, Central and South Africa. I would like to pay a tribute to the statesmanship of the leaders of Tanganyika and Uganda for their voluntary surrender of part of their sovereignty through participation in the East African Common Services Organisation, which includes Kenya, although it is still a colonial country.

Drawbacks For Inter-Country Trade

What are the problems hindering greater economic co-operation between African countries? An obvious factor is transport. The existing transport system created by the colonial powers was intended primarily to facilitate exploitation. We have to create a system which will help to further the expansion of economic relations between ourselves, and thus reduce our dependence on trade with Europe. This problem of regional transport system is receiving considerable attention at the United National Economic Commission for Africa. I would appeal to member countries to give all support to plans for the development of adequate regional transport networks.

I do not wish here to go into details of the many other factors restricting mutual economic co-operation in Africa. But I would mention such problems as different monetary systems, previous trade agreements, licensing policy for trade and industry etc. We must study all these problems in detail — not merely for the sake of study but to be able to present the Governments with concrete proposals for mutual co-operation.

I have tended here to emphasise aspects of co-operation within Africa. This is not because I underrate the importance of economic relations with the Asian and Socialist countries. I am convinced we can derive many benefits from greater trade with the socialist countries who have experienced the same problems which confront us today, and who can lend valuable aid for industrialisation. The question of greater economic co-operation in Africa is closely tied up with the establishment of economic links with Asian, Latin American and Socialist countries.

I wish to say a few words on economic planning. There is no need to demonstrate the vital importance of comprehensive planning towards the speeding up of economic development. Even a most cursory examination of the problems of economic growth and the experience of other underdeveloped countries is enough to show that the only road to rapid growth is the road of economic planning. However, not all countries have personnel with experience of planning. Arrangements should be considered to provide experienced planners for those Afro-Asian and Latin American countries which need such experts.

Finally, I would like to suggest that regional committees and other specialised committees be

set up under the auspices of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation to study the problems which I have outlined in this paper. Although our problems are in many ways the same, there are regional peculiarities which require separate and detailed study. By regional committees I mean Committees located in a particular geographical region, such as West Africa, which would be able to examine the particular problems of that region from the point of view of bringing about greater co-operation between the countries concerned. By specialised committees I mean bodies which would examine such general problems as trade between Afro-Asian countries, the question of economic aid and other problems such as the supply of planning experts.

The problems facing us in the task of securing our economic emancipation can be successfully tackled if we exhibit the same determination and resourcefulness which brought us victory in the struggle for independence. We must not shrink from the realities of the situation. We must guard against the vicious legacy of colonialism which bred defeatism and a mental approach that curbed our freedom to act. Most of the underdeveloped countries of the world have been richly endowed by nature.

The problems facing us in the task of securing our economic emancipation can be successfully tackled if we exhibit the same determination and resourcefulness which brought us victory in the struggle for independence. We must not shrink from the realities of the situation. We must guard against the vicious legacy of colonialism which bred defeatism and a mental approach that curbed our freedom to act. Most of the underdeveloped countries of the world have been richly endowed by nature.

Struggle For Economic Freedom

It is our riches — and not our poverty — that attracted the greed of the imperialists and colonialists. It is time that we used our political freedom to establish new economic relationships which will be reflected in the raising of the standard of living of the masses. It was the masses who suffered the brunt of imperialist exploitation and we owe it to them to ensure the victory of the national democratic revolution.

Polish-Indian Cooperation

FROM PAGE 11

be the first deep-shaft mine in India, 420 and 440 metres deep. It will be the first mine in India to be sunk vertically. Specially developed material will be used in the construction of the mine and best of Poland's experts in mining will be on hand to supervise the construction.

The Polish-Indian agreement covering this project provides also for the setting up of a coal washery.

Agreement has also been reached with the Indian authorities for widening the Polish-Indian collaboration in the field of coal mining. Accordingly, during the period of the Third and Fourth Plans, construction work on an average of one and a half mine a year will be started.

The Polish-Indian cooperation in mining also extends to coal preparing processes such as construction of washeries and to producing of mining machinery.

It should be recalled that Indo-Polish economic relations are governed by a special arrangement under which all Poland's earnings will be used for buying Indian goods.

STRIKE SPREADS IN FRANCE

Sympathetic Actions All Over The Country

The 250,000-strong French miners' strike that began on March 1 is not only going on in full swing but also gathering greater momentum with sympathetic strikes taking place in various parts of the country.

ALONGWITH it came the 24-hour strike of the railmen on March 15, the march to Paris on March 13 by the iron ore miners, token strike of electricity and gas workers and ground personnel at French airports and postal services, and a number of solidarity actions in Britain and other parts of Europe.

London Economist describes this situation as: "An unexpected showdown with labour has lifted a corner of the veil that screens General de Gaulle's real domestic situation" and emphasises that for de Gaulle, "This is his first trial of strength, not with the debris of the Fourth Republic, but with the stirrings of the Sixth."

General de Gaulle's requisition order has been defied by the miners and the Government had to move up from its offer of 3% rise to 5.7% (according to a latest report, 8%) in the wages of the miners against their demand of 11%. General de Gaulle's dictatorial decree failed to bring about any result, far from compelling the miners to go back to work. He had to order also the immediate survey of the disparities between the wages in state-owned and privately-owned mines and investigation into the financial position of nationalised industry with a view to taking appropriate measures.

The miners' unions in Great Britain has called on all coal producers in Europe to ensure that their stocks are not used to break or weaken the effectiveness of the French miners' strike. The Soviet Union has already proclaimed a moratorium on all deliveries of coal to France for the duration of the strike.

The New York Times (March 14) in a despatch from Henry Ginger spells out the impression of the seething discontent among the workers against de Gaulle's regime. A French

miner is quoted to have said that de Gaulle was "trying to bring back slavery".

The demand of the miners, which includes a wage-rise of 11% and 40-hour work-week instead of 48-hour, has the support of the

unity of the trade unions in France on a common desire of action.

The innocuous beginning of the miners' strike that was sought to be smashed by the Draconian measures of de Gaulle, has now brought about a real testing time for de Gaulle's regime and a trial of strength between the organised labour of France and the dictatorial government.

Meanwhile the 102-day old strike of 20,000 printers in New York (the biggest and costliest, as Newsweek describes it) which has kept big New York dailies off from the press, again took a fresh spurt when on March 18 the printers' union rejected the offer of Mayor Wagner providing a package salary increase to every employee of \$12.63 per week including a \$4-a-week wage increase every year besides other benefits and simultaneously granting a 35-hour work-week in place of existing 36½ hours.

In Chicago, the negotiation between the railroad management and the unions over the crucial issue of job security, specifically of 40,000 jobs held by firemen, broke down on March 13. A strike seem to be imminent, which can be stopped only if President Kennedy uses his powers appointing an emergency fact-finding board which can postpone the strike for 60 days.

The news of these solidarity actions has thrilled the working class of France and spread like wild fire in all French mining towns.

workers in other nationalised industries, who feel with the miners that this sector of the economy has been left behind in France's present boom, writes New York Times (March 18).

The strike of the miners and other solidarity actions as well as the new wave of direct actions by the civil servants and workers in the nationalised sector, are led jointly by the trade unions affiliated to General Confederation of Labour, Socialist Workers' Force and Roman Catholic Christian Trade Union Federation. Never before has there been such

ASSAM

FROM PAGE 2

to disarm the critics of his Government's knowledge of the question of Pakistani infiltration.

The tragic happenings of Silchar of last month were repeatedly referred to during the debate. There was no doubt unanimous condemnation of the happenings, but the presentation of the happenings and their analysis did not receive the same amount of secular treatment from all the members, as was done by the senior Congress member O. K. Das.

The decade-old demand of Assam for integration of NEFA with this state, was reiterated by several members who pointed out that the threat from the North underlined its need more than ever before. The arguments in favour of this, however, it was felt, left some points untouched. Similarly the Chief Minister's assertion that administrative integration was not as important as establishment of human relations among the diverse population of the zone living under different administrations, also did not clarify some of the known misgivings in this State about the policy pursued in NEFA with regard to its relations with Assam.

He, however, made the welcome indication that he had been in touch with the Governor for facilitating more frequent contacts between the people of the NEFA and those of Assam. Whether this will eventually lead to doing away with the notorious "inner line" regulation that forbids entry of an Indian to NEFA without permit from the authorities, remains to be seen.

The Chief Minister denied the charge made by some opposition members that in the matter of civil defence organisation there was partisanship in favour of the members of the ruling party. He admitted that almost all the secretaries of Sub-divisional Civil Defence Aid Committees were Congress members, but he explained this as a "special responsibility of the ruling party".

The Chief Minister admitted that in the matter of collection of National Defence Fund, Assam lagged behind some other States. The unprecedented strain on the administration of this frontier State which had to bear the main brunt of the Chinese aggression and the strain on the economy of the State by the two successive floods last

Jan Sangh Exhibition At Lucknow Closed

From RAMESH SINHA

LUCKNOW, March 19: At long last, the government has moved and the RSS-Jan Sangh exhibition has been closed.

ACTUALLY the government did not ban it. The police merely removed some of the posters from the pavilion called the Call Of The Mother and so, almost in protest, the organisers have shut down that particular part of the exhibition.

The shut-down has been made under compulsion and when it became impossible to allow it any longer. Those who had to do it, after all their attempts at white-washing had failed, are now angry at those who forced their reluctant hands to do so.

Their anger is directed, most of all, against those Congressmen who took up the cudgels against the anti-national exhibition, and, of course, against the Communists and against Neki Ram Sharma, the Independent MLA, who was the first to force the issue in the Assembly.

The guilty ones do not want any discussion about the "past". They are afraid some more skeletons may come out of their tightly locked cupboards. For, it seems, some Congress leaders played a big part in encouraging or emboldening the RSS men to organise and commit this treason in posters.

The Chief Minister, who alone of the crowd matters, has been worsted by his own men like Information Minister, Banarsi Das. This is the reason why he lost his temper

in the UPCC meeting, when K. D. Malaviya, Union Minister for Mines and Fuel, raised the question. Disgusted, Malaviya left the meeting. But since then the bitterness has become even sharper.

Besides, it is no longer possible for anyone to hush up the question, because it is not a past issue at all. The all-important issue of the attitude of Congressmen, and specially of the Congress Government in the State, towards the increasing anti-national activities of the RSS and Jan Sangh gangs, which has been raised by the whole episode of the exhibition, is not merely a very live issue, but is assuming a more and more serious form.

The Call Of The Mother pavilion was a part of these activities. Once again they have been thrown back. But it would be foolish to imagine that they are either repentant or defeated. On the contrary, for the last few days they have been publishing the objectionable posters, including those which they had been forced to remove earlier, in their local evening daily with provocative headings. And a few days back, they have published a whole lot of the worst of them as a montage on the cover-page of their weekly, the Panchjanya. Where is the D.I.R. Act? This is the question on almost everybody's lips.

THE NIZAM STORY

FROM FRONT PAGE

ever I feel necessary in the matter. Hope you will excuse me for the trouble.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/ Rai Trimbaklal

This shows that the matter is under investigation ever since 1961 but nothing is being done, although the Central Government of the SPE is reported to have supplied not only the material but also has asked the Andhra Pradesh Government to proceed with the prosecution of the case against Mr. Taraporewala.

When the complaint was first lodged with the Chief Secretary in 1961, he advised that there should be a written complaint by the Joint Secretary, Board of Revenue, and on his advice, the Joint Secretary to the Board of Revenue also filed a written complaint and this was shown to the Public Prosecutor who sanctioned it. Everything was ready for prosecution but nothing has been done.

The Central Government comes into the picture because it took certain initiative also in some matters. I read from the letter of Mr. Lal in which he brings in the Central Government, dated September 27, 1961:

"I obtained from Shri L. S. Dharbari, Superintendent of Police, Fraud Squad, Special Police Establishment, New Delhi, photostat copies of a letter dated 18.10.54, from Rangildas Khandwala & Sons, Stock and Finance Brokers,

Bombay, addressed to Khan Bahadur Taraporewala, Financial Adviser to H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad and containing certain proposed alterations obviously in the handwriting of the recipient, (2) a copy of letter (1) sent as an enclosure to a letter from Shri C. B. Taraporewala to the Government of Hyderabad and in which the alterations 'proposed' in letter No. (1) had been carried out and (3) an office copy of the letter (1) of Rangildas Khandwala & Sons. I am enclosing the above three photostats which clearly speak for themselves and show how the Government was by the use of the said forged document, dishonestly induced to sell the 'rights' at rates far lower than the prevailing market rates and how the Government was consequently cheated.

"There appears to be considerable room to suspect the commission of the offences of Forgery, Cheating and Criminal Breach of Trust by Shri. C. B. Taraporewala and I request that immediate and appropriate action be taken."

This is the letter of Mr. Trimbaklal dated September 3, 1962. The whole thing is there and all these things had been gone into. The Government was committed to sanctioning the prosecution. The Central Government furnished the material to start the prosecution and the Chief Secretary said that this would be done but nothing has so far been done. My information is that the matter is sought to be hushed up.

MUSCOVITES STORM IRAQI EMBASSY

Solidarity Demonstration with Iraqi Patriots

★ From Masood Ali Khan

MOSCOW, March 18:

People all over the Soviet Union have been shocked by the atrocities in Iraq and a wave of protest meetings and demonstrations has swept the country. News of protests have come from all major cities of the Soviet Union.

IN Moscow, thousands demonstrated in front of the Iraqi Embassy carrying placards, posters and banners in Arabic, Russian and other languages. "End the Massacres," "Freedom to the Patriots," "Fascism Shall Not Pass," "Shame to the Murderers of Communists and Patriots in Iraq"—were some of the texts that were noted down. Along with Muscovites, Arab students and Asian, African and Latin American youth also demonstrated.

The angry mass of people surged forward in wave after wave, and the militia had a hard job controlling the noisy, indignant crowds, which had completely blocked the usually

quiet Ostrovsky Street. The demonstration lasted for a few hours.

A crowded public meeting of Moscow citizens held in the House of Trade Unions demanded an immediate end to the terror, violence and repression in Iraq.

Victor Grishin, Chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions and a candidate member of the Presidium of the CPSU, speaking at the meeting, declared that the Iraqi reactionaries wanted to turn back the tide of history and perpetuate the system of bestial exploitation and imperialist domination. They wanted

to strangle the democratic movement and saddle the country with a regime of violence, social inequity and oppression.

Grishin said that the contention that the Communists were being persecuted for their alleged support for Kassem was a crude lie. When Kassem turned to the right, fearing the rise of the popular movement, he struck first at the Communist Party. The Soviet trade union leader said that the execution of Hussein al-Radhawi and others was a vile, crime and an arrogant challenge to feelings of humanity and order.

"Soviet Communists will always hold sacred the bright memory of Comrade Hussein al-Radhawi and his companions in arms, the finest sons of the Iraqi people, staunch fighters for the triumph of the ideas of Communism who gave up their lives for the happiness and freedom of their people," declared Pravda in an obituary.

Long Live The Heroic Communists Of USA

Pravda Article Refutes Chinese Vilification

The Communist Party of the USA has won the admiration of all progressive mankind for the courageous and heroic battle it has waged against U.S. imperialism, steadfastly and sincerely, without flinching in the face of the worst repression and trials.

IT is for this reason, above all, that democratic opinion in all continents has been shocked at the vicious attack launched against the Communist Party of the USA by the Chinese Communist Party through an editorial in People's Daily, dated March 8.

This editorial accuses the U.S. Communist Party of being "really cheek by jowl with the most adventurous U.S. imperialists"; of having a "completely wrong understanding of U.S. imperialism" and a "completely in-

correct class stand"; of "doing their utmost to prettify U.S. imperialism, to prettify Kennedy, the U.S. imperialist chieftain, and to affirm their loyalty to the U.S. ruling class"; of "serving as willing apologists for U.S. imperialism and helping it to deceive the people of the world." Among other "charges" levelled against the brave Communists of U.S.A. is that "you maliciously attack China and support the Indian reactionaries in diverse ways."

Only the imperialists can gain from this attack on the U.S. Communists, fighting in the very heartland of the world's most powerful imperialism. Not content with this abuse, which follows complete distortions of the position taken by the U.S. Communist Party, the People's Daily editorial openly calls on the "genuine Communists both inside and outside the Communist Party of the United States" to act against the "revisionists".

The entire editorial is one more violation of all international Party norms by the Chinese Communist Party. It unashamedly aims at splitting the Communist Party of the U.S.A., by the foul method of slanders and lies, by encouraging anti-Party elements (even outside the Communist Party!) to divide and break the unity of the Party.

In this context, all Communists and democrats will welcome the fact that on Sunday, March 17, Pravda devoted a

whole page to the heroic fight of the Communists of the United States with a banner headline—"Courage Admired by the World". The paper called the Communist Party of the USA "the honour and conscience of the American people."

The Communists of the USA, Pravda said, "are people, strong in spirit, tempered in continuous class battles and in the citadel of imperialism they are waging a gallant fight for humanity's bright ideals."

The article mentioned the struggle of the Communist Party of the USA for peaceful co-existence and against aggressive policies of American imperialism. The Party had acted not as a tool of some external forces but as a Party of genuine patriots and defenders of the people's interests, of the working class, the Negro population, the farmers and youth.

In this tireless struggle, the Party wins ever increasing support of the American people and ever increasing prestige in the international Communist movement. The Communist Party of the USA is doing an invaluable service not only to the American people but also to all honest people on earth who follow its heroic struggle, with feeling and gratitude, Pravda says in conclusion.

This is the voice of the international Communist movement, which stands fully behind the heroic Communists of the USA. All the slanders of splitters will not weaken their resolve to continue till victory, their glorious struggle against U.S. imperialism.

WHO DIRECTS ANTI-COMMUNIST HYSTERIA?

MOSCOW: IN an editorial article on the baiting of Communists and democrats in Tunisia, Pravda said that the repressive measures played only in the hands of the colonialists. "It is obviously not accidental that the terror and bloody mas-

sacres of Communists in Iraq and arrests of Communists in Syria have coincided with repression against Communists in Tunisia. Is not all this anti-Communist hysteria directed from one centre not to be found on the national territories of these States?"

BURMA ON A NEW ROAD—Soviet Reactions To Recent Developments

MOSCOW:

The social and economic changes set in motion by the Burmese Government have been welcomed here.

A PRAVDA article by Professor Ulyanovsky captioned "Burma on a New Road" declared that the political declaration of the Revolutionary Council of Burma "Burmese Road to Socialism" is of a "revolutionary-democratic character."

The declaration rejects the road of capitalist development and proclaims the need of nationalising enterprises in all branches of economy and the creation of a national economy on the basis of State and co-operative property.

"The declaration and subsequent documents emphasise, says Ulyanovsky, 'that Burma's future lies on the road to socialism by putting an end to the exploitation of man by man'."

"Nationalisation is not intended to be a single action but a gradual process of replacing private capitalist enterprise by State production and it has the purpose of putting an end to the aftermath of colonialism in the near future."

The author mentions the nationalisation of the Burma Oil Company and 24 private banks, 14 of whom were foreign. The internal and external trade in rice, which occupies 60 per cent of Burma's cultivable land and forms 80 per cent of her income from exports, will be taken over by the State during this year.

General Ne Win has declared that the present industrial enterprises will be allowed to continue, but in the end they will be nationalised. The establishment of new private

enterprises has been banned in the country.

"Can the Burmese people," the author asks, "create an independent national economy under the leadership of the Revolutionary Council and start going over to the non-capitalist road of development?" "This is perfectly possible," he says, "if the Revolutionary Council would rally round itself all the progressive forces of the country and would rely on the majority of the people. Historical experience has shown that the establishment of a solid National Front of all revolutionary forces of the country, capable of participating in the struggle against imperialism and feudalism is a decisive guarantee that the programme goals of any country, which pursues the aim of overcoming its backwardness, eliminating the colonial heritage and economic dependence, will be achieved."

The author emphasises the significance of the Burmese working class for the non-capitalist development of the land and declares that the unity of the working class on the basis of Marxism-Leninism shall make possible its firm alliance with the peasantry and all revolutionary democratic forces within the framework of the emerging national democratic state.

"In our epoch, when the forces of socialism are stronger than capitalism, the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal aspirations can transfer a country to the non-capitalist path of development on the basis of a National Front."

NEW PPH TITLE

OUTSIDE THE CONTEST

Edited by K. P. Karunakaran

The first serious and systematic study of the history, ideology and international influence of the policy of nonalignment. Separate critical studies of the foreign policies of some select countries—India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Indonesia, among others—bring out the evolution of the policy in their historical setting. The final chapter analysing the Belgrade Summit Meeting of the nonaligned powers lays bare the emerging contradictions among them, reflecting as they do the varying degrees of development and maturity.

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West Berlin Spy Nest

Bomb-Maker Killed By Self-Made Bomb

★ From P. Kunhanandan

Berlin:

Making explosive packets the 22-year-old student of West Berlin University, H. J. Bischoff, was literally blown to pieces in a powerful explosion in his mother's flat in West Berlin on March 10.

BISCHOFF was a member of the neo-fascist "Union of National Students" and of a terrorist organisation which engages in explosion plots against the border installations of the GDR in Berlin. According to West Berlin police authorities Bischoff had participated in an attack on the Socialist Unity Party bureau of West Berlin, after which he had been briefly questioned and then released.

Searching the cellar of the house, where the explosion took place, the police discovered 6 kilograms of plastic explosives and other explosive accessories, 2 machine pistols, ammunition as well as posters calling for "actions against the wall".

Explosive experts admitted that the explosive found in the cellar was of the same make as that used by the West German Bundeswehr. The same explosives had also been used in an attack on the "Inbaurist" office, the Soviet tourist agency, in West Berlin.

AP reported in this connection that "the police authorities assume that a second onslaught on the Soviet 'Intourist' office had been intended. 'It may also be that the well-known West Berlin travel bureau 'Hellas' which arranges travels to countries of the Eastern bloc, was to be the target of the new explosive plot."

The explosion caused not only the death of the student. Three other persons were seriously injured.

The explosion destroyed the entire flat, ceiling and walls collapsed and doors and windows were blown out of their frames. The facade of the 6-storey building shows half-an-inch wide cracks. Parts of the wall flew up to 50 metres far. Part of the house had to be evacuated. Traffic had to be shifted from the neighbourhood so as to avoid further damage.

Investigation into the "case" has been taken over by the political section of the police from the criminal section. "Police officials stated that representatives of the so-called Bundes-Nachrichten-Dienst, commanded by former Nazi-general Gehlen and liable to report to Globke (Adenauer's personal assistant), were participating in the investigations. Political observers in West Berlin commented that the explosives could have only been obtained with an official permit by the competent authorities. Besides the authorities of the West Berlin Senate, such permits are also unofficially granted by the Gehlen spy organisation.

The GDR newspaper "Neues Deutschland" of March 12 commented editorially that this latest explosion once again proved that West Berlin is a powder-keg and that there are chaotic conditions in West Berlin.

"We on our part have protected ourselves from their destructive plans, against the powder-keg of West Berlin. Our anti-fascist wall stands firm and the explosion at Hohenzollernplatz only causes us to protect our peaceful capital and the GDR even more reliably," Neues Deutschland stated.

"But who protects those who live on the powder-keg...? We do for them whatever we can by

promoting common sense and relaxation, by halting the destruction-lustly extremists. But in being freed from them, from the powder-keg, from the permanent menace of self-destruction, the West Berliners themselves should have the greatest interest."

"West Berlin should become a Free City! A city free from gun powder, free from fanatics, free from the danger of being blown up on a Sunday evening. Free for its inhabitants, free for life and peace!" the paper concluded.



A view of the destroyed flat.

YELLOW

TAYA Zinkin of Reporting India notoriety is now making frequent appearances in the pages of Gorbala's Opinion, a highly opinionated bulletin published from Bombay.

The lady, after having finished(?) with her distributive against the political personalities of our country, has started writing on Indian animals—the latest one being on cows.

Those who are familiar with Reporting India will find the lady back through Opinion talking the same drivel and nonsense in the same insulting manner. Obviously, even after the Prime Minister's rebuke, she has not learnt her lessons.

Here are some synthetic gems from her ex cathedra scuffings:

"India has not enough draft bullocks because the bullocks are so weak that if the soil is difficult to plough it may take as many as 18 bullocks to pull a plough."

"If India's cattle problem were solved, India would be well on the way towards agricultural self-sufficiency. 'Now that there is a national emergency, it is perhaps the right time to take stock of what can be done.' She further advises that useless cattle could be killed and their hides and hoofs "would bring in 800 crores of rupees in foreign exchange", though at the same time she suggests us not to "upset the religious feelings of the urban middle class".

With a fling at the political leadership of the country, she says: "However, as Indian politics is now constituted, in the absence of a really far-sighted and determined leadership, the last word remains with the obscurantist urban middle class, and other methods of checking India's cattle explosion have to be devised."

And then she proceeds to tell us about family control

among the cattle community and argues that the cow problem is far from insoluble and points out practical measures like "castration" and "chastity belt" for bulls and cows.

And finally, she exhorts every Chief Minister to take up the portfolio of Agriculture, all bright officers to scorn IAS, IFS and so on, and join agriculture because, "Unless agricultural production shoots up and cattle population shoots down, India is heading for catastrophe, whether the Chinese bother or not."

ICS officers used to be known in our country as know-all but during the post-independence period (ICS having been replaced and IAS not being so much coveted as before), even the wives of former ICS officers have been showing such rare talents. And this lady particularly is too blatant to claim even to have given advice to our national leaders during almost all the major political developments in our country that came about in the last decade or so.

We do not know, how long this garrulous lady, a self-styled "well-wisher" of India and a "guide" for our political destiny will continue to bother us with her ravings at the cost of our sense of decency. But what about the Opinion?

ONE S. K. Mukherjee of Calcutta had a none-too-bright brain wave and it found its due place in Organiser (March 18). In a geometrical analysis, this Mukherji has tried to prove that the Russians like Birla while the Chinese do not and therefore Bhupesh Gupta in Rajya Sabha demanding the publication of the reports of Birla concerns, has "willy nilly", "unmasked himself".

Organiser headlines this exposure(1) as "Communist Trick To Destroy Indian Unity".

Mukherjee wants his readers to believe! And putting these anti-people sharks inside jails can only help the cause of national unity and defence. After all, the Birlas don't defend the country—they only earn the profits. So let us talk of unity of the people, not of Birlas and non-Birlas.

Apart from the bad taste which this brain wave exhibits, and leaving out to proper person the question of breach of privilege of a member of Parliament to be raised, one can easily take the analogy of S. K. Mukherjee's own arguments to show how futile his arguments are.

He accuses that "Mr. Gupta's charge seeks to destroy this unity and create doubts in the minds of the people. And that is a serious matter." This unity is the unity of all people, as S. K. Mukherjee points out (and positively includes those sharks, tycoons and swindlers of big business who have gobbled up public money).

If his arguments are taken from the other angle, it will mean that the Dalima-Jains (report on whom has been published) are liked by the Chinese while the Russians do not like them; but again by not punishing the Dalima-Jains the Government of India is giving indications of its pro-Chinese bias! And Bhupesh Gupta by demanding punishment of the Dalima-Jains again proves himself to be an anti-China element!

All these contradictions only point out that such arguments are just idiotic and without any rational basis. They only indicate the humbugism recently acquired by many-a-person trying to look profound. And S. K. Mukherjee certainly wants his unity with the Birlas and other questionable Houses to continue undamaged, Chinese aggression or not.

Bhupesh Gupta's demand for publication of the report, according to Mukherjee, "secretly strives to calumniate the rich so that the united support for India's defence may be weakened". Defence is not that sacred mantram to be chanted to ignore all the racketeering and evil doings of big business—as

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Box No. 46 The Current.

The above is an advertisement in the Current (March 16) with emphasis added by us thereto. But what type of business is this with such bright prospects? Something in the nature of gold smuggling...?

—S. M.

NEW AGE

EDITORIAL BOARD: E.M.S. Nambudiripad (Editor) Yogindra Sharma, Romesh Chandra

Printed by D. P. Sinha at the NEW AGE PRINTING PRESS, Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi, and published by him from 114, Anaf. All Road, New Delhi.

Telegraphic Address: MARKBADI Phone: 225794

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

FOREIGN: Yearly Rs. 20.00 Half-yearly Rs. 10.00. All cheques and drafts are to be made payable to T. MADHAVAN and not to NEW AGE.

Setting The House In Order

* By Our Parliamentary Correspondent

After a wearisome three-hour discussion, the Lok Sabha on Tuesday reprimanded three Socialist members of the House "for their undesirable, undignified and unbecoming conduct during the President's Address on 18th February, 1963" and "for aggravating their offence by their evidence" subsequently before the Committee appointed by the House to go into the incident. In the name of the House, the Speaker administered the reprimand to Ram Sevak Yadav, Mani Ram Bagri and B. N. Mandal.

TWO other members, B. Singh Utiya (Socialist) and Swami Rameshwaranand (Jan Sangh) whose conduct also was reviewed by the Committee were let off without a reprimand, as the Committee had taken a lenient view, after hearing their explanations, and suggested that the ends of justice would be adequately met by expressing disapproval of their behaviour.

It was the first time in the history of the country's Parliament that the latter was exercising its control over its members in this way and certain members were reprimanded for their unbecoming conduct. It was also the first time that a President's Address to the joint sitting of the two Houses of Parliament had been disturbed by a demonstration and walk-out by certain members. It will be recalled that the Socialist members, who were reprimanded, had objected to the President addressing Parliament in English on February 18 last and staged a walk-out. The committee had found that their conduct was "pre-meditated."

While the incident and its consequences would be a matter of interest to historians who care to study our Parliamentary traditions, what was more obvious in Tuesday's scene in the Lok Sabha was a certain incongruity in the procedure and insufficient appreciation of all the issues involved in the unsavoury episode.

Parliament's Dignity

There could be no two opinions—and as a matter of fact all the parties seem to be happily agreed on this—that Parliament should uphold dignity and decorum in its functions. In the same way the President's Address is a solemn occasion which should not be subjected to such exhibitions as happened last time. But would anyone be naive enough to believe that the action taken against the three intractable Socialists would be an end of the matter and all would be fine ever after?

For, it cannot be denied that, despite all the goodwill and good intentions, a kind of slovenliness sometimes comes into the deliberations of Parliament. How many times has one seen some member or other defying the Chair, raising unnecessary points of order and generally reducing the atmosphere in the House to that level of non-seriousness appropriate for an amateurish debating society?

The Prime Minister rightly pointed out that State legislatures look to Parliament for guidance in correct procedure and healthy conventions. On the other hand, Hiren Muker-

jee was also right when he pointed to the danger of the country getting the impression that Members of Parliament have to be treated like school boys. It would be indeed bad if they can be restrained only by their master's birch.

Mukerjee's point was that while punishing exhibitionism, the House should take care to see that exhibitionism does not recoil on itself. He was, therefore, for closing the subject by expressing the disapproval of the conduct of those members for whom the Committee had recommended a reprimand.

Members Differ On Action

There were others also who felt like him, including Khadilkar from the Congress benches. The PSP leader Surendranath Dwivedi was for carrying out the Committee's recommendations and he spoke very strongly about it. The Prime Minister speaking in a mild tone felt that the least the House could do was to accept the Committee's recommendation. And that view prevailed ultimately, though there were thirty members who stood up to oppose the motion.

That again showed that unanimity is not an easy thing to be achieved in such matters. There will always be two or more opinions on the exercise of the privileges and functions of Parliament. But, apart from that, the lengthy discussion on the Committee's report and the statements in self-defence made by the members whose conduct had been called in question, suffered from one serious flaw—again a question of dignity. Despite the Speaker's warning that the occasion was a solemn one and should be treated with seriousness, no sooner had the Socialist members started making their statements, the atmosphere in the House began to lose seriousness.

The Socialist members fully utilised the chance to make statements and launched forth into long speeches on the question of Hindi and not only justified their conduct but also argued against the President, the Speaker and the Committee. They made it an occasion for the "defence" of Hindi, something completely extraneous to the subject before the House.

There was no sign of remorse in their face or in their voice as they held forth their arguments against the recommendations of the Committee and later listened to the Speaker's reprimand. They took the reprimand sitting in their seats, though the directive issued earlier had stated that they should be standing

up. Earlier, another part of the directive, that the accused members should withdraw from the House while the latter discussed the Committee's report was given up as a large majority of the House pleaded with the Speaker to allow those members to remain in the House.

And when ultimately the House adopted the motion to accept the Committee's recommendation, another Socialist member, Krishan Patnaik staged a walk-out. Altogether it looked as though they had a field day. What is more, the Socialist must have felt a secret pleasure when the Speaker administered the reprimand first in Hindi and then in English.

Language Controversy

That automatically leads us to the question of language. While it was true that the House was discussing the question of correct behaviour and decorum for its members and the Socialist members were being reprimanded only for their undignified conduct at the time of the President's Address, the fact could not be overlooked that from behind the curtain was peeping all the time the monster of linguistic chauvinism.

PSP leader Dwivedi remarked that Hindi was being drag-

mands for grants for the External Affairs Ministry, set the pace for a probe into the performance of our Foreign Missions. He found a large volume of support from all sides to his criticism of the Foreign Service in its failure to imbibe and impart the spirit of the country's foreign policy. He criticised the Swatantra and said that it was a happy sign that there is general realisation in the country that the most powerful instruments for safeguarding freedom were development plans and the policy of non-alignment.

He laid special stress on the need to cultivate the friendship of the Afro-Asian countries. He pointed to the need for rectifying the setback in our relations with Indonesia.

It is particularly necessary today for us to rehabilitate ourselves and resume the leadership of the anti-colonial fight, he said.

Hiren Mukerjee was severely critical of the undue interest shown by the British and American representatives in India in the Indo-Pakistan talks and asked the government not to allow Anglo-American interference in India's affairs.

From the Congress Benches, a particularly effective speech was by Khadilkar. On the question of implementation of the foreign policy, Khadilkar had a number of weaknesses to point out. He too stressed

the British. He quoted Anthony Eden to prove that the British had a quite different stand towards Tibet.

The Prime Minister in his reply defended what he had said in the Rajya Sabha and when Nath Pai interrupted, he retorted: "Mr. Eden is no authority for me. I say it (India inheriting the position about Tibet from the British) is true. Mr. Eden does not contradict me in the slightest."

The Prime Minister defended the policy of non-alignment and friendship with other nations. He said that our foreign policy has been to further our interests by friendship with all other countries, wherever they are. There is no meaning in alignment for a country like India, situated as we are, when we happen to be friendly with all countries belonging to both the blocks.

On the criticism about deterioration in relations with African nations, the Prime Minister remarked: "Fundamentally, I think, we have the goodwill of Africa and they certainly have our goodwill". He said that Government of India was prepared to offer educational facilities and training to scholars from the Portuguese occupied territories of Angola and Mozambique, provided they can manage to come here.

He defended the Foreign Service and said that it was not correct to generalise on the quality of the Service.

NON-ALIGNMENT UPHELD : WORK OF MISSIONS ABROAD CRITICISED

ged into the debate to make political capital. Quite right. But this seeming controversy of Hindi versus English has been there for quite some time now and Parliament itself has been a particularly active field of the controversy. And almost always, the Hindi enthusiasts had carried the day. One therefore is tempted to ask, what did the executive do to arrest this rot? What did responsible people in all parties do to resurrect common sense against this tide of linguistic fanaticism threatening to engulf the country and drown its unity?

It is far too serious a matter to be left to chance and some sort of spontaneous self-acting solution. With the administration hesitating and shilly-shallying in the face of the problem, the recent happenings in Parliament might well be considered a foretaste of what is to come when, and if, the Official Languages Bill comes up before it.

The second event of importance in the week was the Foreign Affairs debate in the Lok Sabha. The Prime Minister had to face quite a lot of criticism on the unsatisfactory nature of the Foreign Service. On the policy, he was more lucky to have the support of the large majority of the House—criticisms from the usual quarters being of the usual kind.

Hiren Mukerjee from the Communist Benches, who initiated the debate on the de-

the need to cultivate the Afro-Asian nations. He criticised the statements of Dalai Lama, which could be construed as inciting Tibetans to rebellion and said that Dalai Lama could not be allowed to function here as the representative of a State.

The more forceful speaker from the non-Communist Opposition was PSP's Nath Pai, who found fault with the government's 'China policy' and disputed the Prime Minister's statement some time back in the Rajya Sabha that India had inherited her present position on Tibet from

Some are remarkably good, while some others are not so good. But, he maintained, the average was a good one and he claimed that our Foreign Service has been generally considered a high-grade one. He also claimed that external publicity had improved lately.

He said that after the Sino-Pak agreement, the government had given thought to the advisability of continuing the Indo-Pak talks; but taking into account all considerations, it had decided that we should continue with the talks "even though the outlook is pretty dark".

PROFITS AFTER TAX

A good deal of clamour was created in Parliament by the members "aggrieved" at the imposition of super profits tax on the business houses and the "disastrous" effect it would make on investment etc.

H OMI Daji, a Communist member of the Lok Sabha, speaking on the budget proposals on March 14, knocked the bottom out of this argument. He showed that even after payment of super profits tax the big business houses would be left with enough profits and gave a few examples: Century Textile Mills—Rs. 90 lakhs.

Ambika Mills—Rs. 40 lakhs.
Hindustan Motors—Rs. 140 lakhs.
Indian Tube—Rs. 100 lakhs.
Jessop—Rs. 60 lakhs.
Bank of India—Rs. 25 lakhs.
Delhi Cloth Mills—Rs. 65 lakhs.
Ashok Leyland—Rs. 50 lakhs.
Dalmia Iron—Rs. 31 lakhs.
Indian Hume Pipe—Rs. 21 lakhs.
Kirloskar—Rs. 14 lakhs.
A.C.C.—Rs. 236 lakhs.

He further showed that the total investment of 153 companies was Rs. 622 crores an dthe tax charged was only Rs. 14 crores.