

RELEASE GOPALAN

18 June

NEW AGE

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ACCEPT HIS DEMANDS

Editorial

A. K. GOPALAN, ALREADY weakened by nine days of his heroic hunger strike, has been brutally

bundled off to prison by the Kerala Government. We warn the Governments in Delhi and in Trivandrum that they should be aware of the fearful consequences should this beloved and intrepid leader of all who sorrow, toil and struggle in India, be harmed in any way.

A. K. Gopalan went on hunger-strike on June 6 for the same reason that he lives and breathes—to rouse the people, to lessen their suffering and to compel the authorities to shed their callousness. His demands were simple and straightforward. The Government in Kerala, to say nothing of its patrons in Delhi, could at the very least have sent a Ministerial delegation to study the situation and to discuss with Gopalan the measures they intended to take.

It is astounding that the Government, presumably after consultations with the Delhi big-wigs, has not a word of cheer or comfort for the helpless refugees, who are literally facing the prospect of physical extinction. It is outrageous that its only answer to the lion-hearted people's leader's plea for some measures of relief to these desperate victims should be arbitrary arrest.

It is not enough, however, merely to be indignant. Urgent action is required. In every city street and village lane of India the name of Gopalan is a legend and the veritable badge of hope for the millions. Let all Communists, all Kisan Sabha workers, all democrats immediately rush out to these millions with the message that Gopalan is offering his all for their brothers and sisters in the high ranges of Kerala. They have only to spread the word and the great giant which is our people will full-throatedly demand:

- * The Kerala Ministers must redress the grievances of the Amaravathi refugees!
- * The Kerala Ministers must visit Gopalan and discuss with him!
- * Gopalan must be freed unconditionally and at once!

(June 14, 1961)

18 June

DETERIORATING CONDITION

★ From P. K. KUNHANANDAN

KUMILY, June 12.

GOPALAN'S fast has reached its seventh day. His condition is deteriorating and he is extremely weak. His blood pressure and pulse rate have dropped. He has difficulty in speaking and intestinal dislocation. Today he is completely laid up. Last evening Muslim League MLAs Moideenkutty Haji, Abdul Majeed, A. Kadarkutty Naha and Thangal visited Gopalan and went round the refugees' camp. A Press party also arrived from Trivandrum. Gopalan's visitors are increasing day-by-day, despite the heavy rain.

A refugee named Parakkandan Ayyappanandan of hut number 2 died this morning as a result of fatigue, caused by starvation, dysentery and fever. This is the eleventh death in the Amaravathi camps. Six persons have been admitted in hospital today, including two women and a child suffering from dysentery. Gastrointestinal diseases, widespread hunger and utter starvation ravage the camps. A local Jeweller told this correspondent that every day some of the refugees sell their small ornaments and other articles to pull on. More than a dozen families have left Amaravathi to join ranks of the beggars, saying that begging is better than suffering from the Amaravathi hell. Some of them went to Tamilnad, others to Kottayam.

pendent that if Pattom Thanu Pillai was going to deal with refugees in this way he was determined to continue his hunger strike whatever the consequences.

June 12, Gopalan received telegram today from the Sarvodaya leader Sri Kelappan assuring him that he would persuade the Government to do everything reasonable for the rehabilitation of the evicted peasants and promised that in the event of the failure of his mission he (Kelappan) would fast with Gopalan. On this basis Kelappan has requested Gopalan to give up his fast.

Gopalan is receiving hundreds of letters and many telegrams from all over the

country wishing him well, enquiring about his health and urging him to withdraw his fast as his objective of rousing popular conscience had been achieved.

Gopalan's condition is deteriorating.

M. N. Govindan Nair, Secretary of the Kerala State Council of the Communist Party, accompanied by K. T. Jacob and Azhikodan Raghavan has arrived here. The Karabaka Raksha Samithi and the Kerala Karabaka Sangham announced its decision to start picketing of the Kottayam Collectorate from June 18.

(Also See Back Page)

The RDO is becoming the most unpopular figure in the area. Today at 11 o'clock his jeep was almost mobbed by the refugees near their camp. The Raksha Samithi volunteers pacified the crowd and persuaded it to disperse. Trouble started when the RDO tried to snatch away the identity chit No. 925 of Kollakkudi Chirtha Kunhippanna, an aged woman who approached him for a ration card and asked why she was denied even a one acre plot of land. The RDO behaved rudely and said if her identity chit is destroyed her problem will be solved. This provoked the crowd and they shouted slogans. The volunteers of the Karabaka Sangham Raksha Samithi rushed on the scene and pacified the angry crowd.

The dead body of Ayyappanandan was taken out in silent procession by hundreds of refugees. To mourn his death they cancelled all public meetings and demonstrations as a mark of respect.

Gopalan on hearing of the re-election of C. K. Govindan Nair as KPCC President sent a telegram congratulating him and requested him to visit Amaravathi.

Gopalan told this corres-

The Muslim Convention concluded its two-day deliberations in Delhi in the late night of June 11. After the inaugural three-hour session on the 10th morning the Convention had divided its 615 participants into three commissions which met in 10th evening and 11th morning and afternoon to regather in the closing plenary session on 11th evening. In all, seventeen resolutions that had been discussed and approved in the commissions were placed before the last plenary session and adopted by it.

THE Convention was open only to its "delegates" who comprised Muslim members of Parliament and State legislatures as well as invitees who had been selected by the Jamiat-ul-Ulema. Besides people prominent in the Jamiat's own organisation in the States (who constituted the bulk) the participants included Congressmen, Communists, PSP members (who said they were present in their individual capacities) and independents.

For the benefit of the people at large there was a public meeting on June 12 in the old city to explain the decisions of the Convention.

The press was allowed into the two plenary sessions and it was present in both in full force.

Attack From Communal Press

The main anxiety with which the organisers seem to have been bothered when the session opened was how—in face of the various apprehensions voiced from friendly quarters and the threats hurled from the hostile ones—to keep the proceedings within the bounds of reasonable restraint and at the same time

have the grievances felt by Muslims fully ventilated.

They had been under attack simultaneously from both the Hindu communalists and their press like Pratap as well as from the Muslim communalists and their press like the two Delhi dailies Nai Duniya and Dawat (organ of the Jamat-e-Islami) and the weekly Daur-e-Jadid. While the former, i.e., Pratap etc., had been openly calling for an exterminatory campaign against Muslims, the Muslim communalist press charged the organisers of the Convention with plans to divide the Muslims, to reduce them to beggars and to sell them down the river to the Congress and the "irreligious" and "atheistic" Communists. It openly campaigned for all Muslims uniting on the basis of militant Islam against the Congress Government and apart from the rest of the Indian people.

This was the immediate background and the surrounding atmosphere in Delhi in which the Convention was meeting. True the bulk of people were not affected by

this hate-mongering. Yet nobody could be sure of the lunatic fringe. There was big police bundobust near the meeting halls while the Convention was on.

A very positive and helpful role in putting the Convention on national and democratic rails was played by the Draft Resolution published a couple of days earlier by leading Communist participants, Dr. Z. A. Ahmad, MP, Shakir Ali Khan, MLA (Madhya Pradesh) and Dr. A. M. O. Ghanai, MLA (West Bengal).

Communists' Resolution

The resolution noting "with grave concern the revival and growth of the communal forces in the political life of the country" and branding them as "the bulwark of social and political reaction" reiterated "the basic oneness of the Indian nation and the unbreakable links that life and history has forged among the various creeds

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SPEAKER'S ELECTION IN KERALA

Objectives which are attractive to the working people and acceptable to the progressive political thinkers are declared, but policies and programmes which negate the very objectives declared are implemented — all previous records of this "philosophy" have been smashed by the decision taken by Congress regarding the election of Speaker to Kerala Legislature.

Congress leaders claim they are working according to the principles laid down by Mahatma: "Noble aims are not enough, means adopted should also be noble". They accused Communists of resorting to any means whatever to gain their objectives.

Their Ends And Their Means

But what the Congress did in Kerala after the General Election of 1957 was the adoption of ignoble means to achieve ignoble ends. They who had lost power in accordance with existing parliamentary system, with the object of recapturing power allied with Muslim League, Jan Sangh, Catholic Church, the Nair Service Society and other communal organisations and organised an "Operation Overthrow" against a legally constituted government.

In the mid-term elections that followed the Congress continued the very same policy. They were quite confident that they will not be able to win a majority in a straight contest. Therefore to gain a majority by whatever means Congress made an election understanding with the Muslim League. Flying the green flag of the Muslim League, top Congress leaders including Congress President, Sanjeeva Reddy called on the people "to vote for democratic parties".

According to the sentiments of democratic minded Congressmen who opposed all these steps, the Muslim League was kept out of the ministry. Nonetheless, to include the League among ruling parties a united Congress-League-PSP Parliamentary Party was formed and Assembly work was carried on under its discipline. The Congress High Command was a party to the decision that the leader of Muslim League Parliamentary Party, Janab Seethi Sahab, should be candidate to the Speakership of Assembly.

Not only the Communist Party but even those Congressmen who retained national and democratic sentiments warned that this decision of the Congress enabling it to continue in power by any means will have far-reaching repercussions. But, as Dhebar, the architect of Congress-League "understanding" made clear at Durgapur, the Congress was swept in the rush of anti-Communist flood tide.

Events that followed proved that this "being swept away" of the Congress threw the entire Indian political life into the whirlpool of fissiparous tendencies and the national unity built through struggle for independence was drowned in the depths of communal feuds and riots.

Utilising the position it gained in Kerala, the Muslim League began to spread its activities all over India. The Jan Sangh and other

communal organisations which already had an organised functioning utilised this opportunity to make their method of work more effective and led communal riots. These Hindu communal forces, by organising anti-Muslim riots in Jabalpur, Saugor and in other towns and villages of Madhya Pradesh aroused panic among Muslim masses and anxiety among all sections of nationalists.

Even top Congress circles began to declare that communalism of every brand had become a great danger, that it was the duty of all nationalists to take a firm stand against communalism, that communal organisations should even be banned.

It was in this background that AICC met at Durgapur. Many members demanded that the policy of uniting with communalists to defeat Com-

munists should be replaced by one of unity with all secular political forces including Communists to oppose and defeat the politics of communalism. Recounting the experiences of Kerala, Sri Dhebar, architect of Congress-League "understanding", emphatically reiterated the necessity of close scrutiny as to who were the partners in alliances formed by the Congress. Topmost Congress leaders pointed out the danger of compromising with communal forces for temporary gains like election victories, etc. Even the resolution which was, in the end, adopted clearly declared that it will ceaselessly oppose parties like Muslim League, Jan Sangh, etc., who carried on political activities with a communal bias.

That the Kerala Congress leaders do not attach any value whatsoever to the resolution—and that the central leadership who formulated and passed the resolution were not prepared to take any steps to enforce this resolution on the Kerala Congress—these facts have become crystal clear from the way the question of election of Speaker was handled by the Congress here.

Before the ink in which Durgapur resolution was drafted got dry, many Congress leaders from Kerala demanded that Kerala should be exempted from the operation of this resolution; Sri Shankar leader of Congress Legislature Party went to the extent of saying that the League could not be con-

sidered on a par with communal organisations which had been criticised by the Congress. Though that argument of Shankar was not accepted, Sri Sanjeeva Reddy, the Congress President conceded that the way of implementing the resolution of uncompromising struggle against communalism should be such in Kerala as to be acceptable to Muslim League as well. The combined intelligence of the Central as well as Kerala Congress leaders was put to use to evolve a formula which was acceptable both to the Congress leadership which had raised a warning against communalism and also to the Muslim League leadership—target of Congress criticism.

But the overwhelming majority of Congressmen and all except those who have become blind with the lust for power will not fail to see that the directive of the Congress High Command as well as the decision taken by Kerala Congress Legislature party who claim that they are only implementing the directive of the High Command in letter and spirit are a complete negation of the Durgapur resolution on national inte-

gration. Because the Congress leadership which with a view to satisfying their national conscience and the popular feeling had suggested that a Muslim from either Congress or PSP be sponsored for Speakership, suggested at the same time that there was no bar to a League resigning and getting their support. The League took a decision after examining various aspects of the question: whether it would accept the Congress proposal and direct its leader to resign from the League formally and get the Speakership or whether it should oppose the Congress. Their decision was that the leader of the League Legislature Party should himself resign from the League and get the Speakership. Sri Mohamad Koya resigned from the League accordingly and started as an "Independent" with a view to get a pivotal position here and strengthen the League all over by utilising this position.

The Kerala Communist

This is clear from this hide-and-seek game practised by Kerala Congress-League leaders on one hand and Central and Kerala Congress leaders on the other. It is not to implement firmly the Durgapur resolution but the aim of the Central and Kerala Congress leaders is to stabilise the conditions to continue and cling to power even at the cost of throwing the Durgapur resolution into the waste paper basket.

It is utilising this naked lust for power of Congress that in Kerala we find the League, Catholic Church, Nair Service Society and others engaging themselves in their peculiar and separate disruptive activities and divide people on the basis of caste and community.

It is utilising the same factors that Ganatantra Parishad in Orissa and Akali Dal in Punjab ally with the Congress on some occasion but fight with it on some other occasion. And so long as this continues, fissiparous tendencies and disruptive activities of communal organisations will thrive and grow more and more.

Touchstone For National Integration

In this context, the Executive desires to reiterate its earlier statement that Kerala is a touchstone for the resolution on national integration and against communalism adopted by the Congress. With the election of the Speaker and the resolution on that issue, the conflict between the national and communal forces in Kerala has not only not got resolved but has become deeper. Why? Because it has been accepted today that it is no longer correct to continue openly and formally the Congress-League alliance. But they are not prepared to go to the logical and natural conclusion of this approach — they are not prepared to openly declare that the policy of an electoral understanding with the League and following that the formation of a joint Congress-PSP-League Legislature party was fundamentally wrong.

In this context, as in the question of election of Speaker, so in regard to Kuttippuram bye-election due to take place and the Parliamentary elections of 1962, the anti-communal policy of the Congress will be subjected to severe pressure from the Muslim League and may finally lead to its yielding to it.

As has been done in the case of Speakership, in each of these cases, the Congress might be compelled to resort to the same formula which would be "acceptable" to League as well as to the "democratic" parties. Thus, every time in the name of opposing communalism of League while some or the other of their demands are rejected, Congress is compelled to accept a position which does not affect the basic position of the League.

Assuming that the ambition of certain Congress leaders that Muslim League should be dissolved and that all Leaguers should join the Congress is fulfilled, even then elements and forces like Mannath Padmanabhan who claims to have "retired from the political life" but who controls the strings of everything political and the Catholic clergydom which in the name of "looking after only spiritual affairs" interferes in politics, League leaders too who become Congressmen will, be their communal policies, continue to vitiate the life of Kerala.

It is as a result of pressure

to fight for these rights. Greatest guarantee for the protection of these rights is the wholehearted support of all democratic forces, irrespective of their religion, and caste or community whether backward or forward.

League And The Muslim Masses

As against this what are the results of communal policy followed by the League — the policy of organising an exclusively Muslim political party on the basis that they alone will fight for the protection of their rights?

First, this party which is organised in the name of protecting the rights of Muslim community is in the hands of a few Muslim landlords and capitalists; they take steps to safeguard the interests of landlords and capitalists as against the interests of Muslim peasants, Muslims workers and Muslim middle-class.

Secondly, it supports policies of the Coalition Ministry which are against the interest of backward communities and religious minorities as in the case of Section 11 of Education Act.

Thirdly, because it functions as a separate political party of the Muslim community, it cannot effectively fight anti-Muslim activities of RSS and Jan Sangh. It could only look on helplessly during the recent violent attacks in Jabalpur and other places.

Fourthly, as it has no way out of this helpless situation the League is forced to surrender to the Congress and even to sacrifice its declared principles. It is thus that, in February 1960 the League had to sacrifice the principle that it had the right to minister-ship and is now forced to recognise the claim of the Congress that the League leader cannot even stand for Assembly Speakership so long as he continued to be a member of the Muslim League. There is no doubt that in the coming months the League will have to surrender to various pressures from the Congress.

Thus the League approach, instead of protecting the interests of Muslim masses has landed itself in the unenviable position of supporting the Congress by sacrificing the interests of Muslim masses and subservient to the interests of the Congress, as it does not have the capacity to fight the attacks of Hindu communalists. It is for this purpose that it had to sacrifice principles it cherishes and even stoop so low as to make the League leader put on the garb of an independent.

At this juncture, when all these facts have become clear to the Communist Party appeals to Muslim friends to seriously consider whether the interests of Muslim masses can best be protected by following the recent policies of the League leadership or by unity with all the secular parties to fight against discrimination of the majority community and to fight for protection of the rights of Muslim worker-peasant masses.

Finally, the Executive appeals to all Muslim Leaguers and non-Leaguers, to deeply ponder over the policy adopted by League leadership in the background of the political situation obtaining in Kerala and India as a whole.

The Communist Party and other secular political parties recognise that the Muslim community as a religious minority, is entitled to several rights and privileges. These secular political parties contain lakhs of democrats who are prepared

SPOTLIGHT

THE GOHATYA POSTERS

It amused me very much to read Jan Sangh's explanation that it was not responsible for the picture of Nehru with a naked sword standing over a beheaded cow reaching the voters during the recent Delhi Corporation bye-election as it appeared in the "Organiser", said: "The said pamphlet was issued by Gohatya Nirodh Samiti, that it was published two years ago, that it is a priced publication (1), and the Samiti sells its literature whosoever there is any political or religious mela etc."

So the culprit was the Gohatya Nirodh Samiti of Lala Hardev Sahay, not poor Jan Sangh, which has unnecessarily been dragged to the dock!

Simple. Isn't it? But I am afraid the explanation is a little too simple. It very conveniently omits to answer one important question. What is the relationship between the Jan Sangh and the Gohatya Nirodh Samiti? Is not the Samiti just a front organisation of the former? Were not the men responsible for the distribution of the pamphlet during the Jan Sangh's election campaign its own and RSS men?

In this connection, I have the following information supplied to me by a correspondent from Bihar: "All the activities of the Gohatya Nirodh Samiti are carried on by and through the Jan Sangh workers. Some years back, when Lala Hardev Sahay undertook a tour of Bihar all arrangements for him were made by the Jan Sangh and RSS people. A press conference was convened for him in Patna by the efforts of the Jan Sangh-cum-RSS members of the Hindusthan Samachar News Agency and this news agency pushed news of Lala Hardev Sahay's reactionary and rabid campaign. The campaign was an unashamed bid to exploit Hindu susceptibilities for political ends."

It also reminded me of certain Arya Samaj preachers during the British days. Very conveniently for the British, their preachers used to sing songs about 'Seventy thousand Gomas being sacrificed every day', but did not even once mention the massacre of Jallianwalabagh.

It is evident that the Jan Sangh is resorting to a subterfuge, namely quibbling.

The Organiser itself gave away the case when it wrote in the very next breath: "It is nonsense to say that the Jan Sangh 'exploits' the issue of cow slaughter. It is like saying that the Congress exploit-

ed the issue of Indian slavery. The cow is a real and major national issue. But the Prime Minister has no objection to taking beef and he has stubbornly opposed ban on cow slaughter."

The disingenuousness of its explanation stands exposed. The real argument is laid bare which is this: To depict the P.M. as a cow-killer is correct and to utilise this for propaganda is not to "exploit" it!

That would be an honest and straightforward position. But will things ever be honest!

EXTERMINATE MUSLIMS—THEIR 'SOLUTION'

THE tiger will not change its stripes. Thus we find the Jan Sangh offering in all seriousness of a typically gangsterish solution for the communal problem. All that needs to be done in this regard, it pleads, is to hammer sense into the minds of the Muslims who, it declares are "a raping and bombing" community in India. Thus, the "Organiser" writes editorially: "Social and economic conditions have little to do with the Muslim problem. The problem is historical and psychological. It is better to talk straight and go to the root of the matter rather than beat about the bush. We think that this committee (National Integration Committee) would have done well to warn the Muslims against their raping and bombing propensities."

But the Muslims is thus the Jan Sangh strident call again. Is it communalism? Not at all, protests the lady. Why is the Jan Sangh so perturbed over the transfer of some police and executive officials from Jabalpur? Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya has

loudly assailed these transfers declaring that it is "not proper". And his mouthpiece in Delhi has come out with a lurid story of the Madhya Pradesh services being "angry, bitter and frustrated."

It has mentioned the names of the officers affected by "operation transfer" and prominent in the list is Sri Chhadami Lal Gupta, the then Deputy Commissioner of Jabalpur, who is said to be responsible for the controversial communal ascription to Muslims the "attack" of February 7. The communalism, as is well known, was prominently utilised by the Jan Sangh in defence of its nefarious role.

The Jan Sangh says that the transfer of these officials is tantamount to "condemning and convicting them without a hearing."

One can understand their perturbation, but certainly not their logic. It is a patent fact that these officials failed to prevent a serious breakdown of communal peace. What is wrong in their being sent to other places? The protests of Pt. Deendayal only reveal that he is trying to help officials who let his men and press spread communal provocation with the impunity. Panditji only succeeds in incriminating those whom he wants to defend.

TAILPIECE

A headline of the communal press: "Nehru Negative Patriot".

* * * "Why does Congress fear Jan Sangh?" "Why did Kamsa fear Krishna?" (Question and answer in Organiser)

* * * A gem from the same journal: Chandra Shakhaz Azad was "President of the UP FCC murdered by Muslims". Ignorance thy name is Jan Sangh.

—GARUDA

Two Germans & S. Africa

From Our Berlin Correspondent

It is normal practice that when a new State is proclaimed heads of other States send congratulatory messages. Walter Ulbricht, otherwise very prompt in sending messages to new African and Asian States did not take any notice of the formation of the South African Republic.

It was left over to Sepp Schwab, Deputy Foreign Minister to declare that the present South African Government which pursues the policy of racism like Hitler and tries to suppress the right of self-determination for African people through terror and murder can never count with recognition by GDR Government. The people of GDR stand solidly behind the fighting masses of South Africa. The GDR Government agrees with resolution of Third African Congress condemning political suppression and inhu-

man degradation of the black population

He supported the plea for condemnation of Verwoerd Government by all other Governments, expulsion from UNO if apartheid continues.

The reaction in West Germany was just the opposite. President Luebke known for sympathy with South African Government sent a warm message. He had declared during his visit to South Africa a few years ago that the native problem there was in good hands and that the experience gained there could be applied in whole Africa, Visler, Journal of West German army wrote on the occasion. "The black has really attained standard of living, possibilities for education and social welfare which his brothers in the independent African States envy."

NATIONAL ELEMENTS PREVAIL

and communities inhabiting this great land." It condemned "the disruptive, reactionary and anti-national activities of organisations like the Jan Sangh, the RSS and the Hindu Mahasabha" and branded them for their "extremely nefarious designs" which had been underlined by "the recent happenings in Jabalpur, Saugor, Moradabad and a number of other places."

The Communist draft resolution proposed for the Muslim Convention then went on to proclaim its "full faith in the sound nationalism and democratic consciousness of the overwhelming majority of our Hindu brethren, who will not allow such (communal) organisations to grow in influence and prestige in public life."

Against Revival Of Muslim Communal Bodies

The draft then proposed that the Convention also condemn "in unequivocal terms the attempts that are being made today by certain elements in the Muslim community to revive Muslim communal organisations, particularly the Muslim League and the Jamat-i-Islami."

It went into a fairly exhaustive exposure of their activities and said:

"The Muslim League is raising its head in various parts of the country after getting political recognition in Kerala during the last mid-term general elections in that State. It is now seeking to rouse and reconsolidate the separatist tendencies which still persist among a section of the Muslim population as a psychological heritage of the old Muslim League. On this basis, it is attempting to wean away the Muslims from the common democratic life of the nation and to foster amongst them a narrow communal and separatist outlook."

"If the Muslim League is allowed today to grow and develop as a political force among the Muslims, it will again become a potent instrument of national disruption."

"The Jamat-i-Islami which is steadily spreading its influence in a clandestine manner and under pseudo-religious garbs propagates a diehard and fanatically reactionary ideology among the Muslims. It is professedly anti-secular. It preaches loyalty to the community and not to the nation. It fosters an ideological outlook which would make a Muslim think that he is completely separate from everyone else and has nothing in common with other sections of the Indian people. This extreme type of communalism which seeks to insulate Muslims from all patriotic influences and disrupts national unity is being vigorously propagated with some effect among sections of the Muslim intelligentsia, particularly in Muslim educational institutions."

"This Convention considers it its special duty and responsibility to warn the Indian Muslims against the anti-national and anti-democratic propaganda and activities of the Muslim League and the Jamat-i-Islami who are misleading the Muslim masses and directing their legitimate discontent on certain issues into disruptive channels. It calls upon the Indian Muslims to disassociate themselves from these organisations and to unite and stand shoulder to shoulder with their non-Muslim countrymen inside secular political and social organisations for the protection of their rights and interests as a minority and the advancement of the nation as a whole."

The draft welcomed "the fact that all secular parties in the country have become conscious of the seriousness of the menace of communal disruption and the necessity of active intervention in the situation to promote national integration" and called for an all-India conference of all major secular parties and a nationwide mobilisation to be initiated by Jawaharlal Nehru to fight the menace.

This draft became the subject of lively discussion and reverberated through the lobby of the Convention. Among the highlights of the opening session on the positive side were the message of the Prime Minister, the address by Maulana Hifzur Rahman as chairman of the Reception Committee and the speeches of two Delhi Congress leaders, PCC President Brij Mohan and Subhadra Joshi, MP. All these while underlining the seriousness of the problem showed the way to tackle it.

As against these were the Presidential address of Dr. Syed Mahmud—who in spite of being an old Congressman pandered a lot to the religious sentiments of Muslims and advanced a host of reactionary and irrelevant ideas—and the speech of Mr. Yaseen Nurie who indulged in a rather militant type of thinly veiled communal demagoguery.

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The fact the Prime Minister sent a message was an encouragement for the national-minded participants of the Convention. It warned against the dangers of a narrow, sectarian view and at the same time called for "full opportunities" for growth to Muslims and removal of obstacles in the path of attaining it. The message in full read as follows:

"The object of the proposed Muslim Convention, I understand, is to lay stress on and emphasise the fundamental unity of India and to discourage communal and disruptive tendencies. It stands for secular state giving equal opportunities to all people of India, to whatever religion or linguistic group they might belong. With these objectives I entirely agree."

"Sometimes, however, in the name of these objectives a narrow and sectarian view is taken. This does not help in the realization of objectives and only encourages the growth of sectional feelings. I hope that the Muslim Convention will take the broader outlook and not merely confine itself to making various demands. I entirely agree that we must work for fullest opportunities to be given to Muslims, as to other minorities, for growth and, where there are any obstacles in the way of this growth they should be removed. But I repeat that the objectives should always be in keeping with the unity of India and secular State."

Inside the commissions it is understood that there was a lot of discussion over whether all communal organisations should be condemned by name or not. The Communist legislators' draft sought to do it while a host of hesitations beset the others. A number of leading Congressmen supported the ideas of the Communists' draft. Ultimately a committee of seven was formed to draft the resolution on an agreed basis.

The resolution on National Integration, as it finally emerged from the committee, condemned communalism both of the majority and the minority community — without naming the organisations on either side and called for a joint campaign at all levels to

actively incite communal hatred. Through other resolutions it demanded an end to discrimination in services and in trade, commerce and industry. The speeches on the question of rehabilitation of Muslim victims of communal disturbances brought to light certain lurid facts bespeaking of the callousness of State Governments and administrations.

While asking for due facilities for education in Urdu the Convention emphasised through another resolution the importance of regional languages. It called upon Muslims to give more attention to Hindi as to the regional languages. The Convention also adopted resolutions on Goa and Algeria.

From the speeches made in the open session on the second day on the various resolutions, once again the different approaches came to the fore. Mr. Nuruddin, an eminent lawyer of Delhi, made a speech on the National Integration resolution which sought to refute the contention of the resolution itself that communal tendencies existed in the minority also and had to be fought. He

RESOLUTION ADOPTED ON NATIONAL INTEGRATION

EXPERIENCE has shown that even after 14 years of national independence, the elimination of tensions and the establishment of mutual confidence, goodwill and cooperation between different communities constituting our democracy, has not been realised in full measure, although this is a task of supreme national importance affecting the strength and stability of our country and the welfare of our people.

It is a patent fact that the mass of people belonging to the Hindu, Muslim and other communities lead a common cooperative life and are desirous of living in an atmosphere of greater peace and amity. But it is also an unfortunate reality that certain communal elements are able to destroy this peaceful atmosphere and create disturbances and conflicts whenever and wherever they want. In doing so they not only make the life of the minority intolerable but unleash disruptive forces which poison our entire national life.

This Convention of Indian Muslims considers it imperative on the one hand, to urge upon the Muslims that in this situation they should show it through their own correct attitudes, actions and spirit of ser-

vice that they want to improve their own conditions of life and at the same time promote the solidarity and progress of the country, in unity and cooperation with the majority community. On the other hand this Convention also urges on the majority community that it should adopt an attitude of tolerance, large heartedness and fairness towards the minorities in all walks of life. It is obvious that if the life and property of the minority is ever endangered by the majority, it is not only the minority that suffers, but the vicious influences unleashed by such developments damage the solidarity and dignity of the country as a whole and hit the majority as well.

On this basis this Convention condemns all communal political organisations, whether they belong to the majority or the minority communities. It appeals to the Indian Muslims that they should stand shoulder to shoulder with their non-Muslim brethren inside secular political and social organisations and participate actively in common movements for the welfare and progress of the country. This Convention makes the following proposals in this connection:

1. A joint campaign by Hindus, Muslims, and persons belonging to all communities for the promotion of national integration and unity should be developed at a non-official level in all cities, towns and villages and composite voluntary social service organisations should be formed which through their practical work and assistance should create and strengthen an atmosphere of tolerance, goodwill and cooperation in all walks of life.

2. This Convention requests Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that he should convene as early as possible a representative conference of all secular parties and organisations for discussing the problems posed by the growth of communalism and the solutions for the same. The proposed conference should take all necessary practical steps in this connection and if it deems necessary may constitute a Board for strengthening national integration.

3. This Convention records its approval of the Report of the National Integration Committee, which has been accepted by the All-India Congress Committee, and recommends that it should be implemented immediately.

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THE Communist Party of Ceylon has been the consistent fighter for democratic development of Ceylon. Rising above chauvinism and actively fighting against it, it has been advocating the unity of the Sinhalese and Tamil-speaking peoples as the only guarantee for successful struggle against reaction and all round rapid democratic advance.

Communist Party's Proposals

On the question of the Tamil national minorities, the Party had, as early as 1955, proposed that:

(a) Ceylon shall be a unitary state;

(b) Sinhala shall be the State language;

(c) Provision shall be made by law to guarantee that Tamil-speaking people can have relations with the State in their own language, be educated and examined in their own language, and administer their own affairs in their traditional homelands in the North and East of Ceylon in their own language; and that

(d) The principle of regional autonomy should be applied to the traditional homelands of the Ceylon Tamils so that both the Sinhalese and Tamil people can develop side by side in unity and friendship and enrich their own languages and cultures.

These proposals, which were reiterated by the Central Committee of the Party in October 1960 in its draft thesis for the Sixth Congress, and later on adopted by the Congress, remain the only practical and just solution of the national question.

It would, however, be naive to expect, in the light of the serious deterioration of Sinhalese-Tamil relations in the recent past, that this problem would be solved at a single stroke. A solution will have to be reached step by step. While seeking to mobilise democratic opinion for its policy, the Communist Party encourages and supports every concrete step that reduces tensions, develops better relations and improves the prospect of a satisfactory solution of the entire problem.

Even during the course of the struggle conducted by the leadership of the Federal Party, the Communist Party of Ceylon has throughout brought this approach to bear. It has already been noted how even when the satyagraha was at its height, the Communist Party called upon the Government to take the initiative for negotiations. This approach can be seen again in the speech in Parliament on May 3, 1961 of Peter Keuneman, the General Secretary of the Party, during the debate on the emergency. He said:

"While fighting both the conspiracy of foreign reaction and the separatism of the Federal Party, we Communists urge on the Government the necessity to take positive steps now for a political solution of the language question."

Replying to Mr. Sivasithamparam, M.P., who had earlier declared that the satyagraha would be resumed once the emergency was lifted, Pieter Keuneman said that, after the breakdown of the talks between the Minister of Justice and the Federal Party, the F.P. had in word and deed relegated the language ques-

tion to a secondary place. He quoted Mr. Sivasithamparam's own speech in support of this contention.

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Third And Concluding Part

ermets servants from clerks upwards were Tamils. The rise of the national movement among the Sinhalese and demand for constitutional reforms threatened this position of the Tamils in the services.

In these conditions, the political leadership of the Tamils competed with the Sinhalese comprador bourgeoisie over the relative share of State power and patronage from the British. At the same time, the leadership maintained close economic and financial links with the Sinhalese comprador bourgeoisie. As a matter of fact, their income was mainly derived from and their investments made in Sinhalese areas.

The basis of their policy was to try to gain concessions by bargaining alternatively with imperialism and their Sinhalese counterparts. The crassest example of this was seen in their conduct towards

the Soulbury Commission—the last Commission sent by the British Government to enquire and determine the extent of constitutional reforms.

While the national movement of the Sinhalese boycotted the Commission, the Tamil leadership appeared before the Commission and demanded constitutional provisions guaranteeing parity for Tamils in Government jobs and the ministry with the Sinhalese, i.e., 50 per cent of Government jobs and Ministerships to be reserved by Constitution for the Tamils!

This strategy collapsed in 1948, when British imperialism in the face of the disintegration of its colonial empire and the need to find new forms for protecting its strategic and economic interests in Ceylon, abandoned its traditional policy of using the Tamil bourgeois leaders as a counterweight to the constitutional demands of the comprador bourgeoisie and came to terms with the latter. This deprived the Tamil leaders of their traditional strategy of seeking the help and patronage of imperialism.

Sinhalese counterparts a common class interest and a common fear of the mass movement. They, therefore came to terms with the latter. Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam's entry into the UNP Cabinet of Senanayake in 1948 symbolised this fact and was 'justified' by him on the ground that it was necessary "to fight the danger of Communism".

Ultimately a section of the Tamil Congress coalesced with the UNP. Then was born the Federal Party (F.P.), which grew to be the dominant influence among the very sections of the Tamils over whom previously the Tamil Congress wielded influence.

In practice, the Federal Party seeks to educate the Tamil people in a spirit of chauvinism towards the Sinhalese people and opposition to the progressive anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movements.

In social matters, it is extremely conservative. Nearly

carried on in Tamilnad by certain political parties in support of the struggles of the Federal Party of Ceylon is misinformed and misconceived.

First of all, people in this country do not know the rights of Tamil language that have been so far guaranteed by law in Ceylon. Secondly, they do not know that the difference between the Government and the Tamil leaders on the remaining aspects of language rights is very narrow—confined only to the question of the records and files in the courts and Government offices in the Tamil areas, and this can be resolved by mutual discussions.

It is not known also that it is the leaders of the Federal Party who broke off unilaterally the negotiations and declared that they were not interested in the question of language rights but wanted a separate state!

The agitation is misconceived because the language rights are entirely an internal

depressed classes, and opposition to the Paddy Lands Act expose their social conservatism and tie-up with feudal interests.

It is no wonder that the masses of the 'depressed classes' have not joined the Federal Party, which failed to draw this 'tolling' section in the struggle it conducted.

The F.P. leaders seek to foster the illusion that imperialism is a potential ally in the struggle for "self-determination". They have no hesitation in seeking the support of any imperialist agency.

It is this character, social base and past tradition of political life in the Tamil area that explain the slogans and practice of the Federal Party. Unity and friendship between the Sinhalese and Tamil people of Ceylon is an essential condition of rapid democratic advance of not

affair of the Ceylonese people—Tamils and Sinhalese. How would we react if some other people in another country were to carry on an agitation in Assam or in the Punjab!

Any encouragement to the Federal Party leaders in the hope that they could settle their differences with the Government of Ceylon and the Sinhalese people by pressure from outside—from the Government of India or through agitation in Tamilnad—would only worsen Sinhalese-Tamil relations and harm the interests of the Ceylon Tamils themselves.

Moreover, such interference would create further difficulties and complications in the solution of the already difficult and complicated problem of the citizenship rights of the eight lakh plantation workers of Indian origin.

Now that the adventurist tactics of the leadership of the Federal Party have failed and hopes of outside interference found to be built on quicksand, will it give up the path of isolation of the Tamil people and separatism and take the path of uniting with the democratic forces of Ceylon and work for the all-round advance and economic well-being of the island and thereby forge the only real guarantee for the language rights of the Tamil people themselves, viz. the goodwill and friendship of the Sinhalese people?

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(Concluded)

THE TAMIL ISSUE IN CEYLON

by
P. RAMAMURTY
(The earlier two parts of this article appeared in the two previous issues of New Age)

only Ceylon, but of the Tamil people themselves. As noted earlier, this area is bereft of any rivers and hence lacks irrigation facilities. But the diversion of the surplus waters of the Mahaweli Ganga, the biggest river of Ceylon, which runs waste into the sea in the West of the island, will help to bring under cultivation large areas.

It is noteworthy that the Federal Party never paid attention to such schemes of economic development. It is only the Communist Party that has been ceaselessly urging the Government for the last over 10 years to take up the scheme. And just now the Government is seriously negotiating with foreign countries to take up investigation of the Mahaweli Ganga diversion project.

The agitation that has been

One of the most picturesque corners of India, Assam today has put on an ugly face with its one-crore inhabitants bitterly divided over the claims and counter-claims of their different mother tongues. Travelling through the entire length of this undulating landscape, one cannot but be amazed at the unbelievable amount of tension and mutual hatred generated over the question of the official language for the State.

THE complexity of the issue was recognised by the States Reorganisation Commission which in its Report in 1955 pointed out: "From a historical point of view Assam and north-east India seems to have been intended by nature to be the meeting place of many tribes and races. Right through its history, there has been immigration into and settlement in the State from various sources, with the result that till comparatively very recent times, that is to say, up to 1931, when linguistic tabulation was last undertaken, Assamese was not in fact a language spoken by a majority of the inhabitants of the State."

Two river valleys and a cluster of majestic hills round them constitute the anatomy of Assam. The valley of the mighty Brahmaputra is the real home of Assamese, and it is here that the overwhelming majority of the people speak the language. The Bengalees, on the other hand, are concentrated in the Suma Valley; but the bulk of this valley with Sylhet as its centre was taken out of Assam at the time of partition, and merged into East Pakistan.

What has remained of the Suma valley in the State of Assam is the district of Cachar with its population of about twelve lakhs.

Apart from this, the people of the Hills from Khasi, Jaintia, Garo, Mikir, Lushai and North Cachar—form a separate entity, perhaps equidistantly away from the peoples of both the valleys.

Cutting across these geographical compartments, the tribal population of Assam forms no negligible element with about 12 lakhs of them on the Hills, and another eight or nine lakhs in the plains.

In this veritable babel of tongues and cultures, the imposition of a uniform linguistic dispensation for the entire State is practically out of the question. But the newly-awakened Assamese mind finds it hard to accept this reality and aggressively tries to assert, and even to impose, his own language over others.

A peculiar complex works the Bengali with his advantage of early English education and all-round cultural

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and educational progress held the jobs and the professions in the British days, and the Assamese in his impatience over his own backward state has cursed the Bengali for what is called 'matlabari' (bossing) and now in the new order of things after Independence, he wants to settle old scores. This feeling of being culturally dominated appears to have acted as a greater irritant than the big-money grip of other non-Assamese elements like the Marwaris who control a substantial sector of Assam's economy.

The Bengali in his turn, has long looked down upon the Assamese as backward, and instead of the elder-brother going out of his way to lend a helping hand, has resented the Assamese intrusion into avenues—like Government jobs—which had traditionally been his preserve.

The loss of Sylhet to Pakistan has added to the Bengali frustration, and correctly gauging the psychological im-

political expression of this trend could be seen in two forms: first was the idea of having a Purbachal State, originally mooted in 1948, to comprise Cachar, Tripura, the Lushai and the Naga Hills as also Manipur and the NEFA. While obviously such a State would have a comfortable Bengali majority, it ignores the fact that there would be substantial non-Bengali minorities in it who might not relish the prospect of being under Bengali domination.

The second expression of separatist urge is the suggestion, stealthily spread in the present period of tension, that Cachar should be made a part of West Bengal and not of Assam.

In both the cases, the Manipuri minority in Cachar as also Manipur as such have no desire to be bossed over by Bengalis. This is evident from even a cursory talk with them. The hill tribes of Tripura are equally allergic to Bengali raj. And the hill peoples, with all their animosity towards Assamese encroachment, are dead set against any Bengali domination.

It is interesting to note the mental calculation of the Cachar Muslims. Constituting about one-third of Cachar's population, they strongly support the demand for Bengali as an official language. But a quiet talk in confidence brings out their attitude that while they are ready to struggle along with Bengali Hindus for the vindication of Bengali Language, they fear that since the Assam Government would not be ready to concede this demand, a deadlock would drift into the demand for separation: and whether in Purbachal or in an expanded West Bengal, the Muslims would be in a minority.

The Bengali Hindu's prejudice against us we resent more than that of an Assamya Hindu; a grey beard among them frankly said, "An Assamya Hindu presses us to be an Assamya; after that, we can live in self-respect, but a Bengali Hindu always looks down upon us."

The shrewd Muslim politician's calculation is that in the present alignment of forces, his community—if kept together under a well-knit leadership—can always act as the balancing force and thereby safeguard its own interests. The important role of Sri Fakhruddin Ahmed on whom Sri Chhalha depends greatly—he even secured a safe Muslim constituency for Sri Chhalha—adds to the Muslims' sense of security in this queer world of Assamese politics. Incidentally, Sri Fakhruddin Ahmed himself is a Punjabi, hailing from Western U.P.

The Muslim misgivings, however, will come to the surface only when the current Bengali agitation switches over, if ever, to the demand for secession from Assam. Until that point, the Cachar agitation will continue to get sustenance not only because of the linguistic claims but also because of a sense of

being neglected by the Assamese-dominated Government. One can hear in any group of Silchar intelligentsia that Cachar has been grievously neglected under both the First and the Second Five Year Plans, with no programme of industrial development for the region. Government agreed to Cachar's demand for a medical college, but, strangely, enough, the institution carrying the label of Silchar Medical College is located in Gauhati! The people in Assam valley were happy at the opening of the bridge over the Brahmaputra near Gauhati last year, but every time one comes to Silchar, one has to cross the river by a ferry, and every time a Cachari crosses the ferry, he nurses the grievance that his own persistent demand for a bridge at Silchar has remained unheeded.

The tragic events of last year hardened the existing bitterness. When the demand for making Assamese as the official language was first raised in the Assembly—in which the Opposition Members were no less, if not more, vociferous than the Congress members of the Brahmaputra valley—the Chief Minister, Sri B. P. Chhalha, representing the more restrained wing of the Assam Congress, said: "Let the demand to make the Assamese the Official Language also come from the non-Assamese speaking people." There was little doubt that if left to himself, Sri Chhalha would have preferred a go-slow policy with regard to the language issue.

But the Chhalha position was assailed both by the powerful group that controlled the Pradesh Congress—whose leaders are the FCC President Sri Siddhi Nath Sharma and the deposed Minister, Sri Deveswar Sharma—as also by the Opposition parties, of which the PSP led by Sri Hareeshwar Goswami, acted as the spearhead. The cry of betrayal of Assamese came up, and the campaign got going, in which the leaders of the Assam Jatiya Mahasabha as also the Assam Sahitya Sabha played leading roles. In the midst of this tension, a Police clash in Gauhati brought the students' Action Council into the picture.

And then came the veritable holocaust of the July days. Ten thousand houses were burnt down and over fifty thousand Bengalis were made homeless. Goreswar and Nowgong were the worst affected centres. The conspicuous inaction of the police and the Army in those harrowing days has naturally been contrasted with the extra-prompt action of the Police last month in killing eleven persons on the very first day of the Bengali demonstration at Silchar. Thus Assam earned the unenvied record of staging the first linguistic pogrom in Independent India.

Naturally enough the brunt of the attack was borne by the Bengalis in the Brahma-

putra valley, numbering about 11 lakhs. For it was in this valley, the chauvinists tried to realise their dream of "Bengal-Kheda" (Expel the Bengalees). The Bengali concentration in Cachar was untouched.

The shock of it, however, raised a wall of bitter recrimination not only between the two valleys but between the two neighbouring States of Assam and West Bengal. While the Assamese-Bengali conflict over the language issue has hit the headline, potentially more explosive perhaps is the problem of the Hill people.

From Khasi and Jaintia to Garo, Mikir, and Lushai Hills as also the hill people in North Cachar, they constitute a formidable sector of Assam's political life. In a memoran-

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being neglected by the Assamese-dominated Government.

not last long. Sri Chhalha was under fire from his more aggressive Assamese supporters who dubbed it as an "unholy alliance". Crisis came in January 1960, when at the by-election at Cherrapunji, the Congress candidate, Sri Maham Singh was opposed by the EITU General Secretary, Sri Theodore Cajee, who raised the slogan of a Hills State. The crisis was averted for the time being, with the EITU Executive disowning Sri Cajee. But the wound itself was never healed.

The breaking point came when after the July riots—in which the Hill people kept strictly aloof—it was clear that the Assamese Congressmen were determined to bring forward the Official Language Bill before the Assembly. As a re-

bound, the Hill leaders' determination to get their own Hill State stiffened. A further spur came with Government of India conceding the demand for a Nagaland. Immediately after, the Hill leaders met in the first week of August, and the All-Parties' Hill Leaders' Conference—first formed in June 1960—raised the slogan for the creation of a Hills State. The Independence Day, August 15, was observed as the Demand Day for a Hills State. It was clearly stated: "Our demand for a separate Hills State will certainly gain momentum now that the Government of India has conceded our brethren's demand for a Nagaland State."

On the criterion of viability, this demand is more weighty than the Nagaland. Actually, a merger of the Khasi and Garo Hills will be bigger than Nagaland. The proposed State would be 25 thousand square miles with a population of about a million. The All-Party Hill Leaders' Second Conference towards the end of August openly demanded separation if Assamese was going to be declared the State Language.

Neither the nation-wide revulsion at the July riots nor the growing bitterness of the Hill people did apparently lead to second thoughts among the Assamese leaders. Pandit Nehru himself suggested that there should be "no hurry" about the language legislation. In fact, the demand for an official language grew almost into an obsession with the Assamese politicians. And the more the opposition, the stiffer seemed their mood which was prepared to brook no delay with the Language Bill.

It was at this stage that the guidance from the Centre arrived with the visit of Pandit Pant to Assam. The Hill leaders did not show trepidation, but told Pantji that they disfavoured the idea of a State Language

Under Assamese pressure, the Chhalha Ministry gave in, and the bilingual Pant Formula was given up in the Bill presented before the Assembly in October 1960. This was due to the pressure of the Pradesh Congress Committee which by majority demanded the Official Language. Despite the opposition from Congress Members from Cachar and the Hills, the Congress Assembly Party supported the Pradesh Congress stand.

Huge protest demonstrations by the Khasis marked the introduction of the Bill. But Assam Congress leaders thought that since in the Hill region, the Hill languages would be recognised there need be no worry about these protests.

In the case of Cachar, the Assam Congress leaders made matters worse. While the original Bill ensured that Bengali would be the language up to the District level in Cachar, an amendment was moved by the Assam Congressmen authorising Mahakuma Parishads (Sub-divisional Panchayats) to change the official language of the Cachar District into Assamese.

Sri Chhalha himself could anticipate the disastrous effect of this amendment. He was reported to have written to the Pradesh Congress President that the amendment was discriminatory and violated the Constitution. The amendment proved to be the last straw, for it hardened the Bengali suspicion that the Assam Government would go back upon Pantji's compromise formula.

It was evident to them that even in Cachar District, Bengali would not, in effect, be made the official language because by administrative wirepullings, the Mahakuma Parishads could be managed to change the language. "If they can manipulate the Census," said a Bengali lawyer at Silchar, "can they not bag a few Mahakuma Parishads?" Strangely enough, this right to change the official language was not given to the Mahakuma Parishads in the Brahmaputra valley, where there is a substantial Bengali minority.

FROM I.P.A. SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

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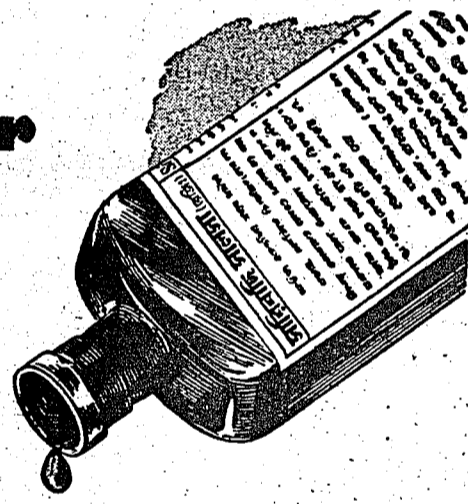
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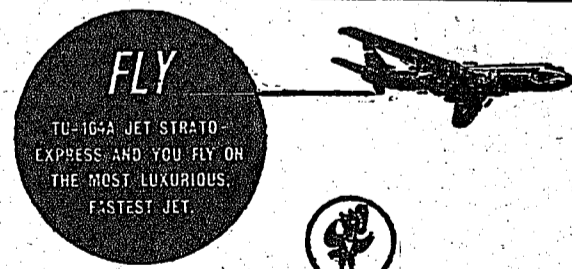
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PAGE SEVEN

S O C I A L I S M

The question of the relationship between democracy and socialism has become by now a usual object of political debate. Both the active section of the working class parties and wide strata of public opinion are interested in it. This is a sign of progress, for around this question are centred the fundamental problems of the political battle today.

IT is regrettable that in dealing with this question, which is closely connected with the controversies existing among political parties, vulgarity and commonplace are often resorted to, in order to reject the Communists' views.

I would like to quote an example. I apologize for emphasizing it too much, perhaps. I happened to mention that the domination by the capitalist bourgeoisie on the whole society (which we call its class dictatorship) can be exercised in various political forms. It can either entail the suppression of democratic liberties and institutions, or it can retain these liberties and institutions to a greater or lesser extent.

I should never have said it! On the one hand, the Republicans replied that to talk of a class dictatorship exercised in democratic forms is madness. On the other, Rodolfo Bataglia asserted in "Il Mondo" (a Radical Weekly) that my statement (which he distorts to a certain extent to suit his argument) is "utter nonsense".

If one adopts an insolent tone it means that he has no valid arguments to use. I reaffirm, anyway, that, in my opinion we have in Italy today a class dictatorship by the monopoly bourgeoisie. It is a dictatorship, however, that has to be exercised in certain democratic forms owing to historical and political conditions and conquests.

The Class Essence

I am expressing this simple observation in Marxist terms; but growing masses of students and young workers, for instance, are beginning to understand it. To argue that modern society is no longer divided in classes, is indeed "utter nonsense".

Here my opponents bring out again the question of the "degeneration" of the Soviet regime, about which I wrote in 1956 with reference to Stalin. I would like to point out that the essence of the very essay in which I used that term, tended to prove that the class substance of the regime had not been altered by the restrictions and violations of democracy of which Stalin was indicted. I am not asking anyone to read what I write. But they should do so, though, if they want to quote correctly the things I said.

This episode is not very important, actually vitiating debates such as this one. It is a mistake which springs from superficiality and formalism and, at bottom, from a refusal to consider seriously our positions. Our positions are the result of a political philosophy and principles for the analysis and interpretation of society; they cannot be scoffed at as if they were a lot of nonsense. When we say that the history of all societies up to now is the history of class struggle, it is no use shrugging one's shoulders. This does not prove anything. The only valid basis for a debate is the analysis of facts and

the evaluation of situations as they really are.

My remark is all the more true when the object of the debate is the question of democracy for commonplace is prevalent in this sphere. Some of the current affirmations may sound very good but their meaning is not clear.

Ends And Means

It has been said lately, for instance, that the fundamental issue for a workers' party struggling for socialism is to proclaim its faithfulness to democratic principles, both in "method and in system" and with regard to "the end" and "the means". It is a nice expression and could be very effective in a public meeting. If it was put in a resolution, it would satisfy everyone.

But what is the meaning of this so-called faithfulness to democracy in "method" and "means"?

There have been very violent and bloody democratic and even liberal revolutions. All the bourgeois revolutions have been of this nature in their initial phase. Today, however, every one seems to have forgotten it, to suggest, perhaps, that only Marxists recognize the use of violence as historically valid and only the diabolical Russian Bolsheviks and Chinese Communists put that method into practice.

But, in those revolutions was democracy "method" or "system"? Or, rather, were those revolutions democratic or not? Was it democratic to guillotine summarily kings and aristocrats? There could be a long argument about it. Both views have been defended in an endless number of books and writings. In the end the conclusion is that no evaluation is possible without an analysis of the real economic and power aims of the various social and political groups at that time, of their mutual relationship, of the situation of their movement, and extent to which the masses were taking part in the political battle.

For A Thorough Analysis

It is wrong, therefore, to encourage the belief that the problems of a democratic evolution, of the progress towards socialism and of a socialist revolution and above all the problem of the responsibility of a workers' party in correctly facing such issues, could be solved through a formula. No formula whatsoever can replace a thorough and practical search for and identification of democratic objectives and socialist objectives, of the relation between such aims and the behaviour of the ruling classes, hence for the definition of the more effective and correct struggle to reach them in given circumstances.

Indeed if a practical search and definition of such aims is replaced by a formula, this will help the enemy, for it will be easy for him to prove that any effective action is contrary

to democracy either in method or in system, that it violates this or that democratic principle and so on. Let us keep in mind and use ourselves the general terms in which political thought is usually expressed, but let us never forget the real meaning of such terms if we want to avoid ambiguities and deceit. Let us not forget the existence of a Marxist criticism of the concept of democracy.

It is our task to make this criticism known, to make it become part of the class and political consciousness of the working class, of the working people and of all sincere democrats, if we really want to open the road to a renewal both of democracy and of society.

2 Allow me to say that it is partly our fault (I mean the fault of the parties which are fighting or claim to be fighting for socialism), and also the consequence of the bitter polemic directed against us by a section of the Socialist Party, if a part of public opinion and even of the working class is convinced that democratic institutions are peculiar to the so-called Western world, to the countries under

tyranny, and in grey those having a certain number of democratic institutions but where these forms of democracy are insecure and limited and totally incapable of ensuring a "government of the people, for the people, by the people".

The section marked in red will be very limited, both in the period before the first world war (think of the "democratic" regimes of Wilhelm II in Germany, Francis Joseph in Austria, and those in Russia, the Balkans and Spain) and in the period between the two world wars (when fascist or philo-fascist regimes were prevalent) and also at present.

Let us consider now those countries, which in any of these three periods have been coloured in red. To these countries we can apply first of all Lenin's radical criticism of all capitalist political regimes. Lenin affirmed, in fact, that in any such system the liberty and equality of citizens are inevitably curtailed by the fact that exploiters and exploited are never on an equal footing, either in civil and political life and often even before the law. I do not

with reactionary and conservative social groups, even of pre-capitalist nature; the extension and consolidation of democratic liberties were prevented, these liberties curtailed, etc.

We do not deny that in various countries and in particular conditions there were and still are bourgeois groups (that is to say groups upholding the capitalist system of

on the level of its political and class consciousness, on its unity and on the impact made by its struggles. Whenever there is a weakening or a regression, democracy is threatened. I believe that a thorough historical analysis would show that even the liberal and democratic nature of the institutions in Great Britain is due much less to traditions—as is so often and superficially affirmed—than to the fact that the working class and its organizations have gradually become a force that everyone has to reckon with.

3 To what extent, then, in the so-called Western societies, democratic principles and practice are applied to the economic life? To a very limited extent indeed, or rather not at all.

How Far Does It Apply To Economic Life

I do not believe that anyone could affirm that the share-holders assemblies or the managing committees of banks, industrial monopolies, etc., are democratic institutions. Democracy does not

touch this sphere, which is decisive for the economic life and hence for the development of the whole civil society.

The employees of a plant, including the technicians, and the whole population of a town may be convinced that a factory should not close down but should be developed along certain lines for the good of the community. But this does not matter to the capitalist who decides in his own exclusive interests.

Everyone is convinced that the share-tenancy system must be abolished for it is an obstacle to the development of agriculture. Again, it does not matter, for it is the landowners who decide, even if they are, from a democratic point of view, a minority. A gleam of democracy could be imposed by Government intervention; but this action is limited and subjected, in the end, to the will and decisions of the classes which rule in the economic sphere.

There is no record of an elected parliamentary assembly having managed by their votes radically to modify in a democratic sense the State budget presented by the government. Everyone knows, though, that the representatives of great capitalist groups have a decisive say in the matter. The State intervention in the sphere of economic life is generally independent from any democratic decision or control. If such a control

usually capitalist metropolises which oppress and exploit enormous masses of people throughout the world. This, obviously, is not democracy. We find in various countries, for long periods, a legislation limiting the freedom of organisation and movement of the working class and of the working people. The use of police forces against the workers is considered normal in labour conflicts. The universal right to vote was recognised only at the beginning

AND

D E M O C R A C Y

a capitalist regime in varying stages. This is tantamount to saying that democracy is a quality inherent to such a regime whilst it is not by definition a characteristic of socialist regimes.

There is no end of printed matter directed to re-affirm this mistaken viewpoint. It starts from the banality and idiocy of ordinary anti-Communism, up to so-called theoretical arguments to prove the alleged necessary link between economic freedom, of capitalistic enterprise and freedom in general. It is maintained that there is an inevitable contradiction between an economically just society and a society organised on democratic bases. It is asserted that a regime envisaging state intervention in economic life and planning is inevitably bound to entail the end of any form of democracy and so on.

Democracy In Capitalist World

I do not intend to discuss here, on the basis of doctrine, the alleged soundness of such affirmations. I shall confine myself to make a few elementary historical and political remarks, which are decisive in every respect. Let us take the map of the capitalist world and colour in black those under an open

groups, but by no means to democratic principles. Lastly, in more recent times we have the ban of the Communist Party, persecutions against it, discriminations and trials even against peace fighters (as in Adenauer's Germany), and so on.

What is the conclusion of all this? The conclusion is that it is absurd to spread or, worse still, to help

An Article From RINASCITA
(Italian C. P.'s Theoretical Monthly)
By P. TOGLIATTI

movement conscious of their political aims and capable of reaching these objectives through united action and struggles. The participation of the working class in the social and political conflicts, its immediate claims and ultimate aspirations to a new economic system has been the motive force of democratic progress, in the contemporary world. The future life of democracy depends on the weight of the working class in the country's life,

exist—albeit limited—it is an exception in the so-called Western world.

One of these exceptions should be Italy. It is as well to talk openly about the nature of our present regime. We have a democratic constitution. Moreover, it is a constitution which expresses the general trend of capitalist Europe in the post-war period to extend democratic principles to the economic sphere, imposing some limits to the exclusive power of the capitalist ruling group and transforming, hence, the economic structure of society.

What happened in our country could be quoted as an example, worthy of a political science essay, of how democratic principles are not implemented.

After the representatives of the progressive popular parties left the government, all the successive rulers, no one excluded, could be brought to trial before a High Court for having ruled as if the Constitution did not exist. Bitter mass struggles, sacrifices and bloodshed were needed to obtain an agrarian reform which is a partial implementation only of the Constitution. Sacrifice and bloodshed were needed to demand the end of the barbarous use of police forces against the workers in labour conflicts (and this claim has not been satisfied yet).

A relentless action and bitter struggles were needed to compel the rulers to take some timid steps towards a democratic intervention in the present Italian situation, the democratic impulse is not coming and never came from the ruling classes. It is coming from the popular masses, from the parties which represent them and fight to impose respect for constitutional progressive principles, for their implementation and extension. It comes from the working class, from the Communists and Socialists and from those democrats who have not bowed to the domination of the bourgeois ruling classes and of their parties.

Parliament itself, its work and decisions become more effective thanks to the development of a strong mass movement on certain issues. But these remarks are not sufficient. Our democratic pressure has been and will be effective in future, just because we are not satisfied with forms only, but we fight to advance towards socialism.

All this has succeeded in showing the road to be followed and in keeping it open, but it has not brought about any radical change. Any temporary weakening in the action by the masses and in their vigilance is enough to bring out the constant and deep anti-democratic leanings of the bourgeois groups and rulers.

What about our parliamentary system? Let us talk about it. We agree that it is a great conquest. But more so for what it could do than for what it actually does. It is vitiated at its very roots by the fact that elections are controlled, to a great extent, by the Church hierarchies, that is to say by an anti-democratic force. In addition to this, traditional type electoral consultations, such as the ones taking place in the Western world, always tend, to express more the passiveness of the masses and their link with the present than their deep aspirations to a social renewal. The formation of majorities is paralysed by discriminations against Socialists and Communists and by theory of "the democratic area" (that is to say of the capitalist area) which alone is supposed to include the forces capable of ruling.

Our parliamentary system, therefore, owing to the consequence itself of the

implementation of such a principle, assumes an unmistakable class nature. It is constantly menaced by the attempt to limit the effectiveness of its decisions, to rob any meaning out of its debates, to curtail its power of control.

As for the fundamental issues, concerning the structures of society and the need to transform them, our parliamentary system faces insurmountable barriers. There is a whole range of activities—labelled "sub-government"—totally escaping parliamentary control. These are the practical daily activities on which depend vital issues for all citizens and where the most blatant corruption is common occurrence.

The rulers, however, when now and again they are caught red-handed, assure that they will see to it that things change. Thus, in the best of cases, a democratic conception is gradually replaced by the paternalistic outlook of an enlightened arbitrium.

Democratic Impulse From The Masses

In the present Italian situation, the democratic impulse is not coming and never came from the ruling classes. It is coming from the popular masses, from the parties which represent them and fight to impose respect for constitutional progressive principles, for their implementation and extension. It comes from the working class, from the Communists and Socialists and from those democrats who have not bowed to the domination of the bourgeois ruling classes and of their parties.

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Action Extends Democracy

Our action lends a new content to the democratic liberties themselves. It enhances the rights to freedom for it unites them to the claims for welfare and economic progress. It improves the standard of the Parliamentary system itself. It presses for far-reaching democratic transformations of the political system (development of local powers; regional governments, etc.); it raises the problem of the development of new forms of democracy in the factories and in the countryside, to ensure that economic transformations and progress serve the vital interests of the working people.

It is our action to lead society towards socialism that lends new content and effectiveness to our struggle for democracy and to the whole democratic life of the country.

We must make this point clear to all, not only by stressing the existence of an insuppressible link between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism, but proving by words and deeds that democracy is something quite new and real for us. We are not satisfied with forms only. It is not enough to hold an electoral consultation

now and then to create the basis of a democratic regime. The plebiscites in favour of Hitler were episodes of a hateful tyranny and the plebiscites for de Gaulle prove—although there is no need for it—that his regime is not democratic.

We want the people's will to determine political developments, to influence the whole economic life and hence the whole civil society, transforming it. Here lies the great difference characterizing the democracy of those who fight for socialism.

4 This line is not doctrinaire but corresponds to a practical policy, which our Party has realised in Italy. It contains the implicit and explicit answer to the question of what the forces fighting for socialism today, will do "afterwards", that is to say whether they will respect democracy when they will exercise power and lead the society. The "future" will correspond to what is being done now; it will correspond to the democratic content of our present struggle.

The conquest of power by the working people is the beginning of a true democratic regime, in the economic and political field and in the whole society.

Why talk of dictatorship then? First of all, we do not speak or think about dictatorship in the same way, for instance, as the Jesuits do. According to one of the most influential interpretations of their thought, "dictatorship is not in itself an evil, and is not an evil at all, if most of the people agree to it, when it would be impossible otherwise to preserve the State and change the outdated political regime without a revolutionary violent transformation". (S. Lener, S. J. I partit Italiani etc—"Civiltà Cattolica" August 4, 1956 issue.)

The intention of these words obviously is to justify a non-democratic regime, a tyranny of the fascist brand, in fact, as long as it is established without too much noise and scandal.

The dictatorship we refer to, is something quite different. It is, as a matter of principle, an extension of democracy. It means the advent to the leadership of the State of a new ruling class—the working class and the masses of working people—having the task to organise the exploitation of social wealth for the good of all instead of a handful of privileged.

It entails, therefore, the end of exploitation of man, and it will ensure to all a worthy life and the necessary development of human personality. Owing to its very nature, this advent to power of a new class is the beginning of a true democratic renewal of the whole society.

Our Own Democratic Road To Socialism

How to achieve it is object of historical research and at the same time of political action. This research was object of our study even before the end of fascism. The conclusion we reached was that definition of our own democratic road towards socialism, which is still valid in spite of the polemics tending to discredit it.

But that search and elaboration were accompanied

KHRUSHCHOV'S TWO

Reports appeared in the world press that during Soviet Premier Khrushchov's meeting with President Kennedy in Vienna he had handed over to the President memorandums on the question of ending of atomic and hydrogen weapons tests, on the signing of a peace treaty with Germany and the settlement of the question of West Berlin on this basis. At the same time in a number of these press reports these documents were given an inaccurate and in some instances a distorted interpretation.

The Soviet Government has now released the text of the memorandums which follows:

The Soviet Government deems it necessary to present its considerations on the question of ending atomic and hydrogen weapons tests. As is known negotiations between representatives of the USSR, the United States and Great Britain at Geneva have been going on for more than two years and a half. However, there still are great difficulties on the road toward the conclusion of an agreement.

The Soviet Union did and is doing everything it can to come to terms with the United States and Great Britain on a treaty to end nuclear weapons tests. As is known, in order to remove obstacles towards agreement it has made substantial concessions to the Western partners in the talks, having accepted a number of proposals submitted by them.

The position of the Soviet Government at the Geneva talks is simple and clear. The Soviet Union wants nuclear weapons tests of all kinds to be ended everywhere and for all time. But the Soviet Government cannot agree and will never agree to the test-ban treaty becoming an empty scrap of paper which could be used as a cover for further experiments with nuclear weapons for the purpose of improving them and developing new means of mass destruction. There can be no exemptions from the treaty: All kinds of nuclear weapons tests must be banned: in the air, under water, underground and in outer space.

On Nuclear Tests

In view of the present unsatisfactory position at the Geneva conference, the Soviet Government should like to state once more its position on fundamental issues which remain unsolved to this day.

Moratorium

The question of a moratorium. As is known the Soviet Government agreed to the American proposal that the treaty should temporarily exclude from the ban underground tests of nuclear weapons below a definite threshold value. Now we must reach agreement on a moratorium on underground nuclear explosions temporarily not covered by the treaty. It goes without saying that the agreement on a moratorium must be of such a nature that no nation could violate it arbitrarily and resume test explosions of nuclear bombs. In view of this, the Soviet Government is firmly convinced that the expiry of the moratorium, an agreement on which would be reached by the parties concerned, should not absolve nations of their commitment not to hold underground nuclear explosions.

Control

Question of control. The Soviet Union, just as the United States, considers that strict international control must be established over the cessation of the tests. However, it is quite obvious that this control can be effective only if it rests on the mutual consent by the sides and not on the desire to take advantage of the control machinery to impose the will of one group of states upon another group.

The Soviet Government has examined all aspects of the question how to safeguard equal rights of the sides in the implementation of control, and drew the firm conclusion that the staffing of the control agencies must be based on equal representation of the sides. It is precisely in conformity with this principle that the Soviet Union proposes that an understanding should be

reached on the composition of the chief executive agency—the Administrative Council.

The refusal to accept the proposal on instituting an administrative council of three equal representatives, one each from the principal groups of states—the socialist states, the countries belonging to Western military blocs, and the neutralist states—is justified by allegations that the Soviet Union seeks to obtain some special rights in the control organization. This assertion, of course, has no foundations whatever. What is the real meaning of the Soviet proposal? It is precisely to preclude the possibility of one side obtaining any special advantages or prejudicing the security of one or another group of states. We want to secure not formal but real equality of the sides while putting into effect the treaty on a ban on nuclear weapons tests.

The Control Commission, on which all principal groups of states will be represented, can adopt sound, just decisions, taking into consideration the interests of all states. However, it is not enough to take such decisions. It is imperative to guarantee their impartial implementation. Impartiality cannot be guaranteed if the implementation of the decisions is entrusted to one man alone.

The history of contemporary international relations knows many instances when one man, being under the influence of some alignment of states or acting for its benefit, carried out al-

ready agreed decisions in a wrong way. Of course, this benefited only one group of states, whose interests this man furthered, but harmed other states. For it is well known that while there are neutral states there are not, nor can there be, neutral men.

Agreement on the cessation of nuclear weapons tests directly affects the interests of the safety of states, and the Government of the United States, undoubtedly, will agree that maximum caution must be observed in solving such kind of problems. In present conditions when the world is divided into military blocs, when large armies are maintained, when the threat of a nuclear conflict continues to hang over the world, it is impermissible that questions affecting the interests of the security of states and the destinies of peoples should depend on the decisions of one man.

Furthermore, the appointment of one man for implementing adopted decisions on control can be regarded as dictatorship, a desire to impose one's will. Indeed, it can hardly be expected that the Western powers would consent to the appointment of this man from some socialist country. They would rather suggest to this post a man from neutral countries.

But is there any guarantee that such a man will take a neutral, impartial stand with regard to the socialist countries? We cannot agree to such an approach. The Soviet Union cannot tolerate dictatorship from any side. We want to have equal conditions for all and we shall never consent to being placed in an unequal position.

We are confident that the Government of the United States subscribes to the opinion that any international agreement must contain guarantees precluding ill-intentioned and unjustified actions against a state, party to the agreement. This is the inalienable and lawful right of each state, each government. Proposing that a collegial executive body of representatives of the three groups of states should be instituted, the Soviet Union proceeds from the desire to guarantee to the states the implementation of precisely this right.

Objecting to the Soviet proposal on the composition of the administrative council, the representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom at the Geneva conference alleged that it is tantamount to establishing a right of "veto" with regard to inspections. But such allegations cannot be assessed otherwise than as a continuation of the old line of distorting the position of the USSR on questions of control.

One might recall in this context that the Soviet Government, as early as May 1959, explaining its proposal on the establishment of quotas of inspections, emphasized that on-the-spot inspections within the limit of the agreed quotas must be effected at the request of the side interested in the inspection without any voting in the control commission or any other agency.

All that is needed are objective readings of instruments at control posts indicating that a phenomenon took place in some part of the given country which might be suspected as nuclear explosion. If there is such objective reading, the Soviet proposal envisages that neither the control commission nor any other body of the control organization can interfere with the satisfaction of the demand of the side for an inspection. Hence, no obstacles to inspection, to which the United States representatives refer speaking of the so-called "veto", can be created by the administrative council.

Of course, there are other questions too, and many of them are bound to arise in the course of carrying out the treaty on the cessation of nuclear weapons tests, on which the executive agency will have to take decisions. A situation cannot be tolerated in which unilateral decisions would be taken and conditions for arbitrariness created. The danger of arbitrariness increases several times over if there is a single administrator. The possibility of arbitrariness and unilateral decisions is fully precluded if the structure of the executive agency proposed by the Soviet Government is adopted. It follows that the question of the "veto" is artificially conceived.

Inspection Quota

The Soviet Government is convinced that adoption of the Soviet Union's proposal on the composition of the administrative council would remove one of the big obstacles to agreement on the treaty.

There is still another question on which there are divergencies. This is the question of the size of the quota of inspections. The Soviet Government hopes that the Government of the United States will also adopt a realistic approach to the question of the number of on-the-spot inspections. Our proposal on three inspections each on the territory of the USSR, the United States and the United Kingdom a year provides quite adequate guarantees against violations of the treaty on the cessation of nuclear weapons tests. The demand for an excessive number of inspections on which the United States and the United Kingdom insist, cannot but suggest the idea that in this case concern is shown by no means for the establishment of effective control.

Assessing the position of states on questions of inspection, one cannot, of course, disregard the circumstance that while there are military alignments of states in the world, inspections can be used for intelligence purposes. Such is the position with regard to the talks on the cessation of nuclear tests.

We have set forth with utmost frankness our considerations on the ways of overcoming the difficulties that have arisen. Our approach provides a sound foundation for the conclusion in the near future of a treaty on the cessation of nuclear weapons tests.

At the same time, objectively assessing the situation obtaining around the problem of banning nuclear tests, one should, evidently, acknowledge that the parties to the Geneva talks, as it seems, now find it difficult to agree on the cessation of nuclear tests.

Would it then not be better for our countries to take up the main, cardinal question—the question of general and complete disarmament? In this context we welcome President Kennedy's statement in his latest message to Congress to the

MEMOS TO KENNEDY

effect that the conclusion of a treaty on an effective ban on nuclear tests would be the first major step towards disarmament. Indeed, let us solve both problems in their interdependence, then the main obstacle will be eliminated which the Western powers now see in the Soviet proposal for setting up a three-member administrative council.

The Soviet Government, as is well known, has already more than once emphasized that the Soviet Government, on its part, is willing unconditionally to accept any Western control proposals if the Western powers accept the proposal for general and complete disarmament.

The Soviet Government reaffirms its readiness and in this case agrees to sign a document which will include the Western proposals on the cessation of nuclear tests.

We can take this step because the question of security of states will be on a different level in conditions of general and complete disarmament: There will be no armies nor will there be threats of attack by one state on another.

When all states disarm and have no means for attack on other countries, then conditions will indeed be created under which each country will have proper guarantees of its security. No state will have the possibility secretly to set up armed forces which will threaten any other state or group of states. In these conditions we are ready to accept any control proposed by Western powers.

Now, when an arms race is under way in the world and antagonistic military alignments exist, we must preserve our armed forces in the interest of the security of our country and our allies. If the armed forces of states are maintained, no control can be separated from intelligence. Control will not be associated with intelligence only when armed forces are abolished and armaments destroyed. Then indeed universal control will be necessary to see to it that no state or group of states could secretly manufacture arms or arm themselves to prepare aggression against other states. Strict and effective control against the arming of states cannot be avoided.

At the same time it must be acknowledged that in present conditions control does not in the least guarantee against attack on some country by another country because arms and armed forces are not only maintained but also strengthened, strengthened especially in the field of nuclear weapons, which the United States President himself admitted. Cessation of nuclear weapons tests does not mean cessation of their manufacture and stockpiling. The risk of war is not reduced. In these conditions each state has the right to suspect that intelligence agencies are to be set up on the plea of control.

If general and complete disarmament is effected, the states maintain only agreed, restricted contingents of militia or police necessary for maintaining internal order and protecting the personal safety of citizens. These forces cannot create a threat of attack on other countries.

In necessary cases these contingents can be used by the Security Council if some state nevertheless takes aggressive actions. Of course, all main groups of states must be equally represented on the leadership of such international forces, i.e., it must be indeed an international leadership.

The Soviet Government is profoundly convinced that in our time the most realistic way of solving the disarmament problem is general and complete disarmament under effective international control. This has been acknowledged by the majority of the world's states, as borne out both by the resolution of the 14th session of the General Assembly and the discussion of disarmament problems at the 15th session of the United Nations General Assembly.

The Soviet Government expresses the hope that the Government of the United States will take into consideration the ideas set forth in this memorandum and, on its part, will facilitate a solution of the problem of general and complete disarmament including the task of discontinuing for good all nuclear weapons tests.

The following is the text of Nikita Khrushchov's memorandum to John Kennedy on a treaty with Germany:

1. The peace settlement with Germany, dragged out for many years, has largely predetermined the dangerous development of events in Europe in the post-war period. Highly important Allied decisions on rooting out militarism in Germany, which the Governments of the United States and the USSR at the time regarded as an earnest of enduring peace were implemented only in part and are now virtually not observed on the greater part of German territory. Of the governments of the two German states that took shape after the war, only the Government of the German Democratic Republic recognizes these agreements and adheres to them. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany openly expresses its negative attitude to them, fosters sabre-rattling militarism and comes out for a revision of the German frontiers, a revision of the results of World War II. It seeks to build up a strong military base for its aggressive plans, to foster a dangerous hotbed of conflicts on German soil and to set at loggerheads the former allies in the anti-Nazi coalition.

The Western powers permitted the Federal Republic of Germany to set about stockpiling weapons and building up an army obviously exceeding defence requirements. Other dangerous steps by the NATO powers were their permission to the Federal Republic of Germany to build warships of up to 6,000 tons displacement, and also to use British, French and Italian territory for military bases of the Federal Republic of Germany.

consideration for the interests of all sides.

For the sake of reaching agreement on a peace treaty the Soviet Union does not insist on the immediate withdrawal of the Federal Republic of Germany from NATO. Both German states could for a certain period remain after the conclusion of a peace treaty members of those military alignments to which they now belong.

The Soviet proposal does not link the conclusion of the peace treaty with the recognition of the German Democratic Republic or the Federal Republic of Germany by all parties to this treaty. To recognize or not to recognize one or other state is a matter for each government.

If the United States is not ready to sign a single peace treaty with both German states, a peace settlement could be effected on the basis of two treaties. In this case the states, members of the anti-Nazi coalition, would sign a peace treaty with both or with one German state at their discretion. These treaties need not have identical texts but they must contain the same provisions on the major questions of a peace settlement.

Problem of West Berlin

5. The conclusion of a German peace treaty would also solve the problem of normalizing the situation in West Berlin. West Berlin, deprived of a firm international status, is now a place where Bonn's revenge-seeking elements constantly maintain extreme tension and stage all kind of provocations very dangerous to the cause of peace.

For A German Peace Treaty

2. The Soviet Government sincerely strives for the elimination of the causes engendering tension between the USSR and the United States and for a change-over to constructive friendly co-operation. Conclusion of a German peace treaty would bring both countries much closer to this aim. The USSR and the United States were fighting shoulder to shoulder against Nazi Germany.

It is their common duty to conclude a German peace treaty and thus create a firm guarantee that forces which could plunge the world into another still more destructive war will never rise on German soil. If the Soviet Union's desire to strengthen peace and to prevent the unleashing of another world war in Europe does not differ from the intentions of the United States Government, it will not be difficult to reach agreement.

3. Proceeding from a realistic assessment of the situation the Soviet Government advocates the immediate conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. The question of a peace treaty is the question of the national security of the USSR and many other states. It is no longer possible to leave the situation in Germany without changes. All conditions for the conclusion of a peace treaty have long since matured and such a treaty must be concluded. The essence of the matter is by whom and how it will be concluded and whether there will be unnecessary delays involved.

4. The Soviet Government does not aim at prejudicing the interests of the United States or other powers in Europe. It does not propose any changes in Germany or in West Berlin which would benefit only one state or one group of states. The USSR deems it necessary for the sake of consolidating peace to record the situation that took shape in Europe after the war, *de jure* to formulate and consolidate the immutability of the existing German frontiers, to normalize the situation in West Berlin on the basis of reasonable

We must prevent such a development under which the strengthening of West German militarism might lead to irreparable consequences due to the unsettled situation in West Berlin.

At present the Soviet Government sees no better solution of the problem of West Berlin than its conversion into a demilitarized free city. Implementation of the proposal for a free city would normalize the situation in West Berlin with due account for the interests of all sides. The occupation regime preserved there has long since outlived itself, it has lost any connection with the aims for the sake of which it was created, and with the Allied agreements on Germany on the basis of which it existed.

The occupation rights, of course, would discontinue with the conclusion of a German peace treaty, no matter whether it would be signed with both German states or only with the German Democratic Republic inside whose territory West Berlin lies.

The Soviet Government advocates that the free city of West Berlin should freely effect its communications with the outside world and that its domestic order should be determined by the free expression of the will of its population. Of course, the United States, like all other countries, would have every opportunity to maintain and develop its relations with the free city. In general West Berlin, as the Soviet Government sees it, must be strictly neutral. It must not be tolerated, of course, that West Berlin should be further used as a base for provocative hostile activity against the USSR, the German Democratic Republic or any other state and continue to remain a dangerous seat of tensions and international conflicts.

The USSR proposes that the most reliable guarantees should be established against

PALMIRO TOGLIATTI

* FROM CENTRE PAGES:

by a corresponding action, the value of which no one can deny without sacrificing the elementary rules of honesty in political and ideological debate.

Unfortunately this has been done, in recent times, by a section of the Socialist comrades, for the sake of their internal controversies. These Socialist comrades want to prove, at all costs, that they are "independent". To do this, they have to criticize the Communists and the easiest way to do this, obviously, is to ascribe to them a heap of nonsense and to give them disparaging qualifications. All this—even if it has nothing to do with what the Communists are, think and do—is then denounced self-righteously and the "independence" of these comrades is proved.

The Communists are accused by these so-called critics to be "tacticalists" and "instrumentalists". How dreadful! The Communists supported the Christian-Social movement in Sicily and cooperated with it—they say—not because that movement broke the Christian Democratic monopoly and created a split in the clerical party (this has not occurred to the writer, although he is the chief editor of "Avanti!") but only in order to build a road and to create an "agency". A daily newspaper, which is said to be influenced by the Communists has a column devoted to the problems of motor car drivers. How appalling!

But let us not waste too much time on this sort of nonsense, that make no impact on serious people. Unfortunately even Comrade Francesco De Martino, who could have been expected to take up a more responsible position has followed this trend, particularly when he deals with the relationship between socialism and democracy.

An Accusation That Is Not True

He accuses us, in the first place, of identifying socialism in general with the Soviet regime and with the regimes of people's democracy existing at present in so wide a section of the world.

But if this were true, to what end and for what reason should we make efforts to find an Italian democratic road to socialism, so different from the one followed, in other historical situations, by Russia, China and by the People's Democracies in central Europe and in Asia?

I do not think comrade De Martino will deny that there is no other country, besides the ones I mentioned, where anything similar to a socialist regime can be found. In spite of this, we were the ones who showed and stressed the need (and not the possibility only) for a movement towards socialism arising from and corresponding to our particular situation, hence politically and historically original.

It is not true, though, as it is stated, I believe, in one of the documents of the Socialists' congress, that at the end of the Second World War there was the problem of making a synthesis of the Com-

munist experience in building a new society and a similar socialist experience.

An Experience That Does Not Exist

The latter does not exist. There is not even a positive experience by the European Social Democratic movement in the defence of democratic institutions, for Social-Democracy, on the contrary, had most of the time contributed to safeguarding the bourgeois classes' power.

The only new experiences were made by us, in the sphere of theoretical elaboration, in the VII Congress of the (Communist) International and

afterwards, and in the sphere of action, during the Spanish War (in what conditions) and with the popular front in France.

The war had not ended yet and already in the largest Western Social-Democratic parties the tendency began to prevail to prevent a new advance along that road. As for the Communists, Lenin had said repeatedly that the roads to conquer power and the forms of organisation of working class power would be very different.

If this teaching was partly forgotten, it is hard to blame the Communist Parties, which found themselves between the inspiring example of the Soviet construction of socialism, on one side, and

ON DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

A brutal reactionary pressure, coming from the capitalist West, on the other.

This is why it is an outstanding merit of the Italian Communists to have sought first a new line of action, developing Gramsci's teachings.

It is no use saying that our line has been rejected by the most recent resolutions of the International Communist movement (in the Conference and Resolution of the 81 Communist Parties); this, in fact, is totally untrue. How can it be affirmed, for instance, that the Communist Parties have decided that the advance towards socialism is not in relation to the development of the productive forces and to the existing social and political relations?

Is it perhaps because we say that the progress in the economic and social construction in the socialist countries creates more favourable conditions for the struggle for socialism in the whole world? This is an elementary truth that has nothing to do with the heresy that is attributed to us. How is it possible to develop a serious debate, if our views are distorted to this extent?

I don't know if Comrade De Martino wanted to arrive at this point. He follows his own original method, but in the

end he reached similar results. He asks us three questions to see if we are fit to pass his examination in "democracy". But instead of waiting for our answers or trying to find it in our documents, he replies by himself and bases his indictment on the replies that he attributes to us.

What are, then, his questions? The first one is whether we admit or not that "democracy" does not coincide with the end of class power. What a muddle!

Let comrade De Martino read what we said above without confusing clear issues. The whole construction of a socialist society must be and is a process of democratic development. In

and of the construction of a socialist society has been made more difficult by recent events and particularly by the strong criticism the Communists themselves made of their own actions, by the denunciations made by the 20th Congress and so on.

Those who base their arguments exclusively or almost exclusively on these criticisms and denunciations seem always to forget that they came from us, from the Communist Parties and their leaders. This is a decisive point and has to be kept in mind.

The professional anti-Communists do not realise it. I received a new review of theirs—financed, I understand, with State Department dollars—I

AND SOCIALISM

fall. We totally reject the liberal view, whereby economic planning means end of freedom. No one claiming to be a socialist could accept this view.

The threat to democracy lies in the anarchy of capitalist production and in the power of the ruling bourgeois groups, not in the action to eliminate that anarchy and power. As for centralisation and decentralisation, the conclusion we reached in 1920 in our debate with the anarchists is still valid: the degree of centralisation and the forms of decentralisation are dictated by historical conditions to which the democratic development must correspond.

The third question is but a joke. We should state whether we consider the historical process of revolution as "something magic (sic) and inevitable", whether we overlook the conscious approach, and the dialectical conception of the relationship between structure and superstructure, etc. What can we say to him? We shall send him another copy of Gramsci's "Quaderni" and the political and programme decisions of our Congresses, in order to convince him, among other things, that we never

refused a debate on these issues, but on the contrary stimulated it with the sincerity and thoroughness of which we are capable. But, of course, when we meet someone, for instance, who in commenting on our last Congress can only say that it was a "theorization of Milazzismo" (Milazzo is the name of the Christian-Democrat who headed the split which took place in the Sicilian Christian Democratic Party and created the Christian-Social Party in 1953.) we can only think that his case is desperate.

I am quite prepared to admit that the debate on the issue of the perspective of advance towards socialism

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found in it the usual tale about the fantastic means alleged to be at the disposal of the Secretary of a Communist Party to face any emergency situation: powerful dark coloured cars (why dark coloured, I wonder?), aeroplanes emerging from underground and so on.

I saw a rich collection of denunciations of injustices, etc., in the Soviet Union. All these denunciations were taken from the Soviet press itself and bear witness, therefore, to the democratic character of that press and society. Try to find, if you can, any denunciation in "Il Popolo" of the robberies and despotism of clerical leaders. You will find, instead, the sentences, condemning the naive people who, now and then, demand an inquest on corruption.

A fresh proof of the close link between socialism and democracy in the Communists' action was given by their cruel courage in facing under the eyes of the whole world, the need to get rid of the heavy burden which oppressed and hid the democratic essence of the Socialist society. This situation had been engendered by a series of historical, economic, political and personal circumstances,

which is useless to reprimand but which must be analysed and understood to learn from them.

Had not Lenin said that the advent of a Communist Party to power does not prevent such a party from making mistakes? The whole movement cannot be held responsible, though, for such mistakes when they do occur, the whole movement, to a greater or lesser extent, will bear the consequence of them.

If we, Italian Communists, make a mistake no other party is responsible for it. In the same way, for instance, when we learnt from our comrade attending the Congress of the Albanian Party that the problems of party life and internal debate had been approached in a way which seemed dangerously mistaken to us, we did express our opinion, but the direct respon-

sibility and the task of correcting these mistakes is not ours.

I do admit without hesitation that the Communists who exercise power in different countries probably made the mistake of stressing, above all, the common aspects of their action, instead of pointing out the differences existing in it, even in important fields. I do understand and everyone can understand why the Communists in those countries behave in this way.

In the face of a capitalist world inspired by an aggressive anti-Communist and anti-Socialist spirit, ready to exploit any contrast or alleged contrast in the socialist camp, in the interest of the reactionary and bourgeois

classes, it is legitimate to endeavour to stress the unity of this camp.

It is a legitimate endeavour also in the face of the blind position of Social Democracy, which refuses even to understand the new economic and social content of the People's Democratic regime in Europe and Asia.

But it is interesting for us, for our debate, to stress the diversity and richness of the economic and political forms of the action tending to solve the most serious problem of socialism, such as the relationship between industrial and agricultural development, the just equilibrium between the production of productive goods and the production of consumers' goods, the forms of collective agricultural production, the international division of tasks, on a socialist basis, etc. Lastly, the problems of the coexistence and cooperation of different political parties, of the work of Parliament (such as in Poland) as effective organ for the leadership and control of the whole economic life and so on.

A large amount of experience has been made in these

* SEE FACING PAGE

BHOPAL TRAINEES WIN STRIKE STRUGGLE

GLORIOUS indeed was the 16-day struggle of the trainees and workers of Heavy Electrical Corporation. Above all it was a fight against the slow progress of this important national enterprise.

In this 50-crore rupees project progress has been markedly slow. Its management has earned notoriety for its callous anti-worker attitude. It is because of the slow progress of the work that a large number of trainees could not be absorbed as actual workers.

The trainees of the second batch have already completed two years training. They had fulfilled all the conditions of their training, having undergone periodical tests, final tests and practical training. Even instructors' report had been sent. Normally they should have been absorbed in the factory. That, however, was not done. On May 15 these trainees went on a partial strike demanding their absorption as regular workers. While they had been demanding this even earlier, the real cause for the strike was provided by the Managing Director of the Works, who declared that the trainees will have to undergo still another test. This test, according to the trainees, was an afterthought in order to detain 60 per cent of them.

For some time the strike was partial. The trainees absented themselves only from the training school but continued attending their jobs in the factory. Trainees were forced to go on complete strike from May 18.

Their movement reached a higher stage when one of the trainees resorted to hunger strike. A few days later another one also joined.

Instead of giving careful consideration to the demands of the trainees they followed the policy of harassment. Ser-

ious fields. It is an experience one cannot refuse to acknowledge; it has to be studied carefully and thoroughly because, like it or not, it represents a precious contribution to the solution of the most difficult problem facing mankind in its advance towards new societies, free from capitalist exploitation and oppression.

This is all the more so if one believes, as I think one should, that both in the more advanced capitalist countries and in the more backward ones, the new forms and stages of development of democracy and advance towards socialism are bound to be different in some or many aspects, from what they have been up to now. It is useless to ask what these differences will be. It would be impossible to give anything but a vague answer now.

In this sphere, in fact, decisive are the concrete circumstances of class struggle; the degree of development of the productive forces and the objective ripening, within the capitalist society itself, of the conditions for the transition to socialism; the capacity of the working class and working people to fight successfully for democracy and socialism; the forms and methods of the inevitable resistance by the bourgeois classes, the relationship between internal situation and international relations and so on. All these issues have to be analysed concretely at the given time, for the most diverse conjectures could be made about future possibilities.

To admit and prove the need for different lines of development is quite different. It is the reverse, rather, of what Comrade Nenni does when he deals, as in the recent Socialist Congress, with the perspective of the Socialist and Communist working class movement in capitalist countries.

I would like to point out, in the first place, that in dealing with this subject Comrade Nenni adopts the odd

method of presenting, as his own, views and conclusions that we ourselves have worked out and upheld, and he attacks us, then, starting from those very positions. We did maintain and prove that the economic and political progress of the socialist countries, although it does bring about a marked change in the world balance of power, could not create the possibility of an automatic passage to a new social system. In a recent meeting of our Central Committee, I stated, on the lines of the theses of our VIII and IX Congress, that I regard as mistaken "the position according to which the struggle for socialism consists... in waiting for an increase in the strength of the socialist camp such as to lead the working people to rally almost spontaneously around the Communist Parties, enabling these parties to wage successfully the struggle for power, then". This seems to me very clear.

But it is indeed the very position that we have always openly condemned that Comrade Nenni reproaches us for. According to them, in fact, our movement "offers to the workers the sole perspective of a world victory of the Communist bloc".

Is any debate possible with someone who asks you—to suit his ends—to support the views you have been fighting against for years and which were probably his own once? But this is not the most important nor the gravest point. The worst is that Comrade Nenni creates a split between the working class and popular forces which are in power in so wide a part of the world and the working class and working people fighting in the capitalist countries for power and socialism.

Thus, whilst, deploring the existence of two separate blocs and claiming that this split has to be overcome, he extends it to the working class movement and makes it thus impossible to overcome.

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16 trainees were terminated on May 24.

However, the trainees could not be cowed down by these measures. On the contrary their agitation gained momentum and strength. Entire staff of the Heavy Electrical Works responded warmly towards their struggling brethren. They also joined the strike and thus on May 26 and 27 there was complete strike by technical as well as administrative personnel.

By this time public opinion was largely on the side of the workers. Attempts by the INTUC to discredit the struggle were of no avail. Other sections of workers and political parties openly came out in their support.

After fourteen days of bitter struggle the indications of victory were clearly available. Chairman of the Heavy Electricals Corporation Mr. Mathur came to Bhopal. On the other side S. M. Banerjee, MP, also arrived. He addressed the workers of the Heavy Electricals and met Mr. Mathur. As a result of the negotiations the 16-day old strike ended and the hunger strikers broke their fast.

The working class movement of capitalist countries cannot be identified—he states—with the working class movement where it has conquered power. This is obvious, of course! The use of the word "identity", though, seems to us to have been picked out purpose from the most banal anti-Communist vocabulary (you Communists are all Russians) in order to create confusion.

Our Party is accused of identifying itself with the Soviet Communist Party or rather with the Soviet State. If this is what Nenni means, a debate is no longer possible. But if he means that the solidarity and common aims of the working class and democratic vanguard in the capitalist countries with the struggle for democracy, socialism and peace, means that this vanguard must be excluded in all countries from the action to reach those objectives, it is obvious that comrade Nenni makes a theory of the split, on an international scale, of the forces of human progress. This is an objective pursued only by the most enraged right wing Social Democrats.

An objective and serene analysis of facts, instead, leads us to believe that in the present stage that split must be overcome and this is already happening to some extent. This is one of the conditions to make the struggle for democracy and socialism advance towards new successes, by developing it in each country in the forms corresponding to the situation. Whoever wants to contribute to these successes must help to overcome that split, if it exists, and must not make a myth of it, to find an excuse for one's capitulations.

The struggle for democracy and socialism is the struggle for the unity of progressive forces in the whole world. This has been said very simply a century ago in our Manifesto by the well-known appeal "Proletarians of all countries, unite!"

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Poet's Hunger-Strike Wins Artists' Demands

FROM O. P. MEHROTRA

LEAVE art for artist alone—says a banner on the right side lawn opposite Prime Minister Nehru's residence at Tin Murti. Every evening hundreds of people visit the spot, numerous cars passing around the traffic island slow down for a few seconds to have a look on the grey-bearded man, poet and playwright Niaz Haider.

Here for the last eight days Niaz Haider, who is addressed as Niaz Baba these days, is continuing his indefinite hunger strike since Wednesday June 7 against the atrocious attitude of the Executive Committee of the Hindustani Theatre towards its artists. That is why the slogan, Leave Us Alone.

The Hindustani Theatre was founded in 1955 by the late Begum Qudsiya Zaidi and a handful of theatre enthusiasts.

It took nearly two years to popularise the idea. Donations came from Pandit Nehru and many other patrons of art. By 1957 the unit had nearly forty artistes. By 1960 the theatre had produced five plays. Later the theatre turned itself into a fulltime working unit. To date it has had 110 shows in Delhi itself.

In addition to this it undertook a tour of 70 days from November 10, 1960 to January 20, 1961 covering 3,000 miles and visited 13 different steel and coal mining centres of Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Bihar and Bengal. Between November 1960 and March 1961 it had put up 47 shows in all and had earned more than Rs. 52,000 from these, showing an excess of income of Rs. 20,000 over the expenditure during this period.

This had been possible because of untiring efforts of the artists and their real patron Begum Qudsiya Zaidi, who unfortunately died on December 27, 1960.

As we go to press we hear that the hunger-strike has been terminated because the demands have been accepted. We congratulate the poet on his heroic and successful fight.

MUSLIM CONVENTION

* FROM PAGE 4

sought to elaborate an interpretation of Indian history which could not but create serious misgivings especially regarding the conclusions that he would like to draw from them.

Another extreme at the other end was the attempt of Mr. A. M. Tariq to deny the fact of discrimination.

Mr. G. M. Sadiq positively showed on the basis of the experience in Kashmir how growth of communal sentiments can be checked by vigilance and timely action. Dr. Z. A. Ahmad showed how the threat posed by communal forces was not so much to a particular religious community but to the democratic life of the country. He gave a clarion call to Muslims to fight against the elements who foster separatist tendencies.

An important contribution was made by Prof. Mahesh Dutt Misra of Jabalpur who heads the citizens' committee formed there to fight

The death of Begum Zaidi gave a shock to the very foundations of the theatre. Other members of the Executive of the Hindustani Theatre were not so enthusiastic. Instead of giving encouragement to the artists they chose a different way. They were scared by the responsibility of running it. While Begum Zaidi had efficiently run the theatre some liabilities of nearly Rs. 40,000 were left behind. In this the Executive of the Theatre found a cause for running away from responsibility.

Some members of the Executive, in the meanwhile started a move for handing it over to the Bhartiya Kala Kendra.

Seeing this plight of the Theatre the artists came forward with the proposal for running the Theatre on co-operative basis but the majority of the Executive members did not agree to it. The artists were prepared at one stage to function on the terms of a "earn-your-own-salaries" scheme but a majority of the Executive members did not agree to it then. Even the salaries and other allowances of the artists have not been paid for the last two months.

It was in this background that Niaz Haider had to resort to hunger strike. Niaz Haider's hunger-strike has stirred the artists of the capital. At a meeting of artists of different groups held recently it has been decided to form a Federation of Professional Artists of Delhi.

The main demands of the artists are continuation of the Hindustani Theatre, payment of salaries and other emoluments due to the artists, and equal representation of artists on the Executive.

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U. S. SUPREME COURT DECISION— AN UNPARALLELED ATTACK ON DEMOCRACY

AMERICAN reaction has chosen this moment to let loose a new attack against democratic rights in the United States, says a statement issued by the Political Committee of the Communist Party of the United States. It goes on to state: "The latest decision of the Supreme Court goes far beyond the banning of the Communist Party. It is a double-barrelled attack. By the decision on the McCarran Registration Act it orders all Communists to register under penalty of a fine of 5,000 dollars and several years in prison for each day not registered."

"By the decision on the 'membership' clause of the Smith Act, it declares any Communists who should so register to be liable to five years in prison."

COMMUNIST PARTY STATEMENT

"This unparalleled anti-democratic attack is the direct responsibility of the Kennedy Government. For the Supreme Court decision could not have been reached if the U. S. Government had not pressed the prosecution, and the prosecution was the responsibility of the Attorney-General, Robert Kennedy."

"Why has the Kennedy Government chosen this moment for such a barbarous and reactionary offensive? They are attempting to cover up the defeat of their aggression abroad, in Cuba, in Laos, in Algeria, by intensifying their aggression at home."

"Just as they are backing the heirs of Hitler, Adenauer and the neo-nazis in Western Germany, and just as they are repeating the Munich policies of rearming the German militarists and monopolists, so they are taking over the Hitler-Adenauer technique of banning Communism. The experience of Hitler Germany showed, and of Adenauer Germany today shows, that the attack on Communists is always the prelude to the attack on all working-class democratic and left wing organisations and expression."

"It is significant that the U. S. Government, which thus seeks to suppress with the most violent measures supporters of Communism, gives complete freedom of organisation to fascist bodies like the John Birch Society and the Ku Klux Klan. The defeat of this assault to democracy is the most vital concern of all Socialists, trade unionists and democrats in all countries."

"Already in an extending series of countries of the Nato military alliance the hypocritically called 'free world' alliance, in the United States, Adenauer Germany, Salazar's Portugal, Turkey and the Greece, these anti-democratic systems have been established or personal dictatorship as in de Gaulle's France. The extension of this plague must be combated and stopped."

The U. S. Communist Party has declared its determination to fight for its democratic rights. It states "The Communist Party is a legal political Party operating within the framework of the U. S. Constitution and it would be derelict in its duty to the American people if it did not fight vigorously for its full legal rights and existence."

The Communist Party of India sends its warmest greetings to its undaunted and indomitable comrades in the United States who display such inspiring courage and steadfastness. It condemns the outrageous anti-democratic measures of the Kennedy Government and calls for their immediate repeal. It calls upon all its members, units and friends to send strong letters of protest to the U.S. Embassy.

FOR A DEMILITARISED, FREE CITY OF WEST BERLIN

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intervention in the affairs of the free city by any state.

As a guarantor of the free city taken contingents of troops of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the Soviet Union could be stationed in West Berlin. Nor would the USSR object to the stationing in West Berlin of troops of neutral countries under United Nations auspices for the same purpose. The status of the free city could be appropriately registered at the United Nations and sealed with the authority of this international organization. The Soviet side agrees to discuss any other measures which could guarantee the freedom

and independence of West Berlin as a free demilitarized city.

The West Berlin settlement must of course in every way take into consideration the necessity of respect for and strict observance of the sovereign rights of the German Democratic Republic which is known to have expressed its readiness to adhere to a relevant agreement and to respect it.

6. The Soviet Government proposes that a peace conference should be called already now without any delay, a German treaty be concluded and the question of West Berlin as a free city settled on this basis, if for one reason or another the Governments of

the United States and other Western powers are at present not yet ready for this, an interim solution could be adopted for a definite period.

The four powers will urge the German states to agree in any way acceptable to them on the questions pertaining to a peace settlement with Germany and reunification. The four powers will declare in advance that they recognize any agreement which the Germans would reach.

In case of a positive outcome of the talks between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany a single peace treaty would then be agreed and signed. If the German states are not able to agree on the

aforesaid questions, measures will be taken for the conclusion of a peace treaty with both German states or with one of them at the discretion of the countries concerned.

In order not to drag out the peace settlement it is necessary to establish deadlines within which the Germans must explore the possibilities of agreements on questions falling into their internal competence. The Soviet Government regards a period not exceeding six months adequate for such talks. This period is fully adequate for contact between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic and for talks between them since in the 16 years after the

war the understanding has matured of the necessity of liquidating the remnants of World War II in Europe.

7. The Soviet Government is ready to examine any constructive proposals by the United States Government on a German peace treaty and normalization of the situation in West Berlin. The Soviet Government will show the maximum of good will in order to solve the problem of a German peace treaty by mutual agreement between the USSR, the United States and other states concerned. Signing of a German peace treaty by all parties to the anti-Nazi coalition and a settlement on this basis of the question of the neutral status of West Berlin would create best conditions for confidence between states and the solution of such major international problems as disarmament and others. If the United States does not show an understanding of the necessity of concluding a peace treaty, we shall regret this since we would have to sign a peace treaty, which it would be possible and dangerous to delay further, not with all states but only with those that want to sign it.

The peace treaty will specifically record the status of West Berlin as a free city and the Soviet Union, like the other parties to the treaty, will, of course, strictly observe it, and measures will also be taken to see to it that this status is also respected by the other countries. At the same time this will also mean the liquidation of the occupation regime in West Berlin with all consequences arising therefrom. Specifically, the questions of using land, water and air communications across the territory of the German Democratic Republic will have to be settled not otherwise than through appropriate agreements with the German Democratic Republic. This is but natural since control over such communications is an inalienable right of any sovereign state.

8. The conclusion of the German treaty will be a major step towards a final post-war settlement in Europe which the Soviet Union has invariably been striving for.

ASSAM IN AGONY

From page 7

It was ominous that when the Official Language Bill was passed, the Congress Members from Cachar abstained from voting. The CPI also abstained after having moved for the deletion of the amendment on Mahakuma Parishads. They also wanted to ensure adequate safeguards for the Bengali minority asking for the publication of State Gazette in Bengali and also the judgments in the Law Courts.

So far as the PSP is concerned, its stronghold is in the Assam valley and the State unit has totally identified itself with the purely Assamese standpoint: the result has been that PSP Members from Cachar have mostly left the party.

No peace has come to any part of Assam with the passing of the Official Language Bill. The Hill leaders are today welded together in one unbroken front. In November, they held their Third Conference where they declared: "The Hill people have now come to the unshakable conclusion that the formation of the Eastern Frontier State will be the only way to achieve political stability and peace in this North-Eastern region of Assam". Soon after, they came in deputation to the Prime Minister where in their memorandum, they said

that "It is not only the Language Bill alone but the whole spirit and dominating attitude behind the Assam language movement that has finally convinced all sections and shades of opinion of the people of these hills to revive the demand for separation."

This was reiterated by them in their latest representation to the Prime Minister last month. They examined the Prime Minister's proposal for a Scottish pattern of autonomy for the Hill regions. But what they wanted to make sure was, firstly, whether Assamese would at all be imposed on them, and secondly, under whom the autonomy would be exercised. If they were to remain autonomous under the aegis of Assam Government, then they would have nothing to do with it.

Meeting a number of them in Shillong, one could get the clear impression that although they have not yet launched a full-scale mass agitation, they would not remain quiet for long. While extending full support to the Cachar Bengalis' agitation—as an effective harassment for the Assam Government—they, however, make it abundantly clear that they have no particular love for what they call "Bengali bossing". The complex which haunts the Assamese about the Bengalis' air of superiority is there among

the Hill people as well, perhaps to a greater degree.

In the heat and dust of the moment, it is an extraordinary feature of Assam's politics today that hardly anybody can furnish a total, over-all solution: practically everybody is clamouring for his own pound of flesh.

The Cachar Sangram Parishad, which is a strange amalgam of young unknowns—neither the Congress nor the CPI is affiliated to it, while the PSP as a party is wiped out in Cachar—is sticking to its demand for recognising Bengali as the second official language. And they have asserted it even after Sri Lal Bahadur Sastri's efforts to bring back the Assam Congress and Government to the position of the Pant Formula. The Sangram Parishad leaders say that the Pant Formula, would not guarantee the protection of Bengali minority in the Brahmaputra valley against Assamisation.

The Hill people in their enthusiasm for the Hill State are reluctant to concede that it would be a difficult job to maintain the unity of their ranks once they got their own State. With the spread of education in the background of industrial backwardness, the clamour over Government

jobs would be accentuated, and this might prove to be the rock on which their present unity might founder. Besides, the level of development is different among the different Hill people: while the Khasis and the Mizos are advanced, the Garos are still steeped in darkness.

A dangerous feature of the Hill politics is the presence of hidden arms dumps, left behind by the Allied Command, when this region was threatened to be over-run by the Japanese forces in the last War. It is said that even the Government is not sure of the location of these dumps, while many of the Hill leaders, trusted by the British, know where these are. Responsible circles in Shillong fear that in case of a large-scale flare-up among the Hill people, these arms dumps may prove to be a veritable thorn for the authorities.

The working class remains paralysed, with the railway workers, predominantly Bengali, left in the midst of the Assamese population, while the bulk of tea-garden workers, whether in Cachar or in the Brahmaputra valley have very little in common with local passions, since they come from Hindi speaking areas of North India or from Orissa. The mine workers of Assam are mostly Hindusthani, Telugu or Nepali with a sprinkling of Bengalis.

Summit Aftermath

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

THE impact of the Vienna talks on the international situation will be felt for a long time—and at once. The extent and the nature of the impact will depend, above all, on the manner in which the two participants carry forward the gains that have been registered, as well, as their sharply clashing objectives.

The Soviet Union has already made its position perfectly clear. President Brezhnev, in his speech of greetings to President Sukarno, has hailed the results of the Vienna Summit and emphasised the point that contact has been re-established between the leaders of the two top powers in the world and that this contact is to be maintained at different levels.

Even more important than this refreshingly positive assessment has been the publication of the two key documents that the Soviet Union presented at the talks. As was emphasised in these columns the achievements of Vienna can be consolidated and developed only by a world-wide upsurge of the peace forces for concrete results with regard to the most urgent outstanding international problems—disarmament and the liquidation of the remnants of war in Europe.

The two Soviet documents give the world peace forces rather detailed blue prints for the solution of these two problems. Sustained and energetic action needs to be taken to popularise these two documents as widely as possible.

With regard to the nuclear weapons test ban talks the Soviet note reiterates its stand on the need to secure a moratorium on all tests, above as well as below a certain threshold level. On the composition and mode of functioning of the Administrative Council it insists on equality and agreement with regard to the implementation of the decisions of the Control Commission.

No Question Of Veto

It clarifies that there is no question of a so-called veto with regard to the decisions on inspection that the Control Commission might make. On the basis of agreed quotas on-the-spot inspections "must be effected at the request of the side interested in the inspection without any voting in the control Commission or any other agency. All that is needed are objective readings of instruments at control posts indicating that a phenomenon took place in some part of the given country which might be suspected as nuclear explosion".

The heart and core of the new initiative, however, is the offer to accept not only any Western disarmament control proposals but any "document which will include the Western proposals on the cessation of nuclear tests", provided the Western powers accept the proposal for general and complete disarmament.

In effect this means that there need no longer be any disputes about controls and control bodies—the Western proposals can be adopted. All that is needed is to compel the

Western powers to live up to their words and accept general and complete disarmament. The Soviet Union has brought the world a giant step nearer deliverance from the nightmare of an atomic holocaust.

Similarly with regard to the German question. The Soviet note states that Bonn can continue to be a member of Nato, that the Western powers need not recognise the German Democratic Republic, if these are the two obstacles in the way of the signing of a German peace treaty. Actually it offers the West two treaties without the necessity of identical texts.

Calling for a demilitarised West Berlin and the ending of the occupation regime, the Soviet Government points out that "West Berlin should freely effect its communications with the outside world and that its domestic order should be determined by the free expression of the will of its inhabitants".

To guarantee the free city token contingents "of the Big Four Powers as well as those from neutral states under U.N. auspices can be stationed in Berlin. In addition "the Soviet side agrees to discuss any other measures which could guarantee the freedom and independence of West Berlin as a free demilitarised city".

Calling for talks between the two German States on a peace treaty the Soviet note gives six months as the deadline for these negotiations.

If in spite of all these concessions and initiatives the Western powers are obdurate then the Soviet Union will sign a German peace treaty "with those that want to sign it".

"The peace treaty will specifically record the status of West Berlin as a free city and the Soviet Union, like the other parties to the treaty, will, of course, strictly observe it, and measures will also be taken to see to it that this status is also respected by the other countries. At the same time this will also mean the liquidation of the occupation regime in West Berlin with all consequences arising therefrom."

"Specifically, the questions of using land, water and air communications across the territory of the German Democratic Republic will have to be settled not otherwise than through appropriate agreements with the German Democratic Republic".

This, too, is a positive assessment and an undoubted gain.

But here the U.S. stops. On all the outstanding problems confronting a harried world the U.S. President is silent—except for talk of "defending" Berlin. The main reason is no doubt the fact that Kennedy has not yet been compelled to reverse the aggressive policies of the Eisenhower regime. There is yet no sign that in the field of foreign affairs, at any rate, "new frontiers" are to be sought. The "arrows" are more to the fore than the "olive branch". Vienna by itself has not and could not bring a basic change in this respect.

Yet another factor to be noted, however, is the discordant notes in the Western camp at the Summit outcome. Adenauer has already begun his campaign against the Soviet initiatives and, significantly enough has congratulated Kennedy for not having assented to these proposals at Vienna. The U.S. Secretary of State has also underlined the fact that his President has done no more than to receive the Soviet notes, which "at first glance" he felt could not be the basis of discussions. Without waiting for a detailed study of the documents the New York Times and the New York Herald Tribune have come out with sharp editorials against the proposals. But this negative response need not be taken as the final word.

It has been noted by all commentators that the British are feeling distinctly left out in the cold by Kennedy. The U.S. President's broadcast was markedly effusive about de Gaulle and France and equally noticeably had sparse and cold words for Britain. He was anxious only to bully the U.K. into the European Common Market without any of the additional safeguards the latter wants and to make it line up behind West Germany in the general anti-Soviet European alliance.

The London Economist (June 10) noted that: "Mr. Kennedy never said it. Whether he was ever tempted to, out of passing sympathy for the guarded, official faces struggling with inner wishfulness and anxieties, may be doubted. But not a word passed his lips in London to reassure his audience that 1961 was still 1961, that the mystical association, impervious to time or reason of state, persisted in another presidency".

With unconcealed glee Time (June 9) rubbed in the inferior status of the U.K. It said that Macmillan "and his country were on the sidelines of world affairs last week, waiting until Kennedy arrived to tell how he fared with Khrushchev. It was a strange place for a nation that had long been the world's greatest and a man who had prided himself on being 'honest broker' between the Big Two".

This being the state of mutual relations between the two most powerful countries of the Western bloc it is likely that pressure—apart from that of the peace forces—may

be mounted by influential circles in Britain against a total rejection of the Soviet proposals, especially those on Germany. So influential a paper as the London Times (June 12) wrote that these "could become a step leading to further contacts and talks and noted that the Foreign Ministers' Conference on Germany held in Geneva in the Summer of 1959 was not closed but adjourned and could be resumed if so desired. Lord Home, the U.K. Foreign Minister, will soon be in Washington not only to try to get Britain back into the good books of U.S. but also, it is learnt, to induce a more "reasonable" attitude in Washington to European questions.

The Vienna Summit may be disliked by many circles in the U.S. but it cannot be ignored, its impact can be fought but scarcely defeated.

Neutrals' Conference

THE preparatory meeting of the neutral countries in Cairo has been extraordinarily revealing. It has thrown a veritable floodlight on the present phase of the Government of India's foreign policy—a rather disturbing phase, to say the least.

It has been claimed that the twin objectives of the Indian delegation in Cairo was to enlarge the number of ultimate participants and to narrow down the agenda. Facts, however, show that this is far too abstract a description. The Government of India's aim was first and foremost to tone down and reduce the significance of the neutral summit, if at all it did take place.

If the sole concern of R. K. Nehru was to enlarge the number of participants it cannot be explained why he should have vehemently opposed—and in the end, abstained from the vote was taken—the seating of the representative of the Provisional Government of Algeria. This, too, at a time when even France was negotiating with its representatives at Evian. It has been recorded that despite India's opposition the Algerian representative received a standing ovation when he came to take his place in the Conference.

To our eternal shame our Government was responsible for keeping out the representatives of the Gezenga Government from the Cairo conference. The argument, as in the case of Algeria, was the supposedly juridical one that it was not a member of the United Nations. This position of the Government is quite ominous both in view of the latest strategic move of the U.S. vis-a-vis the Congo—to reestablish through the U.N. forces Kasavubu's authority throughout the country—and the fact that a large contingent of our troops are in that country.

What is even worse is that

it was India that insisted that it was wrong to "exclude those countries which have concluded bilateral military agreements with the Great powers, unless such an agreement was 'deliberately' signed in the context of East-West conflicts.... (This) will open the door for participation in the neutralist summit conference by many young nations of Africa which were obliged to enter into bilateral military agreements with metropolitan Powers as the price of their freedom" (Times of India, June 13).

African countries such as the French satellite States, Sierra Leone and the rest, are the outposts of neo-colonialism in that rapidly awakening continent. These African countries can be compared to Pakistan, Iran, Thailand, the Philippines in Asia, with the only difference that they have not yet coalesced officially into military alliances of the type of Cento and Seato. It is these countries that India seeks to woo even at the expense of antagonising Ghana, Guinea, Mali, the UAR and all other advanced anti-imperialist African States.

Similarly with regard to the agenda it has been reported that India wants it to be confined to certain general topics such as disarmament, nuclear tests and the like. No doubt these topics are of the utmost importance and need discussion—there has been no controversy over their figuring on the agenda. What India does not want discussed are such topics as Congo, reorganisation of the U.N., Cuba, Laos, etc. That is to say, all topics on which the neutral states will have to sharply demarcate themselves from the imperialist camp and on which most of the Afro-Asian States will have angry words to speak against U.S. imperialism, in the first place.

The stand of the Indian delegation has, therefore, lowered India's prestige in the eyes of the other advanced Afro-Asian States and certain justifiable doubts have been cast on the staunchness of the anti-imperialist policy of the Government of India. Indeed, it has even been dubbed as the neutralising neutral, adopting attitudes which would rob this international trend of much of its value.

Neutrality is of aid in the relaxation of tension chiefly because it enlarges greatly the frontiers of the zone of peace and anti-colonialism. From their own position these neutral states adopt policies which prevent the sheer confrontation of the socialist and imperialist camps and which are independent of the imperialist war-drive.

Any attempt to convert these policies into a posture of refusing to choose, refusing to commit on crucial international issues, would be a crime against the hopes that millions place on the neutral nations. Let it not be said that it was India who made such an attempt.

—MOH

GOPALAN'S LETTER TO NEHRU

UPROOTED PEASANTS' PLIGHT

IN a letter addressed to Prime Minister Nehru from Kottayam on June 4, A. K. Gopalan focussed attention on the most urgent and pressing demand of the Udumpunchola peasants on whose behalf he went on hunger strike from June 6.

These demands which have the support of the peasants, political parties and newspapers of Kottayam and other places include demarcation of the catchment area of the Iddikki Project and publication of the details of the area required for the projects; declaration by the Government of the areas from which they intend to evict people further; allotment of a minimum of cultivable alternate land to every evicted family for resettlement; allocation of necessary funds for their rehabilitation; permission to agriculturists to take the yield from the evicted farms; and accommodation of these evicted agriculturists in the Rubber Plantation Schemes of the State Government.

Giving the reasons for his drastic course of action Gopalan stated that it was more than four weeks since the peasants had raised these absolute minimum demands, but the State Government had ignored their hardships and refused to concede their demands and there was no

other course except himself taking this drastic step to draw the attention of the State Government and the Prime Minister to this issue.

Giving the background story of this heartless action of the Government, Gopalan stated that 70 miles east of Kottayam in the High Ranges landless farmers have occupied some portions of forest land and settled down there to earn their livelihood.

They have grown pepper, tapioca, rice and other commercial crops the destruction of which would amount to a loss of Rs. 30 crores to the growers and the State as a whole. Many of them have occupied these sites for more than 10 years.

The Government of Kerala, it appears did not take these aspects into consideration but directed the police to treat all of them as 'encroachers' and remove them by force and without any notice. On the morning of May 2 the Reserve Police under orders from the District Collector forced these people out of their dwellings, demolished and burned their houses and put them in transport vehicles and removed them to a place called Amaravathi near Kumily in the heart of the forest. This has meant the destruction of over 3,000 homesteads and destitution to 3,000 families. Gopalan told the Prime

Minister that even if the plea of the State Government that the eviction was necessary for a catchment area of the proposed Iddikki Hydel Project were genuine, it was only natural that those evicted from their traditional homes should be given alternate land and the peacefully rehabilitated.

He cited instances of projects like Bhakra, Neyveli and Nagarjunasagar where the peasants evicted from their lands were given adequate land, money and material help for their rehabilitation.

Narrating his own experience of the sufferings of the uprooted people Gopalan wrote that when he visited Udumpunchola and Ayyappankovil area and also the Amaravathi camps where 1,500 uprooted families are huddled he saw that their condition was worse than that of cattle. In the pouring rain they had no shelter, clothing or food. Eight people had already died from various diseases and due to the cold.

Gopalan further stated that these Catholic peasants were no "intruders" or "encroachers". They had purchased small sites from in-

fluent persons who had encroached and occupied vast tracts of forest land. This sort of encroachment by big gentry and their grabbing a big share and selling it out to small people had been going for quite some time. The rich have grabbed all the money from these poor peasants who were now to be deprived of land which they had bought in all good faith.

Gopalan hoped that the Prime Minister and the Planning Commission would intervene in this matter soon and render justice to these peasants.

REPLY TO KERALA FOOD MINISTER

A. K. Gopalan has issued the following statement in reply to the Kerala Food Minister's in the State Assembly:

I am happy to read in newspapers that many members from the treasury benches joined with my comrades sitting in the opposition to bring out the truth in Amaravathi and the horrible conditions in which the refugees are living there. I am also happy that the opposition and the ruling party members have jointly exposed the false propaganda of the Government that all is well in Amaravathi.

Either frank dishonesty or complete ignorance of the situation prevailing in Amaravathi has prompted the Food Minister to make such a statement yesterday (June 12) in the Assembly. I have commenced my fast only on June 6, whereas the evictions started on May 2. There was full one month and four days for the Government to resettle the refugees before my fast had actually commenced.

I came to the scene only when it was clear that the Government was indifferent and callous towards the refugees. I have commenced my fast precisely for the reason that the refugees were not given human treatment in spite of the fact that all political parties and newspapers in Kottayam District had demanded justice for them.

The Government could have acted wisely and dealt with this problem as human one and my fast could have been averted. But they did not do so. The allegation made by the Minister that I have stood in the way of rehabilitation work and persuaded persons from going to places allotted to them, is completely baseless.

The truth is that the persons who were assigned cultivable land have already gone there, despite their untold sufferings and starvation. Those who were given uncultivable land known as Ottakathalamedu have refused to go there for they say the cultivation of such land could be dangerous in the stormy winds that blast such high barren land.

Even the Manorama representative has reported that land has been allotted for only 150 families out of a total of 1,000 families. The statement of Minister Poulse that I prevented people from accepting land is falsehood.

Therefore, it is not me or the peasant movement but the Government which should be held fully responsible for the worsening of the situation. It is clear from Minister Poulse's statement that the Government is perched on a plank of false prestige.

How could my fast worsen the situation? Is it my fast that prevented the Government from rushing a special medical unit and a doctor for Amaravathi when the refugees are dying everyday?

Is it my fast that prevented the Government

from sending a mobile medical van or ambulance to give relief to the sick? Is it my fast that prevented the Government from giving enough rice for the refugees until they are resettled? Is it my fast that prevented the Government from digging a well in the camp so that people can at least drink pure water? Is it my fast that prevented the Government from giving good cultivable land in plenty in the neighbouring areas for these unfortunate uprooted families? I cannot quite understand the logic of Poulse in blaming me and my Party for the folly of his department in preventing the refugees, who are the owners of the abandoned crop in Ayyappankovil from harvesting.

The Government could have easily sent a couple of transport vehicles to help the peasants to reach the land, reap the harvest and bring the abandoned tapioca from Ayyappankovil to Amaravathi. Let the Government retrace the criminal errors of its policy.

Now I am convinced that the Government is treating the Amaravathi settlers' problem with a political bias. Where sympathy for the suffering and a human approach are above all required, the Government is cruel and dehard, motivated by political considerations and hatred towards another political party.

I am surprised that the Minister gave a good conduct certificate to the RDO, who is most unpopular among the refugees and whose unwise and tactless behaviour has very often provoked these expropriated men. Had it not been for the RDO's unsympathetic and hardhearted attitude, the resettlement problem would not have become so very complicated. The Minister by his declaration has only added a plume to the disgraceful cap of this bureaucrat.

Let Minister Poulse and the Government take it from me that I will not give up my fast nor would I quit Amaravathi until the Government concedes the just demands I have put forward in my letter addressed to him before I commenced my fast. These demands had the moral support of all political parties and newspapers of the district and of peasants all over the country.

Eyewitness Account Of Horrible Conditions At Amravati

THE following are extracts from the statement issued by a party of pressmen who went to Amaravathi to study first hand the situation there. The statement is signed by the Trivandrum correspondents of the Statesman, Mathrubhoomi, India Press Agency, and Mail and was issued on June 13.

A party of us journalists from Trivandrum visited Amaravathi yesterday for a first-hand study of the conditions of hundreds of families who were evicted from forest lands at Ayyappankovil recently. We do not wish to enter into the merits of the many issues connected with the eviction, but we are solely concerned with the humanitarian aspects of the problem posed by the wholesale uprooting of these families.

We cannot adequately describe the horrid plight of these unfortunate people, which has reduced them to the uttermost depth of degradation and destitution. We were well aware of the belief entertained by the authorities that all necessary steps for the relief and rehabilitation of the evicted families have been taken, but we were shocked to find an entirely different and distressing picture at Amaravathi.

It is obvious that the Minister has not given adequate considerations to a correct

appreciation of the true conditions obtaining there.

The scene that greeted us even from a distance was that of some ill-constructed sheds which afforded no protection from torrential rains and gusty winds. A closer inspection showed as many as thirty to forty families huddled in each shed with scarcely even elbow-room. Half the cramped space in the sheds was taken up by the knick-knacks, cooking pots and the like—perhaps their only earthly possessions....

On a rough estimate, more than half of the grown-ups and most of the children were afflicted with some ailment or other. The more common ailments were diarrhoea, dysentery, stomach troubles and fever caused by exposure to the elements and lack of food.

The sick were apparently uncared for, and there was no evidence of their having received adequate medical attention. Added to this, there was the non-availability of drinking water anywhere within a mile and a half of the camp site.

Even volunteers belonging to an organisation like the Bharat Sevak Samaj, to whom we talked, were frankly disappointed about the total lack of medical facilities provided at Amaravathi.

Nine deaths have so far been reported, and there is grave danger of more casualties if speedy measures are not taken. There is not even

an ambulance to remove serious cases to the Kumily Dispensary, a mile away, which itself is understood to be ill-equipped.

One such case we ourselves saw was that of a woman, who suddenly collapsed. After some hours of frantic efforts by volunteers to get some conveyance to remove her to the Dispensary, we spared our taxi for that purpose....

Most of the plots offered by the Government to these families are, from all accounts, thoroughly unsuited for habitation or cultivation, particularly those Ottakathalamedu because of topographical peculiarities. A compelling factor standing in the way of the families moving out of the sheds is their utter poverty. They genuinely fear that they will face complete starvation by being denied even the meagre assistance they receive at the camp once they leave it.

We would suggest that the Government consider providing improved accommodation, sanitary conditions, adequate medical aid, educational facilities, and starting of relief works in the vicinity to mitigate the hardships of these helpless souls uprooted from their erstwhile homes.

There is no doubt that the problems posed at Amaravathi demand immediate remedial action on an emergency footing. We feel a personal visit by the concerned Ministers will go a long way in formulating effective measures for speedy relief to these suffering human beings.