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# NATIONAL COUNCIL REVIEWS WORK, PLANS FUTURE TASKS

## NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

VOL. IX, No. 27

JULY 2, 1961

25 N.P.

By AJOY GHOSH

The National Council of our Party met at Bangalore a bare two months after the Vijayawada Congress. But these two months were filled with events of great portent and rich with experience.

**E**VEN when we were meeting in Vijayawada came the earth-shaking news that man had soared into the cosmos. And that man was a Soviet man, a member of the great Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It revealed sharply as never before the new world situation, the new epoch in which we live and work. Subsequent events have gone to underline this fact.

● U.S. imperialism inspired and organised the invasion of Cuba. Within a matter of days the invasion was crushed and the U.S. suffered a moral and political defeat which can be compared only to the Anglo-French Suez Canal fiasco of 1956.

● U.S. imperialism intensified its interference in Laos and held out the threat of full-scale military intervention. They had to admit failure, witness a series of military defeats for their puppets and were compelled to agree to the convening of the 14-nation Geneva Conference.

● A counter-revolutionary coup was staged in Algeria as the prelude to a similar fascist take-over in France. This attempt was shattered by the united action of the French people, particularly by the unprecedented strike by 10 million French workers.

● French imperialism had to admit the utter failure of its so-called "pacification" campaign in Algeria and to agree to negotiations with the representatives of the Provisional Government of Algeria at Evian as well as to declare an unilateral cease-fire.

● The Vienna Summit was held at the request of President Kennedy despite his earlier pronouncements against the policy of bilateral talks at the highest level.

● The people of Angola raised their freedom struggle to the height of a full-fledged war of liberation despite all the frantic brutalities of the Portuguese imperialists, which have been condemned by the United Nations itself.

● The liberation struggle of the Goan people has gone forward.

### NEW EPOCH

These events confirm vividly the complete accuracy of the definition of our epoch contained in the Moscow Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties, as

the epoch in which "the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist transformation of society determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society".

The predatory nature of

reacted to these events? At Vijayawada we noted that: (i) basically our foreign policy remains a policy of peace and non-alignment; (ii) at the same time there have been "pronounced vacillations" on its part on several issues; (iii) mass intervention has been utterly inadequate



A view of the Presidium at the National Council. Left to Right: Comrades Sohan Singh Josh, S. A. Dange, Renu Chakravarty.

imperialism remains unchanged. In fact, the imperialists have grown more desperate than before as seen in the invasion of Cuba, the terror in Angola and the fascist putsch in Algeria. But the imperialists are no longer able to have their own way. Their adventures quite often end in a fiasco.

It is necessary to examine how have the Indian Government and Indian people

on issues of foreign policy.

All these features have been brought out in the last two months also. Nehru condemned the Portuguese atrocities in Angola sharply and unequivocally and criticised Britain too for the support it gives to Portugal.

But on the issue of Cuba, the Indian Government's role was not one which can make any Indian feel proud. For the first two days after the invasion, there was



The National Council in session. In the front row are seen, from left to right, Comrades P. C. Joshi, Bhowani Sen, Bhupesh Gupta, Z. A. Ahmad, and Jeevanandam.

studied silence—although it was clear to the whole world that the invasion had been organised and planned by America. Then Nehru made a statement in Parliament, which though not as strong as necessary, was quite good and appreciated by the Cuban Government. But within 24 hours after this, he delivered a speech at the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation in which he praised Kennedy for his "dynamism" and made the amazing assertion that it was impossible to state "who was right and who wrong" in Cuba.

The story current in Delhi is that the American State Department took serious objection to Nehru's speech in Parliament and Nehru wanted to make amends for his "indiscretion" in view of the impending meeting of the "Aid India Club". It is significant that at this meeting Americans announced aid of 1,000 million dollars for the first two years of the Plan provided other members of the "Club" matched this offer.

The American Secretary of Treasury, Douglas Dillon has stated frankly that the U.S. aid programme is "an essential instrument of U.S. foreign policy".

### NEUTRALS' SUMMIT

A striking example of the pronounced vacillations of the Government of India's foreign policy was provided by its role in the Cairo preparatory meeting of the representatives of neutralist nations. It is a matter of shame that the Indian representative objected to the seating of the delegate of the Algerian Provisional Government and of the representative of the Gizenga

Government in the preparatory committee.

It should be noted that this role of the Indian representative was sharply criticised by the delegates from the advanced African States. It should be noted that these delegates rightly observed (as reported in the Hindu of June 17) that the Indian delegate had taken an extreme Rightist stand which did not help the African struggle against the new tactics of the colonialists.

Thanks to this role India has fallen in the estimation of the peoples of Africa. Her prestige had suffered a heavy blow. It is known that even little Ceylon took a bolder and more consistent anti-imperialist stand at the Cairo meeting than India.

This is a matter that concerns not the Indian Government alone, nor any particular party. It concerns our entire nation. It is our duty to create public opinion in the country so that at the forth coming conference of neutral countries to be held at the beginning of September, India's voice rings out sharp and clear against the imperialists and colonialists and in support of all people struggling for and defending their freedom. India must play a role at this conference worthy of her traditions and befitting the position she occupies in world affairs.

In view of the big aid that has been promised, we may anticipate still greater pressure by U.S. imperialists on our foreign policy and still greater tendency on the part of influential circles in the Government to yield to that pressure. Intervention by the masses in order to counteract this pressure and this tendency, to defend and strengthen our foreign policy, therefore, acquires all the greater significance. But such intervention is yet too weak—as seen in the reaction to the invasion of Cuba.

### INTERNAL POLICIES

Internally the situation has also seen new developments and changes.

The campaign for the liberation of Goa has reached fresh heights. Goan patriots have thrilled our whole people by their daring exploits and struck fear into the hearts of the Portuguese imperialists. A broad-based National Campaign Committee for Goa has done yeoman service in the past months in bringing the issue to our masses. Ever

# FOUR REFUGEES SHOT DEAD

From Jnan Bikash Moitra

THE police shot dead four East Pakistan refugees of Bagjola camp near Calcutta on June 26. Several others received bullet injuries. One of them died later in the hospital.

Five inmates of the Camp were on hunger strike from June 19, demanding restoration of cash doles and their rehabilitation in West Bengal. The State Government had given an assurance not to send Camp refugees outside West Bengal against their will but the Government is now trying to force them to go to Dandakaranya by stopping cash doles and throwing them on the streets by closing all Camps.

On the day of the incident

a big force of armed police raided Bagjola Camp to arrest the hunger strikers. The refugees peacefully resisted it. The police then started a savage attack with lathis and tear-gas shells. They went from house to house and severely assaulted everyone they could find. Even unwary passersby were not spared. But they retreated in the face of determined opposition.

Before long they launched another attack and suddenly opened fire without any warning. Evidently they shot to kill because all the victims had injuries in the abdomen and chest. The dead bodies were removed by the refugees. On the same day the police lathi-charged refugees of Coopers' Camp some 50

miles from here. Many sustained injuries. Six hunger striking refugees and 20 others were arrested. Similar attacks by the police have been reported from other Refugee Camps.

The next day the dead bodies were handed over by the police to the Camp inmates who had been allowed to take out a silent procession watched by hundreds along the route. In a press note the Government gave the usual story of the police being forced to fire in self defence.

In a statement the Left Parties condemned the firing and demanded punishment of the guilty, compensation for the families of victims and change in the Official rehabilitation policy.

# LUCKNOW ASKS: WHERE IS THIS MONEY COMING FROM?

By Ramesh Sinha

AN important subject of much talk and speculation, not unmixed with some worry, for some time in Lucknow has been the rather wholesale and noticeable renovation and expansion of many mosques and graves of Muslims which had been lying dilapidated and, not in a few cases, almost forgotten for no one knows how long.

To some extent this sort of activity has been witnessed in connection with places of worship of the Hindus and the Christians also. The number of Christians is not increasing by any chance, perhaps, anywhere, but specially in Lucknow since the departure of the British.

Otherwise also the following has not been so big as to fill up even the present halls and Churches on Sundays. And yet, Lucknow has got two more Churches recently and, I am told, a third one is in the making. Some old Churches are being given a facelift. Similarly, a number of Hindu temples have been constructed of late and a visible touch of prosperity seen in the older ones.

But the trend seems to be most startling in the case of Muslim mosques and grave yards. Lucknow can boast of some of the most beautiful mosques, artistically and architecturally speaking, in the country. It is a pity they have not been declared protected monuments. But their turn for rejuvenation has not yet come, although, at this rate, it should not be long in coming. Yet, there are dozens of places where work is going on.

Well, there is some such spurt in these things at the time of any elections. On the eve of important elections some rich people are found to become suddenly conscious of their duty towards their god and the thought of hereafter makes them give donations to

the temples or mosques in their constituencies.

If it were that normal, the utmost one could say would be that perhaps on the eve of the third general elections the religious conscience of the gentlemen having an eye on the Assembly or Parliament seat had been stirred a little too early.

But it is not that normal. Besides, there cannot be so many Muslim candidates in the city. Nor are there such rich Muslims who could donate the sums that would be required for the extensive work that is going on.

And when this fact is considered in the context of by now well recognised reality of a fairly wide-spread revival of Muslim communal activities in the city and the State, it does become disquieting and even ominous, though one is hesitant in using this word lest it should give a handle to either the Jan Sanghite and RSS communalists or to the authorities whose policies have been none too helpful.

In fact, it has taken this correspondent sometime to make up his mind to touch on this delicate and dangerous subject. It would not be done if it did not appear portentous.

The question that confronts every thinking person and is being asked is: Who is financing these projects? How have the care-takers of these long neglected structures come suddenly to possess sums necessary for all this work? Even when one or two persons were carefully asked about the source, no answer could be elicited.

The funds that had flowed into Kerala at the time of the mid-term elections, though very substantial were not so invisible. But these are yet at least invisible. Is the source the same? Is it those mysterious funds of unknown magnitude that are trying to muddy the Indian waters

by feeding the forces of communalism — a weapon the enemies of people have used again and again to our disadvantage? Partition of the country is a monument to the disasters that encouragement to such activities can bring for us as a nation.

In more or less the same context another thing that is intriguing the people is the news of the reported promise of Asoka Mehta to the U.P. State Praja Socialist Party to give them Rs. 3,000 per month from now on for organising their election work and, at the rate of Rs. 2,000 per seat at the time of the coming general elections.

The U.P. PSP leaders have said that they would be fighting nearly 250 seats in the State. This means, if the promise is kept, they would receive about Rs. 5,00,000 from Asoka Mehta. Perhaps, other State Committees of the PSP would also be the beneficiaries of Sri Mehta's bounty. If this is so, the sums involved would add up to a formidable total.

With all its strength (in U.P. State Assembly it is the Opposition Party) the PSP has not been known to possess great financial resources. Its offices are hardly run and the only Hindi Weekly it had in this State was closed down long ago. Even repeated attempts to revive it have led to only sporadic results.

The central leadership of the PSP too has not been known to have assisted the local committees much in the past. And, therefore, a great deal of people's curiosity has been roused by the disclosure (deliberate to boost up the drooping morale of the ranks) about this promise.

If true, how has Asoka Mehta come to have such big funds? From where? Some uncharitable wags have even

\* SEE FACING PAGE

# SPOTLIGHT Perfect Communalism

WHAT is a perfect piece of communal propaganda? It evidently is that piece which teaches one community to treat another as habitually criminal and bait it. The acme of perfection in such a piece is reached when one community is exhorted to take the law in its own hands to chastise the other. The perfect piece of communal propaganda is, in other words, a perfect plea for engineering communal riots in the country.

As I have been pointing out in these columns, the Jan Sangh has been openly indulging in this kind of propaganda. And this propaganda has been rising to a crescendo. But I must confess that I was somewhat taken aback to read the consummate piece which the Jan Sangh's mouthpiece, the Organiser has produced in the space of just one article in its issue of June 12.

Being an unabashed defence of the Jan Sangh's role as arch communal provocateurs at Jabalpur, it is very aptly entitled: "Sense and Nonsense About Jabalpur". The thesis of this article is plain as a pikestaff.

It is that the communal division is a justifiable reality; that a rape or murder involving a Muslim criminal is the responsibility of the whole Muslim community because it is not a simple crime, but an instance of atavism; that it is wrong not to publicise or make propaganda about such a crime; and that it is "not enough to invoke the law" in such cases and that those who indulge in such perversity must be "corrected" by the aggrieved community.

To take the Jan Sanghite thesis point by point and in their own words:

"Group life is a fact. There is no country so completely unified and 'integrated' (that being the current word) as not to have a population which on some basis or other organises itself into groups and consequently there are group sympathies and group antipathies".

In support of the above is cited a very significant example that of the Negroes and Whites in America. The existence of "group sympathies" and "group antipathies" as a "fact" is cited here, as becomes quite evident, to support the theory of individual crime, being group crime and as calling for group retaliation in America, i.e., staging of pogroms against the Muslims in India in the same manner as pogroms are staged against the Negroes in Guruli Golwalkar's ideal land!

"Our history is coloured with crimson patches of a display of medieval lust for women, and the latter's preference for Javhar... during the League agitations the Muslim ruffians suffered atavism

and made bee-lines for the Hindu woman". The same atavistic urge continues in the Mussalman today. Hence "nothing can justify cowardly outrage on peaceful citizenry which actually arises from the atavistic urge to play the ruthless enslaver once again".

"This throwback to medievalism has to be stamped out. Not all the guns that the Home Minister may threaten to flourish will prevent decent Indians from correcting those who persist in that perversity".

"When a communal crime occurs why is it that blackouts are so anxiously attempted by the Government. We could understand this during British times, but a free people have a right to know the truth. Government has no right to suppress facts in the name of communal harmony". (Yugdharm of Jabalpur was right, and I suppose Jan Sangh leaders suffered atavism of their cowardice when they denied in those days that Yugdharm had indulged in communal provocation.)

And finally: "Nehru or those who preach communal unity are not real patriots, patriotism being the monopoly of only those who propagate communal retaliation. Read the following:

"All the patriotism that Nehru ever possessed consisted of his dislike of the British rule, which was derived possibly from an inferiority complex acquired at his English public school. He has not revealed any streak of love for his culture, his people or their ethos.

"He has nothing to say of the primitive psychology which leads Muslims again and again to commit depredations on the majority community and in defence of it cast 'long lingering looks' on the exploits of Ghazal, Timur and Khalil. The Hindu is not likely to take field against the burqua-clad. So retaliation is not just a crime; in face of law's delay and the enormity of the offence it is a natural reaction".

Spotlight readers will agree that it is a priceless essay.

"Sense and Nonsense About Jabalpur" is not only a frank statement of Jan Sanghite's communalist credo, it is also a confession of their communal crime at Jabalpur, Moradabad and all the other places where they practised "healthy retaliation".

The other day Pandit Deendrayal Upadhyaya told pressmen in Delhi with solemn aplomb that charging the Jan Sangh with communalism was only an attempt to draw a redherring across the trail. "Sense and Nonsense About Jabalpur" shows that the puny Pandit was only talking through his hat.

—GARUDA

# INFLOW OF FOREIGN CAPITAL

India's attraction as a profitable field for foreign investments has never been seriously disputed even by the most inveterate critics of her socialist pattern, although for form's sake, and to create a more propitious climate they might have propagated just the contrary.

In fact, judging from the official statistics available in this connection it seems that this attraction has only increased after independence for, now the investments are much higher than a decade back. The latest authentic document on the subject is the Review of the Foreign Investments in India published in the May issue of the Reserve Bank Bulletin, and what it reveals is staggering in all its aspects.

The outstanding foreign investments in the private sector in India at the end of 1959 according to this Review aggregated to Rs. 610.7 crores, as against Rs. 572.6 crores at the end of the preceding year. In other words, as much as Rs. 38.1 crores was directly invested into the private sector in a single year by entrepreneurs from abroad.

Compare it with an average inflow of Rs. 16.3 crores into the same sector in the two years 1954 and 1955, and you see the difference which Morarji's economic and fiscal policies have made in this particular sphere. Table I gives a comparative picture of foreign investments in the private sector from 1954 onwards.

for 1958 being Rs. 25.3 crores and Rs. 2.4 crores respectively, the notable increase in the inflow of private capital is obvious. A notable feature of foreign investments in the private sector during the year was the major share which manufacturing industries occupied in them. Accounting for as much as Rs. 32.1 crores out of a total investment of 38.1 crores during the year, they point to foreign investor's new policy of making a bid for supremacy in our manufactures.

Another feature of the new investments in the private sector was the prominent place which the US capital occupied in them. But its form has so far been predominantly "official", that is, routed through official agencies like the Development Loan Fund and the Export-Import Bank.

We are, of course, aware of the way the US Government frequently bolsters up the private sector in India, but here are cold statistics compiled by an official agency, to bring to us the magnitude of the US "assistance" in this particular sphere.

While the US was the main

of the two countries, as well as of the "others" in the investments during four years 1956-1960.

Countries	1956		1957		1958		1959	
	Gross	Net	Gross	Net	Gross	Net	Gross	Net
UK	20.5	15.7	15.2	6.3	20.1	-2.0	16.0	1.2
1. Private Capital	20.5	15.7	15.2	6.3	20.1	-2.0	14.6	-0.2
2. Official Capital							1.4	1.4
USA	7.4	7.3	10.5	10.5	4.6	2.6	22.0	7.6
1. Private Capital	7.4	7.3	10.5	10.5	4.6	2.6	14.4	14.4
2. Official Capital								
Others	15.4	14.0	33.4	33.2	27.4	27.1	14.8	14.8
1. Private Capital	3.3	1.9	1.3	1.1	2.1	1.8	3.4	3.4
2. Official Capital	12.1	12.1	32.1	32.1	25.3	25.3	11.5	11.5
Total	43.3	37.0	59.0	50.0	52.1	27.7	52.9	38.1
1. Private Capital	31.2	24.9	26.9	17.9	26.8	2.4	25.6	10.8
2. Official Capital	12.1	12.1	32.1	32.1	25.3	25.3	27.3	27.3

\*Represents drawings on the UK-India Loan for oil pipeline project.   
†Covers utilisation of loans from Eximbank and DLF.   
‡Represents IBRD capital and utilisation of Japanese Yen Credit.

The solitary redeeming feature of the private investments during 1959 was the decline in capital repatriation, and corresponding increase in the amount of earnings reinvested, but in the context of the overall strengthening of the position of foreign investors in the national economy, it does not really amount to much.

Apart from the inflow of foreign capital into the private sector the Reserve Bank review also deals with the movement of short-term capital into the banking sector. The foreign liabilities of the banking sector increased according to it from Rs. 59.5

# INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

INVESTING COUNTRIES	1956		1957		1958		1959	
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1. Private Capital	31.2	24.9	26.9	17.9	26.8	2.4	25.6	10.8
2. Official Capital	12.1	12.1	32.1	32.1	25.3	25.3	27.3	27.3

per cent; Iraq 9 per cent; Venezuela 8 per cent; Central Africa 7 per cent; Burma, Mexico, Brazil, the Philippines and Turkey 6 per cent; South Africa, the Congo, Ghana and Colombia 5 per cent and Thailand, Indonesia and Chile 4 per cent.

The UAR and Ceylon were on par with India, while only Tanganyika, Argentina and Morocco had a lower (2 per cent) rate of growth among the 37 underdeveloped countries reviewed.

Our Third Plan, being yet on the anvil, it would certainly do good to its framers to take note of these figures before claiming in its final version that they have done all that needed to be done.

—ESSEN

# BREAKDOWN AT ROURKELA

From IPA Correspondent

Hindustan Steel authorities are emphatic in their stand that the break-down in the rolling mill at Rourkela was not due to defective operation on the part of the Indian staff but faulty construction by the West German engineers.

While no official opinion will be released until after the thorough probe ordered by the Hindustan Steel, official circles refute the West German firm's allegation that the Indian operators of the plant handled the mill badly and hence the breakdown.

The dislocation of the rolling mill is regarded as serious, since the rolling mill being the mother mill of the entire plant, its smooth working is absolutely essential. A well-known steel specialist said that if there is a stoppage of rolling mill for even five minutes in any modern factory, like the Tatas' at Jamshedpur, the entire management is put on the alert, and not a moment is allowed to be wasted. Under the circumstances, the report that the Rourkela plant will have to be kept closed for two months is regarded as extremely serious. Such a thing is almost unheard-of according to expert opinion.

Apart from the expenditure for the repair of the damage which may amount to several

crores—the loss due to the suspension in production for two months is estimated would come to over Rs. 12 crores. Besides, the loss to the national economy because of the short-fall in steel production has to be taken into account.

There have been persistent difficulties with regard to the German firm's attitude towards the Hindustan Steel. To overcome this, the Hindustan Steel recently decided to appoint a German as Works Manager of the Rourkela Plant who will be accompanied by another 200 West German engineers. This, in fact, has been a departure from the practice followed at Bhilai and Durgapur, where Works Managers are Indians, while foreign personnel work only in consultative capacity.

Pig iron production in Rourkela has been far from satisfactory. Up to the end of 1960, the plant had produced 580 thousand tons as against 980 thousand tons at Bhilai, both plants having been commissioned at the same time.

It is also recalled that the Rourkela-produced steel pipes for the oil pipeline from Assam to Barauni were rejected after being found defective in large quantity, ranging from 25 to 50 per cent. Over this question also, the German engineers tried to throw the blame on the Indians operating the Rourkela plant.

# Slow Rate Of Growth

OUR Party along with all our people has always taken pride in the strides which our country has made in its development since independence,

# Wherefrom—This Money?

\* FROM FACING PAGE

recalled the bitter controversy that had some years back raged between Sri Mehta and others of the PSP and Dr. Lohia in relation to some American funds or gifts.

Asoka Mehta himself played no little role recently, after the Orissa mid-term elections, in warning the country about the part money is being brought to play in elections. In the Sultanpur by-election to Parliament also it was said that something like four lakhs of rupees had been spent on behalf of the Congress candidate. Recently elections in the development blocks have been held in U.P. and in these also

there was an unprecedentedly large flow of money. If this is an indication of things to come then one can well imagine what is going to happen in the third general elections.

This is a development fraught with grave danger to democratic system. But even more important is the question: who is pumping in this money to subvert our secular and democratic system, or whatever of it exists in the country?

No democrat will desire a witchhunt to be started in the country. Still national interests demand that these reports—whatever they are worth—should be screened and carefully looked into while there is time.

# National Council Session

FROM FRONT PAGE

more insistent grows the demand that the Government of India change its passive and dilatory policy on Goa and give all support to those who battle for its return to the Motherland.

The policy statement of the Government of India of May 7, 1961, welcomed private foreign collaboration in a more blatant way than had been done ever before. The "new fields where foreign capital would ordinarily be welcomed" include such items as:

"Iron and steel structures; iron and steel castings and forgings; iron and steel pipes; special steels; non-ferrous metals and alloys; boilers and steam-generating plants; equipment for transmission and distribution of electricity; furnaces; marine diesel engines" and so on.

Further it was made clear that the list is only "illustrative" and will be "subject to revision from time to time."

This is a serious modification of the Industrial Policy Resolution—meant to facilitate collaboration between Indian and foreign big business—with all the attendant evil consequences and dangers pointed out in our Political Resolution. It shows a trend which, if not checked, will prove dangerous.

## Anti-Worker Legislation

It appears that the Government of India proposes to introduce a Bill in Parliament to govern relations between the Government and its employees. All provisions of the proposed Bill are not known. But what has been revealed in the talk which the Labour Minister had with some representatives of Government employees' organisations shows that the Bill, if enacted, will do serious damage to the working class movement.

In essence, it appears to be an attempt to further shackle the Government employees, to withdraw recognition from genuine mass trade unions, confer recognition on unions favoured by the Government and virtually ban strikes.

It has to be mentioned here that certain other events have taken place which are a dangerous portent. The Jan Sangh followed up its Parliamentary victory in the capital with its success in the Delhi Corporation by-election.

What characterised the Jan Sangh election campaign was its rabid communal nature. A booklet showing Nehru holding a sword in one hand and the severed head of a cow in the other was widely circulated.

The result of the election has given a big boost to the morale of the Jan Sangh leaders and cadres. They boast that they will capture the majority seats in the ensuing Parliamentary elections from Delhi as also a majority in the Delhi Corporation.

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Almost simultaneously with this came the news of the police firing and the subsequent disturbances in Cachar. It would be utterly wrong to equate these two events but there is a certain relationship between them.

Both these events are a graphic proof of the fact that the policies of the Government of India have failed to unify the people, have failed to achieve the integration of our country on a sound and firm basis. Both these events reveal the depth of popular discontent with Government policies and the possibilities of this discontent being utilised for reactionary and disruptive purposes.

In the days of British rule our country was administratively divided with any number of interspersed princely states. There was no centralised economic planning. The British rulers actively and persistently followed a policy of divide-and-rule.

India today is administratively more integrated than ever before. There is an all-India plan with a high degree of concentration of financial and other powers. The Congress is in power at the Centre and in the States. It would be natural to expect that there would be a far greater degree of unity and cohesion than in the past. The paradox, however, is that the opposite is the case. Disruptive and separatist tendencies in our country are today stronger than ever before. We have only to recall the Jabalpur riots, the Assam disturbances, the Akali agitation in the Punjab, etc.

How is this paradox to be explained? It has been pointed out in the documents adopted by the Vijayawada Party Congress that the basic reason for this growth of disunity is the failure of the Congress, after the attainment of freedom, to provide a clear-cut programme of democratic reforms to complete the national revolution.

The yawning gap between the promises of the Congress and the actual performance has inevitably led to the growing disillusionment and discontent of the people. In the absence of a countrywide democratic movement this discontent is often utilised by separatist and reactionary forces for their own nefarious purposes.

## Orissa Elections

True, the picture is complex and the complexity was seen once again in the results of the Orissa elections where the Congress won a thumping victory and the Ganatantra Parishad was routed. The factors which led to the Congress victory have been narrated in the resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of our Party and need not be repeated here.

One feature, however, deserves to be specially mentioned—the low percentage of polling. Only

about 32 per cent of the voters went to the polls—an eloquent indication of their apathy and lack of concern in the election results. To the majority of the people it seems to matter little as to who forms the Government, the Congress or the Ganatantra Parishad. This apathy towards elections is a disquieting development and needs to be pondered over by all.

The victory of the Independent candidate Ganpat Sahai, President of the Uttar Pradesh Kisan Sabha, in the Lok Sabha by-election from Sultanpur has had a big impact on the people of that State and throughout the country.

A report was placed by the General Secretary on the work and decisions of the Party Centre in the period after the Vijayawada Congress. The report was endorsed by the National Council.

One of the decisions of the Party Centre related to the Muslim Convention held recently in Delhi.

## Muslim Convention

The decision of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema to call a Convention of Muslim Legislators gave rise to a lot of controversy in the press and among the public.

Many Congress leaders wanted the Convention in order to ensure Muslim vote in the coming General Elections but were, at the same time, afraid that the effect of such a convention on Hindus would be bad. Hence, they could not make up their mind. A large number of Nationalist Muslims were themselves opposed to it and acquiesced in it only when the Congress leadership, after a good deal of hesitation, agreed to its being convened.

Originally, it appears that some of the sponsors of the Conference wanted to invite Muslim League MLAs from Kerala, too, but they had to give up the idea because of strong opposition from nationalists.

We had to determine our attitude towards the Convention. We did not consider it desirable for such a Convention of Muslims alone to be held. At the same time, since it was being convened and since the Muslims had many genuine grievances, we felt it necessary for our Party members to participate in it. We decided on the line to be taken on the proposed Convention. This appeared in New Age of May 24 and was also given out as a statement. We thought it necessary to point out that:

- The revival of communalism and the recrudescence of communal riots constitutes a serious menace.
- It is natural that after the events in Jabalpur etc., the Muslims feel nervous and insecure.
- At the same time, a convention of Muslims alone could not serve much purpose.

NEW AGE

# INDIA BREAKS SOUND BARRIER

## Editorial

JUNE 24 WAS AN EXCITING day for India. The Hindustan fighter (HF24) supersonic aircraft made its inaugural flight at Bangalore. India now ranks with six other countries of the world that manufacture supersonic aircraft. She is the first country in Asia to have accomplished this feat.

The HF24 marks a turning point in the history of the aircraft industry in India. We offer our congratulations in the first place to the workers, technicians and management of the Hindustan Aircraft Factory who were directly and mainly responsible for bringing fresh laurels to our country. Developed with the help of a foreign expert it is reported that the component parts of the supersonic aircraft are already 50 per cent indigenous. With the brilliant achievements to date there can be no doubt that in the near future each and every part of the engineering marvel that is the HF24 will bear the proud mark "Made in India".

The production of such an aircraft is not only a testimony to the skill of our workers. It is at the same time a veritable training school for acquiring the most complex of knowledge and technique. We are specially proud that our working class through each such achievement adds to its store of skill and increases its capacity to produce more for the nation. What is good for the workers is good for India.

It is essential that the Government realise this fact fully and not display a defeating niggardiness when it comes to ensuring proper working conditions and an adequate wage for the workers. It is equally important that the Government display greater confidence in the workers and associate them fully in the working of our national industry.

Our airforce cadres are to be warmly greeted also. We send our heartfelt congratulations to wing commander Das who burst the sound barrier for India. It is a great thing for our country to have an adequate number of highly skilled pilots who can match the best in the world. This, too, quite literally adds to our national resources, expands our possibilities for rapid progress and enhances our capacity for defending the skies and the earth of our motherland.

June 29.

pose. What was needed was a much broader and bigger democratic mobilisation. The protection of minorities cannot be treated as the concern of minorities alone but has to be taken up as a serious task by all healthy patriotic and secular elements in our national life.

Nevertheless, since the convention had been called, it should help promote such a nationwide mobilisation. For this, it is essential that it should sharply condemn not only Hindu communalism but also Muslim communalism. Also, it should support the idea of a conference of all secular parties to combat communalism.

The National Council considered that the direction given to Communist MPs and MLAs to participate in the Convention was correct. It also endorsed the stand taken by our comrades at the Convention, which was the subject of a report by Dr. Z. A. Ahmad. It considered that it had been right for our comrades to insist that the Convention issue an appeal for a broader conference of all secular parties and elements as well as to call upon the Muslims to fight the communalists in their own ranks.

## Delhi By-Election

The National Council heard a report on the Delhi Corporation by-election which took place on May 14. Taking into account the fact that the Jan Sangh had already grown into a serious menace in

Delhi, that we had no chance whatever of winning the seat, that the Congress candidate was really good, the Delhi Committee of our Party decided to support the Congress—a decision approved of by the General Secretary. The National Council felt that, in the circumstances, this stand was correct and endorsed the decision.

On May 18 the General Secretary had written a letter to Pandit Nehru. In that letter appreciation had been expressed of the stand taken by Nehru against the communal forces and his exhortations to Congressmen to fight the communal menace.

## Letter To Nehru

It was pointed out in the letter that this, however, was not adequate. The Congress as the premier political organisation had to set an example before others. In this connection mention was made of the offer made by our Party in Kerala regarding the Speaker's election as well as the subsequent by-election. The Congress attitude to the offer would be an acid test of its sincerity.

It was further stated that the Congress could not wage an effective battle against communalism on its own. Not only was the Congress weaker than before independence but it is a well known fact that many Congressmen themselves have come to imbibe communal ideas, though a

ON PAGE 16

JULY 2, 1961

# ORISSA ELECTION RESULTS

## RESOLUTION OF UTKAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, C. P. I.

Following is the full text of the Resolution on the midterm elections in Orissa, 1961, adopted by the Utkal State Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India at its meeting on June 14 and 15 at Cuttack:

THE 1961 midterm elections in Orissa are over. The forebodings with which the Communist Party opposed the midterm elections have been proved correct to a great extent. While in the last elections 52 per cent of the voters registered their votes this time only 36 per cent of the voters came to the polls. The rest (64 per cent) did not turn up at the booths.

Many among them were prevented from registering their votes due to the needs of the cultivating season and the rains, even though they had a desire to cast their votes. On the other hand because of the midterm elections the Congress was able to utilise fully its special privileged position regarding power and money, etc.

Further, it should be noted here that whereas in the last elections the Congress had obtained 56 seats by securing 16 lakhs of votes this time it got 82 seats with less votes, i.e., with only 12 lakhs of votes. On the other hand the Communist (C.P.I.) and Praja Socialist (P.S.F.) parties obtained almost the same percentage of votes as last time. But the Ganatantra Parishad (G.P.) registered a sharp fall in its votes. In the last elections the G.P. has secured 12 lakhs of votes but this time it was reduced to six lakhs only. This should be construed as a crushing defeat for the G.P. in view of the fact that this time it had made a bid in the elections to form a Government. The Jharkhand Party has been completely wiped out.

## Weakening Of Reaction

Still the results of the midterm elections clearly prove that the strength of the G.P. and the other reactionary forces has been weakened. The Congress has won an absolute majority. The previous strength of the C. P. I. and P. S. F. in the State legislature has been reduced.

Since the Indian Constitution came into being, this is the first time that the Congress has been able to command an absolute majority in the Utkal State legislature. If the reasons for this victory are analysed it may be discerned here that as a result of the continuous struggle of the Communist Party against the enemies of planned economic development, i.e., against the forces of feudalism, the people of Orissa have become imbued with an anti-feudal feeling.

Even though both the warring factions inside the State Congress are anti-Communist yet one of them has aligned itself with the forces of feudalism. The other faction took advantage of the prevailing anti-feudal feelings of the people in order to serve its

own capitalist interests and to maintain itself in power.

For the last two months the Congress has been carrying on an incessant attack, even though it was a phoney one, against the party of the feudal lords—the G.P. In the place of a feudal backward economy the Congress has been advocating for the past few months rapid industrialisation. It laid all the blame for the past misdeeds at the door of the coalition ministry—both the then Congress leadership and the G.P.

## Congress Campaign

Then again, the fact that there could not be any stable ministry during the last nine years made the people believe that no other party except the Congress can, most probably, form a stable government. So some of the votes went to the Congress.

Even though the internal squabbles of the Congress were sharper than before still the Congress was able to snatch away some more votes because of its centralised election campaign.

Side by side with this the Congress spent an enormous amount of money in a planned way and taking advantage of the poverty and unsophistication of the people were able to purchase a lot of voters.

In the words of the Congress daily Kalinga, owned by the P.C.C. President Bijoyananda Patnaik, the Congress exerted all its efforts in the coastal districts against the left parties because it had very little hope of gaining any more seats from the former state areas and because it desperately wanted to save itself. It is because of all these reasons the Congress won this time.

It should be noted here that about 64 per cent of the voters did not register their votes this time, because of their apathy and indifference towards the elections. The burdens they have been made to bear during all these years of Congress rule and the type of Government they have been made to endure under the Congress leadership have made them bitter. Hence their utter political apathy this time.

The vote also proved the anti-Congress bias of the people. This time the Congress has obtained only 40 per cent of the votes polled. The rest (60 per cent) went to the other parties.

The G. P. lost not only numerically but also sustained a severe defeat. In 1957 it had 51 members in the State legislature. Now in 1961 this number has been reduced to 37. Due to the backward economy of the State and the prevailing feudal ideas, the people had some illusions in the G. P.—the party of feudal reaction. But as a result of the

coalition ministry and the misdeeds of G.P. which indulged in a widespread campaign of graft and which imposed fresh tax burdens on the people in order to serve the interest of the feudal princes, the people had shed some of their illusions.

Like the Congress this party has also tried its best to purchase votes by spending a lot of money and thus vitiated the moral life of the people. Still the very activity and policy of this party has contributed a lot towards its own weakening. Even though the G. P. has been weakened still it retains its role as the main opposition party in the State legislature. It has not yet been eliminated from the political field. So the danger still persists.

The P.S.P. has been returned in 10 seats. Still most of its prominent leaders have failed, this time to get elected to the legislature. This should be construed as a defeat for them. By forsaking the path of democratic unity and indulging in sheer anti-Communism this party has only harmed itself.

The Communist Party been returned in four seats only—four less than last time. This should be taken as a defeat for the Party. All the sitting MLAs have been defeated. This is a significant phenomenon.

## Communist Failure

The reasons for this failure are:

- The necessity of having a democratic opposition inside the legislature has not been properly explained to the people.
- Our organisational weakness is one of the main reasons for our defeat. We had made inadequate arrangements in our areas to bring our voters to the booths.
- We have not yet been able to free the agricultural labourers and poor peasants from the grip of the rich and feudal landlords and usurers.
- Above all, there was complete absence of any mass struggle. We could not make the people believe that the Communist Party is something quite distinct from the other political parties.

The Communist Party only sharpens the consciousness of the people by carrying on a continuous struggle inside and outside the legislature under bounds of constitutional traditions. But this cannot be done if the struggle is only confined to the four walls of the legislature. If this is done, the people will not accept the Communist Party as distinct from the other parties.

In the absence of such a realisation those who had voted for our party had hoped for a qualitative change in their conditions of life. But under a capitalist government this is a vain hope. This has not been properly explained to the people. On the other hand, the idea that the Communist Party cannot form a government by setting up only 35

candidates still persists in the minds of the people. Then again the people have also felt the necessity of a change in their representation. After electing the same person once or twice they had expressed their desire to give a chance to a new candidate.

Besides all this, the very fact that the Congress concentrated all its energies and resources in the coastal districts also contributed to the defeat of the Communist Party. The Communist Party had set up most of its candidates in the coastal districts and so the Congress directed all its political fire towards the Communist strongholds.

## Popular Hopes

From the above analysis it clearly emerges that the alliance of the feudal forces and the rightists inside the Congress has been weakened. Even though the democratic forces has not been reduced, still it has failed to make any headway. On the other hand, this has become weak and diffused. The Congress was able to form the Government on its own by placing its programme of industrialisation.

Under these circumstances the people expect from the Congress that it should fulfil its anti-feudal promises regarding industrialisation and that the progressive parties along with the people will help and support this process of taking the country along the path of advance. The people also desire that the anti-people policies of the Congress should not go unresisted. Not only that, if the Congress fails to fulfil its promises and tries to compromise with the feudal forces then the Communist Party and other democratic

forces should resist that tendency. All the anti-people measures that were enacted during the coalition ministry should be scrapped and necessary modifications incorporated in the Land Reforms Bill. This also is the desire of the people.

## Tasks Of Democrats

Along with this, it is the democratic duty of all political parties, especially the Communist Party, to do their best to draw the large number of politically indifferent voters who by their apathetic attitude are driving the country to a dangerous pass, into the vortex of political and patriotic activity. Unless this political indifference is combated and the people are activated the political development of Orissa will be hampered.

Therefore, democratic national unity and united democratic struggles are essential for the development and advancement of Orissa.

Just Published

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by S. A. Dange

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NEW AGE

NATIONAL CSA 1961

PAGE FIVE

# MUNICIPALITIES NEED MORE MONEY AND POWERS

From SATYAPAL DANG

THE fourth Conference of the Urban Local Bodies of Punjab took place in Simla in the third week of May 1961.

The 'A' class Municipal Committees were represented by their Presidents and two representatives more in every case. The 'B' class Municipal Committees were represented by their Presidents and one more representative in every case, while Presidents represented the 'C' class Committees. The administrators attended on behalf of the superseded Committees. A certain number of Executive officers and Secretaries had been appointed delegates by the State Government.

The Conference was presided over by Mohan Lal, Minister for Local Self Government on the first day and Yeshwant Rai, Deputy Minister on the second day.

## Problems Posed

In his presidential address, Mohan Lal posed certain general problems facing the urban local bodies. He asked the Conference to consider ways and means to make good the loss suffered by committees as a result of Government decision to abolish octroi on foodgrains and the loss that would result from the contemplated total abolition of octroi.

Another question he posed was of the new Municipal Bill. He regretted that it had not been possible for the legislature to pass the bill and the same may not become an Act before the general elections.

Yet another question he posed was of the rights of the employees. He deprecated the demand that Government or Municipal employees should be exempted from labour laws.

Many delegates participated in the general discussion. Besides expressing their views on the issues posed by the Chairman, they posed the important issue of interference by the Deputy Commissioners in the work of the committees and the question of removal of members and supersession of Committees by the State Government.

After the general discussions the Conference divided itself into four Commissions whose recommendations were adopted by the plenary meeting with some amendments.

The speeches made during the general discussion, the recommendations made by the commissions and the final decisions, all were motivated by a common desire on the part of the delegates to defend and strengthen local autonomy. It warmed one's heart to see delegates belonging to different political parties speak in one language on most issues. In fact, discussions were completely free from any partisan spirit.

This enabled the conference to take very far-reaching and important decisions which cannot but have an impact on Government policies.

The Conference expressed the unanimous view that the "draft Municipal Bill is very undemocratic in many respects". It directed the standing committee to convene at an appropriate time a special session of the Conference to discuss the Municipal Bill to be able to place its views before the Legislature.

On the question of control by the State Government and the Deputy Commissioners, the conference made unanimous and far-reaching recommendations.

It recommended that no final decision about removing any Municipal Commissioner should be taken by the Government without consulting the Standing Committee. It also recommended that the member in question should be given a personal hearing and if he so desires, a judicial enquiry should be ordered into the charges levelled against him before final decision is taken.

The Conference was very emphatic in demanding that no Municipal Committee should be superseded unless it become physically incapable of functioning.

As regards the district authorities, the conference made the following important recommendations:

- Whenever the Deputy Commissioner wants to suspend any resolution of any committee, he should hear the viewpoint of the committee concerned through the representative appointed for the purpose.

- Deputy Commissioners should not stay the implementation of the decisions of the Committee regarding which specific relief is provided in the Act.

- Unanimous decisions of the Committee should not be upset by the Deputy Commissioners under any circumstances.

- There should be no interference in the discretionary powers of the Committee or its officers in day-to-day work.

## Foodgrains Octroi

Perhaps the issue which agitated the delegates most was the question of loss suffered by the committees as a result of the Government decision to abolish octroi on foodgrains. In case of some committees, the loss is big enough to create a very serious situation for them. Delegates were even more concerned about the Government intention to abolish octroi altogether as this would make many committees in the State almost bankrupt.

The banquet was divided about the desirability or otherwise of abolition of this tax.

Some argued that this tax had come to stay in India and should remain. Others held the opinion that this tax was

virtually unknown outside India, was unpopular and was accompanied by large-scale evasion and corruption and should go.

The Conference took no decision regarding this. However, it was unanimous that the loss suffered by the committees should be made good by the State Government and further abolition of octroi should be preceded by the State Government providing alternative resources to the urban local bodies.

## Inadequate Resources

Delegates expressed strong feelings that financial resources at the disposal of the Committees were utterly inadequate. They were also conscious that people had no capacity to bear further taxes. The Conference, therefore, demanded among other things that the entire income from entertainment tax levied by the State Government and a share from the existing sales tax, passenger tax, etc., be given to the Municipal Committees.

The question of rights of employees also evoked considerable interest. The Simla Conference revealed that the outlook of the elected Committees towards their employees had undergone a considerable change for the better. In the previous Conference held at Jullundur for instance many Presidents expressed the view that their finances did not permit them to introduce any gratuity scheme for their employees in addition to the Provident Fund. The Simla Conference unanimously recommended to all Committees in the State to introduce gratuity schemes for their employees and requested the State

## CPI's Leading Organs

### Central Executive Committee

(1) Ajoy Ghosh (General Secretary); (2) S. A. Dange; (3) E. M. S. Namboodripad; (4) Dr. Z. A. Ahmad; (5) Bhupesh Gupta; (6) M. N. Govindan Nair; (7) P. C. Joshi; (8) B. T. Ranadive; (9) C. Rajeshwar Rao; (10) Rajshankar Reddy; (11) M. Basavapunniah; (12) Promode Das Gupta; (13) Harekrishna Konar; (14) Bhowani Sen; (15) A. K. Gopalan; (16) K. Damodaran; (17) Romesh Chandra; (18) P. Ramamurthy; (19) M. R. Venkataraman; (20) Sohan Singh Joshi; (21) Jagjit Singh Lyalpur; (22) S. G. Sardesai; (23) Yogindra Sharma; (24) Phani Bora; (25) Ramakrishna Patil.

### Central Secretariat

Ajoy Ghosh (General Secretary); S. A. Dange; Bhupesh Gupta; M. N. Govindan Nair and Dr. Z. A. Ahmad.

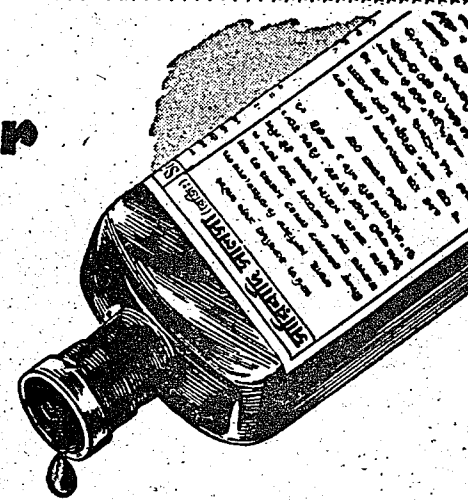
Government to make the necessary amendment to the Municipal Act to enable the Committees to do so. The Conference also recommended to the State Government that a Committee be appointed to suggest uniform pay scales and allowances for different classes of the Committee and that such a Committee should include representatives of the State Government, Municipal Committees and of Municipal employees.

It is also a welcome fact that this time no one pressed the demand that local bodies

\* SEE PAGE 10

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NEW AGE

JULY 2, 1961

# NATIONAL COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS ON THE ASSAM SITUATION

## V. D. CHITALE

THIS meeting of the National Council of the Communist Party of India mourns the untimely death of V. D. Chitale—an outstanding leader of our Party in Maharashtra and a member of the National Council.

V. D. Chitale was a most selfless and devoted fighter in the cause of the people. Beginning his political career as a militant Communist, organising youth, press workers and primary teachers he made a notable contribution to national liberation struggle and to the struggle for Samyukta

Maharashtra and for the liberation of Goa. On August 15, 1956 he headed the memorable mass satyagraha on the Goa border. By his untimely death, the democratic movement and Communist Party of India has lost a devoted and staunch Communist, an untiring and skilled organiser and leader of united mass struggles.

The National Council pays homage to the memory of V. D. Chitale and sends heartfelt condolences to the bereaved members of his family.

## ON LONG-TERM PRISONERS

THE Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of India at Vijayawada passed a resolution demanding immediate release of all long-term political prisoners and withdrawal of warrants against some. Some of these comrades have spent more than 12 years in prison; they are neither given remissions nor are they given humane treatment on various grounds whereas ordinarily such long-term prisoners are given remission and are released long before the expiry of their term of imprisonment.

The Sixth Congress resolution enjoined upon the National Council to take up their issue and raise a country-wide campaign to secure their release as early as possible. A sub-committee was set up for this purpose which met and considered the question of starting a campaign on a nationwide scale in order to make it effective enough to exert influence upon the State Governments so as to secure the release of these long-term prisoners.

The National Council considered some of the suggestions made by this sub-committee for raising the campaign for securing the releases. It is proposed that in the first instance a complete list of all such prisoners be prepared and a pamphlet be brought out giving life sketches of these comrades. The State Committees should supply the names and a short

account of the long-term prisoners in their States. This pamphlet will help in running the campaign for their release.

It is also proposed that: Ajoy Ghosh and others should lead a deputation in August 1961 to Prime Minister Nehru and Union Home Minister Shastri to urge upon them to release these comrades.

- That All-India Prisoners' Release Day be observed after the Deputation has met the Prime Minister. The date to be fixed by the General Secretary.

- That other well-known non-party influential leaders and MPs be approached to secure their support for the release campaign.

- That State Committees be requested to include this issue of release in their campaign in the coming general elections.

- That leading comrades such as Ajoy Ghosh and other leaders of the Party be requested to address public meetings in some important centres, specially convened for this purpose and raise this issue on political and humanitarian grounds.

All the State Committees are directed to take up this issue as enjoined by the Vijayawada Congress and carry on a continuous agitation irrespective of the fact whether there are such prisoners in their State or not.

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its great anxiety as well as deep concern at the recent developments in Assam over the language question. It is a matter of profound regret that no agreed solution of the problem, which is so essential for the well-being and progress of the people of that State should have been still found. On the contrary, conflicts and dissensions threatening to disrupt not only the entire democratic movement of Assam but its normal life have alarmingly grown in the recent weeks.

The Government's attitude and approach towards the problems of the minorities and the Hills peoples is primarily responsible for this aggravation of the situation in Assam. Instead of changing its barren policies and taking correct steps for a democratic, just solution of the problems, the Government has taken recourse to methods of violence and provocation. This resulted in the unprovoked, brutal police firings in Slichar causing the loss of eleven lives. The National Council strongly condemns this massacre of innocent men and women and sends its deep sympathies to the bereaved families.

The orgies of organised assaults, looting and arson which have only a few days ago taken place in Hallakandi further underline the extreme gravity of the situation.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India deplors the present attitude of the Government and strongly urges upon the authorities to retrace their steps and adopt a democratic approach for the solution of the problems.

The Council is firmly of the view that if the problem is approached from the standpoint of the interests of the masses of Assam, irrespective of the language they speak and in a spirit of mutual goodwill and understanding, a solution should not be hard to find.

It is obvious that within the present composite State of Assam whose integrity we

would all like to see maintained, the solution of the language problem does not lie in impositions or unilateral decisions or through activities that give rise to conflicts or otherwise cause estrangements and ill-will between different linguistic groups. The solution has to be found, in the final analysis, through discussions and negotiations, based on recognition of the just rights of the people in relation to their language and culture. The National Council sincerely hopes that every effort will be made by all concerned to bring about a relaxation of the present tension in Assam and create a favourable climate for negotiations and for an amicable settlement.

Our Party has already placed before the Government and the people its broad proposals for the protection and safeguarding of the minority rights and for the solution of the language question. But the authorities have thought fit to ignore our constructive proposals which, in our view, offer a definite basis for friendly negotiations with a view to finding a way out of the present critical situation.

The National Council reiterates that Assamese should be the official language of the composite State of Assam and Bengal should be given the status of a full-fledged official language for the District of Cachar without any condition or restraint. In this connection, the Council deplores the Provision in Section 5 of the Assam Official Language Act, 1960 which empowers the Mahakuma Parishad and Municipal Boards to rob the Bengali language in the Cachar District of the status. The Council demands the deletion of this undemocratic provision which, incidentally, our Party in Assam has been systematically demanding.

The National Council is of the opinion that Bengali should be recognised as a language for use for certain specific purposes throughout the State of Assam, such as publication of official gazettes, Bills, and Acts and right of education in Bengali, use of Bengali along with English as

a language of communication between the State Government and the Cachar District administration, etc., although the Communist Party does not support the recognition of Bengali as an additional language of the State. The Council trusts that such recognition should be accorded without further loss of time, through mutual consultation and agreement. The Council urges upon the Government to concretise and implement the relevant proposals and guiding rules contained in the Government of India's Memorandum of 1955 and set up suitable machinery for the purpose.

The rights of the Hills peoples in regard to their languages must be duly recognised. The decision of the Government to recognise their language in the Hill districts as official languages for those areas needs to be promptly implemented.

In the District of Cachar and Hill Districts, as in other parts of Assam, there are different minority groups whose rights, too, must be safeguarded and protected.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India is of the view that the present deteriorating situation in Assam imposes a great responsibility on the Central Government. The Central Government should take all necessary initiative in getting together the representatives of different linguistic groups as well as of all the political parties in Assam for mutual discussions and negotiations with a view to arriving at a speedy solution of the language problem.

Finally, the National Council of the Communist Party earnestly appeals to all sections of the people in Assam, all popular organisations and political parties as well as leaders of public opinion to put their heads together and exert their best endeavours for evolving agreed solutions of the language and other related problems. Our Party extends them every cooperation for this purpose as well as for the restoration of amity and normal conditions in the State of Assam.

# On Campaign For Goa's Liberation

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India extends its warm congratulations to the people of Goa, Daman and Diu on the courageous actions in which they have participated in recent weeks against the bestial rule of Portuguese imperialists. The attacks on Portuguese military posts by Goan patriots have inspired the entire country.

The National Council mourns the martyrdom of Manohar Krishna Pednekar,

who was killed by the Salazar forces in one such heroic action. It sends its sincere condolences to the bereaved family and assures the Indian people that the Communist Party will continue to fight relentlessly till victory for the great cause for which Pednekar laid down his life.

From all over the country the demand is being raised for immediate steps by the Government of India to liberate Goa, Daman and Diu by the end of 1961. The recent Goa Week called by the Na-

tional Campaign Committee for Goa, saw the united mobilisation of the major political parties in support of and solidarity with the cause of Goan freedom.

The barbaric massacre of over 30,000 Angolans by the Portuguese imperialists and the epic liberation struggle being waged by the people of Angola have resulted already in the indictment of Portuguese imperialism for genocide before the councils of the world.

Our fraternal duty to our African brothers demands that we rally to their assistance against the brutalities of Portuguese imperialism without delay, by striking hard at the Salazar dictatorship in Goa, Daman and Diu. The shame of colonialism continuing in parts of India even after 14 years of independence must be ended as speedily as possible.

The National Council of the Communist Party calls for an immediate end to the reprehensible policy of in-

action in regard to Goa pursued by the Government of India, and demands urgent effective action here and now by the Government to liberate Goa, Daman and Diu and bring them back to the motherland.

The Communist Party appeals to all its members and sympathisers and to all our countrymen to take part actively in the united nationwide campaign to ensure the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu in 1961 itself.

# THE CHOICE BEFORE NEW AFRICA

National liberation has made dramatic progress in Africa. Today we have twenty-eight independent States, with populations totalling over 180 millions. When we remember that when the United Nations was founded there were only three—one of them being the Union of South Africa, governed then as now not by the masses of the people but by an imperialistic minority; when we recall that in 1960 alone no less than 16 of these States gained their formal political independence, we gain some idea of the pace and extent of change in our Continent.

Of course, the battle for independence is far from finished. More than twenty countries, with a combined population of something like 60 million, are still under direct alien rule, with bitter struggles continuing in the Congo, Angola and elsewhere. And the "independence" of some of the young States is rather dubious, to put it politely.

Nevertheless even the most diehard reactionaries have been compelled to recognise that the African Revolution is now a fact, that the crucial turning-point has been passed. Independence, freedom and self-government has, in essence been won by the African peoples, and no force in the world can turn them back on the road.

Naturally the future of the African peoples evokes the keenest discussion, not only in this Continent, but throughout the world. What is the direction of our Revolution? What is its character and driving forces? Has it exhausted its momentum by the attainment of political independence, or will it drive forward to achieve a social revolution as well?

## African Answers

Will the African countries have to pass through the same process of capitalist development as those of Europe and America, or will they take the socialist road? Can they remain uncommitted in the "cold war", or will they gravitate towards the capitalist, or the socialist, camp?

These and many similar questions are frequently discussed and written about.

The answers to all such questions depend on the African people themselves. In writing about such matters, imperialist "experts" on Africa tend to forget this all-important fact, and to write as if these were not, above all, our business, and, indeed, as if we are all illiterate and unable to obtain their writings.

There are a good many reasons why all the clever plans and stratagems of "neo-colonialism" and "collective imperialism" are doomed to disgraceful failure in Africa.

For one thing this "collective imperialism" cannot work. However well it may seem on paper, the colonial powers are by nature incapable of keeping out of each other's gardens.

It takes a really desperate crisis, like that of the Congo, to bring them together even for a short time, and even in the Congo it can be prophesied with confidence that they will soon be openly snarling

over the spoils and leaping at one another's throats like dogs fighting over a juicy bone.

In most parts of Africa, British and American commercial and diplomatic missions are barely on speaking terms with one another. West German and Japanese trade representatives are undercutting their rivals in African markets and seriously irritating their American masters.

## Imperialists Conflicts

A silent, but nevertheless grim and merciless, struggle for predominance is taking place between the two chief colonial powers in Africa, Britain and France. De Gaulle will never forgive Britain for extending (through Ghana) a loan to Guinea, at a crucial moment in the new born Republic's struggle for independence.

For another, the Western imperialists, filled with racial arrogance, are so accustomed to regarding Africans as hopelessly stupid people, utterly incapable of running their own affairs, that they seriously underestimate our capacity for elementary common sense and observation of simple facts.

For example, they keep on warning us against the "Communist menace", the "danger of being swallowed by Russia" and so on. But we know there is not and never has been a single Russian, Chinese or other socialist military base, soldier, sailor or airforce man on the entire continent; or a single businessman or farmer from these countries to take over our land and natural resources, tax us, corrupt our chiefs or bully us into working for them.

Again, they keep informing us how grateful we ought to be to them for conferring the priceless gift of freedom on us. Do they think we are so stupid not to know that this freedom is precisely freedom from them—and that only after bitter and often bloody struggles for many years?

Certainly, if you have been sitting on a man's back, and at last he manages to throw you off, he will be happy and relieved. But it is asking for a bit too much to expect him to say "Thank you!" The main service the colonialists have rendered to Africa is to clear out—if they would go more quickly we might be more grateful.

But the chief flaw in all the imperialists' plans and speculations about Africa—and the main reason for their impending utter bankruptcy—is their completely wrong and unrealistic approach to the entire question.

They regard Africa as a mere pawn in the game of power-politics, whose fate will be decided somewhere else; or as a "prize" in an auction sale, destined to go to the highest bidder. Who can offer more, they ask—we of "the West", or "Russia"?

It goes without saying that this vulgar and small-minded concept—so revealing of the outlook of its capitalist authors, whose only god is money—is profoundly insulting to the dignity and national pride of the African peoples.

We have not achieved independence, at the cost of generations of suffering and sacrifice, in order to sell it away for dollars—francs, sterling or gold—gold which in any case has come, for the most part, from the mines of Africa.

Certainly the African countries need economic assistance, equipment and skills, in order rapidly to overcome the colonial heritage of backwardness. It is indeed our right to demand such assistance, as some small recompense for the untold wealth which has been drained out of this continent. But if the price for assistance, is the loss of our new-won freedom we shall rather do without it, and rely on our own strength and brains. And any Tshombes among us who try to barter away our birthright will have to face the wrath of the people. Africa is not for sale.

The key to the future of Africa lies in Africa itself; in the nature of the national freedom struggle in this era of world history; in the driving forces of the African revolution. And that is precisely what the imperialists do not understand and are incapable of understanding.

An analysis of these factors will show us that if Africa is indeed "one of the last frontiers" of capitalism, it is one that will be hard to defend. Without underestimating the still powerful resources of imperialism, and the desperate measures it will resort to, it can yet be said that the outlook for capitalism is bleak in Africa, and that for socialism bright indeed.

The drive towards socialism in Africa arises not from some remote "game" of power-politics in foreign countries, but out of the urgent needs and bitter experiences of the African peoples themselves.

## Soviet Stand

Certainly, the African people are deeply appreciative of the fine stand taken by Khrushchev and other Communist leaders over colonialism, the Congo, and all other main issues affecting the future of Africa.

They will never forget the noble and disinterested aid afforded by the Soviet Union, China and the other lands of socialism in the development and industrialisation of our continent, fittingly symbolised by the Aswan dam.

But it is not because of gratitude, or admiration, or

because of the "export of revolution" from the socialist camp, that Africans are more and more turning to socialist solutions. It is because socialism, and only socialism, is capable of rapidly transforming and modernising Africa, of solving our burning and desperate problems.

We know that it is socialism—that is, the conquest of State power by the workers and peasants led by the Communist Party, the common ownership of the means of production, making possible bold and imaginative planning—which has enabled People's China, one of the world's most poverty-stricken areas in a brief decade to become the land of the Great Leap Forward in industry and agriculture, of soaring living and cultural standards.

## Spread Of Socialism

We know how socialism has transformed the life of the people in the former colonies of Tsarist Russia, so that the Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan, for instance, a once-backward Asian border region, has multiplied its industrial production sixty times and now produces as much manufactured goods per head as Italy, as much electric power as Japan!

And this is true of all the former backward regions of the old Tsarist empire, where illiteracy has been wiped out, where universities and higher technical schools abound (there are 88 universities and 73 technical school pupils per 10,000 population in Soviet Central Asia as against 46 in France, 34 in Italy and 31 in West Germany!) and where the rate of development has been even higher than that of the rest of the USSR.

These lessons are not being lost; nor those of the daily impact of the ever-continuing struggle against imperialism both in the independent states and in the remaining colonial and semi-colonial areas.

No one who seriously studies trends and developments in the African liberation movement can fail to be aware of the increasingly radical direction they are taking, of the growing influence of socialist ideas.

There was a time when Ghana prohibited Marxist literature: but today the CPP itself is encouraging Marxist-Leninist studies for its members, and the Hon. Tawia Adamofo, General Secretary of the Convention People's Party wrote in The Voice of Africa (December 29, 1960):

"This year 1960 which is ending fast, had been aptly described as Africa's year of destiny, a year in which, despite imperialist manoeuvres and intrigues, a large number of former dependent countries in Africa have broken the yoke of imperialism, thus establishing the fact that Africa shall never perpetually remain the pawn in the chess of imperialist oppression.

"This year has also witnessed capitalist sabotage of the worst type in the Congo, where vested interests, aided and abetted by their lackeys and hirelings in the United Nations and the quislings in the Congo, are trying to shatter the hard-won freedom of the Congolese people with a view to perpetuating Belgian rule."

In the same issue of The Voice of Africa, Mr. John Tettegah, first Secretary of the Preparatory Committee of the All-Africa Trade Union Federation and Secretary General of the Ghana TUC declared that this decade stands, above all else: "For the total eradication of imperialism, colonialism, capitalism and exploitation from the shores of Africa."

A similar sharp awareness of the tie-up between colonialism and capitalist interests was shown in the editorial of the Congo News of November 11, 1960: "Support (for Kalonji) has come not only from Belgian Big Business, British capital has a vital interest in the Union Miniere, and American firms hold 25 per cent of the stock of Forminiere the company exploiting the rich Kasai diamond mines."

The Congo events, however, tragic, have had a powerful educational effect all over Africa. The Steering Committee of the All-African People's Conference, meeting at Dar-es-Salaam (January 26 to 30, 1961) adopted a resolution in which it: "underlines the vital lesson which came out of the Congolese experience regarding all countries which attained independence, and whose leaders must show vigilance towards the plots perpetrated by imperialism and neo-colonialism.

"The Steering Committee warns the African people, the African Governments, political parties and trade unions on the trend which neo-colonialism has taken throughout last year. The efforts of the imperialists have been directed towards reconcolonisation or continued colonisation after the people have attained their nominal independence. They have used and are using means of control whereby some of the newly freed nations continue to serve the aims and objectives of the colonisers.

## Conakry Conference

"As long as their influences, whether political, economic military or otherwise remains within an African country, there can never be a real expression of the people's objectives and aspirations."

The resolution sharply criticised the voting of certain African states at the United Nations on the Congo and Algeria. "The peoples of Africa never stood for Kasavubu or Tshombe", it says, "or for that matter, De Gaulle". It declared that the voting of these States (clearly certain African members of the so-called French Community are indicated) was "contrary to the will of the peoples",

and due mainly "to the policies of neo-colonialism".

Of course, one must be careful not to overstate the position. There are still many African leaders who harbour naive illusions about imperialism and especially about the so-called British Commonwealth and French Community—they imagine that the imperialist tiger has lost its teeth; or forget that when the imperialist invites you to sit down at a table with him he is still hankering to have a meal off you!

## Negative Factors

Some think it is quite compatible with political morality to make fiery speeches in public denouncing colonialism today, and to sit down with the very colonialist the next day and have a private chat with him about "the Communist menace" or even about "the native mentality".

Others, again, are quite

Africans are coming to understand that we cannot stop short at formal independence and the trappings of Western bourgeois parliamentarism; that if it is to fulfil its goal of emancipating the peoples fully from the accursed heritage of imperialism our Revolution must sweep forward uninterruptedly to accomplish the socialist transformation of African society.

In this, our position differs markedly from that of Europe and America during the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There, having achieved power for themselves, the ruling capitalist classes turned conservative and reactionary, and the workers and peasants who had fought for freedom found that its benefits were mainly confined to the rich.

This marked difference stems from the character of the period in which we live, as well as from the specific and urgent needs of the African peoples, their class character, their aims and aspirations.

\*\*\*\*\* by \*\*\*\*\*  
**N. NUMADE**  
 (Article in AFRICAN COMMUNIST,  
 Organ of South African Communist Party)  
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willing to accept handouts from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, or the American State Department, or Moral Re-orientation; they think they are being clever, or even helping the liberation movement, but imperceptibly they slip into positions of treachery towards Africa.

Then we find bourgeois elements, landlords, petty feudal or tribal leaders whose fear of the awakened people is such that they throw patriotism to the winds and do serious harm to Africa's cause in their efforts to stave off revolution and maintain their exploitation of African labour. Nasser's cruel jails are crammed with patriotic Communists, trade unionists and Syrian and Egyptian democrats; nor is his the only country of New Africa where workers' parties and trade unions are forbidden, or only permitted as a tame agency of a capitalist state.

But such negative factors are not characteristic of the new Africa that is being born. They are unpleasant; they hold back the tide of emancipation and progress; but essentially they are hangovers from the colonialist past, with its repression of fighters for freedom, its cultivation of servile mental attitudes that worship everything Western and despise everything African, its calculated policy of preserving backward tribal and feudal institutions.

## Prospects Of Epoch

We are living in the midst of "the rapid growth and might of the international influence of the world socialist system", "the vigorous process of disintegration of the colonial system, under the impact of the national liberation movement", intensification of class struggles and the decline and decay of capitalism. "The superiority of the forces of socialism over those of imperialism, of the forces of peace over those of war, is becoming ever more marked in the world arena".

"Today it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism for a socialist transformation of society that determine the main content, main trend and main features of

the historic development of society. Whatever efforts imperialism makes, it cannot stop the advance of history. A reliable basis has been provided for further decisive victories for socialism. The complete triumph of socialism is inevitable".

## No Big Bourgeoisie

These solid facts help to account for the steady and irresistible advance of socialist ideas among the national liberation movements, the workers, peasants and patriotic intellectuals of awakened Africa.

Africa is a big continent with many countries, at different stages of economic and political development, and one must beware of over-sweeping generalisations. Its peoples vary from simple tribal communities almost untouched by the sweep of modern developments, isolated feudal societies, to the advanced class-conscious proletariat of great cities like Johannesburg in the South.

Yet, broadly speaking, certain observations are true of practically the whole Continent.

One of these is that—due to the nature of imperialist domination over Africa—most African countries lack a substantial, well-established and experienced class of industrial and financial capitalists. Not only is the over-all level of industrialisation very low; but where there has been development of large-scale mining, capitalistically managed agricultural plantations, industry and banking, it has been carried out by the colonisers for their own benefit and the profits siphoned off to Europe and North America.

Even in the area of the greatest industrialisation—in South Africa—the white minority, acting as a sort of internal imperialist group, have strictly retained all economic opportunities in their own hands, and Africans have been as strictly excluded from the ranks of the mining, financial and industrial bourgeois as they have been from Parliament.

Therefore, the ranks of the freedom movement in Africa do not to any significant extent contain such elements as, for example, the big bourgeois Tata and

Birla groups in the Indian National Congress. . . . Workers, peasants, patriotic intellectuals, small businessmen and professional men, traders and independent craftsmen—such are the overwhelming bulk of the members of the patriotic liberation movements in Africa. None of these groups have a serious vested interest in the maintenance of capitalism.

The winning of political independence must be rapidly followed up by rapid industrialisation in the newly-independent states. Even the colonialist powers are committed to assist in this process, if for no other reason than that of their fear of the socialist countries providing more effective assistance on more favourable terms.

And such industrialisation of course, means the rapid growth of the African proletariat, the most determined and clearheaded fighter for socialism, the intensification of the class struggle in the former colonies, and the continent-wide development of a powerful Marxist-Leninist movement, the most far-sighted, uncompromising and determined enemy of colonialism in all its forms.

Imperialism, whatever stratagems and devices, such as neo-colonialism and collective imperialism, it may adopt cannot in the long run win the battle for Africa. It stands in direct conflict with the aspirations of all classes of the people. It has been directly challenged and defeated in the ideological field, as when, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, the General Assembly of the United Nations utterly condemned colonialism—none voting against and only the imperialist countries abstaining.

## Socialist Assistance

Its plans for preventing the industrialisation of Africa and for continued exploitation of African resources and cheap labour in high-profit investments are increasingly challenged and thwarted by the willingness of the socialist countries to extend truly fraternal assistance to the young African States; assistance directed to enable them to industrialise themselves, rendered without any conditions which undermine the national independence of the people, and at generously low rates of repayment.

These, then, are the conditions which open up glowing possibilities for the national liberation movement to carry forward the revolt against colonialism into a true revolution against imperialism and the capitalist system, for the vast upliftment and transformation of the lives of the masses of our poverty-stricken, ill-housed, underfed and disease-ridden people, through the planning and building of a Socialist Africa.

For the fulfilment of the next phase of our revolution, more is required than the mass, amorphous, multi-class liberation movements, lacking a common ideology and a firm discipline—well though such movements have served us so far.

It is also needed that we build, in firm alliance with the national liberation movements, political parties uniting the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals, parties firmly based on the working class, trained and disciplined, armed and equipped with the victorious theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.

Only such Parties, conscientiously applying the general theory of Communism to the study and solution of the special problems of the various countries and areas of the Continent, can speedily and successfully carry our African Revolution to its logical and necessary conclusion.

That conclusion, it is clear from the foregoing, can only be socialism. This arises both from the present world-historical development towards socialism and from the urgent needs of Africa itself. The imperialists' attempts to stifle this development cannot in the long run succeed.

But they can delay our advance unless we in Africa are clear-sighted and resolute to oppose them; and unless we create true Marxist-Leninist Parties, based upon the best elements among the workers and peasants, working in alliance and loyal partnership with the militant national liberation movements of Africa.

## The Rainy SEASON

Yes! this is a season of gamps, cramps and damps, of ills and uneasiness, of boils and blisters.

But you can protect yourself from all skin diseases by the regular use of Safi during the Rainy Season.

**SAFI**

Purifies your blood, regulates your digestion and makes you look healthier, brighter and better.

Delhi - Kanpur - Patna

**MRA MISUSES  
MAHATMA'S NAME**

**T**HINK of Mahatma Gandhi in the company of Hitler, Verwoerd, Adenauer, Chiang Kai-shek and Kasavubu. It's a disgusting idea. Every patriotic Indian would be horrified to know that the fair name of this life-long sage, an ardent fighter for freedom and champion of racial equality and the very apostle of peace, is being misused in support of a movement whose aims are servile to the wishes of engineers of cold war, racists, colonialist tyrants and traitors.

It is being done on international scale today. It is being done by MRA (Moral Rearmament) whose messiah Dr. Frank Buchman was—and is—a great admirer and friend of Hitler and Hitlerites (Buchman once said: "I thank heaven for a man like Adolf Hitler, who built a front line defence against Communism").

The irony is that Gandhi's name has been lent to this movement by his own kith and kin—a grandson. And what seems strange is the fact that Government of India's Film Censor Board has also swallowed the bitter pill—it has awarded a certificate for Exhibition in India to a MRA propagand-

# SCRAP-BOOK

da film—The Crowning Experience

It is in this anti-Communist film produced with MRA money by Warner Brothers that the name of Gandhi, U Nu and others are dragged in to create an impression that they also shared the MRA ideology. According to the reviews of this film in the press some blessed 'grandson' of Mahatma Gandhi is shown in this picture addressing an annual jamboree of the MRA where he says: "Mahatma Gandhi was my grandfather. The hearts and minds of Asians and Africans have been gripped by Moral Rearmament... It is the greatest revolution of all times".

How would Mahatma feel about this "greatest revolution"? I do not know. But surely he would not have blessed this cold war movement if he was alive today. Nor has MRA gripped the hearts and minds of Asians and Africans.

As far as MRA ideology is concerned its anti-Communist character is very well exposed through this film. Those who have seen it came back with caustic comment: "Aspro, aspro..."

But MRA stink is much more disgusting.

Among the living supporters of MRA are racist South Africa's President Verwoerd, American boot-licker Chiang Kai-shek, West German warmonger Adenauer, traitor Kasavubu on whose sleeves the blood of Lumumba is still not dry. MRA is a cold war organisation run with millions of US dollars and West German marks.

Its chief aim is to stem the growth of democratic ideas and popular movements. Its leaders don philosophical and religious masks to cheat the common folk in capitalist Europe, the Americas and especially in countries where the people are fighting against colonialism or have won their independence recently.

This character of MRA, I hope, is not unknown to the Government of India. And yet the Film Censor Board which is very particular against propaganda films has awarded it a certificate for commercial exhibition in the country.

Or is it that some of the members of Censor Board

are "won over" by the MRA ideology? If so, they should "confess" in true MRA spirit in the next annual gathering of MRA thugs and also avail of the "free air trip and luxurious stay abroad" for some time.

## PSP FLIRTS WITH COMMUNALISTS

It is not my intention to mention the Praja Socialist Party's "blessing-dan" (apologies to Shankar's Weekly) Election Manifesto. I have some thing different in mind.

PSP leaders in their individual capacities, do many things which their Party collectively may not accept. Last week I wrote about a PSP M.L.A.'s speech at a RSS camp in Lucknow. At the same time now it has come to light another PSP leader helped the Jammal-e-Islami in organising the Deeni Taleem Conference.

Both the leaders are now finding themselves in a tight corner as the Secretary of the PSP in UP has called for explanations from them. Who wins in the tussle remains to be seen.

The PSP in Northern India (U.P.) unlike its South India counterpart (Kerala PSP), has a good record of not allying itself with the communal forces. Some of the younger elements who are in the State leadership, have led consistent struggles against communalism together with Communists and other secular elements.

It is refreshing to know that they do not want to follow their all India leadership in this respect. Nor are they prepared to allow some of their "parliamentarians", to strike a compromise with communal forces as has been done in Kerala and elsewhere.

But both N. D. Tewari who presided over a RSS function and Dr. Farid Ansari who helped the Jammal-e-Islami in holding the Deeni Taleem Conference are powerful enough to ignore the displeasure of their comrades.

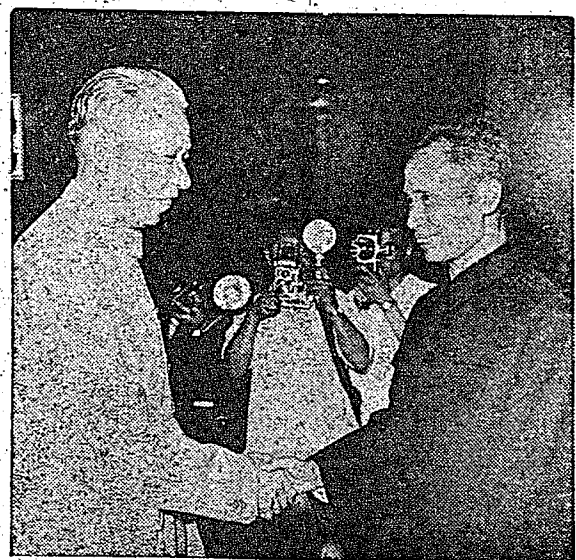
I shall watch with interest the reactions of these two leaders and any further action that the U.P. PSP leaders might take against their erring comrades.

That shall also be an indication of and answer to the question: Whither PSP?

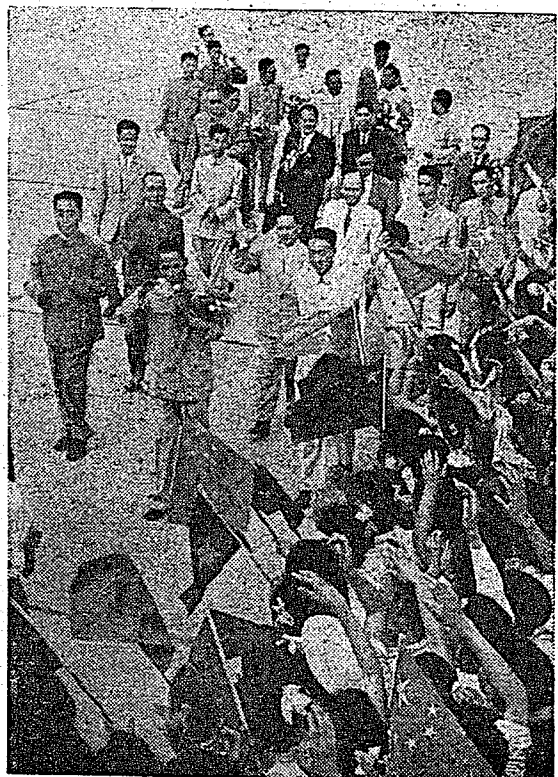
—AGRADOOT

## NORTH VIETNAM'S PREMIER PHAM VAN DONG ARRIVES IN PEKING

People's Republic of China was the first stopover, in Premier Pham Van Dong's recently undertaken tour of Socialist countries. Visiting North Korea and Mongolia next, North Vietnam's Premier is at present in Moscow. Picture on the right: Warm reception being accorded to Premier Pham Van Dong, by the Chinese people, on his arrival in Peking. Picture below: Comrade Liu Shao-chi greeting Comrade Pham Van Dong.



PAGE TEN



NEW AGE

## MUNICIPAL PROBLEMS

\* FROM PAGE 6

should be exempted from all labour legislation.

Certain resolutions were, however, adopted which go against the vital interests of the employees.

The Conference, for instance, demanded that the Local Bodies should be exempted from the Industrial Disputes Act.

The Conference also demanded that staff in Fire Services and Forest Departments, as also Octroi staff in case of Committees whose total income may not exceed Rs. three lakhs, should be exempted from the provisions of the Minimum Wages Act under which employees cannot be required to work for more than 48-hours a week.

Not that there was no opposition to these resolutions. But the opposition though firm was numerically very weak.

Mention, however, must be made of the mandate given to the Standing Committee to draft a constitution for an Urban Local Bodies Association within one month and circulate the same to all Committees.

The Deputy Minister agreed that a special Local Bodies (Urban) Conference would be held within six months to finalise the constitution and to launch the Association with an elected executive body.

## In W. Bengal

# WHOLESALE VICTIMISATION OF TEACHERS

From Juan Bikash Moitra

**T**HE people in the teaching profession in West Bengal are now having a taste of "democracy" under the benign dispensation of the Congress.

A unique procedure has been devised by the West Bengal Government to sack the teachers of Government-aided schools on the basis of secret police reports! Twenty of them have been already thrown out of their schools on "adverse" reports.

At first, the District Inspectors of Schools (D.I.) informed, under sealed covers marked "confidential", the school authorities concerned that "in accordance with the instructions of the District Magistrate, it is not possible to accord approval to the service..." As such, the teachers singled out had to be discharged, although the school authorities pleaded that they were indispensable to their respective institutions.

## Tea Gardens Prepare For General Strike

**T**HE workers of tea gardens in Darjeeling district of this State are preparing for a general strike from July 3. Their demands include interim increase in wages, abolition of the oppressive system of hatabahar by revising the rules under the Standing Orders, provision for employment for the dependents of workers, etc. The strike notice was served on June 19 on the managements of different tea gardens in the district by the Darjeeling District Chha Kaman Mazdoor Union (AITUC).

Preparations have already begun. Thousands of leaflets are being distributed and meetings and demonstrations are being held in different gardens. The call for the strike has created tremendous enthusiasm among the workers over the entire belt.

Six years ago, the workers in this region had gone on a general strike. With a view to breaking their solidarity and terrorising them into submission, the police resorted to firing in the Margaret Hope Tea Garden. Six workers were killed, including two women and a boy.

## Hailakandi Mob Violence Condemned

**L**EFTIST leaders of West Bengal issued a joint statement on Wednesday last, expressing grave concern at the mob violence, arson and looting which took place on June 19 at Hailakandi in Assam. The statement said that from the report it appeared that the people came from outside and was organised by interested circles.

There was no doubt that this action was the result of a pre-planned conspiracy by these circles with a view to disrupting the united language movement of the Cachar people. It was evident from the facts that the Assam Government had previous knowledge of the preparations for such mob attack, but it took

no steps to prevent it beforehand. The Government, therefore, could not escape its responsibility in the matter.

The statement further pointed out that it was significant that when the language movement had been suspended and when the leaders of the movement had agreed to negotiate with the Union Home Minister to devise ways and means to arrive at an amicable settlement, such mob attack on the supporters of the language movement was organised.

The disruptors were conscious of the fact that the language movement was a united movement of the entire Cachar people, including Hindus, Muslims and all minority communities. Frightened at the impact of such a movement and the prospect of its success, "interested, reactionary circles made their heinous efforts to disrupt it by directing it into communal and provincial channels".

The statement was confident that the people of Cachar would defeat the machinations of the reactionaries and preserve the unity of

their movement. It urged the Assam Government to take strong measures to prevent recrudescence of such incidents in future.

The statement appealed to the people of West Bengal to "maintain complete harmony and amity among all sections of the people and to stand up unitedly against any provocation or disruption".

Signatories to the statement were Samar Mukherjee-MIA (CPI), Asoke Ghosh (FB), Tara Dutta (Marxist F.B.) and the leaders of five other left parties.

## STRANGE BOMB EXPLOSION IN JAMSHEDPUR

From Our Correspondent

**A** hand made bomb exploded in the courtyard of the Sarkar Building in Sakchi area here on June 18 night, injuring two inmates of the building.

The bomb, containing stone chips and one inch iron splinters, was planted deliberately on the narrow staircase that leads to the upper floor of the building which houses the offices of the Singbhum District Communist Party and the AITUC-affiliated Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union.

From the facts of the incident it is revealed that Kedar Das, Communist M.L.A. and President of the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union, was scheduled to pass through the staircase to return to his office when the bomb was found. It was an accident that another inmate of the building, Animesh Roy, contractor, just preceded Kedar Das to go up the staircase when the bomb was detected by him.

Out of curiosity Roy picked up the bomb and with the help of a hotel boy, also a resident of the building, was unwrapping the heavy string-wrappings when the bomb exploded with a terrific sound—heard about half a mile away. Both Roy and the hotel boy were injured and were immediately sent to the Government Hospital nearby and later discharged after first-aid. Kedar Das escaped injury as he was just then shielded by the wall of the building.

The police, who came on the spot later, found two more unexploded bombs, one lying on the passage leading to the road outside and the other on the road itself.

The Additional S. P. and other senior Police Officials visited the spot this morning and made enquiries. The unexploded bombs were removed by the Police later in the evening.

The Communist leaders here and Kedar Das, when contacted expressed concern at the nature of the incident, which, according to them, was done in a deliberate attempt either to malign the Party and the Jamshedpur

Mazdoor Union or to cause grievous injuries to the leaders, particularly to Kedar Das.

It was learnt from an authoritative source further that Jehangir Gandhi, Resident Director of the Tisco, had handed over two letters to the Police here, which, according to him, were received by him from a resident of Jamshedpur. The authoritative source also stated that in the letter that person wrote that the Communist Party was contemplating to plant bombs inside some key departments in the Tisco factory to blow them up.

What is most suspicious and fishy about the whole circumstance of the incident is that it is the Tisco which has come into the picture that incriminates the Communist Party and the Jam-

shedpur Mazdoor Union and their leaders to acts of sabotage of their plant.

It may be recalled that following the May 1958 strike in the Tisco, the Steel Company published a booklet entitled, The Story of a Strike, in which serious allegations of planned conspiracy to blow up the Tisco were made against the leaders of the Communist Party and the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union, including Kedar Das, and which later formed the basis of the famous "Jamshedpur Conspiracy Case". Das and other leaders are now out on bail following their appeal in the Patna High Court against their convictions in the Sessions Court.

The news of the explosion and the discovery of more unexploded bombs in the Sarkar Building and the facts of the circumstances of the incidents have created wide concern among the people here.

## Communist Party Demands Enquiry

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**MRA MISUSES  
MAHATMA'S NAME**

**T**HINK of Mahatma Gandhi in the company of Hitler, Verwoerd, Adenauer, Chiang Kai-shek and Kasavubu. It's a disgusting idea. Every patriotic Indian would be horrified to know that the fair name of this life-long sage, an ardent fighter for freedom and champion of racial equality and the very apostle of peace is being misused in support of a movement whose aims are servile to the wishes of engineers of cold war, racist, colonialist tyrants and traitors.

It is being done on international scale today. It is being done by MRA (Moral Rearmament) whose messiah Dr. Frank Buchman, was—and is—a great admirer and friend of Hitler and Hitlerites. (Buchman once said: "I thank heaven for a man, like Adolf Hitler, who built a front line defence against Communism".)

The irony is that Gandhi's name has been lent to this movement by his own kith and kin—a grandson. And what seems strange is the fact that Government of India's Film Censor Board has also swallowed the bitter pill—it has awarded a certificate for exhibition in India to a MRA propagand

**SCRAP-BOOK**

da film—The Crowning Experience.

It is in this anti-Communist film produced with MRA money by Warner Brothers that the name of Gandhi, U Nu and others are dragged in to create an impression that they also shared the MRA ideology. According to the reviews of this film in the press some blessed 'grandson' of Mahatma Gandhi is shown in this picture addressing an annual jamboree of the MRA where he says: "Mahatma Gandhi was my grandfather. The hearts and minds of Asians and Africans have been gripped by Moral Rearmament. ... It is the greatest revolution of all times".

How would Mahatma feel about this "greatest revolution"? I do not know. But surely he would not have blessed this cold war movement if he was alive today. Nor has MRA gripped the hearts and minds of Asians and Africans.

As far as MRA ideology is concerned its anti-Communist character is very well exposed through this film. Those who have seen it came back with caustic comment: "Aspro, aspro..."

But MRA stink is much more disgusting.

Among the living supporters of MRA are racist South Africa's President Verwoerd, American boot-licker Chiang Kai-shek, West German warmonger Adenauer, traitor Kasavubu on whose sleeves the blood of Lumumba is still not dry. MRA is a cold war organisation run with millions of US dollars and West German marks.

Its chief aim is to stem the growth of democratic ideas and popular movements. Its leaders don philosophical and religious masks to cheat the common folk in capitalist Europe, the Americas and especially in countries where the people are fighting against colonialism or have won their independence recently.

This character of MRA, I hope, is not unknown to the Government of India. And yet the Film Censor Board which is very particular against propaganda films has awarded it a certificate for commercial exhibition in the country.

Or is it that some of the members of Censor Board

are "won over" by the MRA ideology? If so, they should "confess" in true MRA spirit in the next annual gathering of MRA thugs and also avail of the "free air trip and luxurious stay abroad" for some time.

**PSP FLIRTS WITH COMMUNALISTS**

It is not my intention to mention the Praja Socialist Party's "blessing-dan" (apologies to Shankar's Weekly) Election Manifesto. I have some thing different in mind.

PSP leaders in their individual capacities, do many things which their Party collectively may not accept. Last week I wrote about a PSP MLA's speech at a RSS camp in Lucknow. At the same time now it has come to light another PSP leader helped the Jammata-Islami in organising the Deeni Taleemi Conference.

Both the leaders are now finding themselves in a tight corner as the Secretary of the PSP in UP has called for explanations from them. Who wins in the tussle remains to be seen.

The PSP in Northern India (U.P.) unlike its South India counterpart (Kerala PSP), has a good record of not allying itself with the communal forces. Some of the younger elements who are in the State leadership have led consistent struggles against communalism together with Communists and other secular elements.

It is refreshing to know that they do not want to follow their all India leadership in this respect. Nor are they prepared to allow some of their "parliamentarians", to strike a compromise with communal forces as has been done in Kerala and elsewhere.

But both N. D. Tewari who presided over a RSS function and Dr. Farid Ansari who helped the Jammata-Islami in holding the Deeni Taleemi Conference are powerful enough to ignore the displeasure of their comrades.

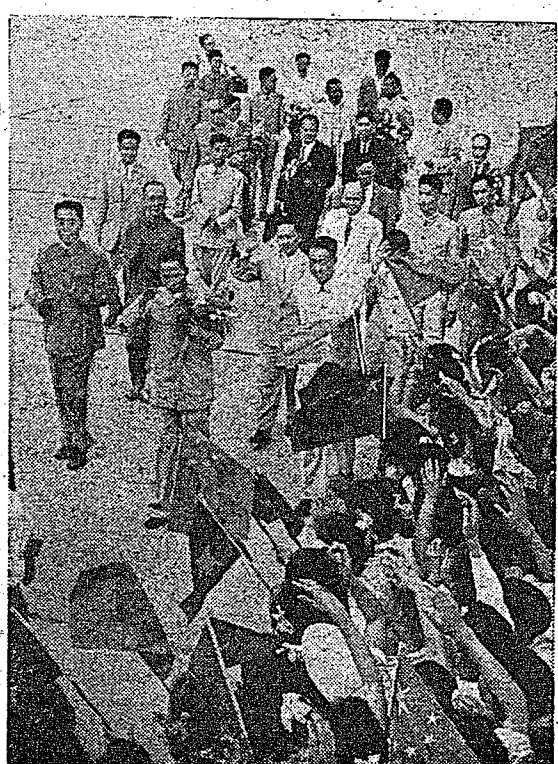
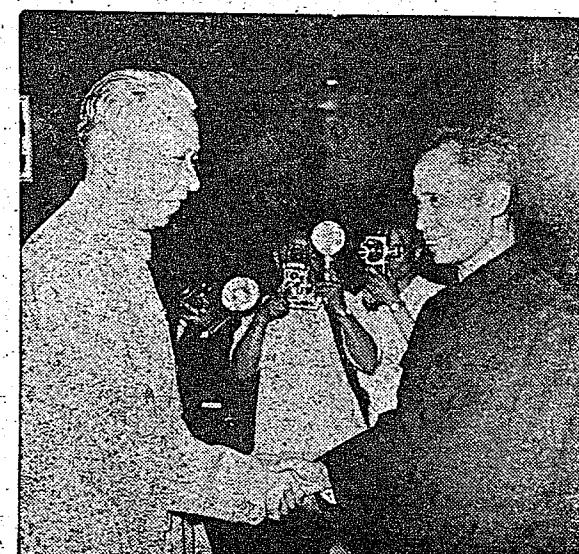
I shall watch with interest the reactions of these two leaders and any further action that the U.P. PSP leaders might take against their erring comrades.

That shall also be an indication of and answer to the question: Whither PSP?

—AGRADOOT

**NORTH VIETNAM'S PREMIER  
PHAM VAN DONG ARRIVES  
IN PEKING**

People's Republic of China was the first stopover, in Premier Pham Van Dong's recently undertaken tour of Socialist countries. Visiting North Korea and Mongolia next, North Vietnam's Premier is at present in Moscow. Picture on the right: Warm reception being accorded to Premier Pham Van Dong, by the Chinese people, on his arrival in Peking. Picture below: Comrade Liu Shao-chi greeting Comrade Pham Van Dong.



**MUNICIPAL PROBLEMS**

\* FROM PAGE 6

should be exempted from all labour legislation.

Certain resolutions were, however, adopted which go against the vital interests of the employees.

The Conference, for instance, demanded that the Local Bodies should be exempted from the Industrial Disputes Act.

The Conference also demanded that staff in Fire Services and Forest Departments, as also Octroi staff in case of Committees whose total income may not exceed Rs. three lakhs, should be exempted from the provisions of the Minimum Wages Act under which employees cannot be required to work for more than 48-hours a week.

Not that there was no opposition to these resolutions. But the opposition though firm was numerically very weak.

Mention, however, must be made of the mandate given to the Standing Committee to draft a constitution for an Urban Local Bodies Association within one month and circulate the same to all Committees.

The Deputy Minister agreed that a special Local Bodies (Urban) Conference would be held within six months to finalise the constitution and to launch the Association with an elected executive body.

**In W. Bengal**

**WHOLESALE VICTIMISATION OF TEACHERS**

From Jnan Bikash Moitra

**T**HE people in the teaching profession in West Bengal are now having a taste of "democracy" under the benign dispensation of the Congress.

A unique procedure has been devised by the West Bengal Government to sack the teachers of Government-aided schools on the basis of secret police reports! Twenty of them have already been thrown out of their schools on "adverse" reports.

At first, the District Inspectors of Schools (D.I.) informed, under sealed covers marked "confidential", the school authorities concerned that "in accordance with the instructions of the District Magistrate, it is not possible to accord approval to the service..." As such, the teachers singled out had to be discharged, although the school authorities pleaded that they were indispensable to their respective institutions.

On the application of the All-Bengal Teachers' Association (ABTA), the Calcutta High Court declared that the D.I. had no powers to accord sanction to the service of a teacher of the Government-aided school. The Board of Secondary Education alone had powers to that effect. As the Board has no Inspector of its own, D.I.s appointed by the Government perform the work of the inspection of schools.

After the High Court decision, the Government adopted a backdoor procedure. The instructions of the D.I. were now sent to the schools through the Board of Secondary Education, which is practically under the thumb of the Government's Education Department. The Board's communications to the schools concerned were more or less on the following lines: "Since the D.I. considers... teachers of the Government aided school... to be undesirable, the Board cannot accord its approval to his service".

It is to be noted in this connection that most of the teachers sacked in this high-handed manner have at least ten years teaching experience to their credit. Moreover, not one of them was either informed about the "charges" framed against him or given an opportunity to defend himself.

The case of Nilima Modak, a teacher from Nadia district nakedly shows up the limit to which vindictiveness can go. Her service was duly approved when she was employed in the Mrinalini Girls' Junior High School. But when she gave up the job and joined the Holy Family Girls' High School, the sanction was withdrawn!

The security of service of not merely teachers of aided secondary schools, but of the entire teaching profession now depends on secret police reports, as in the case of the Government employees. Four college lecturers, 20 secondary school teachers and two primary teachers have already lost their jobs, because some sub-inspector

of Police were pleased to consider them to be "suspects"!

Reports of more discharges on such grounds are coming in. Nobody knows how many will be the victims of this witch-hunt.

But, powerful voices of protest are being raised from different quarters here. The democratic opinion in West Bengal will not put up with this sinister attack on the fundamental rights of a section of the people.

**Tea Gardens  
Prepare For  
General Strike**

**T**HE workers of tea gardens in Darjeeling district of this State are preparing for a general strike from July 3. Their demands include interim increase in wages, abolition of the oppressive system of hatabahar by revising the rules under the Standing Orders, provision for employment for the dependents of workers, etc.

The strike notice was served on June 19 on the managements of different tea gardens in the district by the Darjeeling District Chha Kaman Mazdoor Union (AITUC).

Preparations have already begun. Thousands of leaflets are being distributed and meetings and demonstrations are being held in different gardens. The call for the strike has created tremendous enthusiasm among the workers over the entire belt.

Six years ago, the workers in this region had gone on a general strike. With a view to breaking their solidarity and terrorising them into submission, the police resorted to firing in the Margaret Hope Tea Garden. Six workers were killed, including two women and a boy.

**Hailakandi  
Mob Violence  
Condemned**

**L**ETLIST leaders of West Bengal issued a joint statement on Wednesday last, expressing grave concern at the mob violence, arson and looting which took place on June 19 at Hailakandi in Assam. The statement said that from the report it appeared that the big mob, which attacked the people came from outside and was organised by interested circles.

There was no doubt that this action was the result of a pre-planned conspiracy by these circles with a view to disrupting the united language movement of the Cachar people. It was evident from the facts that the Assam Government had previous knowledge of the preparations for such mob attack, but it took

no steps to prevent it beforehand. The Government, therefore, could not escape its responsibility in the matter.

The statement further pointed out that it was significant that when the language movement had been suspended and when the leaders of the movement had agreed to negotiate with the Union Home Minister to devise ways and means to arrive at an amicable settlement, such mob attack on the supporters of the language movement was organised.

The disruptors were consi-

cions of the fact that the language movement was a united movement of the entire Cachar people, including Hindus, Muslims and all minority communities. Frightened at the impact of such a movement and the prospect of its success, "interested, reactionary circles made their heinous efforts to disrupt it by directing it into communal and provincial channels".

The statement was confident that the people of Cachar would defeat the machinations of the reactionaries and preserve the unity of

their movement. It urged the Assam Government to take strong measures to prevent recrudescence of such incidents in future.

The statement appealed to the people of West Bengal to "maintain complete harmony and amity among all sections of the people and to stand up unitedly against any provocation or disruption".

Signatories to the statement were Samar Mukherjee-MLA (CPI), Asoke Ghosh (FB), Tara Dutta (Marxist F.B.) and the leaders of five other left parties.

**STRANGE BOMB EXPLOSION IN JAMSHEDPUR**

From Our Correspondent

**A** hand made bomb exploded in the courtyard of the Sarkar Building in Sakchi area here on June 18 night, injuring two inmates of the building.

The bomb, containing stone chips and one inch iron splinters, was planted deliberately on the narrow staircase that leads to the upper floor of the building which houses the offices of the Singbhum District Communist Party and the AITUC-affiliated Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union.

From the facts of the incident it is revealed that Kedar Das, Communist MLA and President of the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union, was scheduled to pass through the staircase to return to his office when the bomb was found. It was an accident that another inmate of the building, Animesh Roy, contractor, just preceded Kedar Das to go up the staircase when the bomb was detected by him.

Out of curiosity Roy picked up the bomb and, with the help of a hotel boy, also a resident of the building, was unwrapping the heavy string-wrappings when the bomb exploded with a terrific sound—heard about half a mile away. Both Roy and the hotel boy were injured and were immediately sent to the Government Hospital nearby and later discharged after first-aid. Kedar Das escaped injury as he was just then shielded by the wall of the building.

The police, who came on the spot later, found two more unexploded bombs, one lying on the passage leading to the road outside and the other on the road itself.

The Additional S. P. and other senior Police Officials visited the spot this morning and made enquiries. The unexploded bombs were removed by the Police later in the evening.

The Communist leaders here and Kedar Das, when contacted expressed concern at the nature of the incident, which, according to them, was done in a deliberate attempt either to malign the Party and the Jamshedpur

Mazdoor Union or to cause grievous injuries to the leaders, particularly to Kedar Das.

It was learnt from an authoritative source further that Jehangir Gandhi, Resident Director of the Tisco, had handed over two letters to the Police here, which, according to him, were received by him from a resident of Jamshedpur. The authoritative source also stated that in the letter that person wrote that the Communist Party was contemplating to plant bombs inside some key departments in the Tisco factory to blow them up.

What is most suspicious and fishy about the whole circumstance of the incident is that it is the Tisco which has come into the picture that incriminates the Communist Party and the Jam-

shedpur Mazdoor Union and their leaders to acts of sabotage of their plant.

It may be recalled that following the May 1958 strike in the Tisco, the Steel Company published a booklet entitled, The Story of a Strike, in which serious allegations of planned conspiracy to blow up the Tisco were made against the leaders of the Communist Party and the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union, including Kedar Das, and which later formed the basis of the famous "Jamshedpur Conspiracy Case". Das and other leaders are now out on bail following their appeal in the Patna High Court against their convictions in the Sessions Court.

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# "CHINA IS OUR BROTHER"

I have visited a number of Asian countries, a number of African countries, and a number of socialist countries, and now I have come to the People's Republic of China to make a visit.

The imperialists ask: why does Indonesia want to be friends with the Soviet Union? Is not the Soviet Union an imperialist, or red imperialism?

Why does Indonesia want to be friends with the People's Republic of China? Is not the People's Republic of China an imperialist country, or yellow imperialism?

My answer is that it is twaddle to say that the Soviet Union is red imperialism. It is also twaddle to say that the People's Republic of China is yellow imperialism.

Why should we not be friends with Soviet Union? Has the Soviet Union not all along been helping and sympathising with the struggle of Indonesia? Why should we not be friends with the People's Republic of China? Has the People's Republic of China not all along been sympathising with and helping the struggle of Indonesia?

We say to the imperialists: gentlemen, you do not approve of Indonesia's becoming a strong power. But, the People's Republic of China agrees, and is helping Indonesia to become a strong power. You have all along made attempts to split Indonesia that it would no longer exist as one state. But, the People's Republic of China has all along helped us to make Indonesia secure and strong.

You have helped rebellions against the Republic of Indonesia. But, the People's Republic of China has helped us to eliminate the rebellions. You do not agree that West Irian should be included in Indonesia's territory. But, the People's Republic of China has not only sympathised with but, helped us to strive for the inclusion of West Irian into Indonesia's territory.

You do not approve of Indonesia's building a just and prosperous society, that is, a socialist society. But the People's Republic of China has sympathised with and helped us to build in Indonesia a just and prosperous society, that is, a socialist society. You are not of one heart with the Indonesian people, but the People's Republic of China is of one heart and has the same spirit as the Indonesian people in fighting their common struggle.

Why we should not live in friendship with the People's Republic of China? On the contrary, I would say that this friendship should be increasingly strengthened and consolidated with each passing day till we attain our common objects, and we will continue to be friends after we attain the common objects.

Brothers and sisters, we are, indeed, comrades-in-arms and the peoples of our two countries are sons and daughters of the 20th century, which is called "a century of liberation".

The peoples of our two countries, both the people of the Chinese People's Republic

and the people of Indonesia, have grown up in this fighting century in which a new society will come into being on the earth.

The people of Indonesia, like those of the People's Republic of China, are indeed a people in revolution. Our revolution is not yet completed, but a very great one.

A revolution cannot be fulfilled in one or two days. A revolution is an arduous and protracted process. The revolution of Indonesia, the national evolution of Indonesia, will not be fulfilled until West Irian is restored to the territory of the Republic.

Like wise, the national revolution of the Chinese People's Republic will not be fulfilled until Taiwan is restored to the territory of the Chinese People's Republic.

West Irian has not yet been restored to the Republic of Indonesia. But we are deeply convinced that though Dutch imperialism has the support of other imperialisms the day will eventually come when West Irian will be restored to the map of the Republic. Likewise, we are deeply convinced that the day will eventually come when Taiwan will be restored to the Chinese People's Republic.

Brothers and sisters, what

just mentioned the red and-white flag, the 1945 draft constitution, the song of "Indonesia Raya," the microphone as the only things we had. But that is not correct.

As a matter of fact, we had a fifth thing—that was, the spirit flaming in our hearts, the spirit of solidarity, the spirit of love of independence, the spirit of love of freedom, the spirit of sacrifice for the sake of independence. It was precisely with this spirit that we carried on our struggle and won the victory.

Brothers and sisters, what did you have in the earlier stage of your struggle? What did you have during your unique Long March of historical significance? What did you have when brother Chou En-lai was dressed in rags? What did you own when uncle Mao Tse-tung was dressed in rags? What did you own when brother Chu Teh was dressed in rags? What did you own apart from your indomitable and high spirit?

I was also not correct when I said we had only the red-and-white flag, the 1945 draft constitution, the song of "Indonesia Raya," the microphone and the indomitable spirit. Brothers and sisters, there was a sixth thing

## Sukarno Tells Peking Rally

weapons did we actually have when we declared independence on August 17, 1945? At that time we had no troops. At that time we had few rifles and guns.

At that time we had only the red-and-white flag, which we were forbidden to fly but which had had a history of more than 1,000 years. In fact, at that time we had only the song of "Indonesia Raya," which you just heard ringing the sky above Peking.

In fact, at that time we had only the 1945 draft constitution. In fact, at that time we had no other weapon than the microphone. At that time we broadcast through the microphone the Declaration of Indonesia of August 17, 1945.

We had only these four things and no more. I have

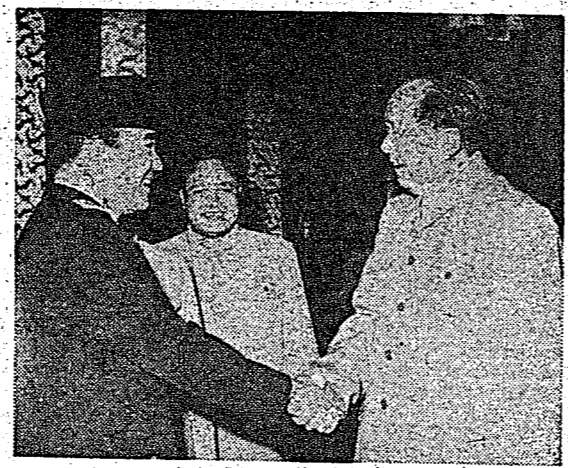
which won us victory, and which won the People's Republic of China victory.

We had the moral and material support from the beginning of our struggle of all the freedom-loving nations of the world including the Chinese people.

A foreign diplomat, a diplomat of an imperialist country, asked me: Why are you so vehement, Mr. Sukarno? Why do you always want to fight imperialism and curse it? Is imperialism not already dead?

I replied: imperialism is not yet dead. It still remains in Indonesia, in Taiwan, in Vietnam, in Korea, in Congo, in Angola and in Algeria. It is still powerful and is oppressing many countries.

Facing that powerful imperialism, that powerful in-



Chairman Mao Tse-tung with the Indonesian guest, President Sukarno in Peking.

ternational imperialism, are our ranks, the ranks of progressive peoples, that is, the ranks of at least 2,700 million people.

Brothers and sisters, we are advancing along the path of history and therefore are assured of victory. Let us continue our advance! Let us continue our advance towards victory!

### MAYOR PENG CHEN'S SPEECH

THE Indonesian people is a great and heroic

recover their own territory West Irian and to eliminate imperialism completely from Indonesian soil.

Your Excellency the respected President, respected distinguished guests, the Chinese people infinitely admire the great Indonesian people's struggle against imperialism and in defence of national independence.

The Chinese people have all along resolutely supported the just struggle of the Indonesian people. And we will always resolutely support you in this struggle of the Indonesian people. And we will always resolutely support

you in this struggle till you win the complete victory.

Indonesia is a sponsoring country and the host of the Afro-Asian Conference held in Bandung in 1955. China is one of the initiators of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and a participant in the Bandung Conference.

Both our countries have all along made efforts to uphold the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference and the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

That conference of great historic significance has spurred to a great extent the national independence movement in Asia and Africa and given birth to the brightly beaming Bandung spirit.

The Bandung spirit is the spirit of solidarity among the Asian-African peoples; opposing imperialism and colonialism, defending world peace and promoting friendship among all peoples.

The imperialists, moreover, are making use of their lackeys and play with every sort of tricks to carry out their plots in an attempt to undermine the solidarity among Asian nations and that between the Asian-African countries and the socialist countries.

To smash the treacherous schemes of the old and new colonialists and their lackeys, it is entirely necessary for the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to heighten their vigilance, strengthen their solidarity and, together with the peace-loving people and countries of the whole world, persist in the sacred struggle against imperialism till the end.

# KREMLIN MEETING WARNS WAR MANIACS

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

Twenty years ago on June 22, 1941 the fascist hordes of Hitler invaded the Soviet Union. The whole of Europe lay prostrate at the feet of the Nazi rulers and they had all its resources in their hands for this final bid for the mastery of the world.

Only the armies of the Soviet Socialist Republics withstood the relentless assault of the German forces and the heroic peoples of the Soviet Union and their army tore the guts out of the Nazi army and saved human freedom and civilisation from final destruction.

At a mass meeting held in the grand Kremlin palace those who had hoisted the flag of victory over Berlin carried it again in triumph to the stormy applause of the huge auditorium and the strains of a solemn march.

They were colonel Samsonov commander of a battalion which took part in the storming of the Reichstag and heroes of the Soviet Union Kantaria and Yegorov who had hoisted the victorious banner over it.

They marched to the Presidium and stood in front of the statue of Lenin where they were greeted by the Soviet Premier himself a veteran of the war and the heroic battle of Stalingrad. Soldiers, officers, generals and admirals who had taken part in the Second

World War were present and Khrushchov and Brezhnev had redoned their general's uniforms and decorations for the occasion. Marshal Malinovsky, Minister of Defence of the Soviet Union who delivered a report reviewed the war and the world situation declared: "We are marking the twentieth anniversary of the attack of Hitler Germany on the Soviet Union not by sabre rattling or aspirations of conquest and subjugation of foreign lands but by calls for peace and disarmament".

He emphasised that war now was not fatally inevitable and this had been guaranteed by the joint efforts of the world Socialist Camp. But those who unleashed World War II have not put down their arms and have not abandoned their plans hostile to mankind. The American imperialists with their claim for world domination come out today as the main force of reaction and aggression.

"We shall be able to defend our homeland against the

encroachment of any aggressor. We have sufficient means of defence and we are in a position to put a straitjacket on any lunatic seeking to trigger off a nuclear war", the Marshal warned.

The new American administration had been carrying out so far the old policies but: "As the Vienna meeting showed the whole world, the USSR is consistently and persistently upholding the cause of peace and complete disarmament and will not permit anyone to talk to it from positions of strength".

Malinovsky recalled that it were precisely the Governments of the Western Powers that were responsible for the unleashing of World War II. The ruling circles of USA, Britain and France had pursued a policy of connivance and collusion with the fascist aggressors and had greatly contributed to the growth of Germany's military might. "Many things happening today bear strong resemblance to the developments of twenty odd years ago" the Minister of Defence declared.

Khrushchov touched on some aspects of the international situation and reviewed the last war and the period preceding it. "The entire pre-

share the fate of Hitler" he declared amidst thunderous applause.

"These words should not be taken as a threat. It is an appeal to reason. It is high time to understand at last that the Soviet Union is different now, that the world is different and different is the balance of forces and armaments".

A little later the Soviet leader again gave this grim warning "Everybody knows that we do not want war. But if you really threaten us with war we are not afraid of such a threat. If you touch off a war that will be your suicide" and these remarks electrified the audience and thunderous and prolonged applause followed.

He warned that if USA resumed nuclear tests the Soviet Union will have to do so too. The Soviet Union had "quite a few" nuclear devices that needed testing he said. Full blame for the resumption would rest with the West. The Soviet Union appeals to the West to compete in the production of material and spiritual values, but they answer by increasing arms.

"Faced with this the Soviet Union may be forced to increase further its expenditure on armaments in order to strengthen and improve our defences and if need be increase the numerical strength of our armed forces thus relying on our might to ensure peace and coexistence".

MOSCOW, June 27

\* FROM PAGE 16

through struggles and through service of the people.

Tactics of concentration will be all the more necessary because this time the whole elections will be over within a few days and it will not be as easy as before to use the same cadres in several constituencies.

It was decided that a draft Election Manifesto would be prepared by the Central Executive Committee at its meeting in August. The Election Manifesto as well as the detailed tactics would be worked out at the next meeting of the National Council in September.

The National Council authorised the General Secretary to send a letter of greetings to A. K. Gopalan, congratulating him for his courage and wisdom in undertaking the hunger-strike and wishing him a complete and speedy return to health and work.

Apart from electing the Central Executive Committee, the Secretariat and the General Secretary, the National Council also discussed the possibilities of publishing a Central English daily. It was decided to go into the matter in greater detail before taking a final decision.

The Bangalore session of the National Council worked through a heavy agenda and accomplished significant results. In the coming months, on the basis of the Vijayawada Congress and National Council decisions, there must be an upsurge of Party activity, a gearing up of the Party organisation and a big turn to the masses. The coming election battle has to be prepared for from today if the Party is to prove worthy of its destiny and the people's hopes.

June 29.

JULY 2, 1961

# HIMACHAL PSP MERGES INTO CONGRESS

From KAMESHWAR PANDIT

A small newscitem in the Tribune on June 16 announced that the Himachal Pradesh Congress Committee had agreed to the merger of the Himachal Pradesh PSP with the Congress and that negotiations had been going on to this effect for several weeks.

HIRA SINGH PAL, Chairman Himachal PSP, had earlier gone to Delhi to meet some members of the Congress High Command in this connection. The only member elected to the Punjab Legislature on the PSP (from the Simla constituency) has also joined the Congress along with his party-men. Simla district is in Punjab; on all sides, however, it is surrounded by Himachal Territory. This brings the brief and chequered history of the Himachal and Simla PSP to an end.

On the eve of the first general elections in 1951 a large number of activists had left the Congress and formed the K.M.P.P. The organisers expected big gains and Sucheta Kripalani went about declaring that the K.M.P.P. would form its first Ministry in Himachal Pradesh. Only three out of 36 seats were bagged by K.M.P.P. in this election, however.

The Socialist Party had a good active unit in Simla. Later Hira Singh Pal, ex-General Secretary Himachal Pradesh Congress Committee, who contested and won as an independent from Solan Constituency since he was denied a Congress ticket, decided to join the Socialist Party. With the merger of the K.M.P.P. and the Socialist Party in 1953, the PSP emerged as the main opposition force in Himachal Pradesh.

In the next few years the PSP enjoyed its heyday of

price of sweet potatoes, but did not go beyond printing leaflets and holding meetings in different areas. They never organised demonstrations or adopted any other form of agitation. The result was demoralisation and frustration in their ranks.

The PSP tried to unite all sorts of people against the Congress. Its cadre was mainly derived from the rich peasants. It took up progressive slogans of workers and peasants and at the same time took a stand against anti-touchability measures, against the Hindu Succession Act, etc. This sort of unholy mixture could not last for a long time.

There is another important factor. Since 1950 the PSP workers have been actively associating themselves with the "Society for the Defence of Freedom in Asia," a U.S. sponsored organisation, with the "Himalayan Border Convention" and other imperialist rackets. Their creed has been to propagate anti-Communism.

The PSP rejected all offers of the CPI for electoral adjustments in the General Elections. Inside Vishal Himachal Samiti, an organisation formed by nearly all opposition elements to demand a legislature for Himachal, the PSP's efforts were directed to oust the Communists somehow or the other from this organisation.

Anti-Communism, despite its loud and abusive propaganda, is a declining force. The PSP found to its cost that anti-Communism was not paying dividends. They spurred the numerical offers of the CPI to launch joint campaigns against taxes, in favour of a democratic set-up, etc. The result was that

they themselves were never able to organise any effective agitation on any issue.

It was clear that they would lose their Simla seat if they did not seek the support of the CPI. They would also be unable to put up a good fight in the Parliamentary elections without some understanding with the C.P.I. Knowing that their all-India leadership and also the rabid anti-Communists inside their own fold would not allow them to tread this path, combined with some bait offered by the Punjab Chief Minister Kairon, the PSP here decided to surrender before the Congress.

Congressmen themselves have not welcomed this development. In several constituencies they find new rivals for tickets while there already was hard competition going on amongst them. Things have gone so far that on June 25 while one group participated in a tea party given to Punjab Governor at Simla on behalf of the Simla Congress, other groups kept out of the affair.

Congressmen are actively campaigning against the new entrants as "unprincipled turncoats". The PSPers now in the Congress hope to rely on some link in the Congress High Command to get tickets for ensuing elections. This probability has alienated a large number of old Congressmen.

The gain to the Congress may, thus, actually turn out to be a loss. It has already increased bickerings and factional wrangling inside the Congress. The support of a few unreliable entrants has been gained, while it has already lost the confidence, support and loyalty of a large number of old Congressmen.



(From left to right)—Chou En-lai, Aidit, Liu Shao-chi, Sukarno and Peng Chen at a Peking performance in honour of the visiting Indonesian President.



# SOARING PROGRESS OF SOVIET SCIENCE

That socialism provides inestimable advantages to the development of science, and that science is required to play a great role in the material and spiritual life of a socialist society, are facts amply borne out by the grandiose tableau presented by the achievements as well as the future prospects in the development of Soviet science.

THESE achievements and these prospects, and the measures for the realisation of these prospects, were the subjects of deliberations of the All-Union Conference of Scientific Workers, held in Moscow during June 12-14.

Topmost Soviet scientists, research workers, scholars, officials from the biggest Soviet enterprises, etc., — totalling over two and a half thousand participants and guests—had gathered in the Kremlin for this conference.

Kosygin's speech, at the conference, and the main report to the conference by M. V. Keldysh, President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, posed before it the most important problems concerning the further development of science and technology, and the improvement in the planning and coordination of scientific work in the Soviet Union.

To the unprecedented scale of scientific development in the Soviet Union, bear witness the more than 3,800 scientific establishments, including about 1,500 research institutes, that exist there, today. Last year, the Soviet Union had more than 354,000 scientific workers, of whom as many as 11,000 were D.Sc.'s and more than 98,000 were M.Sc.'s.

What a key factor that science has become in the Soviet State's development may be seen from the fact that the doubling of industrial production envisaged in the Seven Year Plan is to be achieved mainly by extensive automation and mechanisation of production processes.

Soviet science and technology have already greatly changed not only the production methods and machinery, but also the pattern of production. The achievements of Soviet physicists, chemists, biologists, technicians, and other scientists, the high theoretical standard of studies reached by the Soviet school of mathematics, and the scope of investigations and the technical arsenal of its physics, rightly entitles the Soviet Union to a leading place in world science.

In the last five years the Soviet Union has started the industrial manufacture of more than 12,000 new kinds of machines, instruments, equipment and various materials.

## ATOMIC INDUSTRY

For decades, scientists all over the world had worked hard to penetrate into the depths of nuclear structure. But it is the Soviet Union that has set up in the shortest possible period, an atomic industry which has become one of the best in the world. Being constructors of the world's first atomic electric power station, they are now setting up a whole net-

work of such stations in their country. The Soviet Union's initiative along these lines has paved the way for the study of the mightiest source of energy—controlled thermo-nuclear reaction.

Indeed, a most vivid display of the progress of Soviet Science and industry is provided by the utilization of the energy of the atomic nucleus in the development of rockets and space exploration. Being the first to produce intercontinental ballistic rockets, in 1957, the Soviet Union succeeded by the spring of this year to send a man on a triumphant space flight round the Earth and has thus ushered in the era of manned flights into outer space and to the planets of the solar system.

## NEW DIRECTIONS

Great though these achievements are, the new tasks which the Soviet science has set before itself, in order to take the world's leading place in all the decisive branches of science and engineering, are greater still.

For the realisation of this aim, the Conference discussed the main directions for the scientific activity in the coming period. In a forthright review of the existing work, the conference also planned down a number of shortcomings, and sketched most effective ways and means for the further advance of science and technology in the Soviet Union.

Among the principal drawbacks that exist in the planning and organisation of scientific research—as pointed out in Kosygin's speech—are:

a) "The lack of the required coordination of research work in the country. Scientific brainpower and material funds are not concentrated, as they ought to be on the main lines of attack; there is a lack of coordination in scientific research, development and experiments. In many cases there is no continuity from research through design and into production. It is a great evil that projects overlap one another and there is a redundant multiplicity of subjects investigated"

b) "The activity of the USSR Academy of Sciences does not meet the requirements of the present time to a full degree. Until quite recently the Academy embraced a large number of research institutions specialising in narrow fields, which fact detracted the Academy from the fundamental problems of science, caused the efforts and funds to be disposed among many scientific and technical problems and impaired its organising influence on the development of science in the country."

c) "The existing planning of science for a limited calendar term—a year or five years—cannot satisfy scientific workers and calls for improvement... The material and financial support should be planned for a given period until its completion, and the amount of work should be determined for intermediate planning terms".

d) "It is essential to examine the form and content of the State Plan for research work together with the leading workers of science and technology. It is obvious that for the projects of far-reaching economic importance which are in the stage of experimentation and development, plans should envisage the whole sequence of stages which would combine into a single unit research, development, design and application, and provide for the ample material and organisational support of these stages".

Hence, in order to coordinate the work of research establishments, to improve the planning of scientific investigations and the application of the achievements of science and technology to the needs of the economy, and to eliminate waste and overlapping in research work, a State Committee for the Coordination of Scientific Work has been set up at the USSR Council of Ministers. Such organisational measures will undoubtedly facilitate the development of Soviet Science along the principal promising directions chalked out at the Conference, to new pinnacles of glory.

# Two Germanies — Two Paths

From Our Correspondent

BERLIN, June 22

CONDITIONS in West Germany are much the same today as they were twenty years ago when Hitler attacked Soviet Union. A war criminal, Foertsch, commands the West German army. War minister Strauss, who seems to have forgotten that his feet literally froze while he was in the Soviet Union during the last war, brags once again that allies of West Germany are strong enough to wipe out Soviet Union from the map of the world.

He only forgets or is blind to see that his own country is much easier to wipe out. Transport Minister Seebom is dreaming of a Vaterland without Czechs and Communists, which means he wants to liquidate 15 millions Czechoslovaks. Revanchists have been extraordinarily active in the last few weeks. The talk of reconquering pre-war German frontiers (which means war against Poland) is getting louder with every passing day. Brandt is getting more and more hysterical about defending his brand of democracy in West Berlin, which means nothing

These directions of further research in various fields of science were elaborated in Keldysh's report.

In the sphere of theoretical and experimental research in nuclear physics and the physics of "elementary particles," the principal task is to study the laws and the nature of the forces acting between the component parts of the nucleus and resulting from the interaction of particles.

Controlled thermo-nuclear fusion is today one of the major problems in the power industry, the solution of which will rid mankind once and for all of any apprehensions about the adequacy of energy reserves, in so far as the reserves of heavy hydrogen are virtually inexhaustible.

The perfection of atomic power stations working on fissionable atomic "fuel" is to be expanded considerably.

It is planned to expand work along the lines of increasing the efficiency of conventional thermal machines and for creating new "machineless" generators based on entirely new principles. Based on the achievements in the exploration of plasma and the production of new semi-conductor materials for thermo-cells, the creation of "machineless" thermo-electric transformers with an efficiency of 50 to 60 per cent, will lead to a virtual revolution in modern power engineering; it will dispense with heat engines, steam boilers, turbines and other mechanical systems which are currently used as intermediate transformers of thermal energy into electricity. These are but a couple of

Soviet research workers, engaged in the field of theory of state and jurisprudence are today faced with "the task of elaborating questions connected with the transfer of the functions of the State to public organisations, and with the formation of Communist self-Government".

instances of bright vistas thrown open to Soviet science.

Keldysh's report deals in detail with the main directions for research in various other fields of science as well, such as: engineering, mechanics and thermo-physics; automation and the theory of control and communications; radio-electronics; mathematics; chemistry; biological, agricultural and medical sciences.

In dealing with the development and the role of artificial earth satellites, the report points out that observations carried out by means of sputniks will help to improve radically weather forecasts and radio communications. The utilisation of communication sputniks and relay sputniks will create a revolution in the methods of communications and television.

In dealing with development of social sciences, the report points out that the primary task facing the economists is to perfect the principles of organising and planning national economy in the socialist State. In order to develop methods for the most expedient economic planning it is necessary to make wider use of the achievements of modern computing machines. Elaboration of an economic and mathematical scheme of large scale reproduction will make it possible to improve economic and planned computations.

Soviet research workers, engaged in the field of theory of state and jurisprudence are today faced with "the task of elaborating questions connected with the transfer of the functions of the State to public organisations, and with the formation of Communist self-Government".

else than defending centres of espionage and sabotage against GDR and the whole socialist camp.

It is these people who do not want a peace treaty. West Germany is militarily the strongest country in West Europe. All the restrictions imposed after the war have been lifted. The Bundeswehr (West German Army) has all the modern weapons except perhaps nuclear weapons. They are demanding nuclear weapons and if things go on like this, they will get them.

Every person, even with subnormal intelligence, knows that on the territory of the Third Reich two states have come into being. Just as China exists even though not recognised by USA, GDR exists irrespective of diplomatic recognition. Till the end of 1960 GDR made at least 105 offers to West Germany to negotiate. These offers were turned down, or even worse, simply ignored.

In the last one week Walter Ulbricht spoke thrice on the same theme. It shows readiness of GDR to negotiate with the West German Government. He declared in his

latest press conference: "We want that peace treaty guarantees that a new war can never start from Germany." German unity has not been ruled out from this side. Heads in Bonn have only to look into old files or waste-paper baskets for the large number of proposals.

Premier Grotewohl's proposal for a confederation of both German states was made in 1957. President Ulbricht's "German plan of the people" is also a year old. He declared in the press conference that GDR Government was prepared to start negotiations the very next day. Instead of negotiating, Adenauer and his henchmen talk of "liberation" the German Democratic Republic.

If certain countries refuse to sign such a treaty, India cannot afford to be among them. That would mean encouraging West Germany in its war plans. We know from past experience that German militarists, once they are strong enough, will not hesitate in starting a new war. Lord Montgomery has spoken for the recognition of GDR and for the necessity of a peace treaty. Will Mr. Nehru follow suit?

# KHRUSHCHOV'S NEW PEACE INITIATIVE

Khrushchov's speech on the 20th anniversary of the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union has been given the customary rough handling by the U. S. press and State Department. It is even sought to be made out that the Soviet leader, dressed in his World War II uniform, was preparing his people for some kind of military offensive.

At the outset one point has to be made absolutely clear—peace will not be won by passivity. There have been editorials, cartoons and other forms of comment in the Indian monopoly press bemoaning the fact that Khrushchov has again kicked up the dust, again disturbed the status quo. The implication is that no sooner is one problem settled than the Soviet Union creates another one.

Let us look at the facts, however, it is neither Khrushchov nor the Soviet Union that "created" the problem of the German peace treaty or West Berlin. These two problems were the direct outcome of the Second World War and represent, in a sense, its continuation into a world which has seen many changes in the intervening 16 years of uneasy peace. It is time enough, surely, that the aftermath of the last war be ended.

The second point to be grasped is that leaving things alone, maintenance of the status quo is not always, at any rate, conducive to the preservation and consolidation of world peace. It depends on what the status quo is as also on what the proposed changes are. This is specially true of the situation arising from the lack of a German peace treaty and the present status of W. Berlin.

It scarcely needs proving that the main storm troopers of the most bellicose sections of the imperialists, are the cohorts of the West German Government. And these revanchists feed fat on the fact that internationally they can claim that the German question—its unification or bifurcation, its frontiers and so on—is still unsettled. This lack of definitiveness is of great help to Adenauer and his colleagues in their campaign for a March to the East, for the "liberation" of East Germany and the "re-absorption" of territory beyond the Oder-Nesse boundary of Poland. This lack of total clarity must end and end soon.

Even more dangerous is the position of W. Berlin. One often wonders, judging from the ill-informed nature of their comments, if the glib foreign editors of our monopoly press realise where W. Berlin is. It is not in West Germany nor does W. Germany have the slightest rights of any kind there. It is situated in the heart of the German Democratic Republic and is the other half of that State's capital. Berlin was divided only because the Western powers were able to station their troops there as part of the agreement between the Allied States on the occupation of Germany.

West Berlin represents a literal flashpoint of danger. The two camps confront each other, again to put it quite literally, arms in hand. It has become the

Six months have been allotted by the Soviet Union for these talks.

Falling this type of reunification the Soviet Union proposes to sign a German peace treaty with both States if possible, with the German Democratic Republic alone, if necessary. It invites all the former Allied Powers to do likewise but is not prepared to put up with endless procrastination by the West.

As for the German frontiers Khrushchov states: "The Soviet Union only proposes to record what has long since taken shape and exists in reality. We propose de jure consolidation of the existing frontiers of Germany." It is possible that the present frontiers do not please the West German revanchists but they have only themselves to blame. It was not we who began the war for the revision of frontiers. The present frontiers of Germany took shape as a result of the defeat of Nazi Germany as a result of the defeat of those who had unleashed a predatory war".

In the strident voices of U. S. reaction to these eminently sane and sensible proposals can be heard the accents of nuclear holocaust makers. Time (June 23) states: "The official U. S. policy has always been to maintain Western rights in Berlin at whatever cost... If 1961 brings a showdown between the West and Communism—as Khrushchov seems to say—it is better for the West than it comes in Berlin than in Laos or Congo".

The Soviet proposals for W. Berlin has been succinctly summarised in the June 22 speech of Khrushchov: "We propose a free city status for West Berlin. We have no intention of changing the social and political system in W. Berlin. This is the internal matter of its population. Neither the Soviet Union nor the German Democratic Republic intends to restrict the links between West Berlin and all the countries of the world."

"In conformity with international law, however, there must be respect for the sovereign rights of the German Democratic Republic across whose territory run the communications connecting West Berlin with the outside world....

"The Soviet Union proposes that in the search for a solution the de jure and de facto situation now obtaining be taken as point of departure. No one demands the breaking of the existing way of life of the West Berlin population, no one is going to intervene in its affairs. But the Soviet Union is not expected to agree to the infringement of the territorial integrity of the German Democratic Republic or of her sovereignty".

Similarly with regard to the German peace treaty. The Soviet proposals are anxious and eager for German unification and for the signing of a peace treaty with a single German state. But how is this unity to be achieved and what are its frontiers to be?

Here the Soviet Union stresses that full account must be taken of existing reality, itself a product of the quite recent past. It is a fact that there are two German States with two different social systems. Hence the problem of reunification cannot be solved by a mere mechanical merger or by the absorption of one by the other. It is for the representatives of the two States to sit together and devise the possible path and pattern of reunification.

While firmly refusing to be intimidated by these aggressive gestures, Khrushchov has sent out a clarion call to the peoples of the world: "It is often said in our press that Khrushchov is a

# INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

peace champion, that he will ensure world peace and so on. This is flattering, of course.

"But to pin hopes on one country, on one person even if he stands at the head of the government of such a country as the Soviet Union, and to expect that they alone can ensure peace while others will be inactive, means to do a service not to peace but to forces of aggression, the forces of war."

"Life shows that to win world peace it is not enough to rely on the efforts of some single country. It is not enough to find 'heroes' of some sort and rely on them to ensure peace."

"In order to ensure enduring peace on earth it is essential for the peoples of our entire planet to make an all-out effort, to strengthen peace. The peoples and the peoples alone can force the governments which resist disarmament, which build up stocks of arms in order to unleash war, to desist from such a dangerous and unreasonable policy".

## LAOTIAN SETTLEMENT

THE Zurich agreement between the three princely representatives of the main political groupings in Laos represents a big advance and signifies the scoring of a new success.

Right at the start, the communique categorically acknowledges the reality of the existence of three political trends in Laos. When the talks began the Boum Oum group talked of "two parties" and not three in an effort to belittle the Neo Lao Haksat, in accordance with the orders of the U. S. This position has had to be abandoned.

The joint political programme adopted at Zurich stipulates that Laos will apply the five principles of peaceful coexistence, pursue a policy of defending the unity, neutrality, independence and sovereignty of the country; participate in no military alliance or coalition; recognise no protection of any military alliance or coalition; permit no foreign interference in the internal affairs of Laos in any form; observe the 1954 Geneva agreements and abrogate all treaties and agreements which are contrary to the principle of peace and neutrality.

The Western press has sought to belittle the significance of this programme by calling it vague and open to interpretation. On the contrary, the programme is itself that "Laotian neutrality" which had been the subject of much discussion at Geneva. It is a crushing rebuff to the U.S. plans for a trusteeship over Laos and shows that that country's future pattern will be along the lines long advocated by Souvanna Phouma and Souphanouvong.

Special note needs to be taken of that plank in the programme which rejects the "protection of any military alliance or coalition"—a deliberate repudiation

of Dean Rusk's statement that Saeto would "protect" Laos whether the latter liked it or not.

Similar significance attaches to the stipulation in the joint communique that foreign aid to Laotian economic development is welcome but it has to be "direct and unconditional". This is exactly the opposite of the proposal of Dean Rusk that "international control" needed to be exercised over the "administration" of foreign aid to Laos.

It is equally welcome that the Boum Oum proposals for the King to function as Premier or for the so-called National Assembly to elect one, have been rejected. The communique states that the government of National Union would be formed by the representatives of all three trends and that its Premier chosen without going through the National Assembly but by the direct nomination of the King.

While it is a pity that no agreement could be reached at Zurich itself, it is significant that Souphanouvong has declared that the Neo Lao Haksat would only recognise Souvanna Phouma as the Prime Minister. If this is what actually transpires, as appears most likely, it will mean that the legal Laotian Government would have expanded itself—a proposal it had made some months ago.

The U. S. has not liked that Zurich agreement and has gone on with its plans to truncate Laotian sovereignty through the supplementary articles proposed by Averell Harriman to the French draft plan presented to the Geneva conference.

Krishna Menon's statement on Laos (June 28) is a most welcome development and a vital contribution to Laotian freedom and Asian peace. He has rejected the U. S. concept of trusteeship, he has welcomed the Zurich communique. He has declared that Souvanna Phouma alone can be the Premier. This has added sharpness and clarity to the Indian Government's stand at Geneva and will raise our international prestige.

—MOHIT SEN

June 28.

**NEW AGE**  
COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

EDITOR: P. C. Joshi

Printed by D. P. Sinha at the  
NEW AGE PRINTING PRESS,  
5, Jhandewallan Estate, Bani  
Jhand Road, New Delhi, and  
published by him from 7/4, Ans  
All Road, New Delhi.

Phone : 25794  
Telegraphic Address  
MARKBADI

**SUBSCRIPTION RATES**

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

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

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

# NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING

\* FROM PAGE 4

large number of Congressmen are definitely non-communal.

Pandit Nehru was asked to issue an appeal, as also the Congress Working Committee, to Congressmen to join hands with other non-communal forces to wage a concerted struggle against communalism. The urgency was underlined of holding a conference of all major secular parties and elements to wage a concerted struggle against communalism.

The National Council endorsed the stand taken in the letter to the Prime Minister. It also endorsed the decision of the Kerala Committee of the Party regarding the election of the Speaker and the subsequent by-election. It felt that all these decisions had not only helped the work of the unity of all democratic forces but also raised the prestige of the Party and enhanced its political standing and moral appeal. The atrocious farce played by the Congress over the Kerala Speaker's election has lowered its prestige considerably.

The National Council discussed the agitation that had developed in Tamilnad on the issue of the Ceylon Tamils. A joint statement had been issued by our Party in Tamilnad together with several other parties which was objectionable in several ways and which was later publicly criticised by the Secretariat of the Tamilnad Committee of our Party. (Both the statements were published in the New Age of May 21). The National Council also heard the report of P. Ramamurthy who visited Ceylon.

There can be no doubt that our Tamilnad comrades have shown rare courage in face of the chauvinist campaign that is being worked up on this issue. They deserve to be congratulated on the bold stand they have taken.

## ASSAM'S PROBLEMS

Among the most important issues taken up at this session of the National Council was the situation in Assam. A detailed report was presented by the General Secretary giving the findings of his tour of the State towards the end of May as well as outlining the general line for a solution of the language problem. Other reports on the subject were presented by Phani Bora and Achintya Bhattacharya.

The resolution adopted by the National Council (printed elsewhere in this issue of New Age) represents the unified understanding of the entire Party and will be the basis of all the future work and agitation on the language question of the Party in all areas of Assam as well as West Bengal. It is a big contribution not only to the promotion of complete unity inside our own Party but also towards the solving of the problem of minorities in Assam on the basis of justice and mutual goodwill.

The language problem of the State is an extremely complex one, which cannot

be dealt with here and would require a separate article. No simple solution could be propounded for this problem, but the needs of the democratic movement demand that a solution to this problem is found while making utmost efforts to maintain the integrity of the State. The dangers inherent in the present situation have been highlighted by the events of recent weeks.

The National Council, after thorough discussion in which several members took part, adopted a resolution which if implemented, can help to develop good relations among the people of Assam. The resolution states that Assamese should be the official language of the composite state of Assam. Bengali should be the official language in Cachar without any condition or restraint, and should also be recognised as a language throughout the State for certain specific purposes, which are mentioned in the resolution; though it cannot be recognised as an additional official language of the State.

The resolution calls for the recognition of the rights of the Hills peoples in regard to their languages and for the prompt implementation of the Government decision to recognise the Hills languages as the official languages for the area.

It is clear that only with this approach of unity and this complex but just solution that Assam can make an advance in the direction of harmony and growth. Our comrades in Assam both in the Brahmaputra Valley and in Cachar have an especially heavy task and responsibility. So also our comrades in West Bengal where our Party is a major force with a proud record in the preservation of the unity of the masses. There is no doubt that they will be under fire from the chauvinists and extremists. But armed with the understanding and line of the National Council Resolution they can and must play the worthy role of unifiers of the democratic masses.

The National Council had some discussion on the Third General Elections and the tactics of our Party. It also heard reports on the situation in several States and held preliminary discussions. There was unified understanding on this vital issue.

## THIRD ELECTIONS

These elections are going to be of crucial importance for the democratic movement and for our entire people. The Congress, as before, will be the main party in field, contesting practically every seat. It will appeal to the people on the basis of achievements of the Second Plan and promises held out in the Third Plan, make full use of the India-China border dispute, strive to bag Muslim and other minority votes as their only protector and simultaneously make use of every possible method—caste, power of money, unscrupulous demagoguery and, above all, its control over the State machinery.

The victory won by the Congress in the Orissa elections, a victory beyond the fondest expectations of the Congress leaders, will help to boost the morale of Congressmen in all States.

Parties like the Swatantra, the Jan Sangh etc., as well as the PSP will strive to utilise the deep discontent and frustration of the masses for their own consolidation; They will also use the India-China dispute both against the Congress and against our Party.

Despite all the differences that exist between the Congress and these parties, on one point they are all agreed: the Communist Party must be dislodged from its position as the main party of opposition both in Parliament and in the total number of seats in the States legislatures.

If they were to succeed, it will give a big setback to our Party and to the entire democratic movement. It will mean further acceleration of the shift to the right on the part of the Congress and the Government. It will mean enormous strengthening of the forces of right reaction—both inside the Congress and outside it. It will embolden the vested interests and the Government to mount new offensives against the people. Also it will cause profound demoralisation among the toiling masses who look upon our Party as their champion.

## MAINTAIN POSITION

These moves must be defeated. Our influence, taking the country as a whole is greater than at any time before. We can and will retain our position in Parliament and in the State legislatures as a whole, if serious efforts are made by all of us right from now.

Big developments are going to take place in the world arena and in our country during the years 1962-67. Sharp conflicts may develop inside the Congress itself. The controversy that grew over the election of the Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in Parliament was not just a storm in a tea-cup. The question "Who after Nehru" has acquired a new urgency and pointedness.

The position which our Party and democratic elements win in the Third General Elections will, to a considerable extent, determine how effectively they

are able to intervene in the situation that may develop in the coming period.

The question of correct election tactics is, therefore, naturally one of crucial importance. The Political Resolution adopted at Vijayawada stated:

"We shall fight the elections as a big political battle on the basis of the entire policy of the Party. Sharply demarcating ourselves from the parties of right reaction and communalism and their slogans, we shall, at the same time, lay bare the anti-people policies of the Government and put forward our alternative policies.

"We shall come before the people with our record as the Party that strives to build the national democratic front for national democratic tasks and, as part of this struggle, defend the people against attempts from the Government and vested interests. In States, where the possibility exists, we shall give the slogan of a Government which can carry out genuine popular and democratic policies".

## MAIN CONTEST

From the above and also taking into account the actual situation in the country as a whole, as well as every State, it is clear that as far as we are concerned the main contest will be with the Congress. It is the policies of the Congress that have been in operation for the last 14 years. It is these policies that breed frustration and discontent and it is these policies that we seek to alter. Also, in most of the constituencies, our main opponents will be candidates of the Congress.

At the same time, our agitational approach should be such as to win the support of as big a section of non-party masses and also masses, under the Congress influence as possible. Further, while fighting the Congress, we shall have no alliance or understanding with parties of communal reaction—Jan Sangh, Hindu Sabha, Muslim League, Akalis and parties like the Swatantra. On the contrary, in order to prevent such parties from utilising the anti-Government sentiment, we shall have to expose them, conduct a sustained ideological struggle against them and show how, by disrupting the unity of the masses, they weaken the struggle for genuine democratic policies.

Inside our Party, there is a strong tendency to minimise the political influence and manoeuvring capacity of the Congress and also to count too much on dissensions inside the Congress. Undoubtedly such dissensions exist and should be made use of, but we must not exaggerate their significance in terms of elections.

They operate far more in by-elections and in local elections (panchayats, etc.) where the question of power is not there, where the whole resources of the Congress are not thrown in the field nor its entire machinery set in motion.

## CONCENTRATION TACTICS

Past experience shows that generally on the eve of general elections to Assemblies and Parliament such dissensions get either patched up or do not exercise much influence over election results except in marginal constituencies. Also persons who stand as "independents" mainly because they have not secured Congress tickets, generally fail to inspire confidence among the people and to secure many votes.

Finally, and above all, it must be borne in mind that in practically every State, despite dissensions, the Congress has succeeded in building up a vast and quite efficient election machinery—especially in the rural areas. The huge sums spent by the Government in community projects, development blocks and various other schemes have helped to create a new type of well-paid "Congress workers" who are a part of the Congress electoral machinery. Thanks to this machinery—combined with the still big influence of the Congress and lavish expenditure—the Congress is able to get a very high percentage of its voters to the polls.

Learning from past experience, we must adopt the tactic of concentration on a limited number of seats, which of course will vary considerably from State to State. We must bear in mind that discontent alone does not bring votes to our Party. The decisive factor will be the base secured by the Party through intensive work.

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# GREETINGS TO GOPALAN

MY dear Gopalan,

The National Council, which is in session now, has asked me to convey to you its joy and warm greetings on the successful termination of the hungerstrike that you had undertaken recently.

Your fast had brought about the broadest unity of the people of Kerala in particular and the country transcending all barriers of political affiliations and drawn attention to the callous and inhuman attitude of the Kerala Government which had unceremoniously evicted 3,000 peasant families from their lands in the highlands. That a leader of your

stature had to undertake a hungerstrike for such an issue, viz., that the Government should bring to bear a human approach to poor peasants, is a measure of the callousness of the Kerala Government towards the common people and their problems.

We are glad that the Government have agreed not only to give facilities for the Amaravati peasants but also to consult opposition parties in future when evictions become inevitable for purposes of projects and such construction activity.

By your hungerstrike you have rendered yeoman service

to our entire country. The National Council believes that Government in other States also will hereafter bring to bear a just and human approach in similar circumstances.

Everyone in the National Council missed you very much in this session. But we all realise what the state of your health would be at the end of 12 days of hungerstrike. I would request you to take complete rest and look after your health carefully. Your complete and steady restoration to normal health is of utmost importance.

With warm greetings,  
Ajoy Ghosh.