

# BON VOYAGE!

# NEW AGE

## COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

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# All For Success At Belgrade!

This week India's Prime Minister will go to Belgrade to discuss the great problems of war and peace, colonialism and national liberation, with the representatives of 30 countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America with a population of more than 800 million.

IN the capital of Yugoslavia will assemble a historically significant conference of representatives of States from all the continents of the world, which have not aligned themselves with any military or political grouping and which have been taking their stand on just and noble principles, on peaceful coexistence, for the struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

Our Prime Minister is deeply respected the world over. He will meet, face to face, the eminent representatives of countries new to the world arena but who have already made their mark.

### SUCCESS FOR PEACE

We have no doubt that their discussions and decisions will help to lift up the world situation, save and strengthen world peace, and expel the colonialists usurpers, back home. We wish Prime Minister Nehru bon

voyage and big success at Belgrade.

The Indian Communists, ever since the idea of such a conference was first mooted, welcomed it, supported India attending it and contributing its best and utmost.

As Communists in the biggest and most influential non-aligned country in the present day world it was easy enough for us to foresee the positive and constructive role a world conference of non-aligned countries could play in the present world context, in strengthening the camp of peace and anti-colonialism and isolating the camp of war and colonialism.

We know the strength of our country as well as our weaknesses we are similarly aware of our points of unity and differences with the other countries which will be represented at the Belgrade conference. They will all be discussing issues of common concern to themselves and to the world.

Non-alignment has proved

itself a progressive trend in our world. It is not a passive, cowardly attitude of neutralism which refuses to take sides in current controversies but only curses: "Plague on you both!"

The countries pursuing the policy of non-alignment are also wedded to peace based on the principle of coexistence and have achieved their own independent national statehood through struggle against imperialism.

They judge issues on merits, on the basis of established facts. They represent a new historic trend, healthy and constructive. Their world in-

\*\*\*\*\* by \*\*\*\*\*  
\* P. C. JOSHI \*  
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fluence has grown and is destined to grow.

These countries are not militarily powerful and economically they are yet backward but politically and morally they occupy a strategic place and their voice counts in a big way. More and more they themselves are discovering who are their real friends and who the foes in the common struggle against war and colonialism.

After the ignominious fate of U-2s and the successful flight of the Vostoks there is no doubt, among those who can think realistically and on the basis of solid facts, that the socialist camp is already stronger than the imperialist camp and if the imperialists are mad enough to launch on any war venture they will be squashed like bugs.

But it will be at a terrible cost to humanity, of fire, and blood, loss of the most prized national treasures and the like. It is not a gloomy but a tragic prospect and this is just what the socialist States seek to avoid the most.

### IMPERIALIST DECLINE

The Belgrade conference, the biggest world assemblage of countries unaligned to either of the two camps can turn the world scale. All together their moral and political weight is so great that their voice of reason, based on the principles of justice, in the cause of peace for mankind and the liberation of every nation, can no more be ignored by imperialism.

The vaunted "position of strength" of the imperialist camp exists no more, not even in the estimate of the imperialist statesmen themselves, nor of their common

citizens and the press of their own countries. The fiascos of their aggressive policies are writ large over all the continents and have produced a plentiful crop of juicy jokes.

Again the Western camp, was never in greater disarray and their failure to pull together is the worry of their top statesmen. It does not, however, get solved by their own ceaseless struggle to outmanoeuvre each other to achieve an equal status along with the USA. Their dissensions become worse.

They are failing to have their way in every sector of ever growing anti-colonialist front, whether it be in Cuba or Congo or Laos or Tunisia. They are, however, not taking their defeats lying down. They continue to wage their unjust struggle under new demagogic slogans and through newer tricky tactics.

In the very heart of Europe they have produced an artificial crisis over Berlin. Their bluff and bluster has been called off by Khrushchov who has offered negotiations after putting them in their place and administering a grim warning they dare not ignore.

A mere recollection of the significant world events of our own time is enough to drive home the generalisation that if world peace has been saved so far, despite repeated threats to it, if nation after nation in Asia, Africa and now in Latin America has achieved its liberation despite all the resistance of the colonialists, it is because the newly liberated countries like India, stood and worked together with the socialist countries headed by the USSR.

### BERLIN PROBLEM

The latest examples are Laos where the Krishna Menon formula broke the US imposed deadlock and Congo where the earlier soft and compromising Indian attitude cost Lumumba's life while the later tough and principled line has placed on the shoulders of the Indian troops the responsibility for cleaning up the imperialist nest of Katanga.

Latest of all is the example of Berlin. After India's Prime Minister broke his long silence over the German problem and the imperialist side realised that the Indian view point came near the minimum terms offered by Khrushchov, what a howl emerged from the Western press, what high-powered pressures were exerted to get further clarifications and restatements from New Delhi. Every big contribution that

independent India has made to the world cause has been in cooperation with the countries led by Communism. It is no accident that Lenin's co-existence is basically the same as Nehru's Panch Sheel. It is the application of this very principle to the concrete but controversial issues of the day that will be the manly task at Belgrade before Pandit Nehru and other non-aligned statesmen.

Pandit Nehru's latest four speeches in the foreign affairs debate made in the two Houses of the Indian Parliament already contain the good seeds out of which an effective Indian contribution at Belgrade must sprout.

The German problem and the Berlin crisis constitute for the time being the biggest single issue facing the world. The leaders of the imperialist camp expected that India's need for foreign aid will keep India on their side or at least keep India muzzled. They were badly disappointed by Nehru's pronouncements on the subject.

### SOPS SECURED

These were unequivocally clear on the issue of the reality of two Germanies, the sanctity and inviolability of Oder-Niesse line as an international boundary, the rights and obligation of the two sides in Berlin, and above all the imperative need for peaceful negotiations. The Western side secured sops after frantic pressure but the essentials have remained intact. It does not of course redound to Indian dignity for its Prime Minister to have to explain and soften his stand.

The anti-colonial issue makes the greatest appeal to us because of our own national experience. After Asia, Africa and Latin America are seething with anti-colonial struggles, Pandit Nehru's equivocation over US aggression against Cuba has damaged Indian prestige in Latin America. Contact with independent Latin American statesmen should help Pandit Nehru feel for himself the new wind sweeping that continent. In Africa again Indian prestige stands damaged. In his reply in the Lok Sabha, referring to the African countries the Prime Minister stated: "They are full of a feeling of awakening, of growth, of strength, of trying to make themselves heard and to do something."

"Africa is full of a new life, which, sometime, may lead to some action which may not be approved of by others, by

## accept principle of punjabi state!

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India issued the following statement on August 26, 1961:

THE break-down of the talks between Prime Minister Nehru and the Akali leader, Sant Fateh Singh, will cause deep disappointment and great anxiety in the country. It is most unfortunate that even a common approach to the solution of the problem facing the Punjab should not have been found.

The negotiations have failed because the Government of India would still not see the essential justice behind the demand for the reorganisation of the Punjab on a linguistic basis.

When the entire map of the rest of the country has already been redrawn on a linguistic basis, there can be no valid reason whatsoever to deny the same treatment to the people of the present bilingual Punjab.

It is plain enough for all to see that the rigid position the Government has taken in the matter has not any merit of principle. It would not bring either normalcy or harmony in the life of the Punjab but would rather aggravate tensions and uncertainties.

The condition of Master Tara Singh is rapidly deteriorating and the gravity of the situation the Government itself can well understand. Let our political prudence and foresight not fail us at this critical testing moment.

We would earnestly appeal to the Prime Minister and the Government of India to resile from their negative and unhelpful approach and accept the principle of the linguistic reorganisation of the Punjab.

We are confident once the principle is accepted, the rest of the problem could be easily solved without yielding to communal pressures from any quarter and in an atmosphere of mutual goodwill and understanding.

# PUNJAB—TENSION AND UNCERTAINTY

Fateh Singh-Nehru talks came to nothing. Even the Akali leader does not want to characterise the failure as a "break down", and in like terms. The reason is obvious, the hope of further talks has not been given up, for the simple reason that there is no other alternative sane course of action open to the Akalis, and the Government, both.

MASTER Tara Singh has, however, avowed afresh: "Nothing short of a Punjabi-speaking State will be acceptable to me. I shall prefer an honourable death to a dishonourable life".

He turned back a group of intermediaries, who had gone in a chartered plane to Amritsar, with the hope of bringing back Fateh Singh to Delhi for renewed talks, with the comment, "the intentions of mediators must be good. But I am clear in my mind about my demand".

Knowledgeable circles characterise the above as the final maximum pressure from the Akalis side before the new round.

The Prime Minister's August 28 Lok Sabha statement holds the field for the time being. It is being taken as the basis of all talks, discussions and future negotiations. The circles charitable and sympathetic to the Prime Minister are popularising the view point that in this statement the Prime Minister has "stretched himself to the maximum extent possible to provide a solution of the Punjab tangle", that it is constructive, statesman-like, and seeks to meet the various view points as far as possible.

## Nehru's Statement

The New Delhi cynics who see politics as a clever game of manoeuvres and counter-maneuvres are also impressed by Nehru's statement and think that his statement can mean all things to all men, and may provide the basis both for honourable retreat and honourable solution.

The Prime Minister's statement is expected in official circles to lead to the termination of the fast and the counter-fasts. Arya Samaj leading circles who are the champions of the Hindu communal side in the present controversy concede that it is now possible to appeal to the two Hindu fasters, Swami Rameshwaram and Yogi Raj to withdraw their fasts since the Prime Minister has clearly ruled out any "further partition" of the Punjab.

The Akali side is not happy nor is it taking the attitude of active hostility towards the Prime Minister's statement. They consider it unsatisfactory.

The pro-Akali mediators are known to have become divided and this is a reflection of the differentiation that is inevitably appearing inside the Akali camp.

One section is of the view that the Prime Minister's statement does not provide the basis for the end of Masterji's fast while others are more hopeful. The latter attach significance to the two concessions made to allay Sikh fears. They give importance to the Prime Minister's offer to

hold a satisfactory enquiry into the complaints of discrimination against the Sikh community.

They also seize upon the offer to look into the grievances about the unsatisfactory working of the regional formula, and the further offer that "some additional powers could be given to the regional committees".

## Appeals From All

The Akali circles who are keen on a peaceful solution and avoiding what everyone knows would be fratricidal struggle are already seeking clarification about the implications of some of the observations of the Prime Minister, obviously made to meet the Sikh view point.

The press is full of influential appeals to the aged fasters on both the sides to end the agony to themselves, to Punjab and to India.

A high-powered Congress MPs delegation has rushed to Punjab to get the fasts ended and restore normalcy. The Punjab issue is again to be debated this afternoon in the Lok Sabha. The developments of next few days would reveal which way Punjab goes.

There is agonising tension but no active passion all-out to burst the bonds. The time is running out, provocateurs are also active but negotiations based on the acceptance of a linguistic State in principle can and must succeed.

## Kerala Spectacle

If Punjab offers the spectacle of the Congress regime having to face Sikh communalism on the one hand and the Hindu communalism on the other, in Kerala there is the ignoble spectacle of the Kerala State Congress leadership carrying on with Muslim communalism, despite the Jabalpur experience, and despite the Durgapur AICC mandate.

The Durgapur AICC after long and solemn discussions called upon all the Congressmen and committees to have no truck with communalism of any brand. Kerala was made no exception to the rule, despite the existence of a coalition Government there.

Every newspaper reader, however, knows that Kerala has been functioning as the exception whether it be in the matter of the election of the Speaker or the Assembly by-election or anything else that matters.

The Congress President Sanjewa Reddi himself toured Kerala but left the status quo of Congress collusion with the Muslim League intact. Love of power keeps up the old prejudices against the Communists and

# NOTES OF THE WEEK

they are not seen as fellow secularists in the common struggle against communalism.

The civic elections fell due throughout the Kerala State. The KPCC decided to share the seats in these elections with the PSP, with the clear understanding that the quota given to the PSP will be divided up between the PSP and the Muslim League candidates.

## Old Tactic

The old anti-Communist front tactic was sought to be continued in the new phase as well but with a face-saving difference. The Congress would enter into an open and public agreement with the PSP alone, but with a secret agreement attached that the seats earmarked for the PSP would be duly shared with the League. Thus, the Congress would be saved from the sin of allying with the League, so far as the voters below and the High Command above were concerned.

The Kerala Communists have been repeatedly making united front offers to the State Congress leadership to unitedly fight communalism. This time the Communist again appealed that party contests should be avoided and the civic elections should be treated in a non-partisan spirit.

The KPCC leadership rejected the Communist offer with the same old anti-Communist arguments, and entered into a secret deal with the League, to be put into operation via the unprincipled PSP.

The Kerala Communists did not let the situation drift but made it a mass campaign point to drive some sense into KPCC leaders by making the Congress following itself vocal. A big public debate ensued. The way Kerala opinion has turned was duly reflected in the All-Kerala Non-Party Panchayat Convention, held under the auspices of the Kerala Sarvodaya Mandal.

It openly came out welcoming the Communist offer and requested the Congress and the PSP to adopt a non-party approach towards the civic elections.

## Public Scandal

Recently Union Minister for Community Development visited Kerala. He also expressed himself in favour of keeping the party lists and labels out of the civic elections.

The attitude of the KPCC became a public scandal and it did not remain confined within Kerala.

The India Press Agency, August 23, reports a directive from the Congress High Command sent to the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee that there should be no further commitments, overt or covert, with the Muslim League. The High Command is also reported to be disappointed with the attitude taken by the KPCC in rejecting the Communist offer.

All these developments did seem to upset the Kerala Congress bosses' political game. Their way out of the

dilemma has been as unprincipled as they themselves. They have decided to postpone the Panchayat elections till after the General Elections in 1962.

These Panchayat elections were due to take place in October-November this year. Now by a ministerial fatwa the life of the existing Panchayats has been extended upto April 30, 1962. The last Panchayat elections in Travancore-Cochin were held as far back as 1953. Since then their term has been extended, by administrative orders, from time to time.

It is now for the Congress High Command to decide if they will go on letting the Kerala Congress leadership play with the AICC directives against alliance with communalism, and more, deny the people of Kerala their democratic right to have the Panchayat elections when they are due and they are over-due. The people of Kerala will no doubt learn more and more from the evil experiment of the Triple Alliance, to move and act the right way.

## Bullet—Their Last Weapon

M. R. Ao, the Head of the Naga Interim body, is no more. He has been murdered, in cold blood, by another Naga who sought an interview with him.

This was no ordinary murder. It was a political murder. It was a foul murder of the head of one of the constituent units of the Indian Union by a Naga agent of the foreign powers who did not want the Nagaland to settle down as an integral part of the Indian Union, and under Dr. Ao who gave his all to bring about a peaceful solution of the Naga problem and win Statehood for the Nagas with a united homeland, and inside the Indian Union, after ages of partition of their homeland and isolation from the rest of India, as it was under the British imperialist overlords.

It is no secret that the imperialist powers were behind the armed rebellion in Nagaland and Phizo was their man. It took them years to realise that independence for Nagaland was out of the question against India's unequivocal opposition.

As talks for a peaceful settlement of the Naga problem and a new constitutional set-up for the Nagaland began, during the end of last year, and it became clear enough that the new arrangement would be put into practice with the beginning of this year, the imperialist side grew desperate.

## Imperialist Aims

That the imperialists wanted negotiations to be conducted with the rebel leaders and Phizo installed as the head of the new set-up is clear enough from the reports of the influential American and British journalists after their respective Governments succeeded in humbugging and browbeating the Indian Govern-

ment to let them visit the Naga areas and interview the rebel underground.

Bradsher of the Associated Press in his dispatch wrote: "People in the villages do not know what is statehood and what is independence but they still wanted independence".

Paul Grimes of the New York Times (December 27) cabled back on one side are about 36,000 armed Indians on the other side there are at least 1,500 tough, bold, and apparently dedicated Nagas who believe that the countryside they roam in is entitled to independence". In his estimate only 20 to 30 per cent of the Nagas were actively supporting "the moderates", like Ao.

The British press carries the story forward. For example, the Scotsman (January 16) published a dispatch from Rawle Knox which stated:

"The Indian officials say that they are confident that when the Nagas understand that having a State of their own within the Indian Union virtually means running their own affairs, the back-bone of the armed revolt will be broken. Others, both Indians and outsiders, feel that peace in the remote Naga hills is a long way off".

The Times (January 14) published a centre page article from its Delhi correspondent which stated:

## Phizo's Game

"In some of the statements made to the correspondents (by the rebel side—PCJ) there were hints that the underground might itself now be willing for something short of sovereignty. (Phizo saying, 'we are willing to abide by any reasonable and just solution'), if the settlement were negotiated with its own leaders, probably including Phizo.

"This would present difficulties for the Government which might seem to be betraying the moderates if it had itself encouraged it if it began to deal with the underground directly. But there are plenty of examples, past and present, to suggest that Nehru would be unwise to rule out such discussions".

The above should help to explain why Dr. Ao was removed from his post of duty. He was a good Naga and a loyal Indian. The imperialists wanted their agent Phizo as Head of the strategic Naga State. There are other Indian leaders whom they do not like. The rebels' revolver and the assassin's knife are the favourite weapons of the imperialists when the day comes to remove from the scene the best leaders of the country.

The one lesson for all Indians to learn from Dr. Ao's martyrdom is to run a national campaign calling upon the Indian Government to expel imperialist foreign correspondents hostile to India and hound out of public life the reactionary politicians who represent in their states or in the New Delhi set-up what Phizo represents in Nagaland, pro-Western reaction.

—P. C. JOSHI

SEPTEMBER 3, 1961

# Fatchy Decade Of Indian Planning

The end of the first decade of India's planned development, and the beginning of the second, has been marked by publication of a number of studies and reports detailing the progress made and enumerating the targets conceived for the future. To this list a new study has been added this month in the form of the Reserve Bank's Report on Currency and Finance for the year 1960-61.

DESPITE its being in the nature of a routine report, the fact that it has to deal with the last year of the Second Plan has given ample opportunity to its authors to provide in it a summation of the achievements made during the past quinquennium, as well as point to the darker hues which still disfigure our development pattern.

And while the former, symbolised in the rapid strides in the industrial field, should no doubt receive the welcome they deserve, it would be suicidal for the country not to take urgent measures to eradicate the latter.

## Industrial growth

On the credit side there is the striking increase in industrial production. The general index for this production increased by 12.1 per cent in 1960 as compared to 8.7 per cent in 1959. Over the Second Plan period as a whole it registered an increase of some 39 per cent, though, as the Report points out, this figure underestimates production in new industries which commenced production after 1957.

While this progress is encouraging the progress shown by the consumer goods sector has been uneven. In some industries like sugar there has been overproduction, while in others, like mill-made cloth, the results have been comparatively modest.

While in some cases paucity of industrial raw materials might have been a factor limiting production, the shortfalls and lack of drive in others might as well be due to some deliberate policy on the part of the entrepreneurs to cut production to keep up prices.

The Deccan Herald (August 22), drawing pointed attention to this aspect, has suggested that "the erratic behaviour of the private sector industries" should be subjected to a "thorough examination", for, "in the context of the prevailing inflationary conditions, any deliberate under-utilisation of capacity cannot be viewed with equanimity".

In the sphere of agriculture the year 1959-60 was not a good year, but the set-back suffered in it is not likely to be viewed with seriousness in the light of the latest estimate of foodgrains production in the following year.

This year, it is claimed, the indigenous food production will touch all-time peak of 79.3 million tons which will be about as much as the Second Plan had targeted. And yet, even if this estimate be true, production during the past

five years would have increased only by 18 per cent compared to 22 per cent in the First Plan period.

The trends of agricultural production, thus, raise the all important issue of a serious lack of stability in our production of foodgrains. In fact, the variations from year to year, with lean years frequently pulling down an upward curve, call for thorough-going land reforms and other measures to ensure a steady progress in this sphere.

In spite of these serious drawbacks, however, the increases in production in industry as well as in agriculture, are the only bright spots in the economy which the Reserve Bank has been able to point to in its voluminous report. For the rest, its findings only tell a tale of inflation holding the economy in its grips, with the authorities passively watching the situation.

The credit control measures adopted from time to time were diluted or discarded even before they are able to have their impact. The result was that, notwithstanding these measures, the rise in scheduled bank credit in 1960-61 was almost twice as large as in the previous year.

As for the beneficiary of this credit the Reserve Bank is candid enough to own that the share of the Government in it declined progressively since 1957-58, while that of the private sector progressively increased by Rs. 249 crores in 1960-61, compared to Rs. 138 crores in 1959-60 and Rs. 47 crores in 1958-59.

## Banking profits

Banking in our country is a lucrative business. This is borne out as much by the Reserve Bank's Report as by the latest "Statistical Tables Relating to Banks", which show that profits of the scheduled banks increased by Rs. 3.8 crores to Rs. 17.4 crores in 1960 against an increase of Rs. 3.2 crores to Rs. 13.7 crores in 1959.

And yet, the fruit of this prosperity, now proven to the hilt, is allowed to be gathered by the private sector. And this under the patronage of a Government which swears by expansion of the public sector, but is never able to provide enough funds to sustain its programmes.

A natural corollary of this surfeit of freedom and of funds given to the private sector has been the enormous growth in its profits.

The profits before tax of 925 large and medium-sized companies, closing their ac-

counts during July 1959—June 1960, were Rs. 156 crores compared to Rs. 117 crores in the previous year. Corporate savings of Rs. 37 crores were more than double of the figure of Rs. 18 crores for the previous year.

The buoyancy of the capital market, a natural result of availability of credits, was reflected in the increased number of new floatations, some of which were heavily oversubscribed, and in a spurt in share prices.

An inevitable offshoot of this buoyancy, and of a complete lack of effort to control prices, was the high level prices attained in the year under review. The index of wholesale prices rose by 7.2 per cent to 127.5 per cent during the year, and that too over a more or less similar rise in the previous year. Over the Second Plan period as a whole the general price level rose by about 30 per cent as against a decline of some 18 per cent during the First Plan period.

## prices soar

The burden of this rise in the price level was borne first and foremost by the working people. The All-India consumers price index, which stood at 121 in March 1960, rose to 124 in March this year, while the increase over the Second Plan period as a whole was 24 per cent compared to a decline of 2.9 per cent in the First Plan period.

It is, however, not the people alone who suffered. The Government, with a fast emptying till of foreign reserves, had also to face a heavy draft on them. In 1959-60 it amounted to Rs. 59 crores, while the figure for the previous year was only Rs. 16 crores, and this despite a sizeable inflow of external assistance amounting to Rs. 400 crores.

The Report on Currency and Finance is thus a sort of "bitter sweet mixed grill" as the Free Press Journal has put it, but the amount of bitterness it contains is so overpowering that its little sweetness is not able to leave much taste. The common man, groaning under the inequities of distribution of the national product, feels exasperated, while the officials vie with each other to take credit for the little advance that has obviously been made.

This certainly is not a proper juxtaposition of these two forces, for it gives opportunity to monopolists and their hirelings to feign concern for the people, and woo them for their own selfish ends. To end this juxtaposition through rectification of the shortcomings pointed in the Report is the task which the authorities have to take in hand in all earnestness.

As for the people they will always be prepared to give them a hand so long as they know that the bulk of the fruit of their labour will go to them and the nation and not to the monopolists who have so long been fattening on their sweat.

# INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

## U. S. LET-DOWN

THE announcement of the Aid India Club's massive aid programme had buoyed up the spirits in the secretariat so much that its economic pundits had even begun to talk in terms of having solved the Third Plan's foreign exchange problem for good.

In fact, all they were concerned about during the recent past, was the problem of providing enough rupee finance to match the huge amount of aid which was assumed to be already on its way. All of a sudden, however, this refrain has been given up and now the theme is one of "uncertainty over the Aid Programme".

The reason for this severe jolt to their confidence is the rejection by the US Congress of President Kennedy's long-term aid programme. Not only has this programme been cut in size, the very authority which the President had sought to borrow funds for lending has been denied to him.

The result is a marked shrinking of his much-vaunted "New Frontiers" which now bid to stretch no farther than the noses of the august senators and representatives on Capitol Hill. This let down by the US Congress has cut our Americanophiles to the quick. They feel miserably let down, and rightly too, had they not rushed

with bouquets even before the curtain had been drawn?

The Times of India lamented that the "aid bill as it has emerged... is badly battered". Happily it now realises the "urgent need to mobilise its (country's) own resources, cut down non-plan expenditure to the very minimum and make an all-out bid to increase its export earnings".

The Statesman even questioned the maturity of the US administrators and quotes approvingly Senator Fulbright's observation "whether this nation (the US) is prepared to accept the permanent and inescapable responsibilities of having come of age in history".

The US administrators might chose to be defaulters in this respect, but our administrators, who have to administer a nation which has not only "come of age in history" but has had a hoary history to its credit, cannot surely afford not to accept their "inescapable responsibilities".

They now know that the castles they had built on the base of the Kennedy programme have not been able to withstand even the first gust of hostile wind from interests whom Kennedy has to serve. This should make them sit up and think of the ways and means to raise exports and take aid from sources which are willing to link it with trade.

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# Sombre Debate On Punjab Crisis

From Our Parliamentary Correspondent

**BOTH** the gravity of the situation and the baffling complexity of the problem were reflected in the Lok Sabha debate on Tuesday on the Punjab situation arising from Master Tara Singh's fast for the creation of a Punjabi Suba. It was a unique day at Parliament when in the first part of the day the galleries were chockful to watch the reprimand being served on the editor of one of the most popular journals of the country and in the second part to follow with intense concentration the proceedings relating to the crisis in Punjab.

## Dominant Mood

The dominant mood of the House, a few lapses notwithstanding, was not to say anything which might hurt feelings or heighten tensions. While the Left Opposition and the Congress spokesmen, although differing in their stand on Punjabi Suba were moved by sincere anxiety to maintain Hindu-Sikh communal unity in Punjab, the Hindu communalist spokesman voicing the views of the Jan Sangh and the Arya Samaj approached the question from a purely sectarian viewpoint. These latter obviously would not countenance any steps to meet the difficulties of the Punjabi-speaking people which all others recognised.

The Jan Sangh spokesman Balraj Madhok welcomed the "firmness" of the Prime Minister and accused the Government of showing discrimination against Hindus. Far from agreeing to the proposal to strengthen the Regional Committees, he wanted them to be scrapped, for, according to him the Regional formula was a product of Government "appeasement" of the Sikhs. He insisted on the whole of Punjab being treated as a bilingual State and denied the Sikhs any identity of their own by declaring that "Sikhs are Hindus."

As against this even those who spoke from the Congress benches — most of them — recognised the contribution of the Punjabi-speaking and Sikh people, looking at them as an integral and vital part of the Indian nation, yet not lacking in distinctness.

The raking up of the past, the lack of seriousness on the part of some Congress speakers to which Sardar Hukam Singh referred in his speech, was manifestation of bitterness and tension-ridden problems and to some extent an attempt to score debating points on the part of some. In their zeal, some of these gentlemen went to the extent of saying that Communists wanted a respected leader to die so that frustration was generated and Communists thrived on frustration. The flippancy of it should have been patent to those who uttered it.

The Prime Minister in his reply struck to his guns so far as the specific demand of a separate Punjabi Suba being carved out of the present

Punjab State was concerned. Nevertheless, he reiterated with all emphasis at his command that the Punjabi language was dominant and even the predominant, the most important language of the State, while Hindi was also spoken in a part of it.

## Grave Consequences

Sardar Hukam Singh who, although opposed to the creation of a separate Suba was the least inhibited from among the Congress speakers, declared that if the State Government adhered to the principles enunciated in the Prime Minister's statement that Punjab as it was constituted today was a homogeneous Punjabi State and that Punjabi was the dominant language. If it was really a fact and was recognised by the State Government also, he was sure, he said, that most of the difficulties would be removed.

The Prime Minister met the argument of grave consequences flowing in the immediate future if the Suba demand was not conceded with the argument of far graver consequences in the long run if it was — the long-term consequences of tearing a fine-woven tapestry into bits and pieces. He had no quarrel with the principle of linguistic States but with its specific application to the specific situation of Punjab.

Lurking in the background and not mentioned so directly in most cases as far as the speakers from Government benches were concerned was their partisanship for the State Government and its present Chief Minister. There was a scarcely veiled attempt on their part to justify the high-handed and repressive

measures and even demand for more such measures. It was particularly from this section that references to the forthcoming elections came.

Prof. Hiren Mukherjee, on behalf of the Communist Party sincerely regretted the fact that while everybody wanted normalcy to return in Punjab, yet tensions far from being resolved were being aggravated and Government failed to display real anxiety and sufficient political prudence. He characterised the Prime Minister's statement in this light as unsatisfying.

There was no need, he said, to refer to Suba in a

slighting manner as the official benches preferred to do. "With regard to the formation of the linguistic State for the Punjabi-speaking people as far as we are concerned, our stand has been communicated urgently and personally to the Prime Minister, and that we support in principle the formation of a linguistic State where Punjabi is the principal language."

## Time Needed

The implementation of the principle will have to wait. It

is necessary to have some time. The Sikhs and Hindus have got to remain together. The artificial animosities that have been whipped up by certain communal organisations have got to be resolved. Prof. Mukherjee deprecated the fact that some Punjabi speaking Hindus were repudiating their own language. There was obviously a peculiar communal motivation behind this, he said. He further deplored the emphasis on the executive and administrative approach. The speech however violently one differed from it, drew attention to aspects of reality which cannot be overlooked.

## from belgrade to bandung!

\* FROM PAGE 1

Members of this House or by me, but the main thing is that Africa is a continent which is full of vitality and vigour today. That is main thing we must welcome, not some minor thing that they may do which we may not like."

It is all very correct, but on the issue of supporting their just struggle, and resistance to imperialist aggressive moves there can be and must be no equivocation nor delay from the Indian spokesmen.

Again with our own anti-colonialist past and also recent experience of neo-colonialism of the US we should certainly more firmly and boldly in our policy declarations and practical actions move against US imperialism. US generosity with superionic fighters and guided missiles towards Pakistan is only building a pressure-point against India. US and the "Aid" India Club playing the cat-and-mouse game over the issue of foreign aid is only a

device for pumping in US private capital and, thus, building up points of control inside our country.

Ours is the most influential and the biggest non-aligned country, the most industrialised among the underdeveloped nations, the country to which everybody looks from all the capitals of the world. If we do not stand up to US neo-colonialist designs against ourselves and others, who else will?

## Disarmament Must Begin

India will not go under the US but it is only worthy of and necessary for a country like ours to hold the head high, refuse to be taken in by their flattery, and call upon them to talk straight and deal with us in terms of mutually beneficial trade and aid.

The big issue of general and total disarmament has been

thrown into the background by the manoeuvres of those who profit by war, talk of peace but work against it. The nations assembled at Belgrade need peace, above all. We have no doubt that our Prime Minister will sharply pose this issue for on it depends more and growing economic aid for our own national industrialisation.

The imperialists are working for disunity at Belgrade as they had once tried at Bandung. Again a tame Belgrade is their alternative to another Bandung. The actual reality is that a successful Belgrade can and must become the prelude to another and grander Bandung.

Ghana's Nkrumah, Guinea's Sekou Toure, UAR's Nassar, Indonesia's Sukarno and Lanka's Mrs. Bandaranaike are all for such a consummation. We have no doubt that Panditji's consultations as well as the initiatives we expect from him will make another Bandung real and practical.

## hungarian premier's visit opens new chapter of friendship

**D.R. Ferenc Munnich's** visit to India was short but it was of considerable importance, in the first place for the development of cordial relations between our country and Hungary. But its significance was not confined to this alone. The friendly discussions between the two Premiers on outstanding international issues, especially the German problem, will have their inevitable impact on international relations.

## nehru invited to hungary

Dr. Munnich has packed much of the revolutionary activity and experience into his seventy-odd years. Outstanding among the exploits of his career was the participation in the Spanish civil war, to whose battle fronts Jawaharlal Nehru had paid his visit of salutation.

During his banquet speech Panditji mentioned the events of the attempted counter-revolution in Hungary in 1956. He hoped that now the Hungarian people lived in peace and harmony.

The Hungarian Premier made an immediate response by inviting Nehru to visit Hungary and see things for himself. That invitation has been gladly accepted.

Among the important issues discussed was that of economic relations between the two countries. The Hungarian Prime Minister is himself reported to have expressed his country's willingness to provide credit loan for meeting the foreign exchange component of industrial projects for which his country could collaborate with India. The details of the Hungarian credit will have to be discussed subsequently at official level.

## economic relations to be extended

The extent of the credit will depend on the results of discussions currently going on between the two countries for collaboration in setting up a 25,000 ton aluminium plant in the public sector. Possibility of Hungarian credit for the Third Plan industrial projects, other than the aluminium plant, will also be looked into by officials of the two sides.

The two Prime Ministers are also believed to have agreed that there was considerable scope for increased turn-over of trade. There has been a steady growth of trade already between the two countries, the present turn-over standing at about Rs. three crores annually, as compared to the 1952 figure of about Rs. 30 lakhs.

Besides, as the joint communique states a cultural agreement will be signed between the two countries in the near future.

## protege goes to patron's land

**JAN Sangh** pen-pusher "M" who used to sign the weekly "Letter from the Editor" in the *Organiser* has been awarded an American fellowship. He goes to dollar land for a year's training in journalism.

I wish him bon voyage. He, and through him, his journal and the Jan Sangh have won an eminently well deserved favour from their masters. They certainly have served with distinction.

One recalls today how they joined in yapping at Cuba, when America denounced it. They called it "The Marxist-sent gift into the Communist net". In Congo, they unashamedly ran the campaign against Lumumba and for America's NATO ally Belgium. They went to the extent of attacking Nehru for his "denunciation of Belgian colonialism as Satanic."

But their proudest moment was when they took the Indian Prime Minister and the Afro-Asian powers to task for attempting to bring about an East-West rapprochement at the last year's UN session. The Jan Sangh characterised the Five-Power Afro-Asian resolution as "wholly misconceived" and dubbed Nehru's speech as "sound and fury signifying next to nothing".

## franco lauded

On the other hand, that former protege of Hitler and Mussolini and now the pet of American imperialism, Franco, the hangman of Spain, is praised for running "a patriotic regime, which is trying to save its country from Communist cannibalism".

It is obvious that the scholarship granted to the Sanghite editor is but a small recompense only for sterling services rendered by him.

But there is one aspect of the matter which, indeed, may baffle some. Why must the Jan Sangh which swears by "Hindu"

The Indian Prime Minister, they charged, has committed an unforgivable crime by "talking slighting-ly of the USA".

Their latest laurel is a series of articles in the *Organiser* in which Nehru is rebuked in the most abusive terms for having taken a stand against fascism during the thirties. He is called a "Moscow Patriot masquerading as a martyr in the cause of Indian freedom", an "idiot or a Communist" and a "stupid" person who "could never think a thought of his own."

## SPOTLIGHT

values and attacks even planning as a "foreign concept", train up its leading pen-pusher in America? I suppose it is the same gentleman who once wrote the following:

"We are a nation just awakening from a profound slumber. We are only just beginning to flex our muscles after deep sleep. In this situation, Government is exposing the country to all sorts of alien forces..."

## hypocrisy exposed

"Bharat, we think, needs a period of just consolidation, a term of national and nationalist reconstruction before it can be safely allowed to engage in encounter and survive the vital challenges of foreign ways of life."

The Jan Sangh's American nexus is now sending the same sanctimonious scribe abroad to be brain-washed as a publicist of the Yankee brood. What a yawning gap indeed between profession and practice!

If the Jan Sangh's prattle about "Bharatiya" was not rank hypocrisy, it would know that the standard of Indian journalism is any day higher than the American where Goebbelsian

pranks and practices today hold the field in this sphere.

Jan Sangh journalist "M" who preached the philistine philosophy of the frog in the well and practised servitorship of international reaction, goes to Gurujii Gohwalkar's ideal land for being further groomed up.

I wish him a prosperous career as the pet protege of his patrons.

## FAIZ BAZAR YANKEE

**THE** Indian Prime Minister seems to have too sorely disappointed the cold warriors. It was not a very strident note that Panditji struck on the Berlin issue. All the same it appears to have upset the appercarts of those who seized the Soviet insistence on a settlement of the German peace treaty question without further delay as a golden opportunity to step up tension.

The bizarre attempts to counter the demand for peace with war-cries, bordering sometimes on the comic, received a jolt. America, it is reported, is livid with impotent rage. And we find all the gramophones and microphones planted by it in our land,

beginning to blare at top pitch.

Their weekly, *Thought*, from Faiz Bazar which prefers to masquerade as a thoughtful journal has, poor thing, completely lost all balance. Its Beach-comber, who makes his living solely on the jetsam of dollar land, asks in a fit of pique:

"Who influenced Mr. Nehru and when? "Ah, yes. East Germany's Dr. Hager met him two days after he spoke in the Lok Sabha. And there was a 14-page communication from Khrushchov. That was two or three days before he began speaking in the Rajya Sabha. In between there was a Mikoyan speech in Tokyo. "And there's past precedent too. Remember how Mr. Nehru fumbled on the Hungarian revolution (1) at the Calcutta AICC meeting in 1956? Just before that, he had received a letter from the then Soviet Premier Bulganin".

## puerile attack

This, indeed is a very crude and puerile way of saying that the Prime Minister of India "can never think a thought of his own" and is taking orders from other Prime Ministers. One can understand HMV's ire but can one pardon his cheek? Yankee doodle from Faiz Bazar is atrocious; it jars our ears.

-GARUDA

## MUSLIM LEAGUE TO CONTEST KUTTIPURAM

With the announcement by the Election Commission of the dates for the Kuttipuram by-election, the stage is set for another round of intense speculation and debate on the ethics of the Coalition in Kerala.

**PARTICULARLY**, the whole gamut of the Congress approach to Muslim League and the virtues of the Durgapur resolution have been put under probe by the decision of the KPCC not to put up a Congress candidate in the constituency where the Muslim League is now holding the fort for the Coalition.

Earlier expectations that the Muslim League might, in deference to Congress wishes and arrangements made at the time of the election of the Speaker of the Assembly, desist from putting up their official candidate at Kuttipuram and instead sponsor an independent have been belied. The League has decided to set up its own candidate in the constituency where their late leader Seethi Sahab had won with Congress and PSP support in the mid-term elections.

The two Prime Ministers are also believed to have agreed that there was considerable scope for increased turn-over of trade. There has been a steady growth of trade already between the two countries, the present turn-over standing at about Rs. three crores annually, as compared to the 1952 figure of about Rs. 30 lakhs.

Besides, as the joint communique states a cultural agreement will be signed between the two countries in the near future.

a candidate in Kuttipuram against the Muslim League. It is also reported that local nationalist muslims might enter the contest against Muslim League.

The Muslim League's decision to nominate an official candidate in Kuttipuram is vested with much political significance, according to competent observers. It is considered an attempt to establish their claim to be a political party. It was known that Sanjiva Reddy when he visited the State recently had expressed the wish that in Kuttipuram also the Muslim League leadership would follow the tactic adopted in the case of Speakership election.

In the latter case, the Muslim League had agreed to allow the leader of their Legislature Party to resign from the party and stand as an "independent" for Speakership so that Congress MLAs could give him their support.

Such a tactic in the case of a by-election is impossible, according to Muslim League circles. Large masses of Muslim voters have to be approached and it would be difficult for the League leadership to explain to them why the League could not put up its official candidate and had to be content with an "independent".

In the case of Speaker's election, it was easy to explain the decision because the Speaker himself has to be a non-

party man, whereas here it is the question of retaining a Muslim League seat in the Assembly. To be shy of contesting the Kuttipuram by-election on League platform would amount to liquidating the political hold of the party on the Muslim masses, League circles say.

Caught thus "between the devil and the deep sea" — to quote Sanjiva Reddy — Congressmen in Kuttipuram are in a quandary as to what their task in this by-election is. Quite a number of them might desist from going to the polling

booths, thus saving their conscience, but destroying their precious vote. Also, the incapacity of the Kerala Congress leadership to give a plausible explanation of their uncertain role in this episode has more than a demoralising effect on the public. Observers are unanimous that the probity of Congress professions regarding opposition to communalism will be questioned after Kuttipuram. —(IPA)

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# PORTRAIT OF LENIN

by Krishan Chander

In the picture gallery of my mind the portrait of Lenin is set apart from all others. The portraits of other great men seem to look down upon you. They are there higher up in an aura of glory, grandeur, awe and distance. I look up to them and they look down upon me. But the same is not true of Lenin.

You can think of him with all the glory that human memory could invest, with a certain amount of awe and grandeur too, considering the mighty span of his achievements. But you cannot think of him with any distance, though he has been dead all these years.

You think of Lenin and immediately he becomes alive with a warm genuine human smile which obliterates all distance, lending a cordiality of feeling, a nearness of approach which almost seems to whisper into your ears.

One can talk to a portrait of Lenin, but one cannot talk to a portrait of Napoleon. The common language is missing. Other great men from those noble and olympian heights seem to look down upon you. Lenin can look at you, look through you, but most of the time he looks with you at a greater vista of humanity.

That is why his portrait is carried in the hearts of millions of people all over the world. He is one of them. Their friend; their guide; their philosopher; their hope and fulfilment.

Great men have great fads, and they revel in them and the common people generally bear them with a good-natured forbearance because they are the fads of a great man. This makes great men even greater faddists, and generates a dangerous irresponsible individualism in them.

But Lenin had no fads. In the long picture gallery of my mind, I look upon rows and rows of faces of great men and then stop at the portrait of Lenin and ask myself, "why is this man so simple? Why has he got all those fads and frills with which a great man is apt to adorn his personality?" "Perhaps he had no such need," the answer comes back to me; "his cause was as simple as humanity. His force as simple and direct as the force of history. As simple as Truth itself."

Lenin expressed a new concept of greatness which corresponds to the deepest urges of the common people all over the world. His portrait is cast not in the mould of a master, not a subjugator of men, not a God over and above us, but of a man! Heroic and valiant, sagacious and superb, dynamic and decisive, but a man amongst us, with us, and one of us!

## communist simplicity

Gorki noted how easily Lenin could make friends with the poor fishermen of Capri. How easily he could enter into their homes eat with them, laugh with them and fish with them. Other people much earlier observed how quickly and unobtrusively he mixed with the poor peasants of Samara without any sense of overbearing ostentation or condescension.

Lenin's simplicity was not a contrived simplicity, a simplicity of the moment, a vote-catching device which many great people adopt over every three years or five years at the time of the elections, and discard it immediately afterwards.

Lenin's simplicity was an inalienable part of his character. It was an expression of his utter sincerity and dedication to the cause of the common people — the cause of Socialism!

## Lenin's laugh

I have generally found that great men are usually very grim looking. They do not laugh in public. If at all they condescend to smile, it is just a pale tepid little smile. More a snigger than a smile. Most of the time they are behaving as if they are coming back from a graveyard!

Not so Lenin. Of course he could be as grim and

forthright as the occasion demanded. But he could laugh too. And what a bold hearty laugh was Lenin's! His whole body shook and rippled with laughter like foamy waves shaking the sea. His laughter was genuine and infectious and the people warmed up to it and clustered around him instinctively trusting his laughter.

Lenin's laughter was a kind of challenge to the misery and pain around him; it was a kind of a hint to the people around him that if they desire to fashion out a new world they must go about it not with a weak, bleak cowardly face but with a bold cheery heart.

If many great men go about with a funereal expression on their faces it is because they have no vision like Lenin's, no faith in what they say, believe and dream! Lenin could laugh like that because he had an abundant faith in the bright future of humanity.

H. G. Wells once called Lenin "that lone dreamer in the Kremlin." But there are dreams and dreams. One can dream for mankind and against mankind. One can dream for history and against history. And that makes a lot of difference.

Wells had horrible dreams

of worldwide destruction in his fantasies. He carved out a grimly pessimistic picture of the future of humanity in his pseudo-scientific novels.

Many years after Lenin's death there was another "lone dreamer" of the Mein-kampf, and he also dreamt. But he dreamt of world conquest by the German race, and sought to give it a concrete shape by unleashing the second world war, and bringing rack and ruin to hundreds of millions of people in the world.

But to-day Hitler's evil dream lies broken and shattered in the dust, and Lenin's dream lives on for Hitler dreamt against history and Lenin dreamt for history. Hitler dreamt against mankind and Lenin dreamt for mankind!

Lenin worked all his life with every ounce of energy in his body and soul to construct a dream of a rich and a prosperous humanity on earth, and to open wider vistas beyond the earth!

## dreamer's gift

To the common people Lenin, not only gave this earth to inherit, but also

the sun and stars as a great dreamer's cosmic gift! Today in the heartland of his dream man has become more free. For the first time in history two men have broken the bonds of gravity and have suddenly become more free!

And the world rejoices in this great conquest of space by Soviet Soldiers Gagarin and Titov, sons of Lenin. This one feat alone obtains more freedom for mankind than all the statutes of Liberty put together!

So Lenin's dream endures, prospers and gets stronger every day.

And now Lenin's dream enters the domain of Communism, a dream for which the whole world has waited and suffered, now takes shape and is moulded into the stuff of reality by the draft programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The flowerbeds that Lenin prepared have started to bloom. Soon there will be many more blossoms in the garden of man than in the Garden of Eden! Let each man take his bunch of blossoms and walk joyfully into springtime!

Glory be to Lenin!

## Stir in Calcutta's Cultural World

A STIR has been caused in Calcutta's literary world by the magnificent Seven Seas Books from Berlin. Brilliantly got up and costing a paltry two rupees, the titles include classics like Dickens, Thackeray, Mark Twain and William Morris, as well as avant-garde modern fiction, a few of which are significantly marked "Not for sale in the USA, Canada and Britain".

Such is the bankruptcy of the rulers of these countries that, but for the Seven Seas publishers, we might never have set eyes on some of the books. We shall deal only with a few of the works thus rescued from extermination by vandals.

There is the celebrated Maltz that everybody remembers since the years of war: The Cross and Arrow, that heroic tale of Germany's resistance to Hitlerite gangsters with the inspiring burning arrow that leads a squadron of British bombers to its target.

Lars Lawrence (Philip Stevenson), one of the most persecuted of American progressives had his trilogy banned in his own country. The first of the books Morning, Noon and Night, has now torn through the iron curtain.

And what a work it is! A little coaiming town La Cinequa, inhabited by mullahs, has one of its militant trade unionists picked up by the police; the summary trial is held behind closed doors, but, as he is being jolted down a back alley to the prison, a big crowd gathers round the escort.

A trigger — happy officer opens fire, killing two in the crowd and one of his own colleagues! Newspapers start screaming of a Red uprising and smacking their lips in the expectation of a retaliatory swoop.

Terror reigns as thugs are sworn in as deputies; arrests go on all night; a coloured girl is outraged by white racials; the Communist Ham is almost lynched; and murders are committed on the street. We wait for Books II and III.

A different, even more shameless kind of terror is described in Harry Bloom's Transvaal Episode. As the

bestialities of the racials, you will remember the song the prisoners sing, the song of resurgent Africa.

Unzima Lomtvalo  
Woyisa Madoda  
Vukani Mzontsundu  
Silwell Africa

(This load is heavy  
It grinds me down  
Awake, black hearts,  
Win Africa back.)

Alvah Bessie's Men in Battle and Steve Nelson's Volunteers are two powerful works on the Lincoln Brigade in Spain, the latter being free of the unnecessary defeatism that pervades Bessie, Martha Dodd's Sowing the Wind describes the slow degeneration of a German air ace into fascist brutality.

Alexander Sexton's classic The Great Midland needs no introduction. But his fans will learn with pleasure that his Bright Web in the Darkness is as passionate a story of black and white workers in the dockyard.

Among English translations of German Works, Bruno Apitz's Naked Among Wolves is easily a landmark in socially conscious picture. It is the story of a child, orphaned by war, smuggled into Buchenwald, where prisoners hide it, die for it — for it has become symbolic of life that continues, that cannot be destroyed.

Anna Seghers is represented by her Crusaders and Revolt of the Fishermen of Santa Barbara.

Two significant works — Ian Petersen's Our Street and Weskopf's The Firing Squad

present two aspects of the German mind during Nazi domination. The first, reminiscent of Fire Underground, is an odyssey of the resistance movement, of the immortal Communists who die for the cause.

The second, of greater literary merit, is a study in the psychology of the apathetic citizen, the indifferent German soldier who thought the massacres in Prague were not his bloody business.

The inevitable corruption of the mind sets in, until from being "outside it all" he becomes a participant in the impalement of a Jewish school teacher, a Soviet citizen, near-Stalingrad. That nobody is an island, that a fly washed off the coast is so much the less of me, that it is for me that the bell tolls, is the glorious message of Weskopf's work.

## m. r. a. s nonsense

THE late lamented Buchman, friend of Hitler and Stretcher, Jew-Baiter and fascist agent, has found new friends — this time unexpectedly in the cultural world of Calcutta.

A film The Crowning Experience made by the MRA and offering a solution to racial problems through the simple miracle of a change-of-heart, was released in Calcutta and certain harmless film stars have been hoodwinked into issuing statements in the film's support. Not that it cut any

\* SEE PAGE 12

# swatantra's sinister start in assam

from madhusudan bhattacharya

When more than a couple of years ago a certain Krishnamurthi came here to organise the nucleus of the Swatantra party, political circles here were a little surprised that instead of trying to organise the first unit of the party at Gauhati which is considered to be the political nerve centre of the State and where all the political parties have their State headquarters, the organiser of the Swatantra party should choose Shillong for the purpose.

WHEN a few days after his arrival the first list of an organising committee of the party was announced, it became clear to many observers that the Swatantra organiser's choice of Shillong was not after all fortuitous.

Looking through the list of members of the first committee one could not find the name of any personality who matters in the political life of the State. In fact, with the exception of only one disgruntled Congressman, the list did not contain the name of any one with much of political background.

Yet serious political observers noted that the list of persons announced was quite significant. There was, of course the gentleman who fell out with the Congress bosses of the district on the issue of some permits and license and was out for an opportunity to make his "importance" felt and hence, perhaps, thought that by associating with the Swatantra party, at least for a time, he would be able to parade his political "importance." All the others, however, were Roman Catholic Christians and of them again except two or three all were Khasis.

## First Converts

This gentleman, his wife and son were among the first few to become converts to Swatantra politics. The son who is a professor of a local college run by the Roman Catholic Church is not only an organiser of the Swatantra party, but is also a prominent figure in the Hill State agitation, being a member of the Council of Action of the All Parties Hill Leaders Conference.

## Hill Leaders Contacted

While it was taken to mean that it was an indication of the absence of any class basis for the Swatantra politics in Assam and the reluctance of even the disgruntled politicians to join the Swatantra party openly, even if some of them might flirt with it for some time, it was also observed that quite a few of those who joined the party were erstwhile supporters of the Hill State agitation and some of them even active workers of the Eastern India Tribal Union (EITU), the first platform of the Hill State agitation.

It was, therefore, felt that the newly organised Swatantra party would try to make headway sailing on the popular current in the Hills of Assam on the issue of Hill State.

It was also clear that the Catholic Church would back the Swatantra party and the subsequent events have provided that all these speculations about the probable role of the Swatantra party were correct.

Most significant was the choice of its President for the State. It was one J. S. Narayan, a south-Indian Brahmin, who embraced Christianity quite early in life, came to serve some Roman Catholic Church institution here, married a Khasi lady and settled here.

Though rather an obscure personality in the political

States. But this salesman of the big business reactionaries must have been very sadly disappointed to find that there was no response to his appeal, for all its promises.

Already at the time of the formation of the first nucleus of the party here the former Medhi cabinet of Assam had been pulled down and the present Chalhah cabinet had stepped in. Some of the dislodged ministers of the Medhi cabinet were still smarting under the impact of that loss of power. The Swatantra leaders here tried to rope some of these dislodged Ministers in.

These Congress leaders also flirted with the Swatantra party for some time; but they did not join it probably because they realised how the people of Assam would accord a reception to this party of extreme reaction. But the undaunted Professor had not yet given up all hope and indicated in his above mentioned Press conference that some of these dislodged Ministers might join his party.

It was not without significance that the public meeting organised for Prof. Ranga was presided over by Hoover H. Hynnieweta, the EITU MP from Assam. May be it was because of a fraternal feeling for a fellow MP; but political observers read in it something deeper than merely that.

While Hynnieweta, welcoming Prof. Ranga, explained the demand for Hill State, the Swatantra leader toyed with the idea of Hill State without directly supporting or opposing it. He said that if the proposed State would be economically viable, he did not see any reason why it should not be formed. He cited significant analogy of the ancient city States of Greece.

This set the line for the Swatantra leaders here who have been very closely associated with the Hill State agitation though it is said that the all-India leadership would not yet support the Hill State openly, nor will it oppose it.

## Separatist Demands

When the Nehru proposal for the Scottish pattern of autonomy for the autonomous Hill districts of Assam came, some of the prominent leaders of the Swatantra party used the hospitable columns of a certain journal to preach against the proposal, without, however, straightaway demanding a separate State for the Hill areas of Assam.

One such article was published in the Madras Mail by one Prof. M. Ruthnaswami, former Speaker Madras Legislative Council and member, Central organising committee of Swatantra Party. The learned Professor in that argued against the Nehru proposal, trying to show that the proposal would not meet the requirements of the Hill areas of Assam. He concluded in his article: "The essential thing is to free the Hill people and their territory from the domination of the Assamese".

This attitude of the Swatantra leaders may have earned them some amount of sympathy among the Hill people or a section of them at least in Khasi Hills. It, however, cannot be said that the Swatantra party has been able to enlist any spectacular mass support for them even in the Hills.

Some time ago they published their programme in Khasi language and distributed it in large number. In addition to the committee at Shillong which is supposed to be the State Committee, another committee has been formed in another area of Khasi Hills and one unit has been recently formed at Jowai, a Sub-divisional headquarters of United Khasi Jaintia Hills and inhabited by the Jaintias, a sub-tribe of the Khasis. A committee is reported to have been formed in Garo Hills also.

So far no other committee has been formed in the other Hills, nor could any unit be formed in the plains districts of Assam, though a spokesman of the party in course of an informal chat claimed that the party had enrolled a "large number" of members in the Brahmaputra valley.

## Plans For Expansion

According to him, the members in the Brahmaputra valley would not form any committee unless the headquarters of the party would be shifted to Gauhati which the Hill members of the party, he said, could not do. He said that permission had been sought to allow the members of the plains districts to form a regional headquarter at Gauhati.

According to the said source, the local president and his wife toured extensively the Brahmaputra valley districts for enlisting members from among the retired civil servants, retired Judges and the like who, according to him, are "influential persons" and they got "good response".

Not much facts are known about the veracity of this claim. But that the Swatantra party has been trying to extend its activities among the people in the plains districts is quite clear.

It is, however, pointed out by competent observers here that the attitude of the Swatantra leadership towards the issue of Hill State might stand in their way of extending their activities in the plains districts.

But there are others who point out that of late there has come about a change of outlook among a section of Assamese intelligentsia about the question of Hill State and they have been themselves advocating separation of the Hill districts to end the current estrangement between the Hills and the plains and as such, this by itself may not prove to be an insurmountable obstacle to the extension of the Swatantra party in the plains districts.

Even then it is considered doubtful how far the Swatantra party would be able to extend itself among the plains people, though the possibility of its roping in some retired civilians who cherish the dream of playing the game of politics and could not find any place in any other party is not ruled out. Even if they could enlist the support of some such personalities it is not considered likely that the party can find any ground in the political life of the plains districts.

But in the Hill districts, particularly in those Hills areas where the Catholic Church has a hold, it is likely to win some adherents not through its political preaching but with the help of the Church authorities.

It is alleged that already under duress from the Church almost all the teachers serving the Catholic Church-run schools had to enlist themselves as members of the Swatantra party, not so much because they very much subscribe to the ideals of the party as for retaining their job by pleasing the Church bosses.

## Mischief Afoot

Thus, the combination of the Catholic Church and the Swatantra reactionaries may cause some amount of harm to the healthy growth of the democratic movement in the Hill areas. The current atmosphere in the Hill districts of Assam which is quite charged may also provide them with some opportunity.

Though it does not seem likely that the Swatantra party can put up any candidate in any of the plains districts for the coming general election, it is understood that it may put up at least one candidate for the Shillong seat either in alliance with the All Parties Hill Leaders Conference of which it is also a constituent or of its own.

**NEW AGE**

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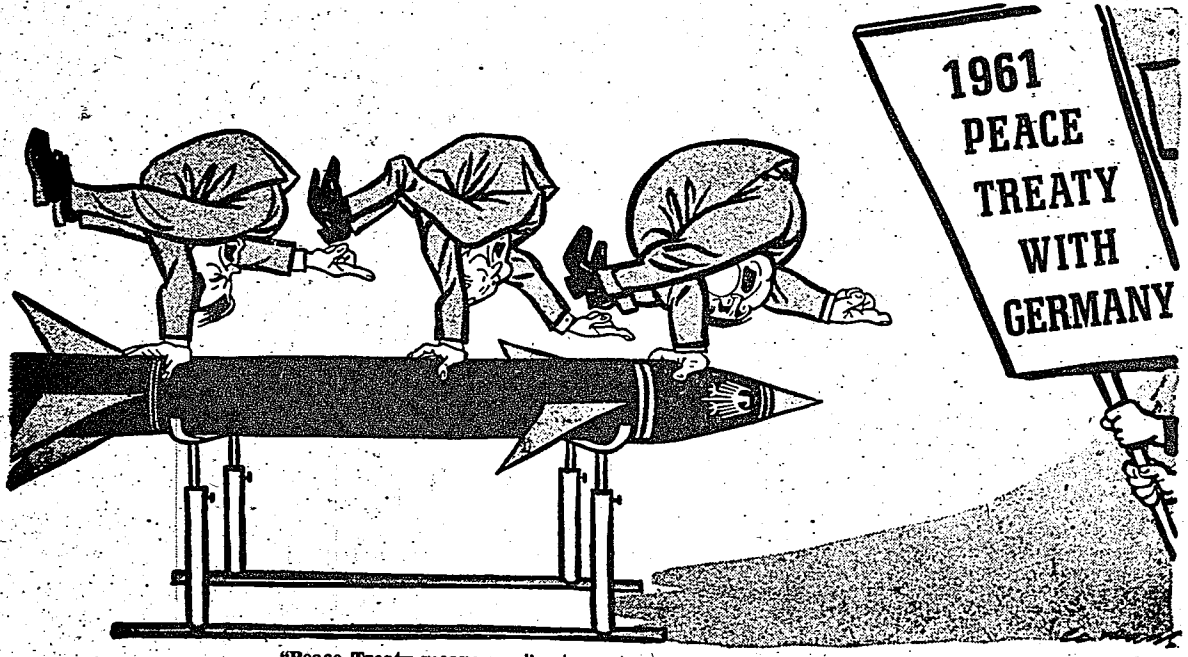
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# "there will be no shooting but agreement" says ulbricht



On 6 July 1961 the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic adopted a historical document—the "German Peace Plan". The plan contains proposals on the formation of a German peace commission and an agreement between the two German states, proposals for a peace treaty and the settlement of the West Berlin question and proposals for the creation of a German confederation.

In a statement to the People's Chamber Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, explained the "Peace Plan of the German People" and made a fundamental analysis of the problem. Extracts from his statement follow:

Passionate and in some cases bitter discussions are taking place internationally at present. There are quite naturally many different opinions. Apart from Bonn, including its social democratic war trumpeters whose cause is based on shooting and not on negotiations, the feeling is gaining ground in world public opinion, that it is far better to negotiate than to shoot.

It is, indeed, high time that the unsolved problems of the Second World War are prevented from flaring into a Third World War. Therefore, there will be no shooting, but negotiations!

## PEACEFUL MEANS

I want to make this clear especially to those of our West German fellow countrymen who are frightened by the clamour and war threats of the West German militarists and extremists. There will be negotiations! Development will be peaceful. Nothing else has been proposed. We will never resort to other than peaceful means unless we are attacked.

There will be — I am convinced — settlement and agreement. However, it is clear that we are not interested in negotiations, which, favoured by some people in the west, would have the purpose of pushing off the long-due decision to some future incalculable date. At the moment, however,

things look anything but rosy. The West German Bundestag was dissolved without having discussed the most burning problem of the German nation at present occupying the whole world and Herr Gerstenmaier, president of the West German Bundestag, made a statement which — it is said — was agreed upon with the Social Democratic Party and other parties. Referring to the Paris treaties this statement rejected consultation between the two German states in the old irreconcilable and blindly stubborn manner.

May the German people themselves draw the comparison between the peace plan of the GDR People's Chamber and the statement in the West German Bundestag.

In drafting his statement, Herr Gerstenmaier was obviously under the influence of his own past. His arguments are reminiscent of those used by the Hitler government in the Reichstag. Like Hitler he accused other states of arming to obscure West German armament. Like Hitler he made revanchist demands, that is, changes in the eastern frontiers. In the spirit of Hitler he tried to instigate the people against the socialist states with anti-communist propaganda.

In place of a peace treaty which would ensure that German territory could never again be used to threaten the world with war, Herr Gerstenmaier demanded that the military and political status of a future German state must first be defined. We have nothing against a militarily neutral and politically peaceful and democratic status for the whole of Germany. This the peace treaty should also stipulate.

But Herr Gerstenmaier has something entirely different in mind. The power of militarism, revived again in West Germany, is to be confirmed

and either by force or by out-voting in so-called free elections, gain power over the whole of Germany.

The political status of monopoly capital's rule in West Germany is also to be confirmed and extended over the whole of Germany. The Hitler generals at the head of the Bundeswehr and in leading NATO positions are to remain, the Globkes are to remain and the thousands of nazis judges and official constabulary of the blood-stained Hitler dictatorship.

## ADENAUER'S AMBITIONS

The Adenauer government wants to ensure that the rule of German militarism is preserved and extended first to the Oder-Neisse, that, so to speak international guarantees are given by the powers of the anti-Hitler coalition. Only then are the rulers of Bonn prepared to discuss an actual peace treaty. They act as if Hitler Germany was never responsible for the Second World War and never lost it...

At the same session in which Gerstenmaier's declaration prevented a discussion of a peace treaty and the peaceful solution of the West Berlin question, it was, moreover, decided to rehabilitate the tried hangers-on of the Hitler regime, former members of SS units and special formations on the condition that they had spent at least 10 years torturing, murdering and plundering for Hitler and the German militarists, and to grant them high pensions and other payments and re-compense them with jobs in the Bundeswehr and government offices. The exterminators of six million Jews are now also to be given high rewards. The idea is to keep these people in a good mood for their future jobs.

This is not only pensioned inhumanity, but a new breach of the Potsdam Agreement and all agreements of the anti-Hitler coalition. This shows just what the West

German militarists mean when they speak of determining the military and political status of the whole of Germany...

When, in fact — I ask — should Hitler have been made harmless so that the German people would have been spared the catastrophe of the Second World War? As early as possible of course. In any case before he was in a position to spring at the throats of other countries.

Unfortunately nothing was done to stop the nazis rulers in their preparations to run amok although it was essential to the national security of the German people and Germany's neighbours.

It is our conviction that the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries can wait no longer to ensure their national security.

The national security of the German people and of the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union and many other countries — including a few allies of West Germany — demands that we stamp out the smouldering vestiges of the last war without further delay, and conclude a peace treaty which would be an effective barrier against the dealings and criminal war policy of the West German militarists and revanchist politicians.

The cold war stronghold — West Berlin — serves as a burning fuse in the plans of the West German militarists which is to blow up at the given moment. With this state of affairs can we put up with this potential hot-bed of war in West Berlin? No one could justify that. We would commit a sin against the interests of the German nation if we were to stand idly by and watch the dealings of those interested in war in West Berlin any longer...

The peace treaty with both German states would of course be the far best solution. It would banish the danger that the world could ever again be set on fire with a war begun on German soil.

A peace treaty would pave the way for a militarily neutral Germany which could put all its efforts into peaceful work and secure a higher level of prosperity

for all its people. Such a peace treaty would at the same time act as a bracket around the two German states. It seems to me that all Germans in both German states should be interested in such a peace treaty, with the exception perhaps of a small band of incorrigible and unteachable revanchists and specialists in lost wars who — contrary to custom in all other countries — are particularly highly valued as advisers in West Germany...

We are for a peace treaty with both German states and the necessary negotiations between them. But we must leave no doubt: if the Bonn government continues to reject a peace treaty, if it continues its revanchist and armament policy, the conclusion of a peace treaty with the GDR alone is inevitable.

## PEACE TREATY'S ADVANTAGES

Even a peace treaty with the GDR alone would mean great advantage to the people of the GDR and to the people of West Germany.

The present existing frontiers, laid down by the three powers during the war and later at the Potsdam negotiations, as they have existed for the past 16 years, would be fixed according to international law. I have the impression that quite a few people in West Germany who realize that these frontiers cannot be changed, but who lack the courage to stand up for their convictions, would not disapprove such an agreement. The irresponsible revanchist activities would in this way come up against a barrier.

The conclusion of a peace treaty would strengthen the position of the GDR in international law and create the prerequisites for the development of normal international relations with a number of other states. Moreover, after the conclusion of a peace treaty it would be possible for the GDR to be accepted as a member of the United Nations with equal rights.

With the conclusion of a peace treaty, even if it is signed only with the GDR, the West Berlin question will begin to be adjusted. I do not want to leave any doubt about this. This means that the centre of provocations, in West Berlin and its misuse as a basis for cold war will be eliminated in any case. At the most it is a question of whether the process is easy and painless or more difficult.

The conclusion of a peace treaty with the GDR would also be of great national importance. As we, the GDR, are the only German state which carried out the stipulations of the Potsdam Agreement, and as the peace treaty will be based upon the principles of the Potsdam Agreement, it thus follows that the GDR will represent more than ever before the only guarantee for the protection of the national interests of the German people. That means that the conclusion of a peace treaty with the GDR will also have a great effect in West Germany. We will conclude the peace treaty in the interests of the people

of West Germany as well as in the interests of the entire German nation.

## SOVEREIGNTY OF G. D. R.

A peace treaty would still more firmly anchor GDR sovereignty in international law. Such a peace treaty would contain no such clauses as contained, for example, in the Paris Treaties, which prohibit Bonn from developing its own initiative on questions of reunification or taking part in discussions with the other German state. It goes without saying that in our peace treaty no clauses of this kind will exist. Sovereignty — particularly insofar as it affects the relations between the two German states and reunification — must not be restricted in any way. More, we shall do all we can to get a clause in the peace treaty whereby the victorious powers undertake to promote understanding between the two German states and reunification, as far as it is in their power.

The content of a peace treaty with the GDR will be such that one day it can be applicable to the whole of Germany. This means that the Federal Republic will also be able to adhere to this peace treaty later on. The sooner that takes place the better it will be for the people of West Germany...

In the course of the present world-wide discussion the President of the United States, Kennedy, the British Prime Minister, Macmillan, and other representatives of the western imperialist states frequently like to talk of alleged western rights, for instance, in connection with the presence of troops and occupation authorities in West Berlin and the use of the communication lines of the GDR leading to West Berlin.

These are — so it is alleged — original rights, rights of the conqueror, rights, so to speak, conferred by the Lord himself and valid for all time. As far as the rights are concerned there is but one legal claim based on international law which is in accordance with the Potsdam Agreement and the Charter of the United Nations: this is the legal claim to a peace treaty.

The right of the GDR and its citizens to be master in their own house, to determine the destiny of their own country, to demand respect for its frontiers and sovereignty from everybody — these rights of the GDR do not seem to interest the western powers as yet. And that is the cause of many controversies. It is the reason for piling up ever new conflicts.

The German Democratic Republic — I should like to state that quite clearly — is not a state of diminished rights. And the citizens of the German Democratic Republic are not people of diminished rights, as the politicians of the imperialist western powers would like to stamp them.

This conception of the western powers, of course, has absolutely nothing to do with international law. There is no such thing as an original right to occupy another country. The western powers violated the Potsdam Agreement by creating the West German separate state and subjecting

it to American imperialist policy. They violated the Potsdam Agreement by creating and arming the West German army, by placing the fascist generals at the head of this army, promoting them and allowing the restoration of the power of militarism in West Germany.

The Potsdam Agreement is the basic charter for the purposes of the occupation of Germany after 1945. Any other right of occupation detached from these aims, does not exist.

The current democratic international law knows neither a right of wilful occupation of a foreign territory for an unlimited time, nor any "abstract right of the victor". This also applies to the occupation of Germany which could only be legitimate as long as it served the implementation of the aims of the Potsdam Agreement, particularly the permanent extinction and elimination of the militarists and fascists.

## W. BERLIN'S STATUS

The present occupation regime in West Berlin in particular has neither legally nor practically anything to do with the aims of the anti-Hitler coalition. It has had no legal basis for a long time because its aims are diametrically opposed to the original aims of the occupation of Germany.

The western occupation troops came to West Berlin as a result of agreements concluded by the anti-Hitler coalition, i.e., on the grounds of the Potsdam Agreement; they then used their presence, contrary to the Potsdam Agreement, to support the revanchist politicians. They helped former nazis officials and the neo-nazis to gain decisive influence in the state apparatus.

A peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic will fix the fundamental principles of the Potsdam decisions. It will unambiguously and in accordance with international law abolish the occupation rights still claimed by the western powers but actually invalidated long ago, for the whole territory of the GDR including West Berlin.

The GDR has no obliga-

tion whatsoever arising from the anachronistic rights of occupation which is still claimed in West Berlin and was created by the three occupation powers themselves. So the western powers will have to see what they do with their juridical speculations.

## NATO'S PLANS

Recently some of the western governments have deemed it necessary to refer to separate NATO agreements on West Berlin. This shows particularly clearly that the claims raised by the western powers are directly opposed to their obligations arising from the Potsdam Agreement and the unconditional surrender of the Hitler Wehrmacht.

For NATO itself is directed against one of the main partners of the anti-Hitler coalition: West Germany's membership in NATO, which is a violation of the Potsdam Agreement, has also contributed to the annulment of the former legal basis to which the western powers refer.

According to our proposals the freedom and security of the West Berlin population are to be granted and safeguarded by the strongest imaginable international guarantees. This, however, necessitates the disappearance of West German militarism and the revanchist politicians of the Bonn government and their fascist Ultras from West Berlin...

I emphatically repeat this here before the world public and I assure the West Berlin citizens in the name of the Council of State and government of the German Democratic Republic, in the name of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the other parties of the Democratic Bloc that the demilitarized Free City of West Berlin will not be prejudiced in any respect in its right of self-determination of its own system or the freedom to determine its own affairs, that nobody intends to interfere in the affairs of their city and that we are prepared to guarantee the communications of the Free City with the west and east, north and south. We

concerning the prestige of the western powers, the Soviet Union's proposal provides for its due consideration so that there is no need for it to conflict with a policy of commonsense...

The German Democratic Republic, by the way, also considers it to be compatible with its prestige to agree to a solution such as the "demilitarized Free City of West Berlin". And that is a weightier consideration than the necessary western renunciation of the occupation rights which they themselves annulled by dividing Germany and destroying the Potsdam Agreement.

Finally the American government might feel inclined to protect certain larger number of West Berlin enter-

demand but one thing of them: West Berlin must cease being a cold war base...

Our proposal for the "German Peace Plan" explicitly says: "The inhabitants of West Berlin will be guaranteed the inviolability of the status of a neutral Free City and the freedom to make decisions on their internal and external affairs. Communication lines of the neutral Free City will be guaranteed on the basis of appropriate agreements with the German Democratic Republic."

We favour UN participation in guarantees for West Berlin. We should probably proceed more quickly if the United States, Great Britain and France would simply say what justified interests they have in West Berlin, for example...

Or — as Bonn is suggesting — the prestige of the United States and other imperialist western powers is so committed in West Berlin that a reasonable and peaceful solution of the West Berlin problem by the creation of a demilitarized Free City must result in a breakdown of the position of American policy, not only in all of Europe, but throughout the world.

## PRESTIGE PROBLEM

That, of course, is sheer nonsense. But we find that nonsense again and again in the American press and in the speeches of leading politicians.

Some western politicians should be careful not to use the war threat irresponsibly for propaganda and pressure purposes in the war of nerves. The matter is too serious for that. A peace treaty will be concluded, either with both German states or — if the western powers refuse — with the German Democratic Republic alone. Consequently the status of West Berlin will be settled anew.

After the conclusion of this peace treaty each state will have to become accustomed to settling all matters concerning the territory or sovereignty of the GDR by normal and peaceful negotiations. All this will develop peacefully. We shall come to an agreement and peace will not only be preserved but consolidated...

prizes in recent years. But the US has capital investments in other countries as well and they do not demand — at least not yet in general — that the acceptance of capital investments must include approval of the presence of American garrisons.

None of us want to drive American capital or any other country's capital from West Berlin. And as to the connection between capital investments and political influences in West Berlin, such political influence would in any case ultimately be a matter for the people to decide...

One may turn the matter as one likes. If considered calmly and sensibly there are ways of solving all problems without injuring the prestige of the parties concerned. There is, therefore, not the slightest objective reason for a military conflict as some people fear. Will there be a war because of the peace treaty or not?

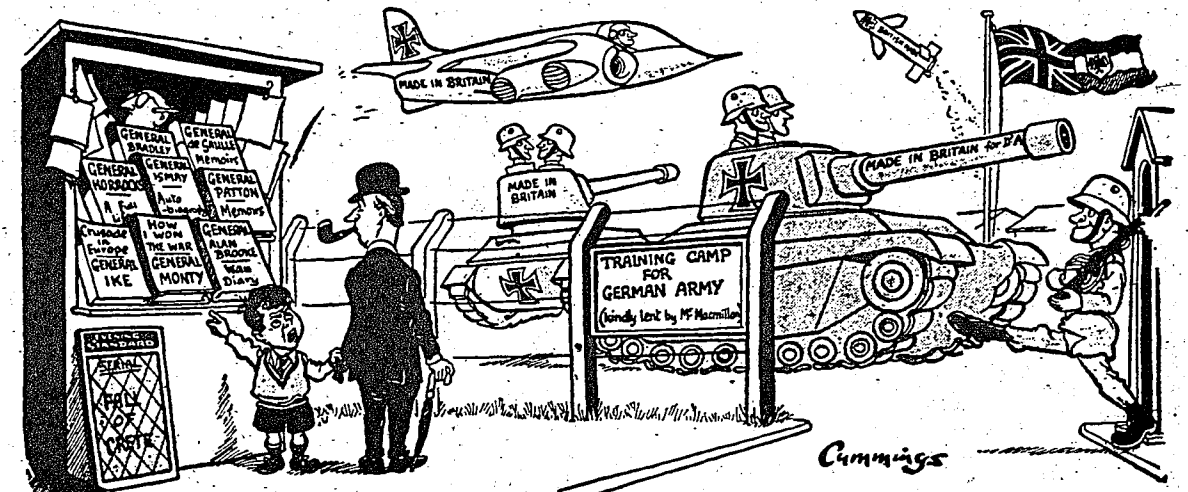
We are convinced that there will be no war, no matter what the West German militarists might set in motion in the way of provocations and attempts at disturbances.

## GERMANY FOR PEACE

The hope of the West German militarists that all the world longs to die for them is false. Now it is the people's turn, including the peoples in the western countries who have a right to demand that German militarism should never again constitute a threat to peace.

Some western politicians should be careful not to use the war threat irresponsibly for propaganda and pressure purposes in the war of nerves. The matter is too serious for that. A peace treaty will be concluded, either with both German states or — if the western powers refuse — with the German Democratic Republic alone. Consequently the status of West Berlin will be settled anew.

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Daddy — why on earth didn't someone tell those generals they were fighting the wrong people?"



# Communism Begins

from Masood Ali Khan

We left Khabarovsk very satisfied. The town with its clean houses, nice view and majestic river, and its inhabitants with their open, frank and friendly attitude towards far-away visitors like us, and all that we had seen and learnt about the great and rapid advance of the Soviet Far East gave us a feeling that our time had been well spent.

ON board the Illushin 14 taking us to Chita we remembered our new friends in Khabarovsk, specially the meeting with the local journalists, who had shown so much concern about the conditions of work of the New Age staff and had expressed their admiration and surprise that under such difficult conditions our paper came out week after week. They asked innumerable questions about the press of our country and its set up, and surprised us in our turn by their sincere friendly interest in India.

## delightful satire

We also recalled the delightful operetta Bayadera (from the French bayadere — meaning a temple dancer) by Kalmán at the Khabarovsk Musical Comedy Theatre which made fun of people who run after the false exotics of the East.

It was full of Maharajahs and Devadasis and stories of tiger hunts, and we enjoyed it thoroughly and were surprised at its high standard of production, we could have easily imagined ourselves in Prague or Berlin or any other big European town, it was so well produced. And the fact that I was from India added to the fun of the whole company.

The air-journey was smooth and without incidents, except for one youngman who was heavily under the influence of drink and called me "papa". He was put on the plane by the militia-man because of his happy state and later removed from the plane at an intermediate stop for the same reason. In a few hours we were in Chita the centre of a vast region, which is also called Trans-Baikal or Eastern Siberia.

Here we were met by a mining engineer Zherdiyev who,

power resources. And then the plans and the construction going on.

If I were to give here all that we found and all that the enthusiastic builders told us it will become a long list of factories and production targets and tons and kilowatts and productivity figures and percentages of over-fulfilment of the plans and unending lists of hospitals and schools and houses and clubs going up everywhere. I just pick a few examples from my notes.

## aid to india

In the last half of the seven-year plan light and food industries will become of growing importance. One combine for artificial fibre and one for wool will be built, both employing 15,000 workers, with new housing for 40,000 and hospitals and schools and shopping-centre and all.

"This will be a socialist type of township all ready to become part of Communist society", Surov was saying. Follow details of plants for processing meat and milk, and fridge gear and compressors (Chita compressors go to nine countries including India, Cuba, UAR for Aswan dam etc.), heavy engineering factory, also for making electric motors and lifting and transport machinery, ferrous metals plant, 300,000 kwt power station being built in Chita, another at Khoronor, another of one million kwt can be built later on the headwaters of Amur at Amazar.

And the timber reserves, Siberia is all timber, "we have two million cubic metres yearly in Chita, mainly pine", a big paper and cellulose combine on the river Ingada to go up, work will begin in 1965 and completed by '67, it will employ 5-6000 workers.

The visit to the Compressor and Machine-building Factory was one of the highlights of our stay in Chita. We met the director Aaron Mokher, a very intelligent man, heavily built, soft-spoken but incisive, who gave us an account of the plants development and its problems.

## abundant resources

"In this area we have all the raw materials. The needs of the people can be met and there is no need to bring consumer goods from a long way", Pavel Surov chairman of the regions Economic Council told us. They have molybdenum, zinc, lead, silver and gold. Also ferrous metals and the flinted so necessary for the iron and steel industry and brown coal deposits and



The Nanais have a developed sense of beauty.

The factory was opened in 1941 and produced spare parts for farm equipment, after the war made spare parts for power stations. "But we could not expand within the framework of the old Ministry, because we were too insignificant for them". After decentralisation and reconstruction of industrial management (1957) things changed. "With the appearance of Economic Councils we got more scope for initiative from below and the whole collective of the factory, the Party organisation and city and regional administration all helped in development".

## unlimited possibilities

Between 1956 and 1961 production of compressors went up by 7½ times. It became one of the leading producers of compressors in the country. Then the factory itself proposed production of refrigeration gear and started it in 1958 with 35 pieces. This year they made 1,500. "We need more and more of this equipment", Mokher said, "after all we are going to catch up with America in meat production and that means more meat storage space".

During last year they had fixed hundreds of new lathes and machines. Last year productivity went up 18 per cent and this year already 13%, all due to modernisation and mechanisation.

"Possibilities of development are unlimited. We do not face any crisis in production. And we get full support here and in Moscow for our plans and proposals".

The factory had suggested that it could work for export, now its production goes to 17 countries — Ethiopia, Cuba, Egypt, Iraq, Afghanistan, the latest is Guinea, "our compressors are working in Calcutta, we are proud of our international contacts and want to increase our exports".

Yuri Akimov the secretary of the TU was also present, and we now came to the Communist education of workers. "Take the case of Shubin — a former Air Force Captain — after demobilisation he went for study and became a turner. Now he is one of the leading workers and he proposed a revision of norms from below. He sees that with new technique he can give 25% more production for the same pay and he was the first to propose that his own norm be increased. Now actually he earns more than before and gives more to the state, 300 others have followed his example. This is an element of Communist attitude to labour".

"And here is another example", the Director joined in, "earlier at the end of a shift, if little time was left, a worker did not begin a new job, because he could not finish it and it has to be done all at one go. Now we have collective responsibility and the worker just passes on the unfinished thing to the next shift and he is sure that his colleague will finish it just as well.

"Now we don't check the quality of the work of the best workers. They have their own seal of quality, and we know that if he puts it on his product the thing is first rate. Other workers are following this example, it becomes a matter of their personal honour.

## cashiers

### not needed.

"Or take the fact that we don't have a cashier to hand our wages on pay-day. One of the worker gets all the cash and they distribute it themselves. They are all comrades and they know that no one will steal or take more than his due. All these are elements of the new. Our factory is competing for the title of the 'Communist Labour Factory'."

\* SEE FACING PAGE

# Cosmic Civilisations

by V. DAVYDOV

TODAY we know that our Sun is an ordinary star, only millions of times closer to us than the nearest stars in the sky, that circling the Sun are planets, one of which is inhabited by us. It is natural to assume that other stars also have planets, and that some of these have conditions conducive to the emergence of life. Through billions of years of development and evolution of species, some organisms may have achieved a high degree of perfection. In this connection there arises the interesting question of contacting and exchanging information with intelligent beings which may well be inhabiting the neighbourhood of some familiar star in the sky.

## Exciting Question

How many planets populated by intelligent beings are there in the Milky Way? This exciting question is now close to solution. Let us examine it carefully.

Modern astronomy has no means of viewing the planets revolving round other stars. But neither would an observer of the solar system from the star closest to us see the Earth or even such giant planets as Jupiter and Saturn.

With modern technique we can detect planets only much larger than Jupiter. Such a planet displays itself in minute oscillations of its parent

star, together with which it rotates about a common centre of gravity.

An example of such a star is 61 Cygni studied by the Soviet astronomer, Professor A. N. Deutsch. The mass of its invisible satellite is approximately ten times greater than that of Jupiter.

Can other stars possess small planets similar to the Earth? Astronomer Su Shuhuang, in the United States, has shown that in their evolution interstellar nebulae continuously form new cosmic bodies with a regular mass sequence, from giant stars to small planets.

In other words, the Universe must abound in planets of all sizes, up to a certain critical mass beyond which the internal pressure becomes so great as to spark a nuclear reaction — when we have a star. Planets of Earth size should be quite common in the Universe.

The number of planetary systems is limited, by the fact that not every star can have planets. Many people think that all the stars resemble, our Sun, but this is not so. Stars differ widely. Among the stars of the Milky Way there are supergiants whose mass and diameter are scores of times greater than that of the Sun, while others are much smaller than the Sun.

The temperatures of stellar surfaces also vary widely, from 3,000 to 70,000° C. Tracing the stars from the hotter ones to those with a tempera-

ture of around 7,500° and less we find a sudden reduction in their axial rotation period. One of the reasons for this is the existence of families of planets the orbital motions of which account for the lion's share of the net moment of momentum of the systems.

This is also true of the solar system. It is estimated that, all in all, our Milky Way consists of more than 150,000 million stars of all types, and at least several thousand millions of them may have planetary systems.

In order to judge of the number of inhabited worlds we must take into account that special favourable conditions must precede the emergence and development of life.

The temperature and gravity on the surface of a planet must be confined within certain, fairly narrow limits. At too low or too high temperature proteins, the basis of life, disintegrate. Life requires an atmosphere, and not only because we breathe oxygen. Without an atmosphere liquids boil at low temperatures and solutions in which protein compounds originate cannot exist.

Furthermore, in the absence of an atmosphere temperature fluctuations are extreme: the sunny side of an object may be scorching hot while the shady side may be as cold as 100° to 200° C below zero.

On small planets, like Mercury, life is impossible because the slight gravity pull is incapable of keeping an atmosphere. The thing is that the molecules of gas are in constant chaotic motion, which grows faster with the temperature.

The velocity of gas molecules at temperatures favourable for the existence of proteins reaches several kilometres per second. This is sufficient to overcome the gravity pull of a small planet and escape from it forever. On Earth this velocity is about 11 km/sec.

If, on the other hand, the gravity on a planet is appreciably greater than on Earth, it will retain not only the oxygen, nitrogen, carbon dioxide and water vapour, but also such light gases as hydrogen. In an atmosphere rich in hydrogen and its compounds, methane and ammonia, life is impossible.

## Conditions For Life

Of the nine planets of the solar system, probably only two have conditions favourable for life, our Earth and Mars, the spectrum of which contains absorption lines characteristic of molecules of organic compounds. It is quite possible that there exists a Martian fauna, but it is harder to see than vegetation which covers large expanses.

Since it takes billions of years for the development of highly organised life, we can expect it to exist only on planets revolving about sufficiently old stars which, moreover, have not perceptibly changed their luminosity for several thousands of millions of years.

Most stars belonging to the spectral class of our Sun satisfy this requirement. Furthermore, a star should not be

a multiple one (binary, triple, etc.), for otherwise the planetary orbits would vary greatly from the circular and the temperature on the surface of the planets fluctuate too greatly for the development of life.

Taking into account all these limitations, the Soviet astrophysicist Prof. I. S. Shklovsky estimates that in the Milky Way there are about one thousand million planets capable of sustaining highly organised, and maybe even intelligent, life.

Let us assume that this capability was realised on all of those planets. But remember that on some of them the period of civilisation may have already passed or is yet to come. Long as a civilisation may be, still it spans a finite period of time. The finite life span of a civilisation reduces the number of planets inhabited by intelligent beings at the same time.

If we take the average lifetime of a civilisation as several millions of years, then in the Milky Way today there are some ten million planets populated by intelligent beings. This means that within a radius of 100 light years there may be five to ten such outstanding planets. This number is correspondingly less if the average life span of a civilisation is shorter.

## Visitors From Afar?

May cosmonauts from other worlds have already visited the Earth?

Let us approach this question from a different angle. Think of the time when mankind will be dispatching stellar ships to worlds a hundred light years away — hardly further, for much too long a time will separate the start and return of the travellers, even if they fly with almost the velocity of light.

Within 100 light years from the Earth there are about 10,000 stars with some 100,000 planets circling about them. It would be too expensive and hardly practicable an undertaking to attempt to visit all of them. But even if we were to visit one thousand planets this would be only one per cent of the total.

That is why, even if there exists a highly developed civilisation somewhere near the solar system, the chances of scouts from it giving preference to our Earth is negligible. Of course, if we take the history of a large number of neighbouring civilisations, the probability increases proportionally.

The probability that at some period in the millions of years of the Earth's history it was visited by space travellers is fairly great. But this probability dwindles as we drop from thousands of millions to thousands of years.

Small probability, naturally, does not exclude the possibility of such an event. So far, however, no evidence has been found on Earth which would point with any degree of certainty to extraterrestrial visitors having ever been here.

From the outset of space conquest people have begun placing in their cosmic vehi-

cles carefully machined pennants made of alloys which do not exist naturally. When the time comes for flights to the stars the monuments in their honour will be correspondingly more complex.

"We can claim definitely that it would be impossible to confuse a message from some other civilisation with anything else: people would see to that! There can be no doubt, that cosmic visitors, if they ever were, would do the same." A possible memento of a visit of representatives of another world could be eternal artificial satellites.

It would hardly serve any purpose to leave pennants on the surface of the Earth, because in time they would be buried under erosion deposits and any search for them would be a hopeless task.

Consider a simple example: The remains of pithecanthropes, the oldest extinct humanoid species, could have expected to be strewn about in huge quantities. Yet only a few have been found, although the pithecanthrope lived comparatively recently: in the beginning of Quaternary period. It follows that the task of finding any traces of an ancient expedition on the surface of the Earth is an extremely difficult one.

If visitors from outer space wished to leave some token of their presence on the surface of a planet they would place their pennants not on the Earth but on the Moon, where the destructive action of wind and water is absent.

Is it possible to get into contact with neighbouring civilisations?

Yes, of course, say, with the help of electromagnetic waves. Astronomers presume that at a certain level of development every civilisation will certainly have built especially sensitive instruments for picking up radio waves in the 21 centimetre band, in which outer space is explored.

Radio signals sent by intelligent beings will have properties markedly distinguishing them from the natural noises of the cosmos.

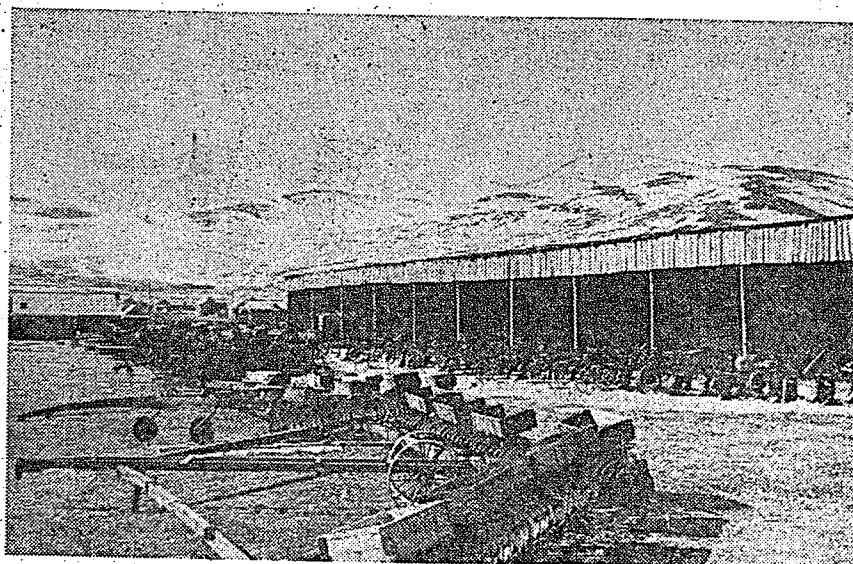
The US National Radio-Astronomical Observatory began, in 1960, a search for signals which may have been beamed towards the solar system by intelligent denizens of other world. A radio telescope with a parabolic antenna 25.5 m across was directed towards two stars very like the Sun, one in the constellation Cetus, the other in the constellation Eridanus, both some eleven light years away.

## Conversation With Stars

It takes as long for a radio signal to reach us, so even if it is picked up and people engage in a "conversation" with another world, it will certainly drag out for scores and hundreds of years.

Astronomers think that for "conversation" purposes it would be more expedient to dispatch a rocket into an orbit around the star to maintain radio communications with its planets at short range. It has even been hazarded that we might well search for such a visiting rocket in our own solar system.

It is to be hoped that, despite the enormous difficulties from the point of view of modern technology, the dream of establishing communications with other worlds will come true.



Machines in the Buryat collective farm, in Chita Province, Trans-Baikal area.



# Democratic Vietnam Races Ahead

Sixteen years ago, with the founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam (DRV) on September 2, 1945, a new era began in Viet Nam's history, an era in which the Vietnamese people stood up and took their destiny in their own hands. New Age is proud to send its warmest greetings to the Viet Namee people, its government, the Lao Dong Party and to Ho Chi Minh.

**B**UT, not long after, on December 19, 1946, the Vietnamese people had again to rise up to launch the resistance war against the colonialist aggressors.

Responding to President Ho Chi Minh's call the entire people stood up to wage a people's war on a scale, never so large in Viet Nam's history: the whole country fought, everybody fought and by all possible means.

## DIEN BIEN PHU VICTORY

The close to nine-year-long arduous and heroic struggle culminated in the Dien-Bien Phu victory (May 7, 1954) and proved that in the world of today, a small and weak nation which is closely united and determined to fight, is quite capable of defeating the imperialist aggressors.

On July 20, 1954, the Geneva Agreements were signed and peace was re-established in Indo-China on the basis of the recognition of the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the Indo-Chinese people.

A new turning point had occurred in the course of the Vietnamese revolution. After the restoration of peace, Viet Nam was temporarily divided into two zones.

The completely liberated North, where the people's democratic revolution was in the main achieved, has arrived at the period of transition to socialism while the South is still under the feudal-imperialist yoke.

The past seven years have witnessed great revolutionary

changes in North Vietnam. After the healing of war wounds, the socialist transformation of economy and the building of socialism were promoted in all economic and cultural fields.

A national industry has taken shape in the North, an unthinkable thing under colonial rule. Compared with 1955, the 1960 total value of industrial and handicraft output has increased threefold and in 1961, it will have recorded another 29 per cent increase.

## GREAT CHANGE

Agriculture has undergone a fundamental change for the better. Under the old regime, rice shortage, especially pre-harvest, was an inevitable scourge. It was unthinkable that the northern part of Vietnam could have enough food to eat, not to speak of having a surplus to be used for other purposes. After seven years of peaceful construction, what was unimaginable has become a reality.

From the pre-war 2,400,000 ton annual yield, rice production has reached over 5,000,000 tons. Agriculture in the North has been gradually advancing from its monocrop state and developing into an all-sided agricultural economy.

The efforts and achievements in the field of education have also been great. Illiteracy has been in the main wiped out and the old content of education transformed. In the 1961-62 school year the number of pupils

receiving general education reached 2,300,000 against 325,000 in 1959, those attending secondary vocational schools reached 35,500 against 5,500 in 1959 while the enrolment in higher educational institutions is over 17,000 against 582 in the year 1959.

A nationwide movement for supplementary education is spreading from the towns to the countryside, involving two million persons.

A new trend in art and literature, including many branches which first made their appearance in the resistance was, an art and literature which reflect the new life heading towards socialism, with national particularities, is blossoming promisingly.

At present, in North Vietnam, culture, art and literature are in close touch with the masses, are the masses' close friend, satisfying the masses' profound requirements, exhorting everyone to overcome difficulties and to enthusiastically go ahead in the work of national reconstruction.

Thanks to the efforts of the health workers, many epidemics chronic at the time of French rule have been wiped out, such as smallpox, plague, cholera, while a number of other diseases such as malaria, trachoma, skin disease have been notably reduced.

The annual death rate which under French rule amounted to three per cent has dropped to less than 0.5 per cent, the proportion of deaths in childbirth is now five times lower while cases of infant mortality number eight times less.

The socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, private capitalist industry and commerce, and small traders has been fundamentally achieved. Previously, the Vietnamese peasants worked separately and individually, but now, over 87 per cent of them have grouped themselves in 41,400 co-operatives embracing 2,494,300 households.

## SOCIALISM WINS

The success of the movement of agricultural co-operation has paved the way for socialist construction in the countryside. Private capitalist economy has become a State-private economy, the economy of small producers has for the greater part changed into a cooperative economy.

Parallel with the rapid headway in socialist transformation, the State economy, growing stronger, has gained marked supremacy and is day by day developing its capacity in guiding the whole households.

In the course of struggle between the two roads, the road of socialism has gained a decisively significant victory. The exploitation of man by man has been fundamentally wiped out.

The completion of socialist transformation will bring homogeneity not only to the economy of the North but also to its society. It will be made up only of manual and brain workers, advancing towards socialism, with their ideological and moral solidarity getting closer and closer day-by-day.

The development of industry and agriculture will gradually change the face of North Vietnam: as new economic zones, industrial

# SCRAP-BOOK

## RANK FLATTERY

**L**EST I may be misunderstood I state it emphatically that I am a staunch supporter of Indo-Nepalese friendship. Having said so I wish to point out that such friendship cannot be built suddenly by taking recourse to newspaper publicity at advertisement rates.

But there are some people who believe (for reasons best known to them) that by writing in adulatory phrases, biography of the Head of a State of a country they serve the cause of friendship with that country. They are sadly mistaken if by these methods they think they can boost up the prestige of that man and get public applause for him.

Turning the pages of my daily newspaper today I came across a feature under the caption: "King Mahendra and Commonwealth of Dharma. A quick glance in the end revealed that it was a chapter from the forthcoming book King Mahendra: by Y. G. Krishnamurti." This is obviously an advertisement of the book.

This biographer, starts by telling us "that some might read the phrase H-politics with frank disbelief...No political structure can survive atomic holocaust" and then obviously misquoting Lenin says: "It has already knocked the bottom out of Lenin's thesis that war is the handmaid of Communist advance."

He then describes what is happening in the contemporary world, in United Nations etc. and finally comes to the theme of Dharma. According to the scribe:

"The touchstone of King Mahendra is not votes but Dharma. This fundamental integration is stamped on his policy...It is vital to remember that peace is neither an intellectual passion nor a phrasing of protocols but a moral habit..."

"It follows without moral integration there can be no new climate of opinion. Only the Asian nations have a historical tradition favouring a primacy of spirit. Only in Nepal, which nurtures the Buddha, the quest for basic truth is the ruling passion."

And finally, "King Mahendra should again spread the light of Dharma before a tormented humanity."

That is how the supreme task is set for King Mahendra. Full of such adula-

tory praise what the book would be, can be well imagined. But it is not the book which is so important. The question, indeed, is whether by issuing such advertisements the advertisers can restore the status of a democrat to a despot who has done away with all democracy and fundamental rights of the people?

True friends of Nepalese people will certainly not be taken in by such propaganda. The hired biographers of the Nepalese King cannot hoodwink people in this country about King Mahendra's "Dharma" as long as hundreds of patriots languish in Nepalese jails and camps!

## CONGRESS "DISCUSSIONS"

**C**ONGRESS meetings are never so dull provided the Congressmen are discussing their organisational questions. (I am not referring at all to public meetings). Meetings especially these days are full of surprises. And Delhi Congressmen are no exception to the rule.

Last Sunday the State INTUC met to elect the new office-bearers of the organisation. Naturally there was heated discussion and the President of the meeting could not control the deliberations. Ordinarily such a meeting should have been adjourned and passions allowed to cool down. No, that did not happen here.

Police had to be called: According to one group the meeting was adjourned and all the elections postponed. But another group claims that a vote of no confidence was passed against the DPC leader Brij Mohan and other office-bearers were elected.

So, now the matters would be dealt at higher level. Is there any guarantee that both the groups will be satisfied in the end. Whether reconciliation takes place between the two groups or not? That is not my concern but what is distressingly obvious is that the Congressmen have reached such a pass where they need police to control their factional squabbles.

Can such a Party in this state of affairs deliver the goods to the country? Those who fight for loaves and fishes among themselves obviously cannot bring integration in the country and solve its vast problems.

—Agradoot

centres, State farm areas and towns will grow one after another in the coastal regions, the plains, the highlands.

Under the old regime, the Vietnamese people, concentrated in the delta or scattered in remote and isolated mountainous spots, lived a hard life which only worsened day after day.

Nowadays after breaking the shackles of colonial and feudal rule, they have seen the immense and priceless potentialities of the whole country and are striving to give them full play, in order to turn Vietnam from a backward agricultural country, into one endowed with a modern industry, agriculture and science.

# Aligarh's Secularism Must Be Saved!

From Our Correspondent

Aligarh continues to hit the headlines. The discussion in the Rajya Sabha on the affairs of the University was initiated by Communist MP Raj Bahadur Gour who moved a motion taking note of the Enquiry Committee's report. He thanked the Minister for respecting University autonomy by not appointing a visitor's committee and for his acceptance of the suggestion of the University to have a committee appointed by the University Executive Council.

**H**E also paid a tribute to the Enquiry Committee for their impartiality and objectivity on the one hand and for their firmness in regard to the irregularities on the other. He expressed his gratitude to the members of the Committee for their sympathetic approach to the autonomy of the University.

He pointed out that it was this approach of the report which made a great impression on the reader and it was precisely because of this that attempts were being made directly or indirectly to cast aspersions on the impartiality of the report itself.

He commended and supported the suggestion of the Enquiry Committee about the constitution of the Selection Committees and proposed that this method should be applied to all universities in the country. Its suggestion for the abolition of the post of Pro-Vice-Chancellor was also supported by him whether in Aligarh or in Banaras.

On the question of the character of the University, he upheld the Committee's view that it should be "minority in form but secular in content" of its education. He mentioned the clash between Sir Syed and Shibli in this context. The former stood for liberal modern education but conservative politics while the latter was for radical politics but conservative education.

He said that we should preserve the best of the past and reject worst of it in Aligarh University, i.e., we should take up scientific education and modern political thought and reject obscurantist social ideas and conservative politics. He also stressed the fact that the Committee had prepared an important document suggesting steps for further improvement of the University and regretted that the Executive Council of the University had not accepted these recommendations.

The same views were also expressed by other members. The most important fact emerging from the debate was that the views of the Communist spokesman, in essence, were shared by a majority of the speakers. There was near unanimous appreciation of the work of the Committee and support for its recommendations. P. N. Sapru, himself a member of the Committee, rightly pleaded that the irregularities and other faults found in the University should be put in a proper perspective.

He defended the presence of the Vice-Chancellor in the meetings of the Committee but was astonished at the "stupidity of the University Executive Council which, according to him," did not care to understand the ethical implications of the principles laid down in the report. The University rather than thanking the members of the Enquiry Committee, in its memorandum tried to argue

terrible thing, Communist infiltration:

"There is evidence to show that some of the teachers of the University are steeped in Marxist thought and indeed hold what most people would call Marxist beliefs. There is no evidence whatsoever which would justify us in coming to the conclusion that the leftist beliefs are a cloak for communalism or that they have been mis-using their power, authority or influence as teachers to form or to carry on active Communist propaganda among the students of the University."

With regard to the statement on the Kerala Education Act, which Shrimall put forward with much aplomb as an instance of anti-national activity, Sapru has said flatly that he "can see no disloyalty" in issuing it at all. It may be noted that the statement on the Kerala Education Act was signed by a number of teachers of the Aligarh, and Agra Universities, and the signatories had diverse political views ranging from Congressmen to Communists.

It must be remembered that anti-Communism serves as a smoke-screen behind which the communists attack all secular and progressive elements.

After 1947 the University took certain notable steps towards shedding its previous communal character. This happened specially during the Vice-Chancellorship of Dr. Zakir Husain. It was this secular advance and the growth of patriotic and progressive elements within the University that aroused the hatred of Muslim and Hindu communalists, who worked up a virulent press campaign seeing in all this progress the presence of "Red Menace".

From Shrimall's speech, too, it would seem that he includes all secular elements under the blanket description of Communists. Revivalism, according to him, has grown only as a response to the challenge of "Communist" activities. Apparently, then, there was no communalism within the University before 1947, when there were no Communists and the University was a citadel of the Muslim League?

Yet despite the attempt of Shrimall and his friends in the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha to confuse issues, the general sense of the two Houses was quite clear. The Enquiry Committee has done a good job and its recommendations ought to be implemented.

Even the Hindustan Times in an editorial entitled "Off Report."

the Track" has stated that the Enquiry Committee has "reached conclusions which are admittedly free from any taint of undue influence and pressure" and has regretted that the Minister did not in his Rajya Sabha speech commit himself to getting the recommendations implemented.

A similar stand has been taken by the Times of India, which has declared that communalism remains the chief problem at Aligarh as at other denominational institutions and has pointedly ignored Shrimall's anti-Communist crusade.

While the opinion of all democratic sections has been made quite clear, the University Executive Council still hopes that it can evade the reforms proposed by the Enquiry Committee, by suggesting alternative measures more to the liking of itself and the Minister.

Only on August 27, it is reported, the Executive Council has rejected a resolution to reconsider its stand and accept the Enquiry Committee's recommendations; it has now appointed a committee to negotiate with Shrimall.

Democratic public opinion too, while deprecating the attitude of the University authorities, should strive to see that the Government makes its intervention strictly in accordance with the spirit of the Enquiry Committee in an editorial entitled "Off Report."

The day breaks brighter tomorrow

Like a rivulet, the small fingers trace the language with chalk. Like a mighty torrent, the flow of experience passes from generation to generation. Here a child grows...here is a home. In a home dwains the man of tomorrow. A tomorrow that will bring a little less of care, a little more of joy.



Today and tomorrow...Hindustan Lever serves the home with soaps, foods, toilet preparations.

PR. 23-532

\* FROM PAGE 6

ice for, the people did not appear to respond to the messianic film.

## New Plays

**T**HE theatre world in Calcutta during the rains is comparatively quiet. The open air shows stand adjourned to autumn and, therefore, the most daring experiment in people's theatre is in abeyance.

The professionals continue energetically however. Rangmahal seems to have struck a bad patch. Their Anartha was their third flop in succession. On August 15, they opened their new play Chakra by that ceaseless manufacturer of hash, Nihar Gupta. Like all his plays Chakra is billed as a "hair-raiser".

I do not know whose hair it will raise but two good things about this new production are — first, that the decadent regisseur Birendra Bhadra makes his inglorious exit; secondly, that Saraju Bala, the grand old lady of the Bengal theatre is in the cast. I shall review this play when I have seen it.

Biswaroopa sticks to Setu like a wad of wool to a gangrenous wound. Star also insists on Sreyashi, a reactionary play fit for feudal times. Minerva after its hit Angar seems to have hit again with Ferari Fauj written and directed by your correspondent. If nothing, the play has extremely powerful acting and daring experiment in sets. Moreover, it has a theme; that is one up in its favour. I shall review the play later; today I shall merely report an interesting ceremony held in the theatre on July 29 last.

The play being about the Bengal revolutionaries of 1930-33 the surviving veterans of the so-called terrorist movement were invited to witness a performance. It was a grand re-union, over a hundred white-haired sufferers from all groups and various epochs met, perhaps, for the first time.

Dr. Bhupendranath Dutta, presiding, blasted at the neo-history being written by Congressites who attribute our liberty to non-violence only. Those present included Niranjan Sen, Supati Roy, Ananta Singh, Ambika Chakravarty, Ganesh Ghosh, Bangshwar Roy, Shanti Suniti, Suhasini Ganguly, Kalpana Joshi and Satish Pakrash.







# Nehru's Stand On Germany Hits West

From Ziaul Haq

The Prime Minister's clear enunciation of India's stand on the German question in course of his four speeches on foreign affairs in the two Houses of Parliament completely upset the balance of politicians and the press in the United States and West Germany. More than the content of these statements, they said, it was the timing which was so bad. It was precisely because at a time when they were seeking to whip up the hysteria among their peoples and all over the world, Nehru's statements knocked out the basis for it and came as a major blow to their schemes.

To retrieve the position as far as it was possible to do so, the US Ambassador sought clarification, wisely limiting this clarification to minor issues. He hastened to announce himself the result of this clarification.

Subsequently the Prime Minister took the opportunity, while initiating the Plan debate in the Rajya Sabha, to clarify "one or two matters in this connection which have led apparently to some misunderstanding chiefly abroad."

Whatever propaganda use of these clarifications might be made by the West both here and abroad, the fact remains that nothing from the fundamentals of India's stand on the German question as enunciated by Nehru in the four speeches has been taken away. And the West and its friends discreetly choose to keep silent about these.

## NEGOTIATIONS STRESSED

First of all, there is the repeated insistence on opening negotiations and that, too, without delay. Not war, not warlike gestures and marching of troops (the 1,500 additional US troops and more British tanks being sent to West Berlin was the immediate background) but immediate negotiations — this is India's demand voiced by the Prime Minister. The clarification of August 28 in the Rajya Sabha is prefaced with this. Says Nehru:

"The essential thing I have pleaded for is this that these big countries should get together—their Heads—and try to find a way out of this present tangle. The greater the delay in doing so, the greater the perils that we have to face..."

It is this — settlement through negotiations — that the West is avoiding like plague. For three years and more the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and their allies have been urging the opening of these negotiations. Persistently the Western Powers have refused to do so and even now they are determined to prevent, delay, postpone and eventually when it comes, to prolong as much as possible these negotiations.

Secondly, Nehru has indicated himself unequivocally for a clear and final acceptance of Germany's frontiers as established by the Second World War — exactly what the

Soviet Union and all East European countries seek to achieve through the signing of a German Peace Treaty. Winding up the debate in the Rajya Sabha, the Prime Minister stated on August 23:

"But there is another matter I should like to mention and that is that the whole atmosphere has been vitiated in the last many years by a certain uncertainty in regard to frontiers. About Berlin that is odd enough. About the other frontiers which are called the Oder-Neisse frontier with Poland which is a frontier arising from the war, it has not been accepted by many countries, notably West Germany and this involves a population of eight million, that is when the frontier was changed it involved a population of eight million and it would create a tremendous upset to all those people because many people have come and settled down there.

"Anyhow, if anything is certain, it is this that any attempt to change that frontier will lead to war.

"I am surprised, therefore, that this matter should be left vague and in the air often with ideas thrown about that it should be changed. I cannot say whether this is a definite and firm policy of any country, but even leaving it vague, is a dangerous thing because that puts the whole question of West Germany and East Germany on a dangerous level. This is a thing which cannot possibly be done any way (except) by war and war is not going to do it and war will bring complete destruction to East Germany and West Germany and other countries.

"Therefore, I cannot understand why the permanence of these frontiers is not plainly accepted."

## BLOW AT REVANCHISM

With this clear and unambiguous demand for the final and unequivocal recognition of the post-war frontiers of Germany, India has struck a powerful blow against West Germany's territorial claims that are kept alive by the Western powers' refusal to sign a peace treaty. It is this blow against West German militarism (which thrives on these territorial claims) that has made the ex-Nazis and the neo-Nazis so wild with Nehru and India. It is a decisive blow struck on the side of peace in Europe and the world.

Thirdly, the fact of the existence of two German States and the need to recognise this fact, repeatedly emphasised by the Prime Minister in these historic pronouncements has brought succour to fighters for peace in Europe and angered those preparing for war. Soon after, the passage quoted above from his Rajya Sabha reply, Nehru goes on to say:

"In any case, it is clear that these are in fact two countries at present—West Germany, the Federal Government and East Germany, the German Democratic Republic —each connected by land and otherwise with various blocs. It is no good avoiding to see this and in any talks one must accept facts." (Emphasis added)

Speaking of eventual German unity, he said, "It will never come about by war or constant attempts at war or by cold war."

As for India's relations with the two Germanys, Nehru made it clear in the Rajya Sabha reply that the existing position followed from entirely different reasons than in the case of the Western Powers. "Our recognition of the West German Government is really a continuation of our war-time association with the Western allies" which amounts, at least partly, to saying that it is one of the outmoded remnants of British rule which has to be done away with soon.

As for East Germany although: "We have no diplomatic contacts with them", but "in effect we deal with them as an independent country."

Fourthly, the upshot of all the statements so far as the legal basis of Western presence in West Berlin is concerned, on which the Western powers lay so much emphasis, is that "all these changes" which have occurred in between have "limited the force of some of these older pacts and there no longer is "a strong legal basis."

## FREEDOM OF ACCESS

Nevertheless, the freedom of movement between East and West Berlin, in spite of the administrative divisions, had to be continued and so also the access to West Berlin from West Germany and the rest of the world. Although a "concession" its withdrawal would have the gravest consequences.

The human consideration involved in the creation of the present barrier between East and West Berlin, emphasised in the Prime Minister's clarification were recognised in the statements both of the GDR Government and the Warsaw Pact Powers both of which expressed the hope that the measure necessitated by the West Berlin authorities' heightened undermining activities, would prove to be temporary.

Again and again the Prime Minister has emphasised in his statements that the free city of West Berlin which the Soviet Union and the German

## w. german rage and abuse at p. m.

from our berlin correspondent

ANYONE who reads the West German newspapers cannot fail to realise that they have kept alive the tradition of Goebbels not only in repeating lies but also in arrogance and in insulting statesmen who do not share their views.

They had been repeating the lie that West Germany is the only German State and that the GDR does not exist. Now that our Prime Minister Nehru has expressed views not held by Bonn, the West German press has let loose a tirade of insults in typical Goebbels style.

While Der Tag regards Nehru being only misinformed, Trierische Volksfreund advises the world not to regard him as a peacemaker but as a politician who could do much harm to the cause of West and, specially, of Germany.

Radio Free Berlin goes a step further. In its opinion, Nehru is incapable of distinguishing the real from the unreal and slander from truth. According to it, he could be regarded as an idealistic dreamer and a person who jumps to conclusions without proper knowledge of facts.

Muenchner Merkur says that Nehru's remarks are a cold douche for those who praised him for his almost mystical role of a mediator. The paper calls the forthcoming Belgrade Conference a multi-coloured gathering and expresses its fears at what Nehru is going to do there.

## AID "BAIT"

In its opinion his remarks are based on his ignorance of the treaties of September 1944 and May 1949 and of the ABC of natural and international law.

Radische Neuetse Nachrichten thinks that Nehru is standing on a slipping floor and with typical arrogance advises him to think of the ill-feeling in countries like West Germany and USA which have helped so much in the development of India.

Deutsche Zeitung is enraged that Nehru dares to speak in the way he has, at a time when talks about West German help for India's Five Year Plan have just concluded in Bonn.

To bring Nehru to his senses, Der Tag suggests that Adenauer should write to him to share Bonn's opinion instead of going to the Soviet Union. Deutsche Zeitung proposes that West German credit should be stopped.

Koelner Stadtanzeiger is sure that Mr. Nehru made his remarks because an inefficient Secretary brought him the wrong file from the archives. In its opinion, he should be invited to Berlin so that when he has looked into the barrel of a Red Tank, he would no more seek Berlin in the archives.

## EXPULSION OF THIS SLANDERER

Hans Berg, correspondent of Radio Free Berlin in New Delhi thinks that the West, after promising help to India, should clearly point out that moral defence of human rights is expected even when these rights are endangered not in Africa but in Berlin.

These are just a few examples. I could cite many more. Journalists from neutral countries who have sent objective reports on the new security measures taken by the GDR Government are also under fire.

The West German Foreign Ministry has expressed its disapproval and political observers in Bonn believe that some Indian, Yugoslav and other journalists from neutral countries might be expelled from West Germany.

It is high time to take necessary steps against West German journalists who have been sending malicious reports against India and are demanding economic sanctions from their Government. How long are we going to tolerate West German arrogance?

Democratic Republic wanted would guarantee the way of life to which the West Berliners were "addicted" for instance, he said on August 23:

"It has been made clear by Mr. Khrushchov that no interference will take place in their ways of living and their social and economic structure and that the fullest assurances and guarantees will be given so that they may maintain their rights of way or passage with West Germany. If that is so, at least one of the

major fears of West Berlin on the Western Powers would now lose its substance.

"At any rate, there is enough matter to be discussed on the Council table and decisions arrived at to safeguard the freedom of West Berlin and the freedom of its contacts with West Germany."

India's voice has thus been powerfully raised demanding of the Western Powers that they agree to negotiations on the German question without delay and on the basis of existing realities.