

War Danger Can Be Averted

INDIA MUST PLAY ITS ROLE

"The war danger has increased. There is greater need than ever before for vigilance and mass activity in defence of peace. War is by no mean inevitable...."

"As a great country with a proud record in the struggle for peace, India can play an important role at this critical hour. And it is the duty of every patriotic Indian to ensure that India plays that role."

WITH these stirring words, the National Council of the Communist Party of India, meeting in Delhi since Monday, calls upon Communists all over the country to join hands with all peace-loving forces and develop a vigorous campaign in every part of the country.

The National Council in course of its resolution on the

War Danger adopted on September 20 says that it is "imperative that concrete steps are taken towards the destruction of all atomic weapons and stoppage of nuclear tests as part of an agreement for general and universal disarmament under strict control." The resolution further demands:

- Immediate recognition of the German Democratic

Republic by the Government of India;

- Signing of a Peace Treaty between the States of the anti-Hitler coalition and the two German states; and

- An international treaty for general and universal disarmament with effective controls.

The text of the resolution is as follows:

NATIONAL COUNCIL RESOLUTION

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India views with grave concern the rapid deterioration in the international situation that has taken place in recent months. The danger of a war waged with nuclear and thermonuclear weapons of unprecedented destructiveness has become more acute than at any time since the end of the Second World War.

Imperialist circles allege that this danger has grown because of the "aggressive" attitude adopted by the Soviet Union on the issue of Germany and Berlin and because

of the decision of the Soviet Government to resume nuclear tests.

Some people have been misled by this propaganda. Many others, who genuinely desire peace and deplore the recent developments are not, however, clear as to why the present situation has arisen and who is responsible for it.

It is, necessary, therefore, that the background of the present crisis is clearly understood.

Guided by deeply humanistic principles of Communism and striving to build a new society which will be free from

exploitation of man by man, as well as from scarcity and want and which will ensure a life of plenty and prosperity to all, the Soviet Union has proved by its words as well as deeds, that it is the most resolute opponent of war and upholder of peace. The Draft Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which was published some weeks ago, placing before the whole world the magnificent plan of building Communism in the USSR, shows eloquently what the Soviet Government desires to achieve, in conditions of peaceful co-existence.

It is well-known that the USSR was the first country to stop atomic tests voluntarily in the hope that its example would be followed by others and that conditions would be created for successful negotiations to destroy all atomic weapons and achieve general and universal disarmament.

Due to the policies and acts of the Western Powers headed by the USA, these hopes have not materialised.

- Negotiations for disarmament were deliberately dragged on by them as can be seen from the fact that although over 300 meetings were held at Geneva, no concrete results were achieved.

- Britain and the USA permitted and even encouraged their NATO partner, France, to carry on atomic tests in the Sahara in defiance of world public opinion.

- They sent spy planes over the Soviet Union even when a Summit meeting was being prepared.

- They continued to manufacture and stockpile atomic weapons on the basis of tests already carried out.

- They built new atomic bases all round the Socialist world and boasted that they could deliver devastating blows against the USSR from these bases.

- They went ahead with plans for atomic war as revealed in the recently published secret CENTO documents.

- They sent submarines armed with atomic weapons to violate the territorial waters of the USSR.

But on no issue were the intentions of the aggressive

imperialists revealed so sharply and so clearly as on the issue of Germany.

With the aid given by American imperialists, Western Germany was built up as a powerful militarist State. Western Berlin, which lies deep in the territory of the German Democratic Republic, till recently had freedom of access with East Berlin, was used as a base for espionage, sabotage and provocation by agents of Western powers.

The leading role in the Federal Republic of Germany is played by men who are thirsting for revenge and want to recover what they call "lost territories". Former Hitlerite leaders and commanders, who hold many key positions in Western Germany have openly proclaimed that the aim of their foreign policy is the revision of the frontiers established after the Second World War. Day in and day out they preach hatred against the German Democratic Republic, as well as against other socialist countries.

Such a state led by such leaders and armed to the teeth constitutes a grave menace to peace. Any reckless action by the militarists of Western Germany which is a part of NATO, may light the flames of world conflagration.

Several times in the course of the last ten years, the USSR and other peace-loving states drew the attention of the world to this growing menace in the very heart of Europe. Several times the USSR proposed that a peace treaty should be signed by all powers with the two German states that have come into existence—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany—and that both the German States should pursue policies of disarmament and neutrality.

Peace Pact Proposals Rejected

All these proposals were rejected. Feverish rearming of Western Germany continued. Not merely was it integrated into the NATO but in several respects, it has already become the most powerful militarist State of the NATO powers in Europe.

The danger inherent in this situation has been aggravated manifold by the reported decision of NATO powers headed by USA to hand over atomic weapons to the West German militarists.

Confronted with these developments, the USSR proposed once again that all those powers which fought Hitler Germany should sign a peace treaty with the two Germanys that have come into existence, guarantee the inviolability of their frontiers, as well as the

frontiers of the states bordering on Germany and ensure that both German states develop along their respective ways in conditions of peace.

Unification of Germany could come about only by the will of the German people themselves and increasing contact between the two German States would facilitate such eventual unification.

West Berlin, which lies in the heart of the German Democratic Republic, was to have the status of a neutral Free City.

The USSR also stated with it that if the Western powers wanted to put forward any counter-proposal for a peace treaty with Germany, that too could be discussed. But if they did not respond to any of these requests, then the USSR and all other countries which so desired would conclude a separate peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic.

West Berlin Centre Of Subversion

West Berlin which is situated in the heart of the German Democratic Republic should not be allowed to be a centre of subversive activities against the GDR and other socialist countries but should become a demilitarised free city. It would have the political and economic system that its people desire. All countries desiring to maintain contact with West Berlin could freely do so but they would have to enter into appropriate agreement with the German Democratic Republic across whose territory lie the routes that link West Berlin with the outside world.

These eminently reasonable proposals which in no way encroached on any of the existing rights of the Western powers were met by bellicose utterances from the leaders of the USA. There were threats of the use of force by USA; there was a big increase in military appropriations and the call-up of a quarter million reservists. War hysteria was sought to be worked up in USA as well as in Britain and France over the so-called Berlin crisis. Dire consequences were threatened if the USSR dared to sign a peace treaty with the GDR.

The militarists in West Germany, encouraged by all this and believing that the time had come for a war of revenge, stepped up their campaign of hatred and their subversive activities against the GDR.

This situation compelled the Government of the German Democratic Republic, in the interest of its own security, to

* See Back Page



VOL. IX, NO. 39 SEPTEMBER 24, 1961 25 nP.

COMMUNIST DELEGATION MEETS PRIME MINISTER

Release Of Long-Term Political Requested

A DELEGATION consisting of Comrades Ajay Ghosh, Baba Sohan Singh Bhakhna, S. A. Dange, E. M. S. Namboodiripad and Bhupesh Gupta met Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru on September 17. They appealed to him on behalf of the National Council of the Communist Party of India that political prisoners undergoing long terms of imprisonment in various States, should be released at an early date.

A memorandum along with details about 63 long-term political prisoners besides those of six others against whom warrants of arrest have been pending for several years was submitted to the Prime Minister by the delegation. Among these there are those who have already spent 10 to 12 years in jail.

The delegation to the Prime Minister came as a culmination of efforts at various levels to see that the agony of these dauntless fighters for people's rights who have suffered so long should now come to end. The State Governments, except for that of Andhra, have not found it possible till now to take appropriate steps in the matter. They have mostly taken a purely technical and legal view "when both political and humane considerations are called for", says the memorandum.

"Long years in prisons have led to the shattering of the health of many of these political prisoners. Some are suffering from very serious ailments to which two of them (in Tamilnad) have already succumbed."

The Communist Party delegation appealed to the Prime Minister and the Government to reconsider this entire question "with understanding, sympathy and political wisdom."

The Communist Party Congress at Vijayawada held last April, it will be recalled, made a similar appeal and called upon all democratic parties and individuals, above all on Communist Party units, to run a campaign to secure the early release of the long-term political prisoners.

NEW AGE next week will carry as a special supplement the text of the memorandum presented to the Prime Minister with detailed information about these leaders of the people who have languished so long in prisons.

W. BENGAL TEACHERS' MOVEMENT

AS we prepared to go to Press, news came in of the powerful start of the 28,000 West Bengal teachers' strike.

The "cease-work" started at 11 on the morning of September 18. It was reported to be complete in the schools in Calcutta and neighbouring areas.

News of complete stoppages of work in the districts—also indicates that

the West Bengal teachers are solidly behind their organisation—the All-Bengal Teachers Association.

A several hundred strong demonstration of Calcutta teachers marched to the Assembly House where it was stopped by the police. About 200 from the demonstrators then resorted to squatting.

Eight hours after the launching of the strike, reports came of its tempo-

rary suspension with a view to facilitating the negotiations that are now going on between the Government and the leaders of the Leftist Parties.

The very impressive start of the strike is a sure sign of the determination of the West Bengal teachers to have their grievances vindicated.

Here we print an earlier dispatch from our Calcutta correspondent.

Chief Minister has said nothing about the Triple Benefit Scheme, including retirement pension."

In view of the above, the Council of Action of the ABTA rejected the new pay scales and said that the Association's decision to start cease-work movement from September 18 remained unaltered. The Council, however, hoped that the Chief Minister would in the meantime, negotiate with them to bring about a settlement.

According to the programme drawn up by the ABTA for the direct action starting from September 18, secondary teachers will abstain from attending schools all over West Bengal. Besides this, a mass satyagraha movement will be launched in Calcutta.

On the first day, a group of 400 teachers will set out from Subodh Mallick Square for the Assembly House. If they are stopped on the way by the police, they will squat on the road. Whatever repressive measures the Government might adopt, they will continue the squatting till the demands of all categories of teachers are conceded. This group will be increased by at least 200 satyagrahis each day.

Announcing the above programme, Satyapriya Roy, MLC, General Secretary of the ABTA, told Pressmen on September 15 that cease-work will be observed in 90 per cent of over 4,000 higher secondary, high junior and basic schools and madrasahs.

Government Circular

JUST on the eve of the 35,000 Secondary School Teachers' cease-work movement from September 18 the West Bengal Government's Education Department has issued a circular to all High, Junior High and Basic School and Madrasahs, directing the heads of these institutions to send daily reports to the Education Department about the participation or non-participation of teachers in the direct action.

The circular, Memo. No. 1523 (300) T-17, dated September 9, 1961, says that the record should be maintained in two parts. In the first place, the names of the teachers who do not attend schools and those who do not participate in the cease-work should be recorded. Secondly, the reports about the teachers must contain the comments of the heads of institutions.

The Circular further directs that the report of the first day of the cease-work should be sent within two days of the launching of the direct action. In case the cease-work continues for sometime, such reports have to be sent at the end of every week.

Such an ill-conceived circular at a time when the ABTA has been carrying on negotiations with the Chief Minister for an amicable settlement of the teachers' demands can only be regarded as a deliberate act of provocation.

Tamil Kisans Rise In Struggle

From Our Correspondent

Madras, Sept. 18

Uptil Monday afternoon three thousand six hundred kisans have courted arrest all over Tamilnad in a massive programme of picketing Government offices, launched on September 15. The Kisan Sabha has started this direct action to impress on the Government the need for revising the Land Ceiling Bill, now on the anvil of the Legislature, and bring it in accord with the principles and objectives laid down by the Land Reforms Panel of the Planning Commission.

REPORTS are pouring into the State capital of impressive demonstrations staged by the kisans and the general public in support of the direct action. They give the impression that the agitation is at its peak in Tanjore District, where the concentration of landownership is the largest and where the agricultural labour is vigilant about its rights.

In Mannargudi, for instance, where all the available fertile lands are owned by five families, 10 thousand kisans staged a demonstration for six hours while one hundred of their comrades were actually picketing the Tehsil-dar's office. All those who picketed were arrested.

In Tiruthurai, four thousand kisans have enlisted themselves as volunteers for the picketing programme. The Kisan Sabha leader, Manall Kandaswami, has been arrested in this taluk.

In Tanjore District alone, 1,600 kisans have been arrested in the first three days of picketing, until Sunday.

In Tiruchirappalli, about five thousand kisans courted arrest.

In Madurai, about 800 kisans have courted imprisonment.

The figures for other districts have yet to come.

In certain centres, the police have refused to arrest the picketers. A directive from the Kisan Sabha headquarters asked the volunteers to continue picketing peacefully after duly notifying the police about the venue and time.

Reports of police excesses have also been received at the Kisan Sabha headquarters. It is stated that a police officer kicked a kisan picketer in Palani. A similar incident was reported from Madurai also. By and large, however, there have been no incidents of any kind, and the picketing has been peaceful throughout.

Among the Kisan Sabha leaders who have been arrested so far are K. P. Janaki Ammal (Madurai), S. Natarajan (Srivilliputhur), Abdul Kader (Podinayakanur), Madanagopal (Dindigul), A. Munnaswami (Salem), S. Ganesan (Tiruvannamalai) and Ayyaswami (Coimbatore). The list of Kisan leaders arrested is incomplete.

About sixty women satyagrahis have also been taken into police custody. In certain centres the police refused to arrest the women volunteers while taking into custody men picketers.

M. Kalyanasundaram, leader of the Communist Group in the Madras Assembly, has sent a telegram to the Prime Minister seeking the latter's intervention, by way of advising the Madras Government to heed to the reasonable demands of the kisans. He says:

The Kisan Sabha will picket before the Assembly gates for three days, beginning from September 19, when the clause by clause consideration of the Bill is being taken up by the Assembly.

Gopalan's Appeal

A. K. Gopalan, MP, President and Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri, General Secretary of the All India Kisan Sabha have issued the following statement to the Press:

Having tried all methods of representations and other forms of peaceful agitation for modification of the proposed Land Reform Bill of the State Government, the Tamilnad State Kisan Sabha has been forced to launch a peaceful satyagraha from September 15, 1961.

During the past one year or so the Kisan Sabha organised two big padyatras, held thousands of public meetings and organised a large number of mammoth demonstrations in which millions of peasants voiced their opposition to the proposed Land Bill and demanded suitable amendment of that in the interests of the peasants.

But the Madras State Government seems to be so much under the influence of the landlords that it has resorted to every ingenuity in order to safeguard the interests of big landlords, regardless of the consequent injustice to the millions of ordinary peasants. Despite the demonstration of the voice of the peasantry, the Government has seen to it that the Bill emerges in the

shape in which it is being introduced to 15 acres of land paying Rs. 10 or more as kist per acre, from the proposed 30 acres of such land.

No exemption from ceiling, in the name of sugar-cane farms, orchards, tops, grazing lands, etc., be granted. Ceiling law should also apply to temple lands and land of religious trusts, as most of these temples or mutts etc., are just a means to hold vast areas of land, in the hands of big landlords.

The act should be made applicable with retrospective effect from 1955 and all transfers, etc., be declared ineffective after this period.

Tripura Communists Refute Slanders

The Secretariat of the Tripura State Committee, Communist Party of India has issued the following statement to the Press:

It was really surprising that a Delegation of the Tripura State Congress under the leadership of Sri S. L. Singh, met the Press in New Delhi, on September 9 to tell them that all that they had asked for from the Central Government for the people of Tripura was suppression of the Communists, who, according to them, were carrying on 'anti-Indian, pro-Chinese and terrorist activities' on the Border Territory of Tripura. The deputationists, it is reported, submitted a memorandum to the Union Home Minister, in which they held that as the Administrator of Tripura could not realise the seriousness of the situation, the Central Government should come to their aid and deal firmly with these Communists.

The significance of this anti-Communist outburst could be fully grasped if the background of it is studied. Tripura is not a territory on Chinese border, and, even in those unfortunate days when border clashes took place on China-India border, the Congress leaders of Tripura did not run to Delhi to tell them these cock and bull stories.

The fact is otherwise, Tripura Congress which runs the Tripura Territorial Council with the help of two nominated members, narrowly escaped defeat when a no-

confidence motion was brought against them.

The charges of corruption, nepotism and maladministration were so overwhelming that they stood thoroughly exposed before the public. Furthermore the stand taken by the Congress leadership—against introduction of Vidhan Sabha against interests of minorities during the days of Assam riots, and against the present struggles of the popular masses against rent-increase, evictions, rising cost of living and falling price of jute, etc., further isolated them from the people.

It is in this background that the Congress leadership in Tripura started a campaign of hate against the tribal minorities and the Communists. Though they mustered all their might to launch this campaign on August 25, the response from the public was disappointing.

On the eve of general elections this is a very ill omen. Unless the Union Home Minister comes to their aid with their police camps and repressive measures, the democratic forces would gather further strength and that would be the doom of Congress in Tripura. That is why the sinking Congress leadership resorts to such anti-Communist ravings.

The Congress leaders who, on the eve of their departure told Congressmen that they were going to New Delhi to

demand Vidhan Sabha, would through this statement isolate themselves even from honest Congressmen.

Democratic masses in Tripura, including Congressmen know from their everyday experience that the problems of food, employment, rehabilitation, etc., are not creations of the Communists and the new attempts at enhancement of rent and taxes could not be halted except through a united mass struggle in which the Communists take a leading role.

Congress leaders who have not a word to tell the Central Government about these burning problems of Tripura would, for this, stand condemned among all sections of the people.

The Communists in Tripura, through their self-sacrificing and patriotic service earned boundless confidence, love and affection of the people of Tripura.

While totally repudiating all those utterly baseless and maligning charges brought against us, we appeal to the masses to foil this foul attempt of the Congress leadership to disrupt the growing democratic unity which is so vital to defeat the anti-people policies of the Congress Government.

We must all stand together to defend the democratic rights which Congress leaders threaten today in order to strengthen their role of reaction.

Arrests Over 4000

Madras, Sept. 19

THE statewide Kisan struggle entered its fourth day with picketing and arrest of Manall Kandaswami, Kisan Sabha State Secretary and forty-two others before the State Assembly which began discussion on the Ceiling Bill today. Reports of lathi-charge at Nannilam, Dindigul, Tiruthurai and Tinnevely and arrest of more than five thousand comrades from all districts of the State (Baring Nilgiri Hill district) have reached here. Innumerable mass rallies are being held and thousands gather and shout slogans before collectorates, Assembly, Tahsil and Revenue offices are being picketed by Communist and Kisan volunteers. Gopalan and Sreenivasa Rao are visiting various centres.

The Tamilnad Kisan Sabha demands:

1. That the ceiling be reduced to 15 acres of land paying Rs. 10 or more as kist per acre, from the proposed 30 acres of such land.

2. No exemption from ceiling, in the name of sugar-cane farms, orchards, tops, grazing lands, etc., be granted. Ceiling law should also apply to temple lands and land of religious trusts, as most of these temples or mutts etc., are just a means to hold vast areas of land, in the hands of big landlords.

3. The act should be made applicable with retrospective effect from 1955 and all transfers, etc., be declared ineffective after this period.

4. The actual tenant in possession should in no case be evicted from land.

The demands of the Kisan Sabha are very just and simple, and even the report on land reforms in the Third Five-Year Plan has admitted that all past legislations have proved ineffective on these grounds.

The question of effective land reform, really benefitting the peasant masses has become the clue to the solution of agrarian crisis in our country. Therefore, all democratic sections of the people, should support this just struggles launched by the Kisan Sabha.

BACKGROUND TO 'CEASE-WORK'

★ From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

The cease-work movement of secondary school teachers in West Bengal starts from September 18 because about 80 per cent of the teachers will not derive any benefit from the pay-structure announced by the Chief Minister, Dr. B. C. Roy, on the afternoon of September 16.

THE 12-page statement issued by Dr. B. C. Roy contains, as usual, a catalogue of what the Government has so far done for the teachers and what it proposes to do during the next five years. It even claims that it will spend about Rs. 5.50 crores for these teachers during the Third Plan period! But behind all this smoke-screen of claims and tall promises the real reality is that the overwhelming majority of teachers, the most poorly paid in the country, will not get anything!

Reply To Dr. Roy

The Council of Action of the All-Bengal Teachers' Association (ABTA) which met in an emergency session, therefore, totally rejected the Chief Minister's statement.

According to the statement issued by the Council of Action, "of the 33,627 teachers included in the categories of trained undergraduates, untrained undergraduates and other teachers have been deprived of any benefit in the new scales. Of the rest, i.e., 19,000 in round number, at least 6,000 serve in unaided schools and these teachers also will not benefit in the least."

"So out of 33,627 teachers

only 13,000 teachers may derive some benefit and of them again experienced teachers numbering 9,000 will have the benefit of only one increment ranging from Rs. 7 to Rs. 10. This position is wholly unsatisfactory and the Association cannot accept it."

The new scales also exclude teachers of technical, commercial, agricultural and other like subjects.

"The clerks, librarians and subordinate staffs have been totally ignored."

"Unaided High and Higher

Secondary Schools and Junior High Schools will derive no benefit from the proposed pay structure.

"The provision that every school will have to pay Rs. 11 for every teacher will mean either an enhancement of tuition fees of school children or a reduction in the salaries of teachers."

"A number of teachers, e.g., M.A.'s with five years' experience, B.A.'s and I.A.'s with ten years' experience may suffer a reduction in their present emoluments. Rural teachers may lose the allowance now sanctioned to them in lieu of house rent". Untrained teachers are placed on fixed pay.

"The D.A. has been merged with the salary and that explains the apparent increase in the salaries of a negligible section of teachers. This is also not acceptable to us. The

DISMISSAL OF 'UNDESIRABLES'

A large number of teachers of Government-aided secondary schools have been dismissed in recent years on the basis of secret police reports. They were considered "unfit" for service in the above institutions "for undesirable activities or for association with undesirable political parties exclusively leftist."

The Yugantar, a widely circulated Bengal daily in its issue of August 22 put the figure of such victimised teachers at over 100.

Most of the affected teachers had long periods of service to their credit; some more than ten years. Moreover, the authorities of the schools concerned pointed out to the Government that these teachers were indispensable to their respective institutions.

Yet the Government declared them to be "unfit", just because police reports against them were "adverse". In almost all cases, the teachers were neither informed nor given any opportunity to defend themselves.

Police enquiries were made under orders from the Board of Secondary Education of the State Government's Education or the State Government's Education Department.

The evil assumed such proportions that a convention called by the All-Bengal Teachers' Association (ABTA) in Calcutta on May 18, strongly protested against the policy of victimising teachers on secret police reports and set up a

Human Rights Committee to build up a mass campaign to force the Government to give up this undemocratic policy.

Agitation of the Secondary teachers and pressure of public opinion ultimately made the State Government see sense. Dr. B. C. Roy Chief Minister, told a deputation of Left parties and the ABTA on September 9 that "police verification" of the antecedents of teachers of unaided schools which sought Government aid would not be insisted upon.

The issue figured prominently in the State Assembly on September 13, when Ranen Sen, Communist leader, asked the Education Minister whether a school or college teacher had been dismissed because the police had sent an "adverse" report against him. When the Minister said that no such dismissal had taken place in primary schools and Government-sponsored colleges during the last two years, Ranen Sen wanted to know if the Minister was aware that three organisations had recently submitted to the Chief Minister a list of the names of teachers dismissed on police reports. The Minister's reply was in the negative.

Pressed further, the Minister read out the names of 17 teachers whose appointments had not been approved by the Board of Secondary Education. At this stage the Chief Minister intervened to say that instructions would soon be issued that it was improper to dismiss teachers on the basis of police reports.

In reply to a question from Jyoti Basu, Leader of the Opposition, he said that the Government would consider the question of the reinstatement of teachers so dismissed.

These assurance, given on the floor of the Assembly, no doubt constitute a distinct victory for the democratic movement in West Bengal. But it was quite evident from interpellations in the House on September 12 and 14 that the witch-hunt is not confined to the teachers alone.

The Food and Civil Supplies Minister stated in the Assembly on September 12 that it was not improper on the part of statutory organisations like the Calcutta Improvement Trust (CIT) to request the police to verify the antecedents of candidates selected for appointments in the Trust.

Replying to Ranen Sen during question hour, the Minister further said that such verification was considered necessary by the Trust to "ensure that a person with a criminal record or undesirable antecedents do not enter the Trust". He, however, maintained that the Government had not given any direction to the CIT to ask for police verification.

But Ranen Sen pointed out that sources close to the CIT had told him that the Trust was forced by the Government not to appoint a certain person.

Two days later, the Health Minister admitted on the

floor of the Assembly that after the recruitment of doctors for the panel of the Employees' State Insurance Corporation (ESIC), the police were asked to report on their "character and integrity".

The Minister tried to draw a fine distinction between "police report" and "police verification"! What he apparently wanted to imply by the latter expression was police enquiries into the political antecedents of the doctors concerned. Jyoti Basu, however, pointed out that the distinction sought to be made out was a vain attempt to hoodwink the people. Every one could plainly see through the political game behind the system of police enquiries.

Ranen Sen said that he had got the minutes of a meeting of the ESIC, which showed that there was an attempt to exclude doctors not favoured by the Congress bosses from the ESIC panel.

Indications are already there of attempts to extend the system of police verification to wider fields. It is reliably reported that, taking the cue from the Government, some big commercial firms in Calcutta have sought the Government's help for police verification of the political antecedents of their employees.

It is quite evident that the democratic movement in West Bengal will have to fight stiff battles before the Government and the employers can be forced to give up their present undemocratic policy.



EDITOR: P. C. JOSHI

Printed by D. P. Sinha at the NEW AGE PRINTING PRESS, 5, Chandernagore Estate, M. M. Road, New Delhi, and published by him from 74, Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi.

Telegraphic Address: MARXBADI Phone: 225794

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

INLAND: Yearly Rs. 12-0-0; Half-yearly Rs. 6-0-0 and Quarterly Rs. 3-0-0.

FOREIGN: Yearly Rs. 20-0-0; Half-yearly Rs. 10-0-0.

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

BINODANAND'S DEAL WITH SWATANTRITE RAJA

Bihar Ministry In The Dock

From Ali Ashraf

The no confidence motion debate in the Bihar Legislative Assembly last week put the Congress Ministry in the dock not only for individual acts of omission and commission, its corruption and inefficiency but for its reactionary policy as a whole.

WHILE the debate covered the entire ground of its activities, the issue dominating the debate was the Jha Ministry's crude and shameless deal with the Swatantra Party which introduces new dimensions in the political set-up in the State.

Casteist Insinuations

Deputy Minister Daroga Ray mainly used the laboured weapon of his satire at the lack of unity among the opposition even over the issue of no confidence. He made oblique aspersions regarding the alleged "caste" character of the no-confidence motion by describing Praja Socialist Secretary Karpooi Thakur's opening speech as the laconic notes from the broken strings of an old guttar, whereas he ascribed strength of conviction and force of speech to Kapildeo Singh of the PSP and to Communist leader Karyanand Sharma. The aspersions were inescapable that the motion was caste inspired and had allegedly, therefore, failed to unite the whole of the opposition.

But even this crude exploitation of the caste weapon did not improve matters for the Ministry. Certainly the opposition was divided over this issue. The division, however, was not caste-based but political. It is one of the achievements of this no-confidence debate that it unmasked not only the Congress Ministry but also the reactionary groups and individuals among the opposition. The Janata (Swatantra) Party had already entered into deals with the minis-

terialist group. The Jharkhand Party, despite the denials of certain of its well meaning members had been for some time carrying on negotiations for merger with the Congress. In fact the lone Jharkhandi Satrugna Besra who stood up to support the admission of the no-confidence motion was charge-sheeted for violating leader Jai Pal Singh's instructions. Thus the no-confidence motion was sponsored and piloted by the Praja Socialist and Communist members of the Assembly. The fire was concentrated against the ministry's deal with the Raja of Ramgarh, who is the President of the State Swatantra Party and Vice-President of its all-India body.

The Chief Minister could not deny the fact that the Government had issued instructions to get vacated the injunction orders of the Hazaribagh Sub-Judge's Court against M/s. Bokaro Ramgarh Ltd. The vacation of the injunction orders meant handing over a number of mines to the reckless exploitation by the company while a suit regarding the ownership of the mines instituted by the Government of Bihar was pending before the Court. Behind the company stood the Raja of Ramgarh who controlled all its shares.

This was one out of a total of 286 suits fought between the Government of the State of Bihar and the Raja of Ramgarh. Of these 283 were filed by the Raja against the Government and three were instituted by the Government against the Raja.

All these cases were the offshoots of the Zemindari acquisition by the State of Bihar. The Raja had transferred all his zemindari interests to numerous limited companies and one religious trust. When the Government acquired the rights vested in the State of Bihar by the Zemindari Acquisition Act, the Raja and the various transferees instituted those 283 cases against the Government.

Zemindari Abolition Cases

"All the issues raised by Raja Bahadur and his alleged transferees in the various suits" admitted Chief Minister Jha "have been decided in favour of the State of Bihar by the Patna High Court and the Supreme Court of India. The only live issue in the suits is the one raised by the State of Bihar about the benami character of the transferees and the sham and colourable character of the transfers which is the subject matter of T.S. 53/54."

Now this particular title suit was instituted by the Government against the Raja and 23 Ramgarh Companies and others seeking declaration to the effect that "the conveyances leases and sub-leases of mines and minerals created in favour of the companies were sham and colourable and the State of Bihar was entitled to take possession over the area covered by the said transfers."

Pending the final decision, the Sub-Judge's Court, Hazaribagh had issued injunction orders prohibiting the company from operating the mines.

cular about the appointment of a receiver. This being done the working of the mines would not be paralysed and the profits would be under the control of the Court."

"Compromise" To Help Raja

But the Government decided to hand over the profits to the Raja! Why?

Chief Minister Jha this time pleaded that this was done in the interest of a compromise, in order to create proper atmosphere for a compromise! Compromise, a final settlement with the Raja outside the court was necessary to prevent "enormous" amount of money and energy being spent in the law suits.

But the Chief Minister had himself earlier admitted that all the issues raised by the Raja and his "alleged" transferees had been settled by the Patna High Court as well as the Supreme Court in favour of the Government of the State of Bihar and against the Raja.

In this situation, it was the Raja who was kept on the compromise and who took initiative for it. Compromise was not in the interest of the Government. The Chief Secretary and the Secretary of the Industries Department, had as far back as 1959 rendered their considered opinion "even against negotiations for compromise."

Terms Not Worth Looking At

The terms for compromise as offered by the Raja of

Ramgarh were that the Government should recognise all the transfers and settlements thus leaving the whole thing virtually in the hands of the Raja, while the latter on his part was willing to withdraw his suits seeking declaration of the various sections of the Bihar Land Reforms Act as ultra vires.

In view of the subsequent decisions of the Patna High Court and the Supreme Court, these terms were not even worth looking at. The present Chief Minister himself, in his capacity as Revenue Minister under the late Dr. S. K. Sinha had opposed compromise on these terms. Now as Chief Minister he was negotiating on their basis and, further, in order to create helpful conditions, had got vacated injunction orders, handing over mines for the reckless exploitation by the Raja.

What was new in the situation to have induced this volte face in the Chief Minister? Nothing but the realignment inside the Congress Party. The present ministry drew its main strength from the group led by Education Minister, Satyendra Narain Sinha, which was for long in alliance with the Raja of Ramgarh. In fact, years back, they had even induced the Raja to join the Congress to augment their group's strength.

As long as this group was out of power, the Raja and the Janata (Swatantra) Party acted as the shelter for those of them who were denied Congress tickets. In power the group is using the Swatantra Party to defeat the rival group in the Congress. Already there is speculation in the Press about the likely terms of the recent political deal between this ministerialist group and the Raja's Swatantra Party. It is considered almost certain that the Swatantra Party in Bihar will concentrate its electoral fight against the leaders and members of the oppositionist group in the Congress.

National Council Resolution

GREAT LEADER

OF WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

CPI's Homage To W.Z. Foster

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India dips the red banner in the memory of Comrade William Z. Foster, former Chairman and one of the founders of the Communist Party of the USA and a great leader of the international Communist movement. He strove to build and strengthen the struggle for Socialism in the country of the greatest imperialist power, monopoly-dominated USA. His was a life of great privations and heroic suffering which irreparably damaged his health. He braved terror and never flinched before repression. Waging a continuous battle against revisionism and dogmatism, he upheld the banner of Marxism-Leninism to the end of his life.

During the early 'twenties and 'thirties he won renown as the national campaigner for industrial unionism and organiser of the biggest steel strike in the American history. The American working class owes several of its present gains to the effective and successful leadership of Comrade Foster and his co-workers.

He wrote tirelessly exposing the evils under American capitalism and the aggressive crimes of American imperialism. His life, work and writings will continue to inspire the best sons of the American working class and the people to strengthen the fight for democracy peace and socialism, a fight which will undoubtedly triumph.

The National Council sends its heartfelt condolences to the bereaved family and to our brother Party, the Communist Party of USA.

AFRICAN CIVILISATIONS AND THEIR FATE

In the last year particularly, Africa has found itself in the forefront of world events. Long an object of curiosity for dabblers in the exotic, Africa is now being taken seriously. Preconceived ideas and prejudices which took root in Europe and America during centuries of slave trading and colonial rule, have been challenged.

THE question of African civilizations is the first to arise, and to some, the question itself is a surprise. The idea is firmly anchored in many heads that before European intervention, Africa was a country without history, plunged in abysmal ignorance; cultureless tribes under the authority of "bloody kinglings", who spent their time massacring each other until the European soldier, flanked by the missionary, the doctor and the teacher, brought civilization and peace to the barbarians. The more sensible colonizers in Africa realise the error of this outlook. Fifty years ago one of the French colonial conquerors, General Meynier, wrote:

"Dating from their first encounter, the Europeans have insisted on their superiority over the Negro race. It was not long before they forced the Africans into slavery, justifying their actions by the right of the stronger to rule the weaker. Finally, by opening markets for their trade, they decided to intervene directly in this barbarian land, and in the process stamped out the last traces of African civilizations." (L'Afrique noire, Paris Flammarion, 1911 p. 208)

False pictures of the "savage" African continued to prevail because they served to justify slavery and then colonial rule.

Land Without History?

It is a fact that most "cultured" people are ignorant of the history of Africa, and the next step is to conclude that it does not exist.

This history does in fact exist, but it has been systematically scorned and misunderstood. It exists in a written form: many manuscripts written in Arabic (or in African languages with Arabic characters) and the works of African chroniclers have borne witness to it since the middle ages. But for the few (Tarikh-es-Sudan and the Tarikh-el-Fettach) that have been translated into the European languages, there are many which still sleep in the dust of Paris and London libraries, waiting for a translator.

It exists also in the form of oral history passed on by the bards and genealogists; and the recent "Soundiata" by Djibril Tamsir Niane (Paris, Presence africaine, 1960) uses this oral tradition to trace the history of Soundiata, founder of the empire of Mali in the XIIIth century. Similarly, "On Empire of Macina" by J. Daget and A. Hampate Ba precisely outlines events going back more than 150 years, faithfully conserved by the oral tradition.

In this period the trading towns of Djenne and Timbuktoo became not only important markets but also intellectual centres; the Arab intellectuals of North Africa were not too proud to come and learn from the Negro doctors of Timbuktoo.

About the same time the cities of Benin (South-west Nigeria) were the home of a brilliant civilization: the difficult realistic and classic bronze and terracotta found at Ife and in the surrounding area were on a par with the works of antique Greek sculpture.

In the XVth and XVIth centuries the Empire of Gao, with its capital on the eastern Niger, largely took the place of the decaying Empire of Mali.

In the VIIIth century and probably even earlier (for spoken history places the founding of the Empire of Ghana around the IIIrd century) Western Africa had

great states and a developed material civilization: quite different from the unformed and anarchic jumble of "tribes" the apologists for imperialism have presented.

In the XIVth century, at the time when feudal wars were sweeping Europe, the traveller Ibn Batouta had this to say of Mali: "Perfect security holds sway over the entire country; one can live

there and travel there without fear of theft or robbery."

Slave Trade & What It Meant

The first direct contact between Western Europe and this part of Africa took place during the XVth century and

soon took the exclusive form of the slave trade, which lasted for several centuries.

By promoting the manhunt as a profitable activity, and by providing their African intermediaries, with guns for this purpose, the European "traders" brought Africa to stagnation and ruin.

The great empires sank, giving way to many rival chieftainships, continually warring in the hope of taking some "captives" to sell to the traders. Peace yielded to permanent insecurity; the great cities fell into decay; forms of cultural expression withered. Bled by slaving expeditions, the population of Africa stood still while the European population more than doubled from the XVth to the XIXth century.

In this bloodless contemporary imperialist colonialism was built at the end of the XIXth century as a provider of raw materials and a market for European manufactured goods, the colonial regime blocked all industrial development and all progress in production methods, which in the critical field of agriculture remained comparable to what they were two thousand



Terracotta Head from Christian Nok Civilisation.

years ago. At the same time it set up a system of economic and political oppression which must be seen to be believed, in order to yield maximum profits for the imperialist monopolies.

All original forms of African civilization and culture were rejected and stifled in

* See Page 12

Bonn Goes Mad Over Belgrade

From Our Correspondent

Berlin: Sept. 11

WEST Germany has the distinction of being the only country where every step towards peace and understanding among nations causes an attack of hysteria and every increase in international tension leads to satisfaction.

It was the old man in Bonn who thanked God while the Americans were carrying on U-2 flights over Soviet Union and again when Summit talks in Paris did not take place.

When leaders of 25 countries met in Belgrade to discuss peace they could only expect insult from Bonn and they did get their share. Morgen Post recommended its readers to regard these leaders as clowns who should not be taken seriously. Tagespiegel called the conference a conglomerate of neutralistic countries. Heads of 25-States reminded Die Welt of children who had decided to play red Indians.

In its opinion only poverty and fear kept them together and that their only consolation was that they were many. Muenchner Merkur takes a patronising attitude. Those assembled in Belgrade were after all young leaders of young nations whom the paper advises to show more sense of duty and seriousness if they feel themselves grown-up enough to give lessons to the world.

The stand taken by majority of neutral nations has made the West German rags mad with rage.

Deutsche Zeitung thinks neutral leaders lack power of imagination. In the opinion of Deutsche Zeitung international politics is too much for them.

National Zeitung asks "How far are the Indian (this rag does not even care to mention Nehru by name), Sukarno and Nkrumah competent in this pure European problem?"

Frankische Tagespost thinks that Asians and Africans just cannot realise what is at stake in Berlin and Germany. The mad attack has been against Tito, Nkrumah and even us to recognise the existence of the German states."

Foreign minister's threats

Foreign Minister Brentano said, "Many of the young nations are not mature enough politically to take decisions in keeping with the U.N. Charter. When they feel that the facades of their illusions are collapsing they become arrogant." Then he threatens neutral nations with punishment meted to Yugoslavia that is breaking of diplomatic relations.

Minister of Justice (what irony!) Schaeffer is indignant that the very countries which request Bonn for help do not represent its interests on Berlin question. He warns them that further help is only possible if they act in Bonn's interests.

We have seen what W. German aid is. If they speak of punishing us like they did with Yugoslavia let us do to them what Yugoslavia did, that is recognise GDR. It is the W. Germans who stand to lose.

We can get more and better help from other countries but they are finding it difficult to sell their goods. Economic crisis is threatening West Germany and not us. We must take some drastic steps against W. Germany. This is the only language German militarists are capable of understanding.

neutrality is blackmail

General Anzeiger is disturbed that in Belgrade he has come a step nearer to the Communist view point. Dulles regarded neutralism immoral; National Zeitung regards it as blackmail. In the opinion of Mittag it is a slope (not inclination) towards Moscow and consoles itself that uncommitted countries do not have decisive influence on the course of politics. Bonner Rundschau asks when will the neutralists be really and honestly neutral.

Die Welt writes: "We must not reconcile ourselves with the results of Belgrade," and hopes that through economic and political measures it will be possible to prevent de jure recognition of GDR. Frankfurter Allgemeine recommends that Bonn's reply to an "unfriendly act" (recognition of GDR) should not only be a formal breaking of diplomatic

BITTER FACTIONAL FIGHTS AT PSP'S U. P. CONFERENCE

From RAMESH SINHA

Leaving a trail of bitterness, the State Conference of the Praja Socialist Party, held here on August 19 and 20, is over.

FROM the point of numbers, this was one of their best-attended conferences. Out of 1,100 "delegates" chosen to attend the Conference, 800 and odd were reported to have actually come to Lucknow.

The Conference was intended to prepare and streamline the Party for the Third General Elections. In fact, the Secretary's report opened with the words, "The Third General Elections are in front of us..." The high attendance too was explained by the proximity of the General Elections.

To their last Conference, held some fifteen months ago at Maunathbhanjan in the Azamgarh district, out of 4,200 delegates barely 200 had

come. This time both the groups (one led by Triloki Singh and the other by Genda Singh) had mustered their strength to capture the control of the executive bodies because it is they who would distribute tickets for the Assembly and Parliamentary seats.

Prior to the Conference prolonged negotiations had gone on between the warring groups to come to some agreement regarding the division of seats. Even a committee, the so-called Nine-Man Committee, had been formed on the advice of Asoka Mehta and other all-India leaders to bring about a settlement. The Committee consisted of Triloki Singh, Genda Singh, Faridul Haq Ansari, State

PSP Chairman Udit Narain Sharma, Dr. A. J. Faridi, Vishram Rai, Shibban Lal Saxena, State Committee Secretary Chandra Shekhar and Salig Ram Jaiswal.

Unresolved Differences

A number of meetings of this Committee were held in Lucknow and Delhi. Asoka Mehta also participated in some of the meetings. Still later a get-together of leaders was arranged at Varanasi to hammer out some working unity. But all such efforts were balked by the claims of the two groups and finally they came to the Conference to settle the issues "by votes".

Both groups mobilised their followers for the show down which in one of the sessions ended in some people slapping some others. The pandemonium created by this exuberance is re-

ported to have been so serious that State office people ran out of the hall with office files and the cashier scampers off with the cash box. Delegates filed out of the hall, in the midst of wild shrieking, shouting and abuse.

Karunesh, a new convert to the PSP from Lohia socialism, tried to appeal to the good sense of the delegates. He was shouted down. Along with others he is reported to have left the hall saying, "the leaders of the Party have become dictators even though they have not yet got the government! Should they ever get into the seats of power they would set up a dictatorship in the country as well!"

There were some torn shirts when the delegates came out. People discussing these fist-cuffs told me that it was but a public expression of the bitter dog-fight that had taken place inside the nine-man-committee. The issue there was not only the power that accrues from membership of the "controlling" committees, but also the power that comes from managing large funds.

Unaccounted Funds

New Age readers are aware of the unprecedentedly large funds that have been promised to the U.P. Committee of the PSP by Asoka Mehta. From where, no one knows! However, after the publication of that despatch in the New Age, there were "inquiries" to find out how the "serious leakage" had taken place. There were charges and counter-charges and some people were even charged sheeted!

Now also, I am told, the control of about Rs. 10,000 per month was involved. This is the sum that is supposed to be coming to the State Centre from the all-India Centre, through Asoka Mehta.

In the Secretary's report, though there is repeated reference to the "help from the Centre" i.e., the PSP's all-India Centre, the actual sum of this assistance is nowhere mentioned. It is not shown even in the audited accounts which are attached to the Secretary's report. So I shall not vouchsafe the exact sum involved, but that it is substantial is undeniable.

The grouping showed that the old KMPP group of Shibban Lal Saxena had joined with Triloki Singh and Dr. A. J. Faridi, till the other day, a Triloki Singh man, had crossed over to Genda Singh's faction. Shibban Lal wanted to take advantage of the dissensions to get himself elected president of the State PSP. But, unfortunately for him and for Triloki Singh's group, the other group had a very big majority in the Conference and they stood no chance of winning in an open fight.

So Shibban Lal withdrew but, later, the name of Smt. Shakuntala Srivastava, the widow of the well-known labour leader, Harihar Nath Shastri was proposed for

the presidency and Madan Pandey's name for the General Secretaryship of the State Committee (he being an inseparable follower of Shibban Lal Saxena).

And on the eve of the elections these two persons were found to have disappeared from the scene, hence nobody could withdraw their names. This was the group's parting kick to the majority faction.

The group's candidates were badly defeated, but then the elections could not be called unanimously! Udit Narain Sharma and Chandra Shekhar, outgoing incumbents, were re-elected president and general secretary of the State Committee by a majority vote.

But, apart from all this, where does the State PSP stand today in the constellation of political forces in the State? It is really difficult to say. A great effort has been made at least by the Secretary, who can hardly be called a political leader, to show that under his stewardship, the PSP in the State has grown. He has claimed that fifteen months ago when they had met at Maunathbhanjan there was only one unit in the State which was sending regular reports to the State Centre, but now there are as many as 1,363 "basic party units" which send reports of their activities to the State office.

Be that as it may, it is not reflected in the slightest degree in the Secretary's 61 page printed report. It is one of the most scrappy and non-political sort of report of any party that I have seen. Even office clerks would, I believe, shy at owning up such a document. Could it be because 1,363 "basic party units" of the PSP are active and inundating their office with regular reports of their work? What work?

"A Lot Of Opportunist Elements"

Last time, when he was fighting to capture the State Party offices, Chandra Shekhar had lashed out against his leaders and their methods of functioning. For instance he had said, "A lot of opportunist elements have got into the Party only for the purpose of getting seats in the elections. Among these are a number of feudal elements. They care two hoots for discipline. They consider themselves above the Party, much bigger than the party."

He had also said, many members of the party in the State legislature "take pride in violating discipline... Some of them do not even care to fill up the party form..." etc., "But we are afraid to take any action against any of them, lest our numbers should be reduced..."

This time, however, there is not a word of criticism, not a word of political evaluation of the party and its personnel. Is it because the reality has completely changed? If anything, it was worsened.

To educate the party Chandra Shekhar and his group had instituted what they described as "Acharya Narendra Dev Fellowship" and "Yasuf

She Unfurled The First Flag Of Independent India After 1857

Surely there were heroes before Agamemnon and heroines too, though there was no bard like Homer to sing their praises—nor a servile instrument of official propaganda like the All India Radio to extol their virtues in and out of season. That explains the relative obscurity that still surrounds the intrepid pioneers who blazed the trail for Indian independence especially in foreign lands.

HOW little for instance is known about that brave and noble daughter of Bombay, Madame Cama, who was the first after 1857 to unfurl the flag of independent India and that too from the platform of the International Congress of Socialists held at Stuttgart, Germany, in 1907 before moving her resolution that:

India's Voice At 1907 World Socialist Forum

"The continuance of British rule in India is positively disastrous and extremely injurious to the best interests of India, and lovers of freedom all over the world ought to cooperate in freeing from slavery the fifth of the whole human race inhabiting that oppressed country, since, the perfect social state demands that no people should be subject to any despotic or tyrannical form of government."

This resolution of Madame Cama supported by the pioneer British Marxist, H. M. Hyndman, but opposed by the rest of the British delegation led by Ramsay Macdonald registered a definite advance over the resolution moved three years earlier by Dadabhai Naoroji at the Amsterdam session of the same Socialist International inasmuch as the previous resolution had asked only for Home Rule under British supervision.

Madame Cama enlisted the support of the Socialist delegates from Europe and America for Indian independence at a time when the Indian National Congress used to conclude its sessions to the strains of God Save the King and Congress veterans like Gokhale and Ferozeshah Mehta preferred to see the Congress disintegrate at the Surat session in 1907 rather than give countenance to resolutions on Swaraj and Boycott sponsored by the Extremist Party led by Tilak and Aurobindo Ghose.

Madame Cama's appearance at the Stuttgart Congress was not in the nature of a flash in the pan. For nearly two decades she dedicated herself to the cause of Indian independence, ruining her health and spending her fortune in the process but acting as an inspiring flame to the Indian revolutionaries of her generation. In the years before the first world war she came to be known in Europe as the high-priestess of Indian nationalism and her pictures appeared in French papers alongside that of Joan of Arc.

Mrs. Bhikhaiji R. Cama was born in Bombay on September 24, 1861. Her father, Sorabji

dumbfounded the revolutionaries who had been interpreting Government's extreme forbearance as weakness and timidity. Simultaneously, the arrest of Lajpat Rai has paralysed the organisation of the seditious movement which is now without a leader."

canal rates and the Land Alienation Act which restricted the farmer's rights. But that was excuse enough for the imperialist masters. The deportation of Lajpat Rai, far from decapitating the national movement, set all educated India ablaze.

country." It was then that Madame Cama stepped forth into public life by issuing the stirring appeal to her countrymen both in India and abroad, in the course of which she writes, "I was shocked to hear one morning that one of us,

Birth Centenary Of MADAME CAMA

By M. G. DESAI

And Reuter added that the anniversary of the Mutiny did not arouse any excitement in the Indian barracks.

What a cock and bull story! All educated Indians knew that Lajpat Rai was not organising any revolution. All that he was engaged in was an agitation against the

On the very day after Lalaji's arrest, Indian residents of Paris hurriedly convened a meeting to condemn "the very despotism action of the British government in deporting Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh from Lahore and to congratulate them on their glorious sacrifice in the service of the

Mr. Lajpat Rai, a true patriot, was snatched away from his hearth and home and became a prisoner. "Men and women of India, what is the good of talking about the glorious past of India if you are living in slavery

* See Page 10

INSOLENT BEHAVIOUR OF A NAZI DIPLOMAT

From Our Calcutta Correspondent

THE impudence of West German fascists in Calcutta crossed all bounds of decency and diplomatic behaviour. They had forgotten that they were not in West Berlin, but in the heart of Calcutta.

The occasion was the inauguration of the International Festival of Children's Films on September 12. It was being held in the "Lighthouse" Cinema of the city under the auspices of the Institute for Children's Films.

While Dr. Keskar, Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting, was delivering his inaugural speech in the hall, the flags of 25 countries participating in the festival were being hoisted over the cinema building.

Rushes To Remove GDR Flag.

As the flag of the German Democratic Republic was being put up, Vilfred Voegler, Vice-Consul of the West German Consulate in Calcutta, rushed to the spot and tried to prevent the hoisting of the flag. Reason? In his opinion, the GDR did not exist at all! Not merely that. The West German Government was the only Government not only in the whole of Germany, but also in "some areas" beyond that!!

This little Fuehrer said that he would not tolerate the display of the GDR flag and threatened to take "effective steps" in this matter.

Someone from the crowd, which had collected there in the meantime, remarked: "He might even bring in the West German army!" The spectators, organi-

sers and invited guests felt disgusted at this insolent and indecent behaviour.

Minister's Rebuke

The matter was then referred to Dr. Keskar. He pointed out that although India had diplomatic relations with only West Germany she had friendly relations with East Germany also. He further said that the organisers of the festival alone could take a decision in the matter.

Meanwhile, the West Germans were trying to get the GDR flag removed or, in the alternative, to take away their own flag. The organisers told them that the GDR flag would not be removed. Neither the West Germans had any right to take away their flag.

While these things were going on, it was suddenly discovered that the flags of both East and West Germany had been taken down by some unknown person or persons. The organisers were taken aback at this unexpected turn of events, but they immediately proceeded to intervene. Then the Deputy Trade Representative and the Legal Adviser of the GDR in Calcutta told the organisers that if their flag was not flown, they would not participate in the festival.

The representatives of Polish, Czechoslovak and Chinese Consulates in the city also made it clear that they would officially boycott the function if the GDR flag was removed.

The organisers then announced that the flags of both East and West Germany would be flown; but

it would be a matter of deep regret if any State wanted to take out its flag. Immediately after this, both the flags were hoisted.

Threatens Violence

But this was too much for the West German gentleman. He told the volunteers in an atrociously insolent tone: "If you do like this, we will have to use force. Do you want that?" The volunteers paid no heed to the mad ravings of the fascist maniac, and defended the honour of flags of all the countries participating in the festival.

When the function was over, the organisers received a letter from the West German Consulate, informing them that West Germany was officially withdrawing its flag and that it would not participate in the Festival. The reason given for this action was that "organisers have shown eagerness to display the symbol of the rulers who have destroyed the freedom and independence of the people living in Germany!"

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WHERE a child laughs with eyes like the clear rays of sunlight, and the strength of thunder in his limbs... there is a home. In a home dawns 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.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS

Since the report to the General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress was made in its meeting on September 2, and this article written, a Commonwealth Finance Conference has started in Accra from September 12. Mr. Morarji Desai, Finance Minister of India, is attending it.

The press reports say that "Shri Desai rejected any possible proposal that India might become an associate member of the Rome Treaty." He is reported as having said: "We will not touch even with a barge pole." At the same time he made "constructive proposals" with a view to keeping India's trade ties intact with Britain, when she goes to the Common Market. So the barge pole will have indirect touch with the ECM! But no direct Associate-ship!

The Indian Finance Minister also disliked to rope in a few African countries as "associates", as France has done. If this is done with Commonwealth countries, then, Mr. Desai declared: "This is a move dangerous not only politically but also economically."

So there is politics in the Common Market, after all. But while speaking in Parliament, Mr. Desai denied any knowledge that ECM had politics, when we said that it had NATO politics.

Unfortunately, this question of politics in the ECM is haunting everybody. The U.K. High Commissioner in India, Sir Paul Gore-Roath, speaking in a meeting under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs had to almost give an apologetic assurance saying: "The fear that Britain's joining the ECM would lead to some form of economic imperialism was misplaced." (Times of India, September 15).

We are all now in a "cooperative Commonwealth imperialism". How can one allow it to be replaced by some other one?

So the debate is going on.

But the basic fact remains that the Common Market is a game in the rivalries of the imperialist monopolies to re-divide the shrunken world capitalist market by some other one.

The basic facts remain as outlined below:

I NOBODY in India knew very much, sometime back, about the European Common Market — ECM.

But now since Britain decided to join it and when three British ministers went round to India, Australia, New Zealand and other Commonwealth countries to sound their opinion, the whole country has become conscious of the Common Market. It is being debated in the Press, in the Parliament, among political parties and mass organisations.

The dominant note in these discussions appears to be that Britain joining the ECM will hit India's economy, her export trade particularly; that Britain is "letting down" her Commonwealth partners.

Not one, however, seems to be saying definitely that Britain must not join the ECM. Even the Government of India says that it is for Britain to decide her line. India will suffer to some extent but she will look after her own interests in the best way she can.

Only the PSP spokesman, Asok Mehta, a true follower of the Social-Democrats of Europe, is very eloquent about the ECM.

From all accounts, however, the Indian tone is one of anxiety and regret that we will lose our trade with England and suffer a serious setback. It is therefore, necessary to know the real position in this respect and have a principled approach.

II THE ECM consists of six countries. They are: West Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg. These countries established the Common Market by the Treaty of Rome in 1958.

These Common Market countries are highly industrialised countries, except for Italy, whose economy, compared to that of Germany and France, is a little backward. All the six, except the small Luxembourg, have been and are imperialist countries. All of them are governed by reactionary governments and are part of the warmongering NATO Pact.

After the Second World War, all of them have been set on their feet, by American capital, beginning with the Marshall Plan. In general, their foreign policy is the policy of American imperialism.

The American imperialists had the idea of forming a single gigantic bloc of all the capitalist countries of Europe, subordinate the economies of all of them to their aim of world conquest and to use them in a war against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

But this plan of building a "united imperialism" of capitalist Europe, with a population and market of 250 million people did not succeed. After getting rehabilitated through the aid of the Marshall Plan and after reconstructing their worn-out plants, the age-old rivalries and contradictions of the monopolists in these countries began to assert themselves. The plans of building a super-imperialism of United States of America and United States

of Europe foundered on the inherent rivalries of the monopolists.

The Americans succeeded in hammering out the six into a Common Market, while Britain tried to build an alliance of what are called the "Outer Seven" consisting of Great Britain, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, Denmark, Austria and Portugal calling themselves the European Free Trade Area (EFTA).

The Common Market is an imperialist bloc and as such is directed against the socialist camp. It is also directed against the under-developed countries and their independence because France, Belgium, Holland—all have colonial possessions—and the German Nazis and Italian Fascists hope to recover their lost colonies.

The Outer Seven, led by England, are also an imperialist bloc, though some of them have no colonies. But England makes up for all of them.

The six Common Market countries want to eliminate tariff barriers amongst themselves and have a free flow of goods, labour and capital by common agreement. But this very thing becomes impossible of achievement, as each one wants to strengthen its own economy, that is monopoly profits, as against the other.

III THE wage levels and capital equipment in each one of them being different and all being based on capitalist-imperialist competition, the free flow of labour, capital and goods leads to severe competition. For example, the pooling of steel and coal in the Six immediately threatened closure of marginal mines in Belgium and France, while the cheap coal of Ruhr began to capture the market. In agriculture also, French agricultural workers and small farmers refused to have their goods priced out of the market of the common pool. And so on.

The Common Market, established to eliminate competition, led to more competition on a total European scale among the giant monopolies, of West Germany, France, Italy, etc. Contradictions developed between Germany and France, between France and Italy, etc. Competition also arose between the American monopolies and the Six, led by the giant cartels of West Germany, now fully rehabilitated once again under Nazi control.

The question of Britain joining the ECM Six is a part of this inter-imperialist rivalry and competition. A large section of British monopoly capital wishing to secure the big market of the ECM for its engineering goods wants to be in the ECM. Politically, a part of NATO, Britain's war monopolies cannot remain out of the economic ring of the NATO. Despite the opposition of a certain section of its own bourgeoisie, Britain

wants to go in the ECM, for its overall interests of war, monopoly development and competition.

With Britain inside the ECM, the Common Market will become a formidable combination, which will even compete with American monopolies. Why do the Americans then want it? For profits.

IV THE wage-levels in the European countries are lower than in the USA. They are as follows. If the per hour wage is taken in dollars, the levels stand as below:

U.S.A.	—\$2.50 per hour
Britain	—\$1.50 "
France	—\$0.95 "

this line is unacceptable to the monopolists. They put embargos on trade with the socialist countries. They dictate unequal terms to the under-developed countries. They export capital and build factories in other countries to avoid demands of their own working class and reap super-profits. Where there is abundance of production of food and other goods, they hold them back from the market to raise prices and increase their profits. Trade ceases to be an instrument of supplies needed by society. The vast increase in forces of production instead of becoming an instrument of abundant and cheap supplies of goods for satisfying the needs of man becomes in the hands of capitalism merely an instrument of profits, rivalries, war and ruin. We

naturally object to such blocs and markets.

From that point of view, Britain joining the ECM is a step towards intensification of the cold war and competition, which one should disapprove. But Britain outside the six with the Outer Seven is in no way of a different imperialist, colonial, anti-Soviet colour than what she would be with the Six in the ECM bloc.

This is the international aspect of the problem and our approach.

VI WHAT is the national aspect of the problem?

Since India was conquered by Britain, her trade has been linked with Britain. Britain's trade with India was at first nothing but open plunder. As India's national movement grew, the rate of the plunder was mitigated a little and masked under Pacts, Preferences and so on.

When India attained independence, she had the power to make a radical change in her relations of trade with Britain. But with state power in her hands, the traders and manufacturers of India in the post-war period got more busy in intensifying the plunder of their own people than bringing the plunder back from Britain. Thus the change in political status did not materially alter the direction of our trade. Moreover, the capitalists of British industry fully utilised their advantage as an industrialised country against India as an under-developed country in need of machines and capital goods in exchange for her exports of raw materials.

As India also set herself on

V WHAT can be our attitude to this development? We are opposed to the formation of these blocs, which intensify war preparations and militarisation of economy. We want trade among all countries, to be conditioned by the interests of the people. But

the path of capitalist development, her trade continued to flow into the capitalist countries as before.

Out of the total exports of Rs. 612.77 crores in 1960, the

socialist countries got a share of only Rs. 54.68 crores, Africa got Rs. 40.21 crores, Asia Rs. 118.25 crores, America Rs. 131.57 crores and the capitalist countries of Europe Rs. 238.43 crores, in which Britain alone took a share of Rs. 174.39 crores.

Thus Britain continues to be the single largest customer of our exports. In the total turnover of Rs. 612.77 crores, her share is Rs. 174.39 crores, that is about 28 per cent of the total.

Our trade continues to be with capitalist countries and a large part of it with Britain. Foreign banks and agency houses still dominate the field though Indian banks have entered the market on a greater scale than before.

The terms of trade with capitalist countries continue to be unequal as before—that is, we selling cheaper and they selling dearer to us.

The trade carriers continue to be foreign-owned, our shipping being still backward,

of the critics of the ECM forget this side of the story.

No doubt, a part of our export trade will suffer a temporary setback. It is said that about 10 per cent of our trade may be lost or we may suffer a loss of 10 per cent in value due to the duties, quotas, etc. That is not very much.

What exactly is the position regarding the concrete items of trade? Let us see.

VIII

SOME people paint a picture as if our most paying commodities will lose the market and we will be ruined. Let us look at certain items.

Take jute—the much-talked of item of export. In 1960, we exported Rs. 70.6 crores worth of it. Of this, jute bags worth Rs. 2 crores were taken by Britain. And the Common Market bought Rs. 2.81 crores worth. Our jute enters Britain with a 20 per cent price weightage imposed on us in order to protect Dundee jute. Thus England imposes 20 per cent "duty" and the ECM imposes 23 per cent. Not much difference.

In tea alone, England is a big market. She took Rs. 75 crores worth in 1960 in a total export of Rs. 120 crores. The ECM is a small buyer and puts 19 to 23 per cent duty on our tea.

But even if England joins the ECM and puts 20 per cent duty on our tea, she is bound to continue to be our buyer, because we are the biggest and cheapest producer and, secondly, because it is the English capital that still dominates production and marketing of tea.

In textiles, we will not be much of a loser. England imported 223 million yards of grey cloth from India free of duty. ECM puts 17 to 19 per cent duty on our cloth.

Now even if this 223 million is not taken, our industry whose production reaches

VII

OUR goods enter the British market mostly free of duty, while other capitalist countries levy duties of varying kinds and put quotas and other barriers.

This gives us greater power in competition with the taxed goods of other countries coming to the British market.

Britain obviously does not do this for benefitting us. By keeping us tax-free, she ensures a supply of raw materials at cheaper rates and diverts them into her channels by frightening us with competition. The trade being done by her own banks and investments here as in tea, etc., she is, in fact, buying the goods of her own capitalists and not necessarily of India, though they are India's produce.

In return, Britain gets a guaranteed field of her exports and investments.

Thus, if Britain joins the Common Market, and our goods are asked to pay duty,

A policy of freedom from tie-ups with imperial preferences, a balanced trade on equal terms and without barriers of tariffs and quotas, and elimination of groupings and bans is indicated in this. Such a policy, if followed in practice would lead India to seek markets everywhere including the great socialist market and would not impose on her the necessity of tying herself to the strings of this or that grouping.

Hence it was correct for the Government of India to take the position in its talks with the British Minister that whether Britain should join the ECM or not is her own affair.

IX

THE position taken by Mr. Morarji Desai, the Finance Minister, a staunch adherent of the Commonwealth, is worth noting. Making a statement for the Government of India on the Common Market in the Lok Sabha on September 8, 1961, he said:

"It is our considered view that the less-developed countries of the world should not rely on preferential treatment from industrialised countries, as a basis for the development of their industries and exports. Such dependence can undermine the political independence of the countries concerned." (emphasis added).

Further on, he says: "International trade today is at the crossroads. We can either move in the direction of more liberal trading policies calculated to achieve a balanced exchange of goods and services between the developing countries and the industrialised countries on a fair, non-discriminatory basis; or we can go in the direction of groupings, regional and of other kinds."

It does not seem that Indian Government will go that way. There is no need. The threat is not so great and there is the alternative market. And, moreover, the Common Market countries themselves would like to pocket India's trade, once it is delinked from the "imperial ties" of Britain.

COMMON MARKET

In view of this, Britain's joining the ECM is no calamity for India. At the most, a temporary, small setback to certain lines of export may take place, which can be overcome.

XI

ON the contrary, certain political results will follow from Britain's joining the ECM, which are worth noting. There are distinct political advantages in the new developments, when looked at from the long-range point of view.

The traditional tie-up of our trade, banking, shipping—in short, all the legacy of "imperial preference", will be loosened. Our bourgeoisie will have to stand on its own feet when shaken out of the "shelter" of the imperial market.

Many have said that when Britain joins the Common Market, it will be the end of the Commonwealth. It is Britain, round whom the Commonwealth gravitates, that will be quitting it instead of India quitting the Commonwealth. What is there to worry in this? It should be a welcome thing—if the Commonwealth breaks. It is not?

The third political result

which include some of the recently liberated countries of Africa as "associates" of hers in the ECM, thus allowing goods from there to come in duty free.

When Britain joins, she also would like to get the same status or concession for her Commonwealth associates. If she does, will India like to be an "associate"? There is also the possibility that just as the ECM has made rubber and tin from Malaya duty free for the ECM, England may ask the same status for some lines of her Commonwealth products. India Government would not reject the latter proposal but what about being an "associate" of the ECM?

But such an association has a larger meaning than merely exports. You become more or less a part of the ECM and the NATO and the Treaty which governs it. That treaty asks you to surrender a part of your sovereignty to the ECM Parliament and authorities. It makes you a part of the war bloc of the NATO countries? Would India go that far? India has all along opposed joining in war blocs or aligning with any bloc. Will she, however, agree to be an "associate" of the economic counterpart of the NATO war bloc, to protect her trading interests? The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, in fact, asked for such association.

Such soundings could have been done at the talks. If it were not so, a Cabinet Minister need not have flown from London to Delhi, to only tell India "of Britain's application for ECM membership".

It does not seem that Indian Government will go that way. There is no need. The threat is not so great and there is the alternative market. And, moreover, the Common Market countries themselves would like to pocket India's trade, once it is delinked from the "imperial ties" of Britain.

each other's markets by groupings of the Six in the Common Market or the Seven in the EFTA.

But all these attempts to re-divide amongst themselves the shrunken markets of the capitalist world cannot solve the problem of feeding their vast production apparatus and vast monopolies. Hence their internal rivalries among themselves and their plans of war with the socialist countries, if possible. But that cannot save capitalist industry and trade, from the operation of the laws of its own ruin, inherent in the system itself—the law by which the apparatus of social production is growing on a vast scale, but the disposal of its products remains conditional upon the profits and will of a handful of monopolists, who cannot allow consumption to grow fast enough to absorb the growth in production. For that to happen, socialism is necessary. To avoid that very thing, are born the Six and the Seven, and all such capitalist manoeuvres to save themselves from the inevitable doom.

We in India need not worry, if we are on the right road.

BY S. A. DANGE

The market for castor oil and oil cakes can be found on a bigger scale in the socialist countries.

Thus the situation is not as panicky as is made out by

will be that India, de-linked from British preferences, will search for alternative markets and so trade with the socialist countries will grow. That will make up more than the 10 per cent loss in value.

The fourth result will be that British investments in India's raw material products will weaken, making room for Indian capital to advance.

The fifth result will be that the situation existing in the British working class will change and they will have to battle with their imperialists against the onslaughts on their wages and living.

The snapping of a hundred-year-old imperial pattern of trade should not be an event that should worry us. It would be the logical outcome of our independence, the weakening of British imperialism and turning the face of our trade towards the socialist market.

If it pleases England, let her join the Common Market and try her fate with West Germany, France and her other partners of the NATO.

The emergence of the world socialist market with its population of one thousand million has shrunk the imperialist capitalist market. The cold war strategy of the imperialists shutting off trade with this huge growing market has made the crisis of trade of the industrialised imperialist countries still deeper. Their industries have grown with new technique and automation to greater heights of production than before the second world war. But their buyers' number has shrunk, as their old markets in the Balkans, in old China and South East Asia have gone away from the orbit of imperialism to their own new world of socialism.

The newly-liberated under-developed countries no longer offer the same market of plunder as before.

To extricate themselves out of this situation, the imperialists are trying to steal

LIBERATION OF MOTHERLAND

* From Page 7

today? Brave Rajputs, Sikhs, Pathans, Goorkhas, patriotic Marathas and Bengalis, energetic Parsees and courageous Mohammedans, and last but not least, you mild Jains, patient Hindus, children of great and mighty races, why are you not living according to your traditions? Come out and establish liberty and equality under Swaraj. Come out for your own sake.

"Come out for the sake of your children. Brothers and sisters, fight out the battle of human rights and show to the world that the East can teach West. Teach this to the Englishmen, who are styled 'savage' in broadcloth' by Mr. William Wordsworth, grandson of the great poet.

Against Lajpat's Incarceration

"Lajpat Rai the patriot should not be left to breathe the foul air of captivity. Let us combine. If we all speak bravely like Lajpat Rai, how many forts and prisons must the government build before it can deport and confine us all. We are three hundred million strong. It is only unity we require to stop the whole despotic administration by refusing to work for it in any capacity. May Indians unite and rise to the occasion through the inspiration of Bande Mataram."

From the day this appeal was issued, the liberation of her motherland became the categorical imperative of Madame Cama's life. No wavering, no faltering, no turning back, no sacrifice too great to achieve the supreme purpose. Realising the necessity to arouse the conscience of the civilized world, she decided to take the issue before the most radical audience at that time in Europe—the International Congress of Socialists.

The first flag of independent India since 1857 which she unfurled at the Stuttgart Congress was mainly of her own conception—a silken tricolour to prepare which she tore up three of her brand new saris. She embroidered thereon the words Bande Mataram in the centre, symbols of sun and moon in the top corners and eight lotuses at the bottom for the eight provinces.

In support of her resolution she made a fiery speech pointing out how the emancipation of the western working-classes was inevitably linked with the liberation of subject nations and colonial peoples. She received a standing ovation from the vast gathering. But the British delegates opposed putting the resolution to the vote on a technical ground.

The President however declared that the spirit of the resolution had the overwhelming approval of the Congress.

Immediately after this Congress, Madame Cama undertook a lecture tour in the U.S.A., the first British colony to succeed in overthrowing the British yoke.

But the fight for Indian independence must mainly be carried on by Indians themselves. It was essential to enlighten and organise the Indian student community in

Britain, which numbered at this time more than two thousand. From this intellectual elite must come the necessary leaders and cadres for the revolutionary work in India.

Rallying Centre

A rallying centre for patriotic Indian students was provided at the "India House" in London maintained by Pundit Shyamji Krishna Varma. Here Madame Cama found a fertile soil.

She spoke to the students, presided over their meetings and stood security whenever anybody came in clash with the London police.

Who were her colleagues and comrades in those days? First was Shyamji Krishna Varma Bhanjali, once a Sanskrit lecturer at Oxford, then the Dewan of several Indian states and at this time the editor of Indian Sociologist published in London.

Second was Sardar Singhji Revabhai Rana, a Rajput prince, a graduate from the Elphinstone College, then a Barrister of Gray's Inn and later a pearl merchant who preferred to carry on revolutionary activities abroad rather than return to India and claim the Gadi of the Limbdi State.

Next came Virendra Chattopadhyaya, the eldest brother of Sarojini Naidn, who later

and copies were smuggled into India, in which Madame Cama materially helped. Although Madame Cama's radical group in London had started work on moderate lines, the very logic of events gradually compelled it to take a more and more extreme position. History was moving fast in India.

The split in the Congress ranks at Surat in 1907 gave the government the necessary opportunity to strike hard at the Extremists, and government repression became widespread in Bengal. The desperate Bengali youths in the absence of any organised movement of workers and peasants turned to individual terror.

The first bomb exploded in India by Khudiram Bose was quickly followed by the discovery of the Bomb factory at Manicktolla and the famous trial of Tilak and the savage sentence passed against him by Justice Davar. To stamp out the nationalist movement in India, the government unleashed a country-wide reign of terror which reached its peak in Bengal and then in Maharashtra.

As the news of the shootings and hangings and the deportations reached London, Madanlal Dhingra, an engineering student in London could stand it no more. He wanted to get at Lord Curzon but by mistake killed Sir Curzon-Wyllie, an Anglo-Indian bureau-

literature and smuggle it into India—and not literature alone but also arms and ammunition had to be bought and sent to India in false bottoms of trunks and boxes through Pondicherry and other places. The twenty Browning pistols, for instance, which were found distributed from Nasik to Calcutta were bought by Sardar Rama from a French firm.

When inquiries were instituted by Scotland Yard, characteristically enough Madame Cama took the responsibility on her own shoulders and submitted a signed declaration to that effect to the British consulate in Paris.

In the early stages of her activities, Madame Cama used to get the cooperation of some well-placed members of the Paris community in Paris such as Mr. Godrej of the Tata Bros., Mr. J. C. Shroff and Mr. Kotwal of Messrs. Shroff & Co. With a view to scare such rich friends away from Madame Cama, the London Morning Post of December 22, 1908 published a sensational despatch from its Paris correspondent alleging the formation of an Indian revolutionary conspiracy financed by wealthy Paris.

The greatest setback to Madame Cama and her revolutionary group came with the arrest and deportation of Savarkar to India. When the news broke out that Savarkar

one of the soulful and unostentatiously handsome heroines of Turgenev's novels—Marianna for instance of the "Virgin Soil."

They too came from aristocratic backgrounds. Clothed in poetry and purity, they were moved by noble but vague desires. They left their parental homes to break with the past and engaged themselves in revolutionary activity against the existing social system. In spite of their gentle upbringing, they proved strong and unbending, because they demanded of life—All or Nothing. Of the same stuff was Madame Cama wrought.

Her Credo

It is best to let her explain herself. In the course of A Message to the People of India, Madame Cama writes, "Countrymen, lend me your ears. I will not take up your long time; only five minutes. I fully understand the responsibility of what I say. I am prepared for everything. I have but one life to give, one Avatar to sacrifice... I want to speak on Methods. Some of you say that as a woman I should object to violence. Well, sirs, I had that feeling at one time.

"Three years ago it was repugnant to me even to talk of violence as a subject of discussion; but owing to the

Categorical Imperative Of Madame Cama's Life

organised the Indian Committee in Berlin to arrange to send arms to India during the first world war.

Later came Barrister V. D. Savarkar, P. M. Bapat (Senapati) Lala Hardayal, V. V. S. Aiyar, T. Acharya, C. R. Pillai, Govind Amin and others.

The group had started very modestly by founding the first Indian Home Rule Society in February 1905 "to spread among the people of India a knowledge of the advantages of freedom and national unity."

The earliest meetings were attended by even so moderate a man as Mr. M. R. Jayakar.

In July of the same year Krishna Varma's "India House" at Highgate was opened in the presence of "a large and interesting gathering of English and Indian ladies and gentlemen" which included H. M. Hyndman, Mrs. Despard (Irish suffragette), Mrs. Cama, Lajpat Rai, and even Dadabhai Naoroji.

Pundit Sharma and Sardar Rana offered several scholarships to Indian students to come and stay at the India House. Savarkar secured one such scholarship on the recommendation of Tilak. Besides studying for the Bar, Savarkar wrote the History of the War of Indian Independence (1857), collecting material for the same in the British Museum library.

Reading inspiring passages from it became a regular feature at the weekly meetings at the India House. This book, though banned, became the Bible of the Indian student community in

acra. Before death sentence was passed, Dhingra declared from the dock:

"I believe that a nation held down by foreign bayonets is in a perpetual state of war. Since open battle is rendered impossible to a disarmed race, I attacked by surprise. Since guns were denied to me, I drew forth my pistol and fired... the only lesson required in India at present is to learn how to die, and the only way to teach it is by dying ourselves."

In Paris Madame Cama started a monthly journal called Bande Mataram in September 1909, which she continued to edit till the outbreak of the first world war. Some time later she started and financed another journal called Talwar in Germany. Both these journals pursued a more uncompromising policy than that of Krishna Varma's Indian Sociologist.

Madame Cama joined Savarkar's Abhivaya Bharat Society modelled on Mazzini's Young Italy. She spent her money like water for the revolutionary cause. It is said she spent more than two lakhs of rupees. Anyway, there are several entries in the Police History Sheet, since published, regarding the transfer and investment of 7000 and 10,000 francs (pre-war) made by Madame Cama as a Trustee of the Abhivaya Bharat society.

Money was necessary to finance revolutionary agitators in England and in Europe and also to produce revolutionary

was recaptured on French soil after his heroic escape from the British ship in Marseilles harbour, Madame Cama moved heaven and earth to secure his release.

The French government was reluctant to take action against Britain, her new ally in the Entente Cordiale. But thanks to the efforts of Madame Cama, articles appeared not only in the Socialist L'Humanite but also in Le Temps, L'Echo and Le Matin denouncing the violation of the right of asylum by the British.

Socialist leaders like Jaures and Longuet gave their full support and the French government was at last compelled officially to demand the return of Savarkar.

When the Hague Court gave an adverse decision under British pressure, it was a great blow to Madame Cama and her comrades. But they carried on their revolutionary activities until the outbreak of the first world war, when the French government ordered her to stop her journal and for the duration of the war she was under house-arrest.

The transition of an aristocratic Paris lady from a world of lace and lavender and inconsequential gossip to the deadly earnest atmosphere of secret conspiracies with pistols and bomb formulas and spies and counter-spies and the eternal vigilance under the Damocles' sword of sudden arrest and lifelong deportation to the Andamans is certainly difficult to understand. From what little we know of Madame Cama, she reminds

heartlessness, the hypocrisy, the rascality of the Liberals that feeling is gone. Why should we deplore the use of violence when our enemies drive us to it? If we use force, it is because we are forced to use force....

"The days for calling meetings and passing resolutions are now over. A handful of foreigners have declared war on us. Who can wonder if we millions accept the challenge and declare war on them. The price of Liberty must be paid. Which nation has got it without paying for it? Thank God our people have learnt that it is sin to tolerate despotism; they have learnt rather to die fearless than perish like worms....

"My only hope in life is to see our country free and united. I beg of you, young men, to march on. March forward, Friends, and lead the helpless, dying, down-trodden children of our Motherland to the goal of Swaraj."

After the war, Madame Cama resumed her activities. But her health was falling. The franc had lost its value. She was reduced to penury. And a stroke of paralysis laid her low. When she was ultimately allowed to return to her homeland, she was a physical wreck. After a few days she died on August 19, 1936 in a Bombay hospital, unhonoured, unsung and practically unknown. Fortunately, one of her old comrades, M. P. T. Acharya and a brother of Savarkar were present at her funeral.

NEITHER NATIONAL NOR MARXIST

SOME renegades, thrown out of the Communist Party for their unscrupulous and pro-landlord politics, helped and abetted by well-known anti-Communist quarters with questionable loyalty to the country and unenviable reputation, on direct encouragement from not-so-inactive Western lobby in India, have been raising their heads in the capital.

These yesmen of imperialism who designate themselves as "National Marxists" have of late used all possible pretexts for carrying on the anti-Communist and anti-Soviet line of their masters who finance them for bringing truck loads of innocent and naive peasants from a neighbouring district to which one of their leaders belongs.

On Wednesday last (September 13) a demonstration against Nuclear tests was organised outside the Soviet Embassy, the demonstrators having been "brought in private buses to the Teen Murti end of Shantipath in Chanakyapuri." Most of the demonstrators, peasants from Rohtak district, however, did not know the significance of their action and what it was all about.

Peasants, shopkeepers and others from Rohtak and neighbouring districts of Delhi very often come to capital for their own personal work. According to my information many

among the demonstrators, thanks to the organisers, came "free" on that day with other promises of a free sight-seeing trip and "going round" the historic places of Delhi.

Their leader Pratap Singh Daulta who, since his expulsion from the Communist Party, has joined Congress, calls himself a follower of Panditji! But this gentleman, however, well-known to the newspaper readers, is now the figurehead of the National Marxist Association which today serves as a camouflage for all the discredited anti-Communist organisations like the Congress for Cultural Freedom, etc., who till the other day were praising Ayub and pressing for a joint defence pact with Pakistan.

There is no doubt that millions of our countrymen like others all over the world have been deeply perturbed over the recent heightening of international tension and the new spurt in the arms race. They have the intelligence that has become part of their instinct to see that this whole thing has been started by the imperialists with Berlin only as a pretext.

The Soviet Union, repeatedly sought to be destroyed by them in the last 44 years, consistently seeking not merely the banning of tests, but the outlawing of all weapons of mass destruction and complete scrapping of all arms; has been compelled to act in self-defence in order not to be caught unawares.

Neither the Soviet Union nor anybody else is happy over the fact that they have had to resume nuclear weapon tests.

Still no patriotic Indian would wish the Soviet Union to lag behind in its preparedness to meet the aggression that the imperialists are madly preparing against her.

PHONEY DEMONSTRATION

The phoney character of the demonstration on September 13, therefore, could not escape the attention of the eagle-eyed reporters of the Delhi press. The Times of India reported next day that "demonstrators waited for their leaders... to come; but most of them who were expected did not come."

Not only that. The eight-line memorandum which one of the leaders of the demonstrators handed over to the Soviet Embassy officials purported to have been submitted on behalf of "various trade unions and Kisan Organisations" had no signatures on it. When the Embassy officials invited the leaders of the demonstrators to come in and discuss the matter they refused to do so. That showed how lacking in seriousness and conviction they were. One of them, Chajoo Ram, said that he had come to lodge the protest and his purpose had been served.

And then this 10-minute demonstration ended. I have seen the temper

SCRAP-BOOK

of the leaders of such demonstrations. They never see to logic or reason. They are given a particular job and they do it for consideration. They are in fact paid stooges of imperialists.

Otherwise what is the reason that the demonstrators (but I do not blame the naive individuals who participated in it) and especially their leaders never thought of raising their voice against nuclear tests all these days being organised in Sahara by France. Or it did not strike their imagination that the United States had long been determined and had already announced its decision to conduct underground nuclear tests!

Fact is that the National Marxist Association is neither Nationalist nor Marxist. The demonstrators who appeared on September 13 were made-to-order for a particular purpose—anti-Communism. In the Capital, however, there are agencies ready day and night to finance such demonstrations.

I.N.T.U.C.'S NON-VIOLENCE

A Correspondent has sent me a story from Singareni which tells how (non) violent the INTUC really is.

On August 29 the branch secretary of the Singareni Collieries Workers' Union, J. Kumaraswamy, was enrolling union membership at Mandamam in Kalyan

Khanl Mines. At about 10 a.m. a batch of 30 to 40 persons belonging to the INTUC Union suddenly attacked the workers engaged in enrolling members. However, the goondas were driven away by the miners who told them point blank that they would not pay to the INTUC Union. Faced with such a situation the goondas immediately left the place.

But at 1 p.m. when J. Kumaraswamy went back with membership money to the temporary office of the Union the office premises were surrounded by a lorry load of goondas brought by the same INTUC leader. The goondas belaboured the union secretary and decamped with a cash booty of Rs. 300 and a wrist-watch.

The management at the Singareni Collieries Company Limited has recognised the INTUC union led by Nagiah Reddy. The management obviously helps the INTUC to get rid of the other popular trade union leaders.

Unable to maintain its hold on the workers INTUC has thus taken to violence. No wonder armed with such weapons — goondism aided and abetted by management and shielded by police and Government, the INTUC can claim to be the premier and most representative trade union organisation in the country!

—AGRADOOT

Conference Without Political Discussions

* From Page 6

Meherally Award". The Secretary's report confesses that only 146 and 56 persons got themselves enrolled for joining the above schemes—202 members out of a total of 50,000!

Earlier PSP members and local functionaries used to leave the party to join the Congress or the Communist Party; now they do so more often to join the Jan Sangh.

In 1958 they had fixed up a quota of 1,75,000 for membership of the party and succeeded in enrolling 63,170 members. In 1959-60, according to the figures annexed with the Secretary's report, the membership was 56,813 (Lucknow city 400, Lucknow district 167, Allahabad city 920, Allahabad district 640; Varanasi city 400; Varanasi district 160; Aligarh 902; Kanpur city 3,890 and Kanpur district 1,992; etc.).

In this year of progress, they had printed membership forms for enrolling 2,75,000 members, but till the time of the Conference, received membership receipts of only 50,000. This is not progress, unless it be in the reverse direction! The PSP has no mass organisations in the State.

However, it cannot be denied that steps have been taken to strengthen the organisation. Zonal organisers and local

organisers have been appointed on salaries. People from the State office have also travelled to the districts to meet the members there. The Sangharsh party's paper has been revived, though it is reported to be wifing for want of a readership. If the present membership of the party has been enrolled as a result of all these efforts, one wonders what would be the condition of the PSP in the State if so much money had not been pumped into the organisation.

But for all this the manoeuvring capacity of these more reactionary cousins of the Congress should not be underestimated. The discontent against the Congress is deep, deeper than ever before and they would use all means to utilise it for their advantage.

Their tactic is two-fold. First, they would try to corner as many seats as possible for themselves. For this purpose they would set up the very devil if he is willing to at least formally accept their symbol and stand a chance of winning. For this, further, they would combine with anyone, just anyone.

Although, in one of their resolutions it has been loudly announced that they would have no electoral relationship with the Congress, the Communist Party and the communal parties, they have not dared to take any action

either against Dr. Faridi, who had taken part in the communal Talimi Conference, or against Narain Dutt Tewari, who had addressed an RSS rally and called the Jan Sangh fascists the hope and pride of the country.

The question of disciplinary action against these persons has been now, by this Conference, referred to the National Executive Committee of the party. It was not only the fear of repercussions in the party if action was taken against them, but also the fear of snapping the party's links with those communal organisations and angering them that has stayed their hands. They have even attacked the Communist Party for its anti-communal campaign and said the CPI is exaggerating the dangers of communal parties in order to get people to join its united front!

Secondly, they would play their historical role of assisting the bourgeoisie and its various representatives in defeating the Communist Party, the representative of the working classes. Some of the leaders of the State PSP, reportedly on instructions from Asoka Mehta, have prepared a lengthy report on the electoral prospects of various parties in the State with special reference to the strength of the PSP in various

areas and constituencies.

In this report they have particularly mentioned the areas and constituencies where the Communist Party is strong and said that the Congress (or any other party) cannot defeat the Communist candidates in those areas by itself.

Hence, the report states, it will be the task of the PSP to help those forces that can defeat the Communist Party in those places. It is both an offer and a pledge. This report, incorporating this dirty plan, has not been made public.

Further, the master of such election tactics in the PSP still is Triloki Singh and it is being said that, though he was defeated in the Conference, the task of organising the election work of the party would be entrusted to him. This would also help to maintain the "unity" of the party on the eve of the big electoral battle.

Readers would perhaps wonder and want to know what were the political discussions in the Conference. None at all! Even the above mentioned election line of the party was not discussed or debated in the Conference.

A number of resolutions had been cyclo-styled and circulated to the delegates in

advance. These included resolutions on the political situation in the State, on the economic situation, on the U.P.-Bihar border dispute, on Nepal, on agricultural policy, and inevitably on the development of the northern border areas. There was one resolution on the international situation also, which demanded that "the Government should take immediate steps to vacate Chinese aggression of Indian territory" and denounced the Warsaw Pact powers, i.e. the Socialist countries "for creating the Berlin crisis by taking unilateral action there."

Of course all these were in keeping with the reactionary line and destructive traditions of the PSP, but they did not have time even to discuss them. The Leaders had no time for political discussions, or perhaps they did not want to give their workers, even as they are, to discuss and opine on these problems.

Workers are needed by them only to maintain an election machine. And by now, perhaps they too have got over the need of discussions. Hence they have gone back bitter with the real knowledge of their party and their leaders and determined to carve out their own careers through elections or through any other means open to them.

Karnatak Trade Union Leaders' Hunger-Strike Makes Govt. Yield

Labour Policy Will Be Reviewed

* From Our Correspondent

THE campaign that had been carried on for months by the Karnatak Pradesh Trade Union Congress to secure a revision of the callous and anti-working class labour policy of the Mysore Government has brought initial results.

The indifference with which the Government tried to treat the hardship facing the workers and the trade-union movement was broken through ultimately as a result of the hunger-strike started on September 4 by trade union leaders. Earlier on August 9, protest meetings all over the State were

held and August 24 the K.P.T.U.C. addressed a comprehensive memorandum to the Chief Minister and the Labour Minister of Mysore. Meetings and demonstrations took place in almost all trade union centres of the State voicing support for the Memo.

Far from paying any heed to the problems posed, the Government nevertheless compelled the TU leaders, numbering 50 throughout the State to go on hunger-strike from September 4. Among them were K. S. Vasan, President, and M. S. Krishnan, Secretary of the K.P.T.U.C.

The Government first met

the hunger-strike by arresting the two fasting leaders, M. S. Krishnan and M. S. Rama Rao, in Bangalore for seeking to spoil the beauty of the public park—Cubbon Park—which they had chosen as the venue of their hunger-strike. This, however, proved of no avail as the patent justice of demands raised gathered more popular support.

The hunger-striking leaders had to be released on bail and continued their fast. On September 8 the State Labour Minister, B. V. Ballya, received K.P.T.U.C. leaders M. C. Narasimham M.L.A., Suryanarayana Rao

and U. S. Venkataraman. As a result of the discussion they had, the Minister gave definite assurances in regard to the main demands and the same evening at a rally held in the same park where they had started the fast, M. S. Krishnan and M. S. Rama Rao terminated their hunger-strike.

M. C. Narasimham and Suryanarayana Rao in course of a statement said that the Minister assured them that he would "consider sympathetically and take the needful action avoiding all possible delay" in respect of the demanded increase in the strength of conciliation officers and of the number of industrial tribunals, revision of minimum wage and implementation of the Wage Board recommendations.

They further said, "Even in regard to other issues we believe that the understanding given in the discussions would be implemented."

The Government also issued a press note confirming the assurances given by the Minister.

Revealing Facts

The K.P.T.U.C. has decided to continue its campaign to popularise the demands raised in its memorandum of August 24, and to see that the assurances given are implemented within reasonable time.

The above-mentioned memorandum has brought to light glaring instances of Government failure to overcome the evasive and delaying tactics of the employers in settlement of disputes and implementation of decision.

For instance, the employers file writ petitions on flimsy grounds to frustrate the Industrial Tribunals' decision. They filed one in the High Court challenging the authority

of the new incumbent of the post of Chairman, Industrial Tribunal, to try the disputes that had been pending before the previous incumbent.

It took almost a year to get this "purely frustrating" procedure negated by the High Court. Still, the employers persist in their delaying tactics. They are now trying to approach the Supreme Court to obtain stay of proceedings before the Industrial Tribunal.

If the move succeeds, the Memorandum says, "it will take at least ten years from the commencement of the reference" to come to final decision.

There is only one textile mill in Mysore which has implemented the decision of the Textile Wage Board so far. The State has the largest number of mills which have failed to do so.

"The same is true in respect of the Central Government also. While on the one side, there is no uniformity of policy in regard to wages and other conditions of service in the public sector industries—namely H.A.L., I.T.I., B.E.L., and H.M.T.—there does not appear to be any proper understanding between the State and Central Governments about the manner in which the grievances of the employees of public sector industries are to be solved expeditiously.

The Memorandum draws attention to the attempts at disrupting the trade-union movement and the discrimination practised against the AITUC-affiliated unions. It says that although the AITUC in the State has a verified membership of 24,725, the INTUC having 12,602 and the HMS 247 for the year 1959-60, "it is a matter of deep regret that the Government has openly and unashamedly discriminated against the AITUC which is the strongest central organisation of workers in the State".

West Has No Right To Teach "Civilisation" To Africa

* From Page 5

the fear that they might be used to express protest against the regime.

These are the reasons for the economic and cultural backwardness of Africa. They are the fruits, not of the supposed absence of civilization, but of the action of ancient and modern forms of colonization over a period of five centuries.

There are many ways of approaching the concept of civilization: here we have dealt with only two aspects, culture and the degree of social development.

Civilization is also expressed in human relations and daily life.

Customs regulating human relations in Africa—hospitality, respect for old people and parents, etc.—seem a good deal more "civilized" than are those in western countries.

I am speaking here of current practices and leaving aside such expressions of the technique of human relations as concentration camps, gas chambers, electrical torture and napalm.

Those responsible for these forms of "civilization", though it be only by their silence, are poorly qualified to set themselves up as "civilization teachers" for the African people.

In the fight to establish their independence the African people have the task of re-establishing their traditional civilization and culture. They do not intend to maintain or revive that which belongs to the past; African civilization and culture to them are living things which should be integrated into the twentieth century world, and not museum pieces.

With due regard for its art, music and dances of the soil, today's Africa wants to make an original contribution to the universal forms of culture, notably scientific thought.

Africa looks to its past in order to understand itself better; but in its actions it looks to the future, to a world of harmony and fraternity which has banished the racism and exploitation from which it has suffered and from which it still suffers, body and soul.

WORLD-WIDE ACTION AGAINST WAR THREAT

STORMY SUNDAY IN BRITAIN

LONDON, September 18

Thousands of demonstrators who defied a police ban to take part in yesterday's anti-nuclear protest in Trafalgar Square, continued their civil disobedience action for more than seven hours and remained in the square until early this morning. The demonstration was called by the Direct Action Committee of One Hundred—following the jailing last week of the 89-year old philosopher Bertrand Russell, ardent campaigner against nuclear arms and the war threat. The Home Secretary had banned the demonstration.

Over 1,300 people were arrested during the demonstration, among them Canon Collins and playwright John Osborne, author of "Look Back in Anger". Hearings against some of them began in Bow Street Court early this morning.

1300 Arrested

The arrested demonstrators, brought to court in police vans, were received with shouts of greetings from the crowd gathered outside the court.

The magistrate was in an obvious hurry, as he had to consider several hundred cases. The defendants were asked to explain their behaviour in Trafalgar Square yesterday. Many replied that they considered it their duty to fight against the nuclear arms race, against the policy which posed a terrible threat to the country. We protest against the nuclear arms policy which is being pursued on orders from our American masters, said one of the defendants.

The arrested demonstrators were sentenced to fines. The cases of those who did not plead guilty will be considered later.

In another court, in Marlborough Street, one of the defendants was actress Patricia Burke. She said that her duty as mother of three children was to protest against the policy of mass murder which would become a reality if the people did not prevent it. If necessary she would take part in further protest demonstra-

They showed to the entire world that more and more Britons do not want to remain passive while the Government is dragging the country to nuclear war. To their demand for peace the British authorities replied by flouting democratic rights; imprisonment of leaders, mass arrests and unjust fines.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

A CALL for immediate negotiations on the Berlin problem and for the recognition of the two Germanys was made last Sunday following an international conference held in London. The conference, which included personalities from 20 countries, met for three days and issued an agreed statement.

Among those present were Canon John Collins, Lord Chorley and Prof. J. D. Bernal from Britain, Ilya Ehrenburg and Alexander Kornelchuk from the Soviet Union, and Prof. Linus Pauling from the United States.

"Neither the Berlin crisis, constituting an immediate danger of war, nor any other problems, can be resolved by military means," the statement said. "Every local war in the centre of Europe is likely to become a general atomic war."

The United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and France should immediately enter into negotiations on Berlin and the German question.

A statute recognising the independence of West Berlin, and free access to the city, should be guaranteed by the four States.

"Sixteen years after the end of the Second World War," it continued "it is now necessary to confirm the fact of the existence of the German Federal Republic and of the German Democratic Republic."

The frontiers of both Germanys should be recognised as final and their inviolability guaranteed, it stated. The reunification of Germany "is a matter for decision by the two German States and should not constitute a danger to European security."

Any further re-armament of either German State should be stopped immediately and their present arms reduced. No nuclear weapons must be on their territories, or their soldiers instructed in the use of such weapons.

The statement called for all Governments to make a clear declaration that they stand for total disarmament and that they will accept controls at each stage.

It called for the rapid completion of such negotiations under the auspices of the United Nations—including the People's Republic of China—and for an international authority to be set up to supervise the rapid execution of an agreed plan.

"We deplore the resumption of nuclear testing," the statement said. It condemned all nuclear testing of any kind, "in the atmosphere, underground, underwater and in outer space" as intensifying nuclear war preparations and as a danger to health.

It called on all Governments now carrying out or planning nuclear tests to halt them immediately, not to resume them, and to come to an agreement on a permanent and controlled test ban, separating

Bertrand Russell On Germany

IT should be accepted by all parties that war over Berlin or Germany is to be avoided. Two kinds of questions are involved; one of these is an ideal solution to the German problem; the other is a search for a possible compromise in the present dispute concerning West Berlin.

It is difficult to see any ultimate solution of the German problem without general disarmament. German reunification would involve Russian surrender of East Germany, which Russia could not be expected to accept if Germany were an armed force on the side of the West. Nor could the Germans be expected to accept German disarmament except as part of general disarmament. Khrushchev has repeatedly suggested general disarmament, and it is regrettable that the West has made no response.

Berlin Guarantees Thru Peace Treaty

As regards the immediate problem of Berlin: the USSR threatens to make a peace treaty with East Germany and to insist that the future status of West Berlin must be negotiated afresh with East Germany; the West fears that this would end the guarantee of free communications between West Berlin and West Germany. This fear could be obviated if the peace treaty between the USSR and East Germany contained a clause guaranteeing the preserva-

tion of the freedom of West Berlin and of its communications with West Germany. In return, the West should recognise East Germany—it would no longer have any good ground for refusing to do so—provided the guarantee concerning West Berlin were repeated in the treaty of recognition.

Recognise Oder-Neisse Frontier

There can no doubt that Russia is alarmed by the prospects of West German rearmament and in view of what happened in Hitler's time, it can hardly be maintained that this fear is unreasonable. On this as well as on other grounds, it should be agreed that Germany should not possess nuclear weapons. The Oder-Neisse frontier should be acknowledged to be final, as in any case it is de facto.

The above concessions to the USSR are only acknowledgements of facts which could not be changed at present without a world war. In return for such concessions, the rights of West Berlin, for which the Western powers have a responsibility, would be more firmly secured than they are now, with the consequence that there would be a gain to West Berlin and a fulfilment of Western obligations to it. Provided these conditions are fulfilled, a stubborn refusal to recognise the East German Government is not defensible.

(New Statesman—September 8, 1961)

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It called on all Governments now carrying out or planning nuclear tests to halt them immediately, not to resume them, and to come to an agreement on a permanent and controlled test ban, separating

rately or as part of general disarmament.

Those attending propose to convene a larger conference on the same theme, to which they would invite people from a wide variety of organisations.

SEVENTH PUGWASH CONFERENCE

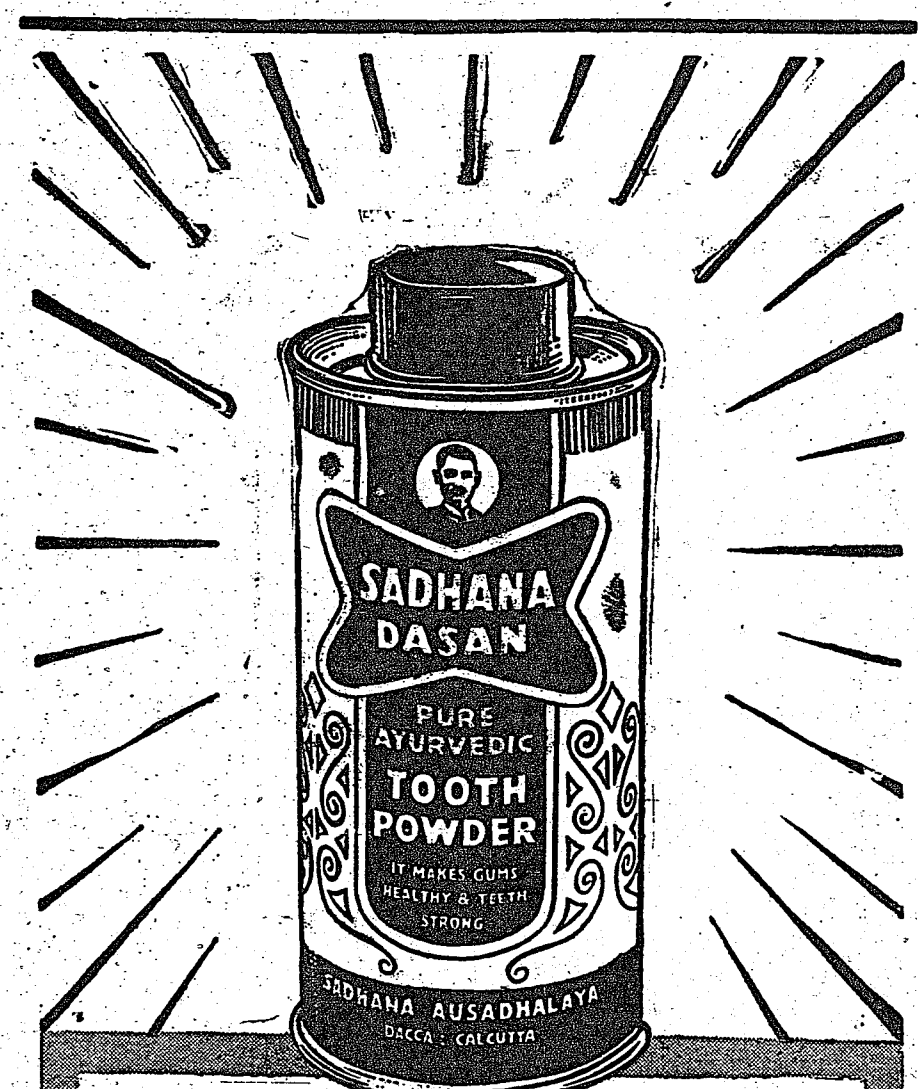
A CALL for peace and the cessation of nuclear weapon tests ended a two-week meeting of 48 scientists from 11 countries, including Britain and the Soviet Union, here on September 16. It was the seventh in the series of Pugwash Conferences.

The formal declaration expressed a hope "that the desire for peace... will make possible a peaceful resolution of the conflicts which have led to the present deterioration of the international situation..."

The declaration reaffirmed "in the present crisis" a call from the 1958 conference for "international agreement leading to the cessation of all nuclear weapon tests and an effective system of control..."

Eleven Soviet delegates were headed by Dr. Alexander V. Topchiev, first Vice-President of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

The conference has established an East-West study group to examine its conclusions at greater length.



SADHANA DASAN
THE IDEAL DENTRIFRICE

SADHANA AUSADHALAYA—DACCA
206, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta-6,
Sadhana Ausadhalaya Road, Sadhana Nagar,
Calcutta-48.

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

WORLD COUNCIL MEETS IN WARSAW

BERNAL HOPEFUL FOR PEACE

WE are meeting in Warsaw to discuss how various organisations and groups sympathetic with the World Peace Council can help prevent war, achieve disarmament and strengthen world peace, the Chairman of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council, John Bernal, told correspondents here. Prof. Bernal has come to Warsaw for a meeting of the Presidium of the World Peace Council, which opened here today.

The political situation is rather tense at present, and there still is a danger of war, Prof. Bernal continued. How-

Warsaw, September 20.

ever, he expressed confidence that the most dangerous moment of the crisis has passed. He added that if serious talks began among the Great Powers—and there was every indication that such talks would be held—there would, in his opinion, be no insuperable problems.

Unfortunately, there still are obstacles to relaxation of international tensions, as this would mean an end to the cold war, and the militarist circles of the US, the FRG, France and Britain do not want this. Still, agreement can be reached, for all thinking politicians, scientists and public leaders realise the seriousness of the present situation and see the need for

talks to overcome the existing differences.

There still exist a number of disputes requiring solution, Prof. Bernal said in conclusion. He felt confident, however, that if a solution were found to the German problem, the solution of the other questions would not be too difficult.

The meeting of the World Peace Council Presidium is attended by prominent leaders of the world peace movement, distinguished politicians, public figures, scientists and writers including Pastor Dickey (Australia), D. Velasco (Brazil), E. d'Astier and E. Cotton (France), Romesh Chandra (India), I. Hirano (Japan), J. Endicott (Canada), A. Norden (GDR), V. Spano (Italy), A. Kornelchuk and I. Ehrenburg (USSR), O. Dluski and Infeld (Poland).

HANDLOOM CO-OPS SCANDAL IN ANDHRA

★ FROM D. NARASIMHARAO

During the monsoon session of the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly, there was a mighty parade of the skeletons hidden so long from the public view in the cupboards of the two handloom weavers cooperative apex societies—one operating in the Andhra Region and the other in the Telengana Region.

PRAGADA Kotiah, a Congress MLA is the patron saint of the Andhra Handloom Weavers' Cooperative and its dictator for at least a decade. Konda Laxman Bapuji, the present Small-Scale Industries Minister is his counter part in Telengana vis-a-vis the Hyderabad Central Handloom Weavers' Cooperative Association. Ever since the integration of the State each had been trying to spread his influence into the other's sphere and preserve, which had resulted in bitter rivalry and personal animosity.

Recently a section of the Andhra Handloom Weavers had revolted against the personal aggrandisement of Kotiah under the leadership of Machani Somappa, which was taken advantage of by Konda Laxman to institute an enquiry into the affairs of the Andhra Apex Society. This naturally infuriated Pragada Kotiah whose standing with the ruling clique inside the Congress is very high.

In a desperate bid to some how resuscitate himself in the public eye and even without caring for party decorum he spilled the beans against the small scale Minister himself in a vituperative attack which hinted at some very unwholesome happenings inside the Hyderabad Apex Society under the patronage of Konda Laxman and demanded that the portfolio of Handloom weaving industry be removed from him in the interest of the weavers and the industry.

Kotiah accused the Minister for Small Scale Industries, Konda Laxman, of following a policy of discrimination in the distribution of art silk yarn against the Andhra Region and of favouritism for Telengana region in the matter of fixing quotas for dyes and chemicals etc.

Reserve Bank

Observations

Kotiah read out extracts from the observations of the Reserve Bank of India which amounted to saying that the Hyderabad Central Handloom Weavers Cooperative Association was so badly managed and inefficiently run that the organisation be better wound up. He had also read portions of the Audit report revealing instances of gross irregularities.

There were two other important accusations made by Kotiah. One is that a person by the name of Hari Prasadarao who is a trusted lieutenant of Konda Laxman was appointed as editor of "Nata", a journal run by the Hyderabad weavers central cooperative association, and that he had misappropriated some thousands of rupees and that no action had been taken by the Government for realising the amount. On the other hand he was appointed as a social education organiser.

The other accusation refers to Raghavulu, the brother-in-law of the Minister for Small-Scale Industries who it is said misappropriated Rs. 6000 and yet he had been given higher appointments.

Kotiah also referred to the fact that the Minister continued to take sitting fees as director of several cooperative associations which is in contravention of all accepted conventions that Ministers should not continue to be directors and that they should not draw any sitting allowances.

Minister Tries To Explain Away

For this overwhelming chargesheet, Konda Laxman, the Small-Scale Industries Minister in his 60-page reply which the Speaker did not allow him to read because the Minister had released it earlier to the press and had it distributed to the members without the permission of the Speaker—had tried to explain away and wriggle out of them without meeting them with any substantive and reasonable arguments.

In fact the Minister relied more on the fact that similar irregularities had been found in the working of the Andhra Handloom Weavers Cooperative Society which is under the suzerainty of Kotiah and that it does not lie in the mouth of Kotiah to make such charges against him.

However, the charges made by Kotiah against Laxman and the counter charges made by Konda Laxman became the property of the House, and the opposition, filling up the blanks and saying what had remained unsaid and clarifying the innumerable and half-truths and partial facts, made full use of them to conclusively prove that both the apex societies were being treated for personal aggrandisement and for favouring and helping the relatives of the Congress leaders and not for betterment of the poor handloom weavers, nor for the benefit of the handloom industry in the State.

The opposition put both the prosecutor and the accused in the dock and proved that they are only two facets of the same crime and demanded a thorough investigation so that the people would be in a position to determine the culprits and accord them appropriate punishment.

P. Sundarayya, the leader of the Opposition, in particular had opposed to the bill that the explanations offered by the Minister for Small Scale Industries were most flimsy. He observed that though a time limit of two years had been given to the Hyderabad Apex Society to rectify the defects pointed out by the Reserve Bank of India and the Audit Report, they had not been rectified even though that time limit expired long ago.

He pointed out that on the other hand in the case of Khammam Central Cooperative Bank and the Chittoor District Cooperative Marketing Society the Government had hastened to supercede them on very trivial and minor lapses, which were mostly technical, for no other reason except that they either belonged to the opposition or to the rival group inside the Congress Party.

The Opposition leader lashed out against the Minister for Small-Scale Industries for brushing aside the serious irregularities pointed out by the Audit Report on the plea that it was mainly based on the findings of a cooperative sub-registrar who was after all a non-gazetted officer and said that this displayed a callous indifference on the part of the Minister and the department.

"If he tries to find justification on the ground that even the cooperative department had not thought fit to submit the whole report to the Minister but only a brief summary, he is in the wrong. Instead of asking for the entire report and taking the department to task for not sending the full report, he is making it an excuse. I would also charge the cooperative department and the Minister concerned that they are also parties to the suppression of the report."

Sundarayya then referred to the happenings inside the Andhra Handloom Weavers Cooperative Society as enumerated by Konda Laxman. The charges made by Laxman were as follows:

Firstly, "there is the question of the merger of the Andhra and Hyderabad Apex Societies. Although this proposal is in the best interests of the Handloom sector in the State and will strengthen that sector to a considerable extent, Kotiah is resolutely opposed to the whole idea. Kotiah feels that the stranglehold of a few representatives of the Circars area would be broken if the Rayalaseema, Telengana and Circar areas are brought under the area of operations of one single apex society. I had tried my best to assure him that there is no intention to place the circar districts at a disadvantage, but in vain."

Secondly, "a further grievance which Kotiah appears to nurse against me is the fact that an enquiry is in progress into certain allegations against some of the distribution of Art Silk Yarn. The fact that I have taken drastic steps against the officers suspected to be involved in the mal-practices connected with the distribution of art silk yarn and to stop distribution to bogus master weavers also appears to have upset Kotiah."

Thirdly, "there is the representation recently received by the Government from four responsible directors of the Andhra Apex Society complaining of gross mismanagement in the affairs of the Society including wasteful expenditures, misuse of grants and depletion of reserves."

In addition to the charges levelled by the Minister the leader of the Opposition referred to the Reserve Bank of India's criticism with regard

to the Andhra Handloom Weavers Cooperative Society for diverting funds which had been provided at concessional rates of interest for purposes other than production of cloth.

It was also pointed out that the sale proceeds were being mis-applied by the Society instead of being utilised for the payment of loans. The Reserve Bank of India had undertaken an inspection of the Andhra Apex Society in November, 1958 and had pointed out several serious defects and irregularities.

Putsala Satyanarayana, a Communist Member of the House, himself Vice-President of the Andhra Pradesh Handloom Weavers Association, added a few more charges against Pragada Kotiah. He said that in respect of the purchase of additional spindle for the Guntakal cooperative spinning mills and machinery for the Chirala Cooperative Spinning Mills, for which the Central Government had given financial aid, second-hand machinery had been purchased, which had been criticised by some directors of the Board, who remarked, that the person who had been made responsible for the purchase must be either an utterly innocent person, or that there must be some underhand dealing behind the transaction.

Satyanarayana gave an instance of how the leaders of the Andhra Handloom Cooperative Society had abused their official position and said a circular letter was sent to all primary societies on the occasion of marriages in the families of Pragada Kotiah, D. Ramakantharao and F. Basavaraju, the present President of the society, asking them to contribute.

Pendli Kanukalu (marriage gifts) in cash which should be at least Rs. 118 (a photostat copy of this circular was published in a local daily which the member was holding in his hand).

The importance of the charges levelled and the gravity of the accusations could be gauged if a few facts are known with regard to the place of handloom weavers in the Andhra economy. The

handloom weavers constitute eight per cent of the population of the State. There are five lakhs looms in Andhra Pradesh and more than three lakhs in the cooperative sector. The rest of the looms are mostly under the master weavers who are petty traders in handloom cloth.

There is also a basic defect with the cooperative movement in Andhra Pradesh. In regard to the recruitment of new members into the cooperatives, the Board of Directors is the final authority as per the Act. This provision had been taken advantage of by the present ruling cliques to keep away many weavers from coming under the cooperative fold and they had established a monopoly in the handloom cooperative sector.

Though the Government of India and the Planning Commission had given directives that this provision should be revoked it continues to exist. Only recently some efforts are afoot to change the provision and to have a rule by which an appeal lies with the Registrar of Cooperative Societies.

There had been a universal opinion in the state in favour of the demand of the opposition that there should be an open and public enquiry into the conduct of the affairs into both the apex societies and that such a public enquiry should either be a judicial enquiry or by a committee of the House on the lines of the parliamentary committee which was appointed in the Mandra affair.

The opposition also demanded that such an enquiry should be preceded by the superceding of the present board of directors of both the societies and officials concerned should be transferred.

The Government had since then appointed Mr. T. Seshachari IAS, who is at present the Director of the Central Stores Purchasing Department. However there are fears expressed in certain quarters as to what extent this officer would be able to deliver the goods. For, the Public Accounts Committee had found grave irregularities in the department over which he presides.

Another Goan Martyr HOW MANY MORE?

DURING the last session of the Parliament deep indignation was stirred when the death, at the hands of the Portuguese torturers, of the Goan patriot Viegas was mentioned and the Prime Minister made his famous statement about the Indian Army marching in if such atrocities continued and the Portuguese colonialists carried on the way they were going.

Some of the Indian papers have already reported the death through torture of another Goan patriot Babu Gaonkar and under similar circumstances.

has Karmali and other arrested Goan nationalists, inside various Goan Jails. The latest report received by the New Age discloses that Karmali's condition is very bad and he may die any moment.

The martyrdom of Viegas secured the Prime Minister's announcement. Another Goan martyr has joined the roll of honour. Must more Goan patriots be tortured to death and join the galaxy of India's martyred sons before the Government of India wakes up and orders the Indian Army to do its duty, drive the Portuguese occupationists out of Goa, Daman and Diu where they are torturing to death our own kith and kin?

Once Again 'No' To Negotiations

"The most outstanding result" of the Washington Conference of the Western Big Four Foreign Ministers, reports the Times of India News Service, is that there are to be no negotiations with the Soviet Union on Berlin and Germany.

GRAT hopes had been placed on this conference and it was expected that it would lead to some new initiative from the West. Now it is stated that France has categorically declined to participate in any negotiations with the Soviet Union on the German question. Instead of starting talks, France wants the West to deliver "another stern warning to the Soviet Union".

It is not only France that is bent upon obstructing talks. West Germany is also "inclined to go along with France" and this has come as a "disappointment", says the Times of India, because West Germany's "position stated publicly only a few days earlier, was different." Having tilted over the critical polling day in West Germany the Bonn Government obviously sees no need to persist in the earlier publicly stated position of a few days ago that it was all for negotiations.

As a result it is sought to be made out that the poor USA and UK who are all for negotiations find themselves in a "helpless position." Mr. Kennedy cannot give precise instructions to Mr. Rusk who is scheduled to meet Gromyko, and Mr. Rusk does not know what he is supposed to talk about when he meets the Soviet Foreign Minister.

"The resulting situation" is reported to be "pathetic. There is all round firmness, but about what few know exactly." (Times of India, September, 19)

Nevertheless, there is one thing about which there is plenty of unanimity and all-round satisfaction among all of them: That is the Western military build-up since Vienna.

One can then see the West's tactics emerging in bold relief. There is a convenient division of jobs: the USA and the UK keep on telling the world that they stand for negotiations ("meaningful negotiations"); the French and the West Germans keep on refusing, more or less point-blank to have anything to do with the idea of negotiations. The USA and UK thus help to hold back the tide of world opinion which demands ever more insistently that the West negotiate with the USSR. Pleading "helplessness" and advancing French and West German intransigence as the excuse, they all together press on with the arms race and push ahead their military build-up!

If the Soviet Union takes any step to break through this obstruction, it is accused of taking "unilateral action." First joint action to solve issues hanging for years is refused or made impossible, then the charge of unilateral action is brought to pour denunciations, deliver "stern warnings" and send some more divisions and armour across into the heart of Europe.

And when the Soviets refuse to be browbeaten and take steps to meet the threats hurled at them,

they are accused of practising "atomic blackmail." It is this topsy turvy logic that imperialists want the people to believe.

Test Resumption: Who is Responsible?

THE US resumed its nuclear testing on September 15 with an underground blast in Nevada where huge pits and underground galleries had long been made ready for the purpose. With great self-satisfaction the announcer said there would be no fallout. That is what humanity is supposed to feel grateful to the USA for! When they are threatening to press the buttons any moment to start raining nuclear death on millions, they want people to feel grateful that there is no fall out from their tests.

It is necessary to have a retrospective look at the position of the various powers regarding the nuclear test ban. It is the Soviet Union that consistently called for years for a ban on and destruction of all nuclear weapons whether it was in the period when the USA held the monopoly of atomic weapons or after the Soviet Union had broken that monopoly. It was the US and the West which always opposed it.

It was as a step towards this total ban on the bomb that the USSR demanded the stopping of tests by all nuclear powers. The ban was not sought as a step merely to justify and legalise the retention and continued stockpiling of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

It is pertinent to recall that the Western powers never agreed (in the sense of signing an agreement) even to the banning the tests. It was only when the Soviet Union, by a decision of the Supreme Soviet of March 31, 1958, unilaterally and on its own suspended the tests that the mounting-public pressure compelled the two Western powers which had atomic weapons then to suspend the tests.

Even then between the Soviet suspension and the Western submission to that the US alone carried out thirty nuclear explosions and the British also conducted several tests. This apart from the fact that the Western powers earlier had carried out a much greater number of tests than the USSR.

While the Geneva talks on test suspension started and continued France developed its nuclear device—with West German participation; it was reported—and in February 1960 carried out its first test in the Sahara, followed later by more.

At Geneva the US continued to insist that underground tests should be exempted from the proposed test ban treaty. As its perfection of newer devices advanced and international tension mounted the outcry grew in the US for the resumption of these tests.

are concerned, it was no agreement they had entered into with the USSR but a unilateral measure of the USSR which the latter cancelled. It was not something to which the West had ever agreed and regarding which it could now claim that the Soviet Union had gone back on an "agreement".

When reference is made to Khrushchov's statement that the Soviet Union would not be the first to resume tests, it is very conveniently forgotten that France started the game as long ago as February 1960.

Khrushchov's Reply To West

In his important reply of September 9 to Kennedy-Macmillan joint note offering an agreement on suspension of atmospheric tests (not the other ones) Khrushchov exposed the subterfuges of the Western leaders.

"It is not very difficult", he says "to guess the meaning of this proposal. We are offered that the United States and Britain, let alone France which remains altogether outside this proposal, should retain the opportunity to go on improving their nuclear weapons." In the process, they want "to kill two birds with one propaganda stone: to sanctify their war preparations in the sphere of nuclear armaments, at the same time tripping up their partner in the negotiations—the Soviet Union."

Khrushchov notes that Kennedy did not wait for the Soviet Union to reply to the proposal he had made jointly with Macmillan. Two days after making the proposal, on September 5, he announced US decision to resume underground nuclear tests. That only proved that the US in any case had decided to resume testing, irrespective both of the Soviet decision of August 31 and of any reply to the proposal for a ban on atmospheric tests.

Khrushchov further draws attention to "the agreement just approved by the US President on cooperation between the United States and France in using atomic energy for military purposes" and says, "if there still were gullible people who might believe the assurances that France was staging nuclear tests by herself and not working hand in glove with the United States in this respect, in the interests of the entire NATO bloc, their illusions should now be dispelled."

To strip the Western leaders of their pose Khrushchov pointedly asks them how it is that they "have not uttered a single word about the gravity of the period we are living through, about the tense international atmosphere, although they should realise, it seems, that the situation with nuclear tests cannot be regarded divorced from this atmosphere."

"It is precisely from the Governments of the United States and Britain, which decide matters in the Western military blocs, that the peoples, have the right to expect a clear and direct reply—when will they finally discontinue their sabre-rattling, when will they

finally cease pushing the world to a nuclear war catastrophe?"

Challenging the West once more to accept total disarmament with any controls, he says: "To disperse the storm-clouds of war and normalize the relations among states it is necessary to resolve the key problem of our time—the problem of general and complete disarmament."

"This idea, which has won the hearts of all who cherish peace is now courageously advocated not only by the Soviet Union, the Socialist countries but also by many independent States of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This is evidenced by the results of the Conference of 25 Non-Aligned States which has just ended in Belgrade, a conference which has made a fine contribution to cramping the forces of war and strengthening the forces of peace."

"Those who can squarely face the truth will recognise that nuclear tests can now be ended everywhere and forever only on the basis of general and complete disarmament. Once this problem is settled, no one would have the temptation to test nuclear weapons on land, underground, in the atmosphere, in outer space, and indeed there would be nothing to test as the weapons, and above all nuclear-rocket weapons, would be sent to scrap. Life itself has linked these two questions into one indivisible whole."

As for the overwhelming majority of people outside the Socialist world who have suffered severe shock and sincere disappointment as a result of Soviet Union having had to resume the tests, Khrushchov says:

Deciding to resume tests, the Soviet Government, of course was aware that at first some people might not be able to assess the entire complexity of the international situation and would display a certain lack of understanding of this step taken by the Soviet Union. We realised in advance that some people in the West would not disdain to exploit this in order to try to earn propaganda capital.

"Nevertheless, the Soviet Union could not act otherwise. Weighing all the pros and cons, the Soviet Government with an aching heart had to resume test explosions."

"We do not doubt that the overwhelming majority of mankind will rightly assess the Soviet Government's measures. Strengthening of the defence potential of the Soviet Union means at the same time strengthening the peace forces throughout the world. The aggressor must know that there is a dependable force capable of defending peaceful labour, freedom and the independence of the people."

However, much they might try the Western powers subterfuges to put the blame on the Soviet Union will not work. The mighty movement rising in all Western capitals to oppose their war moves is proof positive of this. (September 19)

—Zia-ul-Haq

National Council Resolution On The War Danger**SOVIET DEFENCE MEASURES TO ASSURE PEACE**

* From Front Page

take measures to control communication between the Eastern and Western sectors of Berlin — a measure which though fully in accordance with its rights as a sovereign state infuriated the imperialists further. They started talking in terms of retaliation and use of force.

It was a situation of grave peril not merely for the USSR but for the whole of humanity.

In such a situation, it was incumbent on the USSR to take appropriate measures for self-defence and for averting a calamity far more serious than any that mankind has ever experienced.

It is well-known that the might of the USSR has been the most decisive force in preventing a new world war. The ending of atomic monopoly of the USA was a major factor in imposing restraint on the American militarists. The resolute steps taken by the USSR at the time of the Suez crisis and the Iraq crisis which halted the imperialists are still fresh in public memory.

Compelled by the aggressive measures taken by the imperialists, the USSR has resumed atomic tests and demonstrated the accuracy of its rocket weapons.

This, as Soviet leaders have stated, has been done with a heavy heart and with great regret and only with a view to strengthen the military preparedness of the USSR to meet any contingency that may arise. It will also serve to show to the imperialists that their policy of nuclear blackmail will not succeed and may thus induce them to reconsider their policies and start negotiations.

We have no doubt that peace-loving people of our country who know how resolutely the USSR has fought for the defence of the freedom of all countries, for peace and

for disarmament will understand the conditions which forced the USSR to take these steps.

That the present situation should have arisen is undoubtedly a matter of grave concern and regret for everyone. But the National Council of the Communist Party of India is firmly of the opinion that the responsibility for this tragic development lies squarely on the shoulders of the imperialist powers headed by the USA—as borne out by the whole chain of events that have occurred since the USSR unilaterally stopped atomic tests.

The war danger has increased. There is greater need than ever before for vigilance and for mass activity in defence of peace. War is by no means inevitable. If all those who desire peace unite and act, the aggressors can even now be curbed.

It is necessary to put an end to all vestiges of the Second World War, to conclude a peace treaty with both German states and make West Berlin a free city. This can be done effectively by the formal recognition of the German Democratic Republic as an independent sovereign State.

It is highly regrettable that the Government of India, while maintaining de facto relations with the German Democratic Republic, still withholds full recognition from it, while bestowing the same on the West German Government. Such a contradictory attitude is, in the opinion of the National Council, basically inconsistent with a stand of strict neutrality or non-alignment such as is taken by the Government towards the two Korean or the two Viet-Nameese States.

Non-recognition of the German Democratic Republic becomes even more untenable in the light of Prime Minister Nehru's own speech at the recent Belgrade Conference

of Non-Aligned States, where-in he said:

"The facts of life are first that there are two independent entities, powers, countries: The Government of West Germany (Federal Republic of Germany) and the Government of East Germany (German Democratic Republic). That is a fact of life; it is not a matter of my or anyone else liking or disliking it; it is a fact that has to be recognised. If you ignore the facts of life and the facts of contemporary politics that means that you are ignoring something which will lead you to wrong results."

The National Council, therefore, urges upon the Government of India to act in accordance with its declared principles and concede full diplomatic recognition to the

Government of the German Democratic Republic without any further delay. That would have a big impact on world public opinion and would facilitate the conclusion of peace treaties with both German States.

It is also imperative that concrete steps are taken towards the destruction of all atomic weapons and stoppage of nuclear tests as part of an agreement for general and universal disarmament under strict control.

Voicing the concern of the countries representing nearly one-third of the people of the world, the recently held Belgrade Conference has urged that negotiations be immediately resumed and that a treaty for general and complete disarmament be signed without further delay. This declaration has been warmly acclaimed by people of all countries.

As a great country with a proud record in the struggle for peace, India can play an important role at this critical

hour. And it is the duty of every patriotic Indian to ensure that India plays that role.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India urges upon all units of the Party to join hand with all peace-loving forces to develop a vigorous campaign in every part of the country in order to bring home to the people the gravity of the war danger and the means by which it can be averted.

The National Council expects that in this noble cause, all patriotic Indians will unite to demand:

● Immediate recognition of the German Democratic Republic by the Government of India;

● Signing of a Peace Treaty between the States of the anti-Hitler coalition and the two German States; and

● An international treaty for general and universal disarmament with effective controls.

On Punjab Situation

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India at its meeting on September 15 adopted the following resolution:

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India protests vigorously against the reign of terror and unbridled repression let loose in the Punjab since the beginning of the hungerstrike by Master Tara Singh, by the Congress Ministry headed by Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon.

The total arrests in this period number over 1,500. The repressive policy is particularly directed against the Communist Party in the State for whose members, the reign of law has simply ceased to exist. About 860 Party members, including a number of leading members, have been arrested and fantastic securities of a lakh of rupees each are demanded for their release on bail. Arrest warrants

against Party members are executed against their wives.

The latest atrocity is the utterly lawless sealing of the State Party Office and the printing press of the State organ, as also the suppression of the organ Nawan Zamana and the arrest of the entire staff of the paper and the State Party Office. In addition to all this repression, in fact to prepare the ground for it, the Chief Minister has slandered the Communist Party by accusing it of preparing for sabotage, while its energies have been patently directed towards maintenance of peace.

The pretence of the State Government that repression is necessitated by the need of maintaining communal peace in Punjab is totally unjustified.

The Communist Party has always been of the opinion that the manner in which the agitation for Punjab Suba has been carried on by the Akali Party is communal, as borne out by the linking of the demand for Punjab Suba with the issue of alleged discrimination against Sikhs, repeated appeals in the name of the Sikh religion and Panth and the conducting of the movement from Gurdwaras, which have done damage to the very cause of reorganisation of Punjab on a linguistic basis. The proposal made by Master Tara Singh to refer the issue to the UNO is derogatory to Indian self-respect and inconsistent with national sovereignty.

The Hindu communalists also have played a fully reactionary role by denying not only the democratic principle of reorganisation of States on linguistic basis but even Punjabi-speaking Hindus have denied in places their own Punjabi language.

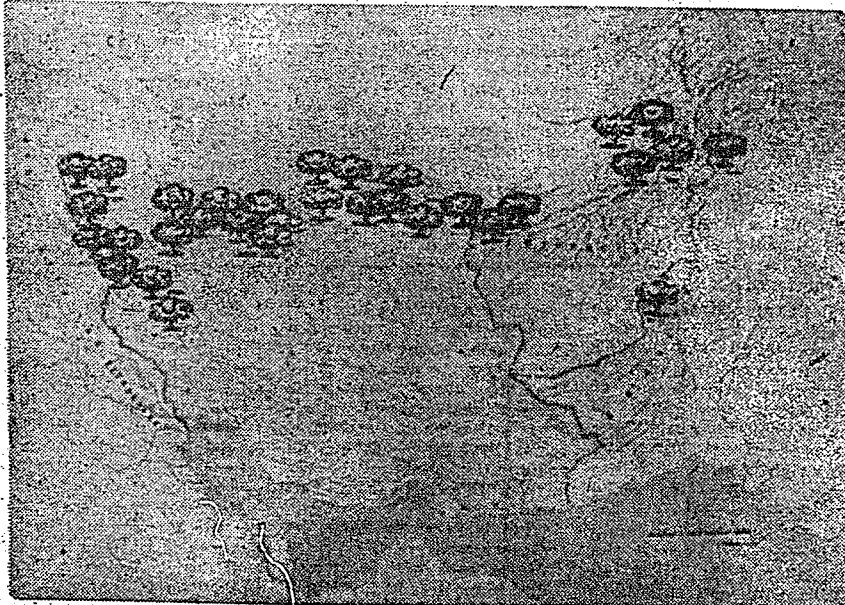
The Congress Ministry, which is not averse to making use of Sikh or Hindu communalism from time to time as it suits its own inter-

ests of keeping power in its hands, is in the present phase utilising Hindu communalism to fight the democratic principle of linguistic States and crush all those forces who want a just, non-communal and democratic settlement of the problem of the Punjab Suba.

It is well-known that the Communist Party in the Punjab has always stood for secularism and fought all shades of communalism without distinction. The Punjabi-speaking State as demanded by the Communist Party has always been based on strictly linguistic and democratic principles. Ever in the forefront in the campaign for Hindu-Sikh unity, the Party has intensified the campaign since the fast of Master Tara Singh. It was compelled to resort to civil disobedience precisely for the vindication of the civil liberty to campaign for such unity and to explain to the people the concept of a democratic linguistic Punjabi State.

The fact that despite these circumstances, the spearhead of the repression policy of the State Government should be directed against the Communist Party in the Punjab completely refutes the State Government's claims that it is demanded by the necessity of maintaining communal peace. Moreover, the same fact demonstrates that at bottom the policy of the Punjab Government is to crush any movement for the linguistic demand of the Punjabi Suba under the garb of putting down communalism.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India calls upon all Party units to organise meetings all over the country on Sunday, the 24th of September with the support of all democrats, to demand an end to the repression policy of the Punjab Government and in support of the right of the Punjabi people to struggle for their democratic demand in a peaceful way and on the basis of Hindu-Sikh unity.



The Soviet Union last month made public Cento secret documents showing the above "nuclear interdiction targets". As far back as 1958 Cento (then Baghdad Pact) planned to drop atom bombs and turn above-shown areas in Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan into "areas of nuclear devastation". This criminal diabolical plan involving murder of millions is supposedly meant to stop the anticipated Soviet attacks on Cento bases in case of war.