

ALL OUT AGAINST HIGH TAXES

Campaign Gets Going

A broad campaign against the new spate of taxes proposed by the Union and state governments is now underway all over the country in response to the call issued by the Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India last month.

DESPITE Kairon's tactics to divide the people it is certain that Punjab will see big rallies and marches all over the state protesting against the tax-burdens.

In Bihar the State Executive of the Communist Party has decided that rallies and marches should be held throughout the state on June 17 and 18.

In Rajasthan the protest rally at Jodhpur will be addressed by M. N. Govindan Nair. There will be demonstrations all over the state.

Madhya Pradesh besides holding protest rallies and marches in all its main towns on June 17 has taken a unique decision to protest against proposed increase in third class railway fares. At main railway stations on July 1

throughout the state protest demonstrations will be held.

At its last meeting held in New Delhi on May 22-23 it will be recalled the Secretariat of the National Council of the CPI gave the call for observing June 16 or 17 as a day of protest. Condemning the proposed rise in taxes and railway fares as unjust, unwarranted and adding to the hardships of the people, the Secretariat called on the entire Party and all democrats to develop the protest into an all-India campaign rallying the broadest sections of the people. It announced that the Party Centre will be assisting this campaign in all different ways, particularly by sending Central Party leaders to states.

The campaign is now underway and mighty rallies and demonstrations are being planned everywhere.



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25 nP.

KERALA SQUABBLES

THIS week New Delhi was the scene of high-level parleys to avert the complete and final dissolution of the moth-eaten Congress-PSP ruling alliance in Kerala.

The Chief Minister of Kerala, Pattom Thanu Pillai, who had come to participate in the meeting of the National Integration Council, had meetings with the Union Home Minister, the Prime Minister and the Congress General Secretary. The KPCC President, attending the AICC conferred with his party leaders in the Capital on the "Kerala Issue".

Two Congress ministers of the Kerala Cabinet, the Deputy Chief Minister and the Industries Minister, visited Delhi to ventilate their own grievances against the PSP Chief Minister and against each other. The ultimate result of all these talks was that the Congress High Command, frightened by the spectacle of Kerala Congress, told the ministerialists to shut up and keep the Coalition together somehow, even if it cannot act together.

A barrage of publicity had preceded the arrival of Pattom Thanu Pillai and R. Shankar in the Capital. The Cabinet controversy over the

question of allowing private agencies to start lower primary schools in the State had assumed threatening proportions with open abuse and re-primation against each other between the Congress and PSP Ministers and between Congress and PSP workers in the State.

The air was full of talk of Congress being "ready" to go it alone and rule the State without the support of the PSP. In fact, it was clear that the pressure from the anti-Coalitionist wing of the Ministry led by Deputy Chief Minister R. Shankar had unprecedentedly mounted and there was no love lost between the partners to the alliance. Yet the High Command would not give its consent to a divorce.

The basic factor which influenced the High Command to take this attitude, according to well-placed sources, was its fear that a purely Congress Ministry in the State would not be able to last for long in the present conditions.

The fact that the KPCC is divided into groups, that the group led by the KPCC President C. K. Govindan Nair was opposed to ministerialists seeking to end the Coalition, made it impossible for the High Command to believe that a purely Congress ministry in Kerala would be less of a botheration than the present coalition ministry.

Also it is stated that the "qualifications" of the more prominent among the ministerialists, like Shankar and Chacko, to assume Chief Ministership of the State in the event of ejection of the PSP from the Government gave rise to serious misgivings in the minds of the High Command leaders.

Both Shankar and Chacko are aspirants to Chief Ministership and both have earned notoriety in administration. The spate of allegations of corruption against these two and against all other Congress Members of the Cabinet could not be ignored by the High Command.

In this connection, it is known that the KPCC President played his role most effectively in the New Delhi parleys. His was the counsel which prevailed with the High Command against submitting to the pressure of the Shankar-Chacko group.

The High Command, it is learnt, had also to take into

BUILD UNITY OF MASSES



WHEN THE NATIONAL Integration Conference was convened in September last, many had expected it to give a lead to the country in launching a struggle against the forces of communalism.

The leader of the Communist Party delegation attending that Conference, the late Ajoy Ghosh in his speech called for a "nation-wide campaign" against them.

Unfortunately, however, that Conference turned its almost exclusive attention to linguistic and educational problems. It was, therefore, expected that at least the first meeting of the National Integration Council, established after the September Conference, would take up the job which had been left undone.

That meeting is now over. But, as has been reported elsewhere in this issue, this session also could not deal with the problem in a businesslike way. The Council was so ill-prepared to tackle this job that it could not even answer the question posed by one member: what exactly is meant by communalism? The Council, therefore had to adopt the procedure of appointing a sub-committee which, among other things, will define communalism, discuss how to meet the evil of communalism and report to the National Integration Council.

The major responsibility for this helplessness of the Council should be put squarely on the shoulders of the ruling party. For, if only its leaders had paid adequate attention to this problem, at least after the Jabalpur incidents of early 1961, they would have been able to evolve a common basis of joint action to be taken by all secular parties.

Unless the leaders of the ruling party put an end to this attitude and work out a plan of joint action against the forces of communal disruption, even the appointment of the Committee by the National Integration Council will serve no useful purpose. What is required is not elaborate enquiries or voluminous reports, but concrete and expeditious action.

It is however, a matter of satisfaction that, in relation to the question of medium of instruction at the University stage, the National Integration Council has gone a step further than the stand taken earlier. The resolution adopted by the Council now can form the basis of joint action by the democratic forces in the Hindi as well as the non-Hindi-speaking regions for the most rapid transition from English to the regional language.

But even here, much depends on how the ruling party in general, and the Central Government in particular, proceeds to implement the resolution of the Council. For, there is a danger that, even after the adoption of this resolution, the attention of the Centre would be directed solely towards the development of Hindi. If that happens, if the Central Government fails to render necessary assistance to the State Governments and universities in producing textbooks and creating other prerequisites for the changeover from English to their respective languages, then the attempt to make Hindi the all-India link may itself act as a factor of national disintegration, rather than integration.

Similarly, if the Centre as well as the State Governments neglect the development of Urdu, which is neither the all-India link nor the regional language in any State, but is spoken and written by several lakhs of people spread over the various States of India, that too may lead to acute discontent and upset the tranquility of the country.

It is, therefore, necessary for all those who are interested in national integration to develop a broad democratic movement for the most rapid and effective implementation of the Council resolution in the spirit in which it is conceived—in the spirit of the most rapid changeover from English to the regional language.

Let the Congressmen who are really interested in solving the problems of National Integration, therefore, not rest content with the deliberations of the National Integration Council or action by the Government, but come forward to build the broadest possible unity against the forces of communalism and for the implementation of the resolution on regional language as the medium of instruction.

Let the parties of democratic opposition come forward and cooperate with members of the ruling party in solving the problems of National Integration through building the unity of the masses.

Let the secular democratic elements inside the ruling party and inside the parties of the democratic opposition make an all out effort to convince those of our countrymen who are today under the influence of communalism and separatism that the path of advance for all communities and groups lies in national unity.

Pressure, Blackmail And Intrusion

Palpably India's Third Five Year Plan is faced with critical days ahead. Even the millionaire press in our country has had to admit that "India's economic development itself is in great jeopardy".

"ALL-IN-ALL therefore," comments Economic Times of May 30, "the country faces a very serious prospect of having to cut the size of the Plan."

Indian Express of May 21 laments: "What has happened to the relations between the West and India?" This particular newspaper of the millionaire press which is so well-known for its eulogy of the West had at long last discovered that "strings to foreign aid are now apparent."

Another admirer of the USA—Hindustan Standard of Calcutta—has proposed that India's policy of leaning heavily on foreign resources for the successful implementation of her economic plans calls for revision."

The immediate reason for this critical mood, lamentations and despondency is of course the recent Washington decision of the so-called Aid India Club to postpone the promised payments for India's Five-Year Plan. What however is yet to be fully realised by our bourgeois circles and their newspapers is that the Aid India Club performance is only one facet of imperia-

lay and what is more, many important projects are dependent on such external assistance.

As per present arrangement, the bulk of this amount is to be got from the USA and the West who have been taken at their word in the matter.

It is hardly necessary to say that any big shortfall in this estimated foreign assistance or any jam in its flow would amount to nothing short of a hold-up. And this is exactly what the West is threatening, though not always in the Chicago-tough-guy-style.

Let us begin with the Aid to India Consortium, otherwise called the Aid India Club. This body is composed of the Governments of USA, UK, Canada, France, West Germany and Japan and the two American-run institutions, the World Bank and the International Development Authority.

ism's attitude and approach towards our country.

Western Intentions Exposed

The intentions of the West have been no less exposed in the U. S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee when it recently discussed the question of allocations for economic aid to India. They are also to be seen in the frenzied moves to gear up the European Common Market and in Britain's bid to enter it.

It would therefore indeed be a short-sighted view of the situation if the problems facing India were to be understood merely as problems of foreign exchange shortage or unfulfilled commitments of economic assistance by certain Western powers. The real situation is far more serious than this.

We are in the crucial, second year of the Third Five-Year Plan and our estimated requirement of external assistance, barring what is to be doled out under the U.S. Public Law 480, is Rs. 2600 crores for the entire plan period. This sum represents over 25 per cent of the total plan out-

same matching grant business that we have in our country when the Centre proposes certain grants to the States.

Aid-India Club Meeting

However, on the basis of this arrangement, the USA is committed to lend India about Rs. 225 crores for 1962-63. As the matching contributions by others were found short by 220 million dollars or Rs. 110 crores, the Aid India Club met in Washington on May 28. The notified purpose of this meeting was to find ways and means to fill up the gap in order to fulfil the commitments.

It is not necessary to be an expert on economic affairs of the West to understand that this gap could be easily met, if the members of the Club were so minded and were really sincere.

In passing, it may be mentioned here that the USA had given substantial economic assistance to some of its pet

exhausted. Yet in the current year we are scheduled to import many plants and other essential materials from the West for the Plan.

Thus in this situation, when India's difficulties are the greatest and her needs most pressing, the U.S. and other Western Powers have chosen, without any prior notice, to stab our country in the back. The Aid India Club has shown its maled fist.

In January last, the gentlemen of the Aid India Club met and dispersed without any decision to implement the commitment to India. Our crime—as many in the USA said—was that our troops had marched into Goa and liberated the last colonial outpost on our soil.

Press Propaganda

On the eve of the May meeting of the Club, Washington Post forecast that the recent Western differences with In-

Behind

countries without asking for any matching contributions. In the case of one of them, the US assistance was to the extent of 50 per cent of the Plan and in the case of another, the US financing at one time went upto 80 per cent. So it is not as if the proposition were really financial.

The Aid India Club which met within two weeks or so of the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee deliberations on economic aid, had some other game up its sleeves. The game was plainly political.

It is no wonder therefore that the Aid India Club "adjourned for several weeks" without taking any decision to fulfil its commitments to India. To be precise the Club did take a decision and this decision was to withhold payments to our country.

Commenting on this and earlier meetings of the Club, the Hindustan Standard of Calcutta (May 31) editorially writes: "They constitute an indirect pressure on this country to sign on the dotted lines..." We quote this plain speaking from the Hindustan Standard because no one can accuse this paper of lack of sympathies for the U.S. Government.

Evidently the knocks have been perhaps too hard even for those who are disposed in a friendly way towards the U. S. Administration to bear.

Foreign Exchange Depleted

Our foreign exchange reserves have come down today to barely Rs. 102 crores which means we have now practically nothing to fall back upon to meet any contingency. We have drawn almost to the maximum possible extent from the International Monetary Fund. The immediate prospects of exports are by no means bright and the British entry into the European Common Market can only add to our difficulties.

Finally, the carry-over of external resources from the last year will have been soon

dia might discourage collecting the needed amount and everybody knows that papers like Washington Post which are generally tipped by the State Department do not usually talk through their hats in such matters.

A mere glance at the American papers would leave no one in doubt that India is being treated in this cavalier manner because of her foreign policy and in particular, for her action in Goa, for her stand on Kashmir and on the question of the purchase of Soviet MIGs.

Even the British-owned Statesman in our country has to admit editorially: "Possibly the U. S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee's cut in aid appropriations to India was partly responsible" for withholding payments by the Aid India Club.

Masks Taken Off

This observation is no doubt true. As far as the U.S. Senate is concerned, the mask there was completely off and the American bosses about whose generosity we hear so much even in our country showed their teeth. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee first reduced the aid appropriations to India by 25 per cent or 200 million dollars and then reduced the cut to 10 per cent or 90 million dollars.

Even the New York Times, of May 23, commenting on the final allocation, editorially observed:

"The most serious blemish in the Aid India Bill is the specific limitation of aid to India to the last year level. Not because of the limitation itself but because it singles out India for punitive action in retaliation for its 'unco-operative' policy. This action is a manifestation of strong feelings aroused in this country by Indian seizure of Goa and the double standard India sometimes employs judging its own and Communist

action with those of the West."

Earlier when the 25 per cent cut had been imposed, the daily Newport Post of May 16 wrote: "The vote was motivated by discontent with India's policies, its seizure of Goa, its intransigence towards Pakistan, its hostility towards U. S. alliance policies in South-East Asia."

Other influential U. S. papers also spoke of India's policy of peace and non-alignment and her condemnation of the U. S. nuclear tests as reasons for the U. S. attitude. In an article, "High Cost of Krishna Menon—Impact on U. S. Aid" appearing in the Indian Express, Max Lerner writes:

"Sen. Fulbright attributes the cuts primarily to the baleful impact of the Indian Defence Minister. Some day a graduate student in world politics may write a study on the economic consequences of Krishna Menon."

So if we want economic aid from the West, we must not have ministers whom the Americans dislike. For, the amount of money India can get depends, according to the Americans, not so much on the merits of our Plan or on our needs but on the kind of Ministers we have.

After all this exhibition of bad faith and evil designs, must India go about the old way and deal with the U. S. and the West on false assumptions? By their deliberations in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and by their trickery in the Aid India Club, the Americans and their Western allies have only shown that they really mean to blackmail India and undermine our country's independence and her good policies.

Enormities Ignored

What however is distressing is that the Government of India tries to ignore all these enormities.

In another sphere India is now faced with heavy weather. This is the European Common Market which Britain is in a haste to enter in furtherance of the aggressive economic, political and military objectives of imperialism.

The entire scheme of this European Common Market is one of unshamed drive for super-profits, intensified exploitation of the working people of the countries belonging to the European Economic Community as well as of peoples of colonies and former colonies. Some time back at a Press conference Prime Minister Nehru aptly said that this alignment was meant for controlling underdeveloped countries.

Common Market and NATO

The Common Market is openly committed to harnessing the capitalist economy to the NATO Bloc. Indeed it is the economic and political arm of the NATO alliance.

In view of India's unequal and harmful economic relations with Britain and other Western countries, India is going to be particularly affected unless we get out of these old ruts. Speaking on foreign affairs in Lok Sabha on May 14, Prime Minister criticised the E. C. M. and said: "It is not good for us. It will do us some harm."

Britain's share in our exports and imports is still 30 per cent and 20 per cent respectively. It is not at all in our interests that the present harmful economic relations with Britain which are a legacy of the past should continue. These relations are to be replaced by better economic relations.

But what the U. K. proposed to do is to enter the European Common Market in total disregard to India's interests and push our country and economy further into the dragnet of this international monopoly combine.

Export Market Endangered

India needs today rapid expansion of her exports to pay for essential imports for the Plan. What the European Common Market and Britain's participation in it however offer is new tariff discriminations against our exports in Britain and in other ECM countries.

Not only will the ECM countries and their associa-

tion with those of the West." Earlier when the 25 per cent cut had been imposed, the daily Newport Post of May 16 wrote: "The vote was motivated by discontent with India's policies, its seizure of Goa, its intransigence towards Pakistan, its hostility towards U. S. alliance policies in South-East Asia."

Realistic Approach Necessary

But what the U. K. proposed to do is to enter the European Common Market in total disregard to India's interests and push our country and economy further into the dragnet of this international monopoly combine.

Strange as it may seem, K. B. Lall wants to plead the Indian case in terms of the objectives of the Rome Treaty which gave birth to this hideous European Economic Community. (Lall's Press Conference at Brussels on May 31).

Some miserable little concessions may perhaps be obtained; some crumbs may be thrown to India; but all this pittance is going to be no substitute for what we are about to lose. The situation demands that the Government of India makes a radical reorientation of India's trade and other econo-

should the Indian Government do?

The first thing for the Government of India to do is to fully wake up to the harsh realities and realise that the concern of the Western powers for our planning is every bit insincere and hypocritical. What they really want is to secure some footholds in our economy and some levers for pressure to influence India's policies. If nothing else, the recent developments over the Aid India Club commitments, the U. S. aid appropriations and the MIG negotiations should give a taste of the shape of things to come unless we put ourselves on guard before it is too late.

That we are in a position to somewhat resist to-day should not blind us to the dangers ahead or make us complacent. The country must be prepared fully and in every way to meet the challenges of imperialism, whatever the form of guise. We are not opposed to getting the right type of economic assistance for right purposes from any country but this need not mean that the anti-imperialist sentiments of the people must be dulled and their vigilance lessened.

If Senator Fulbright and his likes want Krishna Menon to be thrown out of the Government today on pain of withholding promised economic assistance to India, what guarantee is there that in future they will not, finding India in a more difficult situation demand the replacement of the Government they do not like by one that is to their likings?

And let it not also be imagined that there will not be forces within this country to do the imperialist bidding.

Time For Serious Rethinking

As far as India's present economic policies are concern-

the pleasures of the West. Excessive reliance on the U.S. economic assistance must go and we must import requirements for our plans by promoting exports particularly in the State sector and by developing closer and better economic relations with the countries which are genuinely interested in India's economic progress and which have no mind to interfere in our internal affairs.

Radical Re-organisation

This particularly calls for a radical re-organisation of the direction and the pattern of our foreign trade. In this context, the continuous growth of India's economic co-operation with the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries assumes great urgency. For such co-operation would enable us to keep the meddlesome U. S. Senators in their proper places, prevent the Aid India Club transforming itself into a blackmail club, and frustrate any attempt to weaken and undermine our country's independence.

Last but not the least, we must properly mobilise our domestic resources, in money as well as in manpower, to keep foreign exchange requirements at the lowest possible levels. This is possible only when we bring the much needed incentive to the working people by bettering their lot and by giving them employment.

Our Responsibilities

We must also know better how to compel those who roll in wealth and are in a position to pay to carry out their obligations towards the remaking of the nation.

These are tasks of fundamental national importance and all patriotic forces need to apply their minds and de-

..... by
BHUPESH GUPTA
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tes enjoy advantageous competitive positions as against India, threatening to displace us from even our existing export markets; this Bloc of international monopoly capital will be in a stronger position to dictate terms for our imports.

In addition there will be also quota restrictions for India's exports. The fear is not unfounded that our textile exports, for example, will be very badly hit.

India is already running a heavy negative balance of

mic relations with foreign countries.

If we have been given a "body-blow" we must know how to deal counter-strokes of effective policies in defence of our national interests.

From what has been said above, it should be clear to all that the so-called economic aid from the U. S. and other Western countries can never be properly assessed in terms of cash alone whether received or promised. The political designs behind such aid, the open attempts at interference

Western Economic Aid

trade with almost every ECM country. In 1959, the deficit balance was Rs. 148 crores. The next year it was 135 crores. As for West Germany, India imported between 1950-61 goods worth Rs. 537 crores against our total export of only Rs. 92 crores to that country in this whole decade. Even our trade with the U. K. is on a deficit balance.

Inevitable Loss In Trade

One can well understand what is going to happen when the European Common Market with Britain in it gets into new strides. India will lose further both as a seller (of agricultural commodities and industrial raw materials, etc.) and as a buyer (of machines, plants, semi-manufactures and other maintenance imports). Surely, all this does not bode well for our plans and for the country's economic development. Prime Minister Nehru was right when he described Britain's decision to enter the ECM as a "body-blow" to our country.

What is most disappointing however, is that instead of standing up to this challenge,

the time has come for very serious re-thinking. It is obvious that India's economic development cannot be left to

vote their energies to their fulfilment. June 4, 1962.

West German Press Attacks Nehru's Policy Of Neutrality

BERLIN

PRIME Minister Nehru's policy of neutrality was attacked by the West German paper Mittag on Saturday. In a commentary the paper demanded that the Nehru, since he received money from West Germany, had to take the West German Government's standpoint concerning the German question.

"There are conditions which are not mentioned

but go without saying for reasons of decency. Or does Gandhi's apostle think that there are no such things as decency in politics", the paper wrote.

These remarks of the West German paper have been described as presumptuous by political circles in the capital of the German Democratic Republic. Such expressions remind one of blackmail in the darkest period of colonialism.

A Logical Question

The question now may legitimately be asked: What



Aid with stings attached!

—Courtesy HINDUSTAN TIMES

NEW AGE

Which Way To Peace In Viet Nam ?

Editorial

IT IS REPORTED THAT two out of the three members of the International Commission of Supervision and Control in Viet Nam have signed a joint report and submitted it to the co-Chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference. Strange though it may seem, these two signatories are India and Canada. The other member, Poland, dissented and has something quite different to say. India's lining up with Canada which has all along been functioning in the Commission as an attorney of US imperialism is going to do no good either to the Geneva Agreement or the people of Viet Nam.

The Commission was assigned the task of ensuring the implementation of the Geneva Agreement on Viet Nam. And everybody knows that in all these eight years the agreement could not be fully implemented. In fact, some of its most vital terms have continued to be violated. For example, the elections which were to be held under the Agreement by July 1956 were never held. The Agreement prohibited introduction of foreign armaments and military personnel but this has been ignored. The persecution of the former resistance fighters was forbidden under it and so were certain other types of political repressive measures. These injunctions too, have been disregarded.

Who are responsible for these violations are not unknown. Many earlier reports of the Commission would convince anyone that the guilty parties are the USA and the South Viet Nam regime. Even with all their characteristic cautiousness, lest the USA would be annoyed, the Indian representatives could not help facing up to facts. In those days, Canada, of course, differed.

And the facts were then, as they are now, clear as broad daylight. Even before the signing of the Geneva Agreement, the USA started its intervention in Viet Nam. It is a part of history how US imperialism had backed up its French counterpart till the last hopes of colonial overlordship were shattered at Dien Bien Phu.

But US imperialists did not withdraw from their adventure. On one pretext or another, sometimes openly and sometimes covertly, they continued their aggressive and wholly illegal interventions in Viet Nam and this has been going on ever since. Behind the facade of the local South Viet Nam regime, the US imperialists have brought into that area huge quantities of armaments and equally large contingents of military personnel, some of whom are, for the sake of cover, called 'expert teams' and so on. South Viet Nam is now a veritable springboard for the US aggression in this Asian region.

Further in pursuance of their aggressive strategy, the Americans have bolstered in South Viet Nam a puppet regime. This regime is liberally supplied with American weapons and is packed with American advisers. Mass persecutions and assassinations of the South Viet Nam patriots have become the order of the day. There are perhaps few in the world who can rival this Administration in sheer deceit and thuggery, in brutalities and violence.

All these US intervention and the US-instigated repression constitute a flagrant violation of the Geneva Agreement itself. What is to be particularly noted in the present context is that in order to carry out these crimes an excuse had to be invented. The notorious excuse is that the North Viet Nam is engaged in subversive activities and the North Viet Namese are infiltrating into the South. Have we not only the other day heard President Ayub Khan, faced with popular discontent in East Pakistan, complaining of infiltrations from West Bengal?

However, such fabrication and blatant falsehoods will deceive no one. Not any infiltration from the North, but the gathering tempo of the struggles of patriotic forces within South Viet Nam itself has made the South Viet Nam Administration and its American backers wild. These patriotic forces are dedicated to the fulfilment of the Geneva Agreement.

It cannot but therefore, cause great dismay and disappointment when the Indian representative, (along with the Canadian) signs up a report which accuses the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam of subversive activities and infiltrations. The report would appear to be politically inspired rather than factually warranted.

It is pointless and futile to talk about proofs, which are of the South Viet Namese origin and are

Defeat Swatantra Party At Chittoor

The Executive of Andhra Pradesh Council, Communist Party of India has decided to support Congress candidate T. N. Viswanath Reddy in the bye-election to Lok Sabha from Chittoor.

The following is the full text of the statement released in Hyderabad on conclusion of its meeting there on June 2:

The people of Chittoor Parliamentary constituency will soon be called to the polls to choose their representative to the Lok Sabha.

N. G. Ranga, the Chairman of the Swatantra Party is contesting this seat and T. N. Viswanath Reddy is contesting on the Congress ticket.

The choice before the electorate in Chittoor in this bye-election is between the Congress and the Swatantra Party.

The Communist Party, the party of the toiling masses, is a party of opposition in the legislatures of the country. We are opposed to the anti-people policies of the Congress governments at the Centre and in the states. We stand for a shift in the Congress policies to the Left in the interest of our countrymen.

However our attitude towards the Congress and its policies has nothing in common with the Swatantra Party, the party of feudal and big business reactionary circles in our country backed by imperialist reactionaries abroad. The Swatantra party is the party of extreme reaction.

Vast masses are discontented with the anti-popular policies of the Congress Government that have resulted in tax burdens on the masses, rise in prices eroding the meagre earnings of the working people and so on. The Communist Party mobilises

the widest masses in order to fight and change these policies. But the Swatantra party cleverly utilises this discontent and tries to move the masses against those policies of the Congress Government that are relatively progressive and that ought to be strengthened.

The Swatantra Party is opposed to the foreign policy of peace and Pancha Shila. The Swatantra party is opposed to the country's relations with socialist countries and works for keeping it tied to the imperialists.

Swatantra Support To Imperialists

The Swatantra Party shamefacedly supports the imperialists; it even opposed the Government action in liberating Goa.

They are opposed to India purchasing MIG planes from the Soviet Union even in the face of American supply of deadly weapons to Pakistan. They even desire a military pact with Pakistan and thus drag India into imperialist war bloc.

In the name of freedom and incentive for the peasants, they are opposed to progressive land reforms which would be in the interest of peasant masses.

In the name of economic development, they want free reign for foreign and Indian monopolies and are opposed to public sector and planning. They are opposed to any check on the sky-rocketing profits of big business houses.

They are opposed to the very talk of Socialism, when Socialism has been the cherished goal of our toiling millions and when socialism alone could deliver our country and lead our people to achieve the ideals of our freedom struggle.

Velled behind all the anti-Congress demagoguery of the Swatantra Party and its leaders is this dark reactionary policy of opposition to those very policies of the Prime Minister that are good and are in the interest of our people—policies that strengthen our freedom and our economy and policies that should be defended and further strengthened in the interest of world peace and Indian democracy.

The programme of the Swatantra Party, and the very physiognomy of this party—the presence of several princes of Saurashtra, Rajasthan and Orissa, the Rajas and Ranis, the feudal elements and sections of big business of Bombay—all are a complete negation of all the good that our freedom movement has stood for and claimed for our people.

Defeat Swatantras At Chittoor

The Communist Party has no doubt considerable mass influence in Chittoor Parliamentary constituency but does not feel strong enough to win the seat if it were to contest it on its own. The Party has not therefore set up any candidate. Any such step would have only amounted to dividing the democratic vote and facilitating Swatantra Party's victory at the polls.

The Communist Party has therefore decided to extend full support to T. N. Viswanath Reddy of the Congress in the ensuing bye-election.

The Communist Party calls upon the voters in Chittoor constituency to defeat Acharya Ranga as the people of Tenali have already done.

The Communist Party appeals to the voters of Chittoor constituency to vote for T. N. Viswanath Reddy and return him to the Lok Sabha.

NEW AGE

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REPORT FROM WEST BENGAL

MEDICAL STUDENTS ON STRIKE

From Jnan Bikash Moitra

THE indefinite strike of the students of five Medical colleges in West Bengal is continuing. They are staying away from their ward duties and ward lectures. Emergency and maternity wards, however, have been exempted.

The medical students, it will be remembered, launched the strike on May 24, in the wake of a savage police attack on them in the premises of Calcutta University in the night of May 24.

Students' Demands

Their demands are: immediate withdrawal of the Vice-Chancellor's order cancelling the First and the Final MBBS Examinations and the holding of the said examinations after the recovery of the students injured in the police action; unconditional release of all students arrested in connection with the incident; removal of the Vice-Chancellor and the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine; and institution of an impartial enquiry.

The students of four Medical Colleges in Calcutta held a meeting on May 29 and took a vow to continue their movement till their demands were fulfilled. After the meeting, they brought out a silent procession carrying posters about their demands. They marched round the Calcutta University area three times while the University's Syndicate was in session.

A deputation of the students wanted to meet the members of the Syndicate in order to submit a memorandum to them. But when permission for the interview was refused, they handed over the memorandum to the Assistant Registrar of the University.

At this time, uniformed as well as plainclothes policemen were seen in and around the University premises.

The memorandum, signed by the representatives of the Students' Unions of the Medical Colleges in the City, makes out a convincing case for the students. It has been circulated to the press and also to prominent people in different walks of life.

Call For United Movement

At a meeting of the representatives of the Central Students' organisations, the students unions of five Medical Colleges and 27 other college unions in Calcutta and the mofussil, full support was extended to the demands of the medical students. The meeting also appealed to the entire student community to build up a united and powerful movement on the issue.

The Working Committee of the Indian Medical Association (Bengal State Branch) adopted a resolution on May 29, characterising the cancellation of the MBBS Examinations as unjustified and as "hitting the poor students and their parents very hard."

It pointed out that the students had good reasons in appealing for the postponement of the examinations. It had happened in the past, and the present case was not an exception. There had been certain irregularities in teaching methods which the University should have taken note of before adopting an unyielding and severe attitude towards the medical students.

While criticising the students for certain actions, the resolution said that the behaviour of the students did not call for the requisitioning of police help. It condemned the lathi-charge by the police, with the demonstrators' escape routes sealed off, as "inhuman and undignified", and demanding an impartial enquiry into the incident.

The Calcutta University authorities, however, issued a long statement on May 30, giving a garbled account of the incident of May 22. But it admitted that the Vice-Chancellor had called in the police.

The three-page typed statement tried to impress the "fact" that the Vice-Chancellor had no food and water for seven hours; but there was not a single word of sympathy for the 80 students injured, 25 of them very seriously, in the savage police action.

Jyoti Basu, Leader of the Opposition, in a statement on May 30 expressed serious concern over the continuance of the deadlock between the medical students and the Calcutta University authorities.

He pointed out that "it is inexplicable why the Vice-

Chancellor instead of meeting the students and calling a conference of students and the principals to ascertain the real situation, preferred to call in the police. Moreover, a thorough and impartial enquiry into the assault by the police on the students and the whole disgraceful affair is immediately called for."

Meanwhile, he felt, it was the urgent duty of the authorities to fix up the dates for the examinations, so that the examinees did not lose six months.

He further hoped that no retaliatory and punitive measures were contemplated by the authorities concerned, and pointed out that he had urged the Chief Minister to mediate in the affair and bring about an amicable settlement.

The issue of the examination, however, still hangs fire. At a meeting of the authorities of the city's four Medical Colleges and the Joint Director of the State Government's Health Department on May 31, a decision was reliably reported to have been taken, approving the Vice-Chancellor's order for the cancellation of the examinations.

But it is now believed in the Calcutta University circles that Dr. B. C. Roy will ask the Vice-Chancellor to withdraw his order and fix a date for the examinations when the latter meets the Chief Minister this afternoon.

The news about the resignation submitted by the Vice-Chancellor, has appeared in some local dailies. When asked about the matter, he gave an evasive reply.

West Bengal Workers Demand

SAFEGUARD OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

THE case of Nurool Hussain, a leading worker of the Howrah Jute Mill who was rescued in an unconscious state from a steel trunk at Howrah station in the morning of May 22, has aroused deep indignation here (see last week's New Age). Powerful voices of protest are being raised by large sections of workers.

This is because the workers and their trade unions realise that the barbarous treatment meted out to Nurool is no ordinary crime. Neither can it be placed at par with the routine police investigation of a case of kidnapping with intent to murder.

Main Question

The main question posed by the Nurool episode was whether the employers should be permitted to adopt draconian measures to suppress the legitimate movements and struggles of the workers—the fascist method of secret assassinations of militant workers.

Bearing this in mind, the West Bengal Committee of AITUC called a convention of the representatives of various unions on May 26. The resolution adopted at the Convention appealed to all trade unions, irrespective of their political or organisational affiliations, to support the cause of the Howrah jute mill workers with a view to exposing the conspiracy to murder Nurool Hussain.

It further urged upon all unions to send resolutions to the State Police Minister, demanding the arrest and punishment of the culprits.

All-Out Support

Lifting of the lock-out in the Howrah jute mill, withdrawal of suspension orders served on the workers and release of all those arrested were

among other demands made by the convention.

Since then, scores of unions in different industries, the federation of Mercantile Employees' Unions and the organisation of East Pakistan refugees in South Calcutta have passed resolutions, taking note of the serious threat to the working class movement and fully supporting the above demands.

For the second time, Nurool Hussain was not produced in the Court of the sub-divisional Magistrate, Howrah, on May 31, as directed by the court earlier, for recording his statement before the magistrate. The ground given by the police was that he was still in hospital for treatment.

But enquiries at Howrah General Hospital, where Nurool had been removed for treatment, revealed that he was well.

It is now obvious that the British management of the Howrah Jute Mill and the police are working hand in glove. Even after Nurool's reported statement to the police, no action has been taken against the management till now.

Management's Ulterior Move

Not merely that. The management has adopted an insolent attitude and is continuing its offensive against the workers. How all this is possible unless it has the backing of the police and the State machinery—is the question now being asked.

It was announced by the

Mill management that the lock-out had been lifted and the mill re-opened from May 29. The realities however, are otherwise.

On May 29, only 31 out of the 6,500 workers of the Mill reported for duty. Next day, the attendance went down to only six. The reason was that the workers went on strike in protest against the reopening of the Mill without withdrawing the vindictive measures taken against many workers.

Their demands are: withdrawal of all chargesheets and orders of suspension, release of all arrested work-

ers and withdrawal of cases pending against them, and impartial enquiry into the conspiracy to murder Nurool Hussain and punishment of the guilty.

It will be recalled that the lock-out was declared on May 6, after the police had made a lathi-charge on the workers who were demanding that the management should produce Nurool Hussain before them.

Subsequently, the management suspended 53 workers, and the police started criminal cases against 38 workers. Of them, 33 workers are still in jail as undertrial prisoners.

PROF. GOPAL HALDER RE-ELECTED TO COUNCIL

THE Communist Party won a significant victory on May 27, when its candidate, Prof. Gopal Halder, was returned to the State Legislative Council, with a big margin from the Calcutta Graduates' Constituency.

There are two seats from this constituency, which comprise the 26 Assembly constituencies of Calcutta City and has a total electorate of 12,278. About 70 per cent of the voters exercised their franchise.

The Communist Party set up Prof. Halder and supported Prof. Rajkumar Chakravarty, an independent candidate.

Prof. Halder secured 3,222 votes, 509 votes more than the minimum quota of 2713. He was declared elected. Since no other candidate had obtained the quota, Prof. Halder's sur-

plus votes were transferred to them. Even then none of them secured the quota. So the Congress candidate who had obtained the highest number of votes among the three, was declared elected.

In the elections to the Legislative Council from two Teachers' Constituencies (South-West and North), the candidates of the All-Bengal Teachers' Association, the most representative organisation of secondary school teachers in this State, won thumping victories over their Congress rivals.

Manoranjan Gupta, ABTA's candidate, polled 1,701 votes as against 277 secured by the Congress nominee. Jatin Singha of the ABTA was elected from the North Teachers' Constituency, having secured 826 votes against 136 polled by his Congress rival.

Spotlight

PSP's Cacophony On Consolidation

(Continued from Previous Issue)

JANATA's forum on socialist unity and consolidation has spotlighted the PSP's malady from diverse angles. It is evidence of the heart-searching that is going on in the party following election reverses.

The party sports the sign-board of socialism but is without spine and does not serve the interests of the people. This is admitted in so many words when one of the contributors says that the PSP presents the picture of "a mixture of noblest idealism and meanest opportunism" (emphasis mine).

Diverse remedies have been indicated for the disease. The suggestion that "socialist unity", as conceived by the National Executive and propounded by it with much fanfare at Patna, will deliver the goods, has, as already seen, been pricked as a bubble.

Another solution offered is "to cease to operate as moderate left group and function as an extreme left front". If it means functioning as the RCP or the RSP have functioned, well there certainly is little in their example to be followed.

Two Vital Questions

But, in any case there is no escaping from two very vital questions which one contributor has raised in very great frankness. He has asked: (1) "Where do we stand even in relation to socialism?" and (2) "Are we merely anti-Communists?"

How else can one interpret the following criticism made in the columns of the Janata:

Let us have a "well-knit party with clear-cut ideas." (P. C. Ghosh).

"We have not been sufficiently consistent and persistent to create a definite impression about us." (Sisir K. Dhar).

"The PSP should raise such socialistic demands as nationalisation of the entire banking institution, audit service, etc. The PSP must also raise its voice against the half-heartedness of the Government policy in regard to such major issues like land reform." (The same Sathi).

"Another major change in policy which the PSP should think of is in regard to its approach towards alliances, coalitions and electoral understanding." (G. P. Deshpande).

"In North Bombay, the PSP came to be associated with the Swatantra, the Jan Sangh and other reactionary forces. This caused heavy damage to the prestige of the PSP..."

The Party should be vigorously activated on grass-root questions rather

than on remote problems of international politics, issues like, "say Imre Nagy or the Dalai Lama". (The same Sathi).

The above kind of criticism would point to a clear, fruitful direction—that of taking honestly to socialism, abjuration of blind anti-Communism and going in for a real socialist unity. Its reverses in the Third General Elections have conclusively shown that the PSP is being killed not by the "Dhritashtra Alligand of the Communists" but by the embrace of its own "democratic" allies including the Muslim League and Jan Sangh!

What Other Direction?

When the PSP shirks the correct path, what other direction must it take? The answer is indicated in a challenging contribution by "M.S.V." in the same forum. Redefining Basic Convic-

tions is the title of this essay which neither wobbles nor minces words. It presents a clear-cut 12-point "ideological strategy!"

Here are some of the cardinal points of this basic conviction:

1. "The party must take on itself the mission of countering the vague fondness of radicalism which is the characteristic of popular thinking in an immature society." The party should foster "realism and level-headedness".

2. "The party should make bold to declare a ceiling, say, 40 per cent of the economic sphere, to the socialism it propounds.... The PSP must come before the public as the only party which can be trusted to use socialism with wisdom and skill."

3. "Opposition to the Industrial Policy Statement of 1948 (including subsequent amendments) must be voiced because that statement visualises the

public sector operating as a monopolist. The party must stand for flexible, competitive and open socialism."

4. "The party must unambiguously declare that it not merely accepts but welcomes a private sector which is guided by the profit motive into producing goods efficiently." (This edict is to be read in the context of the plea for "socialist" good-boyism).

5. "The party can give itself a great psychological boost by announcing that it stands for gayer life." (Gayer life' to include such items as the "introduction of commercial programmes" over the radio.)

6. And finally, "the Congress must be warned against making a bug-bear of communalism."

It is indeed, a firm and challenging definition of basic convictions for the PSP. The only error about the essay is that it is called

a redefinition. The ratio of socialism to socialism betrays in the practice of the PSP leaders has been much more than a mere 40 : 60. Such a definition of the strategy (not tactics, mind you) will provide such a pull to the latter that the former will effectively reduce itself to zero!

Thus the alternative line is, in effect, a plea to give up catering to "popular thinking in an immature society" and go whole hog to become the trusted servants of "socialism with wisdom and skill" and become good boys to anti-popular social classes.

Janata's forum, despite its ponderous title places some down to earth points before the PSP ranks. The alternative is fairly perceptibly posed though the presentation is characteristically wobbly.

(Concluded)

—GARUDA

In Madhya Pradesh Congress

crisis of leadership deepens

From Our Special Correspondent

UNION Home Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri's remark at the recent meeting of the Pradesh Congress Committee that "the final decision on the future leadership of Madhya Pradesh would be taken by the AICC within the next few days" has had varied reactions in that state.

It has already been noted that the Congress Central Parliamentary Board, which met after Lal Bahadur Shastri had made the statement, did not take up the Madhya Pradesh leadership issue, even as it decided to allow S. Nijalingappa to take over the leadership in Mysore.

Two Troubled States

This, it is stated here, was because Madhya Pradesh and Mysore were on two entirely different footing. While in Mysore, the present Chief Minister, S. R. Kanthi himself wants to step down in favour of Nijalingappa, in Madhya Pradesh, B. R. Mandloi is not in a mood to do so, it is pointed out.

Followers of Dr. Katju are hopeful after Lal Bahadur Shastri's remarks that the Congress High Command would decide in favour of his return to leadership in Madhya Pradesh.

Rivals Cocksure

However, the leaders of the rival group appear to be confident of their position. A Minister though he is known as a supporter of Dr. Katju, had to concede that the High Command may not like to interfere with the affairs of

Madhya Pradesh, especially since the PCC is determined against "imposition of Dr. Katju".

A senior Minister of the Mandloi Cabinet told IPA that Dr. Katju was brought to this State after the death of Ravi Shankar Shukla when there was a crisis due to lack of leadership. "Now when the leadership is being evolved in natural course, it would be unwise to check its growth."

That the Pradesh Congress Committee will back Mandloi all along if any attempt was made by the High Command to bring back Dr. Katju, was evident from the resolution adopted in the recent meeting of the PCC at Ujjain.

The resolution hailed Mandloi's unanimous election as leader of the Congress Legislature Party and expressed the hope that he would be able to gear up the administration in the State.

Stricture On Former Ministry

The latter part of the resolution is considered as a stricture on the former Ministry, headed by Dr. Katju, as having allowed the administration to become "loose". Though the resolution was non-official, it was obviously inspired by the PCC leadership.

It was meant to serve the purpose of extending sup-

port to Mandloi, probably as a hint to Lal Bahadur Shastri, who was present in the meeting and who had earlier said the leadership issue was yet to be decided by the AICC.

The PCC meeting at Ujjain, according to competent observers here, became in the absence of Dr. Katju's followers who had boycotted it, largely a duel between the Union Home Minister and the PCC President, Deshlakra.

Lal Bahadur Shastri openly rebuked the Pradesh Congress

leadership for various acts of omission and commission and emphasised that leadership issue was still open. Deshlakra was equally outspoken in his support for the existing ministerial set-up and asserted that Congress had been doing very well in the State.

Following the Ujjain clash, many here expect that the Madhya Pradesh Congress affairs will for sometime be major headache for the High Command, which it is felt, is itself divided in its approach towards the problem.

—(IPA).

NEW AGE

MAY 1962

(Political Monthly of the Communist Party of India)

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SITUATION DEMANDS FIRM MEASURES

REPORTS from the trouble-torn Nagaland reaching here indicate that of late more stringent measures than hitherto have been taken there to wipe out the rebels who seem to be holding out from certain pockets mostly on the Indo-Burma border.

It is now officially claimed that the net-work of organisation of the rebels co-ordinating their armed depre-dation has been broken. The underground headquarter of the rebel "army" is also claimed to have been smashed.

In fact, the flight of what is said to be the "main core" of the rebels leadership to Pakistan is said to be the result of the smashing blow upon the rebel headquarter from where many revealing documents were also seized.

Reports are also reaching of Naga villagers' growing resistance to the rebels. This resistance sometimes leads to even armed encounter of the villagers with the rebels. Observers have noted that there was a time when government help secured by some ostensibly "loyal elements" would in no time find its way to the rebels.

This happened to be one of the sources of supply to the armed hostiles. But by now the rebels have alienated the masses of people of Nagaland so that they could no longer rely upon the people's voluntary assistance. Simple helpless villagers are now coerced to part with their hard-earned cash and foodstuff at the point of guns.

Interim Body's Warning

When the Naga Interim Body in its session in April last took the decision that any body found rendering any kind of help to the rebels would be dealt with very severely, many felt concerned that if the said decision would be carried out literally, it might lead to punishment of many innocent villagers who might have to involuntarily render some kind of assistance to the rebels as otherwise their very life might be at stake. But the current trend points out that by and large condition has been created for giving the stern warning to all those who might still be harbouring some soft corner for the rebels.

It is, however, not denied that though their strength has been declining, the rebels can still cause considerable mischief, particularly in isolated rural areas.

The more heavy becomes the pressure on them, they become. In their desperation the sturdy, tough mountaineers who have led a wild life in their jungle hide-outs for nearly six years now may yet fight a last ditch battle.

Tribal Feelings Exploited

Politics or ideology has scarcely been a strong point of these rebels. It is the tribal tie and fanaticism, the usual spirit of seclusion of the

mountain tribes, their unsophisticated traditional love for the "freedom of wild life" that were the rallying point of the Nagas very cleverly exploited by some elements who, it is reasonably suspected, played in the hands of the foreign imperialist agencies inimical to the interest of India.

It is, therefore, no surprise to many observers here that the rebels should still be holding out against overwhelming odds. The task of completely wiping out rebel resistance, it is felt here, has to be carried out with firmness but with circumspection.

It is pointed out that while dealing with the main engineers of trouble very firmly, the rank and file of even the armed rebels should be treated politically rather than militarily.

This failure is being interpreted here variously; none of these interpretations, however, is of any credit to our security forces. Both the Union Government and the State Government, which also bear responsibility for the security of the Indo-Pak border, though the over-all charge lies with the Army Government and the Union, have tried to explain that neither was at fault.

If the suspicion still persists, despite claim by the State Government, that it did all that was possible and the explanation given by the Prime Minister, it is because facts are overwhelmingly against such explanations.

With the report of Phizo's arrival in Karachi and his reported departure for Dacca according to current reports here at the time of writing this, anxiety in political circles here deepens that after discussion with Phizo about possible help from outside agencies, the rebels might make another bid to come back to Nagaland, if only to create fresh troubles.

Confidence in public mind should be created that no such possibility exists. This confidence is necessary among the leaders of the Naga Interim Body that have been fighting against enormous odds to mobilise the Naga masses behind its current move for steady development of Nagaland in various spheres.

Doubt About Connivance

How could one believe that the fugitive rebels could not be apprehended by the Army even when they were pointed out to them by civilian population in North-Cachar hills for "lack of co-ordination"? In very responsible quarters it is heard that the rebels were "allowed to escape" as a "price" for something. These interpretations, one would believe, are not correct. But they persist because no convincing explanations are coming forth from the authorities.

This past incident, perhaps, would not have been still discussed here, if the assurance now being given that "strict vigilance" is being maintained to prevent any possible coming back of the rebels could be taken seriously.

Mass Reprisals Be Avoided

Certain actions following some encounters with the rebels, as in the recent case in which some Assam Rifles men and one NCO had been killed by the rebels in an area in Manipur territory, which has been characterised by some observers as "mass reprisal", it is felt here, should be avoided particularly now when the mass backing of the rebels has been lost, so that no chance might be given to the rebels to work up passions of the peace-loving Nagas.

While noting with satisfaction the current coming out operation against the rebels, observers here maintain that if the Nagaland administration had been free from certain black sheep who, it is alleged, developed a sort of "vested interest" in maintaining the abnormal situation there, things might have been eased more speedily and much earlier.

Hidden Black Sheep

Observers do not feel assured that even now these alleged black sheep have been weeded out of the administration, both civil and military. Their anxiety deepens with the report of Phizo's coming to East Pakistan where the main core of rebel leadership escaped early April.

Notwithstanding the Prime Minister's explanation in Parliament about the failure of the security forces to forestall the flight of the rebels to East Pakistan—the Prime Minister's explanation has been characterised by some here as an alibi for the "defaulting" security forces—the suspicion persists in political circles here that something more serious than mere lack of co-ordination was responsible for this failure of the security forces.

This failure is being interpreted here variously; none of these interpretations, however, is of any credit to our security forces. Both the Union Government and the State Government, which also bear responsibility for the security of the Indo-Pak border, though the over-all charge lies with the Army Government and the Union, have tried to explain that neither was at fault.

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In June the Interim Body is meeting to consider the Bill that is to be enacted to confer on Nagaland the full Statehood and accept it as the sixteenth State of the Republic. Any misgiving at this time about any possible strain on the law and order situation in Nagaland, it is felt, will retard the speedy advance of that frontier State.

Communal Elements Interested

Meanwhile it is noted with anxiety by political observers that certain communal elements, backed by a sec-

tion of the Press, have been trying to exploit the escape of the Naga rebels to Pakistan to whip up communal passion.

The very disquieting reports about communal disturbances in East Pakistan are adding fuel to this fire of communal passion. These sections do not care to pay any heed to the determined, heroic effort of the democratic section of the people of that country, to assert itself against the military dictatorship that seeks to gag the popular voice ruthlessly, and build up a democratic movement there against Ayub regime.

Stringent Measures

They would not care to note that under pressure of this growing democratic movement, however weak it may be as yet, in most of the districts of East Pakistan, the authorities were compelled to round-up notorious bad characters who usually fan communal troubles to reap good harvest.

For instance, in the district of Sylhet, the East Pakistan district adjacent to Assam, some amount of tension was created following reports of communal incidents in West Bengal and certain parts of East Bengal, like Rajshahi and Dacca. But the district administration had to take steps, to round up the bad characters there and consequently, there could not occur any communal trouble.

This correspondent has received letters from friends in the East Pakistan district of Comilla reporting similar developments. But the communal elements here would not relent diabolical efforts to whip up communal tension here. In this game they have now seized upon the escape of the Naga rebels to East Pakistan as another convenient weapon. This has become a matter of concern to the democratic elements here.

Communal Elements Interested

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(May 27)

Mobilise Peasantry Against Tax Burdens

Punjab Kisan Sabha's Call To Members

★ From Our Correspondent

AN emergent meeting of the Punjab Provincial Kisan Sabha was held at Jullundur on May 26, under the presidentship of Dalip Singh Tapiala.

The meeting was called to discuss the situation arising out of the additional burden of high taxes imposed by the State Government through its taxation bills.

The working committee noted that during the last many years the Central and State Governments have imposed innumerable taxes both direct and indirect affecting the common masses including the peasant masses mainly.

In the name of developmental activities and plans, unbearable burden of taxes has been imposed upon the common masses while richer sections were given tax relief and other concessions every time.

The Sabha has also noted that in spite of these unbearable burdens on the common man, the plan schemes have not been able to check unemployment and rising prices nor the economic condition of the toiling masses and other people have improved very much.

The land reform measures of the Government have proved to be most ineffective in providing any land to them. The State Government has refused to distribute the waste lands under its occupation. But the Working Committee notes that in order to carry through its proposals of taxation such as enhancement of the land revenue, the bus and passenger fares, the professional tax, and in an attempt to create a rift among the common masses in their united efforts against these taxation measures, the State Government has taken up the plea of uplifting the Harijan

masses by tapping these resources.

The Working Committee noted that the Kisan Leaders in the Punjab Assembly and other members in the opposition stoutly opposed these taxation measures of the Government, and the common masses in the state, both urban and the rural areas, expressed their strong resentment.

The Working Committee called upon its members to mobilise all sections of the peasantry against these tax burdens and launch a campaign uniting with all other sections of population hit by the taxation measures.

The Working Committee also decided to hold its silver jubilee session at Mahaipur District Hoshiarpur, on July 8-9-10. Elected delegates of more than one lakh organized membership of the Sabha will participate in this session.

The Session would be attended by A. K. Gopalan, MP, President, All-India Kisan Sabha and many other Kisan Leaders. A reception committee under the Chairmanship of Dr. Bhag Singh has already been set up for mobilising support for the session.

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(May 27)

STEPS IN RIGHT DIRECTION

★ From Our Special Correspondent

For several days before the National Integration Council met, press speculation had been widespread to the effect that the Council may consider the imposition of a ban on propaganda in favour of separatism.

THE unanimous criticism made by the representatives of other political parties against the slogan of separatism raised by the DMK on the floor of Parliament was interpreted to mean that all these parties would approve administrative measures being taken against it.

This, however, has proved to be wrong, as the reports of the Council session indicate. There appears to have been nobody among the members of the Council to advocate the cause of administrative measures being taken against them in order to curb the growth of separatism and of communalism.

Everyone was agreed that the separatism of the DMK as a challenging political force in the State of Madras as well as recent communal disturbances in some parts of the country have to be seriously considered with a view to finding the reasons for these phenomena and to suggest ways and means of tackling them.

Sub-Committees Constituted

With this objective in view, the Council appointed two Sub-Committees—one in order to consider "National Integration and Regional Separatism" and the other "National Integration and Communalism". Since it was felt that the work of these two Sub-Committees may have something in common in relation to certain facets of the problems they are to deal with, it was decided that they may hold joint meetings whenever such procedure is considered necessary.

These Committees are to report to the next session of the Council which will be held towards the end of September or the beginning of October, 1962.

One may mention, in this connection, that the composition of the National Integration Council was a little anomalous. It was a body which included among its members representatives of seven political parties represented in Parliament—the Congress, CPI, the Swatantra Party, the Jan Sangh, the PSP, the Republican Party and the Jharkhand. The Prime Minister on his own initiative had also invited the General Secretary of another political party which has one member in the Lok Sabha i.e., the Hindu Mahasabha.

Representation On Council

There were, however, certain parties like the DMK, the Akalis and the Muslim League which were not represented on the Council.

There was obviously no question of keeping out all communal or separatist parties from the Council since avowedly communal parties had been invited. Yet representatives of certain political parties represented in Parliament had been kept out of the Council.

This anomaly was to a certain extent rectified by the proviso that the two Sub-Committees constituted by the Council will consult all the organisations concerned; they may also co-opt not more than two members if they find it necessary.

In the course of discussion on this question, it is understood, one of the member asked the question: "What exactly is communalism?"

The very idea that the RSS is an aggressive communal organisation, it is understood, was questioned on the ground that the RSS was only inculcating Hindu culture among the youths. Is the propagation of the Hindu outlook on life, it was asked, anti-national or communal?

The Sub-Committee on National Integration and Communalism will naturally have to deal with this question of the criteria on which communal organisations can be distinguished from secular national organisations.

Underestimation Of Danger

It is also understood that one of the members shocked others by asserting that the communal situation has been improving. Compare the incidents that have recently occurred, he is reported to have stated, with what had happened in 1947! The incidence of crime which has its origin in communal frenzy shows, according to this point of view, that communalism is on the wane.

Such an approach to the problem of communal disturbances it is understood, was opposed by the representative of the Communist Party, E. M. S. Namboodiripad. He recalled the ringing call given by the late Ajoy Ghosh for a nationwide mass campaign against communalism and pointed out that this has become still more important after Aligarh, Moradabad etc. and, above all, Malda.

The attention of the Council was also drawn to the question of language—specifically the role of regional language as medium of instruction—and its relation to Hindi and English. The resolutions adopted by the present session of the Council on this question can well be considered as a distinct advance on the position so far taken.

The Chief Ministers' Conference held in August 1961 made the first effort to lay down the lines on which this problem has to be tackled. That statement admitted that "the tendency of regional languages to become 'the media of University education (is) admirable in many ways' but then it went on to point out the serious defects that would make their appearance if this process is gone through; it "may well lead to the isolation of such Universities from the rest of India unless there is a link in the shape of an all-India language."

"The development of the talent latent in the country will also, in the view of the Council, be retarded unless regional languages are employed as media of instruction at the University stage."

Significance attaches to this part of the statement in view of the fact that this is the view expressed by such eminent educationists as the present Chairman of the University Grants Commission, Dr. Kothari, the former Chairman of the Commission Dr. C. D. Deshmukh, etc. They are advocating the changeover from English to the regional language as medium of instruction for University education on the ground that such a change-over is necessary on academic grounds.

This disposes of all the arguments regarding the "political" nature of the demand for regional language being made the medium of instruction and its alleged unjustifiability on academic grounds. Having made this fundamental position clear and beyond dispute, the Integration Council, however, expressed its anxiety and made adequate provisions for the teaching of (a) Hindi, which is necessary as an all-India link as well as of (b) English which would act as a window on the world and its scientific and cultural knowledge.

"Every effort should be made to develop Hindi and the other languages for this purpose. Till such time as this happens, English may be continued."

Difficulties Of Transition

The emphasis here was, it will be seen, on the difficulties of transition and the necessity for the continuation of English for the transitional period, although the desirability of regional languages becoming the media was admitted in principle.

More or less the same position was taken up by the National Integration Conference held in September-October 1961. Here, too, "the general view" was that "the regional languages are bound to replace English as the medium of instruction as soon as the necessary preparations for the change-over would be made acceptable to the academic world."

But again the difficulties of the transition and the necessity for English to continue as the all-India link before the transition period were stressed.

Positive Step Taken

The present session of the Council has adopted a statement which is an advance on this position. It puts in a more positive way the need for using the regional language as the medium of instruction even at the University stage.

"The change is justified", it points out, "not so much by cultural or political sentiments as on the very important academic consideration of facilitating grasp and understanding of the

subject matter. Further, India's youth will be unable to make their maximum possible contribution to the advancement of learning generally and science and technology in particular unless there was a continuous means of communication in the shape of the regional languages between its masses, its artisans and technicians and its University-men.

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Hindi To Replace English

The Council expressed the hope that "while English would be the international link at all times, its place as the internal link will gradually be taken by Hindi as it develops"; and it urged that "at the University stage, the students should be equipped with a progressively better command of Hindi in addition to a good working knowledge of English such as would enable them to follow the lectures delivered in that language."

It, therefore, naturally reiterated the recommendations of the Chief Ministers' Conference that "the standard of teaching both in Hindi and English should be improved and maintained at a high level in schools and colleges."

It thus took a balanced and sober view of the linguistic problem; while arguing the need for an adequate knowledge of (a) English as the language of proper study of scientific and technical subjects, as well as a language of international contacts; and of (b) Hindi as the means of all-India communication, it emphasised the point that the me-

diom of instruction should be the regional language.

Media Of Instruction

This being the general approach to the problem, provision will have to be made in special circumstances to make some language other than the regional language as the medium of instruction in some colleges or even some Universities. Colleges in bilingual areas on the borders between two States, educational institutions in cosmopolitan cities, colleges for teaching French in Pondicherry or institutions for Urdu in certain regions where it is not a re-

gional language—all these will have to be exceptions to the general rule that regional language shall be the medium of instruction.

Considering all aspects of the case and considering the prerequisites for the transition to the regional language, each University will naturally have to take appropriate decisions as to when and where the transition has to be made.

One of the important questions discussed at the present meeting of the National Integration Council was whether the elections to the Panchayat Raj institutions should be run on party lines or whether an effort should be made to avoid

the importation of party politics into the elections to these institutions.

There appears to have been general agreement that it would be best to have them on non-party lines. Doubts were, however, expressed as to whether this would be practicable.

Furthermore, a large number of members are reported to have held the view that, while an effort may be made to keep elections to the primary Panchayats above party politics, this cannot be done in the matter of elections to the higher levels of Panchayat Raj, including Zilla Parishad where these have been formed. The reason advanced was that the institutions at the higher levels enjoyed greater powers and responsibilities and that it would, therefore, be impossible for political parties to keep out of them.

A difficulty seems then to have cropped up: In several States the institutions at the higher levels are formed through the process of indirect election from the Pri-

mary Panchayat upwards; therefore, if parties have to get representation in these higher level institutions, they will have to begin from below.

Considering all these difficulties, the Council in the end decided to defer the decision on this question.

The question of drawing up codes of conduct for different sections of society, such as political parties, the press and the students had been considered by the National Integration Conference held in September-October last. The position with regard to them was reviewed at this meeting of the Council which took the following decisions:

● The Code of Conduct for political parties drawn up at the conference was confirmed with one or two slight modifications;

● The Code of Conduct for the press is to be drawn up primarily by the press itself.

This could have been facilitated if the Government

had set up a Press Council as per the recommendations of the Press Commission whose report was published in 1954. This, however, has not been done so far. Therefore, while the formation of the Press Council may be expedited, a Committee may, in the meanwhile, be appointed for the purpose of consulting with the press and adopting a Code.

A draft which had been prepared by the Ministry concerned was also considered by the Council which in the Council's opinion, was acceptable so far as it went but should be considered by the Committee in consultation with the press.

As for the students, it was decided that the Universities should be consulted in the matter of preparing draft Codes of Conduct for students of various grades and also for teachers. A Committee for the purpose was constituted which was asked to report at a subsequent meeting of the Council.

RELIEVE TAX-BURDENED PEOPLE

W. Bengal Left Parties' Joint Memorandum To Govt.

SIX left parties of West Bengal have jointly submitted a memorandum to Dr. B. C. Roy, Chief Minister, on the rising prices of essential commodities and other burning problems facing different sections of the people.

They have sought clarifications on certain points and have suggested concrete measures which should be immediately taken by the State Government.

The signatories to the memorandum are Jyoti Basu, Leader of the Opposition, and Niranjan Sen Gupta, M.L.A. (CPI), Chitta Basu (FB), Nilkhil Das, M.L.A. (RSP), Suhrid Mullick Chowdhury (Marxist FB), Bimalananda Mukherjee (RCEPI) and Sitikanta Bhattacharya (Bolshevik Party).

Pointing out that the economic conditions of the people of West Bengal have been steadily deteriorating for the past six years as a result of continuously rising prices of all essential commodities, mounting taxation, enhanced charges for civic amenities, etc., the memorandum emphasises that the upward rise in prices is the direct result of the policies of the Government.

To cite one more instance, the amount of the Sales Tax increased from Rs. 12.63 crores in 1956 to Rs. 25.31 crores in 1961.

The memorandum further says that apart from steadily increasing tax burdens on the peasantry, they are deprived of a fair price of their crops. In canal areas, high water rates are levied.

Fleeing The Poor

It has consistently refused to adopt a price policy and to put a stop to unfettered profiteering by enforcing anti-profiteering laws and taking other effective measures. It has been pursuing a tax policy of soaking the poor to find resources for the Plan and has allowed inflation to reduce still more the meagre incomes of the masses of people.

The memorandum expresses deep concern over the fact that the general level of prices in West Bengal is already 25% higher than that in 1951, when the price-rise envisaged during the entire period of the Third Plan is of that order.

Referring to tax burdens on

As a result, there has been a further upward spurt in prices. On top of this, dishonest businessmen are already charging for the taxed commodities prices which are much higher than what is warranted by the actual incidence of the taxation. And both the Union and the State Governments look on as spectators!

Soaring Prices

The memorandum points out that taking the cue from the Government, big industrialists, businessmen, profiteers and other vested interests have launched an offensive against the living standard of the masses of people, which are already below the minimum.

Rice prices have been inflated by four to five rupees a maund, although there can be no reason whatsoever for such a rise at this time of the year. The prices of fish, sugar, cloth and other essential commodities also are steadily on the increase.

Secondly, the British-owned Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation has enhanced the rates for electricity supplied to different categories of consumers.

Lastly, it is now being heard in different quarters that train and bus fares are going to be raised in the near future.

With a view to bringing down the prices and reducing the tax burdens on the people, the memorandum strongly urges upon the Union and the State Governments to take certain basic measures, which should include adoption and implementation of a comprehensive price policy, strict enforcement of anti-profiteering measures, checking of inflationary trends, introduction of State trading in foodgrains and complete reversal of the tax policy, so that the main

burden falls on the richer sections.

Immediate Steps

The memorandum further points out that keeping the above objectives in view, the State Government should take the following steps:

● Press upon the Union Government to reduce the burden of indirect taxation.

● Open more fair price shops and ensure adequate supplies of good quality rice at cheap price. The Government should also release its rice stocks on the open market to keep down the prices and introduce State trading in paddy and rice.

● Take effective measures against profiteers.

● Sale of different varieties of cloth at the prices stamped on them should be ensured and the use of the metric measure be introduced.

● Price of sugar should be reduced.

● The agreement arrived at between the Government and the fish dealers last year should be implemented.

● The Union Government should be asked to appoint a High Power Commission to probe thoroughly into the working of the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation (CESC). The State Government, on its part, should reduce the rates charged by the State Electricity Board to the level of the CESC's rates obtaining prior to the recent enhancement. It should also take necessary steps with a view to taking over all privately-owned electricity generating and distributing concerns at a future date.

★ From Jnan Bikash Moitra

● A Press Note should be issued by the Government, clarifying its position vis-a-vis rumours about the increase in train and bus fares; system of monthly tickets and concessional rates for bona fide students should be introduced in State transport buses.

● Realisations of the arrears of canal tax, agricultural and other loans should be stayed and certificates already issued for the purpose should not be given effect to pending discussions with the representatives of the left parties.

● Loans granted to refugee families should be remitted.

● Steps should be taken to ensure supplies of adequate quantities of drinking water in Municipal towns and in rural areas.

● Pest relief work should be organised on a large scale and gratuitous relief should be given to all infirm people and to all those for whom the Government is unable to find employment in test relief work.

● Arrears of rent should be remitted in the flood-affected areas.

● District Relief Committees should be activated and all relief should be given in consultation with these Committees.

The representatives of the left parties are expected to meet the Chief Minister within the next few days in order to acquaint themselves with the attitude of the State Government and the measures it proposes to take in regard to the suggestions made in the above memorandum. The left parties will then chalk out their future course of action.



E. M. S. Namboodiripad, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, at the session of the National Integration Council. On his left is S. Pratap Singh Kairon, Chief Minister of Punjab.

O.A.S. PLAN TO CRUSH PROGRESSIVE FORCES

PARIS:

The seventh and last meeting of the French Supreme Military Tribunal which tried General Salan, OAS chief, began May 23 afternoon. Addressing the judges the Procurator General said: I have not found a single circumstance to mitigate his guilt. Salan's entire activities were directed towards carrying out a coup d'etat.

The Procurator General demanded a death sentence for the general-criminal. After that began the speeches of the lawyers, they argued till the early hours of the morning before the sentence was passed, a sentence, as has now become perfectly clear, which was predetermined by the forces acting outside the courtroom.

The first to tell the journalists about the verdict was Salan's chief lawyer: Life imprisonment.

"Salan has saved his skin"—this exclamation of Tixier Vignancour, the fascist lawyer who defended the OAS head, was carried in huge headlines by all the Paris newspapers.

Even those who maintained law and order were so sure that Salan would be sentenced to death that they expected an immediate demonstration by the OAS. The General Procurator and the members of the court received letters from the new OAS head, Godard: "We shall pay you back at once by destroying you all like dogs for Salan's death."

But the safety measures were useless this time. A few hours later the OAS men in the court room and in the corridors of the Palace of Justice danced with joy and shouted their slogan: "Algeria is French."

France has been staggered by the sentence. The morning newspapers did not have the time to carry comments, but the evening's Monde frankly stated:

"This decision stunned everybody and the followers of French Algeria see in it the first step towards reconciliation while the Left-wing forces regard the sentence as direct encouragement for the OAS because the sentence means that the OAS crimes will not be severely punished."

French Communists' Stand

The Political Bureau of the French Communist Party published a statement which reads in part:

"The judges have had mercy on the head of the murderers because there is deep class solidarity between him and the authorities that tried him, a solidarity directed towards continuing the war against the Algerian people contrary to the will of the French people; together they organised the putsch on May 13, 1958 under the colonialist and racist slogan of French Algeria."

The sentence, dictated by these class considerations, the statement points out, encourages the subversive activities of the OAS. It intensifies the danger of fascism. In the face of these new dangers only

the united actions and struggle of the Republicans can doom to failure the criminal plans of the agents of fascism, colonialism and war.

The National Bureau of the Autonomous Socialist Party published a statement which stresses: "The regime that was born in filth on May 13 (the May 13, 1958 military-fascist coup) did not dare to pass a death sentence on the man who brought General de Gaulle to power. The President of the Republic personally appointed the members of this extraordinary tribunal."

The Salan trial, the monstrous OAS terror in major Algerian cities, ("they kill, have a drink in a neighbouring bar and then do some more killing," one of the witnesses at the trial stated several days ago), the crimes of the same gangs in France which in the first place have democrats as their target—all this have placed the French face to face with rabid colonialism in action.

Two documents were received these days, one by the editorial board of the L'Humanite, another by the General Confederation of Labour (CGT) once again showed the French what the "ultras" are.

The letter from Algeria to the CGT, this largest trade union federation in France, pointed out that Colonel Gardes, one of the OAS ringleaders, gave an order to Paris shock brigades to start operations against persons coming out against the OAS."

The OAS now threatens "to resort to napalm bombs and incendiary grenades." The contents of the letter sent to the L'Humanite are of a similar nature.

Threats From Ultras

Whom do the "ultras" first of all threaten? The paper, which wages the struggle for democracy and peace. Workers' organisations which are leading the struggle of the working people for their economic rights and which took the most active part in the latest strikes.

Savage, violent anti-communism—this was and remains the face of fascism which is serving the capitalist magnates.

Recently a bomb capable of destroying the entire building was found in the L'Humanite printshop. The CGT in its statement points out that "CGT activists and organisations have in recent days discovered new attempts on their security."

The OAS has left a wound on the body of bourgeois France which is not healing. Popular wrath and indignation is seething in France against the political bandits who can cold-bloodedly prepare:

● An explosion in the hall of the Peace Champions' Congress in Issy-les-Moulineaux;

● A blast which maimed a Paris girl at a bus stop and dozens of others of her compatriots;

● An explosion which killed more than 100 stevedores and their children in the Algerian port;

● The murder of a 15-year-old girl in an ambulance in Algeria after she had already been gravely wounded;

● Perpetrate thousands of similar crimes in accordance with the principle: the more absurd the cruelty, the better and the stronger does it impress the imagination, the bigger becomes the newspaper headlines.

Salan's lawyers time and again repeated that their client was flesh of the flesh of the highest servants of the state, that during 40 years of his service he received the highest posts and decorations which capitalist France could give. "I defended the French empire everywhere, in all the colonies," is to be found in Salan's statement at the trial.

Salan is not a prophet, a voice in the wilderness. He has his allies such as Soustelle who recently published a volume of memoirs on the Fifth Republic — "Deceived Hopes" (which is being sold in all Paris bookshops). Soustelle completes the volume with the idea: "All means (I declare—all means) should be resorted to."

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The cynical exclamation of one of the witnesses, of the defence at the Salan

They also include for instance such an adviser as ex-Prime Minister Bidault who fled abroad in order to head the OAS "National Council" but who still remains a deputy of the National Assembly.

The OAS has a "strong man" who closely combines, as certain Paris papers put it, "theory and practice." This is Colonel Argoud. He organises terrorist acts, easily makes illegal trips from Algeria to France and recently visited French military formations stationed in West Germany and conducted talks with some of the higher officers from among his friends. Argoud, however, also has time to write OAS "theoretical" brochures.

One of these brochures was reprinted by L'Espresso, a Paris weekly which called it "Colonel Argoud's 'Mein Kampf'."

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Amazing Arguments

What is most amazing in this brochure is its general style and arguments. When reading it one forgets that the author is a criminal wanted by the police for murder and explosions. The impression received is that all this has already time and again been written in quite solid and respectable newspapers in the West.

The cynical exclamation of one of the witnesses, of the defence at the Salan

trial, deputy Bernard Lafay, involuntarily comes to mind: "The OAS? Why, this is a product of the regime!"

The first thesis of the OAS: To participate with all its forces "in the struggle of the Western world against the Communist world," the outcome of which "is a matter of life and death not only for France, but for the entire West." This reads as one of the latest NATO statements.

The second thesis: The main economic tasks of the West is to retain its former colonial markets by conducting a neo-colonial policy. This "economic analysis" which is so widespread in the West is required by Argoud for most concretely substantiating OAS actions in Algeria.

Argoud becomes even more outspoken: "The West is suffering from too much civilisation." Hence, there is a need for less civilisation. Such means should be used in politics, Argoud writes, which certain states as yet do not venture to employ. It is here that the OAS shows in practice what it has in mind.

And finally, the last thesis: "The army should set things in order in our own home."

It would be naive to consider the OAS in the same light as small criminal gangs. Just as in other Western countries, fascism in France comes out under the OAS banner and has built a firm nest.

The OAS knows that it has only one formidable and merciless enemy—the working class of France. This is why the OAS precisely desires in the first place to break the strength and the organisation of the vanguard of the working people.

But try and get it!—the people of France reply. (Favida)

Nationalization By Decree

LEFTISTS DEMAND IN ITALY

★ From S. BENSASSON

ROME, May 18:

A large rock menaces the navigation, which has up to the present been quite calm, of the "left-of-centre" government—the small storm of the election of the president of the Republic, which saw the triumph, by a slight margin, of the opponents of the left-of-centre, only touched the government indirectly, shaking it but not menacing it.

It is the nationalization of electric power which, together with the abolition of metayage and the creation of autonomous regions, is one of the principal pledges of the government and one of the principal points of division within the Christian Democratic Party itself. In his speech on the programme of the new government, Fanfani had pledged himself to face this question during the first three months. This means that, by June 15 the government will have to present its propositions to Parliament.

To say the truth, the Premier was rather vague on this subject, announcing "some rational measures for the unification of the national electric system, guaranteeing, in the case of nationalization, the rights of share-holders."

Optimists assured that the lack of a definite pledge in this sense was a means for acting by surprise at the moment, but everything seems to indicate that the party in power is far from

only by the Communists but also the socialists, the republicans, the left-wing social-democrats, the Christian-Democrats, because this would be the only means of blocking every possibility of manoeuvre, of stock market speculation, and of sabotage on the part of electric power trusts and their partisans in Parliament. The decree, in fact, would block all parliamentary discussions on the text presented by the government and would become immediately effective.

Summarizing the position of the leftists, it is: "Either nationalization takes place by decree or it does not take place at all."

Therefore, the procedure which the government will adopt, if it decides to propose nationalization, is not a purely formal question but it will offer an indication of the real intentions of the party in power. Every other procedure, except that of a decree, would in fact be a concession to the opponents of nationalization and would practically allow them to win.

... waiting, the power monopolists do not remain with their arms crossed. The president of the Confederation of Industrialists, in the course of a "working luncheon" thrown to the foreign press at

★ ON FACING PAGE

Decree Is Only Safeguard

This procedure of enactment by decree is, on the other hand, demanded not

Punjab Young Workers Conference

THE First Punjab State Young Workers' Conference, under the auspices of the Punjab Committee of the AITUC, was held at Yamunanagar on May 27. About 200 delegates from all over the State participated.

P. K. Vasudevan Nair, M.P., President, All-India Youth Federation, inaugurated the conference.

The conference was addressed by Homi Daji, M.P., Kartar Singh, President, and Satish Loomba, General Secretary, of the Punjab State Committee of the AITUC.

There was a lively discussion on the problems of young workers. The discussion was initiated by Piara Singh, Secretary of the Punjab STUC. Over 20 delegates participated in the general discussion. On the basis of the discussion, four resolutions were passed.

The first resolution dealt with the problems of peace and general disarmament. It called upon young workers in particular to devote their energies for securing world peace.

The second resolution analysed the activities of communal and disruptive forces. It called for a ban on such activities. It noted with satisfaction that workers in their unions had remained united despite virulent communal propaganda.

It also noted that these workers were susceptible to communal influences in their places of residence in the Bastis, Mohallas and villages.

Therefore, a call was given to take the unity politics of the factory to the Mohallas and Bastis. The conference called upon all young workers to continuously and actively combat communalism.

The third resolution was regarding the fresh tax burdens imposed on the common man

by the Central Budget and, in particular by the Punjab Temporary Taxation Act.

In the name of Harijan uplift, the Kairon Government has imposed a burden of Rs. 4 crores through increase in general sales-tax, passenger and freight tax, 25 per cent surcharge on land revenue and a tax on all incomes.

While welcoming the declared aim of uplift of the downtrodden Harijan workers, the resolution called upon the Government to seek alternate sources instead of putting the burden on the poor man.

The conference demanded the raising of the exemption limit for tax on incomes to Rs. 6,000 per annum instead of Rs. 1,800 as at present, and a graded income-tax on agricultural incomes.

In a fourth resolution, the conference outlined the main problems of the young workers and chartered their demands. Among others, the conference demanded adequate training facilities for new entrants as well as those already working, regulation of apprenticeship wages and period by law, sports and cultural activities, etc.

The conference set up a small sub-committee consisting of three young workers and the President and General Secretary of the STUC to coordinate activities with the Punjab Youth Council.

It called upon all unions to set up small committees to organise young workers and guide their activities.

It was decided to hold a Cultural and Sports Festival some time in September this year.

The mass rally held in the evening was addressed by P. K. Vasudevan Nair, Homi Daji and Satish Loomba. Young workers from Yamunanagar and a cultural squad from Jullundur presented a programme of songs and drama.

ITALIAN SCENE

★ FROM FACING PAGE

the end of April, definitely attacked, on economic, financial and political grounds, the project for nationalization, and announced that his organization was conducting "an action to persuade the responsible men of the government" to renounce it.

May it be the result of this "action of persuasion" or not, the fact is that the demoted minister of Industry, Colombo, during the first meeting of the ministerial committee charged with the study of the question, raised a prejudicial question, stating that before studying the technical details of a possible nationalization, they had to make sure that there existed a pledge in this sense of the secretariat of his party.

However, he added, that the majority of his party, of which he himself was a qualified representative, not only knew nothing about a pledge of this kind, but, further to this was contrary to such a possibility.

JUNE 10, 1962

M.P. WORKERS FACE WAGE-CUTS

FOLLOWING declaration of the State Minimum Wages Act as 'void' by the Madhya Pradesh High Court, a serious situation has arisen in a number of industries in the State, where the workers are now facing wage-cuts.

Among these industries, Bidi industry is worst affected since the employers are reported to have already started the wage-cut. It is estimated that about two lakhs of workers would be affected by this wage-cut.

It may be recalled that the appeal against the enforcement of the Minimum Wages Act was referred to the State High Court by the employers and now the verdict having gone in their favour, they are trying to take maximum advantage of the situation.

The trade unions in Madhya Pradesh have already drawn the attention of the State Government in this regard and called upon it to issue immediately an Ordinance for maintaining status quo.

The All-India Trade Union Congress in a communication to the Union Labour Ministry has urged for immediate intervention in the matter in view of the large number of employees affected.

The AITUC has further suggested that tripartite meetings should be immediately called both at the State and Central levels in order to discuss the problems of the industry.

SINGBHUM MINERS CONFERENCE

THE Third Annual Conference of the Singbhumi Mines Mazdoor Union

was held at Barajamda, Singbhumi, on May 23 and 24.

The Conference reviewed the situation obtaining in the iron and manganese ore mining areas of the district and in a resolution demanded immediate application of labour laws like the Minimum Wages Act, Payment of Wages Act etc., in the area.

The Conference also adopted a resolution protesting against the imposition of

new taxes and demanded their withdrawal.

Through other resolutions, the conference sought the immediate intervention of the Central Government in regard to stoppage of mass retrenchment of miners and loaders, provision of adequate drinking water, and implementation of Tribunal award.

Dr. U. Misra MP, and Muneswar Prasad were elected, among other office-bearers, as President and General Secretary of the union.

PUNJAB STUC CALLS FOR PROTEST AGAINST TAXES

THE Punjab State Committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress, in its working committee meeting held on May 26 at Yamunanagar, noted with grave concern the effect of the imposition of the new taxes by the State and Central Governments.

The Committee in a resolution adopted in the meeting, criticised the Government and stated that while the State Government wanted to utilise the revenue accruing through the taxation for the development and welfare of Harijan communities, it also sought to drive a wedge between Harijans and non-Harijans through these measures.

The resolution also called for withdrawal of increased passenger and freight rates in the railways, exemption from increased land revenue to small holders and increase of tax rates on big landlords.

ANTI-LABOUR POLICY OF RAJASTHAN GOVERNMENT

THE labour policy of the Rajasthan Government has recently shown the same trend of anti-labour measures as were there ever since the Congress-led Government came to power.

All the talks about tripartite conventions and Codes now seem to be just dubious because the acts of the Government have gone contrary to the agreed principles.

Only a few years ago, the State Government had resorted to brutal police measures against the workers to help the textile magnates to impose increased workload on workers. The INTUC in this matter had acted hand-in-gloves with both the employers and the Government.

In the name of standardisation of workload, the occasion for the implementation of the Wage Board recommendations, was utilised to effect increased workload.

Not one textile mill in Rajasthan has so far granted dearness allowance to the workers as per the recommendations of the Wage Board and despite innumerable representations, the Government has taken no action to enforce it.

Another instance of anti-labour policy of the Rajasthan Government could be seen in

the recent amendment made to the application of the Shops and Establishment Act. Earlier, the Act was applicable to all towns having a population of more than 10,000. The recent amendment has made the Act applicable only to towns having a population more than 30,000.

This has resulted in throwing out a very large section of shop employees from the protection of the Act and consequently provided the employers with handsome benefits. There have been instances where the registration of unions and Federations were arbitrarily cancelled by the Registrar of Trade Unions and the Government refused to take note of the highly unjustified act of the Registrar.

The recent rationalisation of wages structure made for its employees by the Rajasthan Government is indicative of another anti-labour measure.

This rationalisation has actually kept the low-paid employees in the same level as before, in some cases even with a little cut in wages, while the highly-paid employees were given upward revisions in wages.

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West Irian

VERY little is known about West Irian in many parts of the world including our country because of the secluded status of this island. But for the recent events, this island would have continued to remain in obscurity.

Actually, the current series of national liberation struggles in many parts of colonial and semi-colonial countries, brought a number of little-known places into limelight. Irian or New Guinea or Papua are the various names of the same island which is situated due north of Australia. It is the second biggest island in the world.

For many years, this island has been divided into two zones of administration under foreign governments. Geographically, it is a part of the Indonesian archipelago.

At present, the eastern part is governed by Australia while the western part—West Irian—is under the control of the Dutch government. The boundary between the Australian territory and the West Irian runs due north approximately 141 degrees east. Greenwich.

INTEGRAL PART OF INDONESIA

West Irian is an integral part of Indonesia from all considerations. Even in the 1948 Constitution of Netherlands, Indonesia includes West Irian also.

The area of West Irian is 4.13 lakh square kilometers, which means that it is as big as France. This amounts to almost 20 per cent of the entire Indonesian territory. But the population in West Irian is rather sparse and is estimated to be about seven lakhs only. This means there are less than two persons per square kilometer!

Comparatively speaking, West Irian is three times as big as Java and 12 times as big as Holland but its population is only one-seventeenth of Holland and one-eighth of Java.

But even from among this small population, only about 50% were brought under the Dutch administration and that too only for the name's sake. The rest of the population continued to live as free as ever in the rather inaccessible swampy and isolated jungle areas.

The entire population in the Indonesian archipelago including that of West Irian are Indonesians and despite tribal differentiation in various areas, the people are generally understood to be belonging to one common group.

ONE HOMOGENOUS ENTITY

Throughout this archipelago, only one language is spoken and that is Indonesian and for all practical considerations, the entire population is one homogenous entity.

West Irian was never isolated from the political life of the country in general. The sweep of the liberation movement extended to remote corners and one of the main slogans of the Indonesian national independence movement has been: "Freedom to

martyrs sacrificed their lives in this struggle.

In 1949, when the Dutch saw that it was no longer possible for them to continue their occupation in Indonesia, they agreed to hold a round table conference with the Indonesian leaders.

FIRST INDICATION

It was at this conference, the Dutch first mooted out the proposal of keeping West Irian under their control. The Indonesian delegation to the Conference from the very point of suggestion rejected the idea but they were later told that it was only "a temporary measure."

Speaking on this aspect of the question, the Indonesian Ambassador in India, Moekarto Notowidigdo, said in New Delhi Press Club on January 17, 1962, "It appeared that a seemingly important section of the Netherlands political circle was strongly opposed to the idea of losing their former

NATURAL RESOURCES

West Irian soil is not very fertile and whatever fertile regions are there, they are covered with thick jungles.

Most of the natural wealth of West Irian consists of products like copra, nutmegs, cocoa, rice etc. In one area, of course, oil was being extracted by a Dutch company which has been stopped. But it is estimated that substantial quantities of mineral oil will be available in this island.

Most of the people in this island are still in a very backward stage of civilization. Only in the urban areas, where imported labourers have settled down and established themselves, one can see signs of modern civilization.

In deep interior parts, there are tribal communities who even today do not know the use of metals, cereals, cattle, plough and other common utensils. Generally, the hinterland is cut off in all manners from outside.

PURPOSEFUL NEGLECT

It is not surprising that the Dutch administrators kept the inhabitants of West Irian in such a low state of civilization. It was actually a purposeful neglect.

Even in the year 1960, there were only 126 persons in West Irian who had an education of more than that of primary school. There were all told thirty boys from this part of the island in the Netherlands and among them only three were in the universities.

In 1961, only 16,000 "Papuan" were registered as working people by the Dutch. Among these 16,000 about 30% had no education, 55% had visited some village schools, and the rest 15% were just a little more educated — which included dressers and nurses in the hospitals.

It may be recalled that on August 17, 1945, the Indonesian people proclaimed their independence. To defeat this wave of liberation movement, the Dutch imperialists waged a savage colonial war. More than five lakh Indonesian

SADHAN MUKHERJEE

a part of their kingdom through an amendment of their Constitution and finally in 1954, they sent a letter to the Indonesian Government that they "no longer wanted to talk on this question."

Nothing could have been more astounding as an example of political cheating compared to this Dutch bluff.

From 1954 to 1957, Indonesia repeatedly tried to put the question of West Irian on the agenda of the UN General Assembly. The Dutch Government opposed this move on the plea that West Irian was a part of their kingdom and therefore the UN had no competence to take up their "domestic affair." And in this, they were supported by the colonial interests in the UN.

ATTEMPTS OF NEO-COLONIALISM

Meanwhile, the Dutch had been trying to fully colonize West Irian. They wanted to exploit the territory economically and made it an absorption place for the surplus population of Netherlands, especially the Eurasians.

Some Facts

rich and most important colony.

"This was felt as a loss of prestige and the opposition, so the Indonesian delegation was told, had to be appeased. The easiest thing at that time seemed to be the almost unexploited and economically unexploited territory of West Irian, inhabited by a sparse population of Indonesia of 70 million.

"Only on this condition, namely, the temporary extension of colonial hold on that territory, could the required two-thirds majority of the Dutch Parliament be achieved for the ratification of the Round Table Conference agreements.

"The Indonesian delegation had to accept this political expediency on the part of the Dutch Government in order to prevent total collapse of the ETC. It did so, after it had been given the assurances that West Irian would be returned to the Republic of Indonesia within one year."

DELIBERATE BLUFF

This at that time was not thought to be a clever ruse of the Dutch imperialists to hide their ulterior designs. The RTC agreements mentioned West Irian still as a "residency" i.e., a subordinate administrative unit in the Indonesian state administration system.

The "political expediency" of the Dutch in the following year did not show any sign of receding and in 1950, when the question of West Irian was brought up in the follow-up talks, they backed out from their promises.

On the top of that, in 1952, the Dutch unilaterally incorporated West Irian as

As early as in 1950, President Soekarno had declared, "West Irian is not a trifling question; this is a major issue. I feel that the Netherlands do not yet understand that the Irian question is a major question for us."

During the following years, the Dutch imperialists did not give any indication of understanding the West Irian question. On the other hand they made all sorts of manoeuvres to keep their colonial hold on West Irian.

Meanwhile, the demand of the people of Indonesia for reunification of West Irian with the Fatherland received a greater impetus from the liberation of Goa and its integration with India.

President Soekarno, reflecting the desire of the people of Indonesia on December 19, 1961, issued the "People's Command" which instructed the entire armed forces to be ready "in order to liberate West Irian."

The Command included three specific orders, which were (a) defeat the formation of the Puppet State of Papua of Dutch colonial make; (b) unfurl the Honoured Red and White flag in West Irian, Indone-

sian native land and (c) be ready for general mobilisation to defend the independence and unity of the country and Nation.

In execution of these three orders, operations have already started in West Irian. Popular resistance to continued Dutch occupation has already gathered momentum in West Irian and the upsurge is being sought to be crushed by the Dutch through use of brute force.

The air, navy and armed forces in Indonesia are now in complete readiness to launch an attack to drive away the Dutch but the final command is being held back for a last minute peaceful solution of the problem by handing over West Irian to the Indonesian Government by the Dutch Government.

FORCE MAJEURE AS LAST STEP

Guerilla attacks have already started in various parts of West Irian and Gag and Waigeo—two neighbouring islands of West Irian, are already under the control of Guerilla High Command.

It is also learnt that two towns—Teminabuan and Sanfapor have been captured a few days ago by Indonesian guerillas and now most of the interior areas of West Irian are under the control of Indonesian volunteers.

Every day people of Indonesia are clamouring for the final Command and if the Dutch do not gather sense from the prevailing situation, they will have to be driven away by force from West Irian and that will be fully in consonance of the UN resolution against colonialism. And in this endeavour, Indian people will always stand with their Indonesian brethren.

Delhi Hotel Workers Strike Called Off Following Settlement

SETTLEMENT was at last arrived at between the managements, workers and government at a tripartite meeting on June 6, which led to calling off of the nine-day-old strike of 1,500 workers employed in eleven top class restaurants and a leading hotel in the capital city of Delhi.

According to the terms of the settlement, the employers would pay 50 per cent of the awarded bonus within ten days and take back all workers immediately without any victimisation and withdraw all chargesheets.

Besides above, it has been also agreed that attempts would be made to arrive at an out of court settlement in regard to the appeal which is currently pending in the Supreme Court and pending that the question of additional relief to the workmen would be referred to a tripartite committee.

The strike was supported by various sections of the people and during the strike-days contributions poured in to help the strikers. The average of contributions amounted to Rs. 2,000 per day.

In sympathy with the strikers, even the small contractors had stopped their supplies to the restaurants and the entire body of hotel workers expressed their full support to the strike.

Strike As Last Resort

The workers had to launch the strike from May 29 onwards following the unshamed refusal of the hotel and restaurant owners to implement the Award of the Industrial Tribunal.

The dispute concerning bonus, wage scales, gratuity and other service conditions in the restaurants was referred to adjudication by the

Delhi Administration on September 9, 1959.

The Award by the Industrial Tribunal, was gazetted on April 26, 1962.

After two-and-a-half years' waiting and confronted with the employers' most painstaking attempts to prove before the Tribunal that the restaurants—most flourishing by any standard—could ill-afford to pay even a barest increase, the hotel workers had to rely on their own strength to realise even what a Tribunal had awarded.

No better commentary is needed on the observance of the Code of Discipline by the employers in this country, which is so much lauded by the Union Labour Ministry.

Tribunal Award

The Tribunal had awarded payment of bonus for employees in most of the restaurants.

As regards wage scales, the Tribunal fixed the scale of Rs. 20-24-3-55 for unskilled workers; Rs. 40-2-60-3-75 for semi-skilled; Rs. 60-5-125 for skilled Grade II and Rs. 125-5-175 for skilled Grade I.

Dearness Allowance at a flat rate of Rs. 35 per month for all grades was provided for. Under the Award the workers would also be entitled to 85 per cent of the service charge collections, which would work out to about Rs. 55 per month.

Thus in all, the lowest average wages would amount to about Rs. 115 per month. The pay-scales as well as D.A. were to be effective from January 1, 1961.

The workmen were to be given three more festive holidays and it was also laid down that a gratuity scheme would be introduced for the workers. The workers would also be en-

titled to leave facilities as provided in the Delhi Shops and Establishments Act.

A fantastic statement was issued on May 29 by L. C. Narula, General Secretary of the Delhi Caterers' Association, justifying the adamant stand of the employers.

Fantastic Statement

Demonstrating the "magnanimity" of the employers, L. C. Narula claimed that he could have taken two months to file an appeal to the Supreme Court but the employers actually filed it within a month!

The employers in this instance conveniently forget the fact that under the Industrial Disputes Act, the Award is enforceable after a period of 30

Bid To Bridge Gulf In Kerala

*FROM FRONT PAGE

account the composition of the present Kerala Congress legislature party and conflicting loyalties of many of its members. While the Congress has got majority in the Legislature, the Members of the Congress Legislature Party are not however united on the issue of ending the coalition or on any other issue.

Circles close to the AICC point out that a number of Congress MLAs in Kerala are protégés of either the Church or Nair leader Mammoo. Obviously it was difficult for the High Command to accept the guarantee of Shankar that the Congress could form a stable Government and that the Congress majority in the Assembly was a dependable majority.

Apart from these political considerations, the actual issue on which the coalition is facing rough weather at the moment, namely, the tussle over private schools had also its implications.

The High Command was in agreement with the KPCC President that it would be bad for the Congress to break with the PSP on this issue. Such a step would discredit the Congress as wrecking the Government for the sake of keeping the Church with it and also bring out the Congress as the champion of vested interests in education.

High Command's Sympathies

The High Command's sympathies are more with Patom on this issue. The High Command it is learnt, was told that at the time when the Kerala Government invited applications for starting schools this year, lower primary schools were excluded and the Congress ministers did not raise any objection.

Secondly, when these minis-

MIAN IFTIKHARUDDIN

WITH deep anguish and pain Indian friends of democracy in Pakistan learn of the passing away of Mian Iftikharuddin, stalwart of the national struggle against British imperialism, a pillar of strength to the democratic movement in Pakistan since its inception.

Fighting throughout his life with great courage and tenacity, Iftikhar became President of the Punjab Congress Committee in pre-partition India. Subsequently he built up the Pakistani Times and Imroz as mighty weapons of the democratic movement and became one of the top leaders of the National Awami Party of Pakistan.

His noble figure courageously fighting vile persecution and deadly ailment will continue to inspire patriots and democrats throughout the subcontinent, acting in future also as in his lifetime as a bond of friendship between the two countries.

very first instance to descend upon these institutions in its full fury. The Pakistan Times and allied papers were taken over, the National Awami Party banned and its leaders — Maulana Bhasani, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Mian Iftikharuddin—were jailed and brutally persecuted.

As in all earlier trials Mian Iftikharuddin courageously stood the onslaught of the military dictatorship and refused to bend till the last.

While the strike was in progress, the employers had been able to obtain a Stay Order from the Supreme Court

days from the date of publication in the gazette.

where their application for special leave to appeal against the Award was admitted. It may be stated here that filing of such appeal was contrary to the spirit of the Code evolved by the Labour Ministry.

While the strike was in progress, the employers had been able to obtain a Stay Order from the Supreme Court

Congress and PSP Ministers may fight each other like back-alley cats but they are never dogmatists! Hence this very pragmatic solution.

Unprincipled Stand

Such a compromise, would however, only oppose the unscrupulous tactics of the parties concerned to remain somehow or other in power. It would mean that neither the Congress nor the PSP can take a principled stand on the issue of curbing the growth of private agencies in the field of education.

It would also mean that the Congress and the PSP in Kerala cannot dare to displease Mammoo and that the Nair leader's edicts are still the law for these ruling parties. However the pro-coalitionists feel that there is no other way to get out of an embarrassing situation.

Political observers in the Capital therefore forecast a compromise in the present phase of the rift in the Coalition. But they point out that such a compromise may not last long. The rift is growing wider and the dispute over the schools issue is only one symptom of the tussle for power inside the Coalition.

Actually, the dispute is centred round personal and sectional interests and the question whether the Congress, as the big brother in the partnership, should have more power in deciding policies and in day-to-day administration will continue to dog the Coalition.

How far the PSP Chief Minister will submit to the domination of the Congress and how far the Congress is prepared to force his hand in a crisis is yet to be seen. Meanwhile, from all indications, one can expect many more entertaining pieces from the storehouse of the Kerala Coalition.

INTENSIFY ANTI-TAX CAMPAIGN

Punjab Executive Committee's Call

THE two day meeting of the State Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India was held in Jullundur on May 27 and 28.

The meeting began with the Report on the decisions of the National Council meeting held in Delhi in April.

The Committee, among other issues, discussed the question of government tax policies especially the new levies imposed by the State Government and the call given by the Central Secretariat and passed the following resolution:

The Punjab Congress Ministry has pushed through in an unseemly hurry at the fag-end of the session of the legislature the Temporary Taxation Bill in the teeth of bitter opposition inside the Legislature and wide-spread popular protest outside.

The uplift of Harijans and other backward classes is a noble objective, vicious taxation measures have been advanced in the said Bill, which place new burdens on poor and lower middle classes.

Taxation has reached the saturation point in case of these classes and their taxable capacity has reached the lowest ebb. Poor Harijans will be as much hit by those taxes as other sections of poor people.

In the face of mounting indignation and popular agitation against the fresh levies, the State Government had to retreat and reduce the additional surcharge on land revenue from 50 per cent to 25 per cent and in case of tax on professions, trades and callings raise the exemption limit from Rs. 600 to Rs. 1,800 gross annual income.

Unbearable Burden

Yet the reduced rates of levy will constitute an unbearable burden for the poor people. An additional surcharge of 25 per cent is proposed to be levied on land revenue for two harvests. No exemption has been granted to the petty-owners.

Professional tax will be levied on gross annual income of Rs. 1,800 per annum for one year and the burden will fall on small shop-keepers, artisans, majority of Government and private employees with low earnings.

Tax on passenger fares and freights is being raised from 16-2/3 per cent to 20 per cent and general sales tax from 5 per cent to 8 per cent of the sales out-turn.

The new levies—once more expose the tax policies of the Congress Government which hit the lower income groups and depress their standards of living, while placing light burdens on upper income groups and even giving them concessions.

The fresh levies on the poor and lower middle classes have to be studied in the context of the existing tax burdens, the tax burdens levied by the Central Government in the form of excise duties amounting to Rs. 45 crores a year and 10 per cent increase in Railway fares, and the taxes that might be levied by the local bodies.

The Government has declared on the floor of the Legislature that Rs. 40 crores of

raised to Rs. 10 crores in Third Plan period, and appropriate measures be taken to raise the necessary resources.

The problem of uplift of backward classes is many-sided and requires multi-pronged attack. For solution of the problem of their employment and livelihood and for achieving their economic and social emancipation, radical land reforms should be introduced, effective steps should be taken for protection and development of cottage industry, large-scale rural development works should be started to provide them employment at fair wages and the minimum wage schedule for agricultural workers should be implemented.

The uplift of Harijans, however, is a sacred and most important task and the Communist Party had already proposed in its election pamphlet that Rs. 10 crores be allocated in Third Plan period for the purpose as against Rs. 222 lakhs ear-marked by the State Government.

The State Executive of the CPI once more demands that the allocations for schemes for welfare of backward classes be

failed to solve their fundamental economic problems.

The Executive Committee while opposing new tax levies demands that the resources for Harijan welfare and other development schemes be raised through measures of savings and economy, avoidance of waste and extravagance, augmentation of no-tax revenues, and levy of fresh taxes on those who have grown richer and are capable of bearing them.

Fresh taxes should be imposed on higher incomes from agriculture, industry, business, trade and services. The Executive demands that the recommendations made by the Resources and Retrenchment Committee should be implemented effectively. Their implementation would result in accruing many crores

of rupees by way of recurring revenue each year and also bring in handsome non-recurring income to the State Exchequer.

The Executive calls upon all its units to carry on a continuous explanatory mass campaign criticising the new tax levies, and mobilising the people for alternative resources for Harijan welfare. In this campaign, utmost efforts should be made to unite with all those who can be united with.

Responding to the call of the Central Secretariat of the Party June 16 or 17 should be observed as Protest Day against the fresh tax levies in particular, and Congress taxation policies in general. Public rallies should be held on that day.

The Executive calls upon all its units to popularise the Party Programme for uplift of backward classes and alternative methods to raise necessary resources for the purpose. Utmost efforts should be made to build unity of Harijan and non-Harijan masses through this campaign.

WORKING JOURNALISTS MEET

SECOND WAGE BOARD DEMANDED

★ From Our Correspondent

THE four-day annual conference of the Indian Federation of Working Journalists (IFWJ), which ended in Calcutta on May 29, passed a number of important resolutions.

Wage Board

On the second day, the conference adopted a resolution, demanding the early constitution of a second Wage Board for the journalists. Stating that the wages of working journalists as fixed by the Wage Committee did not reflect the present prosperity of the newspaper industry, the resolution pointed out that the steep rise in the cost of living had resulted in a decrease of real wages. The fact that many newspapers, which pleaded inability to pay wages as fixed by the first Wage Board, had undertaken new ventures proved that the plea was without any substance.

Concentration Of Ownership

By another resolution the Conference expressed its concern at "the unabated concentration" of the ownership of newspapers and news agencies in the hands of big business. It drew the Union Government's attention to the Report of the Estimates Committee of the Second Lok Sabha on growing monopolistic trends in the newspaper industry and urged it to take immediate steps to ensure diffusion of newspaper ownership on the lines recommended by the Press Commission. If necessary the Constitution should be amended, the resolution added.

Press Councils

The conference on the third day of its session passed a resolution demanding that Press Councils be constituted on the lines recommended by the Press Commission at national or State levels under Central

jurisdiction by the end of 1962 and that Press Accreditation Committees be set up, strictly in accordance with the recommendations of the Press Commission, immediately in Gujarat, West Bengal, Punjab, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Maharashtra, which were "sticking to the outmoded system".

Staff Councils also should be formed with representatives of different categories of journalists in individual newspaper establishments to advise the editor on professional matters and grievances of working journalists.

The conference directed the IFWJ to take suitable measures to mobilise public opinion in support of their demands.

By another resolution the Conference urged upon the Government to take immediate steps to introduce legislation in the current session of Parliament to amend the Working Journalists Act. It

drew the attention of the Government to flagrant violations by newspaper employers of laws applicable to working

NEWSPAPER EMPLOYEES TO MEET IN BOMBAY

DEFENCE Minister V. K. Krishna Menon will inaugurate the first annual Conference of the All-India Newspaper Employees' Federation to be held on June 16 and 17 at Bombay.

Delegates representing almost all the newspapers in the country are expected to take part in the conference. The main item of the discussions of the Conference is expected to be the demand for the appointment of a Wage Board covering the whole in-

dustry. A Reception Committee headed by S. Y. Kalhotkar, President of the Times of India and Allied publications Employees Union has been formed in this connection. S. B. Morey, President of the Greater Bombay Press Employees Union and the Socialist labour leader, S. R. Rao, are also on the Reception Committee.

Aruna Asaf Ali, President of the Federation, will preside over the conference.

"PRESS MONOPOLY—WORST FORM OF MONOPOLY TODAY"—Says Krishna Menon

SPEAKING in Ernakulam on May 25, V. K. Krishna Menon, Defence Minister said that the greatest danger to the building up of a democratic society in India lay in the growth of monopolies and concentration of economic power in the hands of a few individuals, who appeared in several "incarnations" as in the Hindu mythology of yore. The worst form of monopoly today was the newspaper, Menon said.

"I am sorry to say that with the advance of industrialisation and with the particular circumstances prevailing in our country the newspaper today is not a Fourth Estate but a private estate where freedom of the Press means freedom not for the

Press but for the man who owns it."

Krishna Menon, who was formally inaugurating the publication of the Malayalam daily, Mathrubhumi added that it was only to the extent that newspapers were run under the auspices of men of character or groups of character and not as part of great industrial enterprises that they would be respected as real organs of public opinion.

The growth of monopolies in the newspaper was a very important problem which they had to face in a democratic society of India today.

The Defence Minister said that they had a situation wherein a majority of the vast number of newspapers in India did not express public opinion.

He added that the newspapers would have only limited

Fascist Agents Step-Up Violent Acts In Berlin

★ From P. Kunhanandan Nair

BERLIN, June 2
WITHIN a fortnight of West German Chancellor Adenauer's illegal "State visit" to West Berlin (which is not a part of West Germany), border provocations once again flared up in alarming proportions, as part of his attempts to wreck Soviet-American talks over the German question.

Imperialist agencies in West Berlin engaged in criminal border provocations are now resorting to OAS like gangster methods and plastic bomb terrorism against democratic Berlin.

Series of bomb explosions at the border this week highlighted the danger of the world once again being plunged into war by West Germany and the terrible urgency of keeping nuclear weapons out of Adenauer's reach who behaves like a drunken and eccentric monkey with a match box in his hand.

OAS-Like Methods

OAS gangster methods are being increasingly introduced in Berlin provocations. Here is my own experience.

On May 20 after midnight my telephone rang and when I took the receiver, I heard the enquirer as to whether I was a correspondent of the Communist newspaper of India. My name and address were also verified.

When I answered in the affirmative to the queries, there was a minute's silence and then I heard a threatening voice in the receiver:

"You will be killed very soon"—this was repeated in three languages, German, English and Russian....

Telephone harassment was repeated the next night; tone, volume and modulation of voice without being changed and almost at the same time as the night before. It sounded like a recorded voice, a tape recorder connected to the phone. When on subsequent nights I kept the receiver off the cradle lest they disturb

my sleeping, the call was repeated during day time.

My enquiries revealed that similar murder threats were addressed also to some other Communist correspondents and journalists, now in GDR.

Threat To Kill

After a few days, I received a letter by post bearing West Berlin stamp mark from Bureau of "Freedom-fear no War" believed to be a clandestine organisation.

The letter was a sort of ultimatum, asking me to give up my "Communist propaganda" and quit Berlin forthwith or else "you will have an unknown grave in a far off land".

On May 23 from the British occupied sector of West Berlin, police opened fire on the East Berlin border guards, killing Peter Goering a border guard who was on duty and seriously injuring another. The fire was opened to cover the escape of a man who had been swimming in the prohibited canal forming the border.

On May 24 night explosions rocked the Democratic Sector near old Reichstag building, blasting away border fencing installations. After two days, a series of plastic bomb explosions took place at three different points on the Berlin border.

Bombs From West Berlin

In all these cases bombs were thrown from occupied Berlin where imperialist

provocateurs are actively working.

On May 27, in the afternoon on the border near the British occupied sector, a regular gun battle took place between West Berlin police and East Berlin border guards. A man was again found swimming in the canal of the prohibited area and in order to cover his escape, West Berlin police opened fire on East Berlin guards. In this battle the escaping man was killed. Imperialists have recently reinforced their police forces on the border.

West Berlin police is commanded by an ex-Nazi officer named Wendt, who during the Second World War was sentenced for war crimes in Soviet Union. Immediately after his return, he was commissioned to command a flying squad of West Berlin police.

According to East Berlin Institute of Criminal Technology, West German secret service, now led by Nazi spy Chief Gehlen, used a British hand grenade for the first of their recent bomb explosions.

GDR Government has already lodged strong protests with the British, American and French occupation authorities, demanding guarantee that such provocation shall not be repeated.

Open Provocations

But Willy Brandt, West Berlin Mayor speaking in the Socialist Democratic Party's Congress in Cologne said:

"The Home Minister of GDR asked for a guarantee that such happenings would not be repeated. But this guarantee nobody is able to give... We wish the wall will be more perforated".

This declaration of the head of government of West Berlin itself is a provocation justifying and calling for more such criminal border incidents fraught with war danger.

This was not the first time

False Propaganda

LAST week world capitalist press prominently reported an utterly wrong news that East German Government was seeking West German credit for food stuffs due to serious economic difficulties.

An ordinary trade enquiry made three months ago, has been fished out from the pigeonhole by Bonn and blown up into a story of desperate condition of GDR's economy.

Actual facts are this: West Germany is in chronic difficulty over hard coal. With over 12 million tons in stock and over 100,000 miners sacked in last few months, precious coal mining was in a deadlock. GDR offered that it would like to buy more coal which could

also help the unemployed miners and businessmen of West Germany.

And also, on February 13 GDR made an inquiry about buying some thirty million tons of coal over ten years on credit for a total value of 200 million British pounds.

As India and many other countries, GDR too trades on credit basis. This is only 1.2 per cent of GDR's foreign trade.

In 1951, the two German States signed a trade agreement and trade has been increasing between them ever since. GDR's trade enquiry of February 13 did not ask for a single penny of credit for food stuffs as propagated by the capitalist press.

Berlin border was used as the shooting ground of Western brinkmanship. Last October, General Clay, President Kennedy's personal representative in West Berlin (recalled with disgrace) ordered American tanks to take up position on the border at Charli check point creating fear all over the world that a war was going to start.

In January 1962, a spy tunnel was dug from West Berlin to East Berlin under a border railway station whose platform collapsed suddenly leading to the discovery of this criminal action for espionage and under-world banditry.

Another tunnel, discovered in April 1956, revealed that American spies had driven an underground tunnel three hundred yards into the territory of GDR leading to a main telephone cable line.

Here 160 telephone lines from GDR capital including trunk lines to Moscow and other countries had been tapped and connected to American and British recording and amplifying equipments. This tunnel was electrified from American occupied sector.

West Berlin continues to be an imperialist nest in the heart of Europe abetting counter-revolution, espionage and provocation against the socialist countries. Even now imperialist powers are repeatedly rejecting the demand to end the 17-year-old occupation regime and free West Berlin. The imperialist powers are still pursuing their policy of fostering world crisis and blocking the ways for solution of outstanding international problems.

GLORIOUS FEAT OF INDIAN EXPEDITION

THE second Indian Expedition to Everest has been forced to retreat from about barely 400 ft. short of the peak. The courageous three-man assault team to the peak—M. S. Kohli, Sonam Gyatso and Hari Dang, after three nights' stay at a height of about 28,000 ft, withdrew in the face of continuous blizzards, on May 30.

The Indian expedition to Everest is led by John D. Dias, a Major General of the Indian Army and consists of 18 members. The expedition left Delhi on February 14 and reached Thyangboche (13,000 ft) after a march for three weeks.

One of the members of the team, Sherpa Nawang Tshering, lost his life when he was hit by a boulder in an avalanche.

In 1960, when the first Indian team launched its assault, it was defeated likewise by a short distance from the peak.

Although this is the second time our expedition has been beaten by the Everest, it has already established firmly in the minds of all Indians its glorious feats which speak eloquently of the valiant and indomitable courage of the members of the teams.

We have good reasons to be proud of them. Despite the limited knowledge and

experience which we have about mountaineering, our expedition-members rose to the occasion and fulfilled all that could be reasonably expected of them.

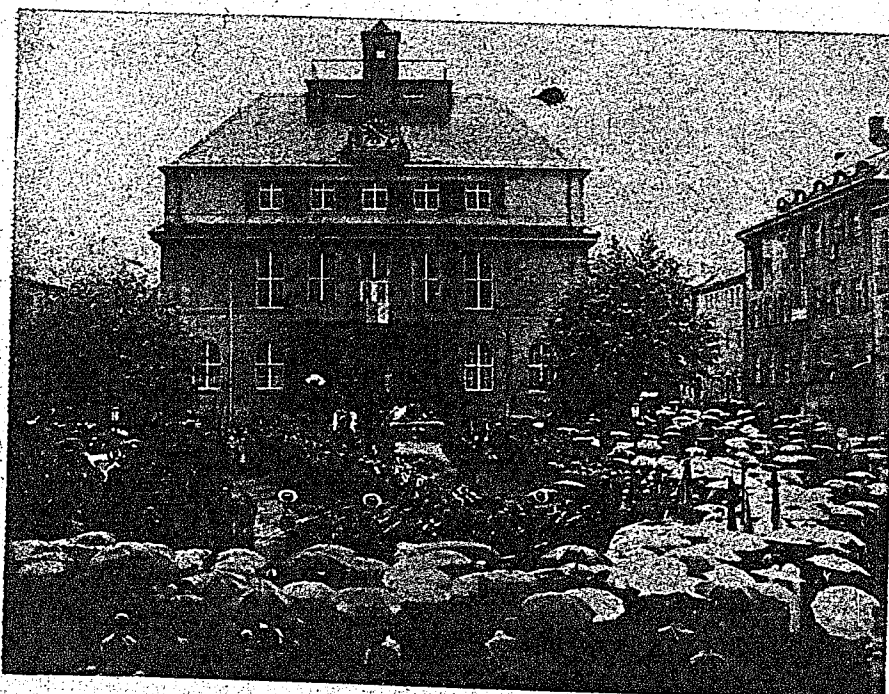
The initial stage of the recent assault was covered by this expedition in a remarkably short time and had not the weather been completely against the summit team, they would have reached the peak—the first Indian expedition to do so.

According to a report available, the third Indian attempt to climb Everest will be made in the ensuing autumn. The same members of the second expedition will once again make this attempt.

Though spring is considered to be the most suitable time for climbing Everest, the Indian team has no other choice because for the next four springs, Everest is booked by various other expeditionary teams.

We hope that with the experiences and knowledge collected from this assault, the Indian expedition will be able to reach the top in the next attempt and leave the imprints of its footsteps on the peak.

Everest shall be conquered by the Indian team—that is the wish of every Indian and we wish our team all success to that end.



Burial of Peter Goering of GDR border guards killed in West Berlin police firing. JUNE 10, 1962

NEW AGE

NUNMATI AND FLOATING RUMOURS

★ From Our Special Correspondent

SHILLONG:

The news concerning a temporary stoppage at the State sector's first oil refinery has rather strikingly elicited wide comments in the Press and in the Lok Sabha during the debate on demands for grants to the Ministry for Mines and Fuel.

WHILE Nunmati refinery appears to have aroused a touching concern in the big business press and among the Swatantra and PSP spokesmen in the Lok Sabha for the public sector undertakings, it has also shown an almost intriguing similarity in their depiction of a situation in which—in the words of the Cabinet Minister K. D. Malaviya—"rumours were set afloat that Nunmati has started in a bad way and is inefficient in working..."

PSP member Hem Barua has already composed an epiphany for it: the refinery "has foundered on high rocks..."

Curiously enough, even their diagnosis of the malady leading to such a gloomy end follows also a strikingly similar pattern: It is

a) to find fault with the Government for commissioning the refinery in a haste,

b) to find fault with the manner—mainly the timings—of commissioning the various units of the refinery,

c) to catch hold of some technical difficulty as the villain of the piece, and to defend, one may say with a crusading spirit, the Oil India Ltd. against the charges of delaying the construction of the pipeline which has resulted in the present bottle-neck in the production.

Swatantra's P. K. Deo was of the view that the refinery's distillation unit was "commissioned in hot haste", and that the three units of the refinery "should have been commissioned simultaneously."

PSP's Hem Barua opined that by hastening with the commissioning of the distillation unit while "forgetting" the completion of the other two units, the Government had given the go by to "an elementary compulsion of science."

Now, first of all let us be clear about the functioning of a refinery.

The refinery has three units:

● the primary distillation unit,

● the coking unit and

● the kerosene refining unit.

And these units have their upper and lower limits, i.e., limits on the quantities of the intakes over which or below which the respective unit cannot function.

Working Of A Refinery

The crude oil is fed into the primary unit. At the Nunmati refinery the maximum capacity of this unit is 2,200 tons per day, and the minimum quantity needed for the unit to function, i.e., its lower limit is 1000 tons per day.

The residue from this unit goes into the second unit, the coking unit, where it is "cracked" and we obtain mainly coke, along with kerosene, diesel, etc. The upper limit of

this unit is 900 tons per day, and its lower limit is about 500 tons per day. And finally there is the third unit, the kerosene refining unit.

In no refinery, do all the three units start functioning simultaneously, and in no refinery can the supply of crude oil to the first unit be permitted to fall below its lower limit.

Besides every refinery is built for a specific variety of the crude oil.

Nunmati refinery went on steam on January 1, and its first unit was brought into normal functioning on the first day itself.

As regards its second unit, the coking unit, its putting into operation was held up due to the absence of an assured continuous supply of crude. It was only after April 28, when the pipeline was commissioned that the coking unit could be set to functioning. And in less than three weeks time it was working very satisfactorily at its scheduled capacity.

The third unit, the kerosene refinery unit which is now provided with pure sulphur dioxide is in a position to take up soon the refining of the kerosene.

Record Performance

Could you call it a violation of "an elementary compulsion of science"? On the contrary, it was a record performance. Take the case of the other refineries, all in the private sector, as mentioned by K. D. Malaviya. In the case of the Burmah Shell refinery the first operation commenced on January 30, 1955 and the normal full production was attained on September 10, 1955—i.e., after a period of about seven and a half months; the Caltex refinery first started its operation on April 15, 1957 and could reach full production on December 20, 1957—i.e., after about eight months; the Stanvac refinery took about five months to go into normal production.

Hem Barua had confessed in the Lok Sabha that his knowledge of the heavenly order "is limited". It appears that his knowledge of the earthly order is still more limited.

The fault lies hence neither with an ahead-of-schedule starting of the refinery nor with the commissioning schedule of its various units.

As for the third reason that is given for the "trouble" with the refinery, the reason of some technical difficulties, one could understand that, had they been really of a serious magnitude, of Rourkela magnitude for instance.

None has brought to light such difficulties in Nunmati, so far. Minor causes, as Minister Malaviya has put them—"sometimes the compressor is broken or something else goes out of order, which takes a

few weeks or a few months to be set right"—are common to all industrial undertakings, be they in the state sector or in the private sector, be they in India or in America.

To blow them up out of all proportion and hold them up as the main bottle-necks, to say the least, to confound the public attention and divert it from the main causes. And this is made worse confounded by throwing in unverified stories about the alleged non-consultation of Rumanian experts, etc.

What is Really Wrong?

What then, really went wrong at Nunmati? Precisely that which was least talked about in the Press and in the Lok Sabha.

An uninterrupted feed of the crude is a sine qua non for an oil refinery.

This crude was to be fed into the Nunmati refinery by a pipeline from Naharkotiya, over a distance of about 248 miles. This pipeline was being built by Oil India Ltd. (O.I.L.) which was incorporated in the beginning of the year 1959, with the Government of India, holding 33-1/3 per cent of the paid up shares in the Company. It was only subsequently, in July last year, that the Government of India and the BOC became equal shareholders in O.I.L.

The refinery was scheduled

to go on steam on January 1, 1962. The pipeline was originally scheduled to be ready by December 1961. When it became clear that the pipeline would not be ready by that time whatever be the reasons, climatic and otherwise, arrangements were made to bring the crude by rail and store it at Nunmati.

Seventy-five thousand tons of crude oil was thus brought by rail to the refinery site. As the minimum necessary quantity, the lower limit of the refinery's first unit—the primary distillation unit—is 1,000 tons per day, it was then clear that the refinery could run for seven days on this stored up crude.

The pipeline was to be ready by March. Again it was not ready. And therefore, the refinery's first installation had to be stopped.

Handicap Of Supply

The refinery could not work on oil brought by rail, unless it is stored up earlier, for the simple reason that the Railways transport capacity is of about 500 tons of crude oil per day, while the lower limit of the respective refinery unit is 1000 tons per day.

Besides this delay in the supply of crude oil to the refinery, another reason that could have added to its difficulties was the supply of a different quality of crude oil

than the original one for which the refinery was designed. Nonetheless the refinery is functioning well with a changed quality of its feed, which goes to prove its high flexibility.

Minister Malaviya has admitted both these factors in the Lok Sabha: "The trouble in the Nunmati refinery is due to two factors: the late finalisation of the pipeline and the difference in the quality of the crude supplied..."

What is curious about this whole affair is that the question of the lack of supply of the crude to the refinery due to the repeated falling behind the schedule of the pipeline construction work, has hardly caused a ripple in the Press or in the hearts of the Swatantra and PSP well-wishers of the public sector.

On the contrary, it is summarily dismissed as a "pet slogan", while a hue and cry is raised around quite secondary matters. Even inaccurate affirmations were trotted out as soon as the refinery stopped its operations, mainly due to the delay in the commissioning of the pipeline from the scheduled time.

Yes, there is something "rotten" in the state of Denmark; only not in the refinery, but in that state of mind which seizes at the first opportunity to damn a public sector undertaking to the unconcealed glee of the foreign monopolies and their tabloids in our country.

REDOUBLE EFFORTS TO AID Mahapandit Rahul Sankrityayana

MAHAPANDIT Rahul Sankrityayana's failing health continues to be a matter of wide public concern in the country, particularly in the vast Hindi-speaking region. Rahulji is at present confined to bed in a hospital at Darjeeling.

New Age has been receiving money-orders from various parts of our country—sometimes as distant as Tenali in Guntur district (Andhra) and Bangalore (Mysore) and other places, asking us to forward the money, to Mrs. Rahul Sankrityayana for Rahulji's treatment.

Ratanlal Brahmīn, a member of the National Council of the Communist Party and other comrades have visited Rahulji and Mahadeo Saha of Swadhinata has been constantly attending on him in the hospital.

Questions have been asked in different State assemblies, particularly in Bihar and U.P., asking the Governments to come forward with help for Rahulji's treatment. Thanks to these efforts the Bihar and U. P. Governments have advanced some monetary help which though not sufficient is a good beginning.

Different literary, social and cultural organisations on their own, took up the

cause of collecting money for Rahulji's treatment. A unique effort in this direction has been a poetic-symposium organised at Jhansi by Rahulji's admirers and well-wishers. Money was also collected at Jabalpur

have also called a specialist from Calcutta. On May 30, Dr. J. C. Gupta arrived here. He has thoroughly examined Rahulji. His blood-pressure is 170/80; there has been an increase of sugar in blood. New medicines have been prescribed for him. He takes very little food, hence has become very weak. Glucose injections are being given to him. Dr. Gupta advised us to take Rahulji to Calcutta as soon as possible...

"I am very much worried. I have to look after our young children as well. I have called a sister for the time being. She will look after them. Money is needed badly. I have not been able to sleep for several nights..."

"I have detained Bhal Mahadeo Saha here, who is with Rahulji in the hospital."

According to her letter doctors are advising her to take Rahulji as soon as possible to some foreign country for treatment.

As is evident from this letter, our efforts have to be redoubled. Any delay may prove catastrophic. But our people are alive to the need of the hour and they will leave no stone unturned to mobilise as much help as possible for Mahapandit Rahul Sankrityayana's treatment.



Rahulji photographed on May 20.

at the call of the Mayor and forwarded to Mrs. Rahul Sankrityayana.

These efforts, it must be stated, are a manifestation of our people's concern for the well-being of one of the best sons of our motherland. However these efforts are hardly sufficient. Rahulji's condition is deteriorating day by day. In one of her latest letters to us, dated June 1 Mrs. Rahul Sankrityayana writes:

"As I had informed you, Rahulji again had to be taken to the hospital. We