

U.P. CABINET DIVIDED

Over Tax Proposals

NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

LUCKNOW, July 17:

Not surprisingly, the sharp differences inside the fifty-member hotch-potch government of U.P. over the taxation proposals of the Chief Minister C. B. Gupta and the small coterie of his unquestioning followers or yes-men have begun to take more open and explosive forms. Ugly scenes witnessed in the capital last week are more than a testimony to this.

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DURING the last two months or more Gupta's cabinet had met a number of times and there were many more informal consultations and confabulations to give shape to the proposed measures for raising some 13 crores of rupees to meet the deficit in the current year's budget.

But the cabinet was unable to come to any agreed decisions. As a matter of fact, all suggestions to put any further burdens on the State's peasantry by raising the land revenue were strongly opposed.

Those who opposed the suggested measures — and these in-

cluded some of Gupta's firm followers — took the issue to the Executive Committee of the State Provincial Congress Committee. That Committee, despite Gupta's bitter opposition, decided to convene a meeting of the PCC at the end of July to discuss the issue.

Gupta was naturally upset. On one side was the slowly, but terribly and bitterly rising movement of the people and, on the other was the growing opposition from within, by Congressmen themselves, becoming more and more articulate.

The AAI, a fairly good mirror

and chronicler of the feelings and strivings of the people of eastern Uttar Pradesh, has commented editorially (on July 14) that not only individual Congressmen, but even Mandal Congress Committees in many places have been voicing misgivings, fear and fairly vocal opposition to moves to levy further taxes on the rural population of the State. And so it is.

Last week, Gupta tried to forestall further opposition, at least from Congress ranks and forced the issue in a Cabinet meeting. The Cabinet was found to be divided even more firmly than before.

But Gupta has a majority and

he got the proposed taxes approved with the help of this majority and announced to the press that the Cabinet was "unanimous" about the measures.

The Cabinet proceedings being secret Gupta had calculated that his statement would not be contradicted—at least publicly.

But, as was seen the next morning, a number of papers carried the news of the split in the Cabinet. The dissenting ministers had taken care to call pressmen and brief them fully in respect of their stand.

Gupta did one thing more. Confident of his absolute majority in the unwieldy government, which he has packed with his men, he called a meeting of all its fifty or so members.

He was sure he would have his proposals backed by such an overwhelming majority in the meeting that the dissident Ministers would be completely isolated and the entire crowd of his governmental Ministers, Deputy Ministers, Parliamentary Secretaries, etc., would be morally committed in support of his proposals before the PCC meets on July 28.

ILL-FATED MEETING

This ill-fated meeting was held a few hours after the Cabinet meeting. In it Gupta was all but shouted down.

Eighteen members of the government spoke in the meeting — twelve of them spoke against the taxes, against the government's attitude and against Gupta personally. It is risky to quote all of them, but practically everyone knows in the city who said what.

Finance Minister Kamalapati Tripathi, who is also the leader of the rump of Sampurnanand group in the government and the Congress organisation, himself came out defiantly against the proposed imposts.

He said he had opposed the suggestion to increase land revenue in the Cabinet and he was still against them. Gupta tried to pull him up by saying that he had no right to divulge the proceedings of the Cabinet which are secret.

Tripathi retorted strongly by saying that Gupta too had no right to place a distorted report of the Cabinet decisions before non-Cabinet members of the government.

Tripathi is reported to have further said that the question was too vital for the people, for the future of the Congress party and for the future of the Congress Government in the State and he could not keep quiet.

He declared amidst applause from his supporters that, if necessary, he would take the issue to the Congress legislature party

and the Provincial Congress Committee. He would not oppose the decisions publicly, but he would certainly fight for their radical reversal and amendment.

This acted as a signal for others too to speak up. Member after member got up after this, to voice opposition to the taxes. Gupta had appealed to them in his opening remarks that they should go to their constituencies

from

Ramesh Sinha

and other "areas of the opposition parties" to popularise the proposed measures in the name of the Plan, etc.

The speakers, that is most of them, ridiculed the suggestion. They said they were not opposed to the taxes, but they should be realised from where it was possible to get money. They said that they could even go to the common people and ask them to make more sacrifices, but then they should have something to show to the people. What have the Government done for the people so far, they asked.

Other speakers attacked the extravagance displayed by the government after the tall declarations of the Chief Minister about "economy" etc. Grave complaints of corruption, nepotism, groupism and personal aggrandisement were also made. Gupta was accused of having concentrated all power in his hands. An important Gupta man groused bitterly that even he had been reduced to a mere clerk — all power rested either with the Chief Minister or his favourite Secretaries!

The members also described the pitiable conditions of the people of the State. They said they will not be able to bear any more burdens. More than one member warned the publicised Chief Minister that, if he persisted in his plan, this would be the last term of Congress rule in the State.

They made fun of his irresponsible talk about the so-called prosperity of the rural people. Even, the Central Government observers have found that the wages of agricultural labourers in eastern U.P. varied between two to four annas per day!

At Gupta's bidding, a senior member of the Cabinet, who is a known opponent of Gupta, got up to defend the Cabinet decisions and began to air his views about the improved conditions of the State's peasantry.

The Minister could not go far; he was heckled by other members. In fact, one of the Deputy Ministers got up and said rather impolitely that he did not know even the people in the countryside. The Minister collapsed in

A New Stage Reached

Editorial

WITH THE conclusion on July 14 in Moscow of the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace, a new stage has been reached in the worldwide struggle against the war-mongers.

The composition of the delegates gathered at Moscow, the free and frank discussions which took place among them, the way in which different points of view were accommodated in the documents prepared by the various commissions and the final message adopted by the Plenary Session — all these were of such a character as to confound those who had predicted that the Moscow Congress would be nothing but a forum to record and endorse Soviet policies.

The messages sent to the Congress by President Soekarno of Indonesia, Prime Ministers of India and Ceylon and Heads of several other non-aligned States or their Governments showed that Governments as well as peoples of non-aligned countries are one with the Moscow Congress in its determination to see the end of armaments race.

At the same time, the participation of such leading personalities as Jean-Paul Sartre, Canon Collins etc., showed how the Moscow Congress recorded the views and sentiments of large sections of people in capitalist countries who do not see eye to eye with the socialist camp and the world communist movement.

The attempts to bring about disarmament in general and nuclear test ban in particular have so far failed because no agreement could be arrived at on the issue of control. Champions of peace have been greatly concerned as to how the deadlock that has persisted can be broken. The Moscow Congress demanded that this deadlock be broken on the basis of "no disarmament without control; no control without disarmament."

Soviet Prime Minister Khrushchov in his speech to the Moscow Congress declared on behalf of his Government that he was prepared to accept the formula suggested by the neutral powers in the Nuclear Tests Ban Conference. If only the Western powers were also prepared to accept the proposals advanced by the neutral powers and if, on the basis of those proposals they were prepared to sign a test ban treaty and agree to general and complete disarmament, the whole problem will be solved.

It is, however, clear that the Western Powers are not yet prepared for this. They still go on arguing that it is necessary to have what they call "fool-proof" system of inspection and control. They are doing this because they are anxious to have control without disarmament, rather than control over the implementation of disarmament.

It is, therefore, necessary that the people's movement for peace and disarmament is strengthened far more than it is today. Sections of people who are still outside the organised peace movement in any form, those who did not see their way to associate themselves with the Moscow Congress, should also be drawn into it now.

So far as India is concerned, it is a matter of satisfaction that the Gandhi Peace Foundation which convened an anti-nuclear arms convention in Delhi in June is continuing the work begun at the convention. It has taken the initiative to observe October 2 as an Anti-Nuclear Arms Day and to use it for a nationwide campaign against nuclear arms.

We hope that this will be the beginning of a broad non-sectarian movement of the Indian people for compelling the ruling circles of those countries who have not yet seen their way to accept the simple idea proclaimed in Moscow that the struggle for disarmament and peace is the most urgent task of the day.

(July 18, 1962)

*SEE BACK PAGE

20th Session Of I. L. C.

From August 7 to 9, the 20th session of the Indian Labour Conference (ILC) is scheduled to be held at Delhi.

This session will be interesting from many points of view. Among them, one is that this session will coincide with the date of the first Indian Labour Conference and as such carry a lot of historical importance. Secondly, in this conference, it is expected that on a number of issues, the representatives of central trade union organisations will stand together and oppose measures which are likely to curtail certain rights of the workers. At the same time they will press for measures aiming at further amelioration of workers' living and working conditions.

The issues on which the workers' representatives are expected to stand together are mainly two which particularly endeavour at curbing the rights of the work-

ers in respect of strikes and other forms of direct actions.

One of these two proposals, suggested by the Government of Andhra, contemplates declaration as illegal those "strikes which have nothing to do with the service conditions of the workers and are inspired by extraneous considerations".

The second proposal is in regard to amendment of the Code of Discipline "by imposing restrictions on hunger strike as such". This proposal has been put forward by the Government of West Bengal and supported by the Union Labour Ministry.

The Union Labour Ministry in a supplementary memorandum on this issue states: "... hunger strikes are still being resorted to for the redress of grievances of workers.

In no case was hunger strike justified as other avenues of settlement of disputes had not been fully utilised. The suggestion of the West Bengal Government that a hunger strike should be prohibited under the Code, accordingly deserves consideration of the Indian Labour Conference."

The other important item, on which the AITUC and INTUC have already protested in more or less similar terms, is the mode of recording by the Labour Ministry of the conclusions of tripartite committees and conferences. It has been alleged that the official recordings were sometimes at variance with the agreements arrived at and tended to favour the employers' point of view.

The 20th session of the ILC will also discuss another important item, which has been suggested by the AITUC, regarding appointment of a tripartite committee to report on wage

trends during the first and second Plan periods.

Besides that, considerable weight is attached to the issue of additional measures for protection against victimisation and reference of cases of victimisation to arbitration. This has been a bone of contention between the trade unions and the employers since a long time.

It may be recalled that in 1956, the Industrial Disputes Act was amended to effect relaxation of the provisions for protection of workmen during the pendency of industrial disputes. The amendment suited the employers and met their demand, for freedom to deal with workers' conditions of service and their conducts even during the pendency of industrial disputes, half way.

The present item in the agenda of the ILC will therefore reflect the two diverse demands; one of employers for further relaxation of the provisions of the Industrial Disputes Act and the other of trade unions for appropriate amendment to the Act so as to afford greater protection to workmen.

It should be noted in this connection that in April

1961 at the 19th session of the Standing Labour Committee a decision was taken to the effect that all cases of victimisation should be referred to arbitration but the employers went back on this decision later on the plea that it was not an agreed conclusion of the Committee.

The other items which are scheduled to be discussed in the forthcoming session of the ILC are: review of the working of the Code of Discipline; rights of recognised unions; various amendments proposed to existing labour laws; public sector representation on tripartite committees etc.

In the supplementary part of the agenda of the ILC is included, besides the AITUC-suggested item on appointment of a tripartite committee on wages study, the question of publication of a new series of Consumer Price Index numbers for industrial workers.

Besides the Government delegates, the employers and the workers sides will be represented in the Conference by nine delegates each.

Among the workers' representatives, five will be from INTUC, two from AITUC and one each from UTUC and HMS.

Greater Unity And Understanding Achieved

★ From Masood Ali Khan

MOSCOW, July 15:

The World Congress for Disarmament and Peace closed last evening in the Kremlin Palace amid scenes of great enthusiasm, outbursts of joy and a demonstration of magnificent unity never yet achieved by the peace forces of the world.

THE week of the Peace Congress in Moscow brought out that great and unlimited reserve of forces which stands for worldwide disarmament and impatiently demands that something be done. The Congress, its commissions and the free discussion that took place have suggested hundreds of ways in which the people can act to enforce disarmament on the unwilling and establish peace for all times in spite of the strivings of the forces of war.

The magnificent unity achieved in the end was more than even the most rosy optimist had expected. The main document of the Congress, the only document which was voted and adopted at the plenary session, is the message to the peoples of the world and for this moving historic document and an inspiring call to united action practically all the delegates and guests and observers voted in favour.

The proposal was put forward by Bernal that not sticking to formalities every one present must be given the opportunity to express his attitude to the appeal of the Congress. And out of 2195, 2186 voted in favour. Only two voted against and seven abstained. This near unanimity achieved was a great inspiration and an augury for the future which shows that in spite of diversity, world unity on the basic and urgent demands of the time is definitely possible.

Representatives of 121 countries were present at the World Congress. They came from 25 countries of Asia and from 37 countries of Africa. 25 countries of Latin America and 29 of Europe were represented. Never before had such a wide participation been achieved at a Congress of the forces of peace. And in view of the diversity of views represented the unity and common understanding arrived at is a tribute to the patient and businesslike work of the delegates, the commissions and the presidium.

Lifting the burden of the arms race would bring benefit to all. Disarmament would release resources that would be applied to raise the standard of living in all countries. Disarmament would save funds that could be applied to increase the rate of development of countries so far economically underdeveloped. Disarmament would involve the disappearance of all foreign military bases and the withdrawal of all foreign troops, thus aiding the peoples struggling for national independence. Disarmament must be general, complete and under strict international control. There can be no disarmament without control, no control without disarmament.

We have thoroughly studied the obstacles that hinder its realisation, and we know that people was simply amazing. "I am going back with a firm conviction that the Soviet Union earnestly desires peace. As a Socialist and radical humanist I feel it would be a grievous blunder on the part of Western democracies not to recognise

Some Views Of Indian Delegates

Immediately after the last session was over I asked some members of the Indian delegation to give their views on the work of the Congress and this is what they said:

Dr. Tara Chand: "The chief achievement of the Congress is the unity of purpose which prevailed among delegations which were composed of variety of parties and opinions. The near unanimity with which the message of the Congress was adopted is an augury for a bright future of the movement for peace and disarmament."

P. N. Sapr: "I think it was a great Congress and it was attended by men of distinction drawn from all parts of

the changes that have come about in Russia under Prime Minister Khrushchov's leadership.

"One of the remarkable features of the Congress was the large number of delegates from Africa. I think definitely that this Congress will help in creating a climate for peace in the world. I was also amazed at the ease and facility with which our Soviet

inspiration given by the Congress will help to lessen the present tension. The main thing that impressed me was the effort at every stage to compromise and bring out a unanimous statement. I think in this the Congress succeeded immensely. I hope the USA and other nuclear powers will also have a similar Congress. There is much food for thought in the speech of Khrush-

came from the United States; in fact it was the biggest delegation with 190 persons. They represented many different trends of the peace movement of America and were given all opportunities to put forward their views.

Homer Jack of the Committee for Struggle Against Nuclear Explosions (SANE for short) put forward the point of view of a number of peace groups and read a statement signed by 14 people which included A. J. Muste of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party and others. They said that on many questions they shared what they sensed to be the prevailing opinion of those attending the Congress.

They particularly sensed here the Soviet desire for peace. They called for growing confidence and communication among the peace movements of the world. They wanted that the peace movement should openly criticise the policies of the Governments of their own countries and challenge them to put peace as the first item on the agenda.

The peace movement in USA speaks to the Government, they said, and the World Council of Peace for its Government.

It was pointed out that there was no one government or any government so far for which the World Peace Council spoke. And as far as opposition to policies is concerned it was dependent on the fact whether the policy of a government was of peace or war. Not only the socialist countries but India and other neutrals had a peace movement which supported the foreign policy of their governments on the whole because it was a peace policy.

Fair Hearing: Freedom To speak

The main thing is that everybody was satisfied that they got a fair hearing and given full freedom to put forward views with utmost frankness. And as a result the wide agreement which was reflected in the voting was arrived at.

The other big delegations were Brazil 174, Great Britain 174, India 130, France 118, Italy 105, Japan 194, USSR 101.

Altogether there were 2482 participants of whom 754 were women, 340 scientists, 170 journalists, 123 medical profession, 100 writers etc.

There was a moving moment on the last evening when the Cuban delegation presented thirty thousand signatures of those who have just learnt to read and write and piled up the huge volumes on the table. The hall applauded in appreciation of this unique and magnificent presentation.

The commissions of the Congress have produced detailed proposals for cooperation and unity and for consolidated action in all spheres for disarmament. The Congress received many proposals

*SEE PAGE 14

PAGE THREE

SPOTLIGHT

Axiom Of Socialist Party's Convention

The Socialist Party's Convention, held last month at Gorakhpur, provided many interesting highlights which exposed the true character of Dr. Lohia's "radical revolutionary" party.

Among the theses presented to the delegates was one of "Castes" by Dr. Lohia himself. This document claimed that the Socialist Party was the first political party of India which has "really understood" the caste-system and launched a "nation-uplifting" policy of breaking it.

The thesis very profoundly divided the Indian population in two sections—the Upper caste and the Lower caste. About four and half to five crores of males constituted the upper caste while the lower caste, of about 37 crores people, was constituted by women, Shudras, Harijans, Adivasis and the lower castes among the minority communities.

The actual census for the upper castes will be about nine to ten crores, the thesis argues, "but policy dictates that women should not be counted among the upper caste. So the upper caste consisted of four and a half to five crore males only."

That this division into upper and lower castes was not Dr. Lohia's "original" way of presenting the division of the broad though unscientific division of rich and poor became clear when the thesis further analysed that there were only 50 lac wealthy and about five crore poor among the upper caste.

Dr. Lohia's thesis, finally, called for an inequality of opportunities between the castes. It said: "Some people, whether Congressites or Communists, parrot the West's or the Lohiaite's slogan of

equality of opportunity. They do not know caste-ridden India. Not equality of opportunity, but special privileges alone can smash the barriers created as a result of the casteist division of labour."

No comment, I think, it is needed.

EQUIDISTANCE AGAIN

Another thesis presented at the Convention by General Secretary Robi Roy was entitled "other parties".

The Socialist leader had a kind word to say about every party in his thesis except his ex-partners, the PSP. About them he said: "The PSP is a purely opportunistic and unprincipled party. It does not follow even its own policy-statement albeit the fact that the statement is a worthless document. Far from doing anything for socialism, the PSP was vitiating the political atmosphere in the country. Its existence as a political party is harmful for the country."

A good word or two was said in the thesis about the rest of the political parties. About the Communist Party it was said that the CPI was revolutionary "at least partially, in the sphere of property-relations."

His grouse against it, however, was that it was partial to the upper castes, "since it refused to subscribe to the principle of giving special opportunities to backward castes and communities."

Secondly, its "vicious circle of internationalism" (whatever that might mean) and inclination towards English constituted an obstacle.

But "if it reformed itself in the matter of violence and developed enough sense of civil liberties," then there should be no

reason why the Socialist and Communist parties must not unite!

And not only the CPI, the Socialist 'Sathis' could unite with the Jan Sangh also! The thesis declared: "If the RSS and the Jan Sangh mended their pro-trade interests and anti-Muslim ways then there is no reason why the Socialist Party and the Jan Sangh should not unite."

The question immediately arises: What can be the basis for the Socialist Party uniting with the Jan Sangh, which will brook no revolution in the present property relations, which is all for even the caste-system and which hates socialism like poison? How can the Lohiaites preach equidistance with the CPI wedded to Socialism, and Jan Sangh wedded to anti-socialism and worse?

Only an opportunist of the first water could commit himself to perform such juggling feats.

SANS IDEOLOGY!

It is not surprising that the Socialist Convention did highlight the opportunist overtones of the Lohia Dal. In a sharp speech, a delegate from U. P. said that the Socialist Party had no ideology or philosophy. He said:

"All that it gave in this field was the speeches of Lohiaji, speeches which are a perfect rigmarole. We had nothing which we might present to the people as our ideology. Secondly, members of the Socialist Party were undoubtedly a militant band. But what aim had this militancy? When there is no aim and no ideology then what was this militancy for?"

The Convention failed rather abjectly, to provide an answer to this challenging question.

—GARUDA

Bihar Governor's Interest In Adivasi Welfare

★ From Our Correspondent

The Bihar Governor Anantashayanam Ayyangar seems to be quite interested on issues of welfare of Adivasis to whom the State Government has promised so much since Independence but did so little or nothing.

THE Governor's anxieties were voiced at a recent meeting where he emphasised the question of economic upliftment of the Adivasis in Chotanagpur which has ample employment potential.

In the discussions, the top officials of Chotanagpur and spokesmen of the public sector industries in South Bihar, such as NCDC, Heavy Engineering Corporation, Small Scale Industries Board, High Tension Insulator Factory as also Chotanagpur Chamber of Commerce and District Educational Officers and heads of Training Institutes and the Employment Exchanges, took part.

The Governor was frank to deprecate "lip sympathies" and strongly advocated for the establishment of vocational training centres in the predominantly Adivasi areas. His suggestion was supported by the spokesmen of the NCDC and the HRC, who informed that the Adivasis in most cases were unskilled labourers and if they could not be provided with more lucrative posts, it was because of their paucity of knowledge in a trade.

Citing instances, the HRC spokesman said that out of 3,000 employees of the Corporation, only 350 were Adivasis, who were only meagrely trained. To add to the dismal picture, a District Education Officer said that in six training schools under him, only 148 students were available against 400 seats.

This, the Governor pointed out, evidently indicated that no incentive was there to bring into play among the Adivasis the necessary swing

from agricultural to technological needs. The Governor emphasised that the employers must utilise the existing training centres and the employment exchanges, instead of starting training institutes to meet their own particular needs.

They, the Governor added, could as well intimate to the institutes their particular needs to enable institutes to prepare the trainees accordingly and there should be a spirit of concurrence between the training centres and the employment exchanges.

The Governor also emphasised on the necessity of forming an Adivasi Welfare Committee, different from other similar committees which in the past, according to the Governor, were used more as forums for personal aggrandisement than anything to foster the cause of Adivasi welfare.

Since Governor Ayyangar assumed his gubernatorial powers in this caste-ridden State, his activities, however well-intentioned they might have been, became causes of discomfiture to some of his ministers.

The reason for the delay in taking the "hard nut" K. B. Sahay in the Jha Cabinet was also attributed to the reported dislike of the Governor towards Sahay's inclusion because of the latter's past and unpredictable future activities within the Cabinet.

The elevation of S. C. Taid, the only Adivasi Minister in Bihar Cabinet, to the Cabinet rank was also, it is learnt due to the strong recommendation of the Governor as a positive measure to help the administration.

Message to the Peoples of the World

The World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace closed in Moscow today. The Congress adopted the following message addressed to the peoples of the world:

WE have come to Moscow from the four corners of the world. We have various professions and differing convictions. We have for a week discussed with utmost frankness the questions arising from the danger of nuclear war that hangs over mankind.

This has helped us to know one another better and we are convinced that it is possible to find a way out of the situation that today threatens every country and every people.

The arms race increases tension and mistrust between nations. The tension and mistrust between nations promotes the arms race. A vicious circle has been created.

The destructive power of weapons grows more and more frightful, yet voices are heard demanding the unleashing of a preventive war. Nevertheless, we firmly believe that disarmament is not only imperative, it is possible. No longer is it merely a dream of the best minds of humanity. For the first time in history it has become a practical task facing each and every one of us.

Lifting the burden of the arms race would bring benefit to all. Disarmament would release resources that would be applied to raise the standard of living in all countries. Disarmament would save funds that could be applied to increase the rate of development of countries so far economically underdeveloped.

Disarmament would involve the disappearance of all foreign military bases and the withdrawal of all foreign troops, thus aiding the peoples struggling for national independence. Disarmament must be general, complete and under strict international control. There can be no disarmament without control, no control without disarmament.

We have thoroughly studied the obstacles that hinder its realisation, and we know that

its achievement will be hard. There are those who oppose even negotiations, some from blindness and inertia, others from private interests or from military ambition.

We are convinced, however, that all obstacles can be overcome. In every disarmament plan weak aspects can be pointed out, but we hold that it is better to agree on a compromise acceptable to all than to pursue the arms race.

However, experience has shown that it would be a dangerous illusion to believe that disarmament can come of itself. It is impossible to rely only on the diplomats and military specialists who put off discussions from year to year.

Only the efforts of the people of all lands can compel the statesmen to find a solution. Individual protests are not sufficient. It is time for a mighty movement of resistance to the arms race and all war preparations.

If humanity has escaped being plunged into nuclear war during the last 17 years, this is, above all, due to the tireless efforts of the people for peace.

But we must openly recognise that there are still many who stand aside from active struggle against the arms race. There are still many not alert to its dangers; many who have not yet realised the full seriousness of its threat, nor their responsibility for saving peace.

And to all these we say: "Realise the dangers of the days in which we live, join the ranks of those who are fighting for disarmament and peace."

Time does not wait. Thermo-nuclear weapons may soon be found in the arsenals of dozens of countries, and the improvement of the means of delivering such weapons may make control impossible.

We are firmly opposed to all testing of nuclear bombs and similar devices, firstly be-

cause of their threat to life and health of this and future generations, and secondly because they increase the tempo of the arms race.

We appeal to the governments of all the nuclear powers. We call on them to reach, without delay, agreement on the renunciation of all tests of nuclear weapons and conclude a treaty banning forever all such tests everywhere—in the atmosphere, in outer space, underground and under water.

This would be the first step towards the complete prohibition and elimination of all nuclear arms and the means of delivering them. Our chief and urgent task is the conclusion by the governments of a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict international control.

We, therefore, call for businesslike and practical discussions on all the plans put forward, enabling the swift conclusion of the treaty.

Under the pressure of public opinion, and thanks to the action of the uncommitted countries, the positions of the chief negotiating powers in respect to the principles of disarmament have to a certain extent come closer.

But serious differences of opinion are still producing deadlock. Only if the peoples intensify their pressure can a treaty be secured.

It is for the forces of peace to set an example towards bringing about better understanding and removing mistrust. To this task we believe our Congress has made a powerful contribution. Ways must be found, appropriate to every country and every organisation, to follow up this beginning.

Passivity harms the cause of peace. On all of us depends the dawn of the day when mankind will be liberated from the threat of nuclear death.

We who want peace are many. If we all should act, and if all who act should act together in friendship, we could clear the road to our common aim — enduring peace.

We were very happy here and the cordiality and kindness shown to us will be remembered gratefully.

A new and pleasant feature of the Congress was that a large number of participants

NEW AGE

SIGNIFICANT OMISSION.

The National Executive of the Praja Socialist Party had a two-day sitting in Bombay on July 14 and 15. It adopted resolutions on several important questions facing the country. Taxation, foreign exchange crisis, influx from Pakistan, Kashmir, India-China relations, Kerala—all these were discussed and resolutions adopted on them.

There is, however, a significant omission from the list of subjects discussed by the Executive: it did not express its opinion on the unceasing hostility shown by the Western powers, headed by the United States, to our Government on a number of issues.

The Executive was meeting at a time when Finance Minister Morarji Desai was going from one West European country to another to 'explain' India's 'conduct' in relation to Goa, Kashmir, MIG fighter purchase etc.

Such explanation has become necessary if they are to grant us their 'aid'. At the same time, across the Atlantic, US Senators, Congressmen and editors of American newspapers were openly proclaiming their hostility to our Government and debating whether it was worthwhile to grant us 'aid'.

Almost the entire national press in our country and the majority of our politically-thinking people have made it clear beyond doubt that these activities of the Western powers are nothing but crude attempts to interfere in our internal politics.

They were giving expression to the firm determination of our people that these efforts of the West shall not be allowed to succeed. This spirit of the nation found its echo in the closing dates of the Parliament session in which the treasury benches and opposition unanimously endorsed the Government's stand on all these questions.

US AND KASHMIR

It is difficult to understand how a body which considers the latest developments in Kashmir (as the PSP Executive was doing) has not a word to say regarding the crude tactics adopted by the United States and her allies.

For the essence of these recent developments was the fact that the United States did its utmost to have the Kashmir problem brought up once again before the Security Council; it did its utmost to prevail upon its friends in the United Nations to agree to the adoption of a resolution which would have meant forcing India to submit to the US dictates.

It was with reference to this that the Prime Minister made a scathing criticism of the United States on the last day of the recent session of Parliament.

The resolution adopted by the PSP Executive refers to the mounting antipathy towards India being built up in Pakistan. It adds that "the policies of that country seem to be evolved with the sole purpose of isolating and harming India".

It also refers to "reactivation of the Kashmir issue in the United Nations", but has nothing to say about the US without whose support this reactivation could not have taken place.

The resolution mentions "the new-found collaboration with China to further aggressive designs", but conveniently forgets

NOTES OF THE WEEK

that Pakistan received and is still receiving moral and material support from the United States to a very large extent.

AYUB'S OWN ADMISSION

At the very time when the PSP Executive was adopting its resolution on Kashmir, President Ayub Khan of Pakistan was himself telling the world frankly what he was really banking upon. A Karachi despatch of the 'Times of India News Service' reports a speech delivered by the Pakistan President at Khanewal on July 15.

That speech is full of confidence; that "an occasion can arise, taking advantage of which Pakistan may be able to solve the dispute peacefully".

The threat to the peace of the region had induced the United States to seek a solution of the problem — obviously the solution offered by its representative in the Security Council and rejected by India.

But, Ayub Khan adds, "Unfortunately the freedom gained by the Brahmins of India after a thousand years has gone to their head". The President is confident that India has not said the last word.

"The day would come", he goes on, "when an Indian leader would realise that the solution of the Kashmir problem was but a smaller price to pay for securing the friendship of Pakistan".

In other words, the Pakistan leader is angry that India refused on this occasion to abide by the US directive. He, however, hopes that, the more the screw is tightened, the more will India be forced to reconsider its stand, the more will be the possibility of a new leadership emerging in India, prepared to surrender the sovereignty to United States imperialism.

It is difficult to believe that the PSP leaders are unaware of the link up between the Pakistan rulers and the Western imperialist powers. The omission in their resolution on Kashmir of the role played by the US and its western allies, therefore, sounds ominous.

PSP AND ITS PARTNER IN KERALA

The PSP Executive's resolution on the coalition Government in Kerala is such that ordinary Praja Socialists will find difficulty in endorsing it.

The immediate reaction of the Chairman of the Kerala State unit of the PSP was unfavourable to the proposals made by Lal Bahadur Shastri to solve the Kerala problem. He said that those proposals would be unworkable. That this was the view of many of his colleagues has become known and has been widely reported in the press.

Two district units of the PSP in Kerala — those of Trivandrum and Trichur — have gone on record against the 'Shastri formula'. They have stated that the proposals included in that formula are against democratic principles.

They also allege that "the suggestions put forward by Shastri were an attempt to isolate the PSP and remove it from the coalition".

The National Executive too is not very happy about the acceptance of the Shastri formula and continuance of the Ministry on that basis.

To the directive that was given to the State unit that it should continue in the Government, the Executive added a significant proviso, "if the Congress partner in the coalition Ministry co-operated in evolving close unity in administration".

This being a vague formula, pressmen naturally asked the leaders for an explanation and the reply they got was that "it meant the PSP was not anxious to cling to power and the position in Kerala would be reviewed again if the objective for which the coalition was formed was not being achieved".

The Executive is, however, clear in its mind that the coalition should continue if it can. For, "it was installed in the State in response to the wishes of the people with clear mandate to ward off the threat to democracy. These threats still remain and have become more menacing".

"The coalition government must function with the realisation that it was guarding a vital frontier of democracy. Without that awareness in administration, its raison d'être would be lost".

The PSP Executive thus admits that it is extremely difficult for them to continue in the coalition; their Congress partners are so difficult to work with. Nevertheless, PSP Ministers should put up with all indignities and humiliations and carry on. Such is the logic of anti-Communism.

The question is: Will this be acceptable to PSP ranks?

AKALI RIFT

There had, for some time, been reports about a serious rift developing in the leadership of the Akali Dal. That rift has now come into the open.

Involved in the dispute are two of the top-most leaders of the Dal — Master Tara Singh and Sant Fateh Singh. According to the Express News Service, "Master Tara Singh, apparently sad and broken, endeavoured to conceal his disappointment at Sant Fateh Singh's open revolt."

He said that he could have made Sant Fateh Singh the President of the Shiromani Akali Dal, but the Sant was 'too much under the influence of Mr. Gill, who was the Congress agent among the Akalis'.

Charges and counter-charges are being levelled by the two groups against each other. Reports are also appearing that the dissidents may hold their own conference and form their separate organisation.

The next election to the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee to be held in November is expected to be keenly fought. The dissidents are openly expressing their hope that "Master Tara Singh's henchmen" will be dislodged.

The statements made by the leaders of the two groups make it clear that the struggle between them is not based on any ideological or political differences. They all subscribe to the basic ideology of Sikh religion and its domination over politics.

It is a characteristic feature of organisations like the Akali Dal that their internal differences are sought to be resolved through the arbitration of the religious hierarchy.

The dispute that arose in the Akali ranks after Master Tara Singh's fast — the dispute as to

whether Masterji went against religious injunctions when he broke the fast — was referred to the supreme religious tribunal of the Sikhs, i.e., the Five Piyaras of the Akal Takht.

That tribunal gave its verdict against Masterji and prescribed the punishment to be meted out to him which was duly accepted by him.

The present dispute between Master Tara Singh and the dissidents is also sought to be resolved in the same way. One of the dissidents, Jeevan Singh Umranangal, is reported to have demanded that all the charges levelled against him should be referred to the Piyaras.

It is this approach to politics — making religion the dominant force in political affairs — that vitiates the entire political atmosphere of the Punjab. It is this that makes the Punjabi Suba, as interpreted by Master Tara Singh, unacceptable to the non-Sikhs.

That is why the Communists and other democrats who believe in the principles of secularism have been asking the Sikh masses to join hands with the non-Sikh masses on the basis of a programme of democracy and secularism.

It appears that neither the dominant leadership nor the dissident Akalis are prepared to respond to this call of democracy and secularism.

STATES Vs CENTRE ON PROHIBITION

It is difficult to understand why the Planning Commission should call on the State Governments to introduce total prohibition and offer to them that the Centre would be prepared to bear 50 per cent of the losses.

This call, coupled with the

offer, is made at a time when the financial position of the Centre as well as of all the States is extremely difficult. Many of the State Governments are being forced to take huge amounts from the Reserve Bank by way of overdrafts which the Centre is insisting should all be paid back immediately.

Both the States as well as the Centre are using all their ingenuity in order to find out new sources of taxation. These measures of new taxation are meeting with increasing resistance from the opposition and are also being sharply criticised inside the ranks of the Congress party itself.

It is, therefore, not surprising that the majority of State Governments have expressed their inability to introduce total prohibition unless the Central Government was prepared to bear not only the entire loss of excise revenue but also cost of enforcement of prohibition.

Two State Governments — those of Kerala and Mysore — are reported to have asked also for additional financial aid to start industries in order that alternative employment may be provided to toddy tappers.

Not one person would find fault with the State Governments for the stand that they have taken. For, after all, it is the State Governments that have to bear the burden of the policy directive given by the Centre.

The question is: Would the Central Government consider it worthwhile to accept these conditions laid down by the State Governments — and see that the entire country is made dry at tremendous costs to the Central exchequer?

If it does, there is the further question: How are the deficits of the Centre going to be covered? Would new burdens of taxation be levied on the people in order to cover these deficits?

If that is how the Central Government proposes to introduce total prohibition, there is no doubt that there will be acute discontent against that policy.

— E. M. S. Namboodiripad

Assam Youth Festival

*FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

SHILLONG:

A youth and students festival, with a two-day programme of procession, meeting, symposium and various cultural items, was held at Gauhati on July 7 and 8 in honour of the forthcoming World Festival of Youth and Students for peace and friendship.

On July 7 a peace procession paraded the main streets of Gauhati town and after the procession terminated, the festival flag was hoisted in the premises of Nabin Bordoloi hall by Haren Kalita, a social worker of Gauhati.

In the evening a symposium was held in the same hall on the subject of "World Peace and Disarmament". Narayan Bhattacharyya presided over it. Profs. A. Sharma, D. P. Barua and Haren Kalita, among others, participated in the discussion.

The Gauhati unit of the IPTA contributed a colourful cultural show in which the Gauhati Youth Theatre Centre and some other noted artistes of the town also took part.

The next morning a delegates session was held. Two

resolutions on World Peace and National Integration were adopted in the session. The following four delegates were selected to participate in the Helsinki festival: Pradip Barua, Jiten Pukhan, Dilip Mazumdar, and Kulesh Bhattacharyya.

The festival was organised by a Preparatory Committee. It was also decided to keep the Preparatory Committee as a permanent body until a permanent youth organisation was formed in Assam.

A friendly football match was held between two teams. In the evening of July 8 another symposium was held on National Integration. Satish Kakoti, Editor, "Assom Bani", a veteran Congressman and Chairman, Gauhati Municipal body took the chair. Gaurishankar Bhattacharyya, a Communist leader of Assam was the main speaker.

Bhattacharyya in his speech explained the significance of preserving the integration of the country and made a passionate appeal to the youths and the common people to work for national integration.

A literary competition was also held along with the festival.

ASSAM NEWSLETTER

* From Madhusudan Bhattacharyya

FLOOD DEVASTATION: TRADERS REVEL IN MISERY

The whole of the Brahmaputra valley is now in the grip of floods. Even according to official figures, nearly one lakh families have been affected by floods in the six districts of the valley.

DEATH roll has mounted to 61 till the time of writing this, according to reports received here.

While some improvement has been reported from some of the districts of upper Assam, the situation in Kamrup and Goalpara districts is stated to be very serious. Goalpara has faced the havoc last, but the condition there is said to be the worst at the moment.

Loss of human life apart, cattle also have been lost heavily. In some areas flood water has been receding, but the people who had to leave their home and hearth could not yet return. While their immediate problem is of existence, they are also faced with a more serious problem of rehabilitation after their return to their respective homes.

"Ahu" paddy (summer crop), jute and seedlings of "sali" (winter crop) paddy have been extensively damaged. Large tracts of land have been eroded. Yet another problem is created by silt that has covered the corn fields. To make these fields fit for cultivation again, considerable time, energy and money will be required. Even with that the immediate future is stated to be rather bleak. It is, therefore, apprehended that agricultural production in the next year will be very seriously affected and consequently, the State will be faced with shortage of food crop next year.

Disrupted communication has been only partially restored. But even now North-Lakhimpur subdivision remains by and large out of reach. Reports of devastation from that subdivision have also not been coming. Official sources here could not give even an approximate idea about it.

Marooned people are yet to be rescued from some of the places. Together with human beings, cattle population has also been marooned. Scarcity of fodder has hit the cattle population very seriously.

Though official sources claim that steps are being taken to prevent any epidemic that may follow the flood, reports from districts

indicate that preventive measures are not yet as extensive as they should have been. Even district officials who are directly responsible for relief operation complain that resources placed at their disposal are far from adequate.

The Government however, claim that the district officials have been given a free hand to conduct relief even without waiting for formalities. But it is pointed out that such resources for disposal are very meagre, and unless more resources are placed at the disposal of the district administration, they may not be able to cope with the situation.

Prices of all essential commodities, as reported earlier, have been still rising. Government steps to check rising prices are not yet felt by affected people. They have to bear the burden of the rising prices. Government claim that they have an "adequate stock" of food grains in their godowns. Moreover, five thousand tons of rice is said to have been already despatched to Assam by the Central Gov-

ernment. The State Government have requested the Union Government to send another 2,500 tons of rice.

While all these are welcome, as far as they go, price has been mounting all the same. Unscrupulous traders no doubt have seized upon this opportunity and it is no secret that these traders are often helped by some officials also.

That apart, there seems to be rather inadequate appreciation of the situation even by the Government. For, recently an official spokesman sought to explain away the current rise in prices as a "seasonal phenomenon" and he did not think it to be a matter of any serious concern.

To check various malpractices in relief operation, it is felt here that non-officials, irrespective of their political affiliation, should be associated with relief work. Some initiative in this direction has been reported from a few places.

It is also felt here that to supplement official relief measures, effort should be made to secure non-official help from all over the country. People in the rest of the country should be called upon to stand by the victims of flood in Assam.

Factional Tussle Continues In Assam

The tussle between the two factions of Assam Congress culminated in an abortive attempt by the anti-ministerial group to dislodge the present cabinet towards the jag end of the budget session of the State Assembly.

This is said to be the real reason why the session of the Assembly was adjourned before schedule, though ostensibly the session was adjourned to enable members to visit their respective constituencies following the flood havoc.

The anti-ministerial group, it may be recalled, opened their fire against the ministry for its alleged failure to check Pakistani infiltration into Assam. In fact, spokesmen of this faction accused the

Government of abetting the infiltration. This open attack against the ministry began from the very start of the session and continued throughout.

The anti-ministerialists also could exploit the prevalent prejudice among Congressmen in general against a particular Muslim minister. In the background of the prevalent feeling among the people about Pakistani infiltration, this persistent attack on the ministry could win for the

MARMAGOA HARBOUR STRIKE

* From Our Correspondent

The four-day strike at the Marmagoa harbour in Goa, which ended on July 4, was a significant one in terms of unity.

As reported earlier, the strike was called off, following an assurance given by the Lt. Governor of Goa, Daman and Diu to settle up the grievances of the workers. He also assured that there would be no victimisation of the workers who had gone on strike.

The Governor, in an interview on July 5 with a five-man delegation from the Marmagoa Port, Dock and Transport Workers Union, which led the strike, expressed his strong disapproval of the show cause notices which the employers had issued earlier to the striking workers.

It is reported that he categorically referred to the "provocative" notices issued by Chowgule & Co., who are quite notorious for their anti-labour activities and have currently dismissed the Union President Naguesh Naik.

During the course of strike, a complete general hartal was observed on July 3 at Marmagoa and Vasco-da-Gama towns against the police excesses and for solidarity with the striking workers.

There were two instances where police had resorted to brutal lathi charge on the workers. Other attempts to intimidate the workers were also freely used. But these actions failed to break the unity of the workers and the port remained deserted during the days of strike.

Since the liberation of

Steps To Extend Indian Labour Laws In Goa

The Ministry of External Affairs have initiated steps for extending the important labour laws to Goa. This was indicated in a letter sent to S. A. Dange, General Secretary, AITUC, by the Union Labour Minister, G. L. Nanda.

In connection with the recent strikes in the Marmagoa port and mines in Goa, S. A. Dange had written letters to the Union Labour Minister and the Prime Minister, on July 5, in which he had stated:

"In the absence of Indian laws as confer trade union and democratic rights on the people there, any democratic activity of any section of the people becomes a subject matter of only police attention.

"And the ruling officials, even if they wish to deal with the matter in any other way by using Indian precedents and practice in such matters as recognition of unions, minimum wages, weekly holidays, medical facilities, etc., are perhaps handicapped by the fact that Indian laws are not valid in their region."

Dange pointed out that "it is but natural that the workers, after being liberated from Portuguese type of fascist rule, should feel a

sense of freedom and a desire to improve their conditions. And when the authorities did not pay attention to this desire and the employers threatened to pursue the same old methods, the workers naturally replied back with strikes."

Under the Portuguese laws, there is no provision for trade unions as such. The present authorities, when confronted by the workers, point this out to them and tell them that their activities as a union are illegal "according to law".

S. A. Dange said: "Goa is now a part of Indian territory and has got two members in the Parliament. It is time that the basic laws of the Indian Union are made available and valid for Goa, Daman and Diu and Nagar Haveli."

In his reply, dated July 12, G. L. Nanda said: "We are all concerned about the strikes in Goa. I fully agree with you that the more important labour laws should be extended to Goa as early as possible.

"As a matter of fact, at our instance, the External Affairs Ministry have already initiated steps for extending such laws including the Trade Unions Act and the Industrial Disputes Act."

anti-ministerial group some supporters.

For nearly two years, the anti-ministerial group has been assailing the Chaliha cabinet on the issue of Pakistani infiltration. Their campaign was also backed by a section of the Press. This has led to some results now. There is now almost a panic among a good section of non-Muslim population of the State that the State is being overwhelmed by Pakistani Muslims. Not all the supporters of the Chaliha cabinet are free from this feeling, though they have stood by the ministry from other considerations.

Among the supporters of the cabinet also there are some disgruntled elements who had been earlier assured of inclusion in the cabinet. A decision about further expansion of the cabinet — already the present Chaliha cabinet is the biggest ever in the State — was to be taken during the Budget Session. But the ruling group could not arrive at any decision. First, it felt shaky about further expansion of the cabinet. Secondly, the choice was also not easy, there being too many claimants.

This also helped the anti-ministerial group to rope in some of those who hitherto

had been supporting the ruling group. Thus the anti-ministerial group felt assured of a majority in the Assembly party. They therefore began to prepare for forcing no-confidence against the Chief Minister, Chaliha.

In the Legislative wing of the party, the ruling faction of Chaliha commanded support of 49 members as against 30 of the anti-ministerial group, according to informal sources. This time the balance tilted against the ministerial group heavily and it was reduced to a minority, it is said.

But the ministerial group could scent the move of its rival faction in time. It made a counter-move which foiled the bid for power of its rivals. Quite a few of those who had sided with the anti-ministerial group became prodigal sons. The anti-ministerial group's move fizzled out and it had to beat a retreat.

The Ministry escaped unhurt. But it suffered a serious shake-up. It also felt that if the session of the Assembly, continued, the "conspirators" would have again tried to regroup its forces. Meanwhile flood came in a devastating way. The ruling faction found it

*ON PAGE 12



View of the rally on July 3.



A sectional view of July 11 demonstration. Seen at the front, among others, are Indrajit Gupta, MP, Md. Ismail, Md. Elias MP, Manoranjan Roy and Hiren Mukherjee MP.

Anti-test Demonstration, Power Shortage And Railway Economy

A big demonstration of the citizens of Calcutta marched to the U. S. Consulate in the city on July 11 to express their strong condemnation of the high-altitude nuclear test carried out by the U. S. Government two days earlier.

THE call for this demonstration was given by the West Bengal Peace Council. The Communist Party, B.P.T.U.C., eleven big mass organisations and twenty students' organisations issued statements appealing to all sections of the people to participate in the demonstration.

Members of Parliament, State Legislatures and Calcutta Corporation, teachers and professors, students and youth workers and middle-class employees, artists and intellectuals and members and leaders of different political parties took part in the demonstration, which was undoubtedly one of the most representative demonstrations.

One of the most striking features of the protest action was the participation of a very large number of women, mostly working women and middleclass housewives.

Earlier, a meeting was held at the Calcutta maidan and a resolution condemning the high-altitude test and urging upon the US Government to desist from carrying out any further test was adopted.

The demonstration then

marched to the U. S. Consulate where it was stopped by a police cordon about 200 yards from the office of the Consulate.

A deputation on behalf of the demonstrators then went to the Consulate and handed over the resolution passed at the meeting to a Consulate Official.

The resolution adopted at the meeting said that the citizens of Calcutta strongly protested against the high-altitude nuclear test recently carried out by the U. S. Government.

The test, the resolution further said, had been carried out at a time when disarmament talks were going on in Geneva. It was an evidence of the intention of the U. S. Government to drag the world from the path of disarmament to that of cold war and arms race.

It emphasised that the test was fraught with serious consequences for the health and life of the entire humanity. Prominent scientists in the USA, as well as in other countries, had warned against such tests. But the U. S. Government disregarded their warnings.

The resolution further pointed out that the recent test had closed, at least temporarily, the doors to enter space for the cosmonauts who, by their heroic adventures, were exploring new horizons of science.

"For all these reasons, we, men and women of different political and religious beliefs and coming from diverse walks of life, strongly condemn the action of the U. S. Government. We know that all honest people of the U. S. A. itself are doing the same. We hope the Government of the USA will still have the good sense of desisting from any further test", the resolution concluded.

The West Bengal Government has written to the Centre to take immediate steps to alleviate the serious hardships caused in the Calcutta region as a result of an acute shortage of electrical power.

THE demand for power, especially by industrial consumers, has grown rapidly in the past two years. It is

estimated to have gone up by 15 per cent per year. But the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation (CESC) is unable to meet the demand.

The CESC, therefore, recently proposed a 15 per cent cut in the supplies given to "bulk consumers", especially the jute and the engineering industries.

The State Government's Electric Supply Control Advisory Committee at its meeting on July 9; however, decided to postpone the enforcement of the proposed cut, as it would sharply reduce the country's foreign exchange earnings.

The Committee was of the opinion that if the emergency measures ordered by the State Government last year—pegging of the demand in the peak-load period (5 p.m. to 10 p.m.) and staggering of working hours—were followed by all industrial consumers, there might not be any difficulty in meeting the current total demand for power and in avoiding the suggested 15 per cent cut.

But these orders had been violated very frequently, the Committee noted.

The Committee, therefore, directed its Chairman to take up the matter with the Government and suggested how strict observance of the restrictive orders could be ensured. If these measures are strictly enforced, power supplies to over 150 medium and small concerns in and around Calcutta will be stopped during the peak load period.

The Committee also decided to take away the powers given to the CESC to allow new connections for power supplies up to 100 KW. Henceforth all applications for such connections except those for domestic consumption, will have to be referred to the Committee for approval.

The Committee further pointed out that efforts should be made to augment power supply to the Calcutta region at least for a fortnight from the Damodar Valley Corporation. In excess of its contractual obligation of supplying 99 MW to the CESC.

tive present at the meeting said that under the existing circumstances, it would not be possible for the Corporation to step up its supply to Calcutta.

It is now quite evident that power position in the Calcutta region has become extremely acute despite the contention of the Electric Supply Control Advisory Committee that the current demand for power can be met if the measures ordered by the Government last year are strictly enforced.

The seriousness of the present power position is underlined by the fact that the West Bengal Government has not only appealed to the Centre to take immediate steps to ease the power shortage; but also decided to make a direct approach to the Bihar Government to help it to tide over the present crisis.

An "economy drive" was launched on the Indian Railways from October 1, 1958. The public had warmly welcomed determined efforts to eliminate wasteful expenditure and to plug the loopholes for leakages.

BUT, inscrutable are the ways of bureaucrats and things therefore have moved in a strange way.

Experience over the past three and a half years on different railways shows that the axe has invariably fallen heavily on the poorly-paid subordinate staff, while many new posts, carrying fat salaries, have been created to suit the convenience of top officials.

Some of the measures taken on the South-Eastern Railway will suffice to show how the "economy drive" is being conducted in actual practice.

Kharagpur, about 72 miles from Calcutta, is a big centre of the S. E. Railway where its main workshop is located. In 1955, there were 800 sweepers for 8,000 railway quarters.

Recruitment of sweepers has been banned since the



Md. Elias, MP, addressing the gathering following stoppage of procession by police.

But the DVC representa-

*SEE PAGE 11

THREE-LANGUAGE FORMULA

The U. P. Government's decision to defer the introduction of the three-language formula would ordinarily have not caused any surprise.

FOR, it is not unusual for the State or Central Governments to change the dates of the implementation of a particular scheme decided to be started on a particular day. Very rare, in fact, is the case of a particular project included in Five Year Plans being implemented on the day originally fixed for it.

But the reason for this decision of the U. P. Government on the three-language formula stands on a different footing. It should indeed cause surprise.

The three-language formula, as is known, makes it obligatory for every school boy and girl to learn three languages—the regional language, Hindi and English. In the case of those in the Hindi-speaking regions, they have to learn another non-Hindi language selected from the other 13 regional languages included in the Constitution.

The U.P. Government had decided to implement the formula this year. It has, however, now realised that its implementation bristles with practical difficulties. The main difficulty is said to be the non-availability of teachers.

"During the working out of the details for the introduction of the three-language formula", says an Agency report, "it was found that, in case each student was given the choice of choosing his third language from amongst the 13 spoken languages mentioned in the 7th Schedule of the Constitution, each school would have to employ at least 13 language teachers which was not possible.

"In case the schools were given the choice to select one of the regional languages for the teaching, a section of students—mainly children of Government servants who have to migrate from city to city after every three or four years—might be put to difficulty. There was every possibility that the language that the student was studying in his previous school might not be taught in any school in the new city". (National Herald, July 5).

Another difficulty is stated to be that, Urdu being one of the 13 regional languages, the three-language formula as proposed to be applied in U. P. would be implemented if a child in the Hindi region takes Urdu as the third language.

Two Interpretations

But the question arises: How is it possible that a decision was taken on the three-language formula in such a way as to give rise to two interpretations—the original interpretation that children in the U. P. Schools should be given the option to choose from 13 languages and the subsequent interpretation according to which they need be given the choice only from the four South Indian languages?

Which of these two is the correct interpretation according to the body which evolved the three-language formula—the Chief Ministers' Conference of June 1961?

The responsibility for lack of clarity on this question should be borne fully by the Central Government and the all-India leaders of the Congress Party. For lack of clarity was inherent in the formula itself and the way in which it came to be evolved.

The three-language formula, although correct in its essence, was not the result of a thorough scientific analysis of the linguistic problem in our country.

It was, on the other hand, the result of a compromise between those who want English to continue indef-

initely, those who want to replace English by Hindi and those who want to have it replaced by the regional language.

Being such a compromise, those who evolved the three-language formula are naturally by no means clear, by no means united, on how to put it into practice. The two interpretations successively given by the U.P. Government are only one example of the essential weakness of the formula itself.

It is, therefore, difficult to believe that even the new decision will be put into practice throughout the Hindi-speaking regions. One does not even know for certain whether it will be put into practice in the U. P. itself.

For, even in accordance with the new decision, each of the 6,000 Higher Secondary and Junior schools in U. P. will have to appoint one teacher for each of the four South Indian languages. While this reduces the practical difficulty to one third (since the number of additional teachers to be appointed is being reduced from 12 to 4), it is likely to raise certain new problems.

Why Preferential Treatment?

Questions are likely to be raised as to why the four South Indian languages should be given preferential treatment over the other eight regional languages. What is now proposed as a measure of national integration between north and south can, therefore, lead to a matter of dispute between Hindi and South Indian languages on the one hand and eight regional languages on the other.

Alternatively, it is also not unlikely that, because of the practical difficulty of finding a sufficient number of teachers, text books, etc., for the four South Indian languages their number is subsequently reduced.

Above all the solution now offered by the U. P. government, even if accepted and implemented in the entire Hindi-speaking regions, will not lead to a rational solution of the linguistic problem which has recently led to acute tension.

The furious controversy that developed at the time of the adoption of the Constitution; the virtual united front of representatives from all the non-Hindi speaking regions against the fixation of 1965 as the date on which Hindi becomes the all-India official language; the fact that this opposition forced the Government to postpone the date; the anti-Hindi demonstrations in Madras—all these are the expressions of an urge among the common people which cannot be stopped by such simple devices as the teaching of South Indian languages in the Hindi-speaking regions.

This urge has to be understood, its reasons analysed and concrete measures taken to satisfy it if the linguistic question is to be solved.

The Indian National Congress had taken a sober and

realistic stand on the question of language before independence. It then stood for a policy of replacing English by the Indian languages.

Its leaders encouraged the use of the provincial languages as the media through which political, economic and other ideas were to be conveyed to the common people. They fostered their development as vehicles through which scientific and other modern knowledge was to be transmitted to the people.

Speaking and writing in one's own language in order that what one has in one's mind is made known to the people—this became an article of faith for the patriotic and national-minded people all over the country.

The common people in all parts of the country were thus given to understand that attainment of independence would be followed by the use of their respective languages for all public purposes.

It was within this context that the national movement undertook the task of propagating Hindi as *Rashtra Bhasha*. This term was not meant in the sense that Hindi will occupy the position which English had enjoyed under the British.

It meant that Hindi will be the medium of communication between those who want to convey their ideas

While thus neglecting the task of developing the regional languages, the Central Government took energetic steps to make preparations for transition from English to Hindi as the all-India language. Through a series of legislative and executive measures, they made it known throughout the country that those in the non-Hindi speaking regions who have to do anything with the Central Government will now have to learn Hindi and use it as they had to do formerly with English.

At the same time, neither the Central Government nor the State Governments headed by the Congress party took practical measures to have a corresponding development of the non-Hindi languages. The Central Government spent crores and crores of rupees for the production of text books, reference books, glossaries, etc., in Hindi but did not bother themselves to see as to whether similar work was being done in the non-Hindi languages and whether the State Governments required any assistance in this respect.

The total effect of all these measures taken by the Central Government is the feeling among the non-Hindi speaking people that Hindi is sought to be made the dominant language all over India. What is required is to remove the ground for this feeling, to take energetic measures to develop all the regional languages in the country and, together with it, Hindi.

These measures should be so planned that the transition from English to the regional languages at the State and lower levels can be brought about simultaneously with the transition to Hindi at the Central level.

The need for a common all-India plan for such a simultaneous transition to Hindi at the Centre and to regional languages at the State and lower levels cannot be obviated by such ingenious formulae as the teaching of regional languages in the Hindi speaking regions.

Some of them, in their misplaced enthusiasm for Hindi as the *Rashtra Bhasha*, tried to give Hindi the position which English had enjoyed under British rule. This, naturally, roused the hostility of the people of the non-Hindi speaking regions.

The Indian National Congress had taken a sober and

Some others in the leadership of the Congress Party trotted out the argument of practical expediency and took the stand that English cannot and should not be replaced by the regional language.

Furious controversies raged between the two sections of the leadership in the Congress Party. But, in this controversy, the most essential element of the pre-independence approach to the linguistic question was abandoned—the approach was of helping every regional language to so develop as to be capable of conveying all the complex ideas of modern scientific knowledge and business and administrative practice.

Main Task Neglected

While thus neglecting the task of developing the regional languages, the Central Government took energetic steps to make preparations for transition from English to Hindi as the all-India language. Through a series of legislative and executive measures, they made it known throughout the country that those in the non-Hindi speaking regions who have to do anything with the Central Government will now have to learn Hindi and use it as they had to do formerly with English.

It meant that Hindi will be the medium of communication between those who want to convey their ideas

Questions are likely to be raised as to why the four South Indian languages should be given preferential treatment over the other eight regional languages. What is now proposed as a measure of national integration between north and south can, therefore, lead to a matter of dispute between Hindi and South Indian languages on the one hand and eight regional languages on the other.

Alternatively, it is also not unlikely that, because of the practical difficulty of finding a sufficient number of teachers, text books, etc., for the four South Indian languages their number is subsequently reduced.

Above all the solution now offered by the U. P. government, even if accepted and implemented in the entire Hindi-speaking regions, will not lead to a rational solution of the linguistic problem which has recently led to acute tension.

The furious controversy that developed at the time of the adoption of the Constitution; the virtual united front of representatives from all the non-Hindi speaking regions against the fixation of 1965 as the date on which Hindi becomes the all-India official language; the fact that this opposition forced the Government to postpone the date; the anti-Hindi demonstrations in Madras—all these are the expressions of an urge among the common people which cannot be stopped by such simple devices as the teaching of South Indian languages in the Hindi-speaking regions.

This urge has to be understood, its reasons analysed and concrete measures taken to satisfy it if the linguistic question is to be solved.

The Indian National Congress had taken a sober and

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The Indian National Congress had taken a sober and

by E. M. S. Namboodiripad

to their brethren in some other part of the country where their own language is not known.

So far as the process of communication inside a particular region is concerned (including its use for official and educational purposes), it will have to be in the language of that region. There was thus no contradiction between Hindi as *Rashtra Bhasha* and the regional language as the language of education and official work within a particular region.

Root Of All Difficulties

It is the failure of the leaders of the Congress Party to act in this spirit after the attainment of independence that has created all the difficulties.

Just as on several social and economic questions, so on this cultural and educational question too, they gave up, after independence, the realistic and common sense approach of replacing English by the regional language as the medium of instruction and as the language of official work.

Some of them, in their misplaced enthusiasm for Hindi as the *Rashtra Bhasha*, tried to give Hindi the position which English had enjoyed under British rule. This, naturally, roused the hostility of the people of the non-Hindi speaking regions.

The Indian National Congress had taken a sober and

WAR IN THE CONTEMPORARY EPOCH IS NOT FATALISTICALLY INEVITABLE. BUT NEITHER IS PEACE

They all cheered him and applauded him. It was one of those rare occasions when the voice of one man speaks the thoughts of all humanity and gives courage and hope to the millions everywhere. Premier Khrushchov's address to the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace in Moscow last week marked one of the major highlights of the Congress and has evoked great appreciation among the foreign delegations attending the Congress. The sincerity and strength of the proposals made by the Soviet Prime Minister for general and complete disarmament appealed to the participants of the Congress.

Thus Prof. Bernal, Chairman of the Presidential Committee of the World Council of Peace remarked: It was a big speech, permeated with inspiration and ideas which can be practically used.

"We have all been deeply impressed by the speech of the head of the Soviet Government," said American delegate Carlton Goodlett, while Arthur Horner, veteran British Trade Unionist commented; "The most striking thing about the speech by the head of the Soviet Government was his great conviction. His every argument struck home. He had clearly demonstrated the terrible danger of the unbridled arms race conducted by the US imperialists."

Only Way For Saving Mankind

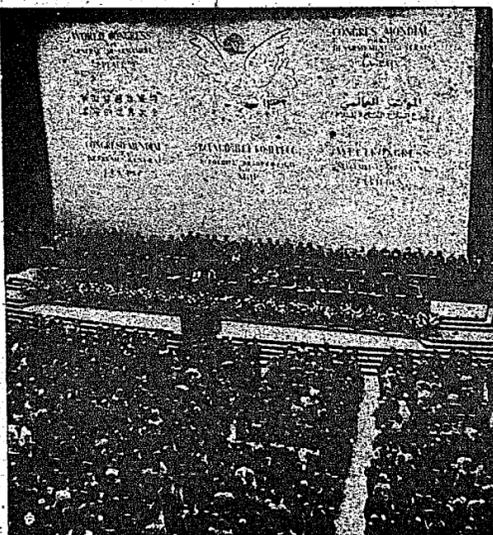
Kaka Sahab Kalelkar, Member of Indian Parliament said: "Nikita Khrushchov is absolutely right when he calls for agreement on general competition in the development of peace-time economy and not in war preparations. It is only on this road, on the road of negotiations that the future of mankind can be saved."

The Head of the Chinese delegation Mao Tun said: "The Chinese delegation supports the views laid down by Comrade Khrushchov in his speech. His speech added fresh strength to the delegates and heightened their confidence in the righteousness of their cause—the fight for peace". Particular emphasis should be placed on the unity displayed by the delegations of the fraternal socialist countries, Mao Tun said.

Asia and Latin America have been impressed by Khrushchov's words on Soviet support to freedom struggles.

Ndau Sdene, President of the peace movement of Senegal said: "We will remember N. S. Khrushchov's words regarding the struggle of the peoples for national liberation. The African people uphold this position of the Soviet Union. It is also our position".

A view of Congress



Tomoe Yabe, Japanese painter declared, "I will remember particularly Khrushchov's words on the need to keep on acting so as to save mankind from the threat of a thermo-nuclear war. I see now more clearly the aims of my artistic effort. I would like to paint a picture that would call men to active action in the defence of peace".

Threat Of War Exists

A number of significant points have been noted by observers in this widely acclaimed speech of the Soviet Prime Minister before the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace. Khrushchov did not mince words in discussing the problems of disarmament. He squarely posed the issues and straightaway answered them.

Does the threat of a new war really exist? Khrushchov's speech was a positive reply to this question which today troubles the minds of

the dangers of a thermo-nuclear war and its consequences are highly exaggerated, and also the claim by US leaders that the balance of strength has now tipped in their favour, Khrushchov said: "The purpose of these contentions is quite clear. By saying that they will win the war, the American militarists are trying to put heart into their own armed forces and those of their allies."

This dangerous conception in itself is aimed at increasing tension in international affairs and adding to the war threat. But from the point of view of reality, if the matter were examined objectively, with due account of the fact that the Soviet Union was forced to develop in the last few years nuclear weapons of 50, 100 and more megatons, intercontinental rockets, the global rocket which is practically impervious to defence, and an anti-missile rocket, it will be seen that "the ruling groups of the United States, who do not have the same powerful military weapons, have no reason at all to say

"That is why," Khrushchov stressed, "the struggle for general and complete disarmament is becoming the prime duty of the peace forces, of all the national and international organisations and trends advocating the maintenance and promotion of peace. Disarmament is an imperative demand of our times".

He added: "The Soviet Government suggests at least immobilising all nuclear weapons, paralysing them by destroying all means of their delivery from the outset, at the very first stage of disarmament. We propose abolishing at one stroke rockets, aircraft, surface warships and submarines that can carry nuclear weapons, atomic artillery installations and all military bases on foreign soil and

Khrushchov told the delegates: "We have stood, now stand, and will always stand upon Lenin's principles of peaceful co-existence. That is the only doctrine of relations between states with different social systems that accords with the historical conditions of our age. No matter what people think about the way of life in the countries of the other social system, the world is whole and indivisible in face of the threat of nuclear disaster. That is where we all are the human race."

USSR Stand For Peaceful Co-existence

Let every country of the socialist and capitalist world prove the advantages of its system by peaceful endeavour, he said. The system that will prove its advantages will win the minds of men. "We are not afraid of competing with capitalism", the Soviet leader declared.

basis normalise the explosive situation in West Berlin."

Write Finis To 2nd World War

"Time passes! If the Western powers persist in their refusal to contribute to the elimination of the survivals of World War II, the socialist countries, as well as other peace-loving countries, will have no choice but to conclude a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic, with all the consequences it may entail."

"The example of Laos shows that, given a desire for agreement, ways can be found of settling the most challenging and complicated international problems. Removal of the vestiges of World War II is vital to peace, and the solution of this problem brooks no further delay."

The Soviet Prime Minister told the peace partisans from

KHRUSHCHOV CALLS FOR TOTAL DISARMAMENT, PEACE

millions in all lands. "We must all face the facts squarely. The threat of a new world war really exists. Mankind may be drawn into it, if determined measures are not taken", he warned.

Khrushchov pointed out that never before have war preparations proceeded on so gigantic a scale as today. Even according to official figures, the world spends 120,000 million dollars on war needs every year. "The Nato countries alone spend a million dollars every ten minutes on war preparations".

"The United States ranks first for the scale of its war preparations", Khrushchov said. He added that the threat that militarism will engulf the civilian society is becoming a reality in the Western countries.

Another important point made by the Soviet Prime Minister in the course of his speech was about the fallacy of the arguments being advanced by the West about their capacity to survive a nuclear war.

Commenting on the contention by the Western press that

that the balance of strength has changed in their favour"

Khrushchov dismissed as "a fatuous illusion" the US politicians' hope that in a nuclear war they will suffer less and the Soviet Union more. "It is meant to condition public opinion in the United States and the allied countries to war." "But we declare most firmly: If the aggressors start a nuclear war, they will inevitably perish themselves in its flames", he told the Congress.

Disarmament—An Imperative Demand

"In this age of nuclear weapons, in this age of rockets," Khrushchov said, "the deadly danger of a nuclear war cannot be eliminated, unless the means of mass annihilation are destroyed and nuclear weapons prohibited".

"The policy from positions of strength, of 'brinkmanship' and 'atomic intimidation' will be impossible in the international relations of a disarmed world. The slogan of general and complete disarmament is an equivalent of the slogan 'Down with wars between nations! Long Live peace!'"

withdrawing of all foreign troops from the countries concerned."

The destruction of all means of delivery would make it impossible for any country possessing atomic weapons to strike a nuclear blow at other countries. "A proposal to this effect was made at one time by the French President, de Gaulle, and we fully agree with it", Khrushchov said. He regretted that the French Government took no effective steps to implement its own proposal.

Khrushchov told the Congress that the Soviet Government was prepared "to consider carefully any proposal of our partners in negotiating, to seek for and find mutually acceptable ways of advancing the working out of a disarmament treaty".

Khrushchov pointed out that it was not the Soviet Union that brought death and destruction to peoples in the course of two world wars. "Was it the Soviet Union that made Hiroshima and Nagasaki the Pompeii of our age", he asked and answered: "The culprits, as you know, came from quite another part of the world".

He explained: "The great significance of our stand lies in the fact that we project the solution of the main controversial question of our time, that of which system is better—it is on this controversy that many representatives of the Western ruling circles base the chief reason for the inevitability of armed conflicts—from the military sphere into the sphere of peaceful competition between countries with different social systems. The possibility is thereby created of delivering mankind from the thermo-nuclear war."

Another significant point in the speech of the Soviet Prime Minister was his reference to the German question. "A peaceful settlement with Germany and the normalisation of the situation in West Berlin on its basis would ease international tension and would also provide a sound groundwork for furthering the cause of disarmament", Khrushchov said.

"What the Soviet Union advocated is to write finis to the Second World War, conclude a peace treaty with the two German States and on its

all over the world gathered in the Kremlin Palace: "We have always advocated disarmament and apply all our efforts to reinforcing world peace."

Efforts To Reinforce World Peace

"The most radical proposal on behalf of peace—the proposal to conclude a German peace treaty, to ban nuclear tests and totally eliminate nuclear weapons, to establish atom-free zones, to reduce the armed forces, to conclude a peace pact, to settle all controversial matters by negotiation, and last but not least, crowning them all, the draft treaty for general and complete disarmament—have all come from the Soviet Union.

"We worked for peace and disarmament when we were still weak in military way. We are for peace and disarmament now, when—let us be frank about it—we have the most perfect weapons that no other power possesses. Is this not the best proof that the Soviet Union does not want war?"

Neutral Nations' Leaders Greet Moscow Congress

US President John F. Kennedy did not send any reply to the letter from the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the World Disarmament Congress in Moscow seeking his views on questions of disarmament. The US President would not even acknowledge receipt of the letter.

Instead the US Militarists reply was to explode a hydrogen bomb at high altitude, the very day the Congress opened in Moscow. It showed the callousness of their minds and their total disregard of the peaceful aspirations of the entire humanity.

While the US stands thus self-condemned before the eyes of the world, sane and sensible persons from all parts of the globe have come forward to greet the Moscow Congress for Disarmament. It is thus particularly gratifying to note that among the Statesmen and leaders of people in different countries who have welcomed the Congress and its ideals are the acknowledged spokesmen of the neutralist world. A few of them are listed below:

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru pointed out in his message to the Congress that India was for the implementation of the resolution of the U.N. General Assembly calling for general and complete disarmament.

He stressed that disarmament was not only necessary, but also feasible, considering the striving of the various countries. As has already been agreed in principle, general and complete disarmament should be effected by stages and in such a way that no country could obtain any temporary advantage over another in the course of disarmament.

Prime Minister Nehru said that this problem should be approached with a firm intention of settling it, and this by friendly means. There should be no war propaganda or any other actions arousing fear among the peoples.

Nehru wrote further that he realised that this was easy to say but difficult to accomplish in the present conditions. But there is no other way if we want to achieve our aim.

Sekou Toure, President of the Republic of Guinea in a message said that "the Democratic Party and the Govern-

ment of Guinea fully approve and support the convocation of the World Congress for Disarmament and Peace in Moscow."

"The cause of world peace must not be subordinated to the interests of the imperialists," the message said. "The most reasonable and just way would be to embark on general and complete disarmament, as the freedom of the peoples, big and small, depends on the liquidation of the rule of might; their creative potentialities are now hampered by the spending of tremendous sums on the arms race."

"In connection with your Congress, the people of Guinea solemnly reaffirm that they resolutely support any measures toward the preservation writes.

A message from the Prime Minister of Ceylon, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, said that in common with all peace-loving peoples of the world, Ceylon is convinced that disarmament is the most important question of our time. "Its solution would be of extremely great importance for the preservation of world peace and for improving the welfare of mankind."

"The Government of Ceylon holds that general disarmament can be achieved by consecutive stages effected by the mutual consent of the sides on the basis of objective verification and control."

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The Prime Minister of Ceylon noted the great value of the World Disarmament Congress where the views of the vast majority of the world public will be expressed.

Mrs. Subandrio, the Indonesian representative, read a message to the Congress from the President of Indonesia, Dr. Sukarno. It said that the aims of the Congress—triumph of peace, general disarmament, struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism—were also the aims of the Indonesian people.

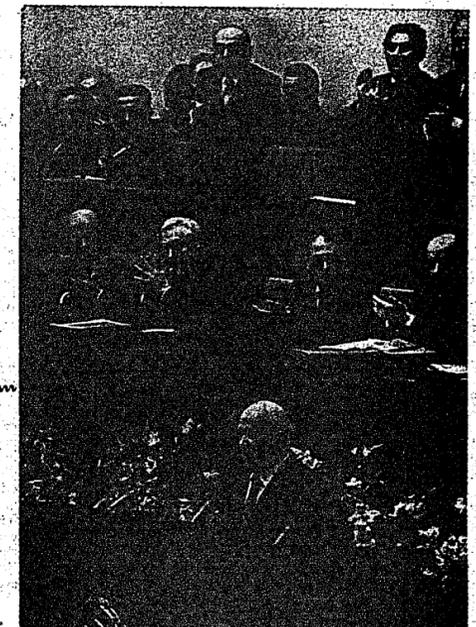
We love peace, but we love freedom most of all—such is the slogan under which the people of Indonesia are fighting for the liberation of West Irian and its reunion with the motherland, the President wrote. The problem of West Irian must and will be settled this year.

President Sukarno expressed confidence that the decisions of the Congress will inspire the peoples to struggle for disarmament and peace, for justice, brotherhood and prosperity.

A message from the President of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah said that Ghana welcomes the Moscow Congress with profound satisfaction, and recalls that the Assembly held recently in Accra was also guided by the noble aim of finding the way to peace.

Mankind has everything necessary to avert a world catastrophe, the message said. I sincerely believe that the Moscow Congress will make an important contribution to the cause of peace, Dr. Nkrumah said.

Khrushchov Speaks



"This is the time to act! In the name of life on earth and the happiness of all men, in the name of the future of all mankind, show firmness and determination in demanding ban on atomic weapons and general disarmament"

REACTIONS TO SHASTRI'S PATCH-WORK IN KERALA

★ From S. SARMA

As wind and rains are on the rampage in parts of Kerala causing widespread dislocation of road and rail traffic, there is an uneasy political quiet in the capital.

CONGRESS leaders and Ministers have been silent after Shastri's departure presumably because of the dressing down he gave them all for taking the differences among them to the press and worsening the political climate of the State beyond repair.

It was the Mathrubhoomi of Kerala, which has been a champion of the Coalition till late and which on the eve of Shastri's visit came out with the startling solution of a unitary Government for India as a way out for all ills like Kerala, that first assessed Shastri's proposals and struck a note of diffidence about the future of the Coalition.

Editorially writing with the heading: "Coalition Continues", the Mathrubhoomi observed: "Shree Shastri has returned after his visit to Kerala: the Coalition Government is continuing; it may continue for some more days. Shastri also hopes that at least for some time to come there will be an easing of the tension. There is no 'peace' but only an 'uneasy quiet' here. Though uneasy, it is 'quiet' however."

Referring to the concrete proposal of the formation of a super Cabinet with Patom, Shankar, Chacko and Ummer Koya, the newspaper felt that unless there was goodwill and a will to discuss issues

freely and come to an agreement, how could the super Cabinet of four solve the differences of eleven?

It further stated that it will only raise the conflicts within the Cabinet to a higher super Cabinet. If there are no ideological and programmatic differences among the partners and within the Congress, as Shastri points out, then the differences that have come up should be purely personal and subjective.

And as for Kerala's Congress, both the Legislative wing as well as the organisational wing, the Mathrubhoomi declares, have exhibited their weaknesses in the present crisis. "Both these wings have miserably failed in the matter of taking Congressmen together and giving current leadership to the people of the State," it concluded.

Hoosan Ghani, front bench Muslim League legislator stated that what the people of Kerala wanted was not a change of portfolios or a super Cabinet. The burning problems of the State could not be side-tracked this way.

V. R. Krishna Iyer, MLA in a statement said that the most useful act Lal Bahadur Shastri did while in Kerala, was to worship at Kanya Kumari and the least useful of course was to humiliate Kerala Congress and indirectly insult Congress Ministers.

Now Patom could snap his finger at all the commands of the Congress because he was found indispensable and inevitable...

The ministry which was a millstone round the people's neck should be removed. Some drastic remedy was expected from Shastri but all that was a dead sea fruit.

From the constitutional angle, Iyer asked how could a Central Minister offer advice which in the context was euphemism for command to the State Ministry? "Party leaders calling to order Congress Ministers was understandable but Kerala Government was not Kerala Con-

Moscow Peace Congress : DISCUSSIONS IN COMMISSIONS

★ From MASOOD ALI KHAN

After a round of Plenary Session, the Congress for General Disarmament and Peace broke up into a number of Commissions for a detailed study of the problems posed. These Commissions helped effective exchange of ideas among the different delegations.

DETAILED discussion of the first Commission which worked under the chairmanship of Professor Biquard of France discussed the political and technical problems of disarmament.

Here Prof. Morrey of U.S.

gress and all this augured ill for democracy."

The State PSP Chairman expressed doubt about the efficacy and practicability of the suggestions such as super-Cabinet and Brains Trust. He said they may prove an addition to the already existing committees and councils.

And as for referring specific serious charges of corruption to the Prime Minister, he felt it was all right to do it with regard to charges against Congress Ministers. Then, the PSP was not clear about accepting these proposals and wanted their State Executive and National Executive to discuss them.

In this context it is interesting to add that Patom is reported to be proceeding to Delhi early next week and will meet Prime Minister Nehru to appraise him of the difficulties of working out the Shastri proposals and the suggestions will be implemented only after his return.

Communist Party spokes-

man S. Kumaran, the Acting Secretary of the State Council characterised the Shastri formula as the proverbial mouse after mountain's labour.

"To say that the self-conflicting mixture of the Coalition should continue today is to intensify the crisis in administration, and to continue the present state of helplessness in solving the burning problems facing the people," he stated.

"A Government that has proved by its policies and practice as unfit to continue and that has lost the people's confidence has no right to continue.

"People have no confidence in the Government. I am confident that the enlightened people of Kerala will not tolerate the situation. The democratic forces interested in ensuring a good and democratic Government will come together and guarantee such a development," he added.

(July 14)

SOLUTION OF GERMAN QUESTION

Dominant Note Of Discussion In Peace Congress

★ From P. KUNHANANDAN NAIR

Moscow, July 13.

"A solution of the German question is vital for general disarmament and peace," was the dominant note in the discussions on this issue. German delegation in Moscow Congress consisting of representatives of the peace movements in the Federal Republic and the GDR are working tirelessly to bring about a plan for a military neutrality of both the German States.

THROUGH their participation in an atom-free zone in Europe and by general disarming of German army, peace can be achieved in Europe. Delegations from two German States are therefore striving to submit a joint proposal.

German Democratic Republic has pledged in its memorandum to 17-nation Geneva Conference that it will cooperate effectively in implementation of an international agreement on general and complete disarmament and will observe implicitly all obligations for disarmament and strict control arising from such an agreement.

But the Federal German Government is totally opposed to any

practical disarmament. German militarists and their aggressive fascist ideology which was responsible for two world wars, strive to have nuclear weapons for Bonn army.

West German Government's policy of hostility towards practical disarmament measures is not however the policy of West German population. This important fact is clear from the composition of the delegation from the Federal Germany which includes outstanding scientists, writers, professors, clergymen and political leaders.

German peace delegation thinks that German people cannot let themselves wait until an international agreement is arrived at. Since the German question is key to war or peace prospects, it is imperative that two German States of differing social systems should start with general and complete disarmament in Germany and give their active support to other disarmament measures affecting their territories. Creation of an atom-free zone in Europe is the urgent step required in this direction, said a spokesman of Federal German delegation.

Future of two German states, their neighbours and the world in general, depends on military neutrality of entire Germany, the delegation said. The main points in "German Military Neutrality" plan are:

● the two German States renounce atomic armament and production of nuclear weapons;

● the two German states leave their respective military groupings—Federal Republic of Germany quit NATO and GDR get out of Warsaw Pact;

● the two German states begin to disarm the conventional arsenal and

● all foreign troops be withdrawn from both German states and their bases on German soil be liquidated.

This plan for military neutrality of the two German States has attracted attention of all delegations. Political and military-technical experts attending this Congress consider that this would help disengage military groupings which at present confront each other on Berlin crisis.

This would decisively lessen the possibility of an outbreak of a military conflict in Europe.

This would contribute to the easing of cold war and would be an important step which would help clear road for worldwide disarmament, if of course, accepted by Federal German Government. Joint struggle of peace forces in two German States and world public opinion would ultimately score victory over West German militarists, was the hope expressed by the delegations.

MOSCOW, July 13.

disarmament. The Soviet Union will give not only moral support to the people fighting for freedom but will also help them with all possible means, he added.

Rwegazira of Tanganyika said "We shall not regard ourselves free until the whole of Africa becomes free. Imperialism is the greatest danger to humanity," he said.

Prof. Kosambi of India thought that there existed a certain contradiction between disarmament and the national liberation movement. The countries which had won independence must have weapons to defend themselves.

Wellback of Ghana said that his country firmly stood for disarmament. If the colonialists had no arms they could not oppress anybody, he said.

No Contradiction

The Soviet litterateur Wanda Wassilewska speaking on this question said that there was no contradiction between disarmament and the national liberation movement. "If the dragons' teeth are pulled out, it is no longer a peril and colonialism and imperialism without arms could not fight the freedom struggle."

The misery of colonies and poor lands was due to the exploitation by foreign monopolies and could they continue their robbery without arms, she asked. "Could the villages in South Vietnam burn today and could Korea be kept divided without imperialist arms, without bombers and napalm bombs?"

"When we speak of disarmament we don't have those in view, who are fighting for their freedom. The struggle for disarmament is first of all a struggle against nuclear death, against foreign bases and foreign troops which suppress freedom. We understand what is freedom and freedom of any people is for our own freedom and our own dear cause."

The Chinese writer Yan Shu also declared against all foreign bases on all continents and called for a united front of struggle of all peoples for independence and peace.

More than 40 speakers took part in the discussion on disarmament and national independence and later discussion went on in two sub-commissions where the delegates called disarmament an essential factor for independence.

Goan People Demand

ELECTION, NOT NOMINATION, OF MEMBERS TO LOK SABHA

The Goan people are very much agitated following the announcement by the President nominating Dr. Gaitonde and Dr. Antonio Colaco to Parliament to represent Goa, Daman and Diu.

IT came as a shock to the people of Goa that Dr. Colaco who up till now supported the Portuguese regime and was actively working to get autonomy for Goa under Portuguese even to the last moment when our army was poised to enter Goa, should represent the Goan people who have just started breathing free air after 450 years of Portuguese rule.

This injustice was too much for the Goan people to bear and there were unanimous demands to cancel these nominations, particularly that of Dr. Colaco and to have elected representatives instead.

It became well known to the Goan people that the newly formed Ad Hoc committee of the Indian National Congress in Goa has purposely recommended the name of Dr. Colaco to satisfy the group who had organized themselves into "Congress de Goa" immediately after liberation.

When it became clear that neither the Indian Government nor the Ad Hoc committee were going to pay any heed to the demands of the people, a veteran Goan freedom fighter, Roque Santana Fernandes, who has borne marks of seven Portuguese

bullets on his body, and who has spent 10 torturous years in Portuguese jail, went on hunger strike unto death from July 9 demanding cancellation of these nominations and to have elected representatives.

This stirred the Goan masses and big demonstrations were held throughout Goa in support of this demand. On July 10, Cuncolim, Assolna and Margao observed hartal and a big mass meeting was held in front of Margao Municipality under the auspices of Citizens Committee.

The meeting was presided over by V. N. Lawande and addressed by Narayan Nalk who had just returned from Portugal where he was deported, Narayan Palekar, Vamun Dessal, Editor 'Tarun Goa', Froilano Machado, Dr. Kakode and others.

The meeting unanimously passed a resolution requesting the President to cancel these nominations. It demanded the holding of elections within six months to elect two members to Parliament simultaneously along with elections to the Territorial Council.

Meanwhile the condition of Roque Santana Fernandes has very much deteriorated. Two doctors including the Government doctor are constantly keeping vigil on his health. Thousands of people are everyday coming from far away villages to see him.

More public meetings are being organised in Goa and a Citizens Committee has been formed. The people have become very restive and the situation may take a serious turn if the life of Roque Fernandes is not saved.



A view of Margao rally.

NORTHERN RAILWAY

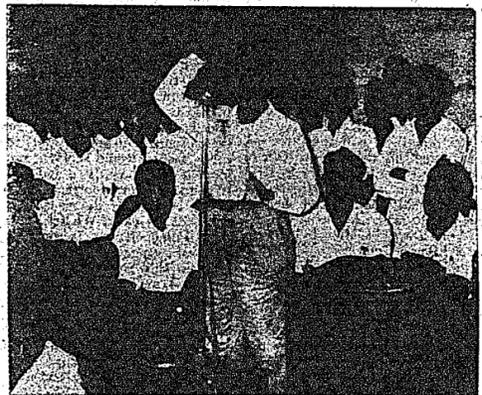
NOTICE

With effect from 20-7-1962 the timings of the following trains are being changed as under:-

- 1 Up Howrah-Delhi-Kalka Mail will arrive Delhi at 20/50 hrs.
- 4 DSU Ambala-Delhi Passenger will leave Ghaziabad at 19/45 hrs. Delhi Shahrada 20/10 hrs. Delhi arr. 20/25 hrs.
- 5 Up Howrah-Amritsar Mail will arrive Amritsar at 9/5 hrs.
- 51 Up Sealdah-Pathankot Express will arrive Saharanpur at 21/50 hrs. and Pathankot 6/25 hrs.
- 2 SH Saharanpur-Hardwar Passenger will arrive Hardwar at 21/20 hrs.
- 9 Up Doon Express will arrive Dehradun at 9/15 hrs.
- 10 Dn. Doon Express will leave Jawalapur at 20/32 hrs. Laksar 21/20-21/35 Najibabad 22.35/22.45 hrs. Bareilly 3/30 to 3/40 hrs. Shahjahanpur 4/52 to 5/1 hrs.
- 29 Up Lucknow Express will leave Lucknow at 21/20 hrs. Shahjahanpur 0-6 to 0-14 hrs. Bareilly 1.19 to 1.29 hrs.
- 30 Dn. Lucknow Express will arrive Lucknow at 7/20 hrs.
- 375 Up Allahabad-Delhi Passenger will leave Lucknow at 10/15 hrs. will arrive Bareilly at 19/45 hrs. and will leave Bareilly at 20.20 hrs.
- 376 Dn. Delhi-Allahabad Passenger will leave Moradabad at 6/40 hrs.
- 351 Up Allahabad-Ambala Passenger will leave Bareilly at 6/40 hrs.
- 1 AH Hoshiarpur-Amritsar Passenger will leave Jullundur Cant. at 6/43 hrs. and Jullundur City at 7/6 hrs.
- 4 JH Jullundur City-Hoshiarpur Passenger will leave Jullundur Cant. at 5/36 hrs.
- 1 PM Pathankot-Madhopur Punjab will leave Pathankot at 8/30 hrs.
- 2 UB Bratinda-Ambala Passenger will leave Barnala at 6/44 hrs. arriving Dhuri at 7/45 hrs.
- 349 Up Dehradun Amritsar Passenger will leave Laksar at 18.50 hrs. and Saharanpur at 20/55 hrs. Ambala 22/50 hrs. to 23/15 hrs. Rajpura 23/53 hrs. and Sirhind 0/27 hrs.
- 37 Up Punjab Mail will leave Delhi at 21/45 hrs. Roh-tak 23/33 hrs., Jind 0/44 hrs. Narwana 1/22 hrs. and Jakhhal 2/20 hrs.
- 342 Dn. Ferozepore-Delhi Passenger will leave Bhatinda at 22/45 hrs.
- 341 Up Delhi-Ferozepore Passenger will leave Budh-jada at 02/1 hrs.
- 370 Dn. Ferozepore-Delhi Passenger will arrive Delhi at 23/50 hrs.
- 2 JNK Kurukshetra Jind Passenger will leave Narwana 0/30 hrs.
- 3 FBL Faizabad Lucknow Passenger will arrive Lucknow at 21/35 hrs.
- 96 Dn. Marwar Mail will leave Marwar at 18/55 hrs. arriving Jodhpur at 21/30 hrs.
- 209 Up Rewari Marwar Passenger will leave Jodhpur at 20/20 hrs.
- 3 LJH Ludhiana Jakhhal Hissar Passenger will arrive Ludhiana at 21/10 hrs.

For timings of intermediate stations reference may please be made to stations concerned.

Chief Operating Supdt.



Narayan Palekar addressing the rally at Margao.

RAILWAY ECONOMY

FROM PAGE SIX

launching of the "economy drive". Meanwhile, more quarters have been constructed, the total number this year being 12,500. But the number of sweepers has been reduced to 600!

Thus, while there was one

sweeper for every ten quarters in 1955, now one sweeper has to attend to over 20 quarters. His workload has increased more than double as compared to 1955 and without any corresponding increase in wages!

The other side of the picture is equally shocking.

One C. D. Chatterjee was the Deputy Chief Operating Superintendent (Goods) of the S. E. Railway. He was drawing a salary of Rs. 2,200 per month and was posted at the Garden Reach Head Office of the Railway in Calcutta.

He was due for promotion. The next higher post is that of either the Divisional Superintendent or the Regional Superintendent, carrying a salary of Rs. 2,400 per month. C. D. Chatterjee's promotion to any one of these posts would have meant his transfer from Calcutta.

But he wanted to stay on in Calcutta for family reasons and at the same time secure promotion to a higher post. So the new post of "Officer, Steel Duty" carrying the same salary (Rs. 2,400 a month) was created with effect from June 9, to

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VASSIL KOLAROV

—by Academician Jacques Natan

On July 16 this year was the 85th birth anniversary of Vassil Kolarov, one of the leading political thinkers in Bulgaria. His life work was extensive and varied. For over half a century he worked tirelessly for the cause of the international proletariat, and for the triumph of socialism and communism.

HE became a Marxist at the end of the 19th century when, as a student, first in France and then in Geneva, he came in contact with Plekhanov and Axelrod, the celebrated Russian social-democrats, and engaged energetically in socialist activities among the students.

After his graduation from the university, he returned to his country and under the leadership of Dimitar Blagoev, the first Bulgarian Marxist, devoted himself entirely to the service of working class, and the cause of socialism.

Vassil Kolarov belonged to the generation of Bulgarian Marxists which waged a fierce struggle for the purification of scientific socialism and for Marxism. He took active part in the struggle for the ideological defeat of Bulgarian populism and Bernsteinism on Bulgarian soil. Through a number of his works, he made contributions for the defeat of Bulgarian revisionists and proved that their theories and their policy had nothing in common with scientific socialism.

Unmasked Opportunists

He took part in the Zimmerwald Conference of 1915 and went to the Conference of the "Left Zimmerwaldians" in Stockholm in 1917. In taking part in these international socialist meetings, he clearly saw the bankruptcy of the 2nd International and unmasked the pitiful attempts of the opportunists to lead astray the world proletariat.

Under the influence of the

Bolsheviks, the entire Party of the "Narrow" or Left-Wing Socialists took a step towards bolshevism before the end of the First World War and after the victory of the October Revolution, took their stand on the side of the Bolsheviks, and of Lenin.

The Party of the "Narrow" or Left-Wing Socialists was the co-founder of the 3rd Communist International, and it was no accident that Kolarov rose to the post of Secretary General of the Comintern (4th Congress, 1922).

Under the leadership of Lenin and in the ranks of the Communist International, Kolarov waged a relentless struggle against the rightist groups in the French Communist Party and in the other parties.

Struggle Against Sectarianism

He also waged a struggle against sectarianism and dogmatism in the ranks of the International Communist Movement. At the 7th Congress of the Comintern, when speaking on the report of Georgi Dimitrov, he paid special attention to the dangers which "left" sectarianism represented in developing the class struggle of all antifascist forces.

Kolarov had a particular attraction for the party rank and file and non-affiliated people. His eloquence held the attention of all who heard him. The depth of his thought and his analytical mind inspired respect even in the opponents of the Communist Party.

Vassil Kolarov came to the fore as a revolutionary Communist with exceptional militant qualities in the stormy years which followed the First World War, when together with Georgi Dimitrov, he headed the revolutionary mass upsurge.

But he revealed himself as a revolutionary particularly at the time of the People's anti-fascist Uprising of 1923, when Georgi Dimitrov, he himself and Genov headed the uprising in the Vratsa District. The Uprising of 1923 is one of the most heroic episodes in the Bulgarian people's struggle against fascism.

Fighter Against Fascism

Vassil Kolarov was an ardent and tireless fighter against fascism. He expended tremendous effort and energy to save Georgi Dimitrov, his closest comrade-in-arms and loyal friend, from the claws of the fascist monster.

After his release from the German fascist prison, Georgi Dimitrov took his place at the head of the International Communist Movement and rose to the leading position of the Bulgarian Communist Party. In this period Kolarov became one of his closest comrades-in-arms in the struggle to build up a broad national front of all anti-fascist and democratic forces against fascism and war.

All his life Vassil Kolarov was true to the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the appearance of the first proletarian state he saw the realisation of the teaching of the great founders of scientific socialism. He fought with might and main against any attempt to revise Marxism.

Together with Dimitar Blagoev,

and the other Bulgarian Marxists, Kolarov did a tremendous amount of research work on various theoretical and practical problems in Bulgaria and on the Marxist elucidation of a number of vital issues in Bulgaria and the Balkans. As a Marxist he made his contribution to the working out of the problems of the International Workers' Movement, and established himself as a specialist on agricultural and economic questions.

Kolarov rendered great and invaluable services to the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria, and was one of the great builders of the new people's democratic Bulgaria. Devoting all his gifts to the construction of the new people's democratic state, he was always in the front ranks of the fighters for socialism.

At whatever post he happened to be—President of the National Assembly, acting President of the Republic, Minister of Foreign Affairs or Prime

Minister of Bulgaria, he always did his best to keep in touch with life, not to detach himself from the Party, to keep close to the masses and bear the suffering and needs of the working class and the working people close to his heart.

The Bulgarian Communist Party, true to the Marxist-Leninist ideas of which Georgi Dimitrov and Vassil Kolarov were the tireless propagators in the course of its entire history, fought and is fighting to apply them to life.

Today also, the Bulgarian Communist Party is marching forward along the road left to them by Georgi Dimitrov and Vassil Kolarov.

Preparing now for its forthcoming 8th Congress, Bulgarian Communist Party is mobilizing the creative forces of the masses to fulfil and bring to a successful end the programme for the victorious socialist construction, to which Vassil Kolarov devoted all his strength and talents, and his highly purposeful life.

Assam Tussle . . .

*FROM PAGE 5

a "god-send," as some observers commented, since the members could be dispersed to their respective areas.

This temporary respite the Ministerial group will utilise to mollify their supporters, who bear some grouse against the ministry, through various means.

Entrusting them with the distribution of relief, according to some observers, will itself reconcile some of the rebels. Other means will also be brought to service. After all, the Ministerial group, holds power and hence commands many resources which are much sought after by others who have no power.

But the anti-Ministerial group, meanwhile has not been sitting idle. They also have been doing their very best to marshal their forces. The chief architect of this faction who had been bogged with a family mishap earlier has been

now free from that. He has been trying his hand in regrouping his forces.

Already a number of stalwarts of the anti-ministerial faction are reported to have requisitioned a meeting of the PCC to discuss the question of Pakistani infiltration, flood situation etc. Though the Secretary of the PCC denied that he had received any such requisition, sources close to the PCC assert that the requisition has actually been sent. But these sources maintain that the ruling faction would shelve it now for fear of a show down and flood is a good excuse for that.

The end of the drama is, however, not yet clear. What is, however, quite obvious is that the factional struggle in the ruling party in this State is getting accentuated and the issue of Pakistani infiltration is a chosen weapon of the fighters. The result is further tension in the relation between the two communities of the State.

Meetings and demonstrations continue to be held in different parts of West Bengal since the mass campaign against high prices, mounting taxation, etc., was launched on June 16.

A public meeting was organised at Kaigram (West Dinajpur District) on July 4 by Khanpur unit of the Communist Party.

On July 6 a protest meeting was held at Shantipur, under the auspices of the Nadia District Committee of the RCPI.

Over 100 men and women of Hariapur and Simultala villages in Kotwali police station in Nadia district participated in a hunger-march to the office of the District Magistrate in Krishnanagar on July 6.

A deputation, consisting of Kanai Pal, MLA(RCPI), Manmatha Gupta, local Communist leader and two others, met the District Magistrate and submitted a memorandum, demanding test relief work for the unemployed and gratuitous relief for old and infirm persons.

WEST BENGAL

The price of rice in Nadia district has already shot up to Rs. 26/27 a maund. The standing crop of Aus paddy is withering away due to drought. The condition of the jute crop is equally bad owing to the attack of pests. Opportunities for employment in the rural areas have shrunk. Test relief work has not yet been started.

Rice is not available at fair price shops. It is difficult to get loans. On top of it all, certificates for realisation of arrears of loans previously advanced by the Government are being issued on a mass scale. Under these circumstances, the distress of rural people can be better imagined than described.

The poor peasants and agricultural labourers of Bankura District are facing acute hardship owing to severe drought.

The Kisan Sabha, therefore, organised on July 9, a mass deputation of these sections of people to the Block Development Officer, Onda, for starting test relief work. But the Officer told the deputations that he could do nothing as no schemes had been sanctioned for their area.

On July 8, a public meeting to protest against the enhancement of railway fares, rising prices of essential commodities, etc., was held in Amba village (Howrah district) under the auspices of the Communist Party.

At the call of Thakurdass Surekha Iron Foundry Workers' Union, a big mass meeting was held at Lilooh, an important centre of the Eastern Railway, on July 11. Md. Elias, Communist MP presided. A resolution protesting against the increase in railway fares, mounting burden of taxation, etc., was passed at this meeting.

Two public meetings were held in Calcutta on July 14 under the joint auspices of the Communist Party, Forward Bloc, RSP, Forward Bloc (Marxists), RCPI, Socialist Unity Centre, Bolshevik Party and Workers' Party.

The meeting in South Calcutta was presided over by Niranjan Sen, MLA (Communist) and that in North Calcutta by Hemanta Basu, MLA (FB).

The resolutions adopted at these meetings strongly protested against the enhancement of railway fares, imposition of increasingly heavier burdens of taxation on the people and rising prices of all essential commodities. It demanded, among other things, cancellation of the recent increase in railway fares, reduction of excise duties on articles of daily necessity and effective measures to bring down the prices of essential commodities.

These meetings also appealed to all sections of people to participate in the mass demonstration to the State Assembly on July 25 to register their protest against high prices, tax, etc.

MADHYA PRADESH

BHAIKAV Bharati, MLA, and 31 others were sentenced to 15 days imprisonment on July 16 at Bhopal for having de-

Campaigns Against Taxes Continue

★ FROM OUR CORRESPONDENTS

ried on the same day a prohibitory order of the State Government by attempting to enter the State Assembly precincts.

Another 35 were taken into custody on July 18 at the same place for defying the prohibitory order. They came in a procession waving flags and raising slogans.

These attempts to enter the State Assembly precincts were made as a protest against the Government's fresh taxation proposals.

This was a part of the programme announced by the State

Unit of the CPI in connection with the current anti-Tax campaign.

The State Council of the CPI has already made it clear that the agitation will continue until the State Government conceded the demand for withdrawal of the fresh taxation measures.

KARNATAK

PROTEST demonstrations were held at almost all the principal

railway stations in Karnataka on July 1 against the increased railway fares.

Workers, peasants and volunteers from other walks of life demonstrated before the railway stations demanding withdrawal of increased fares.

In Bangalore, a demonstration was led by N. L. Upadhyaya, Secretary of the State Council of the CPI. Other demonstrations at stations like Mangalore, Ujja, Bijapura, Bagalkot, Shimoga etc., were led by other leading members of the Communist Party.

Chotanagpur Newsletter

★ From Our Correspondent

RETRENCHMENTS IN OFFING

THE working class in Chotanagpur is restive over the decision on retrenchment of staff that is now hanging like the sword of Democles in many organisations. Most pronounced is the danger in Hindustan Steel Limited at Ranchi and Damodar Valley Corporation at Hazaribagh.

The HSL had to be served with a 14-day strike notice by the Employees' Union, expiring on July 10. The notice was the sequel to the impending retrenchment of staff in consequence to decentralisation and reorganisation of the HSL.

The employees' demand was for the absorption of staff, likely to be retrenched at Bhilai, Rourkela, Durgapur and coal washeries at Bokaro. The demand further included that the absorption must not disturb continuity of service inasmuch as that

the pay and other benefits must continue as usual.

Good sense, however, prevailed and the HSL averted for the time being a crisis by agreeing only to one demand, that is the implementation of the Pay Commission's Recommendations which were also included in the charter of demands.

The DVC Staff Association recently held a conference at Hazaribagh which was attended by about 400 delegates from Calcutta, Durgapur, Malihon, Hazaribagh and other places. Demands were made through a 5-point resolution asking for pay-revision, improvement of service conditions, restoration of local allowances, bonus, medical facilities to all grades of employees, retrenchment benefits and educational facilities. About 90 workers of the Central Workshop of DVC at Hazaribagh are on the verge of retrenchment which is being stoutly opposed by the Karmachari Sangh of the DVC.

THE implementation of the Second Pay Commission's recommendations with retrospective effect from April 1961, has been decided upon by the Board of Directors, Heavy Engineering Corporation. The implementation will benefit more than 2,000 employees of the Corporation, it is learnt.

Vietnam Situation . . .

*FROM BACK PAGE

special report and the hurry with which Britain unilaterally published the report while for months it has been refusing to comply with the request of the other Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference, the Soviet Union, to appeal to the USA to stop its intervention, show into whose hands the Commission majority has played with its special report.

The timing of the report is also significant.

The USA had in February last set up the military command in Saigon and had later landed troops in Thailand and expanded the U.S. military command to include Thailand also—in the U.S. operational command for the Southeast Asian region.

Along with this intensified intervention, repression against the people had become more ferocious. After shooting, jailing and torturing tens of thousands of people, destroying their homes, crops and vegetation by spraying napalm and chemicals, people of entire villages are being now brutally uprooted from their hearths and homes and are being forcibly herded

into concentration camps mis-called "strategic hamlets."

Despite the intensified intervention and the fascist terror, the people's forces are scoring new successes, while outside voices are rising stronger and stronger condemning the U.S. intervention and demanding its end.

Inside the USA itself, despite the hysteria that still persists years after McCarthy's death, noted intellectuals like Nobel Prize-winner physicist Linus Pauling are writing to President Kennedy asking him to withdraw from South Vietnam.

Coming at this time, the only conclusion about the special report that is possible is that it is meant to give the U.S. and the South Vietnam authorities the justification they so direly need to misrepresent the popular struggle in South Vietnam, legalise their intervention and suppression of the people and continue to mount a grave threat to peace and security in Asia.

No amount of protestations as those of Prime Minister Nehru that the special report is just a statement of facts and not an attempt to condemn anybody can hide this real face of the Indo-Canadian report.

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ASPLIC-80



CAIRO CONFERENCE : PROSPECTS FOR FUTURE

The Cairo Conference of non-aligned nations, which has entered into its second week this Monday, has provided a befitting forum for the participating countries to give vent to their pent-up feelings at the injustice being done to them through the new trade and aid policies of the industrialised countries.

THESE latter made their industrial revolution a success largely through the exploitation of their colonial possessions, but when it came to helping these territories to stand on their feet after liberation all they did was to devise new ways to subject them to new economic inequities. And this in spite of unmet declarations to usher in a new era of prosperity in the former colonies, to save them for the "free world," and a plethora of schemes and programmes to reach new frontiers in economic aid.

A number of UN and other surveys bear testimony to the fact of these claims, and the failure to steps which the Governments and ruling circles in developed countries have been wont to take to help the underdeveloped countries. In fact, the historical gap between the two groups of countries has only been widening with the multiplication of these steps, for what they purport to give with one hand is more than taken away by the other.

Declining Trade Terms

Glaring Inequities

This, while the average per capita income in the USA rose from 1,000 dollars to 2,500 dollars in the course of 15 years after the war; that in the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America went up from 100 to 150 dollars only. In other words, while the gap between the two was 1 to 10 when the war ended, it was 1 to 17 after a decade and a half of the post-war period. Further, while the average per capita production of food increased by 13% in the aforesaid period, that in Africa actually fell by 2%. The disparity in increase in other areas is also evident from the fact that while in Latin America it was only 2%, in developed Western Europe it was 21%.

In trade, while the share of the underdeveloped countries in the total world exchange was 38% in 1945, it went down to 36% in 1953 and to 28% in 1961. An important factor contributing to this deterioration in their terms of trade vis-a-vis the industrialised countries. A direct result of this relationship has been a steep rise in the indebtedness of the underdeveloped countries. While the servicing of these debts involved only 9.4% of their export earnings ten years back, it now amounts to 11.6% on an average, with West Asia and Latin America showing even a worse percentage.

How did such a situation arise? Who was responsible for it? These questions naturally arise, and howsoever much the facts are concealed or sought to be differently interpreted they point to one and only one culprit.

Colonialism, naked and unabashed, was responsible for making of the colonies raw material producing appendages of the industrialised countries. The same colonialism, in different hues, and through different stratagems, seeks to perpetuate this state to stall the progress of its erstwhile colonies.

It can no longer impose its will on them through a brute political force, but it has yet quite a plenty of weapons in its armoury to strike at them economically. It is

some of these shafts which it has been directing at the underdeveloped countries in the post-war period to be able to rule the roost perpetually.

The fact that the underdeveloped countries are mainly raw material producing and are dependent for their trade on industrialised countries gives a handle to the latter to solve a good many of their internal economic difficulties at the expense of the former.

Whenever they face a recession they are forced to curtail production, but a good part of the loss resulting therefrom is made up by them through forcing a reduction in the intake and prices of raw materials which they purchase from the underdeveloped countries.

Loss Due To Export Instability

The yearly fluctuation in the export income resulting from such a policy may be of an order of 9 to 12%. According to UN experts it resulted in an annual loss of about two million dollars between 1954 and 1959.

The loss suffered by the underdeveloped countries as a whole as a direct consequence of this instability in exports equalled the total international official donations—that is foreign aid—which during four years 1956—1959 amounted to 2,197 million dollars per annum.

Along with curtailment of imports of raw materials, and primary commodities through imposition of high tariffs the industrialised countries seek to supplant these commodities by indigenously produced synthetics. According to GATT experts the import demand for natural raw materials from underdeveloped countries in middle fifties would have been 40% larger were it not for the development of synthetics.

Agriculture too is sought to be developed in industrialised countries to make them less dependent on the underdeveloped countries. The fact that this type of production is very often uneconomic does not deter these countries from undertaking it merely to

hurt the export prospects of underdeveloped countries.

In Britain, for instance, the Government had to incur a subsidy of about 285.6 million pounds in 1960-61 to have the country produce agricultural commodities worth 776.5 million pounds. This unnatural production also creates the problem of "surpluses," which, in the case of wheat alone, reached a level of 38.4 million tons in the USA in 1961. These "surpluses" released with suddenness from time to time, lend further instability to world prices.

Combination Of Devices

A combination of all these devices is being used by the new regional economic grouping—the EEC—to impose its will on the underdeveloped countries. The EEC, which is a new imperialist contrivance to put spokes in the wheel of the developing and underdeveloped countries, is a sordid manifestation of the imperialist powers' last ditch battle to save the world for themselves.

The tremendous strides which the socialist world has taken in the economic sphere have added a new edge to their desperation. They have, therefore, come out in the open as detractors of the progress of the underdeveloped nations.

It is in such an international setting that the delegates at Cairo have had to undertake their deliberations. They are all united in their resolve to raise the level of their economies, which they can do only through industrialisation. They also know that for building industries they need capital goods which only the industrialised countries can sell.

For buying these goods they need to raise exports, which the purchasers in the West are loath to buy. They are thus caught in a vicious circle, which can be broken only through joint action and international effort. The joint action can mean pooling of the resources of the participating nations, and coordination of their development schemes to discover possible ways of mutual assistance.

After all, countries like ours, which are relatively more developed, can render quite a good deal of help to other nations, which are not so well placed. Similarly, our goods which, fail to find a market in the West can perhaps be profitably sold to countries nearer home. All this requires a good deal of consultation and work for which the Conference should provide a suitable mechanism.

No joint action of the non-aligned countries alone, without the support of some industrialised countries, will, however, be able to defeat the game of the imperialists. After all, international trade cannot be compartmentalised if the world as a whole has to progress.

The resistance of the imperialist countries to take a legitimate share of the world's raw materials at a fair price has to be broken, if not through negotiations, then through competition. The socialist countries have boldly taken to the latter path.

No blockade, or insularity, can now injure their prospects to build their economies and raise the level of living of their peoples. And yet, they are always striving to break the trade barriers and negotiate a mutually beneficial business deal with any country.

To this end of making the world free of all unjust barriers they have given a call for an international economic conference under the aegis of the UN. The Cairo Conference too has given the same call and has thus shown the resilience of a mature body.

The identity of views on this issue should point to new ways

of cooperating internationally to build the economies of the underdeveloped and developing countries.

The countries meeting at Cairo are largely non-aligned politically, but economically quite a few of them have ties with the Western capitalist market. It is these latter ties which are now sought to be stretched to subvert non-alignment, for baits are being openly thrown to ensue the more pliant of the participating countries into some "preferential" arrangement at a price. Aid too is being increasingly wielded as a political weapon to impose "conformism" on the recipient countries.

The non-aligned countries thus face a new threat to their political status—a threat which they can meet only through steering clear of these baits and sticking firmly to their aim of winning their legitimate share in the world's prosperity. And for this they need to stick together and accord full support to the efforts of the socialist countries to make aid and trade—truly an international effort to help the underdeveloped and the developing nations.

MOST REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY

*FROM PAGE THREE

suggesting forms of future work. They are a big number and a committee will look into them and circulate to all peace organisations.

Prof. J. D. Bernal was given a standing ovation when he rose to make his concluding speech. He called it a magnificent Congress and its purpose he said had been largely fulfilled. Questions had been discussed with a thoroughness never before seen at such meetings. "All the groups and people who had come together should not drift back into isolation. The association with different groups and parties working for peace must be widened.

"We must know all about the problem of disarmament to be able to convince others and for this purpose study the problem and all relevant documents and information.

"The movement for disarmament and national freedom go together and all through we have stressed the unity of the two themes, which were also the main themes at the Congress. This Congress was an example of bringing the two movements together which were called the winds of change. Everybody had shown remarkable forbearance and mutual understanding. If anti-imperialism had not been stressed more it was because this was a Congress on disarmament. If a Congress were to be held on anti-imperialism and national liberation even there disarmament would be discussed", Bernal said.

The object of the Congress was not discussion but action which has started but must not stop, he said.

Thus the most representative assembly of peoples ever to have come under one roof ends with a might appeal for action to avoid nuclear disaster and brings the urgency of action home to every thinking human being. The appeal ends on the following words, "We who want peace are many. If we all should act and if all who act should act together in friendship we could clear the road to our common aim—enduring peace."

Under the recommendations, the daily-rated workers employed in tea plantations in the States of Assam and West Bengal, except in Darjeeling Hills and Cachar District, will get an interim increase of 8 nP. The increase for women workers is 7 nP. and for employable child workers 4 nP.

The increase in regard to daily-rated men workers employed in tea plantations in Darjeeling Hills, will be 9 nP and for women workers 7 nP. The increase in respect of employable child is 4 nP.

For monthly-rated workers employed in tea plantations of both Assam (including Cachar District) and West Bengal, an increase of Rs. 10 per month each in respect of clerical, educational, medical and supervisory staff and artisans and Rs. 6 per month in respect of others have been recommended.

The interim increase is to take effect from June 27, 1962.

The Temporary Taxation Bill which the Congress majority in the State Legislature pushed through in an unseemly hurry at the fag-end of the last budget session aroused wide-spread resentment among all sections of people in the State.

THE Bill proposed to increase four taxes for a year to raise money for Harijan Welfare. The Communist legislators took the correct stand that Harijan Welfare was a noble and commendable objective, but the manner in which money was proposed to be raised, was neither noble nor commendable. For, the proposed levies hit the poor and middle classes including Harijans who were unable to bear any more tax burdens.

They suggested concrete alternative measures to raise resources and demanded that Rs. 10 crores be spent on Welfare of Harijans and other backward class people in third-Plan period. The fresh tax levies include 25% increase in land revenue without any exemptions for those with uneconomic holdings, lowering of exemption limit for professional tax from Rs. 6,000 gross annual income to Rs. 1,800, increase in tax on bus passenger and goods traffic from one-sixth to one-fifth of the value of fare, and sales tax from 5% to 6% of the sales out-turn.

Besides taxes sought to be increased through the Bill, the State Government has since through notifications increased water rates by 25%, urban property taxes by 25% and also raised the entertainment tax. This increase has been effected in 7 taxes and rumours are afloat that similar increases will be made in other taxes.

Simultaneously the Government has declared that these tax increases were quite small and people should prepare themselves to bear additional taxation of Rs. 40 crores in the next three years.

It is this threat of unbearable burdens imposed and yet to come that have raised a wave of resentment and indignation against tax policies of Kairon Ministry and given birth to a unique upsurge of sentiments of popular unity.

A united mass movement against temporary tax measures is developing throughout the Punjab. The united stand taken by all the opposition Parties inside the legislature to the Temporary Taxation Bill gave fillip to the growth of a united movement outside.

The Opposition Legislators' Convention held at Ludhiana on June 3 had issued a call for observance of June 17 as Anti-Tax Protest Day through joint public meetings and rallies.

The units of the State Communist Party had already planned to hold demonstrations and public meetings on June 16 and 17. On both these days and especially on June 17 numerous public meetings and rallies were held throughout the State.

The most notable rally of fifty thousand citizens took place in the city of Amritsar. It was addressed by the leaders of almost all opposition Parties. On the same night another big rally under the auspices of the Communist Party was held at Nangal.

Before and since that day a large number of public meetings have been held in almost all the districts of the State, both in urban and rural areas.

This time the Hindi region of the State, Rohtak, Hissar and Karnal districts, is not lagging behind. The people of that region are marching shoulder to shoulder with those of Punjab region in opposition to the fresh tax burdens.

The opposition to new levies is cutting across all Party barriers. The State INTUC has passed a resolution condemning the temporary taxes which hit the labouring masses the most.

In spite of tactics of threats and cajolery employed by the Ministry, the INTUC working committee has refused to rescind their resolution.

All Trade Unions, Kisan Sabhas and State Dehati Mazdoor Sabhas have passed resolutions of protest and are participating in the common movement. Almost the entire press barring a few dailies which depend for their very existence on government patronage has criticised the fresh levies.

Most notable among them is the English Daily Tribune which has repeatedly written editorials sharply criticising temporary tax proposals, which hit poor and middle classes, and urged the State Government to withdraw them.

A very welcome feature of the current situation in the State is that communal issues have for the time being receded into the background. The fight against tax burdens has come to occupy the centre of the political stage in the Punjab.

A very good opportunity has been provided to the Communists and other democratic forces to build up unity of Hindu and Sikh masses, of Hindi and Punjab regions, of urban and rural masses, in a common movement against tax burdens imposed by the Congress Government.

It is the fear of growing unity of the popular masses that has upset the State Chief Minister Kairon. He has been touring the State and in certain towns has addressed public meetings, which as usual were arranged through administrative machinery.

At all these meetings, he has been using unrestrained, abusive and provocative language. He has issued threats of crushing all opposition to the new taxes. He is

trying to create a rift among Harijans and non-Harijan masses. But the leaders of the Communist Party and other opposition Parties have refused to be cowed down or to fall a prey to his provocative tactics.

They are working steadily and with a calm head to build a united mass movement. They are trying to defeat the game of Kairon to disrupt popular unity by hoodwinking the Harijans and setting them against other sections of the people.

After touring some districts, Chief Minister Kairon boastfully declared at Chandigarh that the people approved of the new levies and stood behind him. The opposition legislators challenged him through a press statement to hold a referendum on the issue to prove his claim.

Again only recently at a big joint rally held at Jullundur on July 10, Ch. Devi Lal, Opposition leader in the Assembly, challenged him to resign from the Assembly along with him and elicit public opinion through by-elections in Sarhali and Fatehabad constituencies (respectively of the Chief Minister and of the leader of the opposition). Kairon has refused to accept either of the

just or unjust the correct criterion is not the declared purpose for which it is meant, but whether those on whom it is levied are capable of bearing the burden or not.

"The leaders of the ruling Party are deliberately confusing the issue by linking temporary taxes to Harijan Welfare. The meeting considers it a nefarious game of the government to drag the issue of the Harijan Welfare into the arena of political controversy over taxes."

The Convention held that a government which was guilty of rampant corruption, wasteful expenditure and extravagance forfeited the moral right to impose more tax burdens on the back of common people.

The Convention did not take a merely negative attitude in relation to the question of resources. It suggested alternative methods in the following words:

"The meeting therefore demands that in order to raise resources for Harijan Welfare and other schemes of development, the government should put an end to corruption, wastage and extravagance and effect utmost economy in expenditure, reduce the

number of Ministers, plug leakage in revenue and implement the recommendations of Resources and Retrenchment Committee."

It is the raising of this demand for implementation of the recommendations of the Resources and Retrenchment Committee that hits the State Government in the most vulnerable spot.

This Committee was appointed by the State Government in 1957 and it submitted its report in 1958-59. It consisted of three members, one of whom S. Ajmer Singh is now Revenue Minister, another Harbans Lal, a State Minister and the third Darbari Lal Gupta, a member of the Public Service Commission.

According to recommendations of the Committee an annual income of Rs. 14.98 crores can accrue to State Exchequer, without any large scale taxation, through economies in expenditure (Rs. 20 lacs a year in Police, Rs. one crore a year in General Administration) and development of sources of no-tax revenue (Forest, Agriculture, Transport etc.) and similar measures.

According to another set of recommendations of the Committee, Rs. 13 crores can accrue as non-recurring income—including Rs. 5 crore cut in proposed expenditure on Chandigarh capital. All the opposition parties support this Committee's recommendations and demand their implementation.

But it is the State Government that is refusing to do so. In fact the Report of the Committee has been consigned by Kairon to the dust-bin.

Certain misgivings and questions may arise in connection with the anti-tax movement in the Punjab. It may be asked: How is it that Akalis and Jan Sanghis—who are poles apart in their communal demands—have come together in a Convention to oppose temporary taxes?

How is it that the Communist Party has come together with them on the same platform? This seeming miracle has been

wrought by deep urge among the common masses for unity against the tax burdens imposed and proposed to be imposed by Congress Government in the coming period.

For the Communist Party it is a tactic of temporary unity with leadership of all opposition Parties, including communal Parties, in order to build unity of masses from below. This step has to be taken in the interest of development of a common mass movement in the concrete situation of our State.

The experience of last one month and a half has fully borne out correctness of our tactical line. Hindu and Sikh masses in urban areas who did not for the past many years come together in common rallies have in their thousands gathered together to protest against taxes which hit them all alike.

Communal issues and sentiments have been relegated to the background. There is a new upsurge of unity among masses which reminds one of the good old days of national movement."

The Communist Party has not compromised its position on the issue of taxes either. The resolution adopted by the Convention

two alternatives and has kept mum.

It is in the context of the growing mass movement and isolation of Kairon Ministry on the issue of taxes that the leaders of all opposition Parties met in a Convention at Jullundur on July 10.

They adopted a resolution on Temporary Taxes unanimously and decided to set up a Coordination Committee to discuss and implement such measures as could be undertaken by them jointly in the interest of anti-tax movement.

It would be interesting to study the approach jointly adopted by all parties in their resolution.

The resolution starts with the declaration that the Convention is behind none in championing the cause of Harijan uplift and welfare of other backward classes. It demanded increased allocation for the purpose in the Third Five Year Plan.

The resolution says: "The meeting deprecates the meagre allocation of Rs. 2.22 crores for welfare schemes provided in the Third Five Year Plan. It demands that maximum allocation be made out of the consolidation funds to implement the welfare schemes."

It further urges the government "to implement the recommendations of the Schedule Castes Commissioner and of Scavengers' Committee and Sweepers' Model Service Rules."

The Convention opposed the temporary tax proposals because in its opinion they were "irrational, unjust and ill-conceived and hit the poor and middle class people, including the Harijans, who are unable to bear any more tax burdens."

The Convention gave a fitting answer, in the following words, to the Chief Minister's slander that opposition to temporary taxes was tantamount to opposition to the cause of Harijans Welfare:

"The meeting considers that in order to decide whether a tax is

of Opposition Parties is very close to the position adopted by the Party. The Communist Party retains full initiative in its hands and is carrying on independent mass mobilisation all the while.

The coming months will show how far the Communist Party can take advantage of the sentiments of mass unity unleashed by our correct tactical approach in building and developing a common movement of people against tax policies of the Congress government and for support to its alternative proposals to raise resources for Harijan Welfare and other schemes of development.

The popular movement against tax burdens is yet in the initial stages. It is of the utmost importance that the leaders of the movement, and in particular Communist Party, fight back Kairon's provocative tactics skillfully and calmly, and build the movement steadily and step by step.

Big joint rallies have been planned in the weeks to come. It may be possible to hold peaceful mass demonstrations some time later.

Independent mass mobilisation by the Communist Party and by mass organisations will play a crucial role in the development of the movement. All Party units and units of Trade Union, Kisan Sabha and Dehati Mazdoor Sabha must be on their feet on this issue.

A widespread explanatory campaign among Harijans and other backward classes is an essential feature of anti-tax movement so that unity of the people is maintained and disruptive game of Kairon Ministry is foiled.

The President of Indian Union, Dr. Radhakrishnan, has so far withheld his assent to the Punjab Temporary Taxation Bill. At the request of the Opposition, He has incited a deputation of Opposition Parties to meet him in the first week of August to place their views before him. This is the result of the common movement of masses for the last 7 weeks.

Growing Mass Unity Against Temporary Tax Measures

By MASTER HARI SINGH

NEW AMBASSADOR FROM MONGOLIA

The new ambassador of Mongolia to India, Dashyn Adilbish, presented his credentials to President of India on July 5.

CONVEYING to the President and the people of India greetings on this occasion, the ambassador said that the people of Mongolia "have watched with deep interest and admiration the remarkable progress in various aspects of national development that has been made by the Indian people during the years of independence" and wished them greater and greater success.

Referring to the past close relationship between the two countries, the ambassador expressed happiness that the traditional relations were now steadily developing and strengthening on the firm basis of principles of co-existence.

He also assured that it would be his constant endeavour to develop and further strengthen the bonds of friendship and co-

operation between these two countries.

Replying to the ambassador's speech, Dr. Radhakrishnan said, *inter alia*, that the great principles



Dashyn Adilbish

of culture were common to both the countries and that "...if we remember these great principles and the supremacy of the moral law, I have no doubt we will go

forward a great deal."

He said: "We work together in international organisations. We both oppose racial discrimination and colonialism. I think these bonds will grow stronger in the years to come."

The new ambassador was born on February 8, 1917 in the Uburkhangai province of Mongolia. He graduated from the Moscow Institute of Oriental Studies.

During 1935-38, he worked in the Mongolian Motor Transport Service and the local council of the trade unions. He became the Chairman of the Central Council of Mongolian trade unions during 1946-50. Meanwhile, he was also elected four times as a member of Parliament.

From 1950-59, he worked as Counsellor and Ambassador in USSR and Hungary and later became the Vice-Chairman of Mongolian Committee for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries and also the Vice-Chairman of the Administrative Board of the Council of Ministers, which post he held before coming to India.

NEW AGE

Dangerous Portents In Vietnam

✧ By A Special Correspondent

The eighth anniversary of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indo-China came on July 20 this year against the sombre background of an extremely serious situation in Vietnam—with the U.S. military intervention in the Southern part of that country becoming still more aggressive and with Ngo Dinh Diem's fascist terror against the people creating new records in brutality.

THAT the Geneva Agreements were being violated with impunity by the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen in South Vietnam has been a well-known fact.

But now the International Commission for Supervision and Control, entrusted by the Geneva Conference with the task of correctly implementing the Agreements, has itself underwritten these violations with the special report submitted by the Indian Chairman and the Canadian member of the Commission on June 2 last to

heard. The objections raised by the North were just ignored.

The Commission majority did not think it necessary to make any enquiries. The South Vietnam authorities had produced some evidence and that was enough for the Commission majority. North Vietnam's charge that all this so-called evidence had been fabricated was not even listened to.

The bias with which the Commission majority approached the problem is all too evident in this method of accepting everything that the

IN his press conference on July 2, U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk complimented India for having played a leading role in Vietnam as a member of the Interantional Control Commission there. It is the first time since the Geneva Agreement was signed on July 20, 1954, bringing the "dirty war" in Indo-China to a close that the U.S. has found occasion to praise India's role in Vietnam. This follows in the wake of the special report of the International Commission approved by its majority (India and Canada, with Poland dissenting). The report has brought badly needed grist to U.S. imperialist plans in Vietnam.

The accompanying article analyses the special report of the Commission's majority.

the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference.

And that is what adds to the gravity of the situation.

There was no dispute in the Commission that the situation in Vietnam was fast deteriorating. But because the majority of the Commission (Canada and India) refused to put its finger on the root cause of this, the Commission could not arrive at any unanimous decisions as provided for in Article 42 of the Geneva Agreements.

The Polish member of the Commission refused to sign the report and the special report of the majority remains a one-sided appraisal of the Vietnam situation.

The biased and partisan attitude of the Commission stands out not only in the contents of the report but even in its structure and in the method they adopted for arriving at conclusions.

Approval Of Charges

The main point of the report—by its arrangement, its order of paragraphs, and its size—becomes approval of the charge made by South Vietnam against the North of "subversion and aggression" in its zone.

As against the emphatic conclusions reached on this score, the Commission majority's mildly-worded findings on the U.S. intervention pales into insignificance.

Worse is the manner in which the Commission majority reached its conclusions. The South Vietnam authorities had made the charge and only they were

South Vietnam authorities said and condemning the North out of court.

All the more so when it is remembered that the Commission in all its interim reports up to the Eleventh had not found North Vietnam guilty of violation of any of the articles which it is charged with violating today—Articles 10, 19, 24 and 27 of the Geneva Agreements.

Dominating Bias

The same bias dominates the approach of the Commission majority when it deals with the question of the U.S. intervention in South Vietnam and U.S. participation in the war against the people there.

North Vietnam had provided the Commission with all the details of this intervention.

The Commission majority itself summarises them in its report—placing the number of military personnel and quantity of important war materials introduced into South Vietnam from December 1961 up to May 5, 1962, at approximately 5,000 personnel (which are likely to increase to 8,000 shortly), 157 helicopters, ten reconnaissance aircraft, 34 jet aircraft, 34 fighters, 21 transport aircraft, 35 unspecified aircraft, 40 armoured and 20 scout cars, numerous armoured boats and amphibious craft, 3,000 tons and 1,350 cases of war material and seven warships (exclusive of five destroyers of the U.S. Seventh Fleet for training purposes). These were not just charges made by North Vietnam, every-

one of them could easily be confirmed from reports in the U.S. Press and statements of official U.S. spokesmen.

Top official spokesmen of the U.S. had said the USA was fighting an "undeclared war" in South Vietnam, questions had been asked in President Kennedy's Press Conferences about U.S. personnel being killed in action in the jungles of South Vietnam.

With all these self-admitted facts of U.S. participation in and direction of the war in South Vietnam before it, what conclusion did the Commission majority reach? "As the Commission had been denied mandatory controls,.... it has not been able to make a precise assessment of the number of military personnel and the quantum of war material brought in."

When the South Vietnam authorities make charges against the North, it is enough to hear them and examine the fabricated evidence they produce to approve the charge against the North. But the U.S. statements and admissions are not enough for the Commission majority to condemn U.S. intervention, there it suddenly finds itself unable "to make a precise assessment." What more need be said about the Commission majority's total lack of objectivity!

And even when it does give an assessment, it is that "the Commission's Teams have controlled the entry of 72 personnel, and observed but not controlled 173 military personnel"—a total of 245 when the actual flow of U.S. soldiers into South Vietnam in this period was in thousands.

With such minimising of the extent of the intervention, the Commission actually encourages the U.S. aggressors in South Vietnam.

When a U.S. military command under a four-star General is actually in charge of the operations in which U.S. soldiers are participating employing U.S. arms and equipment, the Commission majority is of the view that "though there may not be any formal military alliance between the Governments of the United States of America and the Republic of Vietnam.... (it) amounts to a factual military alliance." How considerate is the Commission-majority to the USA and South Vietnam!

Because it has already slipped so much down the path of this biased approach when South Vietnam justifies the U.S. intervention saying it was needed to defend itself from subversion from the North, the Commission-majority does not even call this bluff by stating that the U.S. intervention in Vietnam had begun in 1950 when there was no demarcation line and Southern zone and no question of subversion from the North.

It is here actually that the Commission majority's failure is most glaring.

The United States had set up the Military Assistance Advisory Group in Vietnam in 1950 when the entire nation was fighting the war of resistance against the French. At the time of Dien Bien Phu, the USA had wanted to use nuclear weapons to extend the war and bring the whole of Vietnam under U.S. control.

It went reluctantly to the Geneva Conference and did not at all like the Agreements that were reached then. Within two months of the signing of these Agreements it rigged up the SEATO military bloc to undermine the Geneva Agreements and arbitrarily designated South Vietnam as SEATO's protected area.

U.S. intervention thus did not come in answer to any subversion from outside, U.S. intervention began and has continued with the aim of defeating the Geneva Agreements, keeping Vietnam divided and using South Vietnam as a base and bridge-head for U.S. aggressive plans in Southeast Asia.

The people of South Vietnam wanted the reunification of the country, they had not fought and sacrificed in the bitter resistance war against the French to see their country become a new-type colony of the U.S. They resisted and the U.S. found in Ngo Dinh Diem a willing tool to suppress the people and follow a policy of perpetuating the division of the country.

The USA is in need of Diem to suppress the people and hand over the territory of South Vietnam for U.S. war preparations. Diem needs the USA because without its support he will not last a day. U.S. intervention and the brutal repression of the people are thus two sides of the same coin and the root cause of all the trouble in Vietnam.

The Commission majority does not say a word about this—and by its refusal to nail down U.S. intervention as the basic and only cause of the Vietnam situation, it whitewashes the U.S. intervention and encourages the U.S. to intensify this intervention.

By simultaneously holding North Vietnam guilty of subversion and causing the present situation in South Vietnam, the Commission majority standers the just and patriotic struggle of a people against U.S. intervention and neo-colonialism.

The glee with which the South Vietnam authorities and the USA have welcomed the

SEE PAGE 13

U. P. CABINET DIFFERENCES

* FROM FRONT PAGE.

his seat and after that none else dared to come out in Gupta's support.

Among those of Gupta's staunch supporters who have now fallen out with him on this and similar issues can be named Acharya Jugal Kishore, Education Minister; Algu Rai Shastri, Forest Minister; and Chaturbhuj Sharma, Local Self Government Minister.

They constituted upto recently the pillars of Gupta's support both in the government and the party organisation and they are important persons in their own right.

Hence the meeting of the members of the government ended in a fiasco for Gupta.

Perhaps symptomatic of the whole situation in the government is the decision of the Cabinet that the new taxes will be proposed individually by the Ministers to whose department they relate.

This decision had to be taken because the Finance Minister point-blank refused to pilot the proposals.

Now Congressmen of the State, members of the government and others, are preparing for the PCC meeting scheduled to be held here on July 28.

By all accounts it should be a stormy meeting and it will also be a very important meeting from the point of view of the future of so many things in the State, including, of course, the future of this government.

Nehru To Attend Meeting

Pandit Nehru will be coming to this meeting. Nobody can say what stand he will take. But it should be clear that even if he decides to throw his weight in favour of Gupta's proposals, they will neither have a smooth sailing, nor will they become any more acceptable either to the people or to the Congressmen of the State.

Meanwhile, preparations for the struggle, which appears to have become unavoidable, are being intensified.

Compared to the massive turn out on June 16 and 17, perhaps the show on July 1 was not so big, yet it was big enough to set larks of people of the State in motion for the second time within less than a fortnight.

Despite the handicaps under which the day had to be observed—lack of enough time to prepare, utter non-cooperation of the Praja

Socialist Party and the Socialist Party and, finally the saddening impact of the news of the passing away of two national leaders on the same day—the hundreds of demonstrations that took place all over U.P. on that day clearly expressed the determination of the people and their parties not to be cowed down by the threats of the Chief Minister.

On June 30, the Chief Minister was to visit Etawah. The people there decided to stage a demonstration and to present a memorandum to him.

Arrests Precede Visit

And even though Etawah is not the seat of any big movement, the idea either irked or frightened the Chief Minister and his officials so much that 18 Communists and other local leaders were ordered to be arrested a night before Gupta set his foot in the town.

Now perhaps his arresting squads will precede him wherever he goes in the State. When I mentioned this incident to an important State Congress leader, his comment was: "Those whom the Gods wish to destroy they first deprive of their senses..."