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Sack-Pee

# Belgrade Glad Tidings

# NEW AGE

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The sceptics will make a wry face. Belgrade has succeeded beyond belief. Peace and reason have cause for spectacular rejoicing. In the brief but potent appeal to Khrushchov and Kennedy and in the long Declaration on world affairs, there is the clear impress of maturity and of unity. Non-alignment has found itself a precise image.

THE opponents of non-alignment are already making rude noises. By its enemies, we shall know the value of non-alignment. Take this typical reaction from Washington:

"The Indian proposal favouring an appeal to President Kennedy and the Soviet Premier Mr. Khrushchov to meet without delay to avert a new war is not likely to enhance India's reputation for wisdom or that of the neutral nations as moderators. It will be interpreted here as an attempt to put down a forest fire with a garden sprinkler.

"Moreover, it is a revival of the proposal made in the UN General Assembly last year, which evoked more mirth than meditation. Since then the world has descended too deep into the cold war to be extricated by sentiments of faith or charity.

### IMPERIALIST RAGE

"It can be said on the highest authority that what has transpired in Belgrade confirms the worst fears harboured here. They do not mince words indicating the official disappointment. One goes so far as to suggest that the proposed appeal was probably Mr. Khrushchov's idea. US partisans read in the speeches and decisions of Belgrade evidence of double standards on the part of neutral nations." (C. H. Vohra, Washington correspondent of Times of India, September 6).

The Statesman correspondent at Belgrade (a certain Godfrey Jansen who used to be in the Indian legation at Beirut and is a well-known

Americophile) is totally upset. He writes (September 6): "The conference's remarkably mild reaction to Russia's resumption of nuclear tests accords ill with the emphatic claims made by almost all speakers that its only strength was a moral one..."

"The effectiveness and influence of the non-aligned area, which could be very considerable, would be much diminished if it is known to have a selected rather

by MOHIT SEN

than a sensitive conscience as Belgrade has revealed".

Putting the imperialist response with true Nazi arrogance and stupidity, West Germany's Foreign Minister Dr. Heinrich von Brentano "said here yesterday that his Government would withdraw diplomatic recognition of any of the non-aligned nations attending the Belgrade conference who decided to recognise East Germany as a sovereign State" (Hindustan Times, September 6).

These outbursts reveal a cardinal truth of our times. Juggle and balance as they will, the imperialists essentially cannot stomach non-alignment — for them it is immoral, as Dulles had said long ago. Or to put it another way, non-alignment per se is anti-imperialist. Just as peace is anti-imperialist.

Otherwise it just cannot be understood what the US is annoyed about. How can it object to another Summit to work out peaceful paths away from this "unprecedentedly

critical situation" unless it likes a critical situation to shore up its economic and political crisis.

The lengthy Declaration of Belgrade is, of course, excellently concrete. It calls for the radical eradication of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism. It announces support for Algeria, denounces the French blitz against Bizerta, condemns the Portuguese massacres in Angola. And it brands the US base at Guantanamo in Cuba as a likely source of conflict. It calls for the seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

It wants the convening of a Disarmament Conference (or a special UN Assembly Session) to draw up a Disarmament Treaty. It demands talks for the cessation of all nuclear tests and for an immediate moratorium on such tests. It calls for the solving of the German problem without recourse to force.

If the US is pricked by the appeal to conscience in the brief resolution, it must be on the point of explosive rage with the detailed and concrete Declaration. If the first is anti-imperialist in its implications, the second is anti-imperialist by the very tabulation of its contents.

This confirmation of the anti-imperialist character of non-alignment is then the first and primary reason for our hailing the good tidings from Belgrade.

There are other reasons also. It is good and healthy that the Declaration explicitly states that there is to be no organisation of a third bloc. Such a third bloc would, to maintain its identity have to adopt equi-distant positions, which at times would suit the imperialists perfectly. It would only convert non-alignment into a barrier from the bridge that it is today.

Non-alignment is a trend and an approach to international problems which seeks to preserve, stabilise and expand the influence of peaceful coexistence. It is to serve this aim that it pronounces upon international events and works out its corresponding action. This would entail the boldest taking of sides, fiercest partisanship on issue after issue without, however, any organisational tie-up with either of the two opposing camps.

### FLEXIBLE ACTION

It is the aim of and the flexible action for co-existence that brings the non-aligned countries into the zone of peace together with the socialist countries. Building a third bloc could

disturb the zone of peace and even bifurcate it. Belgrade has refused to advance in this dangerous direction.

The third reason why we in India should welcome Belgrade is because of the healthy influence and important role played by Pandit Nehru as the leader of the Indian delegation.

### INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION

Yugoslavia, Indonesia, UAR, Ghana and others did excellent work and contributed significantly to the successful outcome of the Conference. The clearcut and comprehensive speech of Tito was a great aid to the clarification of issues. Sukarno and Nkrumah's radical stand added the necessary punch to the conference and the militancy of the Declaration. Nasser forcibly brought into the world picture the resurgence of the Arab and the African.

But it was obvious that in a non-aligned conference the chief role had to be that of our country and the most influential spokesman had to be Pandit Nehru. This is not chiefly because of our size but, above all, because of the maturity and wisdom that long years of pioneering in non-alignment have produced. It was these

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## TARA SINGH'S WRONG STAND

by JAGJIT SINGH LYALLPURI

JAGJIT Singh Lyallpuri, Member, Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India has issued the following statement on the situation in Punjab:

In the past few days, Master Tara Singh has made some funny statements to the Press, which I hope would be resented by every democratic supporter of the linguistic reorganisation of Punjab.

These statements are also in clear contradiction of the recent statements of the Akali Dal and its spokesman, Sant Fateh Singh, in which they have given to understand that they also demand reorganisation of the State on the same democratic principles which have been applied elsewhere in India.

The application of that principle means that the demand is in the interests of the Punjabi people as a whole, and it has nothing to do with the interests of Hindus, Sikhs or any other religious community alone.

If that is so one fails to understand, how it can be interpreted as a discrimination against the Sikhs alone. Such statements in the past have already created misunderstanding among the Hindus and Sikhs and have impeded the unity of all Punjabis, whether Hindus or

Sikhs, which alone can force the Government to concede the democratic demand of linguistic reorganisation of Punjab.

And now again, at this crucial hour, the linking of this democratic demand with a supposed discrimination against the Sikhs, its reference to the UNO, or any arbitration, would surely do greatest damage to the democratic movement for linguistic reorganisation, and strengthen the hands of communal forces as well as the adamant Government.

### FALSE DEMAND

The Communist Party has made it very clear that the bogey of discrimination against the Sikhs is false and unreal, and the demand for linguistic reorganisation has nothing to do with the sectional interests or rights of the Sikhs alone.

The Communist Party was not in favour of a fast by Masterji at this critical juncture, and the Party would welcome it if Masterji gives up his fast, and devotes his entire energies for forging unity of the Punjabi people around the democratic demand of linguistic reorganisation.

But it must be made absolutely clear that to link the condition for ending his fast with the appointment of an arbitrator for going into an alleged discrimination against Sikhs, is not at all in consonance with the democratic principles behind the demand for linguistic reorganisation, and this appears to be an attempt to utilise the sentiments of the people for an unprincipled compromise with the Government.

It is hoped that the Akali Dal and Sant Fateh Singh would make their position clear on this point. The Communist Party is pledged to build Hindu-Sikh unity and mobilise the Punjabi-speaking people for forcing the Government to concede the demand of linguistic reorganisation, in spite of the unwarranted repression launched by the Kairon Government against it. At the same time the Party makes it clear that it would oppose and expose any move to propagate the demand on communal lines, as is once again sought to be posed by Masterji in his recent statements.

It is hoped that in the interests of a genuine demand of Punjabi Suba, the Akali Dal would dissociate itself from the recent stand taken by Masterji and thus assist the democratic forces inside the country to carry forward this demand.

## Stop Repression In The Punjab!

THE Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India calls the attention of our people to the large-scale indiscriminate repression which Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon and his Government have launched throughout Punjab. Among others, many leaders and workers of the Communist Party are being arrested and imprisoned almost on a mass scale.

The Secretariat of the Communist Party of India emphatically repudiates the wild accusations of the Punjab Chief Minister against our Party. These accusations are a crude provocation and a pretext to suppress the secular forces in the Punjab in the forefront of which our Party has always stood.

When the critical situation in that State calls for statesmanship, calmness and circumspection, this wanton line of police repression cannot but aggravate the situation.

The Communist Party strongly protests against the repressive measures of the Punjab Government which seems to have lost all its bearings. The Party urges upon the Central Government to intervene in the situation and stop Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon from pursuing the dangerous course he has taken. It calls upon its Party units and indeed all democratic organisations and democratic forces to raise their voice against this mass repression by the Punjab Government.

(September 5)

# PUNJAB— crisis and cure

The country is proud of the bravery of the Sikhs, and who can forget their sacrifices in the cause of Indian liberation? The demand for a linguistic State in Punjab finds an echo in every Indian heart, why deny the Punjab what others have already got?

There has been a lot of sympathy for Master Tara Singh's fast because of his age, and the deep concern about the communal situation in the border State; if the worst happened.

There is, however, a basic difference between the earlier mass movements for linguistic States and the one now on in Punjab under Akali leadership. In Andhra it also began with a hunger strike. In Maharashtra it faced no less repression. In both these cases, despite the earlier resistance of the Central Government, the popular movements triumphed. The longer the movement lasted the more it united and rallied the people of the State and won support from the rest of the country. The police terror did not avail against their just demand.

In Punjab an entirely different picture is emerging. The longer Master Tara Singh's fast lasts the greater grows the polarisation between the Sikhs and the Hindus of Punjab and worsens their mutual relations. The more thoroughly the issues involved are discussed the more Akali leader exposes himself as exploiting the democratic demand of a linguistic State as a mask to advance his communal aims and proves from his own words that the Punjab Suba under his leadership would be a Sikh State.

## worst advocate

More, as he sees that his communalism makes him suspect. He drags in the traditional "third party", the foreigners as arbitrators or the final court of appeal. Masterji is, thus, proving himself to be the worst possible advocate of the Punjab State.

The Visalandhra and Samyukt Maharashtra movements won because they represented the just and the united urge of their respective peoples against New Delhi high-handedness and injustice. In Punjab the Akali-led Sikh communal movement exploiting the Punjab Suba slogan is destined to fail because communalism cannot easily triumph against nationalism. The Akali leaders themselves have begun to realise this.

After the inconclusive Fateh Singh-Nehru talks the Sant declared that it is not the Akalis but the Government that will have to modify its stand. Readers of the daily press are aware that it is the Akalis who are daily shifting their stand.

The fasting Akali chief seeking UN intervention has rightly shocked Indian patriotic opinion but Masterji's way out was no accident, it followed logically and meritably from the Akali communal stand-point.

Despite the later disavowals of the other Akali leaders the call for foreign intervention was already

contained in the resolution of the Akali Dal Working Committee passed the earlier day, August 31, wherein an appeal was made to the people in India and abroad for "moral" support in our struggle for the rights of man" in this "drama of glaring zulum".

## anti-national appeal

The next day, September 1, Masterji offered to call off his fast if the Punjab Suba issue was raised "effectively" in the UN. This was secured out of him by the Reuter correspondent. The Akali Chief thought, "their case could be sponsored by any friendly country, notably the United Kingdom, as a senior partner of the Commonwealth. Besides, the British Government could justify its action on a moral basis because of its past connexions with India."

On hearing this some of the Akali leaders themselves were "visibly perturbed". The Akali spokesman later explained, "Akalis do not intend taking the initiative in approaching the foreign power" (Hindustan Times, September 2.) Undismayed Masterji again repeated "The UN is the ultimate tribunal and none should object if it is approached." (Hindustan Times, September 3.)

Soon it began dawning upon the Akali leader that he was falling foul of Indian opinion and Times of India, September 4 reported that he "confessed that he did not understand implications of an approach to the UN."

To a foreign correspondent he said "you see, I never considered this question of the UN very seriously. (Statesman, September 4.) The Akali leader was so blinded by the communal passion within him that he uttered words which he had to soon eat up himself.

Even the reactionary pro-Western press of the Capital realises the mad impossibility. For example, the Times of India, September 4, editorially commented, "The proposal for reference of the issue to the UN is indeed so bizarre that it is a surprise that the Akali leader ever came to put it forward."

Its columnist Prem Bhatia wrote "the Akalis have done themselves no good by referring even implicitly to the possibility of a reference to the UN."

All this is really underplaying the significance of the Akali leaders' desperate statements. The demand for a Punjab State, the problem of redrawing the internal map of India is strictly a domestic affair of the Indian people themselves.

For any Indian public leader to seek the intervention of any foreign agency like the UN and the British Government is to put himself out of court with Indian national opinion. Jinnah played this game

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in the past and it led to the partition of the country. Sheikh Abdullah also thought of this UN business. Must the proud Sikhs of our country suffer a political leader who stirs such angry memories from the tragic past.

After the failure of Fateh Singh-Nehru talks the first propagandist device of the Akali Dal Executive was to attack the Nehru Government and the Congress for taking a "markedly communal stand". The complete loss of balance by the Akali leadership was revealed in their statement which contained words like: "Sacrificing high principles of secularism, the Prophet of Panch Sheel, who finds it convenient to play the role of a mediator in every international dispute, has proved himself to be an imperial lord, throwing all principles of democratic conventions to the winds in his own country."

It is from the above outlook that first emerged the proposal to appeal to the UN and when that mistimed then came the second one of an arbitrator "outside the influence" of Prime Minister Nehru.

## outrageous suggestion

Whom did the Akali chief prefer to Pandit Nehru? The first was Jenkins, the last British Governor of Punjab, under whom that blood-curdling communal carnage took place and Punjab was split in two.

The other arbitrator whom Master Tara Singh preferred was another British civilian Moon, who opted to stay on after Indian independence. He was made an Advisor in the Planning Commission and did his best for the private sector and foreign collaboration as long as he was there. He is now back into the arms of his masters, in a fat salary executive job with a big Calcutta British firm.

Like the Muslim communalist leaders of the past Master Tara Singh thought not only of foreign intervention in the hour of crisis of his communal politics but even recalled the names of British civilians as arbitrators to help him out. He has obviously not broken with his old British imperialist links.

The names of these foreign arbitrators upset Indian opinion no less than the earlier summoning the UN into India's affair. The Akali chief then thought of Indian names. The first one was of course, Rajaji. The second, the PSP leader Asoka Mehta who had already stated that the Nehru Government was being communal by not according to the Akali demand.

The third name was the inscrutable J.P. who denied any political purpose in his visit to the fasting leader and Sant Fateh Singh the first day but who readily agreed the second day to assume the role of the arbitrator provided the Government agreed with the Akali suggestion.

To cover up his foreign as well as Indian company the Akali leader also included the name of Ajoy Ghosh. When it was pointed out to the Akali leadership that the Government would not abdicate its political authority by

agreeing to arbitration by the leaders of the opposition he further changed his proposal about the arbitration board to consist of one of the above, one Akali representative and another appointed by the Government.

As the days fly and crisis deepens the Akalis are also watering down the content of their demand from the acceptance of Punjab Suba in principle to whether rejection of the demand does not constitute discrimination against the Sikhs!

As we go to the press the mediators are busy evolving face-saving formulas for both sides. The Akalis may have lost political and moral caste but Master Tara Singh's continued fast continues to be a grave threat to communal peace in the State.

## hindu communalists

The Prime Minister's rejection of the Punjab Suba was fully exploited by the Hindu communalists to strengthen themselves and poison the minds of their following against possible approaches towards a constructive and just solution.

The District organising secretaries of the Jan Sangh in Punjab have expressed their concern at the Prime Minister's offer of more power to all Regional Committees on the ground that it would "only strengthen the separatist tendencies" and demanded "scrapping of the regional formula" (INS, September 3.)

The Arya Samaj leaders assembled at Jullundur, September 3, complimented Prime Minister Nehru for his firmness and demanded "greater Punjab" with Himachal Pradesh thrown in!

The Arya Pratinidhi Sabha of Punjab has called upon the people to vote for such candidates in the next general elections as would sponsor the cause of Hindi. It disagreed with the Prime Minister's statement in the Lok Sabha that the Punjab was the dominant language in Punjab. It claimed that Hindi is the language of 70 per cent of the population and the first language of Punjab.

If the honour of the Panth is the slogan on the Sikh side the honour of Hindi is being reiterated from the Hindu communal side.

## communist stand

The Communists have been the ardent champions of the Punjab State, sharply demarcating themselves from Akali communalism, and arguing with all that the only way in Punjab to combat the rampant communalism of the two sides was to accept the just linguistic demand of the Punjab people and make it the basis of uniting them against the communalist leaders of both the brands.

The acceptance of the principle is the first step in the hard and difficult task of creating the popular and political preconditions to realise it in practice.

The Communists have been the worst target of

Akali attack in the Punjab while the Congress has been "merging" with them off and on, only to encourage the Akalis to unleash one morcha after another, to advance their communal aims more and more.

As it became clear that the Akalis have landed themselves into a mess the cunning Kairon calculated that it was the chance of his life to identify the secular Communists with the communal Akalis, charge them with threatening law and order and remove them from the scene of action during this critical election year, through large-scale arrests.

On September 1, Chief Minister Kairon declared against the "disruptive activities of Communists in the State" and publicly announced his mysterious discovery minus evidence, "the Communists have decided to join the Punjab Suba agitation, disrupt law and order and gamble for votes during the General Elections". He also conjured up the picture of "acts of sabotage" and the Communist wanting "to see India go to pieces".

## mad attack

The next day, September 2, Harkishan Surjeet, Secretary of our Party unit in the State categorically repudiated all the allegations of the Chief Minister and stated:

"The Communist Party has not entered into any alliance with the Akalis either on the question of present agitation or the next general elections.

"It appears that under the cover of these allegations the Chief Minister wants to attack the Communist Party and suppress it."

Surjeet has been arrested as also as many of the Punjab Communists as Kairon's police could lay their hands on. Kairon is only carrying out his well-known reactionary tactics of slandering his worst first and attacking his hardest next.

In the current situation in Punjab it produces a crazy situation a Government claiming to stand for nationalism and secularism is unleashing a wave of repression against the most consistently anti-communal and secular forces represented by our Party.

Kairon cannot knock out of existence the Communist Party. His slanders and police attacks do weaken the forces of secularism, democracy and decency in the Punjab national life. In a situation where the Sikh and Hindu masses are being torn apart by their communal leaders this new round of repression against the Communist Party is best gift the power-mad and unscrupulous Chief Minister could make the Akali chiefs on the one side and the Jan Sangh and Arya Samaj leaders on the other. The Secretariat of our National Union has appealed to the Council Government to intervene promptly. Nothing is a more urgent and simpler demand in India's political situation today.

— P. C. JOSHI

# DANGEROUS "AID"-GIVERS

Last week we referred in this column to the difficulties which President Kennedy's long-term aid proposals were facing in the US Congress. Since then it seems some sort of a compromise has been arrived at between the legislature and the Administration, which will save the face of the Chief Executive while leaving the Congress free to slash the sums which he asks for aid.

FOR the five-year period for which the President wanted to obtain 8.8 billion dollars, the Congress has authorised only 7.2 billion dollars. This, too, will be subject to annual review, which, in the United States is only a synonym for an annual inquisition into the policies of the recipient countries.

The Congress has thus managed to retain the whip-lash in its own hands. The little consideration it has shown to the President in maintaining the form of his proposal is meant only to mollify public opinion at home and abroad which had been shocked by this unabashed disarray in the US ranks. The futility of this effort is, however, evident from the comments of the Indian press, which has invariably refused to be taken in by it.

Even the Hindustan Times, the most glib in this respect, has for once tried to see beyond the written word and said that "the processes of annual appropriations are unlikely to be merely occasions for the formal approval of long-term commitments which the President is being authorised to assume." The Indian Express has gone a step ahead to term what it calls the US "foreign aidship" a "ha'porth of tar" in comparison with the American "arms budget".

This being the real face of the US aid it is now up to our people, the Government and the businessmen to think of alternative means to fulfil the commitments under the Plan. No longer can they rest content with promises from the US President, or the American Ambassador here, both of whom now have to annually atone themselves to the music from the Capitol Hill. Nor can they be so sure about the aid from other Western countries whose generosity was but a reflection of the initial munificence of the United States.

## japan's ambitions

Japan is not a country of the West, yet, in its aid policies it has patterned itself on the leading western countries. Like them it exacts a heavy interest on the aid it gives, and ties its spending on its own machinery and equipment. These features are also a part of its 80 million dollar credit which it has given to India last month as part of the Aid-India Club's commitments for the first two years of the Third Plan. The rate of interest on this credit will be six per cent, that is nearly two-and-a-half times the rate which the USSR and most of the other socialist countries charge on their credit.

Japan's trade tactics are not unknown in India. Apart from "dumping", for which she was truly famous, her refusal to pay an adequate price for the Indian iron ore is too recent to require recapitulation. The

difficulties encountered in the utilisation of her earlier yen credit are also too fresh to need recounting here, and yet the authorities in Delhi have rushed in to accept the terms which she has offered.

Japan has, however, her own reasons to agree to give this aid to India. It can in this way sell her machinery and equipment in a country where, according to an economic journal, Communist countries have been making a visible impact. Her scheme is also a part of a grand design in which West Germany is her partner.

This design includes tie-ups between the firms of the two countries to exploit markets in India and the East. In fact, according to the Financial Express, September 3, Krupp, the firm which has given us the rotten Rourkela

steel works, is already exploring the possibility of such a tie-up with Japanese industrial units for "a division of export markets".

The news about the tie-up is ominous. The cartels in Germany and in Japan were the main force behind the fascist regimes in these two countries before the war. Their resurrection after the war with US blessings poses a new threat especially to the newly liberated countries.

In their anxiety to secure aid for their development they are prone to take the aid givers at their word. But the past history of the Krupps and the Mitsubishis makes it necessary that such credulity is given up.

The Japanese aid is expensive compared to aid from the socialist and even some of the Western countries. It is also actuated by designs, which, if allowed to materialise will strengthen inter-continental monopolies. Hence the need to be wary of this aid and its givers who carry the odium of having once landed the world into a catastrophe.

# AITUC's call for struggle

THE General Council of the AITUC which concluded its Session in Delhi on September 2, called for three main campaigns by the trade unions in the coming period—on Berlin, on Wages and on elections.

The General Report to the Council was presented by K.G. Sriwastava, Secretary. The report reviewed the developments since the 26th Session of the AITUC held in Calcutta in January this year. The Council discussed the report for two days and the discussion was summed up by S. A. Dange, MP, General Secretary, AITUC.

On the wages question, the Council reviewed the labour policy under the Plans. It was noted that because of steep rise in cost of living, workers in many industries are suffering actual wage cuts. The situation is particularly serious in the sweated and small-scale industries which are covered by the Minimum Wages legislation.

The wages fixed under the legislation by Government, years ago, were very low and require immediate revision. Also, particularly since there is no proper D. A. complement with the wages and no sliding scale, the price increases have made deep inroads into the workers' wages.

The Council directed the unions to pay special attention to organising the workers in these industries and conducting their struggles to improve living standards.

The Council also expressed the opinion that the Wage Boards are ceasing to play that role they were expected to play in the matter of wages. There were no doubt some gains be-

cause of the Wage Boards. But, after four years of the working of the six Wage Boards, the AITUC considered it necessary, in the prevailing situation, to modify the approach to these Boards.

The first modification is that the workers should not halt their wage-battles because a Board is promised or is in session. The second modification was that the five-year bans that these Boards put on further wage-claims should be denounced and new claims put forward, wherever the situation demands.

The report adopted by the Council stated:

"This does not mean that we do not participate in the work of the Boards wherever they are functioning. But it does mean that we do not ask the workers to pin their hopes on them or restrain their struggles and claims because a Board is on or has given an award of five-years' binding".

## WAGE STRUGGLE

The workers and trade unions were categorically told in the report:

"Give up all hesitations, if they exist, in building powerful campaigns for wage-rises everywhere. With production and productivity going up and the monopolists making huge profits at the expense of the workers and the people, the trade unions must mobilise the workers for defending their interests and for a rise in standards of living. We must not forget that we have to contend with a ruthless capitalist system, which operates with sweet

# INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

## Unwarranted Concession

IN reply to a question in the Rajya Sabha recently the Industry Minister Manubhai Shah had listed three basic principles for permitting majority foreign capital participation in new enterprises in the country. These included: (a) the project should have a high priority in the Plan; (b) it should make an important contribution in the field of technology in which little progress has been registered in the country and in which a great deal of additional development was essential and (c) the amount of foreign exchange needed for it was such that unless majority foreign participation was allowed Government itself would have to find a substantial amount of foreign exchange.

As against this stand of the Minister the representatives of the All-India Manufacturers Organisation are reported to have urged the Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha that no foreign industry should be allowed to operate in India with 100 per cent or majority foreign capital.

Foreign capital, according to them, should be confined to 49 per cent of the share capital with stipulation that the foreign investor would go away after 10 to 15 years. Here is a case of a Minister of a professedly "socialist" Government falling behind even the nation's capitalists in his fidelity to national interests. It is that the reason why big business organ Commerce which, of course, is a friend of foreign enterprise, has devoted one full page in one of its last issues of giving a boost to him as a "Man of Foresight"?

—ESSEN

words and promises and black anti-working class measures. They will not change their course, unless we act".

S. A. Dange, summing up the discussions in the Council pointed out that a wage freeze, in effect, is being enforced by the five-year bans on new claims imposed by the Wage Boards, in the industries where these Boards had been set up. In the other industries and especially in those with no sliding scale of D.A., the steep rise in prices has meant actual wage-cuts.

This trend of "wage-freeze" and "wage-cuts" has come to be an important aspect of the employers' and Government's labour policies, while both production and productivity have appreciably gone up. It was in this context, he said, the report called upon the unions to build up powerful campaigns for wage-rises everywhere.

With regard to the forthcoming general elections, the report stated: "We have to fight for the toilers' representatives and against those who have worked against us, who are with the bourgeoisie and the landlords".

One hundred and three members and special invitees participated in the Council meeting, which began on August 31. The Working Committee of the AITUC which also held a short meeting, granted affiliation to 43 unions with a membership of about twenty thousand.

The Council adopted resolutions on the Berlin crisis, on Belgrade Summit Conference and on fresh US arms-aid to Pakistan.

The Council demanded the release of long-term political

prisoners. Fifty four political workers are in prison for 12 years or more in W. Bengal, Madras, Punjab, Andhra and Bihar. They should be released by a general amnesty or commutation of their sentences without further delay.

## UNDEMOCRATIC POLICIES

In a resolution, the Council noted with great concern the continued denial of Trade Union rights and democratic liberties. Specially in the Public Sector, where the Government itself is the employer, even elementary trade union rights are denied.

The Council expressed its unequivocal protest against the policy of victimisation of Central Government employees. Over 300 employees are still kept dismissed or suspended for their participation in the 1960 strike. The AITUC expressed its firm support for any action the Central Government employees organisations may take for redress of their grievances.

The Council also adopted resolution on Hindustan Shipyard strike pledging support to the workers on strike.

G. Adducei, General Secretary, Trade Unions International of Metal & Engineering Workers and Member of the Executive Committee of the World Federation of Trade Unions attended the Council meeting on September 1 and 2, 1961. He was on a short visit to India on his way to Japan.

The Council endorsed the Draft Programme of Action of the World Federation of Trade Unions and decided to

The Council demanded the release of long-term political

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# INDIA AND E. C. M.

From Ziaul Haq

CONSIDER a visitor from another planet suddenly dropping into our Rajya Sabha on Tuesday last and hearing the speeches made by the Finance Minister and his supporters on the European Common Market and on Britain's impending entry into it. This visitor would have certainly got the impression that both the ECM and Britain's joining it were all for the best and the real villains of the piece out to hurt the economy of India and other newly independent countries were the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. For hadn't they according to India's Finance Minister formed "a very closed common market", even the rules of which were not known to these well-informed gentlemen.

He would have also felt that the Communists in the House were so utterly wicked that they were out to malign for nothing such good friends of India as the UK and the West European countries. The poor visitor from outer space would have felt much intrigued if he had come expecting to hear something from the Congress benches in the vein of Prime Minister Nehru's criticism of the ECM. He would have certainly mused how different the Congress Party in the Indian Parliament becomes in the absence of Nehru.

## Morariji's Anger

The initial Communist crime in the eyes of Morariji Desai was to seek a discussion on the subject at all—a crime not to be pardoned in the least. Then to dare to make definite proposals suggesting the need for a basic reorientation was the height of impertinence. For these crimes the Communists were dubbed traitors who had spread a "net" to trap India and make it a captive of the Warsaw Pact Powers, and so on.

Let us have a look at these unpatriotic and traitorous proposals. The amendment moved by P. Ramamurti suggested that the House, having considered the Finance Minister's statement on the European Common Market and Britain's proposed entry into it—

"is of the opinion that the European Common Market is the economic counterpart of the NATO and is designed to continue and intensify by the imperialist monopolists the exploitation of the colonies and the underdeveloped countries.

"This House is further of the opinion that in order to overcome the serious consequences that Britain's decision to join the European Common Market will have on our economy it has become urgently necessary for Government—

1) to undertake a thorough re-examination of our trade policy and take energetic steps to diversify it,

ii) to nationalise the export trade of our principal export commodities such as tea;

iii) to channelise our export trade through Indian banks;

iv) to re-examine all agreements of collaboration with foreign concerns and take steps to eliminate all restrictions that may have been placed on the export of our manufactures, and

v) not to sanction in future any agreement that imposes in any manner restrictions on the export of our manufactures."

## Whitewashing Imperialists

Dealing with them item by item the Finance Minister had the greatest objection to the first, namely the ECM being called the economic counterpart of NATO. "I do not know by what stretch of imagination it is the economic counterpart of the NATO". This in face of open bragging to that effect by leaders of Western bloc powers!

When P. Ramamurti pointed out that even Macmillan had said so much, the all-knowing Morariji Desai with great self-assurance and aplomb declared:

"I do not know. He understands Mr. Macmillan better than myself."

As for the ECM being a tool of Western imperialists to exploit the underdeveloped countries Morariji would not believe that any such thing could be happening now; "We were exploited a few years ago before we were free."

Bhupesh Gupta replying to the debate recalled Prime Minister's words in the same House a little over a week ago describing Britain's decision to join the ECM as a "body-blow" to India. Nehru on August 28 had said:

"It will be a blow to us because just in a tender spot of our exports which we want to push ahead, we are struck a body blow and suddenly laid low for a moment."

Bhupesh Gupta also recalled Nehru's words at a New Delhi Press Conference only a few weeks ago where he had drawn attention to the political aspect of an ECM reinforced by Britain leading to "a closer political cooperation" "in dealing with the underdeveloped countries in Africa and Asia, especially Africa."

"It may well become," Nehru had said "a much more powerful weapon of controlling the underdeveloped countries than for a single country to deal..."

Bhupesh Gupta pointing out these contradictions said "there is always a difference between the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister in such matters." There was a vociferous "No" from the Congress benches and Morariji Desai went to the extent of denying that the Prime Minister had ever made such statements.

Proceeding with his reply to the debate Bhupesh Gupta referred to the Finance Minister's argument that as a result of joining the ECM Bri-

tain would be stronger and that could be of advantage to India, and said:

"What we pointed out here is this and if you set aside your anti-Communist prejudices for a while you will see that this European Economic Community with the participation of Britain, will be in a better position to dictate terms to you. As far as we are a seller in that market, we will be confronted with a solid bloc of powers who will be compelling us to sell, not as a seller but as one to sell to their advantage on their terms. Similarly when we go to buy from them, they will be in a different position. We shall be facing competition because these clauses make it a provision that they will use automation and all kinds of rationalisation. Therefore, if it is a question of our sending manufactured articles to those countries within their orbit, we shall be facing very severe competition and we, with less technological development, would not be in a position to cope with the competition from the monopolists. As far as the primary goods are concerned, we shall again be compelled to accept their terms because we will not be in a position to hold out against such a combination."

Speaking further Bhupesh Gupta said:

"I never suggested that you join any alignment. As far as the socialist countries are concerned—I do not think honourable Members study this thing—I can tell you that they are opposed to this kind of economic alignment. In fact they have been pressing that all trade barriers between the East and the West should go while these people of the European Economic Community stand for East-West division in the matter of trade..."

Let the memory of 1946-47 days move all Indian citizens to demand the restoration of civil liberties in Punjab. This is urgent to ensure that the Hindu and Sikh communalists of today do not reproduce, even on a smaller scale, the fratricidal shameful situation of the past.

The Punjabis are divided; let them openly and publicly debate the issue of the Punjab State. There is no other way for reason and principles to triumph and defeat the forces of evil passions of communal disruption.

Let law and order be maintained. But this must never mean a total black-out of civil liberties for all. Punjab is a part of Indian democracy and not Kalron's zamindari.

The worst damnation of the Kalron regime is his large-scale arrest of Communists and illegalisation in practice of our Party, and this in the most communal surcharged State, when even our honest opponents concede that the Communists are most actively non-communal in all circumstances.

To arrest the Communists and virtually ban our Party in Punjab is to leave the field free to the worst communalist leaders of the two sides, to the evil-doers and the gangsters. Kalron's police can only add to the provocation and not handle the difficult and complicated political situation that exists.

Immediate restoration of normal civil liberties in the Punjab is the first step both towards finding a new and constructive way out of the dreadful deadlock, and against the worsening of the law and order and the overall situation. In the name of Indian democracy and secularism New Delhi must make Chandigarh see sense and behave.

(September 6)

"Therefore it is no good trying to tar them with the same brush because one set of countries have been pressing in their economic conferences, in all their meetings, that all trade barriers should go. That is their accepted, declared policy whereas the other set of countries, the NATO Powers, are in favour of maintaining this and strengthening this. I say that the anti-Communist prejudice should not blind one to the realities of the world today."

Bhupesh Gupta acknowledged that there was more recognition of the need to develop trade with Socialist countries. Even G. D. Birla was advocating that. Nevertheless the process was too halting and slow and the present policy of the Government stood in the way. In terms of percentages of total trade—the pattern had not changed. Trade with the sterling and dollar areas remained decisive as before and there was no attempt to break from that.

"Therefore it is quite clear that our diversification of the trade has not progressed in the manner it should have. If you had progressed in that

# punjab—an armed camp

## Editorial

ORDINARY NEWSPAPER readers can have no realistic idea of the awful situation inside the Punjab. They read casual and brief news of the arrests of the Akalis and just wonder why the Communists are also being rounded up.

The so-called "security measures" of the Kalron Government have virtually transformed the land of Bhagat Singh into an armed police camp. All over the State Section 144 Cr. P.C. has been clamped banning all meetings and processions, publishing of leaflets, putting up posters and so on. It looks as if Punjab is under curfew, facing grim dangers.

The entire police force of Punjab, including its mounted and armed police units, and the tear-gas squads are on active duty and they are making their presence felt. Extra non-Sikh police has been mobilised from neighbouring Rajasthan, UP and the Hariana areas. This big demonstration of armed might has left the common people dumbstruck.

If there was ever a case of totally unjustified and really unscrupulous denial of the civil liberties granted under the Indian Constitution it is writ large all over Punjab. Such is the national crime, being shamelessly committed by Punjab's Chief Minister and for the pettiest of partisan aims, to put his political opponents out of the way, scare the people and drive them into voting him and his party back to power.

The real and live issue that is shaking up Punjab, rousing passions and dividing its people is basically political which, instead of being dealt with in the democratic way, on the basis of accepted national principles is being so badly mishandled as to produce an explosive communal tension.

The unprincipled denial of a linguistic State to the Punjab resulted in a situation where the Sikhs are being rallied by the communal Akalis and the Hindus by their communal organisations. A policy that deepens communal polarisation cannot obviously win more votes for the Congress. Kalron's is a disruptive and losing game.

The days are long past when any section of the Indian people, and the Punjabis are among the bravest of India's sons, could be cowed by police terror and compelled to do the bidding of the rulers of the day. Kalron's insolent words and demonstrative repressive measures do not affect the communal mischief makers but only silence and paralyse the voices of reason, of communal amity and peace. Any provocation can provoke a communal conflagration, and the provocateurs are at large.

Let the memory of 1946-47 days move all Indian citizens to demand the restoration of civil liberties in Punjab. This is urgent to ensure that the Hindu and Sikh communalists of today do not reproduce, even on a smaller scale, the fratricidal shameful situation of the past.

The Punjabis are divided; let them openly and publicly debate the issue of the Punjab State. There is no other way for reason and principles to triumph and defeat the forces of evil passions of communal disruption.

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manner, the percentages with regard to our trade with the countries of the West would have shown a decline and the newly liberated countries, would have shown a rise. Therefore it is a question of pure arithmetic, and the statistics given by the Government tell the story."

Our share in world trade was declining and had fallen from 2 to 1 per cent, Bhupesh Gupta said:

"The essential question today is not merely seeking safeguards because safeguards will not show you a way out. The essential ques-

tion today before the country and the Government is not how fine we bargain within the old framework, within the old rats. The essential issue today is whether in view of the growing situation of such kind of alignments coming up, with Britain joining it and when our trade is so much gobbled up by Britain, are we taking certain drastic steps for reorganising the pattern of our trade, the direction of our trade, and developing other lines of trade with the rest of the world on terms that are favourable to us..."

# national integration demands . . .

For several days towards the end of July and in the beginning of August, the national press carried lots of news regarding the Chief Ministers' Conference that was being held in the second week of August.

ACCORDING to the Times of India News Service, "the Conference has been convened by Mr. Nehru in continuation of an earlier meeting in June. It will discuss ways and means of fostering national unity, combating communalism and assuring a fair deal to the minority".

But the press note issued at the end of the Conference showed that the scope of the Conference was far more restricted. "The main subject for discussion", it was pointed out, "was the question of language in its various aspects". Other problems of integration, such as casteism, communalism and State and regional disparities and rivalries did not form the subject matter of the deliberations of the Conference.

One is unable to understand why these important aspects of national integration were left out of discussion. Surely, the participants in the Conference were not of the view that these forces of national disintegration have been driven out from the public life of the nation? Surely, they do not consider linguism to be the one and only disastrous force that has yet to be tackled?

A couple of days after the above-mentioned press-note was issued, on the eve of Independence Day, Vice-President Radhakrishnan made the following assessment of the situation: "The old contempt and fears, the barriers of caste and community, still divide us. They are undermining our democratic system which is based on the four principles of national unity, social justice, secularism which means respect for all faiths and peaceful social changes". He called on the people to break down "the old loyalties of caste, community, language and religion and help to build a truly democratic State".

Why is it that this appeal of the Vice-President which, it would appear from the pronouncements of other leaders of the Government and of the ruling party, is the view of the entire national leadership, was not taken in its entirety by the Chief Ministers' Conference when they were applying their minds to the problem of national integration? Why is it that discussion was restricted to the problem of language alone? No coherent answer is forthcoming to this question.

This inability to consider the question of language in its relation to other problems of national integration has vitiated the manner in which the problem of language itself has been tackled at the conference of Chief Ministers. For, questions of medium of instruction and of administrative language were discussed at the Conference in a purely bureaucratic—"practical", not from a national-popular, manner.

The question of language

acquired importance, both as the medium of instruction and as the vehicle of administration only when public activity broke the bonds of narrow circles of upper-class politicians and reached the common people. It was then that the question of replacing English by Hindi and by the regional languages became a live mass political issue. It was against this background that the well-known resolutions of the Congress as well as provisions in the Congress constitution regarding linguistic States came to be accepted.

The demand of the national movement for the replacement of English by Hindi and regional languages was opposed by the British rulers and their Indian friends precisely on the same ground on which it is now being opposed by the leaders of the ruling party. They would have us believe that the difficulties of adopting a national language in a multi-lingual country

like ours are so insuperable that English has to continue for a long time to dominate the fields of our education and administration.

This argument of "insuperable difficulties" in the way of replacing English by Hindi and by the regional languages has now been officially accepted by the decision of the Chief Ministers' Conference convened by the Prime Minister. No other interpretation than this can be given to the "three language formula" which, according to the press note, "had been evolved by the Government of India, in consultation with the State Governments, for adoption at the secondary stage of education for teaching language subjects".

The three languages are: (a) the regional language and other mother tongue when the latter is different from the regional language; (b) Hindi, or, in Hindi speaking areas, another language and (c) English or another modern European language.

This "three language formula" may, on the face of it, appear unexceptionable. For, is it not necessary for every boy or girl who passes out of secondary schools to be familiar with the three languages?

The question, however, is: Are the three languages to be learnt in the same way? Are the students of the secondary schools to have the same type and degree of knowledge in all the three languages? Or, is there any difference between the three? If so, what exactly is the difference?

A national and popular approach to the problem would lead us irresistibly to the conclusion that the mother tongue or regional language stands in a class

of its own. It would be a national-popular, manner.

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by itself. Being the language spoken at home, the language in which every day work in all fields of activity are carried on, the mother tongue or the regional language should enjoy a position which neither Hindi, the all-India language, nor English, the international language, can occupy.

This is the reason why the national democratic movement headed by the Congress has always held the view that the medium of instruction, as well as the language of administration right up to the State level, should be the regional language.

The all-India language, Hindi, is important in its own distinctive way: it is the only vehicle through which business transactions, cultural exchanges and political activities can be carried on by the people of one State with those of another.

Dislodging English from the honourable position of being such a language of inter-States communication is of tremendous importance not only because it is derogatory to national respect to use a foreign language for mutual contacts, but also because from a purely practical point of view, it is easier for any Indian to learn Hindi than English.

Such a scheme of giving due importance to each of the three languages would mean conscious and planned effort at the national level to develop Hindi and all the regional languages. Minimum amount of textbooks, reference books and other basic material for the education of school and College students, as well as the necessary glossaries to be used by the administrative personnel, have to be prepared in all the Indian languages according to a well-prepared national programme.

Even if a student from one non-Hindi University goes to another non-Hindi University, he or she will be able to acquire a working knowledge of that new language quicker and easier than a foreign language which itself is now being studied by those who go abroad.

As for the exchange of information and material between the various Universities, it is obvious that a good deal of translation work will have to be done in each University.

This, of course, leads to far greater effort and cost than if every thing is done in English or in Hindi. But the saving in effort and cost that can be made by the

continuation of English, or its over all replacement by Hindi, will be more than off-set by the unprecedented growth and flowering of all the Indian languages that will result from the promotion of all Indian languages to the status of medium for University education and vehicle for administration up to and including the State level.

This cannot be done if it is left to the Central Government to develop Hindi and to the State Government to develop the regional languages. For, the transition from English to regional languages and from English to Hindi has to be made simultaneously if it is not to lead to friction between the Hindi and non-Hindi speaking groups.

Far from adopting such a course and thus speeding up the process of transition, the Chief Ministers' Conference has taken a decision which will be a bar on the transition itself. For, they argued that "the tendency of regional languages to become the media of the University education, though desirable in many ways, may well lead to the isolation of each University from the rest of India. Unless there is a link in the shape of an all-India language, teachers and students will not be able to migrate easily from one University to another, and the cause of education will suffer for lack of a common link between universities in different linguistic areas."

The importance of such a common linguistic link between Universities was emphasised. Such a common link can only be English or Hindi. Ultimately, it will have to be Hindi, and it is necessary, therefore, that every attempt should be made to make Hindi suitable for this purpose.

The whole basis of this argument is unrealistic. For:

It is, however, not necessary for this that English should be learnt in the same way in which it has been learnt under the British rulers: it is not necessary for an Indian boy or a girl to be as fluent in English as in his or her own language. It is enough for them if they can read the necessary literature, follow speeches and talks and carry on a bare minimum amount of conversation.

No such distinction is made in the decision taken by the Chief Ministers. It would appear as if the participants in the Conference attach equal importance to the three

languages. This is likely to adversely affect the standard of teaching in all the three languages.

For, it will be physically impossible to arrange such a course of study as will coach the student equally well in all the three languages, and, together with them, in science and humanities as well. On the other hand, if the role which each language is to serve is clearly defined, it would be possible to so arrange matters that coaching can be given in the requisite manner and to the requisite extent in each.

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It is our experience that boys and girls who go abroad for studies in countries whose language is totally unfamiliar to them learn the language of the country in half a year or at the most one year. They carry on the study of the language as well as of the subject simultaneously. The unfamiliarity with the language has, thus, proved to be no bar for exchange of students from India to foreign countries and vice versa.

The position is still better as between different Indian Universities. For, if "the three language formula" is adopted and implemented for some time, every student will have such a working knowledge of Hindi that, in a few weeks' time, they can break the barrier of language.

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# need to avert world war three

The peoples are witnessing the ever increasing aggressiveness of the policy of the NATO military bloc. The United States and its allies are spinning the fly-wheel of their military machine ever faster, fanning up the arms race to unprecedented scope, increasing the strength of armies, making the tension of the international situation red-hot.

THINGS have reached a point that the leading statesmen of the United States and its allies are resorting to threats to take to arms and to unleash war as a counter measure to the conclusion of a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic.

Being faced with these facts, which cannot but cause anxiety, the Soviet Government considers it its duty to take all necessary measures so that the Soviet Union should be completely prepared to render harmless any aggressor if he tried to launch an attack.

The tragedy of the first months of the Great Patriotic War when Hitler attacked the USSR having ensured for himself superiority in military equipment is too fresh in the memory of people to allow this to happen now.

This is the reason why the Soviet Government has already taken a number of serious measures for strengthening the security of the USSR. For the same reason, after a thoughtful and comprehensive consideration of this question, it has made a decision to carry out experimental explosions of nuclear weapons.

Being fully conscious of the importance and responsibility of this serious step, the Government of the Soviet Union deems it necessary to explain to the Soviet people and to all mankind the meaning and significance of the decision, the sole aim of which is to do everything to prevent a catastrophe which a Third World War would present to the hundreds of millions of inhabitants of our planet.

Those who are preparing a new world holocaust are sowing illusions that a new war, if unleashed, would allegedly be waged without thermonuclear weapons. But this is a deceit of the peoples.

## THE EXPERIENCE OF HISTORY

The experience of history teaches that it has never been possible to keep the fire of war within predetermined limits. Wars have inexorable severe laws of their own. An aggressor starts a war to bring his victim to his knees and to impose his will on it. But even the aggressor is aware that in case of defeat the fate that he was preparing for his victim will befall him.

Therefore, each state that takes part in the war, regardless of the fact whether it attacks or defends, will stop at nothing for attaining victory and will not accept defeat without having used and spent all its means of waging war in its possession. Under these conditions any armed conflict, even insignificant at first, would inevitably grow into a universal rocket and nuclear war should the nuclear powers be drawn into it.

The desire of peoples to put an end to the arms race and to free themselves forever

from destructive wars is especially close to the Soviet people who have recently seen a war in their own house and paid incomparable price for the restoration of peace. But everything through which people went in the past wars pales in the face of the horrors which can be let loose on them by merely a few thermonuclear bombs.

And today not a dozen, not a hundred, but thousands of such bombs are in the arsenals of the great powers. As one of the nuclear powers the Soviet Union has accumulated enough scientific and technological knowledge about the destructive power of new types of weapons, means of delivery of thermonuclear charges to the target and about the consequences of using such weapons to be fully conscious of the character of modern war.

## THE SOVIET GOVT.'S RECORD

The Soviet Government was the first in raising its voice for general and complete disarmament, for stopping the nuclear weapons tests. It has repeatedly submitted to the United Nations specific proposals that ensure the achievement of that aim.

From the rostrum of the United Nations, in the messages and statements of the Head of the Soviet Government N. S. Khrushchov, wherever the representatives of the socialist camp met with the representatives of the Western countries, the sincere and ardent appeal of the Soviet Union was heard to come to agreement to destroy once and for all and under strictest international control all types of armaments to the last bomb and to the last shell, to disband armies to the last soldier, to completely abolish general staffs and military institutions.

It will not be an exaggeration to consider that even today mankind could live in the world without weapons and armies, had the governments of the United States, Britain and France and some other member-states of the Western military blocs expressed a reciprocal striving towards that. The opponents of disarmament still pretend that the different approach of the Soviet Union and the Western powers to the question of control is an obstacle to an agreement on disarmament.

No one denies that the establishment of international control over disarmament which involves the most sensitive interests of states, the interests of their security, is a complicated and delicate matter. The question of control has for years been a stumbling block on the way to agreement on disarmament. This was so because control has been used by the Western powers as a pretext to turn down any proposal on disarmament.

Even before they have never been anxious to reach control over disarmament. It

has been most explicitly said from the rostrum of the United Nations by the US President D. Eisenhower who unequivocally stated that the question was not of control over disarmament but of the control over armament.

In order not to allow to ruin the essence of the matter—disarmament itself—the Soviet Government has stated openly that it is ready to accept in advance any proposal of the Western powers on international control. Only one thing was expected from the Western powers and that was to accept our proposals on general disarmament and to submit their proposals on general control.

But strange as it is, those who before expressed so much concern about international control seemingly lost the power of speech when given unlimited possibilities to formulate and execute their ideas regarding a system of international control.

What can be the explanation for the fact that no specific proposal on that score has yet followed from the Western powers? This can be explained only by the fear that the Soviet Union will accept their proposals on control and then the Western powers would either have to agree to general and complete disarmament or would expose themselves to the last as opponents of disarmament and as opponents of control over disarmament.

The main thing in our days is disarmament, general and complete, and an agreement on such disarmament would cover the question of nuclear tests.

Indeed, when the arms race is stopped and the stockpiled weapons are destroyed there will be no stimuli for its perfection and consequently for carrying out experimental nuclear tests and, on the contrary, merely an agreement on stopping nuclear weapons tests cannot by itself put an end to the arms race.

## THE MAIN THING—DISARMAMENT

The states that already possess atomic weapons will inevitably feel tempted to act violating such an agreement, to seek new and new ways and loopholes for perfecting weapons, to say nothing of the fact that the tests carried out by three-four powers are quite sufficient for unlimited stockpiling of the most dangerous thermonuclear weapons of the existing types.

The states which do not yet possess thermonuclear weapons will in their turn try to create them despite the agreement that prohibits atomic tests.

By the way, they can advance arguments which the champions of nuclear disarmament will have difficulty in parrying. Indeed, is it realistic to expect that a situation will continue for long where some states that are far advanced in developing atomic power for war purposes will continue to manufacture mountains of atomic and hydrogen bombs on the basis of the experiments already carried out, while others would look idly how they would lag more and more behind the nuclear powers in their military might and consequent-

ly in the capacity of ensuring their security. Experience proves the contrary.

There was a time when a monopoly of atomic weapons existed in the world and the United States tried to retain it. Taking the advantage of having in its hands weapons of which no other state had the equivalent at that time, the United States was testing atomic bombs whenever and wherever it liked, without paying heed to what the peoples thought or spoke about it.

## THE U. S. CRIME

The United States did not stop even at testing this monstrous weapon on human beings—children, women, old people—having dropped atomic bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, on the land of the enemy who actually had already been routed.

Brandishing the atomic bomb those who determined at that time the policy of the United States were trying to dictate their will almost to the whole world, to blackmail socialist countries. An extremely dangerous situation arose.

The Soviet people were compelled to mobilize all their material and spiritual resources to break the atomic monopoly of the United States which became a threat to peace, and to create within the shortest possible period of time their own nuclear weapons. Soon the circle of nuclear powers expanded. Britain has also joined it.

The peoples realized in time what danger was involved in the inclusion in the arms race of new and new countries, and they enthusiastically responded to the demand to stop nuclear tests. The Soviet Union became the standard-bearer of those demands. For many years it consistently and unwaveringly fought for the cessation of all kinds of nuclear tests everywhere and for all time.

For this purpose it discontinued nuclear tests unilaterally, although such an act on its part involved a certain risk since the United States and Great Britain had effected by that time a greater number of nuclear explosions than the Soviet Union.

It is due to the initiative and efforts of the Soviet Union that the negotiations between the three nuclear powers began in Geneva, in the course of which the Soviet Government patiently sought mutually acceptable solutions, repeatedly taking important steps forward to meet the wishes of the United States and Great Britain.

But what line was counterposed by the Western powers against the clear and honest attitude of the Soviet Government? They responded to the unilateral termination by the Soviet Union of nuclear tests by carrying out a series of explosions of nuclear bombs unprecedented in its intensiveness.

The Governments of the United States and Britain responded to the repeatedly made attempts of the Soviet Union to bring closer the positions of the negotiating parties by going back on their

own proposals which they had supported just yesterday.

They did their utmost to prevent agreement. In fact they crossed out the unanimously adopted conclusions and recommendations of scientific experts including their own experts—American and British—concerning the methods of identification of nuclear explosions and ensuring appropriate control over the observance of a treaty on the discontinuance of nuclear tests.

The Governments of the Western powers have persistently advanced and continue to advance the demand that a treaty on the discontinuance of nuclear tests should not provide for the prohibition of underground nuclear explosions.

Meanwhile, it is obvious to every informed person that the carrying out of such explosions, even if it is claimed that they are conducted for peaceful purposes, is nothing else but a hidden form of perfecting the existing nuclear weapons or putting finishing touches to their new types.

If a nuclear explosive device is effective, for example, for "moving ground"—and the Western powers want to secure for themselves the right of carrying out such explosions—the same explosive device can be effective for military purposes. Thus, coming out in words for the discontinuance of nuclear tests, the United States and Britain in fact show concern for quite a different thing—for inserting in the treaty a loophole for further perfection of thermonuclear weapons by conducting underground explosions or explosions for so-called peaceful purposes.

The Soviet Government has proposed to agree that in the international control body the socialist states, capitalist member-states of the military blocs, and neutralist states should be equally represented and enjoy equal possibilities of control.

In contrast to this the Western powers have made proposals the realization of which would give them advantage over the Soviet Union, would permit those powers to have complete command in the control body, to cover the territory of the Soviet Union with a network of espionage centres under the guise of control posts and teams.

## WESTERN POWERS' GAME AT GENEVA

The entire course of the negotiations in Geneva proves that the Western powers pursue the aim of actually legalizing those types of nuclear tests in which they are interested and of establishing an international control body which would be an obedient tool in their hands and in fact would be an appendage of the general staffs of Western powers.

Hypocritical statements of the representatives of the United States and Great Britain about the termination of tests and the international control have proved to be nothing but camouflage.

To help the negotiations out of the deadlock the Soviet Government has proposed to link the solution of the question of the discontinuance of

# compels ussr to resume tests

nuclear weapons tests with the problem of general and complete disarmament.

This important proposal was set forth in the aide-memoire handed over at the Vienna meeting of N. S. Khrushchov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and J. Kennedy, President of the United States.

This initiative of the Soviet Government has opened additional possibilities for achieving mutually acceptable solutions of the whole complex of disarmament questions, and what is especially important, has removed obstacles in the way of establishing the widest and most comprehensive international control, including control over the discontinuance of nuclear tests.

## AIM BEHIND US NEUTRON BOMB

What was the reaction of the Western powers to the new attempt of the Soviet Union to facilitate mutual understanding? Instead of a business-like consideration of the Soviet proposal the governments of the United States and Britain have preferred to engage in distorting their contents and in idle fabrications concerning the intentions of the Soviet Union.

At the same time responsible representatives of the United States began making unequivocal hints that the United States will resume nuclear weapons tests in the immediate future.

The Soviet Government considers it its duty to draw special attention of the peoples of the world to the fact that now in the United States there is much ado about projects for developing a neutron bomb, such a bomb which would kill everything living but at the same time would not destroy material things.

Only aggressors dreaming of plunder, of capturing foreign lands and foreign property can mobilize the efforts of scientists for the development of such weapons.

Extenuating people, they want to use the fruits of labour of the victims killed by them, the riches created by those people. This is the morality of monsters. The plans of developing a neutron bomb expose the inhuman essence of modern imperialism which is no longer satisfied with merciless exploitation of working people and which is ready for the sake of profit to commit crimes which would eclipse by their monstrosity the recollection of gas-chambers and murder-vans of Hitlerite hangmen.

It is an open secret that the United States is standing at the threshold of carrying out underground nuclear explosions and is only waiting for the first suitable pretext to start them. However, it is clear to everybody that since the US Government has the intention to resume nuclear weapons tests it is only a matter of time.

The Soviet Government cannot ignore the fact that France, the ally of the United States in NATO, has been carrying out nuclear tests already for a long time. While the Soviet Union refrained from nuclear tests, trying to achieve agreement with the United States and Great Britain at the table of negotiations on their complete dis-

continuance, France conducted explosions of nuclear devices one after another.

It continues to do so in spite of the appeal of the United Nations to all states to refrain from such tests, in spite of the protests of broad public circles in all countries of the world, in spite of the warnings of the Soviet Union that it will be forced to resume tests if France does not stop its experiments with nuclear weapons.

Had they not drawn proper conclusions from the fact that nuclear tests are conducted by France, the Soviet Union and its allies would have found themselves in an unequal position as compared with the United States, Britain, France and other countries which are their partners in one military bloc.

Let those people in the United States and Britain who may be confused by the experimental explosions of Soviet nuclear weapons imagine that it is not their ally France, but an ally of the USSR, say, Czechoslovakia, which would be carrying out thermonuclear weapons tests while other powers refrained from them.

What would be in this case the reaction of the United States, Britain and other NATO countries? Would they put up with a situation where an obvious damage is inflicted on their security interests? But nuclear tests are carried out not by Czechoslovakia or some other socialist country, they are carried out by France, which is a NATO member.

How then can it be demanded that the Soviet Union should not take counter measures to strengthen its security? No government which has real concern for the vital interests of its people and defence potential of the country can act differently.

The yield of the French explosions set off in the Sahara may be comparatively small yet, but their political repercussions are several times more dangerous.

## BLAST WAVE OF FRENCH TESTS

The blast wave of the French nuclear tests struck at the hopes of people in the most remote corners of the globe causing general wrath and indignation. It also reached Geneva, actually sweeping away from the table of negotiations the proposals aimed at putting an end to nuclear weapon tests once and for all.

The continued nuclear weapon tests as well as the active part of the French Government in the NATO aggressive military bloc are often and not without reason associated with the shameful colonial war in Algeria and the attack on Bizerta in Tunisia.

A legitimate question arises: Where were the governments of the United States and Britain when France was exploding nuclear devices on the African continent, challenging the United Nations and the peoples of the whole world? Instead of influencing their partner in the military bloc and keeping it from conducting nuclear explosions they actually encouraged the French Government.

This is sufficiently attested to by the fact that the United States and Britain refused to

support the resolution of the United Nations General Assembly calling upon the states not to carry out nuclear tests.

But the Soviet Government would tell only part of the truth should it pass over in silence the fact that not only states participating in the Western military bloc but also many other countries that voted in favour of that resolution actually reconciled themselves to the fact that the French Government went against the will of the United Nations, against the will of the peoples. Certainly, the Soviet Government knows that among those states there are quite a few sincere supporters of the cessation of nuclear tests.

But if at present the nuclear arms drive is being stepped up again the governments of those countries should admit directly and honestly that a certain share of responsibility for the situation lies on them since they failed to give timely rebuff to those French circles which drive the world to the continuation of nuclear tests.

The harmful effects of thermonuclear weapon tests on living organisms are well known in the Soviet Union. Therefore, every measure is being taken to minimise such effects: Yes, experiments with nuclear weapons instil alarm in people, make their hearts ache.

## REASONS FOR SOVIET DECISION

And if the Soviet Government has, nevertheless, decided to carry out nuclear tests, it has not been easy for it to take this decision. It was compelled to do that, reluctantly, with regret, and only as a result of the most careful and comprehensive study of the question.

The Soviet Government has been compelled to take this step, the significance of which it fully appreciates, under the pressure of the international situation created by the imperialist countries.

The policy of leading NATO powers—the United States, Britain, France, the FRG—and of this aggressive bloc as a whole, leaves the Soviet Union no other choice.

The Soviet people, the Soviet Government cannot but reckon with the fact that, like twenty years ago, ominous clouds of war are once again overhanging the approaches to our motherland, that West Germany and the present allies of German militarists are feverishly engaged in military preparations.

Not only the Governments of the United States, Britain and France but also the governments of a number of European countries whose peoples have suffered a great deal from the Hitlerite invasion are now helping with their own hands the West German revanchists to equip themselves for new adventures.

The governments of smaller NATO states—Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Norway, Greece and other countries participating in this military bloc—also bear their share of responsibility for the policy of arming West Germany. They will be unable to hide behind

the backs of their senior NATO partners and they will have to answer themselves for all the grave consequences of this short-sighted, and dangerous policy.

Adenauer and the forces that stand behind him pursue a course of turning West Germany into a militarist state, armed to the teeth. The main goal of the foreign policy of that state is revenge and the revision of the frontiers established in Europe as a result of World War II.

## DANGERS FROM FRG

Now the Government of the FRG is trying to make up for the first years after the unconditional surrender of Hitlerite Germany when the United States, Britain and France did not fully depart yet from the Allied agreements providing for Germany's demilitarization.

The sixteen post-war years is a sufficient span of time to judge whether the people of West Germany have learned proper lessons—as is the case in the GDR—from the militaristic past, from the disastrous defeats in two world wars unleashed by Germany.

Unfortunately there is too much evidence to the fact that the Germans who live in West Germany are again succumbing to the opium of revenge and permit latter-day Fuehrers to carry them away along the path of war. What other explanation could there be to the fact that at each election to the Bundestag the FRG population votes docilely for Chancellor Adenauer and those politicians who stubbornly drag Germans to new acts of aggression?

Germans voting for Adenauer cannot but know that Adenauer and adherents to his policy in West Germany have adopted those very slogans of anti-communism and revanchism under which Hitler came to power and subsequently unleashed World War II.

It goes without saying that every nation is free to place at the helm of the state those political figures it wants. But no one can deprive other nations, who have already on several occasions witnessed seeds of militarism and aggression ripen in Germany, of the right to raise their warning voice against the tragic events of the past being repeated, a voice which must be heard by every German.

No matter how bitter it may be to realize, not the Germans of West Germany alone but also the peoples of other countries—participants in the military blocs of the Western powers—are not equal yet to the demands of the time, do not show proper activity to stop at once the preparations for a new war. This conclusion suggests itself from the fact alone that in elections they also vote for the candidates and parties which form governments pursuing the policy of building up armaments.

Shunning the efforts aimed at eliminating the "cold war" and at safeguarding peace, they fail to muster the necessary determination to deny trust and support to the governments who showed through

their entire activities that they were opponents of general and complete disarmament and exponents of the arms drive and the fanning up of war hysteria.

If these peoples do not take the opportunity to put a curb on the governments that are pushing the world to a world catastrophe, if they do not unite their efforts with other peoples so as to assert their will to achieve disarmament, to finally expel war from the life of human society, there is only one conclusion that can be drawn: the peoples of these countries have not yet awakened, have not realised the importance of the responsibility for safeguarding peace that lies on them.

The more acute the danger of a military conflict being touched off by Western Germany, the more urgent and pressing becomes the signing of a German peace treaty, which would protect the peoples from new encroachments on the part of German militarists. It is common knowledge that this is exactly the aim of the Soviet Union.

Nevertheless, in response to the proclaimed determination of the Soviet Union to conclude a German peace treaty and thus to draw the final line under the Second World War, it is threatened with the unleashing of a Third World War.

A new demonstration of strength in response to the Soviet proposals concerning the German peace treaty is the despatch to West Berlin of additional troops and armaments by the United States and Britain.

## AN ACT OF PROVOCATION

For the reinforcement of military garrisons of the Western powers in the West Berlin it has no special significance. It has been undertaken obviously as a provocation. Those who took the decision to send the military contingent to West Berlin are best of all aware of it.

The Soviet Government would not have fulfilled its sacred duty to the peoples of its country and to the peoples of the socialist countries and to all peoples striving for peaceful life if, in the face of threats and military preparations that seized the United States and some other NATO countries, it had not used the available possibilities for perfecting the most effective types of weapons that can cool the hotheads in the capitals of some NATO powers.

The Soviet Union has worked out designs for creating a series of super-powerful nuclear bombs of 20, 30, 50 and 100 million tons of TNT and powerful rockets similar to those with the help of which Major Y. Gagarin and Major G. Tifov made their unrivalled cosmic flights around the earth, which can lift and deliver such nuclear arms to any point on the globe wherefrom an attack on the Soviet Union or other socialist countries could be launched. It would be an unjustifiable

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# ABOUNDING CORRUPTION IN GAUHATI UNIVERSITY

From Madhusudan Bhattacharya

Universities in this country, it would appear, have been earning notoriety for various malpractices and corruption which in any sphere of social life would be considered regrettable, but all the more so in a University. In recent times a number of Universities came up for sharp criticism and the state of affairs of some of them, even went before enquiry commissions, the findings of which are sometimes of little credit to our Universities, the highest seats of learning.

THE Gauhati University which is comparatively a new institution, seems to be vying with its senior counterparts, not in the matter of improving the general standard of education in this comparatively backward State, but in the practice of corruption and nepotism.

For the last few years various complaints were being heard from different sources about the prevalence of a nest of corruption in this University, particularly in its administrative wing. Last year, when the Audit report was out, the issue came up for public discussion; but the abnormal situation prevailing in the State almost throughout the year did not allow anybody to put his attention to the affairs of the University.

A demonstration by the post-graduate students of the University on August 16 once again brought the issue before the public. It is said that the students "raided" the administrative office of the University and "forced" three top administrative officials and the Dean of the Faculty of Arts to resign. Earlier the Vice-Chancellor had tendered his resignation which the students, it is said, persuaded him to withdraw.

The method adopted by the students has come up for a criticism from many quarters and the general feeling here is that the method was not defensible. But their demand for an enquiry into the affairs of the University by a Commission consisting preferably of persons of integrity and experience in this line from outside the State could not be dismissed lightly. Their argument, it appears, is that if the officials whom they are alleged to have "forced" to resign were in their respective positions, there could not be any impartial and fair enquiry.

Later, a deputation of the students of the University met the Chief Minister who is reported to have told the students that he would institute an enquiry if the students could place facts to establish a prima facie case of corruption in the administration of the University. This stand of the Chief Minister has come up for very sharp criticism.

## Enquiry Suggested

It is pointed out in this connection that a resolution of the University Court, meeting in October 1959 noted a number of cases of malpractices and suggested an enquiry into these.

Later on the Estimates Committee of the Assembly in its report for 1960, after taking note of several cases of misappropriation and misuse, concluded that the matter should be thoroughly enquired by a Commission and the accounts of the University Development Committee which the Estimates Committee suggested should be dissolved — should be audited

by a competent person from the office of the Accountant General, Assam.

In addition to these, there are the various Audit Reports regarding the various irregularities in the administration of the University.

In spite of all these facts at his disposal, the Chief Minister required any additional facts, he might requisition the service of the anti-corruption branch of the police that is maintained at public cost precisely for the purpose of helping the Government in detecting corruption in different spheres.

But instead of doing that he is reported to have asked the students to furnish him with facts about corruption in the administration of the University which is taken by many here as an indication of the Chief Minister's reluctance to institute an enquiry.

## High-Level Pressure

It is widely believed here that a certain person holding a key position in the ruling party of Assam has some special interest in protecting some of the officials of the University against whom there are charges of corruption and that is one of the reasons why the Government is so reluctant to have the affairs of the University enquired into.

It is noted here that as the method adopted by the students has been generally disapproved, the Government has been trying to take cover behind it to shirk the responsibility of instituting an enquiry into the affairs of the University. It is also noted that an attempt is now afoot to dismiss the whole "students' indiscipline".

That section of the press within the State that is very closely connected with the ruling party, so much so, that it is generally considered to be the unofficial organs of the ruling party has been for understandable reasons trying to play down the main issue involved. It has been overstressing the issue of students' behaviour with a view to relegating to the background the major issue of corruption in the University.

The so-called "nationalist" press outside the State seems to have a bias against the students community of Assam so that even when they raise a demand that needs sympathetic understanding, it is unheeded. The present case is no exception.

Moreover, with the elections drawing near the unwritten agreement among the so-called "nationalist" Press and the ruling party of the country has been operating. Consequently, pressure is being put upon the students to tender an unqualified apology for their behaviour. Official as well as some non-official agencies seem to have joined hands in this campaign.

While in the face of this pressure students seem to relent, though they have not yet surrendered their main demand, members of the teaching profession, including some among the University teachers also, have taken up the demand for an enquiry. This demand finds support from the democratic elements of the State in general, while the ruling clique of the State is reticent.

From all available accounts it seems that the black art of corruption has not remained confined to the administration only; it has spread its tentacles to the academic field as well.

It is said that the vicious circle in the administrative wing of the University, through its contact in the other fields of the University, keeps posts of teachers vacant to be filled up by its favourites from among the students and not necessarily from among the best ones. This, it is alleged, leads to unfair practice in the examination stage, fabrication of marks and publication of examination results.

The corrupt practices in the administration of the University are too numerous to be listed here. Only a few instances picked up at random are given here.

It is alleged that a salami has to be paid to someone in the University administration for every appointment, includ-

ing that of a Chowkidar and the "price" varies according to the emoluments attached to the post.

Building materials, even such controlled materials as cement, iron rods, and C.I. Sheets given to the University by the Government for the purpose of University building construction were "given on loan" to the Dean of Faculty of Arts and according to the Estimates Committee such beneficiaries are also numerous.

Even Audit reports spotlighted various cases of corruptions such as misuse of money collected as examination fees, forged vouchers, inability to furnish required payee's receipt for money said to have been disbursed, unauthorised monetary transactions by University officials and the like.

Earlier an anonymous pamphlet entitled "Mystery of Gauhati University" was widely circulated. That pamphlet contained many other serious charges against the University administration. The University Court in its October, 1959 meeting took note of this pamphlet and one teacher representative in the Court, while drawing the attention of the meeting to the pamphlet, wanted the authorities to refute the charges levelled against the University in that pamphlet.

The then Chancellor agreeing with that teacher member opined that unless the

charges were refuted the people would think that these charges were correct. Though some of the officials present in that meeting spoke with wide-eyed innocence and denied all the allegations contained in the pamphlet, to this day no formal contradiction has been issued by the University administration.

Another teacher member of the court had said in that meeting that these allegations would reach the ear of the students and that would make them lose all respect for the University authorities. He, therefore, wanted the University to be free from all blemishes. Facts have since proved his warning prophetic.

Meanwhile it is learnt that the Governor, who is the Chancellor, being apprised of the situation in the University by some members of the University Court as well as the Vice-Chancellor, has since decided to institute an enquiry into the affairs of the University administration.

But it is said by a well-informed source that a powerful group in the ruling party has been trying to manipulate affairs in such a way that no enquiry could be held, at least till the next general elections.

It is felt that unless a probe would be ordered soon, things may again take an ugly turn at any time. It is worth recalling in this connection that Gauhati University was established as a result of a powerful popular movement, fighting against many odds. So the general masses of this State cannot be expected to look on in a disinterested way.

# Congress Trickery Over Delhi Elections

From Our Correspondent

THE Union Home Ministry has written to the Commissioner of the Delhi Municipal Corporation to hold the Corporation elections on March 11, 1962. This is not a routine innocent decision but a clear case of the Congress exploiting administrative authority to serve its party ends. The neutral circles are firmly of the opinion that this decision is directed against the opposition and the Communist Party in particular.

The facts are simple enough. The elections to the Lok Sabha are scheduled to be held any day between February 20 and 23, 1962, the results to be announced on or about March 5. Thus, holding another election within a week of the general elections is patently a "waste of public energy, time and money" as stated in a letter from the Secretariat of the State Council of the Communist Party of India to the Home Minister.

The Congress calculation is simple. It hopes to sweep the general elections and, thus, rush through the Corporation elections as well. For the Communist and other smaller parties, however, who will not contest all the Parliamentary seats in Delhi it becomes a very unfair battle.

They will get only one week to prepare for the Corporation elections which is obviously not enough. The Communists in a cam-

munication to the Home Ministry have, therefore, made the demand that the two elections be held simultaneously or the Corporation elections be postponed for six months or so. If they are postponed the advantage is that they will not coincide with the general elections again.

The voters list for both is the same. The Delhi Corporation includes the whole Delhi Pradesh, both urban and rural, except for a few thousand voters in the Cantonment area all the voters are common.

The official circles raise the difficulty that the Election Commission is not authorised to conduct the Corporation elections. The Communist reply is that since Delhi has no State Legislature and the Corporation itself is an electoral college for election to the Rajya Sabha, a special provision should be made for Delhi, even by amending the existing laws if necessary.

There is a lot of discontent over the issue and the bona fides of the ruling party are widely suspected. In the Parliamentary elections the main contest would be between the Congress and the Jan Sangh while for the Corporation elections the constituencies are smaller and the Communists count. They already occupy a balancing position in the existing Corporation with their 8 seats. It is the strength of the Communists that the ruling

# from jnan bikash moitra

A unique type of popular movement has developed in Calcutta in the past few days. Since August 21 consumers in this city, with a population of 29,25,500 have completely boycotted thousands of fish stalls in different markets.

STARTING from a big market in North Calcutta, the movement spread like wildfire to the eight municipal markets in the city. However, no miracle caused this situation. For the past three months, public anger had been rising at the continuing strain on their purses imposed by the abnormally high prices of fish, which constitutes an indispensable item in the daily menu of the Bengalees.

The whole and cut fishes were selling at Rs. 4.50 and Rs. 5.00 a seer respectively. The prices of these varieties at this time last year were Rs. 3.00 and Rs. 3.50 per seer.

## spontaneous start

When the Government took no steps to bring down these high prices, the people themselves stopped buying this essential and favourite food article. The West Bengal Executive Committee of the Communist Party which was then in session immediately called upon all its branches in the city to give an organised shape to the boycott movement in the different markets.

Wholesalers in the fish market claim that the price increase this year is due to the scarcity of fish. The State Government, however, has categorically stated on the basis of officially collected data that the supply of the commodity has not only been not less than last year's supply, the overall supply, including inland and import from other States has increased.

Then where has it gone? The Government simply does not know! It has looked on helplessly and has pleaded its inability to do anything without being able to control supply. Yet it goes on repeating ad nauseam that "all required to be done is being done". Of course, the prospect of an "abundant" supply in future (nobody knows when!) was dangled before the harassed people.

Chief Minister Dr. B. C. Roy even went to the length of advising them not to eat fish for one month in order to bring down the prices! Dr. Roy, perhaps, never cared to think for a moment what would happen to hospital patients and to about 4,000 retailers and their families. Most of these retailers live literally a hand-to-mouth existence.

A handful of owners of fisheries (fisheries) and aradars (wholesalers) constituting a powerful ring are mainly responsible for the present crisis. They completely control every aspect of the fish trade — production, distribution and prices. The fish market is, therefore, entirely at their mercy. Their income varies from Rs. 150 to Rs. 300 per day! At a meeting of the Chairman and members of the Calcutta Corporation's Markets Committee and fish vendors' representatives on August 25, a Congress member submitted a complete list of the owners of the fisheries in this State. The list shows that

three families alone own fisheries in about 9,000 acres of land. Besides them, a large number of owners have fisheries of the size of one to two thousand acres.

These people, in league with the wholesale dealers, have created an artificial scarcity by reducing the catch of fish to even less than 30 per cent of last year's.

It is, therefore, abundantly clear that there can be no solution of the fish problem without breaking the formidable ring of the "fish kings". This measure will certainly bring relief to the consumers, but it will not permanently solve the problem. The total supply of the commodity has to be increased considerably by a planned development of fisheries in the State and deep-sea fishing.

The fish racketeers, however, have a representative in the State Cabinet and have sufficient pull on the Government to thwart any effective action against them.

So far augmenting the total supply is concerned, the West Bengal Government's deep sea fishing scheme drawn up by the Government during the last ten years have not yet been

appear to have increased recently not due to shortage of supplies but because artificial shortages have been created in order to manipulate the prices to the advantage of the trading community. ("City Notes", August 24).

The situation in the rural areas is no less acute. Besides the sky-rocketing prices of essential commodities, drought, damage to standing crops by pests over large areas and sharp decline in the prices of raw jute have created acute difficulties for the masses of people in the countryside.

## communist resolution

The West Bengal Executive Committee of the Communist Party which met in Calcutta from August 19 to 22 adopted a resolution expressing grave concern at the soaring prices of life and emphasising that it was due to the policy of the Government.

Industrialists, big businessmen, money lenders, etc., had taken advantage of the Government's policy to push up the prices. But the Government had either remained inactive or had tried to hoodwink the people with tall promises.

The resolution further pointed out:

"For the past six years prices of all essential commodities have been steadily on the increase. The peasants,

● The Government should ask the Centre to reduce the excise duties on cloth, sugar, matches, etc.

● The Government should nationalise the wholesale trade in foodgrains.

● Monopoly control of big traders over vegetables, fish, eggs, meat, etc., should be broken.

● The Government should arrange for the supply and sale of daily necessities in Government-controlled fair price shops.

● Supply of vegetables, fish, etc., in larger quantities and their sale at controlled rates in the markets should be ensured.

● The Government should take steps to increase the production of fish in the State. Arrangement should be made for importing more fish, eggs, vegetables, etc., from other States. Besides these measures, the Government should take necessary steps for the expansion of trade facilities with Pakistan.

Representatives of eight left parties, except the PSP, met on August 24 to discuss the "crisis of high prices of essential commodities".

The meeting welcomed the consumer resistance against fish prices and decided to organise a mass campaign against the rising prices of cloth, sugar, mustard oil, coal, vegetables and fish by holding street corner meetings on

# calcutta, september 3

The Government met the representatives of the fish trade—owners of fisheries, wholesalers and retailers—on August 29, and a "gentleman's agreement" on the ceiling retail rates of some popular varieties of fish was arrived at. These prices were officially announced two days later, after the State Fisheries Minister had met the representatives of the Left Parties.

## unsolved problem

In a statement, the leftist leaders pointed out that they had accepted the price schedule generally as a temporary experimental measure and had agreed to give it a trial for two months. They expressed doubts about the implementation of the gentleman's agreement for a long time because the Government had no statutory authority to enforce it. They urged upon the Government to acquire legislative power in case agreement was not honoured.

Pointing out that such an important item of food as fish should no longer be permitted to remain under the monopoly control of a handful of big traders wholesalers and profiteers, the leftist leaders suggested a series of

# calcutta's unique struggle—consumers' mass boycott

however, do not get the benefit of the increase in the prices of agricultural commodities. It is only the big jotedars, speculators and big merchants who are getting richer. The Government refuses to fix the prices of agricultural commodities in the interests of the peasantry...

"In any case it can be safely said that the expenditure of the lower-income groups has increased one-and-a-half times, while their real income has gone down..."

The resolution further said that the Durga Puja was drawing near. Prices generally went up during this period. So if a movement was not organised from now on, prices this year would climb to such heights that most of the articles would be beyond the reach of common man.

The resolution emphasised that "the possibility of creating a broad mass movement for lowering prices exists" and that the Communist Party should take the lead in the matter. It called upon all Party units, Party members and friends to take an active part in organising the movement and appealed to all sections of the people to participate in it.

The resolution further pointed out that the mass movement should be organised on the basis of the following demands:

● The Government should take adequate steps to bring down the prices, and enlist the cooperation of the people and left parties in this matter.

August 27 and a rally at the Calcutta Maidan two days later. After the rally a mass deputation would be sent to the Chief Minister's residence to submit a memorandum.

It was further decided to plan similar programmes in district headquarters.

In the final analysis, they stated, the Government was responsible for the soaring prices. It was a vigilant people prepared to struggle for their rights who could change the situation in their favour.

The apprehensions expressed by the leftist leaders about the implementation of the gentleman's agreement were entirely justified. The wholesalers and fishery-owners have already begun to charge prices higher than the agreed ceiling.

At least in one market in Calcutta, the price of a particular variety of fish on September 3 was not only much higher than the agreed ceiling but also higher than the rate at which it was being sold before the consumer resistance began on August 21.

People, however, are in no mood to put up with such tactics for long. Representatives of seven left parties met the Chief Minister on September 2 to discuss with him the problem of high prices. After the talks Jyoti Basu told reporters that the most surprising thing was that the Government had not yet discussed the question of the rising prices and the policy to be adopted in this regard! He further said that the left parties would meet in a day or two to decide their future course of action.

popular pressure

# Bulgaria's modern agriculture

by IVAN GURBOUCHEV  
deputy minister of agriculture

In the past Bulgaria was a country of small-scale farming. Prior to the establishment of people's rule on September 9, 1944, there were over 1,100,000 small peasant holdings, and the arable land was fragmented in more than 12,000,000 plots.

**T**HE average-size farm was about four hectares. The small private plots and the fragmentation of the arable land were unsurmountable obstacles to increasing labour productivity in farming and livestock breeding by means of mechanization and introducing machines and modern methods.

With concrete conditions in our country in view, the People's Government indicated that cooperative farming was the only correct form of doing away with the exploitation of the poor peasants, and of creating organizational and technical conditions for a rapid advance in agricultural output.

## Gigantic Change

The transformation that has taken place in Bulgarian agriculture may be described as follows: from small scale and primitive farming it has now turned into large-scale, cooperative and high commodity farming.

Today there are about 350 cooperative farms in Bulgaria, the average amount of the arable land assigned to each of them usually being over 4,200 hectares. This fact is in itself an important condition for increasing labour productivity by using machinery and modern agrotechnical methods.

In the past, although our peasant used to bend his back over his small plot of land from dawn to nightfall, he was half-starved, poorly dressed and lacking the most elementary social and cultural gains.

Today living standards in the Bulgarian countryside show marked improvement. While during the 66 years of bourgeois rule hardly more than 690 villages were provided with electricity, during the 17 years of people's rule, over 3,400 villages have joined the grid.

Half of the villages have been supplied with water; there is a cinema house in every third village. Forty per cent of the houses are new and there are many villages which, in appearance and standards, approach the level of towns.

Cooperativization of agriculture was accompanied by mechanization. In the past, there were 3,000 tractors used at threshing time, mainly, while today there are more than 40,000 tractors (in 15 h.p.), more than 3,000 combines, 5,000 threshing machines, over 10,000 lorries and a great many other kinds of agricultural machines in our country-side.

Almost all agricultural operations have been mechanized in Bulgaria. Thus, for instance, in 1960, 98.2 per cent of the basic soil cultivation was done by machinery; the sowing of different crops over 80 per cent; combine-harvesting 90 per cent; cultivation and harrowing 98.6 per cent; etc.

This is certainly great progress when one compares present conditions with those in

ed remarkable successes in vegetable growing, particularly so in tomato production. While in 1939, we produced a total of 44,000 tons of tomatoes, 7,000 tons of them for export, in 1960 their output reached 620,000 tons, of which 212,000 tons were exported.

Over 700,000 tons of tomatoes are to be obtained in 1961. Bulgaria has now become one of the world's greatest exporters of tomatoes, both as regards quantity and quality. The picture for other agricultural export goods is similar: fresh grapes, wine and wine materials, canned vegetables, potatoes, etc.

Similar data may be furnished about Bulgarian fruit-growing, vinegrowing, tobacco and seed production. Our livestock-breeding has also achieved success. The number of cattle has considerably increased as compared with the pre-war years and their breed improved. As a result of this and also of the correct feeding and rearing of animals at the state and cooperative farms, average productivity has also increased.

old Bulgaria, where draft power was insufficient and the cultivation of all farming crops was done exclusively by hand.

A typical feature of present-day Bulgarian agriculture is the great advance of land-improvement construction. Up to September 9, 1944, about 35,700 hectares of land were irrigated, while today the land under irrigation is over 700,000 hectares.

The area under irrigation is to reach about 2,000,000 hectares in the next few years. It should be pointed out that it is not only a question of using local waters; huge irrigation systems, utilizing the waters of the Danube and the other large rivers, in this country have been built; others are now under construction or are to be built in the next few years. Large water reservoirs have been built in the mountains, which are used to generate electricity or water large areas of land. In 1960, 14 to 16 per cent of the maize and wheat were sown on irrigated areas and yields were twice and three times higher.

## Increased Yields

Between 1959 and 1960 Bulgarian agriculture was supplied with 800,000 to 880,000 tons of chemical fertilizers or over 180-190 kg per hectare of arable land on an average; prior to 1944 extremely small quantities of chemical fertilizers—five kg per hectare—were used in farming and even they were imported. When the works now under construction are completed, about 400 kg of chemical fertilizers per hectare will be available for use.

Average yields of crops and total agricultural output have increased as a result of the formation of large-scale cooperative farms which employ modern methods of mechanization, irrigation and chemical fertilization and apply the achievements of modern agronomy.

All the production figures available clearly indicate the regular trend of a steady increase in average yields. The rise in yields from cereals has made it possible to change the structure of the area sown, in favour of fodder crops.

This has had an exceptionally beneficial effect on the progress of livestock-breeding. The areas sown to sugar beet have increased nearly five times; the land planted to fruit trees, vegetable and vines has also increased.

Our agriculture has record-

ed. Thus, for instance, while in 1939 the milk yield per fodder-fed cow was about 450 litres, in 1960—it was 1,400 litres.

Owing to improved breeds, the rise in the number of cattle and average productivity, the total output of some domestic animals has increased as follows in comparison with 1946: milk 86 per cent; meat 70 per cent; wool 90 per cent; eggs 67 per cent. This has enabled us fully to meet the needs of the home market and to set aside considerable quantities of these products for export.

The economic reorganization of Bulgarian agriculture and the rise in the total agricultural output in the country have led to a general improvement of people's living standards and especially those of Bulgarian peasants.

In 1960 the incomes of an able-bodied cooperative farmer were 2.5 times higher than in 1948, when the pre-war level was reached.

Moreover, it is a well-known fact that all cooperative farmers, both

## GREETINGS

NEW AGE feels great pleasure and pride in greeting the people, the Government and the great Communist Party of Bulgaria on September 9, the auspicious day of Bulgaria's national rebirth. We have watched with admiration the tremendous progress of Bulgaria in building socialism as also its valiant role in the defence of world peace against the imperialist war maniacs. We wish Bulgaria still speedier advance and a still happier future.

men and women, in Bulgaria, are entitled to pensions just as are all state employees. The Government recently decided that all farmers will get a rise in their pensions as of January 1, 1962, the tendency being to bring them closer to those of industrial workers.

# Masood Ali Khan Interviews . . .

He is the oldest Communist in the Soviet Union and probably in the world. There are a few Party members two or three years older than him in age, but in the party they are much younger because Fyodor Nikolayevich Petrov's period of Party membership is the longest of all Communists alive.

**H**E is a great friend of India, this scientist, author and veteran revolutionary, and it is always a pleasure to meet him. I always look at him with wonder, admiration, excitement and envy as he talks on, full of life and energy and optimism, his sparkling eyes and delightful smile and sense of humour make you forget that he is 85 years old, born 1876, that he came to Marxism in the first half of the nineties of the last century and became a member of the revolutionary party of Lenin in 1896.

## work is his youth

Yes, this man who sits before me, this grand old man with a grey pointed beard and the gold medal of the Hero of Socialist Labour glittering on his breast, this extremely interesting and remarkable man, who knew Lenin personally and who is a veteran of two revolutions and the civil war, this steely Communist refuses to retire and go on pension for a well-earned rest.

He still comes to his office in the Soviet Encyclopaedia Publishing House, sits at his desk and works, works "for Communism in our time".

He told me just a few days ago, at our last meeting when I went to congratulate him on his 85th birthday and the award of the medal of the Hero of Socialist Labour which he had received from President Brezhnev the previous day: "When people ask me what is the secret of my long life I say—work. Yes, it is work that keeps me alive", he said. "And young", I added, because really as a person he is young in heart and spirit.

He is a mine of information and a living encyclopaedia, and he talks readily about himself and about the interesting people he met during the course of his adventurous and eventful life. And what a life it has been!

He was born in Moscow in the family of a locksmith and began his revolutionary career in the first Marxist circles while still in his teens. Those were the days of the ideological struggle against the Narodniks, when Plekhanov in his works expounded the basic principles of Marxism, when Lenin began his untiring revolutionary activity and united the Marxist groups into the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class.

It was in those far-away times that Fyodor Petrov became a Party member and a devout and fearless fighter for the liberation of his country from tsarist tyranny. It is an unforgettable experience to talk of this veteran crusader, who provides a living contact with those days of the first stirrings of revolution in Russia.

He was the organiser of a number of Bolshevik armed organisations, took part in the 1905 revolt in Kiev. He was arrested a year later and sentenced. Petrov did seven years of hard labour on the island of Orekhovoi (which had been taken from

the Swedes by Peter the Great in 1702 and built into the fortress of Schluselburg. During tsarist oppression this fortress became famous as the prison house of revolutionaries).

Later, he was exiled for life to the remote regions of Siberia in the Irkutsk Gubernia. But he continued his revolutionary activity there and after the revolution became a member of the City Duma of Irkutsk.

He joined the partisans and fought Kolchak in 1918, was a member of the Far East Bureau of the Central Committee, the Minister of Health in the Far Eastern Republic of those days. Later he worked as the head of the Scientific Organisations of RFSRP in Moscow, and as head of VOKS from 1929 to 1933. For the last 33 years he has been working in the Encyclopaedia and is a member of its chief editorial board. He is the author of a number of scientific and political works.

"How is your bullet?", I asked. During the 1905 uprising he had received two bullets in his body from the tsarist gendarmes. The one which had gone into his liver was removed, (and he lifted up his shirt to show the long deep scar on his right side), but the other one was too near the

# The Oldest Communist in the World

heart and had to be left in place. It is still there and coexists with the veteran's heart, and I saw the X-ray photograph of the metal which was meant to kill this valiant fighter of the working class 56 years ago. His general revolutionary heart still beats on, while the gendarmes and the tsars have long ago decomposed in the soil of Russia.

"O, it is alright", he said, "it only hurts now and then in bad weather or when I work too much or get too excited". And he continued: "You know the other bullet was removed by my professor by a secret operation, and although he was against my revolutionary activity and wanted me to take his place as a surgeon at the Medical College in Kiev, he performed the operation and said, 'Fyodor you can go and heal your wound, the police will never find out. Everything has been arranged'."

## after the revolution

"They never found out that I had taken part in the Kiev uprising. But I went to Warsaw and there got arrested for my deeds in Poland. Then followed the seven years in fortress and Siberia and all that you know about."

"But I met my professor Volkovich later after the revolution, he was an old man in the 'twenties, and he told me that I had been right. 'You went the right way', my professor said. He who had wanted me to be a surgeon and not a revolutionary. And I told him that I had performed

operations too, on the revolutionaries during my exile in Siberia. And this made him happy."

Petrov remembers his talks with Lunacharsky and Pavlov the great scientist, Michurin and his experiments and orchards, Tsiolkovsky the rocket-pioneer whom he helped with funds from his department as head of Scientific Organisations. ("We talked of multi-stage rockets and his theories of flights to other planets. He was a member of our association of inventors") and Roman Bolland and Tagore. Petrov became a great admirer and friend of our great sage, and always talks of his meetings with Tagore when he sees me. "I still read his poems in the evenings when I need a rest", he told me at our last meeting.

## birthday celebrations

Recently at his 85th birthday celebrations hundreds of old Bolsheviks gathered in the building of the Encyclopaedia, the legendary Voroshilov was there; too, to congratulate and embrace his old friend and comrade in arms. And all admired Petrov for his energy and alert mind and continuous work. A meeting was held the other day at the Lenin Museum where 600 old revolutionaries presented Fyodor Nikolayevich an address of greetings. "They all embraced me so much that my

bones still ache." There was a huge bouquet of red, rose and yellow gladioli on his table as he talked to me and he said with happy satisfaction: "Someone brought this today. People don't forget me."

"Because you don't forget them", I said, and asked him when his book of reminiscences would come out. There were two books in press, he said, Remembering Lenin and Hundred Encounters about his meetings with many famous people. "The title is not yet final, it has already become 150 encounters, and if I write about all, it will be something like a Thousand and One Nights", he said with a chuckle.

I asked him when had he read his first book or pamphlet on Marxism and what had he felt then. "The first thing I read was the Communist Manifesto in 1895, then the first volume of capital which had just been translated into Russian. Later, in 1906, I read Lenin's Who Are The Friends of The People And How They Fight The Social Democrats. These works made a lasting impression on me and I still remember the feeling of discovery I had then."

It was natural that we talked of the new Programme of the CPSU. "The two previous programmes were adopted and carried out within my time. The first was adopted in 1903, and it was a programme of struggle of the Bolsheviks against tsarism and capitalism."

"It mobilised the working class and poor peasants to defend their interests and for the overthrow of the rule of landlords and capitalists and the establishment of Soviet

Power. Lenin in his Iskra and What Is To Be Done prepared the first programme, which was in two parts, the minimum and the maximum."

"The minimum was for the overthrow of tsarism and establishment of a republic, the eight-hour day, return of land to the peasants and self-determination of all nations living in the Russian Empire. The maximum called for a socialist revolution, overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat—this idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat was included on the insistence of Lenin: Well, you know that our party carried out this programme to the full."

"I took part in the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party which adopted the second programme in 1919. This was now a programme of building Socialism, a programme of the Five-Year Plans, of the liquidation of illiteracy and for the enlightenment of the people. By the way, we talked a lot about this aspect with Tagore."

"This Programme not only defined the way to economic development in industry and agriculture but also showed the path for the further development of creative science, culture, health and education. This Programme too we have fully completed."

Of course, the last war caused great damage and destruction; millions were killed and economic loss was colossal, otherwise we would have been much ahead today. But, all the same, we have built the basis of Communism, the Socialist society.

"And now, the third programme takes us forward to enter Communism. The Seven-Year Plan will be completed and we will go forward to greater heights. Now, like the flights of Gagarin and Titov, our country goes full-steam-ahead to plenty and prosperity."

"Now we tell the whole world that we enter a new era, when man will get according to his needs and will give to society according to his abilities. That is what Marx and Engels had declared in their Manifesto."

"I cannot read this new Programme without feelings, I, an old Bolshevik, who has given 65 years of life to the cause of Marx, Engels and Lenin, I am happy to realise that my energy and the energy and lives of my comrades given to the ideals of Communism have now brought us to its concrete realisation and embodiment in flesh and blood..."

## discussing new programme

Petrov talks of the international aspects of the Programme, the end of colonialism and imperialism. He points out the new theoretical formulations on dissolution of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the state becoming a state of all the people inhabiting it. He speaks of the new measures to extend democratic rights in the state apparatus and inside the party.

I asked how did the old Bolsheviks visualise Communism in the old days. "This is what we dreamed

about when we sat in prison. We used to have endless discussions on how Communism will come about, how people will live a harmonious and full-blooded life in new society. Of course, the economic conditions were not there in those days. We understood that preparation and struggle will be necessary. Many of us knew armed struggle will have to be fought, and you know that the revolution was made."

"Now the Lenin document, our second programme, has been fulfilled, we have completed the first phase and go into second."

"Movement is the eternal law of life. We discover newer and newer things in nature and they should all go for human progress. Let the Kennedys threaten us as much as they like. But the old dies and the new comes to take its place and newer and newer perspectives open before us."

I asked what did the old revolutionaries think about the time required to achieve Communism.

"O, the old Bolsheviks thought we could build Communism in our time. If they had left us in peace, if there were no civil war and the second World War, it would have been achieved long ago. Frunze—we were in prison together—thought we could go at faster rate from Socialism to Communism, he was a military man. If not for the wars we would not only have gone forward faster but we would have helped others economically more."

"We had started with a fast tempo but had to give a lot to our defence later. As long

as imperialists exist we have to show them that we are powerful. And Communism is coming, we shall have free housing and free food and all that, whether they like it or not". The old man uttered the last words with force and confidence.

When I was bidding him good-bye he added with a twinkle in his eye: "The Programme says the present generation shall live under Communism. I have given all my life for it, and I also want to live in Communism. I am also the present generation."

Well good luck to the grand old man and may his wish come true.

**NEW AGE**

EDITOR: P. C. Joshi

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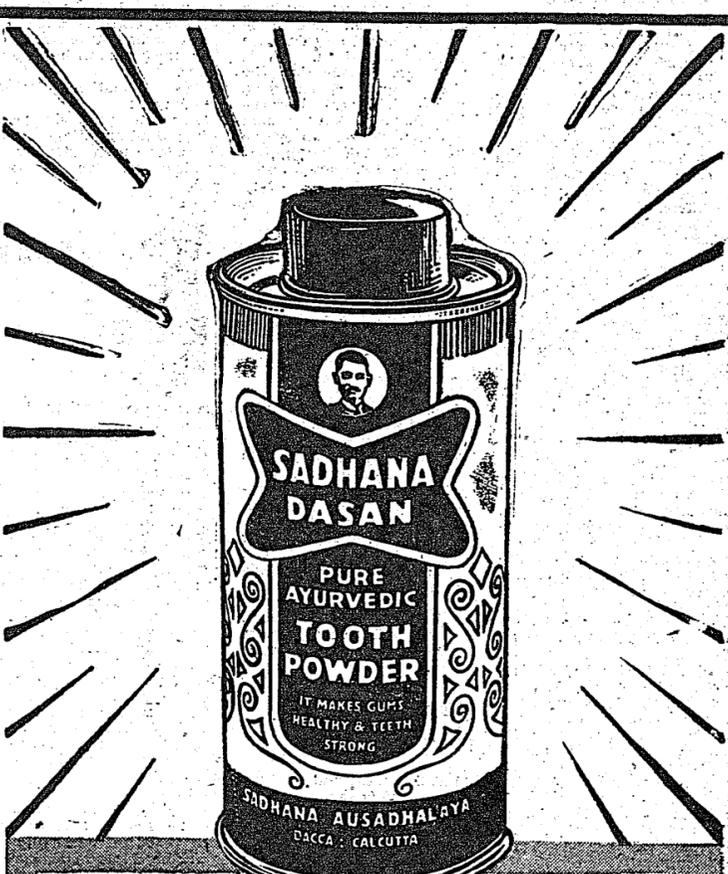
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# revanchists amok !

THOSE who daubed anti-Semitic slogans on walls sometime ago are now daubing them with anti-Indian and anti-Nehru slogans. What is it that has peeved and provoked them so much? It is simply the fact that India's Prime Minister has called for recognition of realities in Europe to avert the catastrophe of a nuclear war—namely the fact of the existence of two German states and the borders established by the Second World War, especially the Oder-Neisse frontier with Poland.

What are the ambitions of West German rulers that stand in the way of their recognition of these realities and the conclusion of a peace treaty on that basis? These ambitions are exactly the same as those of Hitler and his predecessors—namely, to keep the door open for a war of conquest in the East as a prelude to a bid to world domination. The former Western allies of the anti-Hitler coalition have consistently lent their support in pursuit of this mad course.

From the beginning of its existence the West German Government has refused to recognise the frontiers established at Potsdam. Only two weeks after the establishment of the German Federal Republic (GFR), Chancellor Adenauer declared (September 20, 1949) that Germany existed within the frontiers of 1937. Subsequent statements have kept up the same spirit. On June 29, 1956, he declared:

"In full accordance with the declared will of the entire German nation (the GFR Government) has pointed out time and again that the German Reich continues to exist within its frontiers of 1937, and that the unilateral decisions made in the years following the complete breakdown are not recognised by the German nation."

## THEME SONG

It is not only this theme song that has been dinned into the ears of West Germany's population day-after-day for so many years now. Other ministers of the West German Government have declared on various occasions that it would not be enough to return to 1937; the German Reich must be re-established within its 1914 frontiers or to include the conquests of Hitler and beyond. Thus Minister Seeborn has declared that he is opposed to the fact "that there is so much talk about the frontiers of 1937, that is to say the Versailles frontiers, which were not recognised in Germany".

The same Minister, chiding the organisers of an exhibition which showed Germany within its 1937 frontiers wrote in a letter:

"I do not believe that under the slogans 'What We Must Not Forget' and 'Pictorial Map of the German East' we should deny all those territories which were German, are German,

will remain German, even if they lay outside the German frontiers between 1919 and 1938" (Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 19. 11. 52).

One particularly convenient vehicle to build up hysteria around these slogans has been the population resettled from various eastern territories. On the basis of the Agreement of the three Powers of the anti-Hitler coalition represented at Potsdam in 1945, the former German inhabitants of countries in Central and Eastern Europe were transferred to Germany. This decision recorded in Article XIII of the Potsdam Agreement proceeded from the fact that the German populations concerned had acted as Hitler's "fifth column", and had committed grave crimes against the nations of Central and Eastern Europe.

In contrast to the situation in the Eastern part of Germany the Western Powers from the very beginning pursued a policy in their occupation zones that made these people a potential tool of reactionary designs both inside West Germany and in international affairs. These resettlers in West Germany—described as "expellees"—are now organised in powerful Landsmannschaften—Associations of Fellow Countrymen—enjoy-

ing the full backing of the FRG Government.

State Secretary in the Ministry of Interior Thiedeck thus defined the role of these Landsmannschaften:

"It would be completely wrong to regard the Landsmannschaften as mere traditional leagues existing for the sake of old reminiscences, or as a compensation for the homeland from which these East Germans have been exiled. The essential tasks of these associations, and the deeper purpose of their cooperation with all tribes and groups of our people, consists in our opinion, in regaining the German East." (Bulletin of the Federal Government Press and Information Bureau, Bonn, September 23, 1952).

The Sudeten German resettlers, for instance, as a local minority in 1938-39 played crucial part in the dismemberment and destruction of Czechoslovakia, dream once again of returning to those lands as masters. "The Sudeten German would expect Czechoslovakia, liberated from Communism to reevaluate the Munich Agreement by which the Sudeten territory was given to Germany in the autumn of 1938. The frontiers of 1937 are thus not

# Soviet Government Decides To Resume Tests

\* FROM PAGE 7

thoughtlessness not to draw appropriate conclusions from the situation that arose due to the aggressive policy of the NATO military bloc and not to take measures for strengthening the security and might of the great socialist camp and all peace-loving states.

The Soviet Government addresses this statement not only to the friends of the Soviet people who correctly understand the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union, but also to those people in foreign countries who would perhaps judge too severely the Soviet Union's carrying out tests of new types of nuclear weapons.

The Soviet Government takes this step in firm belief that the peoples will understand the forced nature of this measure and its inevitability under the obtaining conditions. In order to discourage the aggressor from criminal play with fire it is necessary to make sure that he knows and sees that there is a power in the world which is ready to give an armed rebuff to any encroachment on the independence and security of peace-loving states, and that the weapon of retribution will reach the aggressor in his own den.

The Soviet Government speaks about all this not only to make absolutely clear the

motive that prompted it to carry out the nuclear tests at the present moment. It reminds of this, first of all, in order that the peoples of the world know from where the menace comes, that they clearly see the manoeuvres of the enemies of peace, so that they could unite their forces for the struggle against this danger.

Let everyone who treasures peace know that they may confidently rely on the Soviet Union, on the titanic efforts it undertakes to bring the initiators of war hysteria to their senses and to stop the ever accelerating race towards a new war.

## NO THREATS

Being invariably guided by the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence, the Soviet Union does not threaten anyone and, of course, does not intend to attack anyone. The Soviet Government solemnly declares that the armed forces of the USSR will never be the first to resort to arms.

The Soviet people would be happy if the arms race could be done away with, if the necessity of the nuclear weapons tests could disappear for ever and the peoples could free themselves for good from the heavy burden that they

have to shoulder since the war became the sinister companion of the human society.

If every people, be it the people of a big or a small country, of that with highly developed industries or one only beginning to develop its economy, of a country which is a member of military blocs of states or following a neutral policy, demanded at full voice that the military machinery of states should be at last smashed and mankind be delivered from the danger of destructive nuclear war, it would have been achieved.

The Draft Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, that defines the practical tasks of the Soviet Union for the period of the next twenty years, is imbued with these noble aspirations.

## CAUSE OF PEACE WILL TRIUMPH

The Soviet Government is confident that the efforts of the Soviet people in the struggle for the consolidation of international security would not be wasted and would be united with the efforts of other peoples directed to the establishment of stable and unbreakable peace on earth, to the triumph of the ideas of peace and progress.

The cause of peace and friendship among nations will triumph and calculations of aggressive forces will be thwarted.

(FULL TEXT OF SOVIET GOVERNMENT'S STATEMENT, AUG. 31)

The Federal Government will not be content until the old Bismarckian Germany has been put together again."

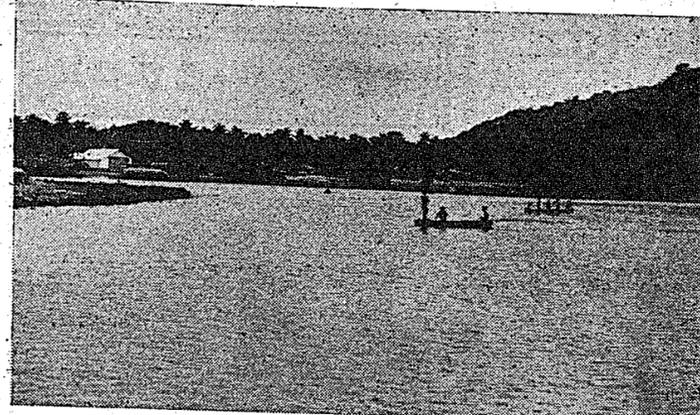
The long-range aims of present-day German imperialists were best stated by Professor Hallstein, one of Adenauer's advisers, now West German representative on the European Economic Community, and a chief architect of the West German policy of achieving German domination over Europe through so-called European integration. Asked in 1952 what he meant by "Europe" he stated:

"When I went to school, I learnt that Europe stretched to the East as far as the Ural mountains." Asked further whether this was what he meant when he spoke of European integration, Hallstein replied, "Yes, that is what we mean."

Refusal to consider even the signing of a Peace Treaty is but the first step in the plans for the eventual March to the East. All these years the West German rulers integrated with their U.S. and West European allies in the NATO have been preparing in every way for this.

The Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia along with the GDR—the first peace-loving State in German history—have now decided to call off this dangerous game by signing a Peace Treaty this year — with both German States and with their former allies if possible, without them if necessary.

"In giving support to this irredentist demands of this and other refugee organisations, he (Adenauer) has demonstrated once again that



Peaceful scene from distressed and restive Goa.

# Goa After Nehru's Statement

From Our Goa Correspondent

Prime Minister Nehru's statement, on the floor of the Indian Parliament about sending the Indian army for the liberation of Goa has hit the Portuguese on the head. It has not driven any more sense into them. On the other hand, it has made them intensify all possible military preparations to put up a last ditch fight, and when their day of doom comes, blow up the whole of Goa before they get into their ships and sail back home.

ALL the main roads and approaches to Goa, from the Indian side, have been heavily mined with anti-personnel as well as anti-vehicle mines. They have used not only the ordinary mines but also what are called "jumping mines" which can cover an area of 30-35 square feet and rain death all round. They are part of the NATO supplies to Portuguese.

## Scorched Earth

All the bridges have been dynamited, everything kept ready to blow them off in case of need. The harbour and its jetties, etc., have also been dynamited. The same with all public buildings.

Terakhol is an old Portuguese fortress on the border. The Portuguese garrison has been strengthened with new reinforcements, heavy ma-

chine-guns and anti-aircraft guns mounted up.

Two thousand Portuguese troops were due to go back home after serving their term in Goa. They have been detained for an indefinite period and kept on the order of stand-to, that is always ready in battle-form.

All strategic points have been reinforced with heavy machine guns and like weapons. This includes power houses, water and petrol supply, and the communication centres.

It is obvious that the Portuguese military preparations constitute scorched earth tactics, that is blowing up and destroying everything before they quit. This becomes clear if their new political and administrative measures are also taken into account.

During the first half of August the Portuguese authorities had arrested about 42

Goan patriots, who were known for their political past.

After Prime Minister Nehru's Parliamentary statement very large-scale arrests have taken place and are continuing. About 200 have already been arrested, to be kept, imprisoned as detenus or to be deported abroad. Most of them were innocent of political activities but the Portuguese are out to round up any influential Goan suspected of patriotism and who can influence others.

## Portuguese Preparations

There is a Portuguese appointed regedure in every big village, corresponding to the Patel in the neighbouring Indian villages but with the difference that he enjoys both police and judicial powers.

The existing rule was tough enough, every Goan had to take a permit from his regedure to go from one village to another. After Prime Minister Nehru's statement all such permits have been suspended, that is, no Goan can go from one village to another. It is, thus, total standstill throughout Goa.

These crazy measures, military as well as civil, were taken by the Portuguese usurpers thinking that the march

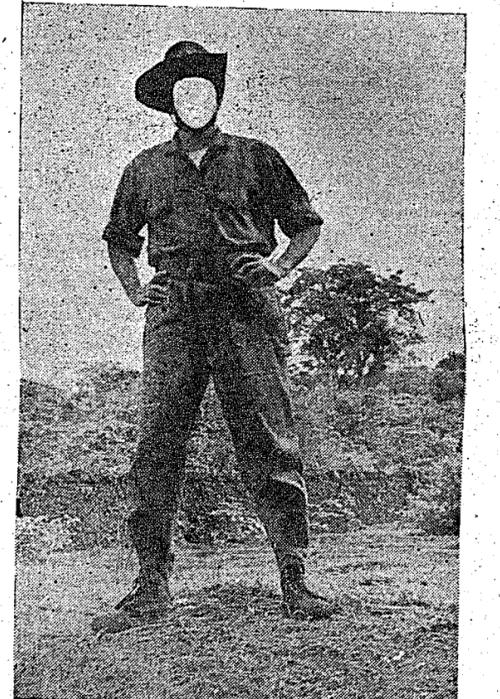
of the Indian army was imminent. The Portuguese colonialists took Pandit Nehru's words more seriously than perhaps he himself meant them!

Most of the Goans are really jubilant. During the long years of their agony they have, for the first time, heard from India's Prime Minister the very words they were longing to hear. The most common comment is: "The Government of India has made up its mind, at long last".

Everybody realises that the moment the Indian army comes marching in the Portuguese will start rape and loot for all they are worth, blow up Goa, and then quit.

The Goans are trying to save what they can and waiting for the Prime Minister to implement his words soon enough, end the days of their misery and slavery, usher the dawn of liberation from Portuguese colonialism, and bring about the long-awaited union with the Indian Motherland.

The Portuguese would fully exploit the situation with their propaganda line that the Indian leadership can only talk big but has done



One of the many Goan Commandos.

# Belgrade's Message

From Front Page

qualities that were most amply displayed.

In certain Indian papers a great furore was made about the so-called grave differences and dispute between the "peace partisans" and the "anti-colonialists". India was said to be for peace and to be in favour of toning down anti-colonialism. The African nations and Indonesia were said to be ranged on the other side.

No doubt two points of view did emerge. It would be quite strange if there was no clash of opinion in Belgrade. But as K. S. Shelvankar correctly noted: "These two points of view are not necessarily contradictory. It seems to be a difference of approach and emphasis rather than a fundamental disagreement." (Hindu, September 5).

The very fact of the unanimous adoption of the two Belgrade documents shows that the differences were, indeed, far from

fundamental. And for Pandit Nehru to have emphasised and insisted upon the primacy of maximum non-aligned pressure for a detente was correct and timely.

It is a very welcome feature of the Declaration that it not only condemns imperialism root and branch but insists upon assailing neo-colonialism and emphasises the connection between the winning of peace and the defeat of imperialism.

India's acceptance of this sharp critique needs to be widely publicised throughout our country and the Declaration itself made a yardstick by which to judge the policies and actions of our Government. Immediately a big and successful campaign could be launched for the recognition of the Algerian Government, which Nehru has declared is the Government's intention.

Finally, we should wel-

come Belgrade because the speeches of the heads of the foremost non-aligned States boldly and emphatically called out for the recognition "of the facts of life in Germany", to use Nehru's phrase. Two States, the special identity of West Berlin with guaranteed communications (Nehru again emphasised "Mr. Khrushchev himself has indicated that access will not be limited") and negotiations to resolve the conflict—these came out as the non-aligned approach to the most dangerous problem of our day. Naturally the US is enraged that this approach approximates to that of the Soviet Union.

Belgrade has done well. Well by the peace of the world. Well by the flame of freedom. Well by the honour of the non-aligned themselves.

(September 6)

# afro-Asian association's statement on soviet tests

THE Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity has in a statement issued here on September 2, said: "The Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity extends its support to Prime Minister's call from Belgrade for immediate summit negotiations between the Great Powers for peace and disarmament."

"The Association deeply regrets the recent Soviet announcement of resumption of tests, and takes this occasion to reiterate its demand for an immediate ban on all nuclear weapons tests of all sorts by all countries.

"France has, in defiance of African and world opinion, continued its tests in the Sahara, while the USA has been preparing for new tests for a considerable time. The con-

tinuation of nuclear tests is a grave threat to health and life not only of this generation, but of generations to come.

The gravity of the international situation has been underlined at the Belgrade Conference by leaders of all participating countries—extension of the arms race with the production of ever more frightful weapons, the methods employed by the Nato Powers, now armed as never before, to prolong colonial domination as in Angola and elsewhere, the building up of war bases and the refusal to vacate them as in Bizerta, and imperialist interference in the internal affairs of countries.

The Association calls for united efforts all over the country by all, irrespective of party and other differences...

# successful struggle for wastelands in andhra

THE campaign against Government policy of denying the Government owned cultivable wastelands to those who have been occupying and cultivating them has recently registered a big advance in Andhra.

A spate of eviction orders had been kept hanging like the Damocles' sword over the occupants. Even criminal cases had been lodged against them to dislodge them from lands they have been cultivating for years.

The Agricultural Labour Union sometime ago took up the issue in earnest. The State Communist Party Conference which met in Rajahmundry in June decided to carry on a State-wide agitation for withdrawal of eviction orders, for giving pattas to present cultivators for revising the prohibitory lands book, for withdrawal of cases, etc. They called for a mass signature campaign on a memorandum to the Government.

## huge demonstrations

The campaign reached its peak in the demonstrations held all over Andhra State on August 1. Lakhs of agricultural labourers and poor peasants participated in these demonstrations which really proved successful beyond success.

The Banjar (Wastelands) Conference held in Guntur was attended by 1,500 delegates from all over the district. In Khammam it was attended by about 3,000 delegates and it was there that the decision was taken to launch satyagraha if Government persisted in harassing the cultivators through its "forest cases".

Demonstrations and deputations to Collectors and Deputy Collectors and Tehsildars were held in almost all districts and taluk centres. One thousand Mahazars (petitions with mass signatures) were sent direct to the Chief Minister from Guntur District alone, while 665 of them bearing 40,000 signatures were received by the State Council

of the CPI to be forwarded to the Chief Minister.

In the course of a memorandum submitted to the Chief Minister by a deputation led by P. Sundarayya, it was stated:

"It is known from the Government figures that about 4.4 million acres of land is classified as cultivable waste in our

by  
**N. PRASADA RAO**

State, of which 3.5 million acres belong to the Government. In our opinion, this is an underestimation.

"Several lands are today classified as forests, even though nothing except small shrubs and anthills are found there and even though they are cultivable.

"There are several cases of village records recording tanks but no trace of them are found today. Vast areas are classified as perambokes, much in excess of communal purposes. Such examples are several.

"If all these lands are excised from those classified lands, there is no doubt that cultivable wastelands would far exceed the Government figure....

"Under Revenue Government orders No. 1724 dated August 29, 1959, lakhs of poor cultivators of wastelands are threatened with eviction. They are already served notices under Land Encroachment Act. Strict orders were given to the tahsildars under Revenue (B) Memo No. B1-1432/60-61 of 12-3-1960 for evicting all cultivators from lands. All these cultivators are those who are cultivating these lands for a number of years and are paying land revenue and penal rates...."

It goes on then to describe the problem in detail and finally demands cancellation of all eviction orders, etc.

Some of the major demands put forward by the deputation have been accepted. The Revenue Minister has agreed to assign

the tank bed lands above the full tank level and to assign Krishna Barrage lands already under occupation to the eligible persons.

He informed that orders were issued for assigning lands under projects which will be taken up only after five years. He also agreed that the Government wastelands under the occupation of land-lords would be resumed without hesitation and assigned to eligible persons.

In respect of other demands, the Chief Minister and the Revenue Minister said that they would be discussed in the Cabinet meeting and decided.

The concessions promised remove some of the troublesome factors and if acted upon immediately will remove the cause of friction in several places. But in the case of some other pressing questions, like the question of forest banjars, the answers were non-committal.

The Action Committee has called upon the people to organise for struggle in those areas where the question is precipitated by hasty action and mobilise districtwide support for it.

## partial victory

The result of the campaign so far is a partial victory. The concessions, are no doubt considerable but the danger still stands. The Government may not precipitate the issue through any hasty action with the general elections approaching and any further action would depend upon the results of these elections.

But one thing is clear: the policy pursued by the Government stands exposed as harmful and wrong and pressed by the movement of the agricultural labourers and peasants, the Government is retreating step by step, slowly and hesitantly and reluctantly.

It requires constant vigilance and as experience has shown, ceaseless statewide agitation to fight the policy of the Government and the demands of the landless poor.

at Belgrade between the Heads of State and leading statesmen of 30 countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America with a combined population of over 800 million.

"These non-aligned countries today occupy a strategic place in world politics and form a vital part of the great Peace Zone. As such, their moral and political weight can play an important role in deciding the outcome of many international problems and, above all, the problem of Ber-

lin on which hinges today the balance of peace or war.

"The AITUC hopes that the Belgrade Conference will strengthen the camp of Peace and anti-colonialism and will take decisions which strengthen the solidarity and united action of all countries standing for the principles of peaceful co-existence, for resistance to imperialist aggression and neo-colonialism and for the national independence and sovereignty of all peoples."

# A.I.T.U.C.'S RESOLUTIONS

\* FROM PAGE 3

send a representative delegation to the World Trade Union Congress to be held in Moscow in December this year.

The following resolution was adopted by the General Council on the Belgrade Conference:

"The General Council of the AITUC welcomes the Summit Conference now being held

PAGE FOURTEEN

NEW AGE

# SCRAP-BOOK

## His Master's Voice

OBJECTIVE reporting is a quality which does not pay at all in the bourgeois press. And especially when the interests of a press baron or his family are involved, impartiality of news just cannot be expected.

Those serving the Marwari Press are fully aware of this basic truth. They dare not do anything which goes against the interests of their masters. Birla's Hindustan Times is, of course, no exception to the rule.

This paper recently sent one of its correspondents to Pilani to report on the agitation launched by the citizens of that town against the move of transferring some areas of the Pilani Municipality to Vidya Bihar. Our readers will remember the report printed three weeks ago on this agitation.

Pilani for the last two months is up against the Birlas. Congressmen, Communists and other sections of the people are unitedly fighting against the postponement of civic elections and the threatened transfer of some of the areas to the Vidya Bihar Municipality. Two hunger strikes, one already having passed more than 25-days and a hunger striker now under detention, are causing great anxiety among the people.

But such is the tempo of the movement that even after the arrest of the first hunger striker the people have not given up their demands and the second hunger striker has replaced the first.

The Hindustan Times correspondent has sent a despatch which was flashed under a three-column headline (on September 5, Delhi edition): PILANI AGITATORS PLAY INTO HANDS OF COMMUNISTS; TWO MEN GO ON FAST. In his despatch the correspondent has, after repeating the version of the Birla Education Trust

(whose men control the Vidya Bihar Municipality), spread the scare of "Communist taking pains to explain what people's wars had achieved elsewhere". He accuses the agitators (incidentally Congressmen are heading the agitation) of having "personal scores to settle against the campus authority" meaning thereby grievances against the Birla Education Trust.

## Pilani's Protest

All in all, the correspondent has tried to discredit the united movement of the citizens of Pilani. But this H.M.V. conveniently forgot to mention one fact which has been reported to me from Pilani by a correspondent. And this is a big blow at the citizens of Pilani demonstrated against the Hindustan Times when they came to know about the

visit of the paper's correspondent.

In the meantime the movement for immediate civic elections and against the partition of Pilani is growing from strength to strength.

## Easy Seat For B. C. Roy

BY and large the political atmosphere is already smelling of electioneering. Congress election committees in various States are finalising their candidates, first for lost constituencies and then, of course, for the safer ones. The West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee has already decided its candidates for the "lost" seats. What the qualifications are for candidates for these seats I cannot say. But some interesting facts have been reported by Atulya Ghosh, Vice-President of the WBPC.

He told press correspondents recently that some "eminent physicians and educationists are seeking elections for those seats which were lost" by the Congress. I wonder if the physicians would be able to make a correct diagnosis of the disease in these lost constituencies or the educationists be able to re-educate the electorate. If the Congress had that much of respect for these professions why should it not fix a percentage for them, too, like "new blood", "women", etc.

That, however, is the lookout of the Congress. What is more interesting in the statement of the W.B.C.C. Vice-President was his remark about Dr. B. C. Roy.

According to a PTI message in National Herald the party may put "Dr. Roy in any number of seats according to the needs". He stated that Party may give Dr. Roy "an easy constituency".

## "Free World" Culture

IN course of a column in Sunday Standard by Jim Gibbin (August 27) certain shocking "revelations" are made. Writes he: "The revelations of what has been called the Kinsey Test for Kiddies has shocked parents and many educationists".

According to this report "critics" number one complaint is the secrecy surrounding the tests. The children who take the tests some times are admonished not to even tell their parents they took them, let alone tell their parents what the questions were."

And further: "In a California school, for example, youngsters were asked how much money they would take to do 15 different things. Among them, Spit on a picture of your Father."

Does it need any comment? That is what "free world" culture is.

## -AGRADOOT-

SEPTEMBER 10, 1961

CPI's Call For

# MASS CAMPAIGN FOR GERMAN PEACE TREATY

THE Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India has issued the following statement:

The frenzied war preparations which the USA, Britain, France and German Federal Republic supported by other NATO Powers have started in West Germany cannot but cause the gravest anxiety among all peace-loving people. They have refused the constructive proposal for signing a peace treaty with the two German States and for making West Berlin a de-militarised, free city.

West Germany is being rapidly equipped for a nuclear war. Former Hitlerite Generals and war criminals have been placed in command of the West German armed forces. German militarism which has been responsible for starting two World Wars has not only been revived, but it constitutes the dominant force in West Germany today under the revenge-seeking Adenauer regime.

In the familiar Hitlerite way once again territorial claims have been raised against Czechoslovakia and Poland. West Berlin has been transformed into a centre of espionage, sabotage and provocations against the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries.

All this is being done in flagrant violation of the Potsdam Agreement and other commitments for demilitarisation and demilitarisation. It is clear that the object of all these war preparations, on the part of the USA and other leading Nato Powers is to unleash a war against the Soviet Union and the Socialist camp. They are, thus, bent on driving the world towards the brink of a thermo-nuclear war.

In the face of this grave threat to the peace of the world, it becomes the prime duty of every peace-loving nation and of all people to strongly raise their voice and to redouble their efforts to halt this insane war drive by the USA and its Nato allies.

The signing of the peace treaty with the two German States and turning West Berlin into a demilitarised, free city have become ever so urgent today in the interests not only of the German people but of world peace.

Both the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic are prepared to give guarantee for freedom of access to West Berlin. It has further been assured that West Berlin shall be the complete master of its destiny and that the West Berlin Government will have the right as any free Govern-

ment to maintain diplomatic, economic and cultural ties with any country on the continent.

Their only condition is that West Berlin must be neutral and must cease to be a hotbed of espionage and subversive activities directed against the socialist countries.

But these terms are not acceptable to the Western Powers because they want to use German militarism for an aggressive war and West Germany as a spring-board for attack.

The Western circles and their friends in our country are trying to cloud the real issues by concealing the aggressive activities in West Germany and the real nature of the German problem. Their game must be exposed and our people informed of the truth.

The Secretariat of the National Council appeals to all sections of our country to take due note of the war dangers and express their solid support for the signing of a peace treaty with the two German States and for converting West Berlin into a free demilitarised city.

The Secretariat calls upon all Party units to take every initiative in mobilising public opinion for such a realistic settlement of the German problem.

# All-India Peace Council's Statement On Soviet A-Tests

THE All India Peace Council views with great concern and alarm the series of events which have culminated in the announcement by the Soviet Union of its decision to resume nuclear tests.

The dangers to human life and health, which every nuclear test entails, have been rightly underlined in the Soviet statement on the resumption of tests. All right-thinking men and women will, therefore, join the Soviet Government and people in regretting the taking of this serious decision.

The Government and people of India have always been firmly opposed to the carrying out of nuclear tests and earnestly desire the complete banning of all nuclear tests. India had warmly welcomed the unilateral decision taken three years ago by the Soviet Union to stop its nuclear tests.

Despite all efforts on the part of peace lovers in all continents, despite the initiatives by the Governments of India and other countries pledged to work

for peace—certain Western Powers continued their nuclear tests and their preparations for secret tests. France repeatedly exploded its bombs in the Sahara while the USA openly prepared to carry out underground nuclear tests for so-called peaceful purposes.

Unheeded went the repeated warning by the Soviet Union that if the Western Powers continued to test their weapons, as France was doing, it would be compelled to resume its own tests. The negotiations at Geneva were threatened at every term by the Western Powers' refusal to accept any concrete suggestion for a test ban put forward by the Soviet Union.

Recent weeks have seen mobilisation of armaments and men on an unprecedented scale by the USA (which has now the largest peace time war budget of any country at any time) and by other NATO powers. War threats have been held out against the Soviet Union on the question of Berlin and the signing of a peace treaty with Germany.

It is in this context that the new Soviet announcement must be viewed—for it underlines the urgency for popular action for disarmament and peace on a scale greater than ever before. Prime Minister Nehru has declared from Belgrade that the question of war and peace is the most important question—everything else is secondary.

The All India Peace Council welcomes the reaffirmation by the Soviet Government that it will never be the first to resort to arms. The Council also welcomes the declaration made by the Soviet Government that it is willing at any moment to sign an agreement for complete and general disarmament.

The Council appeals to all its members and supporters to intensify their efforts to ensure that negotiations are opened as early as possible for a peaceful solution of the Berlin question and of a peace treaty with Germany, and for an early agreement for general and complete disarmament with international control which would put an end to nuclear tests for all time.

# SPOTLIGHT

## a supine pen-pusher

PRIME Minister Nehru's statement on Germany, though wobbling, did nail to the counter some of the West's most blatant propaganda lies. It created consternation in the Western lobby and we now have the amusing though unedifying spectacle of all its Man Fridays in India rushing madly about with their tomahawks.

After Thought's Beachcomber, Current's S. A. Sabavala leads an attack. "Indian understanding of the Berlin problem is based on Red propaganda", he shrieks.

It is exactly the same gramophone record. Beachcomber had insinuated in deep plique, that the Indian Prime Minister's thinking on Berlin was ordered by Russia's Khrushchov and East Germany's Dr. Hager. Sabavala also begins his essay by referring to a "14-page note received in mid-August by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru" from Khrushchov and Dr. Krup Hager's visit, and then harps on "Mr. Nehru's distressing lack of knowledge" and the "supineness" of our External Affairs Ministry.

It is, as we see, the same chorus. Inspired by obsequiousness to the West, it aims at subverting India's foreign policy.

## siamese twins

This puny publicist of a tabloid run by a mercenary, even presumes to teach German and European history since the rise of Hitler to Nehru and India. Amazing cheek indeed!

Even he, however, has to admit the fact of Hitlerite revanchism brazenly stalking West Germany under American aegis. Writes he:

"Ten years ago this correspondent was witness in Germany and Austria, to Germans 'heiling' each other under the nose of the Army of Occupation, of pilgrims going up to Berchtesgarden, to the ruins of Hitler's mountain, top home, to lay flowers while the American guards on duty looked the other way".

If revanchism, deliberately nurtured, is today in full bloom and if Nehru mentioned that the fear of a militarist revanchist revival was valid on the part of the East, how could that be evidence of "distressing lack of knowledge" or "supineness"? In fact, it shows that the boot is on the other leg. What we witness here is the supineness of a hack writer and feigned ignorance, coupled with a falsification of history.

And the Jan Sangh realises that, its masquerade of a legitimate "democratic" party will end the moment it confesses to its patently fascist facet. Hence the resort to a desperate piece of lying—a very a-Bharatiya act!

I have already exposed the falsehood by adding concrete evidence in these columns. More of it will be forthcoming from time to time. I shall also be thankful to receive from our readers any reports on the subject that they may be in possession of. Let our people know the whole truth about these Siamese twins.

## jan sangh joins chorus

NOT to be outdone is Jan Sangh's Organizer which has just despatched

-GARUDA

NEW AGE

PAGE FIFTEEN

# soviet union on the eve of nehru's visit

From Masood Ali Khan

Moscow, Sept. 5

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru arrives here tomorrow. He will find this country in a serious and determined mood to defend peace and rebuff the instigators of a nuclear war. Fully aware of the grimness of this moment for the fate of the world the people of the Soviet Union realise the great responsibility that rests on their shoulders and they shall not falter in the face of Western threats.

**T**HE whole country stands behind the latest steps taken by their Government to strengthen the defence of the socialist camp and cool the hotheads and the war-mongers. The vast and mighty land has been roused to the call of the hour. They know what war is and they are determined to see that its flames are not allowed to devour the world.

## Popular Response

Thousands of meetings have been held in factories and farms and in army detachments where they declare the steps taken to be wise and timely and a serious warning. In the words of Mayakovsky they say: "We demand peace but if you touch us!

"Don't play with fire they say, don't have any illusions, the firm will of our millions is expressed in the decisions of our Government and he who raises the sword shall perish by the sword."

Yes, the situation is grave and demands that the whole world be roused to the urgent need to bridle the aggressors and forestall the intrigues of the enemies of peace.

The Soviet Union fully realises the positive role played by the neutral and non-aligned countries but this does not mean being neutral despite the nature of the issues involved. In today's situation if aggressive steps are not roundly condemned, remaining neutral can become an aid and encouragement to the aggressors instead of being a check and a warning and can lead to the destruction of the very neutrals, in spite of their not getting involved.

## NATIONAL COUNCIL'S VENUE

Due to the situation in Punjab, the National Council meeting which was to be held in Nurmahal (Punjab) will now take place in Delhi.

The meeting will be held from 18th to 23rd September, both days, inclusive.

Central Office  
Communist Party of India

Change of Telephone Numbers

Please note the change in the telephone Numbers of the Central Office and the New Age weekly. The new numbers are —  
227002 and 225794

The Cento documents made public by the Soviet Union are another grave warning to the peoples of Asia and show the limits to which the war-mongers of the West and their stooges like Ayub Khan are prepared to go. Khrushchov in his radio and television broadcast to the world on August 7, spoke of this quite clearly:

"We would like to address the peoples and Governments of neutral countries and tell them now: You cannot stand aside. It is only through the efforts of all peoples that it will be possible to put the aggressors into the strait-jacket and rid humanity of the threat of a third world war.

"It is only through the efforts of all peoples and Governments that the triumph of the great principles of peaceful coexistence can be assured, that agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict international control can be achieved. On the question whether or not there would be a war neither governments nor peoples can remain neutral."

## No Retreat

And one thing should be quite clear to us and it is this: The Soviet Union cannot be expected to retreat all the time, the Soviet Union cannot be expected to go on disarming unilaterally and sending the soldiers home while the West does exactly the opposite.

The Soviet Union cannot be expected to refrain from carrying out tests of atomic weapons if the USA openly declares its intention of doing so and makes all preparations for it and their NATO ally France continues to explode bombs in the Sahara.

The Soviet Union cannot be expected to carry out disarmament unilaterally if the West refuses to and just sit and watch how Western Germany is armed with rockets and atom bombs and how the Nazis, the militarist war-mongers, revenge-seekers and war criminals hurl humanity to the brink of war and how they prepare West Berlin as the detonator for a nuclear conflagration and blow-up.

In these matters all sincere partisans of peace, all those who want to prevent war will have to put all their influence and all their weight on the side of the forces of peace and to strengthen and support the efforts of the socialist camp. If the two Germanys are a fact then they will have to be recognised openly and without equivocation, if West Berlin has become the hot-bed of war and hate then the incendiaries and

hate-mongers will have to be quietened down; if there is to be a peaceful settlement then all nations and all peace-loving peoples will have to join their efforts to bring it about.

As far as the Soviet peoples are concerned this is their only desire and aim and they are not going to let us down. They are ready to negotiate and sit at the conference table if the West sincerely desires a settlement.

## Changed Balance

And if the West wants to negotiate from a position of strength then it will have to realise that the balance of forces has changed and every day that passes tips it in favour of the socialist world.

The hundreds of articles and resolutions that have appeared in the press here, the thousands of letters that the people have written to the newspapers, the declarations of the Soviet Government and conversations with the ordinary Soviet people reveal that on their side, in spite of the fact that now they are the stronger side, they want to negotiate not from a position of strength but from the position of sanity and reason.

The absence of any war hysteria or war psychosis here is another proof of this reasonable approach.

The Prime Minister during his three days stay in Moscow will be having ample opportunities to cover a wide field of world problems and Indo-Soviet relations.

His plane will touch Soviet soil at Moscow's Vnukovo airport at 14.30 tomorrow where he will be welcomed by Soviet leaders, including the Soviet Premier who has arrived in Moscow from his short stay in the South.

Pandit Nehru will drive into Moscow through the famous Leninsky Prospekt in the new south-west residential area and will see that the Soviet capital has changed beyond recognition since his last visit.

The Indian Prime Minister will, no doubt, notice the advance in the standard of living during the last six years which is apparent at the very first glance at Moscow crowds.

Panditji will call on Premier Khrushchov the same day and later there will be a dinner in the Kremlin in his honour.

On the seventh morning the Indian Prime Minister will lay a wreath on the Lenin-Stalin mausoleum in the Red Square and will pay a call on President Brezhnev. The first part of the day will be devoted to talks with Soviet leaders.

Nikita Khrushchov and other members of the Soviet Government will be the guests of Nehru at lunch at the Indian Embassy. In the afternoon Panditji will visit the Lebedev Institute and later at five there will be a reception to meet the Prime Minister at the Indian Embassy for Moscow's Indian colony. The same evening Panditji will attend a performance at the Bolshoi Theatre.

On the September 8, the

## Noble Comrade, Veteran Leader



**T**HE Communist Party of India dips the Red Banner in memory of W.Z. Foster, esteemed leader of international Communism, a loyal proletarian son of the great American people. For sixty odd years this great comrade of ours fought unflinchingly in the very den of imperialism and never gave up.

At seven he sold newspapers. At ten he regretfully left school to go to work. He got the new light from his and other mates' daily life. He led the national campaign of 200,000 packing workers and won their demands during the first World War.

After the war he led the greatest strike in US steel history — 365,000 struck in 50 American cities, under his leadership. These epic struggles made him nationally famous as the successful leader of industrial unionism in his country.

In the 30's he brought out nearly two millions on the streets against unemployment. The right to work or bread was won by the American workers under the leadership of Communists like him.

He faced arrests. He was kidnapped and dumped in

the deserts of Wyoming. He was shot at by the bosses' gun-men but he carried on.

Life of starvation and sufferings cost him his health and outdoor mass work. Invalidated he used the pen to go on serving the great cause dearest to his heart. Entirely self-taught he became a prolific writer. He has left behind over a dozen valuable books and fifty pamphlets which directly or in translations are avidly read by Communist and progressive circles the world over.

Together with the majority of the Socialist Party he formed and joined the Communist Party of the USA in 1921, which honoured his great contribution by electing him as its Chairman.

It is the life and work of honest, selfless and heroic Americans like Comrade Foster that strengthens the conviction that the Eisenhowers, Dulleses and Kennedys are not the common good Americans with a future but the dirty and greedy un-Americans whose days are numbered in the era of triumphant Communism, early liquidation of colonialism and final collapse of capitalism.

Prime Minister will see the magnificent Soviet exhibition of economic achievement. Later, the forenoon will be devoted to more talks with the Soviet leaders and at 14.30 there will be a big public meeting of the citizens of Moscow devoted to friendship between India and the Soviet Union which will be followed by a Soviet

reception at the Grand Kremlin Palace in honour of the Indian leader.

On Saturday Panditji's Moscow visit will come to an end and he will leave for Tashkent at 12 o'clock. Sunday will be spent in the capital of Soviet Uzbekistan and on Monday the eleventh the Prime Minister will leave the Soviet Union for India.