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TWELVE THOUSAND JAILED For Demanding Lower Ceiling On Land KISAN SATYAGRAHA IN TAMILNAD

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

MADRAS, September 26.

The peaceful satyagraha launched since September 15 by the Tamilnad Kisan Sabha has become an all-embracing movement for realising the pledge: Land to the tiller, solemnly taken thirty years ago at the Karachi session of the Indian National Congress.

It is an irony that fourteen years after independence kisans are forced to launch a satyagraha, under Congress rule, for realising this basic and nationally accepted objective. Already 12,000 have been arrested and that despite the policy of the Tamilnad Government to "keep arrests to the barest minimum". Jails are

September 27 only women volunteers will be picketing all the nine centres in the district.

Although the satyagrahis have been remarkably peaceful, throughout, the police has not spared them from its usual violence.

In some places the peaceful satyagrahis have been badly beaten up and even crowds witnessing the pick-

ment ranging from six weeks to five months.

When the Communist leader M. Kalyanasundaram sought the permission of the chair to move an adjournment motion in the Assembly to discuss the police excesses on picketers in certain centres, the Deputy Speaker said the matter concerned law and order and should be left to the Government to solve. And so he refused permission for the motion.

Undeterred by the violence let loose by the Government the movement is continuing peacefully. The discipline of the satyagrahis is commendable. M. Kalyanasundaram is now on a tour of Tan-



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workers belonging to the DMK, DK and Tamil National Party are joining the movement. The DMK too has announced its plan to launch a programme of mass mobilisation against the Madras Land Ceiling Bill from September 28.

The Tamil Arasu, a DMK daily has, in its editorial on September 23, congratulated the Kisan Sabha satyagrahis for their direct action by picketing before the Revenue Offices.

Many Congressmen and especially those from Tanjore where alone 7,000 Kisan Sabha volunteers are reported to have been arrested, have openly criticised the Land Ceiling Bill now before the Assembly.

The only opposition party which has openly betrayed its preference for maintaining the land monopoly of landlords is the Swatantra Party.

During the clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill, the Communist members in the Assembly moved an amendment to reduce the ceiling to 15 standard acres (in the Bill it is 30 acres). This was rejected by the steamroller majority of the Congress.

To show disapproval of the utter disregard of the Congress for the peasants' interest, the opposition staged a walk-out from the Assembly on September 22. But the Swatantra Party-men conspicuously chose not to participate in the walkout.

Thus the movement is clearly demarcating those who stand with the peasants and the poor and those who, at best, speak in their behalf, to exploit the mass discontent among the people.

Thus the battle is continuing magnificently both inside and outside the Assembly. Although Chief Minister Kamaraj has called the agitation "a political stunt" it is obvious that the ruling party is very much worried with the increasing tempo of the movement.

Slowly but perceptibly they are showing signs of retreating from their hitherto adamant and rigid stand of no concessions to the peasant.

This is evident from the assurance given by the Minister of Hindu Religious Endowments on the floor of the Assembly the other day to bring in separate legislation to cover the lands belonging to the Mutts and temples and a promise to see that no cultivating tenant on these lands is evicted.

Again though the Opposition amendments to reduce the ceiling to 15 standard acres as provided in the Bill were defeated and the ceiling has been fixed at 30 standard acres, in respect of lands assessed to Rs. 15 and above the ceiling has been reduced to 24 acres.

In the original Bill, all the lands assessed to Rs. 10 and above formed the same category and the ceiling was fixed at 30 standard acres. Now, as a result of the new amendment which Government itself was forced to move, the ceiling area will be limited to 24 real acres in respect of lands assessed to Rs. 15 and above.

The Government have also given notice of amendments to the Ceiling Bill to substitute a new Chapter for

* SEE PAGE 4



Blessings and a hearty send-off for Satyagrahis

no longer in a position to accommodate the increasing number of satyagrahis.

The mass enthusiasm that is accompanying this satyagraha throughout Tamilnad is so unprecedented that even the Government is amazed. A top official of the Government speaking the other day to pressmen frankly confessed the unpreparedness of the Government to take in prisoners in such large numbers.

Another remarkable feature of the satyagraha is that the people in general and peasants in particular are giving magnificent send-offs to the satyagrahis. Thousands witness and cheer them as they picket the revenue offices.

Among the satyagrahis courting arrest are many presidents and members of panchayat boards. In Tanjore District alone about 75 presidents and 150 members of the various panchayat boards have already taken part in the satyagraha and courted arrest.

And it is not an "men only" affair. Already 100 women satyagrahis have been arrested. It is to meet the demand of women satyagrahis that it has been decided by the Trinopoly Centre that on

etings have been lathi-charged. In Tirupathur of North Arcot district the sub-Inspector of Police beat up the volunteers and also the common people who were witnessing the picketing.

In Sankarankoll in Tirunelveli district an inhuman incident took place on September 22, when the sub-Inspector of police (on the spot) and a head constable dragged the volunteers and threw them into the gutter. The condition of one volunteer Muthuraj is serious.

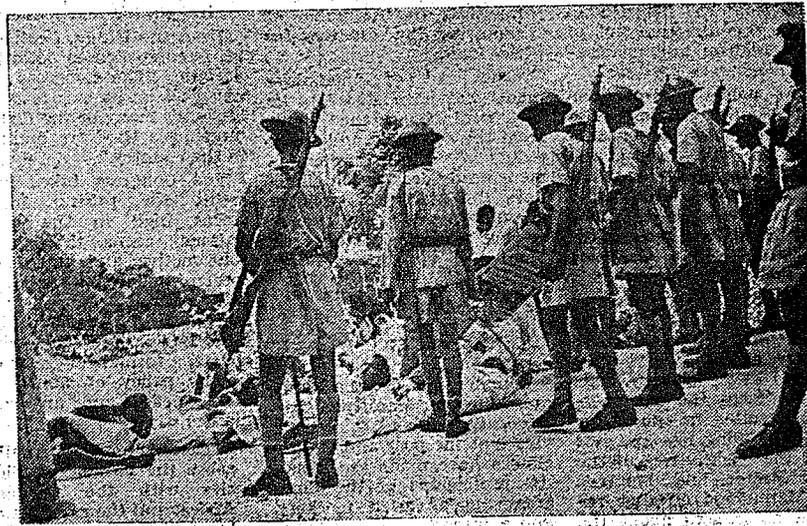
Police Violence

B. Srinivasa Rao, President of the Tamilnad Kisan Sabha who was visiting the place himself saw this inhuman treatment being meted out to the peaceful satyagrahis. He has issued a statement to the press condemning the behaviour of the sub-Inspector of Police.

Irritated by the growing number of volunteers who offer themselves for arrest the police and administration in order to terrorise the volunteers are making full use of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and inflicting sentences of imprison-

ment and Trichy districts recording the reports of police excesses on peaceful picketers. He also met the Inspector General of Police and drew his attention to concrete instances of police excesses in two centres.

Another feature of the movement is that it has already broken party barriers. Reports are already in that



The Satyagraha is on

FOR THE ELECTION BATTLE

THIS being the election year the moves and the counter-moves of the various political parties, and above all the ruling party itself, are specifically and directly designed with the electoral prospect in view.

The Congress leadership has published its Draft Election Manifesto which will be finalised during the coming Madurai AICC Session. It has generally been received with raised eye-brows because of the contrast between the past promises and actual performance of the Congress regimes.

This latest Manifesto makes no promise which had not been made before but not kept. It offers no guarantees that it will be different in the future.

Recalling The Past

As in the past it recapitulates the events of the years that have rolled by, seeks to revive the nostalgic memories of the anti-British struggle, reverently brings the Mahatma and his leadership in, and so on.

This routine exercise, however, is meant to impress the public mind in a particular direction. The sedate Hindu, September 21, comments "there is ill-concealed tendency to identify the country with the Congress."

The Congress Election Manifesto has also been characterised as a précis of the Third Plan. The achievements under Indian planning and the promise of a better life is sought to be sold in a real big way, to the prospective voters, India's millions.

It is common knowledge that the publication of the Third Plan failed to stir the national imagination as it was when the Second Plan was first announced. The obvious reason is that the people have grown more critical after learning through their bitter experience that the characteristic feature of Congress rule is not to keep its solemn promises. Will demographic promises pay electoral dividends again?

The Times of India, September 21, from its own Rightist angle offers the explanation: "Ironically enough, where the Manifesto does depart from the Third Plan it is in the direction not of greater realism and moderation but of more rhetoric."

The policy equivocations and practical concessions to the vested interests contained in the bulky body of the Third Plan have been neatly ironed out, the simple and tidy way, in the Election Manifesto meant for the people. The examples are many.

The public sector came up during the Second Plan; it upset the big captains of industry and the howl they raised is living memory. This pressure from the big capitalists resulted in the Prime Minister talking less and less about the leading role of the public sector and Morarjis and Manubhais offering repeated assurances about the

complementary and supplementary roles of both the sectors, and more, offering concessions after concessions to the private sector.

Now when votes from the common people are needed the manifesto again declares: "In view of our policy of socialisation, the public sector will increasingly expand and play a dominant role."

The greatest national scandal that has emerged out of the two Plans is that the big industrialists have become heads of powerful monopoly groups. Now just before the general elections the question is posed before the people, "How can economic growth be secured without growth of monopoly tendencies and concentration of economic power?" The Manifesto only poses the problem but offers no practical guarantees that existing monopolies will be broken up and newer ones not allowed to grow.

In a brief reference as befits the guilty party, the manifesto very briefly declares that the agrarian reforms "including the ceiling on land must be given effect to as soon as possible in all the States." Land distribution to the landless and the poor by acquiring the surplus land of the big holders has now become an outmoded old yarn.

Soaring prices are the great worry of the working people. The Manifesto promises price stabilisation and also assures fair prices to the agriculturists. There is, however, no mention of any new measures to achieve the same.

Very plausibly it is stated that "taxation should be so devised as to aim at lessening disparities of income and increasing resources available for development." Also, "it is necessary to have some limitations on the high urban incomes through taxation and other means, in order to lessen the great disparities that exist today."

Whose is the responsibility for the situation as it exists today? Who does not know that the big and fat ones have been offered numerous tax relief in the name of incentives while small and thin ones, constituting the vast bulk of Indian humanity, have been made to shoulder the increasing burdens of indirect taxation, in the name of supplying the resources for the Plan.

"The end of unemployment" has been stated to be of "vital importance both from the economic and social points of view". How can a mere wordy declaration eliminate the reality of growing unemployment, whose figures go on mounting after each plan!

"A Mockery And A Farce"

Commenting on the Congress Election Manifesto, Tribune, September 22, writes, "Lives of the poor and middle classes have made the socialist professions of the Congress appear as a mockery and a farce."

NOTES OF THE WEEK

It is not possible for any political party claiming to be serious and above all for the ruling party itself, to paint the Indian picture in glorious colours and ignore dark spots. The Congress leaders are experienced enough not to make the vain attempt. With an air of deep humility, the Manifesto states, "The task has been and continues to be a stupendous one, and there have been many disappointments and failures."

If this admission was based upon principled self-criticism there would have been serious re-examination of past policies which led to these disappointments and failures and the formulation of new and bold policies that would satisfy the people's aspirations and uplift their spirits.

Again, if these seemingly humble words were sincere this Manifesto would have contained a unity appeal to all like minded, secular, democratic and patriotic elements, who have been more consistent in stressing the unwanted and unnecessary continuance of these negative features in our national life. The manifesto, however, contains nothing of the sort.

The Manifesto also states that "real perils and dangers lie ahead". It points out that the caste formations were leading to "sinister" political groupings. Also that communalism was raising its head again.

Pious Hopes On Integration

"Thus the question of national integration became of basic importance for, without it, bigotry, obscurantism and reaction might well prevent social and economic growth."

Again there is recognition of the evil but no realisation of its cause, for that involves the admission of the post-independence political sins of the Congress leadership itself.

Its 14 years' record of rule has been one of appeasement of the reactionary elements within its own fold and offering concessions to invite those outside to join the Congress fold, including the reactionary gangs who had traditionally opposed the Congress during the days of the national struggle for independence.

Even the Hindu, September 21, is compelled to editorially declaim, "The Congress cannot disclaim its own responsibility for many of the divisive tendencies that are manifest in the country."

The Congress takes great credit for raising Indian status high in the international arena through its constructive and progressive foreign policy but it is the international part of the Manifesto this time, that is tame and insipid. There is of course, a formal reiteration of India's policy of non-alignment, peace and anti-colonialism.

There is no ringing call to rouse the nation in solidarity with the resurgent Africa, and the rapidly rising Latin America and help

to clean up the remaining imperialist nests from Asian soil.

The territorial dispute with China has been formulated in phrases reminiscent of Jan Sangh, Swatantra, PSP and Western lobby. This is the measure of surrender to their demagoguery. It is supposed to strengthen the Congress position vis-a-vis attacks from the Right and prove a useful stick to beat the Communists with.

There is, however, a change for the better, from 'should' to 'must' where the Indian duty to liberate Goa is mentioned.

The Government of India is yet very far indeed from helping Goa the way independent African Governments are aiding Angola.

The Press Estimates

It is very useful to note how the important English national dailies which generally support the Congress estimate its latest Election Manifesto.

The Hindu points out the difficult middle of the road course that the manifesto seeks to negotiate. "The Congress manifesto is so worded that it will not be easy for the left parties to attack it, while parties of the right will be hard put to it to discover items in it which can be exploited for discrediting the Congress. There is no battle-cry. Even the affirmation of faith in socialism is made in sober terms."

The Hindustan Times is worried about the health of the Congress itself. The Birla organ has editorially expressed its fear that "ultimately the most difficult tests facing the Congress lie not outside but within its own organisation."

The Times of India is more explicit over the same theme:

"The years it (Congress) has been in power have gravely undermined the party's discipline and unity of purpose. The lack of devoted cadres has reduced the Congress over the years to an electioneering machine. There is nothing in the manifesto to show what the party proposes to do to rid itself of the evils which it condemns in others."

The dissensions inside the Congress supply the public scandals of the day. They have become the headache of the Congress leadership above and they shake the morale and weaken the faith of the traditional followers of the Congress below, besides leading to the advanced and more conscious elements breaking away from their older loyalty to the Congress.

These dissensions produce acute organisational crises but they are essentially a political phenomena. They are the direct result of the Congress policy of unending compromises with reactionary and vested interests.

The long pursuit of policies of compromise with reaction has led to a situation that the Congress can no more claim to be the

most consistent champion of national principles.

Making repeated and serious concessions to the vested interests has led to a situation where honest Congressmen themselves do not believe that the Congress regime is building the nation with the interest of the common people upper most. The net result is that the popular discontent becomes widespread and serves as the fertile ground for the parties of the Right opposition to operate.

For Decisive Rebuff To Reaction

Encouraged thus the Right wing parties dare to come out openly to challenge the entire democratic movement of the country and its whole patriotic heritage and its basic values. In the coming election battle it is this challenge as well as the ruling party's policies which have given birth to this challenge that the people must meet and decisively crush.

The Rightist parties while repudiating the aim of forging an open electoral alliance with others are secretly and otherwise trying to arrive at mutual adjustments. The Swatantra-PSP attempt in Bombay, in concert with the Right wing Congress lobby, to put up and support Acharya Kripalani against Krishna Menon is symptomatic.

Strengthen Communist-Led Opposition

The Communist Party during its latest National Council meeting has formulated its electoral tactics and its Election Manifesto would be available to the public by the next week. The Communists calling upon our people to rout parties of Right reaction seek their verdict for a stronger Communist-led democratic opposition.

We have no doubt that all serious and honest elements in our national life will help to make the Communist electoral campaign a real success for that is the best guarantee of keeping India on an even keel, guide its course in the desired progressive direction, smashing the dangers of a shift towards the Right and enforcing a shift to the Left in our nation's life and for a better future.

—P. C. JOSHI

(September 26)

CORRECTION

New Age of September 17, 1961 contained an article entitled "Fallacies Regarding Punjab" by Comrade Jagjit Singh Lyalpur. The opening para beginning with the words "The communal approach..." and ending with the words "...linguistic reorganisation of the Punjab" occurring in the article was not in the original article. This opening para was an editorial insertion and the Editor regrets this insertion.

DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT UNDER IRON HEEL

1,300 Jailed In Punjab

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT)

Chandigarh, September 25

THE Punjab has been under the iron heel of the Kairon regime since the beginning of this month. The Chief Minister's slanderous statement, accusing the Communists of planning sabotage and disruption came on the afternoon of September 1.

And early on the 2nd morning, came the premeditated attack all over the State. Over 200 places were raided and 89 leading functionaries of the Communist Party were arrested in this first offensive, including the State Secretary, Comrade Harkishen Singh Sarjeet.

On the 3rd, an all-parties' public meeting on the issue of civil liberties was called at Ludhiana. Due permission for it had been taken from the authorities and it was to be addressed by some MPs. It was illegally stopped and two of the organisers Bhajan Singh and Sheila Didi were arrested.

The 4th saw the opening of the attack on the daily Nawan Zamana, the only secular democratic paper in Punjabi language with the arrest of its editor-in-charge, Arjan Singh Gargaj. On 6th followed the arrest of Master Ishar Singh, manager of the Awami Printing Press where the Nawan Zamana is printed. Next day Comrade Sohan Singh Josh, the editor-in-chief of the paper was arrested.

September 11 and 12 saw the arrest of two news editors—Surjan Zirvi and Suhail Singh but the grand finale came on 13th evening.

Over a hundred policemen attacked the offices of the press and the paper and removed all editors, managers, compositors and distributors present at the premises.

This was an unprecedented happening even under the notorious Kairon regime and the Jullundur Working Journalists' Federation strongly protested against this lawless attack on the employees of the press and the paper.

Communist Press Silenced

Between the 4th and 13th when this attack on Nawan Zamana had been passing through its various stages, all-round repression was being stepped up. And the paper was suppressed in this brutal fashion only because it reflected this in its columns.

Besides Communist functionaries, leaders of trade unions, agricultural labour associations and kisan sabhas were also being arrested. Munilal Langotiwala, Vice-President of the State TUC, Satya Pal Dang and Parra Singh, its Secretaries and Darshan Singh Nagpal, its treasurer were put behind the bars.

Similarly Daya Singh Prem, Vice-President of the Punjab Dehati Mazdoor Sabha and Bakshi Ram, its General Se-

cretary, were arrested from their homes and so was Jathedar Hardit Singh Bhattal, Vice-President of the State Kisan Sabha.

Satyagraha Launched

As a protest against this unwarranted repression and denial of civil liberties the State Communist Party organised a satyagrah from September 5 onwards.

Since then, peaceful batches of satyagrahis have been courting arrest every day in various towns of the State by shouting "Hindu-Sikh unity zindabad!" and "Withdraw Section 144, Restore Civil Liberties". The

total arrests in the State stood at 1236 on September 19 and many more have gone in since then.

Over a hundred arrests each have taken place in the districts of Jullundur, Ludhiana, Amritsar, Bhatinda and Sangrur alone. Up to now 11 out of 25 member of the State Executive of Communist Party, including the two MLAs Dr. Bhag Singh and Pandit Ram Kishan Bharolian have been put behind bars as also another 12 members of the State Council.

A most deplorable feature of the repression against the satyagrah, is the beating up by the police of peaceful satyagrahis at the time of their arrest. This happened in Ludhiana, Jullundur and Amritsar.

But the worst in this respect is Sangrur District. In this district, beating up of jathas and tearing their clothes to shreds is a daily occurrence.

Besides these, confiscation

of property of those comrades who were not found at the time of raids is another obnoxious feature. Under the law, you cannot touch the property of a person until and unless he has been declared an absconder but Kairon's police are no respecters of law.

Kairon and his Congress party have also tried to utilise this situation for bolstering up their own strength in the elections to the various block samitis which have taken place during the last few weeks. Communist members of block samitis and panchas and sarpanchas have been a special target of attack.

In Bhonga block samiti in Hoshiarpur district, the Communist-led majority group was converted into a minority by arresting Pritam Singh Lettran and two others right at the time of elections.

Similar tactics were followed in the Ferozepore district where Communist-led groups had a strong position

in Nihalsinghwal, Baghpurana and Moga blocks.

In Nihalsinghwal, the anti-Congress majority was sought to be reduced by arresting Jagat Singh Madhe. He was not granted parole for casting his vote even though a cash security of Rs. 50,000 was offered.

In Baghpurana block Ujjagar Singh Budhsinghwal, a member of the District Executive of the Communist Party succeeded in casting his vote for the co-option of six new members in the block samiti before the police could arrest him.

Another member of this block samiti Jagir Singh Charnowal was arrested before the election and released after voting was over. The Congress lost the elections in this block despite this.

In Block Moga, Dasaundha Singh succeeded in casting

* SEE OVERLEAF

ECONOMIC NOTES

THE annual meetings of the Commonwealth Finance Ministers had become such a routine affair that their proceedings did not cause even a ripple to appear in our national press. They were reported in full, no doubt, and were also commented upon for form's sake, but then that was all one used to hear about them till last year.

This year's Conference, however, has aroused an unprecedented interest, and the reason for it is not only the shifting of the venue for the first time to a city other than London. The principal item on its agenda and the background in which it met were the main factors investing it with a new significance from the very beginning.

The item referred to here concerned Britain's proposed entry into the European Common Market (ECM) or the European Economic Community (EEC) as it is called, and the background was the intensification of inter-imperialist rivalries between Britain and the ECM countries in which the latter seemed to be the winners.

A larger section of the British monopolists, finding no scope for their survival outside the ECM, were pressing their Government to walk into it.

The United States, the guardian angel of the ECM, was also impelling Britain to end its isolation from the Continent.

At the back of these manoeuvres was the impelling need for the imperialist countries to consolidate themselves to match the economic might of the Socialist world on the one hand, and to block the marketability of the products of the newly liberated developing countries on the other. Britain especial-

ly had rather developed former colonies as part of the Commonwealth—countries like India, for example, which had already acquired a significant capacity to produce and export manufactured and semi-manufactured goods.

Such a reasoning on Britain's part, and her proposed entry into the ECM, could not but evoke protests from the Commonwealth countries, which had been enjoying preferences in the British market. Britain which had contrived these preferences in 1932 to preserve her domination over the underdeveloped Commonwealth markets also enjoyed them no doubt, but in the present situation of the latter benefiting from them more

than herself she thought of giving them up altogether. Moreover, she had the vast continental market to look to, and the gains there seemed to be much more alluring than the "historical" links with markets which had been, and which are now fast changing.

Meeting in such a background, with the leading Commonwealth country deciding to forsake her "traditional" partners for the sake of new allies, the Conference at Accra could not certainly be a routine affair. It in fact provided the best opportunity for the Ministers to wax eloquent about the injuries done to their respective economies. And they certainly availed it to the full.

The tone was set by President Nkrumah of Ghana who called the EEC "a neo-imperialist plot" which it certainly is. Others who followed—Hees of Canada,

five tried yet another device at Accra. He knew that the "overseas territories", that is, the colonies of some of the ECM countries, have been made "associates" of the main organisation. They enjoy in that capacity some of the benefits accruing to the principal members through the reduction of tariffs, etc.

A similar status, he said, could be secured for the Commonwealth countries if they so desired. He knew full well the desire of some of the business circles in India and elsewhere to have some such link with the ECM. It stands to the credit of the Government of India that it made its Finance Minister speak out against it at the Conference.

Having rejected "associate-ship" and banking upon the other world market—the Socialist market—

Holt of Australia and India's Morarji Desai—all used all the incentives they could muster to denounce the British move.

The final communique too carries this imprint of an anger, which could no longer be suppressed, and which saw in the British move a lurking danger to the Commonwealth itself.

The British ruling circles are reputed for their cunning devices to "divide and rule". In respect of the ECM also they tried their old game. Before some of them they dangled the carrot of securing for them "special benefits" in the EEC.

This offer of theirs was, however, spurned by these countries as well as by others who saw in it seeds which could prove "damaging" to Commonwealth solidarity.

The British representa-

MEETING IN ACCRA

It is they who should be made to realise the odds they are up against in their own country—the monopolists in Britain who want to link up with their ilk across the Atlantic and the Channel, and the Tory Government which wants to consolidate the NATO into an economic as much as a political alliance.

If that is done, and if efforts to build an alternative market are relentlessly kept up there is no reason why it should not be possible to secure a mutually beneficial agreement.

The other course of waiting for the present development inevitably leading to the withering away of the Commonwealth, and thence forcing the country's rulers to seek alternative markets would amount to facilitating the success of the imperialists' nefarious designs to consolidate themselves, and rob our country of its legitimate trade in the West and in what have hitherto been the "overseas territories" of the imperialist countries.

—ESSEN

ACCEPT TAMIL KISANS' DEMANDS

The National Council of the Communist Party of India which concluded its meeting in New Delhi on September 23, adopted the following resolution on the Tamilnad Kisan Satyagraha:

The National Council of the Communist Party of India extends its full support to the just struggle launched by the Tamilnad Kisan Sabha from September 15, 1961 in order to secure the minimum necessary progressive changes in the Land Ceilings Bill now under discussion in the Tamilnad State Legislature.

The demands of the Tamilnad Kisan Sabha are that the ceiling should be fixed at 15 standard acres, that ceiling should be for a family and not for an individual, that there should be no exemption under this Bill and finally that there should be no provision permitting any eviction of tenants. These are just and democratic demands. They are in the urgent interests of the peasantry as well as of our economy.

The National Council sends its greetings to the thousands of volunteers who have offered satyagraha and courted imprisonment in response to the call of the Kisan Sabha. The Council condemns the wanton lathi-charges made by the police on the peaceful kisan satyagrahis in the districts of Tanjore, Madurai and other places.

The National Council urges the State Government to accept these demands of Tamilnad kisans in order to improve the present Bill under discussion and make it worthwhile and effective. It calls on the Government of India and the Planning Commission to advise the Tamilnad State Government to do justice to the kisans of that State.

FOR SPEEDY ACTION IN CONGO

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India issued the following statement in New Delhi on September 26:

The turn that events have taken in the Congo cannot but cause deep concern.

After a long period of inaction during which Mr. Tshombe, the agent of British and Belgian imperialists was allowed to build up a strong and heavily armed force, led by European officers, the UN decided to act in order to integrate Katanga with the Congo. Severe fighting followed in which the small and ill-equipped UN forces suffered many casualties which included the lives of several Indian soldiers.

One would have expected that in an operation in which the UN forces were engaged, Britain as one of the permanent members of the Security Council would give all moral and material support to the UN. Instead of that, the British Government acted in a way which can be rightly called shameful. The BBC publicly denounced the "atrocities" committed by Indian troops. Sir Roy Welensky, the Central African Federal Prime Minister branded the United Nations as "aggressor".

The monopoly-controlled British press loudly expressed sympathy for Tshombe who was defying the UN and whose forces were, in all probability, responsible for the tragic death of the UN Secretary-General Dr. Dag Hammarskjöld.

The British went to the length of refusing three Ethiopian fighters permission to fly over Uganda to help the beleaguered UN forces. The Government of Rhodesia, it is reported, rushed arms to help Tshombe.

All this was nothing but a calculated and deliberate defiance of the UN and an effort to defeat its plans. The hand of British monopolists who reap fabulous wealth from the mines of Katanga could be clearly seen in these moves.

In such a situation, one expected that those who talk constantly about the authority of the UN would act decisively. All the more imperative it was to continue the operations against Tshombe in view of the fact that the Government of the Congo had decided to take military measures to put an end to Katanga's secession.

But it was precisely at this moment that the UN signed a humiliating ceasefire agreement with Tshombe. This so-called agreement was not only a heavy blow against the prestige of UNO; it was also and above all an act of betrayal against the people of Congo.

There is every danger that under the cover of this ceasefire agreement the traitor Tshombe, with the aid of his imperialist patrons, will try to build up an even more formidable military force.

It is high time therefore, that speedy and effective measures are taken to expel the European officers in Katanga, disarm the forces of Tshombe and bring about integration of Katanga with Congo, of which it forms an important and vital part. The Communist Party hopes that the Government of India will press for such measures with vigour and persistence.

Expressing deep sympathy with the families of those Indian soldiers who have been killed in Congo, the Communist Party fully supports the Government of India in the protests it has made to the British against the vilification of Indian armed forces in the Congo. We shall support every action in defence of India's honour against such calumny.

Grand Welcome To Jatha In Trivandrum

SEPTEMBER, 25

TRIVANDRUM witnessed an unprecedentedly big rally of people last evening who thronged to receive the Kottiyur Kisan Jatha marching over 400 miles under the leadership of Father Vadakkan. The jatha consisting of forty people under Captain Wellington was received by A. K. Gopalan at Kazhakkattam at the outskirts of the city.

Small and big peasant jathas and marches of Catholic fishermen marched towards the Museum junction where they met the Kottiyur jatha and marched behind it through the main streets of the capital.

The jatha shouted slogans—"Do not evict kisans!" "Implement Amravathi Assurances!" "No middleman for exploiting us", etc., etc.

Over 30,000 people witnessed the 10,000 strong procession wending its way and followed it towards the meeting place. The paradoxical thing was that at the head of the procession were Wellington and Gopalan accompanied by other kisan leaders the two standing poles apart politically but having come together to serve the common poor peasant's cause.

Parappankot Sreedharan Nair, Advocate, Vice-President of the Karshaka Sangham presided over the meeting. He rebuffed the charge that the jatha was spreading communalism, citing the fact that all political parties in Kerala agreed that the Kottiyur issue was a tenancy issue; it had to be faced as such and only those who wanted to exploit the peasant and keep the old feudal set-up intact would oppose this.

Wellington, the leader of the jatha said that the 40 peasants drawn from Kottiyur in far-away Cannanore

SATYAGRAHA WINNING CONCESSIONS

* FROM FRONT PAGE

the existing Chapter dealing with the Cultivating Tenants. The purpose of these amendments is to make its provisions remain in force for a period of three years from the date of publication of the measure.

In the original Bill, the landowners were permitted to resume the lands for personal cultivation upto 5 standard acres immediately on the coming into force of this Act.

Now, according to the new amendments proposed

Repression In Nabha Jail

* FROM OVERLEAF

his vote and escaping arrest as well, despite the great police bandobust. Congress lost the elections in this block also.

Jathas from Ferozpur, Patiala and Hoshiarpur districts are also courting arrest almost every other day and the number of those arrested is daily going up.

As I write this, alarming

from Ambalavayal in Kozhikode and three from Kottayam represented the cause of over 15 lakh peasant settlers who had turned forests into goldmines over decades. The fact that Communist leader Gopalan and anti-Communist Vadakkan had come together shows that a new chapter in Kerala's life was in the offing where the people could unite for the advance of the interest of the common people.

Like Pandavas of the Mahabharata they wanted only a small piece of land to cultivate and live and if like Kauravas the rulers refused this just demand, they will have no other course left except organise struggles of the peasants.

B. C. Varghese, a rebel PSP leader also spoke.

A. K. Gopalan offered felicitations to Father Vadakkan and Wellington and stated that both the charges of communalism and Communist alliance were raised by vested interests and their henchmen and if they could unite all honest men to support the demands, nothing on earth can stop their success. He pledged full support of the Kisan Sabha to the objective of the jatha.

Father Vadakkan explained the genesis of the movement and said that for the cause of the toiling people all honest men should and will unite. That was the teaching of Christ, God and all scriptures. The movement was peaceful and its purpose was to present their grievances.

W. Bengal Newsletter

LONG-TERM POLITICALS' RELEASE DEMANDED

THE debate in the West Bengal Legislative Council on September 20 on the resolution of Mohit Moitra (Communist), demanding the immediate release of 32 long-term political prisoners convicted in the Kakdwip, Dum Dum-Bashirhat and Jessop cases, was marked by angry exchanges between the Home Minister and some Opposition members.

The Home Minister refused to accept the resolution "because of his larger responsibility towards the people". Derisive remarks were made repeatedly by opposition members against the Minister when he started replying to the debate in a melodramatic manner.

The atmosphere of the House warmed up when he

said that the prisoners had indulged in terrorism to achieve their political ends, and that no democratic Government could tolerate violence.

A question was then flung at him from the Communist benches: "Who murdered 80 people during the last food movement?" The Minister was discreet enough to remain silent.

Speaking on the resolution, Satish Pakrasi (Communist) pointed out that when there had been a big change in the political situation in the country, continued incarceration of the prisoners was nothing short of the most brutal form of political vindictiveness on the part of the Government.

He demanded that the Government should release the prisoners before the next general elections.

SCREENING FOR STEELMEN

LAST week I had written about secret police enquiries into the "antecedents" of school teachers, employees of the Calcutta Improvement Trust and big commercial firms, and doctors for the panel of the Employee's State Insurance Scheme.

Another report of police verification has just come in. It is now the turn of the 13,000 workers of the Central Government's Steel Plant at Durgapur, about 125 miles from here.

Secret police verification of the antecedents of the workers has already started.

Sometime ago, four workers were discharged on the basis of secret police reports. It is further learnt that there is a move to sack two leading organisers of the Hindustan Steel Workers' Union on such reports. Furthermore, it is reliably reported that a large number of plain clothes men and security police have been posted at Durgapur to keep a close watch on the activities of the workers.

The workers think that the purpose of these measures is to terrorise them and to weaken their union.

KERALA'S SECOND KISAN JATHA

Communists Support Catholic Peasants' Just Struggle

★ From P. K. Kunhauandan

Trivandrum City witnessed an unprecedented demonstration on September 24 when the jatha of peasants from Kottiyur in Cannanore District reached the State capital after trekking on foot nearly 400 miles.

THE jatha was organised and led by Father Vadakkan, a Catholic priest and leader of the Anti-Communist Front in Kerala.

Communist leader Comrade A. K. Gopalan, President of the All India Kisan Sabha, accepted the invitation to participate in it. He addressed the culminating public rally in the heart of Trivandrum City.

It may be recalled that Father Vadakkan had paid glowing tributes to Gopalan for the successful fast he undertook in June last in Amravathi for the demands of the evicted agriculturists of the high ranges. The present jatha also was directed against the reactionary agrarian policies of the present Kerala Alliance Government.

Diverse Elements Come Together

Catholics and Communists, some Congressmen and non-Party elements came together in this agitation directed against the Nair communal organisation, the NSS, supported by the State Government.

This is the second big peasant march in Kerala after the dismissal of the Communist-led Government the first being the great jatha led by Gopalan which trekked 500 miles from Kasergode to Trivandrum in July last year, protesting against the President withholding the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill and demanding its passage without any amendments.

Kottiyur is a temple in Cannanore district on top of the Western Ghats, abode of tribal gods, which owns large tracts of fertile forest land, suitable for planting rubber and other rich commercial crops. Trustees of the temple have leased out the land to tenants, mostly Christians, coming from the former State of Travancore. There were also many local tenants who were traditionally cultivating land belonging to the temple.

5000 Families Threatened With Eviction

Nearly 5,000 families have been cultivating the land owned by the temple under leases (without any legal or written documents of ownership) in Kottiyur.

The Nair Service Society headed by Sri Mannath Padmanabhan wanting to extend its influence to Malabar used its influence in the State Government through the Commissioner for Religious Endowments to get many thousands of acres of land leased out to it by the Kottiyur temple trustees.

One of the Ministers of the

State Government, Sri Veluppan is the nominee of Mannath Padmanabhan. He made a public statement last month that the tenants in the land leased out to the NSS will be evicted mercilessly.

His statement followed a declaration by Mannath Padmanabhan that he shall resort to large-scale evictions in Kottiyur and even challenge the peasant leader A. K. Gopalan if he would dare to start an agitation there.

Chacko's Public Protest

This statement of the NSS leader and of the Congress Minister in the alliance Government provoked public protest from no less a person than Home Minister P. T. Chacko, who condemned Veluppan's open eviction threats. Inside the Kerala Cabinet the issue was hotly debated recently. The Nair communal wing of the Alliance has the support of Chief Minister Pattom who is in open conflict with Home Minister Chacko.

While the crisis in the ruling alliance was intensifying in this way, the peasants in Kottiyur were organising. They launched an agitation to force the Government to guarantee the protection of their rights in the land they were cultivating. Their main demands were:

- Right of permanency of tenure for all peasants who cultivate land on oral lease;
- Abolition of intermediaries in agrarian relations; cancellation of the long-term lease to the NSS who are the new intermediaries; and
- Stoppage of all evictions.

Jatha's Progress

The jatha which started from Kottiyur and Ampalavayal a month ago consisted mostly of Catholic peasants. There were also peasants belonging to other communities like Ezhavas and Nairs. The Kisan Sabha unit in Kerala lost no time in extending its wholehearted support to this jatha.

Pronounced anti-Communism of Father Vadakkan was no bar for the Communist Party to declare its support to it. The Communist Party and Kisan Sabha units all along the jatha's route had organised grand receptions and erected welcome arches to receive the Karshaka (peasant) jatha.

On September 9 when the jatha reached Kottayam (nerve-centre of recent Kisan Sabha agitation which culminated in Gopalan's fast in Amravathi) a rousing recep-

tion was organised jointly by the Catholic Congress, Communist Party, Kisan Sabha and other organisations.

The mammoth public meeting held in the heart of the town was presided over by Sri Joseph the editor of Deepika (leading Catholic daily of Kerala) Vice-President of the Kerala Catholic Congress, K. K. Jacob, and Communist leader and Secretary of the Kottayam District Council of the Party K. T. Jacob received the jatha and addressed the meeting.

While the peasants and democratic-minded people of Kerala irrespective of communal and political differences were receiving and supporting the jatha all along its route to the State capital, KPCC General Secretary Stephen came out with a statement that Congressmen and Congress Committees should not cooperate or associate themselves with the Kottiyur jatha. This directive of the KPCC became necessary because many local and mandal committees of the Kerala Congress were participating in receiving the jatha shoulder to shoulder with Communists.

Congressmen Resent KPCC Stand

The statement of the KPCC Secretary further infuriated a section of the Congress, especially the Catholic wing, headed by the Deepika. Deepika itself wrote a strong editorial characterising Stephen's directive as dictatorial, anti-peasant and un-Catholic.

The paper wrote that the liberation struggle they had launched against the Communist Government has now proved in vain since the alliance Government and the KPCC were not living upto the just demands of the peasants.

Father Vadakkan in his speeches all along strongly attacked Pattom's Government. (These speeches are only comparable with Mannath Padmanabhan's speeches during the "liberation struggle", the theme being to the effect that "the liberation struggle launched against the Communist Government is now being further carried forward against the anti-peasant, pro-landlord, pro-NSS policy of the present Government.")

Alarmed at the rift inside the ruling alliance on this agrarian question and growing support for unity of peasants against the Alliance Government's eviction policy, Home Minister P. T. Chacko met Mannath Padmanabhan and apprised him of the gathering danger.

Mannath climbed down a little, called a hurried press conference in Trivandrum (in the last week of August) and declared that no peasant in Kottiyur devaswam land leased out to the NSS shall be evicted. He however reiterated firmly the overlordship rights of the NSS over the Kottiyur tenants and abused violently both Father Vadakkan

and A. K. Gopalan in equally vulgar language.

The Communist Party's stand on Kottiyur issue was made clear by Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad, Secretary of the State Council, whose statement demanded the cancellation of the new lease to the NSS which had suddenly come up as a new landlord in between the peasants and the temple trustees. The Party demanded that permanency of tenure and full rights of ownership should be conferred on the tenants directly under the Kottiyur Devaswam.

When the Executive Committee of the KPCC and its legislature party met in Trivandrum on September 13, many members spoke against the Secretary's directive to disassociate from the Kottiyur jatha. The KPCC was so far avoiding any commitment on Kottiyur issue.

After a heated discussion, the KPCC admitted that the Kottiyur issue is a part of the agrarian problem in Kerala and that the peasants in Kottiyur are alarmed by the threats of eviction from the NSS. Yet the KPCC tried to give a mischievous twist to this general threat of eviction and agrarian unrest and characterised the whole movement as an attempt to create communal discord in Kerala.

The KPCC then appealed to Father Vadakkan to disperse the jatha and call off the agitation. They also sent a deputation headed by Secretary Stephen to meet Father Vadakkan and other leaders of the jatha to persuade them to withdraw the agitation.

The allegation of the KPCC was that the anti-Communist Front, headed by Father Vadakkan with the support of the Communist Party has been trying to create communal tension in the State which would lead to communal conflicts!

Communists Refute Standers

The Secretariat of the Kerala State Council of the Communist Party denying this allegation reiterated its position that the issue of eviction of peasants from Kottiyur temple lands is not a communal but a purely agrarian issue. Abolition of intermediaries from the agrarian set-up is a programme accepted by our national movement and the Congress is committed to it.

But in Kottiyur in a state where the Congress is the main partner in the Alliance Government, the NSS is being brought in as a new intermediary landlord over the tenants. The kisan movement in Kerala has from its very beginning opposed this system of leasing land.

Pledge Support To Struggle

The statement further stated that the Communist Party will always join hands with all sections of the people,

irrespective of party and communal differences, to fight such anti-peasant policies of the Government. That is why the Communist Party is supporting the jatha headed by Father Vadakkan.

The Party leadership also made it clear that the Kottiyur agitation would continue even if Father Vadakkan disbanded the jatha on the basis of the KPCC resolution.

Father Vadakkan told the KPCC delegation when they met him at Changanachery that he would disband the jatha only if the following three conditions were accepted by the Government:

● That the Kottiyur Devaswam land proposed to be given to the NSS on long-term lease would be given on the same terms to the settlers on those lands.

● That the settlers in Government reserve forests throughout the State should be given land now in their possession on permanent settle terms.

● That the Amravathi settlers in Kottayam district should be given the one-acre land promised by the Government (in an agreement between E. M. S. Namboodiripad and Home Minister P. T. Chacko; one of the conditions for the termination of A. K. Gopalan's fast in June) without further delay.

Father Vadakkan's Rejoinder

Father Vadakkan further issued a rejoinder to the resolution adopted by the Executive of the KPCC and the legislature Congress Party in which he said that the demands of the peasants were very reasonable and that the jatha proceeding to the State capital was not under the inspiration of any political party.

He said the sole objective of the jatha was to make representation to Ministers to get justice to 20 lakh peasant settlers in private and Government forest lands in the State. He also made it clear that without a positive assurance from the Kerala Government that these settlers would not be evicted and that the tenants' right would be safeguarded there was no question of his disbanding the jatha.

The Kerala Karshaka Sangham in the meanwhile called upon the peasants throughout the State to observe September 24 as Kottiyur Day. The jatha thus reached Trivandrum on the day when kisans all over Kerala were demonstrating their solidarity and support to the Kottiyur jatha. Gopalan's participation in the movement and the unity of kisans under Catholic influence and Kisan Sabha influence has been a crushing blow to Kerala's communalists, the NSS and the Alliance Government who always thrive on communal discord.

(September 25)

COMMUNIST MINUTE OF DISSENT

The ruling Congress Party, purely on the basis of its brute majority, is at the moment pushing through the Madras State Assembly its pro-landlord Ceiling Bill, despite the massive protest of the tillers of the soil.

In his Minute of Dissent appended to the Report of the Select Committee which reported on the Bill, M. Kalayanasundaram, leader of the Communist Group in the Assembly showed how the bill, if enacted, instead of advancing the objectives laid down in the Third Five-Year Plan would work in the opposite direction.

Earlier Measures

Tracing the background of the last few years he says that agricultural progress in the State has been slow to the point of threatening to reach a point of stagnation. One chief reason for this has been the halting and dilatory manner in which the directives of the Planning Commission—themselves by no means revolutionary—have been carried out. The Planning Commission directives on land reforms sought only to: abolish intermediaries, achieve protection and improvement of tenancy rights, and the imposition of ceiling on landholdings.

Recalling the measures brought forward in the State and the effect they have had the minute of dissent says that the Cultivating Tenants Protection Act of 1955 and the subsequent Fixation of Fair Rent Act, (fixing the tenants' share at 60 per cent of the produce) and the Tiruchi Kaleru and Mattavaram Act were all very limited measures which carried within them "very vital loopholes."

"No wonder evictions have taken place on an unprecedented scale in this period."

And now, "on the crest of all these", has come this so-called Land Ceiling Bill. While the preamble to the Bill claims that it seeks to reduce the disparity in the ownership of agricultural land, actually if "the Bill is passed as it has been recommended by the majority of the Select Committee, it would be a hoax on the Planning Commission, and would throw overboard the promises made to the people."

Hoax On Planning Commission

The dissenting minute recounts the reasons for this as follows:

1 Ceiling area.—(a) Clause 5 seeks to fix the ceiling area at 30 standard acres. The provisions of this clause are so framed that every individual member of a Hindu family including minor children would be able to own 30 standard acres per head provided the partition deed has been drafted on stamped papers before April 6, 1960. The ceiling area should be clearly fixed as applicable to a family of not more than five persons. Each person in a family should not be entitled

to claim separately up to the ceiling area.

(b) Further the ceiling area fixed is very liberal and should be reduced to 15 standard acres for a family of not more than five persons. For every member of the family above five persons, a further 2 standard acres per head may be allowed, subject to an overall maximum of 25 standard acres for a family and not more than that for any family.

(c) The family should be defined so as to include only the husband, wife, minor children and unmarried adult children; thereby providing for recognizing only genuine partitions and for rejecting partitions which have been made for the purpose of evading the Land Ceiling Bill.

(d) The way in which the family is defined, would give rise to anomalous differences between those covered by Hindu Law and non-Hindu families. Whereas every member of a Hindu family irrespective of age would be entitled to own the full extent of the ceiling area, the non-Hindu families could not have this advantage.

This anomaly is sought to be mitigated by providing for separate property by an individual member up to 10 acres in addition to the family ceiling, vide Sub-Section (4) of Section 5. This clause also gives protection to stridhana properties of women members of a family. This provision for separate property, although found necessary to remove the anomaly in respect of non-Hindu families, but in effect, would only help Hindu families to raise the ceiling area.

30 Acres Ceiling—A Myth

So the ceiling area of 30 standard acres would only remain a myth in so far as those covered by Hindu Law. In the case of non-Hindu families the ceiling would be 60 standard acres.

Clause 5 of the Bill and the definition of 'family' in (14) of clause 2, are so ingeniously framed, that no land-owner whether Hindu or non-Hindu would be affected. That Act would only remain paper tiger, when it relates to land-owners; but more ferocious than real tiger when it applies to cultivating tenants.

2 Definition of Standard Acre.—The definition of the standard acre has been further liberalised by the Select Committee. The ceiling area would range from 30 to 120 acres, based on the assessed land revenue, as recommended by the Committee. The wet lands assessed to land revenue at the rate of Rs. 10 and above per acre is treated as a standard acre. There should be a scale reducing the extent for lands assessed to land revenue over Rs. 15 per acre, so as to avoid

anomaly. Subject to this change, the definition contained in the original bill should be retained, as the changes recommended by the Committee would further reduce the possibility of getting any surplus.

3 Date of Commencement of the Act.—This is defined as April 6, 1960, viz. the date of first publishing the bill in the Fort St. George Gazette. The date of commencement is very crucial.

Commencement Date Crucial

The intention of the Government to bring in legislation for fixing the ceiling on land-holdings, was made public as early as 1955. Since then the land-owners, had started vigorously to partition the lands and to make such other benami transfers and alienations, anticipating the ceiling bill.

As was admitted by some of the witnesses from Kumbakonam representing landlords themselves, rather challengingly, the land-owners have made partitions and other transfers only to defeat the purpose of this Bill. For this they have been given five years notice.

Who is the landlord who would have failed to avail of this time for taking measures to evade the Act? The test of sincerity in pushing through this reform, would lie in this crucial definition.

But the Select Committee has decided to liberalise this provision, by recognizing even the partition deeds registered after April 6, 1960, provided they had been drafted on the stamped papers prior to April 6, 1960.

This would only mean that all benami transfers and alienations would get legal status. This is certainly not the intention of the Government of India.

I am not against genuine partitions that take place in the usual course. I only want that benami transfers and transactions, entered into by the landlords since 1955 should be subject to scrutiny.

Therefore, it is essential to give effect to the Act from the date of proclaiming the intention of the Government in 1955, for the purpose of bringing into the purview of this Act all benami transfers, alienations and such other transactions.

So definition clause 2 (11) should be suitably amended so as to bring the Act into effect from 1955.

4 Exemption.—Sections 70 to 72 deal with exemptions. A series of 13 categories have been listed for exemption from the whole of this Act, including Trusts of all kinds; lands used for topes and orchards; lands used for growing fuel trees; lands used for dairy farming; lands held by sugarcane factories, grazing lands; etc. Such exemptions would only defeat the purpose of this Act and so should not be provided for in this Bill.

Regarding lands held by Religious and Charitable

M.R.V. Explains

M. R. VENKATRAMAN, Secretary of the Tamilnad Council of the Communist Party of India, says in course of a statement that ever since the Ceiling Bill was put forward in April, 1960, the Communist Party and the Kisan Sabha have been urging 17 amendments to the measure, without which it will be only a mockery of even elementary land reform.

Deputations have waited on Ministers and District Authorities. Several conferences have urged these amendments. Two padayatrass—one from Coimbatore and the other from Madurai each covering nearly 500 miles came to Madras and presented three lakhs of signatures in support of the amendments to the Congress Ministry.

Inside the Assembly as well as in the Select Committee packed with landlords, the Communist spokesmen explained the need for accepting these just amendments.

The Congress Government turned a deaf ear to all this. Under their aegis the Bill emerged from the Select Committee in a more reactionary form. Even a united walk-out of all the Opposition Parties (other than the Swatantra) has been treated with contempt.

On August 23, mass demonstrations and meetings urged the need to amend the Bill again and the Chief Minister was also met by a Kisan deputation. The Planning Commission was written to and also the Chief Minister of Madras. But there was no response. On the other hand the ruling Congress Party wants to enact it into law with their brute majority in the legislature.

No Land Will Be Left

Should the Bill become law there will be no land worth mentioning for distribution. Even the Government accepts it!

This is because the proposed ceiling of 30 standard acres is a completely bogus affair and is really several times more than 30 acres. For instance, the provision that not only a family but even an individual is entitled to a ceiling is there. Further a standard acre is defined as that which pays Rs. 10 or more in list per acre after deducting water rate, surcharge and cesses. In this view the ceiling will be two, three or more times the 30 acres formally announced.

Moreover—exemptions from ceiling have been given to

Endowments, it has been promised, a separate bill would be brought in, with a view to confer permanent occupancy rights for the tenants. I would only urge that this legislation should be expedited and I reserve my further comments on this proposal.

landholders under the heads of modern farm; sugarcane cultivation, topes, orchards, grazing lands and what not.

Temples and mutts own thousands of acres of good land. Temple worship and the observance of the trust can well be ensured by the share of the crop being directed to that purpose, instead of exempting them completely from the ceiling and leaving them in the possession of big landlords.

Some mutts own under diverse heads vast areas e.g. Dharmapuram Adhinam owns under diverse heads, about 35,000 acres. As trustees of educational and other trusts, some of them recently created, deliberately big landlords, continue to hold vast areas of the best land available for cultivation.

What is more, with the connivance of the Government, in the last four or five years several benami alienations have been made to defeat this very legislation. Government has declared: it won't question them.

Many More Will Be Evicted

Should the Bill become law, lakhs of peasants will be dispossessed from their land following the heavy mass evictions which have already taken place. This is another pernicious provision of the Bill.

The tenants who were looking forward to a confirmation of their tenure and even of a right to buy the land they were tilling in due course by paying the price in several instalments are naturally angry.

In utter disregard of the misery it is causing to millions of landless peasants, poor peasants and sharecroppers and completely flouting the public opinion behind the amendments, the State Congress Government is proceeding with the Bill—even claiming it as a big land reform measure. It is only the big landed interests who are happy.

It is ridiculous to talk of the enthusiastic participation of the actual producers in the implementation of the Third Five-Year Plan with such an attitude. The demands now being pin-pointed are primarily the following five:

(1) Ceiling to be 15 acres which itself is very substantial, and not 30 acres (2) No exemptions from ceiling (3) Make the Act retrospective from 1955 (4) No tenant to be evicted (5) Ceiling per family and not individual.

These are eminently just and practical demands.

5 Inam Lands.—A large number of inam ryots are threatened with eviction. Suitable legislation is urgent and imperative to abolish all inams (except service inams) and vest the lands with the

Tagore Mela Will Be A Unique Festival

by **CHINMOHAN SEHANAVIS,** Secretary, Festival Committee

When the sponsors of the Tagore Centenary Peace Festival decided on the 'Mela' (or the Fair) as the form of celebrating the occasion, they had three things in mind.

FIRST, that it was the traditional Indian way of paying homage to a poet. Second, that it was a form after the Poet's heart and finally it is a popular form in which everybody, high and low has a place. The abandonment, the spontaneity, the informality of a 'Mela' adds particularly to its charm. But the proposed Tagore 'Mela' is a 'Mela' with a difference. For the Poet with his universal appeal can hardly be adequately honoured through a village fair of the traditional type, however, charming it may be. His name draws people literally from every corner of the world and so the scale of celebration has to be large enough to include all without exception.

Calcutta, November 3-13

To make that possible the organisers chose the largest park of Calcutta, the city in which Tagore opened and closed his eyes, to be the venue of the 'Mela'. Here from November 3-13 of this year, will congregate hundreds of thousands of people from the

'PERSONAL CULTIVATION' MISCONCEIVED

* FROM FACING PAGE

that a very large number of owners, would resume lands from the tenants for so-called 'personal cultivation'. In the Bill as introduced originally, there was provision to give protection for the tenants under big landowners, at least for the lifetime of the tenants concerned. Even this is taken away.

In defining 'personal cultivation' the Planning Commission has emphasised that the element of personal labour contributed must be taken into account. The term 'personal cultivation' has been defined in such a way that a person residing in Madras City could be deemed to cultivate personally, his lands in Tirumelveli. This is an open disregard of the principles laid down by the Planning Commission.

If Chapter VIII is passed as recommended by the Committee, it would throw out large number of tenants and reduce them to the level of landless labourers. No one would dispute the need for protecting the interests of small land-owners. This Act would enable all land-owners indiscriminately to drive out the tenants.

The question of conferring the right of ownership on the tenants, as suggested by the Planning Commission, is not even thought of. Even the disposal of surplus lands, if any, is left vague.

Unless the Bill is drastically re-cast, to incorporate the amendments suggested by me, it will not be possible to bring the Bill into conformity with the objectives laid down by the Planning Commission.

7 Tenancy—Chapter VIII.—This chapter is so conceived that it would abolish the class called "tenants" not by conferring ownership of land on them, but by depriving them of the lands. The definition of 'personal cultivation' is so liberally worded,

While the best exponents of Tagore music will sing his songs, the rich classical music (both vocal and instrumental) will be represented by masters like Omkarnath Thakur, Bhimsen Joshi, All Akbar Khan, Bismilla Khan, Birendrakishore Roy Chowdhury, Kishan Maharaj Nikhil Banerjee, Zakhami Kawal of Indore, the famous Kawal singer is also participating in the Mela.

As for dances the four well-known classical forms—Kathakali, Bharatanatyam, Kathak and Manipuri will be represented by the best troupe of artists while folk dancers from the Punjab, Rajasthan, Assam and Bihar will demonstrate the other rich aspects of Indian culture.

The best theatrical groups including Sambhu Mitra's 'Bahurूपee' will stage about a dozen Tagore plays during the Mela and two plays in Hindi—Red Oleanders and Kabuliwallah—will be staged by the Bihar Indian People's

Theatre Association and the well-known stage and film actor Baira Sahn's troupe. There will also be a whole night long performance of Yatra in the traditional form of Bengal.

To honour the tallest among them all, the poets from all over India will come to the Mela for recital of their best poems. As some well-known poets are also expected to attend, these poets' sessions are likely to become international in their scope. The Urdu poets as is their tradition, will have a whole night session for their Mushaira, or recital session.

To discuss different aspects of Tagore's life and works, seminars will be held on nine different topics (his philosophy of life, aesthetics, literary heritage, paintings, educational theories, his views about womanhood and the different parts of the society, nationalism and internationalism) where some of greatest intellectuals of India—and it is

hoped also some from abroad will participate.

The Mela will draw not only the intellectuals and the elite but the masses of the people as well. There will be a Peasant's Day when the peasants of nearby districts will flock to the city to get a glimpse of Tagore—his art as also what he had dreamt for them.

There will be a pavilion for 'Tagore and the Tollers' depicting an aspect of Tagore which is very little known abroad and even among many of his countrymen. Women too will have a pavilion showing what Tagore had thought about them.

The celebration will culminate in a grand rally at Calcutta Maidan where at least 200,000 people will meet to pay homage to their beloved poet. Here the notabilities of different countries and different parts of India will speak and cultural functions will continue far into the night.

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HEALTHY & TEETH
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WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE U. N. EXECUTIVE?

URGENT NEED FOR RADICAL REORGANISATION

The tragic death of Dag Hammarskjöld has lent added urgency to the discussions on the question of reorganisation of the U. N. Executive machinery. The imperialists are in a hurry to foist on the world organisation a Secretary-General on the old pattern. They seek once again to involve, make it again into an issue of personalities and thus preserve their control and domination over the U. N.

The issue which came to a head in course of the last one year must forcefully in connection with the late Hammarskjöld's direction of the U. N. "operation" in the Congo was never principally a personal issue. The question of the reorganisation of the executive machinery of the U. N. was posed by the historical development since 1945 when the U. N. was founded.

It was posed by the fact that far from progressing with the changing correlation of forces in the world the U. N. structure was sought to be turned backward. It was sought to be made into an instrument of world imperialism, an instrument which would help preserve and advance the imperialists' interests in the new situation.

Indeed, if the composition of the major bodies of the United Nations and its executive machinery at the time of its foundation to some extent corresponded to the world political picture and the balance of forces in the international arena at that time, today when more than one-third of the world's population is living in the Socialist countries, when the majority of the former colonies of the imperialists have attained independence, when the very membership of the U. N. has been almost doubled (from 51 to 89 members), the structure of the U. N. in no way reflects the real world picture.

● We shall leave aside for the moment such a monstrous absurdity as the substitution in all U. N. bodies, beginning with the General Assembly and Security Council, of People's China, with its population of nearly 700 million, by the Chiang Kai-shek puppets.

● We shall also not dwell upon the composition of the Security Council, in which the non-aligned powers that gathered in Belgrade have no permanent representation.

● We shall ask in passing as to whether it is without significance, for instance that during the 16 years of the U. N.'s existence, not a single delegate of the Socialist states has ever been chosen as president of one of its plenary sessions, nor has a single U. N. body held any of its sessions in a Socialist country?

One-Sided Composition

We shall deal here only with the one-sided twist that the U. N. machinery has in recent years been given by those who have controlled it.

The demand radically to reorganise the U. N. Secretariat has arisen from the fact that its structure, composition and activities do not conform to the existing correlation of forces in the international arena. The Secretariat has increasingly

been turned into a machine serving the interests of a narrow group of U. N. members, an instrument of the policies pursued by the imperialist Powers—the United States, Britain, France and their allies in aggressive blocs.

The leaders of these Powers have done their utmost to "adapt" the U. N. Secretariat to their objectives and purposes.

In so doing they completely ignored the provisions of the U. N. Charter pertaining to the Secretariat. When the United Nations Charter was being framed in Dumbarton Oaks in the summer and autumn of 1944, and afterwards at the San Francisco Conference in the spring and summer of 1945, it was envisaged that the Secretariat would be a technical agency, that its main function would be to serve and maintain the activities of various U. N. organs—the Security Council, the General Assembly, etc.

Secretary-General Under The Charter

It was for this reason that the Charter laid emphasis on the point that "the Secretary-General shall be the Chief administrative officer of the Organisation" (Article 97) and that he "shall act in that capacity in all meetings of the General Assembly, of the Security Council, of the Economic and Social Council, and of the Trusteeship Council" (Article 98).

The authors of the Charter did not consider it necessary at all to vest the Secretariat and the Secretary-General with powers of a political nature.

The sole and definite exception, directly stipulated in the Charter, was made with regard to the right of the Secretary-General "to bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security" (Article 99).

The provision refers only to an emergency when swift action is needed, and the question as to who informs the Security Council is actually of no consequence. The Charter does not provide for the exercise of any other political functions by the Secretariat.

The organ charged with the settlement of political questions is the Security Council and in specific and highly important exceptions, the General Assembly. But of late, contrary to the Charter, the Secretariat—on

its own has begun to invade a sphere outside its competence, undertaking to solve important political problems which belong to the sole jurisdiction of the Security Council.

In carrying out the "U. N. operations" in the Congo, for example, it was the Secretariat that decided how many troops were to be sent to the Congo, for how long, on what terms, and from what countries they were to be drawn.

Supremacy Of Security Council

Yet the Charter specifies clearly that "the action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security shall be taken by all the members of the United Nations or by some of them, as the Security Council may determine" (Article 48).

Thus, neither the Secretariat, nor the Secretary-General, nor even the General Assembly have been given the right to determine which members of the United Nations should take action to carry out the decisions of the Security Council.

The Charter stipulates that the contribution of U. N. members to the maintenance of international peace and security shall be determined by the Security Council in conformity with a special agreement or agreements.

"The agreement or agreements shall be negotiated as soon as possible on the initiative of the Security Council. They shall be concluded between the Security Council and Members or between the Security Council and groups of Members and shall be subject to ratification by the signatory states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes." (Article 43)

One-Man Decisions

But in carrying out the "U. N. operations" in the Congo, questions of sending military contingents of U. N. member countries, the strength of such contingents and the conditions of their maintenance in the Congo were decided on his own by the late Mr. Hammarskjöld, both before and after he had ceased to be recognised as Secretary-General of the United Nations by the Governments of a number of member States.

It was Hammarskjöld who, after consultation with leaders of the Western camp, determined what scale the "U. N. Command" and the representative of the Secretary-General should take with regard to various political groupings in that country. etc.

It was Hammarskjöld who on his own concluded agreements of a military and political nature with Kasavubu, with the puppet authorities, the agents of the colonialists in Katanga, etc.

Hammarskjöld had on his own decided many other questions as well. Thus, in 1959, he sent to Laos a "U. N. mission" to investigate the situation in connection with the internal political struggle that flared up in that country, although he had no right on his own initiative either to dispatch a mission or to provide it with funds and personnel. A decision of the Security Council, adopted in conformity with the Charter, is needed for sending such a mission. But there was no such decision.

In November 1959, Hammarskjöld himself went to Laos, although he had no sanction to undertake such a political visit either from the Security Council or from the General Assembly.

During the Suez crisis, and particularly during the events in the Congo, the Secretary-General, in defiance of the Charter which does not invest him with any powers as regards the direction of the international U. N. military forces (according to Articles 45-49 of the charter, such powers are wholly reserved for the Security Council and its Military Staff Committee), arbitrarily arrogated to himself the "supreme command" of such forces.

Militarisation Of Functions And Disarmament

Moreover, in the report to the 15th General Assembly the Secretary-General demanded that the staff of the Secretariat be reinforced by "highly qualified specialists on military questions".

This "militarization" of the functions of the Secretary-General once again emphasizes the impossibility of further having the Secretary-General play the part of dictator who is in sole command of the U. N. armed forces.

A vital consideration to be kept in mind in connection with this is the fact that the question of reorganising the U. N. Secretariat is closely bound up with the solution of the disarmament problem.

Neither the U. S. S. R. nor any other state which holds dear its freedom and security would agree that after implementing general and complete disarmament, police (militia) contingents, contributed by member states to the Security Council if there arose a threat to the peace, should be entrusted to the sole command of the Secretary-General who could utilize them for suppressing the freedom of the peoples or throttling their movement for national liberation.

Thus, the present structure of the Secretariat and the direction of its development under Western dominance increasingly tends to turn it into an obstacle to general and complete disarmament, which is in direct contradiction with the objectives of the Charter.

The executive machine of the U. N. could not undertake systematically to violate the Charter were it not for the support and instigation of the United States and the other Western Powers which seek to reduce the United Nations to a pliant tool of their foreign policy.

The one-sided composition of the Secretariat's staff, especially of its leading officials, is an important contributing factor. This composition does not meet the elementary requirements of an international agency—it is not chosen on an international basis but consists overwhelmingly of the citizens of the Western Powers.

In recruiting the staff of the Secretariat no attention is given either to the provision of the Charter that "due regard shall be paid to the importance of recruiting the staff on as wide a geographical basis as possible" (Article 101), or to the agreement reached when founding the United Nations on the distribution of leading posts in the Secretariat.

Thus, the "gentlemen's agreement" reached by the permanent members of the Security Council in 1945 in London concerning the numerical composition of the leading officials of the Secretariat, the Under-Secretaries and the distribution of these posts among the different groups of states was fully disregarded. Instead of appointing eight Under-Secretaries, according to the agreement, Hammarskjöld arbitrarily appointed 33 people to the posts of Under-Secretary and to other posts of equal rank. It is these men that make up the "top level" of the staff of the Secretariat.

The agreement stipulated that the United States, Britain and France were each to be given one post of Under-Secretary. Actually the United States has seven such posts, and Britain and France, two each.

● Altogether representatives of NATO countries and other Western military alliances hold 20, or 61 per cent, out of the 33 posts of Under-Secretary or posts of equal rank.

● The neutralist countries hold 12 such posts, or 36 per cent.

● The Socialist countries have been given only one such post. Even Switzerland, without being a member of the United Nations, has twice as many posts as all the Socialist countries combined.

In conformity with the London agreement on the distribution of the posts of Under-Secretary, the Soviet citizen holding such a post was to head the Department of Political and Security Council Affairs.

Formally he heads this department at present. But one and all political questions of more or less importance have been removed from the jurisdiction of this department and turned over either to the Secretary-General's office or to the other two Under-Secretaries in charge of "special" political problems, who were

appointed in violation of the London agreement. For example, measures pertaining to the U. N. "operations" in the Congo undertaken on the basis of the Security Council decisions of July 14 and 22, and August 9, 1960 have been fully removed from the competence of the Department of Security Council Affairs.

Hammarskjöld did all that in order to bar a Soviet citizen from directing and supervising the implementation of decisions on political questions by the Secretariat and entrusted these duties to citizens of the United States and other NATO countries.

Posts At The Directors Level

Nor is the situation any different as regards the distribution of posts at the next level in the Secretariat, namely, directors. These posts are designated as D 2. There are 43 such posts in United Nations, of which the United States holds 15, France 7, Britain 5, Australia 4, Canada 4, etc. Altogether citizens of the countries belonging to Western military blocs fill 37 such posts, neutralist countries 3, and the Socialist countries prior to April this year had only one such post.

Only the just and thorough criticism of the state of affairs in the Secretariat at the 15th General Assembly resulted in the Socialist countries being given two more D-2 posts in April this year.

But this has not changed the situation appreciably in the Secretariat: about three quarters (87) of the leading posts are held by citizens of Western military blocs, one-quarter (20 posts) by citizens of neutralist countries and only one-twentieth (4 posts) are filled by citizens of Socialist states.

The one-sided improper selection of the leading personnel of the U. N. executive machinery exerts a very negative influence on the composition and placement of personnel at all other levels of the Secretariat.

Of 1,309 posts in the headquarters of the Secretariat, its European Department, and four regional economic commissions which should be distributed among member countries "on as wide a geographical basis as possible" 1,008, or 77 per cent, are filled by citizens of countries belonging to Western military blocs.

The United States has 357 posts, Britain, 129 and France, 93. Representatives of all the neutralist countries are employed at 219 posts, and of the Socialist countries, at 84 posts of which the Soviet Union has 42.

Do not these figures show that the Secretariat in its present form cannot be regarded as an international organisation?

The one-sided composition of the Secretariat means in practice that the Socialist countries are completely barred from participation in solving many important problems. There was not a single citizen from the Socialist countries in the political missions sent by decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly to various countries (the group of military obser-

vers in India and Pakistan, the Truce Commission for Palestine, the U. N. mission in Amman, etc.). Whereas the Western Powers had (as of January 1, 1961) 52, or 65.8 per cent of the total number of 79 posts on these missions which should be distributed on a "geographical basis".

Citizens of non-members of the United Nations (nine from Switzerland and one from the Federal Republic of Germany) are taking part in these missions but not a single post was available for the Socialist countries.

The leading positions in all such missions and staffs attached to them are taken by citizens of countries that are members of Western military blocs. Of the 14 leading officials of the U. N. Secretariat attached to the U. N. emergency forces stationed in Gaza, 12 are citizens of the United States and its military allies.

The representative of the United Nations in the Commission for India and Pakistan is a U. S. citizen; the special representative of the Secretary-General in Guinea is a subject of the Netherlands. And this is true of most of the U. N. missions.

The same is happening in staffing the missions and observers of the United Nations when holding referendums in the U. N. trust territories. In recent years such referendums have been arranged in Togoland under British and under French administration and in the Cameroon under British administration. Of the 78 employees of the Secretariat sent to arrange the supervision of the referendums, 55, or 70 percent, were citizens of the United States or its partners in military blocs.

The United States alone sent nineteen people on these missions. The Soviet Union was represented only by one person and the African countries, only by four.

The situation is similar in all the other executive agencies of the United Nations.

On January 1, 1961, the general distribution of personnel in U. N. executive agencies holding posts subject to the operation of the "geographical" principle among citizens of the three main groups of states was as follows:

Distribution Of Personnel In U. N. Executive

U. N. Agencies	Member countries of Western military blocs		Neutralist countries		Socialist countries		Total
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	No.	Per cent	
U. N. Secretariat	1,008	77.0	219	16.6	84	6.4	1,309
Travel missions	52	65.8	27	34.2	-	-	79
Special Fund of the U. N.	52	71.0	18	25.0	3	4.0	73
Technical Assistance Bureau	16	84.0	2	11.0	1	5.0	19
Children's Fund	154	85.0	22	12.0	3	2.0	179
Total	1,280	77.2	288	17.2	91	5.6	1,659

Such a selection and placement of leading and other personnel in the Secretariat at times exert a decisive influence on the direction of the political activities of this agency of the United Nations. The Secretariat, as recent events have clearly revealed, ensures the interests of only a narrow group of states—the USA and its allies in military

charge of finances, a Canadian handles communication problems, a British representative, education and labour problems, a Frenchman, foreign trade, etc. In 1960, the American Lt.-Gen. Wheeler worked in the U. N. office in the Congo, holding the rank of Under-Secretary.

The one-sided pro-American line pursued by Hammarskjöld and his aides from the Western camp in the selection and placement of personnel in the U. N. staff exerted influence in deciding not only political questions but in all other spheres of activity. Let us turn to the matter of technical assistance to the underdeveloped countries.

In this respect the way in which the Secretariat has been carrying out the Security Council decisions pertaining to the Congo is very instructive. It will be recalled that on July 14, 1960, the Security Council adopted a decision to call "upon the Government of Belgium to withdraw its troops immediately from the territory of the Congo". It authorised the Secretary-General "to take the necessary steps, in consultation with the Government of the Republic of the Congo, to furnish that Government with such military assistance as may be necessary".

How was the task set by the Security Council for rendering assistance to the Government of the Republic of the Congo carried out? Aid was rendered not to the Government of the Republic of the Congo in its struggle against the colonialists, but to the colonialists.

Who Directs The Congo Operation?

The way Mr. Hammarskjöld distributed the U. N. personnel in Congo was of essential importance. In January 1961, 95 people were engaged in the office of the personal representative of the Secretary-General in Congo, who headed the U. N. operations. Of them 62 were citizens of countries belonging to Western military alliances. The highest posts in the office were held by Americans. The Chief of the administrative and financial services were Americans.

Only two citizens of African countries were employed in that office. Citizens of the Socialist countries were barred from the Congo from the very outset of the "U. N. operation".

Half of the U. N. military staff in the Congo are citizens of western countries. All the main posts in the office of civilian operations in the Congo are also filled by citizens of countries which are members of western military blocs.

An American citizen is in

charge of finances, a Canadian handles communication problems, a British representative, education and labour problems, a Frenchman, foreign trade, etc. In 1960, the American Lt.-Gen. Wheeler worked in the U. N. office in the Congo, holding the rank of Under-Secretary.

Economic Aid Functions Hampered

Many U. N. member states are interested in receiving such assistance, particularly those recently liberated from colonial bondage. From the very beginning the Soviet Union regarded the activities of the United Nations in this sphere very favourably and has always expressed willingness to take an active part in the practical implementation of technical assistance programmes within the framework of the United Nations.

The Soviet delegation stated at the 15th General Assembly (autumn 1960) that the U. S. S. R. was doubling its annual contribution, from 4,000,000 to 8,000,000 rubles, to the fund for enlarged technical aid to underdeveloped countries. In addition to this, the Soviet Union and all the other Socialist countries, members of the United Nations, on the same basis as all the other members of the United Nations, are taking part in financing the regular U. N. technical assistance programme.

It would seem that the Socialist countries should take part on an equal footing in the implementation of these programmes, should send their specialists, consultants and experts to the countries getting this aid, deliver the corresponding equipment and material, in a word, be an equal partner in this important undertaking.

But notwithstanding the fact that the Socialist countries are contributing money to cover the expenditure on technical aid to underdeveloped countries, actually they are barred from these activities. This is demonstrated, in particular, by figures on the dispatch of specialists for rendering technical assistance to various countries.

Thus, on January 1, 1960, there were 246 experts sent to various countries by the U. N. Technical Assistance Bureau. Of these 195 were citizens of countries that are members of Western military alliances, including 37 British, 33 American, 29 French, etc. There were altogether four experts from the Socialist countries (three Poles and one Czech);

notwithstanding the persistent offers of the USSR not a single specialist has been included among these experts.

In the Social and Economic Department of the U. N. Secretariat, which is in charge of these matters, 460 out of the 530 employees, or 87 per cent, are citizens of countries belonging to Western military alliances. Moreover, these people hold almost all the key positions in the department. Of the 16 directors in this department eight are U. S. citizens.

A similar situation prevails in the agencies directly in charge of organising technical aid to the underdeveloped countries. All leading posts in the Technical Assistance Bureau of the U. N. Secretariat and in the Special Fund are filled by citizens of the United States, Britain and France.

While on the subject of U. N. technical assistance we want to mention the fact that financing of these operations is done in violation of the main provisions of the Charter. Expenditure on the so-called regular technical aid programme of the United Nations is covered by obligatory contributions of all U. N. members, although the Charter does not empower any organ of the United Nations to take a decision obligating all members to cover such expenses.

The use of funds belonging to the United Nations for selfish purposes by a group of states belonging to Western military blocs is growing in scale from year to year.

Resolutions are pushed through the General Assembly authorising ever larger appropriations for all kinds of current measures, with the result that the budget of the United Nations is constantly growing. Total expenditure in 1954 amounted to \$48.5 million, while appropriations for 1961 are already planned at \$73 million.

Yet the payment of current expenses of separate groups of states from the regular budget of the United Nations is unlawful.

Abuses in financial matters, manifested in violations of the Charter and financial rules of the U. N. have become particularly extensive in covering the expenditure of the so-called "U. N. operation" in the Congo, for which scores of millions of dollars have been used without the knowledge and consent of the Security Council.

The way the "U. N. operation" in the Congo has been and is being carried out has inflicted tremendous damage upon the United Nations. It is not the Socialist countries alone which have raised their voice against it. Public and political circles of many countries, analysing the situation in the U. N. Secretariat, have arrived at the conclusion that the United Nations has no international executive agency, in the real sense of the term, and that this situation makes it hard for the Organisation to live up to the aims and purposes entrusted to it.

An end must be put to the state of affairs in the United Nations when its executive agencies, the Secretariat in the first place, are utilised by the United States and other

Executive Council Wants More Powers

Nagaland After The Dastardly Murder

* From MADHUSUDAN BHATTACHARYYA

The assassination of the Naga leader Dr. Ao seems to have uncovered the "sealed book" that Nagaland is to the people here. Not that one can make any direct approach to the situation there; but the shocking incident led to a series of statements and counter-statements by different authorities, throwing light on some serious aspects of the problem there. Quite illuminating facts have now come to light and these facts naturally have been engaging the attention of political observers here.

FEW here would dispute that the situation in Nagaland today is not the same as it was at the time of separation of the administration of Naga Hills from Assam. It is admitted on all hands that over the years some positive improvement has been registered in the situation. The fact that the interim arrangement for transition to full statehood in course of three years has been operating following the Delhi agreement is itself taken as an admission of the improvement of the situation in Nagaland.

The strength of the rebels, though yet formidable, has undoubtedly gone down from what it was earlier. Formerly, about ten thousand armed rebels operated underground, but now their strength is reduced to about three thousand. A fairly large tract has since been cleared of the hostiles.

Rebels Cornered

At present, it is said, the rebels are cornered in some three or four pockets where they are reported to have mass support behind them.

It is also said that about three thousand Nagas with adequate training in the use of arms, but not carrying arms with them, move about overground and they can be relied upon by the underground elements for their required supply, contact, etc. These overground elements moving about as "loyal" elements, it is said, can take up arms at any time against the administration at the direction of their under-

ground headquarters. But with all, this strength is much smaller than what was the strength of the rebels earlier.

While the activities of the rebels themselves have alienated a considerable section of Nagas from them, it is to be noted that the determined efforts of the newly evolved leadership represented by the Naga People's Convention (NPC) has also contributed to this process of improvement in the situation to a great extent. Kidnapping of persons desirous of peace in Nagaland, murder for failure to render services to the rebels, realisation of forced levy from the villagers and similar activities of the rebels have definitely alienated a large section of Naga population from the rebels.

N. P. C.'s Contribution

But this by itself would not have altered the situation much if the leadership of the NPC had not mustered courage to place an alternate political leadership at great risk to themselves.

It is also revealed now that as a result of the change brought about in the situation and the attitude of the Nagas, even the hostile elements, or at least a section of them, have now a changed attitude towards the interim political set-up that has now come into being. Now they do not denounce the new political set-up as such; but they are said to maintain that wrong people have been chosen to work out the new set-up. It is the armed hostiles who, they are reported to claim, should have the right to run the new set-up. This right, they perhaps, claim because of their continued depredation and their capacity for causing much damage even now!

It is now widely known that the Naga Interim Body and its Executive Council have not been pulling on well with the officials of the administration. The officials would not mind if the Councilors would remain faithful to the officials and would not demand more power for themselves which, the officials fear, would curb their own power. But the officials show uneasiness at the demand of the Councilors for more power for the Interim Body and its Council. According to the Delhi agreement, the interim arrangement is to function for three years leading to gradual evolution of full statehood. The Interim Body or more precisely its Consultative Council, is to become the

Legislative Assembly and the Executive Council, the Cabinet.

But the Naga Councilors point out that until now the Executive Council has practically no control over the administration of the Nagaland. They do not deny that in the abnormal situation still prevailing in Nagaland, the law and order situation still demands considerable attention and that can, perhaps, be better done by the administration than by the Executive Council. But the Councilors feel that they should have more control over such matters as development expenditure without which they cannot render any effective service to the people which is essential if the Executive Council is not to remain a mere show.

If the Executive Council cannot exercise any real power in any sphere, they maintain, then the rebels would get the chance to belittle the Executive Council and to that extent the Interim Body and the interim arrangement. The rebels can tell the people that the proposed statehood is only a sham one bereft of any real power. This campaign would reduce the importance of the Interim Body and to that extent, would make it difficult for the NPC leadership to free the people of Nagaland from the pernicious influence of the rebels.

The Executive Councilors allege that the administration overestimate the strength of the rebels and make statements that boost the morale of the rebels. They also allege that the administration, run by the Indian Frontier Service cadres manned mostly by ex-soldiers does not appreciate the necessity of political settlement of the situation.

At the same time, it is also stated that while the leaders of the NPC are always exposed to great risk and are subject to rebel surveillance and occasional shootings even—the most tragic one was the murder of Dr. Ao—the officials are not subject to such risk and many of them can and do move about even in the rebel infested areas with impunity.

They allege that many top-secret reports reach the rebels even before the Executive Councilors get them. This is also utilised by the rebels to rail at the Executive Councilors. Thus a contradiction, even if not an open conflict, has developed between the Interim Body and the administration.

Administration's Threats

The local administration, it is learnt, threaten to replace the present Executive Councilors as well as the Consultative Council by rebels. It is said that the administration point out to the Executive Councilors that the rebels

are now willing to join the interim body if the Interim Body would be reconstituted by taking in the rebels. If the rebels are taken in, the present leadership can be overwhelmed and dislodged from the power it enjoys now.

The administration, according to reliable sources, hold out this threat on two considerations. First, they think that those who have been running the Interim Body now have by this time developed a kind of "vested interest" so that they would not risk their position by entering into an open conflict with the administration. Secondly, it is said that the administration has been getting overtures from the rebels that they would not mind joining the Interim Body if all power would be handed over to them.

It is also said that he dare not enter Nagaland itself. From his above mentioned centre, he has been reportedly conducting negotiation with the rebels as an "emissary" of the office of the Adviser to the Governor of Assam. Thus a picture of a triangular contest for control over the administration of Nagaland emerges clearly.

Neither the local administration, nor the Adviser's office, it is felt by competent observers, is guided by any nobler consideration than the urge for maintaining their own grip over the affairs of Nagaland. It is the consensus of opinion here that it is this conflict that is responsible for retarding the development of normalcy in Nagaland no less than the activities of the rebels.

This has made many observers here suspect that there is some kind of "clandestine relation" between some officials in the administration and the rebels or a section of them. Though the suspicion is based on little material evidence, it has been persisting and some recent developments and disclosures have lent fresh force to it.

Almost publicly the administration made allegations that the Interim Body could not bring in more wide collaboration of the people with the administration and the Executive Council and the NPC leadership in general are accused of sectarianism, that is said to be standing in the way of more conversion of the rebels.

The representative character of the NPC is also held in doubt. Not that all these have been declared by any official spokesman, but that is the meaning read by competent observers in some of the official statements that provoked counter statement by the leaders of the NPC.

While the local administration and the Executive Council are thus engaged in a none-too-pleasant conflict, it is learnt, the local administration and the office of the Adviser to the Governor of Assam for Nagaland at Shillong too have been working at cross purposes.

It is said that neither the local administration in Nagaland, nor the Interim Body, relish the over-all control of Shillong over the administration of Nagaland. In the conflict between the local administration and Shillong, the Interim Body is said to be siding with the local administration. The demand of the Interim Body for permanent Governor for Nagaland with residence in Nagaland is said to have emanated from their desire to get rid of the control of Shillong. The Interim Body seem to maintain that the Governor does not receive proper advice from the office of the Adviser at Shillong.

Shillong, on the otherhand, it is said, has been trying to play upon the conflict between the Interim Body and the local administration in order to retain its grip over both. It is learnt that a retired government servant (himself a Naga) who was once suspected of inciting the re-

bels has now been functioning as the liaison between the rebels and the administration. This gentleman is said to have placed his services at the disposal of the Adviser to the Governor. It is learnt that he has since shifted his "operation base" to Dimapur, the gateway to Nagaland.

It is also said that he dare not enter Nagaland itself. From his above mentioned centre, he has been reportedly conducting negotiation with the rebels as an "emissary" of the office of the Adviser to the Governor of Assam. Thus a picture of a triangular contest for control over the administration of Nagaland emerges clearly.

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In this connection it may be recalled that immediately after the assassination of Dr. Ao it was alleged that adequate arrangement for the protection of the life of Dr. Ao and for the matter of it of the other leaders of the NPC was not made by the administration. The declaration of the Government of India on the floor of Parliament that security arrangements were adequate have convinced but few here. Informed sources maintain that it is the above-mentioned conflict and the attitude of the officials revealed in this conflict that is responsible for the lack of adequate security arrangement for the NPC leaders.

There is a widely shared opinion among the Naga Councilors that if the situation in Nagaland is to improve, the administration of Nagaland should be thoroughly overhauled. The ex-soldier Indian Frontier Service manned administration should be replaced by persons with experience of civil administration; the Governor, even if for reasons of economy, continues to be the same as that of Assam, should be drawn from public life rather than from the services as the present Governor of Assam is.

Even without any imputations against the present Governor of Assam who, for all that one may say, may be an efficient person, is not the one with any political background and one can hardly blame him if he could not see things beyond the scope of law and order administration.

That the problem in Nagaland today is not merely one of law and order is admitted even by some of the officials. It is now essentially a problem of political nature and has to be tackled as such. This can be done best by one with a political background, with vision and imagination and genuine sympathy for the Nagas. The interest of peace and prosperity in this eastern frontier State of India demands that leadership.

ON THE SITUATION IN PUNJAB

The National Council of the Communist Party of India at its meeting in New Delhi adopted the following resolution on September 21:

THE border State of Punjab is passing through a critical phase of history, thanks to the opportunist policies of the Congress Government on the question of language and linguistic reorganisation and the activities of communal parties.

Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, has been fastening since August 15 in support of his demand for "Punjab Suba" and, as a counterblast, Hindu communalist leaders have also been fasting.

The Congress Government refuses to take a principled stand, sticks to the status quo and the stalemate continues. A severe repression has been let loose by the State Government headed by Kairon, in particular against the Communist Party which is the only organised secular, democratic force fighting against communalism and for Hindu-Sikh unity. The situation is pregnant with dangerous potentialities unless a way is found out of the deadlock.

The Punjab State unit of the Communist Party did its utmost to avert the crisis: It sent a deputation to interview the Prime Minister and urged him to take the initiative to solve the Punjab problem strictly on scientific lines. A deputation also met Master Tara Singh to persuade him to abandon the resolve to go on fast as the question of linguistic reorganisation was not the concern of the Sikhs alone but required united movement of the Punjab people.

But most unfortunately, the Prime Minister, on whose shoulders devolved the responsibility to find a satisfactory solution to the problem, has failed to tackle it successfully. He has categorically rejected the principle of linguistic reorganisation of the State. His rigid stand in the matter has emboldened the hard Hindu communalists who have begun to demand the scrapping of the regional formula even.

In this difficult situation, the State unit of the Communist Party correctly decided to launch a campaign for communal unity and to mobilise the masses behind its own proposals for the solution of the problem. It strictly demarcated its stand from that of the Akali Party in this matter.

But the State Government headed by Chief Minister Kairon has launched a brutal repression in particular against the Communist Party. Section 144 has been promulgated in most districts both in urban and rural areas. The unity campaign launched by the Communist Party has been rendered impossible. Hundreds of Communist Party members and sympathisers, including the State Council Secretary have been arrested under Section 107/151 of Criminal Procedure Code and Section 6 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. Warrants for arrest are pending against all district leaders of the Party and other active members. The Communist Party has been virtually illegalised, its offices, offices of its daily organ Nawan Zamana and the press where it was printed have

been raided repeatedly, all those working there have been arrested and now the offices are locked and their normal functioning is prevented by the police force permanently stationed around the office. Scores of persons are arrested daily for shouting the slogan "Hindu-Sikh Unity Zindabadi". The functioning of mass organisations has been made impossible. Properties of comrades, against whom warrants are pending and even of their relatives have been attached without going through the normal legal process of declaring them absconders.

And to prepare the ground for all-out offensive against the Communist Party, Chief Minister Kairon himself levelled completely baseless charges against the State unit of "entering into an alliance with the Akali Party", of preparing to engage in sabotage activities, etc.

The National Council repudiates the slanderous charges made against its State unit by Chief Minister Kairon and other spokesmen of his Government and condemns the policy of unwarranted and total repression launched by the State Government. It demands an immediate end to this policy, release of all those arrested, cancellation of warrants, return of properties attached, restoration of full civil liberties for communal unity and resumption of their normal activities.

The Communist Party has been consistently demanding the reorganisation of the State on a linguistic basis since a long time. In the memorandum submitted to the State Reorganisation Commission, the Party had reiterated the demand and stated that such reorganisation should be solely based on language and contiguity of areas and communal and religious considerations should have no place whatsoever.

Linguistic Principle Reaffirmed

The National Council reiterates this stand taken by the Party and is of the opinion that when linguistic States have been formed throughout the country, there is no ground whatever for refusing to reorganise Punjab alone on the basis of language. The Council is convinced that every day of delay in such reorganisation will only add strength to the forces of communalism.

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

respect and inconsistent with national sovereignty. The National Council thus demarcates its stand from that of the Akali Party.

But on the other hand, the Hindu communalists have played a fully reactionary role by denying not only the democratic principle of reorganisation of States on linguistic basis but even the Punjabi language as mother tongue of the Punjabi Hindus. They contend that the language of the Punjabi Hindus is not Punjabi but Hindi and thus disrupt the unity of Punjabi-speaking people, both Hindus and Sikhs and further divide them on the basis of religion. The National Council affirms that the language of a people is not determined on the basis of a religion they profess and as such considers the activities of communal Hindu leaders as most reactionary, disruptive and harmful for communal harmony and unity of the Punjab people.

The Congress Government has never taken a principled and democratic stand on the question of language and linguistic reorganisation in Punjab, sharply demarcating itself from both the communal elements. On the contrary in view of its narrow party interests, it has never

hesitated to play between the Hindu and Sikh communal leaders and thus made the question of language and linguistic reorganisation more complicated. At present the Congress Government has aligned with the Hindu communalists in order to disrupt the movement and thus deny the democratic demand of linguistic reorganisation in Punjab.

The National Council declares that this policy of the Congress Government is unprincipled and against the interests of maintaining unity of the Punjabi-speaking people in the border State of Punjab. The Council warns the Government that its rigid persistence in this policy further deepens the cleavage among the Punjab people and emboldens and assists the communal elements in the State.

Hence it urges the Central Government to accept the principle of linguistic reorganisation of the State and take necessary steps to implement it with full cooperation of all sections of people in a calmer atmosphere. Meanwhile, suitable steps should be taken to enhance powers of Regional Committees to expedite introduction of Punjabi as the language of administration in

the Punjabi region and Hindi in the Hindi region and to lift the compulsory teaching of Punjabi in the latter region.

Appeal To Tara Singh

The National Council at the same time appeals to Master Tara Singh to abandon his fast and devote his energies to the cause of Hindu-Sikh unity which is essential to create the requisite sanctions to achieve the goal of a Punjabi-speaking State.

In the complicated and difficult situation that today faces the Punjab, the National Council appeals to the entire people of the State to rise to the occasion, repudiate communal appeals, close up their ranks and create an atmosphere of communal unity, harmony and goodwill. The nation expects them to prove themselves to be true inheritors of the noble traditions of martyrs of Jallianwalla Bagh whose sacrifices awakened the whole country and ushered in an era of mass freedom struggle that culminated in the victory of Indian people. Unity of Punjabi people is the utmost need of the hour for Punjab and for the country as a whole.

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



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

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India's Fascist Scum Pronounce ON NEHRU AND LENIN

SPOTLIGHT

BELIEVE it or not the Jan Sanghites these days are most solemnly and strenuously engaged in trying to show, beyond the shadow of any doubt, that Nehru is an unmitigated progressive. Their mouthpiece, the *Organiser* is running a series of long and laboriously written essays whose thesis is precisely this.

Beginning from June, the series has already run into fifteen instalments, and the reader, if his patience is not already exhausted, has to put up with many more to come. The series overwhelms the culprit with such a formidable array of "charges", all copiously documented with long quotations unearthed

from such secret documents as the *Glimpses of World History*, the *Autobiography*, *Russia and the AICO's* foreign policy resolutions in the "thirties and 'forties, that he might, for aught we know, have already broken down.

Among the weighty evidences for the prosecution brought up against Nehru are that he described the great Socialist Revolution as a world historic event "which advanced human society by a great leap"; he commended the Soviet experiment; he paid tributes to Lenin, the architect of the world's greatest social revolution; he accepted the Communist lie that the 'imperialists' had tried to strangle the Soviet at its birth in 1917-18".

Nehru is put in the dock for

having inscribed all this in his book *Glimpses of World History* "which has been reprinted many times, translated into several languages of India and poisoned several successive young generations of Indian intelligentsia"; he impelled the Indian National Congress to associate itself with the anti-imperialist movement on the international plane; he attended, on behalf of Congress, the Congresses of Oppressed Nationalities in Brussels in 1927; and—horror of horrors—he impelled the Indian National Congress to take an anti-fascist stand when Hitler and Mussolini were on the rampage.

You may not believe, it but these precisely are the "incriminating charges" brought against Nehru by our Jan

Sanghites. The charges are accompanied by a "spate of swearology"—to use their own term—which might take your breath away. He is called an ungrateful wretch ("whatever other virtues the man may possess, gratitude at least has never been his strong point"), a shameless guy, ("Nehru has prospered without a sense of shame over the past forty years"), a dolt ("nincompoop of a Nehru"), a "turncoat", and "a lackey who licks the boot that kicks".

The lowdown that they have prepared has, however, one singular importance. It presents to the people a clear, though unwitting avowal of their own fascist faith, a faith which their leaders are often at pains to deny, because they have, currently, assumed the role of masqueraders for democracy.

The series of essays adduces evidence of the most brazen fascist thinking. They hate social progress and the socialist revolution with the same passion which had characterised the minds of Hitler and Mussolini and which is the stock-in-trade of their heirs and successors in every clime and corner of the world.

Thus, the *Organiser*, has described the great Socialist Revolution as a "coup d'etat staged by a gang of assassins with the help of plentiful German gold". Lenin is described by these scum as a "mass murderer" and "the new avatar of Chengiz Khan who was responsible for seven million deaths in Russia." On the other hand, Franco, Hitler and Mussolini are described as "proud patriots". The thesis is propounded that Hitler's was only a case of failure—in the sense that failure is that which fails.

It is stated: "Hitler got defeated in the Second World War. Therefore anyone can say: 'Hell, thy name is Hitler.' So, if anyone says today that at least insofar as Hitler's relations with the Soviet Union were concerned his record was absolutely unimpeachable, he should be committing the most horrible crime."

The statement ends with the wish, cherished in every fascist heart, that "the victors of today are, without a doubt, going to be the vanquished of tomorrow in spite of all this rocket-rattling on the part of Khrushchov and his like."

The events since the last war, particularly those of recent months, have again posed the question: Are we heading towards another Munich? Will the countries, whose independence was destroyed and whose peoples made to live through Hitler's extermination campaign have to face the same and worse calamities all over again?

There are interests which try to confuse public opinion by distorting history shamelessly to justify continuation of old policies under new slogans today. The 1938 compact arrived at between the Governments of Nazi Germany, Great Britain, France and Italy at Munich, handing over a part of Czechoslovak territory to Hitlerite Germany is now used to justify present bellicosity; it is said that the Western powers will not "surrender" to the Soviet Union on the question of a peace treaty with Germany.

What then was "Munich" in fact and what are its real lessons today? The real purpose behind Munich was summed up by Jawaharlal Nehru soon after the 1938 agreement was signed. In an article in the *National Herald* on "The Munich Agreement", he wrote on October 8, 1938: "Mr. Chamberlain has advanced a long way to meet the fascist regimes in the hope of striking a new imperialist understanding.... Behind this lurks his great apprehension in regard to advancing democratic forces, with fascism receiving a sharp check."

Four days later he brought forth the essence of Munich in another article "Peace and After—World Made Safe for Fascism": "Mr. Chamberlain certainly deserves credit for the extraordinary cleverness with which he handled public opinion and playing on the fear of war, brought about the very thing he had so long worked for—a complete triumph of Hitler, at the expense of Czechoslovakia. He also laid the foundations of the four-power Pact so that fascism and reaction may be consolidated and Russia might be isolated. Mr. Chamberlain succeeded but he did so as an accomplice almost of Hitler's."

So it was not "surrender" to the aggressor but complicity with the aggressor. "There is more than enough evidence to show that it was the desire to drive Hitler towards the East, that was the dominant element in the policy of the Western powers."

Thus, Munich was no chance development, it was the logical outcome of the policies initiated long before 1933. These had a definite aim. If the results

KENNEDY In Dreamland

Kennedy and the rulers of the United States and other imperialist countries have obviously transported themselves into a dreamworld that is all their own, having no relation whatsoever with the world of reality.

IT is this product of sheer fantasy that was projected in the strident sermon that Kennedy delivered before the UN General Assembly.

Kennedy appears in this address to think that he can wish away the existence of the Socialist world and treat the countries of the non-aligned world as though they were in his pocket.

With great confidence, as a result, he goes on to outline his blueprint for "a new United Nations" which would be nothing short of a world policeman, always at the beck and call of the US and the "Western allies".

The emphasis is all on power and force, action and enforcement—enforcement of "law"—so far as this new UN is concerned.

The Soviet Union and the Socialist world are placed outside the pale of law; the uncommitted countries are taken for granted.

"In this hall", says Kennedy, "there are not three forces, but only two. One is composed of those who are trying to build the kind of

world described in... the Charter. The other, seeking a different world, would undermine this organisation in the process."

As an outlaw, the Socialist world should be kept safely away from effective participation in the job of regulating world affairs. The neutrals must be neutralised by manipulation and disruption and by some crumbs and doles disbursed by the mighty and munificent. The UN must be made safe for the West.

The defences of the Socialist countries, and of others too, should be pulled down through the agency of an armaments control machinery (designed ostensibly to supervise disarmament) which would be firmly dominated by the Western allies. Simultaneously, a world force should be developed, also under secure Western domination, to occupy various countries.

Thus, the "general and complete disarmament" as well as "the rule of law" of American conception will be established all over the world.

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INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

The world will have become safe for America.

What the bloody intervention after the Revolution and the savage Hitlerite invasion failed to achieve in the case of the USSR and what all the colonial wars and Suez and Cuban invasions failed to achieve in the case of the liberation struggles of the newly independent countries would be achieved thus, and absolutely "peacefully" too.

There it is, the dreamland of Kennedy, neatly and beautifully laid out! This is the blueprint advanced by him.

It is, of course, clothed in a lot of rhetoric and verbiage and 'quite some nonsense. (One instance of the nonsense: "Unconditional war can no longer lead to unconditional victory.")

It is, speaking very objectively, a high-sounding propaganda exercise, an insult offered with great gusto to the intelligence of the world's entire adult population, at least.

The Key Question

Kennedy gives himself away completely when he dwells on the key question in issue. It is the question of the executive organ of the UN, the question who should be responsible for the execution of UN decisions. The question is posed as an

immediate one since the death of Hammarskjöld.

The very violence with which Kennedy deals with this question shows how completely devoid of reason and absolutely shaky is the ground on which the West has decided to take such a determined, last-ditch stand.

Kennedy insists that the first—absolutely "the first"—thing the UN must do is to select "an outstanding civil servant to carry forward the responsibilities of the Secretary-General". This man, besides being endowed with "wisdom", would also carry "the power to make meaningful the force of the world community".

The late Secretary-General, according to Kennedy, had "nurtured and sharpened the United Nations obligation to act". He cited Congo as the latest and the most shining example of this. Hammarskjöld's successor must carry this forward and carry it all over the world.

Playing to the gallery and again without sound legal basis Kennedy says: "The Secretary-General, in a very real sense, is the servant of this (the General) assembly. Diminish his authority and you diminish the authority of the only body where, all nations, regardless of power, are equal and sovereign." The US would simply not

consider any alternative. Kennedy says:

"To install a triumvirate, or any panel or rotating authority, in the UN administrative office would replace order with anarchy, action with paralysis and confidence with gross confusion."

And, horror of horrors, says Kennedy, it "would entrench cold war in the headquarters of peace". Nobody knew to this date that the "headquarters of peace" and the late Secretary-General who headed it were so absolutely uncontaminated by the cold war infection.

President Kennedy is positive that if the course dictated by him is not followed, the UN would be "gone with the wind", implying thereby the West would then do everything in its power for the UN's destruction.

This is where again Kennedy's world of fantasy comes in. He imagines that the course of history still depends on the will of the US, UK, France, etc.

There is some bending before the popular will, no doubt. The US has accepted what President Kennedy describes with some contempt—the "label" of "general and complete disarmament." It has signed with the Soviet Union a joint statement on Agreed Principles for the Disarmament Talks.

It is a grudging tribute paid to the growing worldwide demand for general and complete disarmament.

For the rest, the actual so-called disarmament proposals are a rehash of earlier US proposals which never amounted to more than control over armaments. Only the noise about nuclear test resumption is added.

On Germany the US still remains stuck at the stage of "exploring" the "possibilities of negotiations."

On the colonial liberation question it is striking how Kennedy has found it impossible in this oration addressed primarily to the uncommitted world, to utter a word even of formal sympathy for the people of Angola and Algeria in their terrible ordeal. The NATO blood is certainly thicker than the anti-colonialist water of the US ruling class, despite the need for vote-catching.

In all the loud shrieks that he raised in denouncing the Soviet resumption of tests, Kennedy did not have a word to say about the French tests. Of the two "threats to peace" that Kennedy sought fit to report to the General Assembly, the priority he gave was to the South Vietnam people's just struggle to secure unification of their country.

Provided in the Geneva Agreement of 1954, this unification has ever since been massively obstructed by the US.

Both in Vietnam and in Laos it is US imperialist intervention that is responsible for the present situation, and it is the US intervention that has to stop. US efforts to internationalise the South Vietnam issue or send US troops there will yield no better results than hitherto.

—ZIA-UL-HAQ

People Oppose Birlas' Move Against Nagda Municipality

From Our Correspondent

IF late the Birlas have developed an infatuation for municipal politics. They want to create exclusive preserves for themselves in areas where they have built their personal estates and industrial sultanates. The reason is simple: local bodies have various powers of levying taxes and the Birlas want to evade them.

Being valuable donors of the Congress, they find ready support for their whims and proposals in the Congress Ministers and among the bureaucrats. But despite their "good" intentions of helping the Birlas, the Congress Ministers sometimes find it difficult to act in consonance with their desires.

Unfortunately for them, people come in their way and very occasionally the local Congressmen are also opposed to these undemocratic designs.

They Want Separate Municipality for Birlagram

This happened sometime back in Piliari. And the same story has been repeated at Nagda in Madhya Pradesh where recently the whole town rose against the demands of the Birlas for the creation of a separate municipality for the industrial area of Birlagram.

Nagda, a small town with a population of 14,000 in district Ujjain has an industrial area called Birlagram. Here the Birlas' Rayon Silk Mills are situated. They also propose to establish a Rayon Silk machinery plant, a fertiliser factory and an engineering college. Birlagram has a population of little over 4,000 of the working people.

All sections of people and every political party—Congress, Communist, etc.—and workers' organisations want the establishment of one municipality. But not so the Birlas. They want two separate municipalities, one for Birlagram and another for Nagda!

The Birlas apprehend that if one municipality is formed, they will have to pay approximately over Rs. 10 lakhs a year as house and octroi taxes.

Obviously the Birlas are not interested in the civic life of the 14,000 people living in Nagda. But the people of the townlet are determined to bring the industrial area under one municipality. They have reason, too, to demand this. The civic problems of the townlet cannot be solved without bringing the industrial area under the municipality and with it the source for taxation.

How seriously the population of Nagda is handicapped by absence of a municipal committee can be seen by some of these facts.

1 It is rather strange that Nagda a growing trade and industrial centre has no road joining it either to district headquarters—Ujjain or Tehsil headquarter Khachraud except the rail link.

2 The industrial area of Birlagram has ample supply of drinking water supplied through pipelines. But Nagdamandi suffers from shortage of drinking water and whatever wells are there, the water is polluted because of dirty water flowing to river Chambal from the Birla factories.

3 The citizens of Nagda have collected funds for establishing a higher secondary school building and the Education Ministry is to provide a matching amount for this purpose. But as the Birlas

have a higher secondary school in the industrial area, Madhya Pradesh Government is unwilling to sanction another school despite the paucity of educational institutions and growing number of children remaining unprovided with proper educational facilities.

On all these demands the people are united. Madhya Pradesh Government has been approached several times but no heed was paid. On the demand of one municipality for Nagda and Birlagram together, the District Collector of Ujjain has given an adverse recommendation.

While the Birlas oppose the demand for a single municipality, they have been making magnanimous proposals of paying Rs. 50,000 annually to Nagda Municipality if it is to be a separate one. But few in Nagda are impressed by this magnanimity. To save Rs. 10 lakhs they offer Rs. 50,000. Who cannot see the hollow-ness of their offer?

Hunger-Strike And Hartal

In this background when Birlas were being supported by bureaucrats and even some Congress Ministers, the People's Struggle Committee was formed here. On September 12 Bhalrav Bharatiya started a hungerstrike for securing the above demands. In sympathy with him, the whole town of Nagda observed hartal on that day.

The hungerstrike continued for a week from September 12 to 18 and during this Bhalrav Bharatiya lost more than 16½ lbs. of weight. People flocked to the various meetings held in this period.

The Birlas on the other hand did not keep quiet. Their men remained active spreading false pleas in the peasant-

try around and among the people of Nagda that if the municipal committee was established, both the peasants and the town people will have to bear the burden of taxes.

But such propaganda could not divide the movement. United response of the people has already yielded results.

On September 15 a deputation of the committee along with Radhelal Vyas (M.P. from Ujjain-Ratlam) met Dr. K. N. Katju at Ujjain. Dr. Katju sympathetically heard the delegation's plea on the popular demands and immediately asked the Collector of Ujjain to take proper steps to implement the demands.

Chief Minister's Assurance

About the formation of one municipal committee, Dr. Katju said he would discuss this matter with B. A. Mandl, Local Self-Government Minister, Madhya Pradesh and G. D. Birla and he would visit Nagda in November and announce the decision himself.

This assurance was communicated to the Sangharsh Samiti by Radhelal Vyas (M.P.) in writing.

Amidst great scenes of enthusiasm in a public meeting Bhalrav Bharatiya was given reception and was garlanded profusely. Vyas gave him a glass of orange juice and he ended his week-long fast on September 18.

Bhalrav Bharatiya thanked the people for their support and told the meeting "that if by November 30 the assurance of the Chief Minister does not become real and one Municipal Committee of Nagda and Birlagram is not formed the people would again march in united action. Bharatiya's announcement was acclaimed by the people with thundering applause.

Bearers Of A Tattered Flag

And, finally, fascism is upheld in unequivocal terms. It is declared: "Fascism was a desperate attempt of Italian, German and Spanish nationalism to root out the Communist cancer from their respective countries and stop Soviet subversive take-over."

The tattered flag, is, thus, finally taken out of the pocket and openly unfurled in all its dubious glory. One sees the Jan Sangh in its true colours, as a festering fascist ser in the Indian body politic.

The *Organiser* columnist who runs the pompous "exposure" series on Nehru (with the heading "In Defence of Comrade Menon") certainly deserves our thanks. He has provided the Indian people with an open Jan Sanghite avowal of their fascist credo.

—GARUDA

MUNICH—Twenty-Three Years After

SEPTEMBER 29, 1938 has gone down in history as a day of shame. On that day in the pretty town of Munich a nation was surrendered to the mercy of wolves, to be cut up into pieces and crushed.

One would like to forget the inglorious betrayal of peace by the leaders of the West. But Munich is a living reminder of the policy which brought about the Second World War.

The events since the last war, particularly those of recent months, have again posed the question: Are we heading towards another Munich? Will the countries, whose independence was destroyed and whose peoples made to live through Hitler's extermination campaign have to face the same and worse calamities all over again?

There are interests which try to confuse public opinion by distorting history shamelessly to justify continuation of old policies under new slogans today. The 1938 compact arrived at between the Governments of Nazi Germany, Great Britain, France and Italy at Munich, handing over a part of Czechoslovak territory to Hitlerite Germany is now used to justify present bellicosity; it is said that the Western powers will not "surrender" to the Soviet Union on the question of a peace treaty with Germany.

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Four days later he brought forth the essence of Munich in another article "Peace and After—World Made Safe for Fascism": "Mr. Chamberlain certainly deserves credit for the extraordinary cleverness with which he handled public opinion and playing on the fear of war, brought about the very thing he had so long worked for—a complete triumph of Hitler, at the expense of Czechoslovakia. He also laid the foundations of the four-power Pact so that fascism and reaction may be consolidated and Russia might be isolated. Mr. Chamberlain succeeded but he did so as an accomplice almost of Hitler's."

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Thus, Munich was no chance development, it was the logical outcome of the policies initiated long before 1933. These had a definite aim. If the results

turned out to be different from those expected, it was because all the forces were not under the control of the conspirators.

From Appeasement To Alliance

The policies which led to Munich and the Second World War failed. But the adventurists did not learn any lesson. It is the ill-conceived idea of a coalition of Western Powers against the Socialist world that took the shape of Munich and has again emerged in the form of North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

In utter disregard of Potsdam and other war-time agreements, West Germany is once again being frenziedly rearmed, and this time being equipped with the most destructive, nuclear, weapons and under those very generals who led the Nazi war machine.

Nazi officials and army generals have not only staged a come back in West Germany; even in NATO, Nazi commanders like General Speldel, Admiral Rogge and General Heusinger hold leading positions. The West German army has been given even training bases in other Western countries including France and England. This certainly is a step forward from Munich, far more than Chamberlain and Daladier were ever able to accomplish.

The revival of German militarism is accompanied by a revanchist campaign of Drang nach Osten (Drive to the East). The Sudeten Germans, who were transferred from

Czechoslovakia and those evacuated from the traditional Western territories of Poland according to the Potsdam Agreement, are told, "We are for reclaiming the territory which was settled by Germans". (Bonn Minister Seeborn's speech as late as May 21, 1961) and it is contended that West Germany will not rest till "pre-war German territories are returned". By pre-war territories, they mean not merely the German Democratic Republic, the first German state in history to break from militarism, but also Austria and parts of Czechoslovakia and Poland.

All these claims are advanced in the name of the right of self-determination even as in Hitler's days. They are backed by the same old policy of turning the Germans East that lay behind Munich and is today the cornerstone of the Nato philosophy.

Times have changed and the super-Munich that the West is dreaming of can never see the light of day. Neither Czechoslovakia nor Poland nor the German Democratic Republic can be bullied in Munich fashion now. The sooner the West realised this the better it would be for all concerned.

A German Peace Treaty and the solution of the West Berlin question on that basis is the crucial question of peace or war today. Refusal to agree to discuss it only means that West is not prepared to give up its dreams of a new Munich. Making them renounce it is the sine qua non of achieving peaceful co-existence, the first necessary step to ensure that there will be no Third World War.

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CHINA'S TWELVE YEARS OF ADVANCE SEEN IN LIFE OF HOFEI

Sleepy Hollow Becomes A Humming City

A VIVID example of the rapid transformation of provincial China is provided by a slumbering Central China town that has grown more than ten times in size and many times more in production of material wealth and cultural development.

That town is Hofei, the capital of Anhwei Province. Twelve years ago it was a typical provincial backwater, ramshackle reminder of what was once a great commercial and political centre for the fertile and important valley between China's two great rivers, the Yangtse and the Hual.

Had No Piped Water

It had no piped water or underground sewers. No modern industry existed. There was only a small 48-kilowatt power station, plus a few handicraft workshops. Economists called it a "consumer town."

Today, Hofei has literally changed beyond recognition. From its original five square kilometres and 50,000 population, it has grown, in a planned way, to some 60 square kilometres to become a modern industrial city of over half a million people. Development has been especially marked since the big leap forward in 1958.

The town is about 2,000 years old. The region where Hofei is located has always been an object of military conquest throughout the centuries because of its economic and strategic importance. The site of one of the great battles of the Three Kingdoms 17 centuries ago still stands as part of a large people's park today.

Its transformation, like that of other "underdeveloped" areas in China, was carried out in stages and in accordance with the well-known policy of "walking on two legs". The economic needs and the country's resources and

level of development at each given period were taken into consideration.

In the reconstruction of the old town, old buildings and facilities, unless condemned, were utilised with or without reconstruction, while new ones were built both in the old town and its outskirts. This was more economical and practical at the early stage than to have everything torn down and rebuilt.

The requirements of a modern socialist town are provided in a general plan. Rapid growth has not been made at the expense of the town's beauty nor the inhabitants' health and recreation. A case in point is the planting of 35-million trees, for shade and beauty, in the first ten years. This is over 3,000 times the number in 1949.

During the first few years the emphasis was mainly on the development of light industry, such as textiles, farm tools and consumer goods. The few heavy industrial plants that were built had a direct bearing on the development of the surrounding area. But even these grew and expanded in accordance with the "from nothing to much" policy.

The biggest product of the mining equipment plant, for instance, was a simple mine car in 1953. Its products today include heavy scraper-type coal loaders 500 metres long and 1,870 tons per hour in capacity.

By the end of the first Five-Year Plan in 1957, Hofei's gross industrial output was seventeen times greater in value than in 1952.

Industrial Age Invades Hofei

Came the big leap forward. The material base had by then been laid for a more far-reaching development. The building of small indigenous furnaces during the nationwide campaign for steel was pivotal to the big qualitative change.

By
CHIH FU-JEN

Greeting the great Chinese people on the Twelfth birthday of the People's Republic of China we present here to our readers an article by a Chinese publicist which describes the transformation brought about in the life of a provincial Chinese town in this short period since the People's Revolution.

These small furnaces were improved on and have since grown into small and medium-sized iron and steel plants to provide the most important sinews for the town's industrialisation programme.

In 1960, this 2-1/2-year-old metallurgical centre turned out 75,000 tons of steel, 67,000 tons of rolled steel and half a million tons of pig iron. Rolled steel saw a particularly big advance registering a 13-fold increase over 1959.

With the necessary steel, heavy industrial development grew rapidly, in particular the machine-building industries, which, together with steel form the vital foundation for a country's industrialisation.

Elections In Two Germanys

* FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

ELECTIONS took place in both German States on the same day, Sunday, September 17. This was the only thing they had in common.

Citizens of the GDR elected members of local bodies. The West Germans elected a new Bundestag or Parliament.

In the election in the GDR the Peace Treaty was

the main theme. In West Germany all parties stood for strengthening the NATO and for atomic weapons for West Germany.

Their election campaign was well characterised by a cartoon in Die Welt in which the leaders of the three main parties are depicted each with a placard announcing that his politics is the same as that of the other two parties. Only in the case of Adenauer it is blacker, in case of Brandt redder and in that of Mende, leader of the Free Democrats, more golden polities (Black-red-gold are colours of the German flag).

The Communist Party could not contest as it is banned and Communists who stood as independents were not only harassed and imprisoned but also deprived of the right to contest the elections.

The only party which stood for peace and disarmament was the DFU—German Peace Union. Apart from lack of funds, terrorisation by the police and Adenauer's goondas, it was under fire from all the three parties and the Church which gave full support to Adenauer's party.

The character of both German states is reflected in the people elected. While in the GDR out of 282,551 persons elected there are 81,106 workers, 91,649 peasants and 21,804 belonging to the intelligentsia, in West Germany out of about 500 MPs there are over 100 representatives of big business, over 50 revanchists and only 13 workers.

In the GDR over 98 per

cent went to the polls and over 99 per cent voted for candidates of the National Front. In West Germany 87.5 per cent went to the polls and only 45.3 per cent voted for the ruling party, thus depriving it of absolute majority.

The Right wing Free Democratic Party got 12.7 per cent, the Social Democrats got 38.3 per cent of votes.

Votes cast in favour of the DFU came to 1.9 per cent and the only party standing for peace and disarmament will not be represented in the Bundestag as it received less than 5 per cent of the votes.

After the GDR local elections, the new members of the local bodies will meet to consider ways and means to serve the interests of the people. In West Germany on the contrary, mass political activity has ceased with the elections. Struggle for power has become more acute. Adenauer wants to stick to his post but having lost his absolute majority he must form a coalition Government. A coalition with Socialists is ruled out. The FDP is prepared to cooperate with the CDU but refuses to accept Adenauer as Chancellor.

It is not clear who will win in the triangular contest between Adenauer, Strauss and Erhard. But one thing is certain: there is not going to be a change for the better.

All three represent aggressive German militarism. Both Adenauer and Strauss have repeatedly expressed their intention to intensify remilitarisation. The talk of liberating the GDR is getting louder and louder.

U. N. BETRAYS THE CONGO AGAIN

★ by ZIA-UL HAQ

On September 13 the U.N. announced that at the request of the Central Congolese Government it had ended the secession of Katanga by force. The U.N.'s chief representative in Katanga, Dr. Conor O'Brien told a press conference in Elisabethville that Katanga was now "a Congolese province run by the Central Government in Leopoldville."

FIGHTING had started when fire was opened on U.N. troops by white mercenaries who had taken refuge in the Belgian consulate premises and killed a U.N. soldier.

Dr. O'Brien's announcement did not mean that fighting was over altogether. It did, however, mean a declaration of U.N. determination to press with the action as also of the fact that the U.N. authorities felt they had militarily gained control of the situation. They even asked the Central Congolese Government to send its representatives to take charge of the breakaway province. These representatives were duly named.

Within four days however, the U.N. had already gone back on its word. Far from pressing its action to end the secession it was seeking talks with the secessionists to bring about a cease-fire. Even the death of its Secretary-General in suspicious circumstances—to put it at the mildest—did not deter it from its altered course.

And finally a cease-fire was signed on September 20, within seven days of the launching of the operation to end the secession.

Base Ignominy

How is it that the mighty U.N. has been made to cover itself with this base ignominy and once again to betray the trust it has repeatedly asked the Congolese people and their legally reconstituted, duly recognised Central Government to place in it?

By all accounts, the resistance in the Katanga fighting, though it somewhat increased after the first day, was by no means formidable. It was confined to two centres, Elisabethville and Jadotville.

The U.N. had at its disposal forces superior in numbers and adequate in armour inside Katanga itself—except for aircraft, only two of which were reported operating on the other side.

The U.N. forces—Indians certainly—were not lacking in morale. They went into action with élan and in fact, from such reports as are available they seemed to have felt that it was a just cause for which, after so much waiting, they were now at long last called upon to fight. There were reports of desertions from the other side.

In any case the operation had just begun. And at least the military commanders in charge must have known that the next that the Belgian and other imperialist had built using the traitorous secessionists—Tshombe, Munongo, Kibwe and Kimba—would take at least a few days to clear up.

Nevertheless, the offensive

Roy Welensky and that African traitor, Tshombe".

Finally, the death in a Rhodesian hospital so many days after the crash of the sole survivor of the tragedy strengthens suspicion several-fold. It looks very much like the normal practice after every assassination.

The British, French, Belgian monopolists and the colons in Rhodesia fear that if it is not to the Congolese people that it might be to the U. S. neo-colonialists that they lose Katanga.

U. S. Strategy

The United States has since the formation of the Joint Adoula-Glenga Government, been oriented towards perpetuating the U. N. presence there in the name of training and helping the Congolese to run their country.

It has been pursuing thus its old aim—i.e. to gain for itself, via the U.N. apparatus, a predominant, if not an altogether exclusive, grip over the Congo at the expense of its NATO allies who have been entrenched there in more direct ways.

While to preserve their interests more securely the British, Belgian, and French imperialists would prefer to see a secessionist Katanga State finally established (Roy Welensky wants Katanga, Angola and N. Rhodesia to be joined in one state), the U. S. wants Katanga, intact with its traitorous leadership and its reactionary set-up, to become a part of the unified Congolese State. That would give the U. S. greater access and grip over Katanga's fabulous resources as also greater possibility of keeping the Central Government "on the right track".

That is why the U. S. having failed in all efforts at peaceful persuasion with Tshombe and finding that it was losing stock with Leopoldville as a result, sanctioned the U. N. operation "to end the secession of Katanga."

But one can be sure that even without the pressure of its allies, the U. S. would have never sanctioned the final liquidation of the Katanga regime, yielding to the pressure of its allies and having had to make a temporary retreat before them to some extent, at the same time also using the indignation over Hammarskjöld's death against them, the U. S. can yet claim to be absolved of direct responsibility for letting down the Central Government.

It can continue thus to exert strong pressure on all parties concerned—the NATO allies, the Katanga secessionists as well as the Central Congolese Government. Its basic aims and strategy for the Congo in the present phase were reiterated in the illuminating document that was issued as a State Department statement at the height of the crisis and before Hammarskjöld met his death. The statement says:

"The United States is deeply concerned at the fighting in Katanga. Reports about the number of casualties and

the local military situation are still fragmentary. The United States strongly hopes that these hostilities will be brought to a speedy conclusion.

"The aim of the U. N. in the Congo is established in Security Council and General Assembly resolution. Under these resolutions the U. N. Executive has helped to provide the internal security and external support which was necessary to enable the Congolese to arrange their own political destiny in their own way. The United States has supported and continues to support the integrity of the Congolese nation which is called for by the U. N. resolutions.

"We understand that the Secretary-General, who is now in the Congo, is making every effort to achieve a cease-fire and get talks about reconciliation started again. It is essential that moves to this end be pushed to a rapid conclusion so that Katanga can play a constructive role in the life and Government of the Congo.

"Restoration of order and effective presence of the U. N. in all sections of the Congo would open the way for peaceful processes to give effect to the policy of the U. N. adopted by the Security Council on February 21, 1961, that the solution of the problem of the Congo lies in the hands of the Congolese people themselves without any interference from outside, and that there can be no solution without conciliation."

This document, remarkable for its equivocation, calls for the appeasement of the secessionists operating under the thumb of the very foreigners whose expulsion was once again laid down in the February 21 resolution. It studiously avoids mentioning this foreign element or recalling that their expulsion was ever called for by the U. N. Security Council and the General Assembly.

It talks a lot about the U. S. having supported and continuing to support the integrity of the Congolese nation. It refuses to support the integrity of the Congolese State and studiously avoids mentioning the fact that now a Central Congolese Government duly elected by Parliament as required by U.N. resolutions has come into existence and "the integrity of the Congolese nation" cannot be established except under its aegis.

It openly declared that effective presence of the U. N. and restoration of order "in all sections of the Congo" is a necessary condition for the solution of the Congolese problem to pass into Congolese hands.

That is, the Congo must remain under U. N. occupation indefinitely and its sovereignty shall continue to be treated as a figleaf by the U. S.

It serves clear notice on the Congolese Government and people that while the U. N. under the domination of the U. S. and its allies will insist on the appeasement ("conciliation") of Tshombe-Munongo et al, and those traitors will continue to insist

on retaining the foreign mercenaries enjoying the protection of European NATO member Governments and of the white regimes on the African continent, the Central Congolese Government will not be allowed to take any steps to restore "the integrity of the Congolese nation"

Any such step would be treated as going against the U. N.'s policy of "conciliation", as a breach of "order" and would most certainly invite "effective U. N. presence" against the lawful Central Government.

Grave Threat

The wheel in the Congo would thus seem to have gone full circle and come back again to the point where the late Patrice Lumumba, fifteen months ago, asked for U. N. help. The U. N. came but it scrupulously refused to help the Central Government, even to consult it, as was required by the U. N. resolutions.

Instead, the U. N. indulged in engineering splits and betrayals and abetting the return of the Belgians. It succeeded in destroying the unity of the then Central Government of the Congo and persecuting its foremost leader and the elected head of its Government, ultimately bringing about his destruction.

Tshombe and Co., the very murderers of that great African patriot—far from being tried and punished—are now the centre of the U. N.'s kindest attention and consideration whom the Congolese nation must "conciliate" to achieve its national integrity.

Won through the most bitter, costly and painful struggle of the Congolese patriots, once again there is a united national Government of the Congo. That victory of the Congolese people has been most difficult for imperialists to stomach.

The imperialists, entrenched in the Congo through the U. N. and determined to stick there, using their puppets in Katanga, would like once more to provoke splits and betrayals at the central level as they successfully did last year.

Hiding their time in Leopoldville are men like Mobutu whom Tshombe very recently called the only decent man in the central apparatus, and who paid a very friendly visit to Tshombe in Elisabethville.

Continued imperialist presence in the Congo threatens once again the peace, integrity and independence of that young state whose people have already suffered so much.

It is the duty of the nations who welcomed the Congo in their family at Beigrade to help decisively defeat the conspiracies now being hatched against it. Above all, it is India's duty.

The imperialists must be made to give up their Katangese puppets. The Congo's integrity must be restored. Her sovereignty must be respected and the U. N. must not be allowed to prolong its stay in the Congo, as seems to be patently the design of the imperialists.

TROIKA WITHOUT TEARS

What Soviet Proposals Really Are

* FROM CENTRE PAGES

Western Powers for tasks that have nothing in common with the aims and purposes proclaimed in Charter, while the Socialist countries are barred from important measures carried out within the framework of the Organisation.

On his return from the 15th General Assembly session N. S. Khrushchov declared at a meeting in Moscow on October 20, 1960:

"We hold that the United Nations must be improved as an international instrument created to prevent another world war. For this, first of all, it is necessary to return to the ideas and principles that were laid down as the cornerstone of the United Nations and its Security Council, that is, recognition of the principle of equal conditions for all States, particularly those upon whom it depends whe-

ther another world war is to be or not to be."

To change the intolerable situation that has arisen in the United Nations it is necessary radically to reconstruct the organisational structure of its executive agencies, including the U. N. Secretariat, so that the three main groups of states—Socialist, non-aligned neutralist and imperialist—are represented there on an equal basis. Life imperatively requires that the Secretariat should be directed not by one man but collectively.

The "VETO" Bogey

The assertion that the work of a collective U. N. Secretariat would inevitably be paralyzed by a "veto" of one of its three members is completely unfounded. The Soviet proposal for a collegiate Secretariat contains no special

"veto" right. The equal position of members of any collegiate body makes it incumbent upon them to seek agreed and mutually acceptable decisions. If agreed decisions on questions of principle are not achieved in the General Secretariat, then it should be remembered that the Secretariat itself is only the executive organ of the Security Council and General Assembly (Article 97 of the Charter). Hence, in the absence of agreement within the General Secretariat, the final word remains with these two leading bodies of the U. N.

Such a radical reorganisation of the structure of the U. N. Secretariat would ensure the creation of a truly international executive machinery of the United Nations capable of promoting the attainment of the aims and purposes proclaimed in the U. N. Charter. And the sooner it is done the better.

MONEY HAS STARTED FLOWING FOR ELECTIONS

In Parliament, when the Company Law was sought to be amended, permitting the Indian stock companies to pay donations to the political parties of their choice the Communist doggedly opposed the proposal and their opposition found a sympathetic echo in the hearts of honest and democratic-minded Congress MPs. The Ministerial benches and the Swatantrites headed by M. R. Masani supported and even welcomed it.

THE inevitable result of this permissive legislation is now visible on the Indian political scene, even the Prime Minister of the country has to eat the humble dust and publicly, in Kanpur, this week.

After the last amendment the Company Act permits contributions by private companies upto Rs. 25,000 or 5 per cent of the net profit, whichever was higher.

"If the thing is allowed by Law we must have a fair share of it", claimed M. R. Masani in a Press Conference in Madras on August 2.

So far the position was simple enough, the captains of Indian industry generally contributed to the funds of the ruling party and casually helped a Praja Socialist or any manageable Independent, when necessary to defeat the Communists, especially in the industrial areas.

The old position has now changed, with the emergence of the Swatantra Party, publicly committed to and loudly campaigning for the interests of the monopolists of the private sector, against the public sector, and all that is progressive in the policy declarations of the Congress itself.

Indian development has reached a critical stage; now is the time to decisively determine the direction of its basic development. The Indian monopolists are out to become supreme and unquestioned masters of the country. They naturally seek to strengthen their political lobby and their financial patronage to achieve their political aim.

The matter of donations for the coming general elections has been debated long and passionately inside the big capitalist circles. Their final decision and priorities were openly declared early this month.

Tata's Letter To Nehru

The India Press Agency, September 11, stated, "J. R. D. Tata, Chairman of the Tata Iron and Steel Company had written to the Prime Minister intimating him that although the Tatas would continue to donate to the Election Campaign Fund of the Congress, they felt the need for the growth of a democratic opposition and hence would be donating to the Swatantra Party, since in their view, the Congress was not effectively fighting the Communist menace.

"It is further learnt that Sri J. R. D. Tata also wrote to Sri Rajagopalachari promising him that Tatas would make a handsome donation to the election campaign fund of the Swatantra Party."

The Swatantra leaders were under the impression that they would get the lion's share of the Tata donation. They were therefore a little surprised at J. R. D. Tata's announcement before his shareholders that the Con-

by P. C. JOSHI

gress Party's share would be "substantially larger" than that of the Swatantra Party.

The other steel magnate, Sir Biren Mookerjee said at the annual meeting of the Indian Iron and Steel Co. Ltd., in Calcutta on September 5, that "in view of the approaching general elections the Company's directors considered it appropriate that the firm should make contributions to the political party funds, and would, in due course, determine the exact amount to be contributed."

He announced the directors' view that it would be "in the interest of the Company if the amount which it was able to contribute were given to the Congress Party which has steered the country so successfully through these difficult and momentous years, and to an appropriate extent

to some other political party which could play a healthy and significant part both in and outside Parliament as an opposition party."

Companies earmark Funds

A rapid random look at the Company notices of a few concerns, operating in the different parts of our country only helps to prove that the above are no exception to the general rule.

The Capital (July 20) states that for the elections the Birla Jute Manufacturing Company earmarked Rs. 3 lakhs, another Birla concern, Central India Coalfields earmarked Rs. 50,000 (August 3), Sone Valley Portland Cement Company (Sahu Jain concern) Rs. one lakh. For similar purpose, the Ashok Cement Ltd (also Sahu Jain's) kept aside Rs. one lakh and Jaipur Udyog Rs. two lakhs or 5 per cent of Company's average net profit. (The Commerce, September 16)

Earlier Birla's Hindustan Motors Ltd. had given notice of a resolution which earmarked Rs. 20 lakhs for the same purpose.

The Swatantra target is Rs. one crore and they claimed, by September middle that they had already collected Rs. 28 lakhs with half the sum coming from Bombay.

The Swatantra patron-in-chief, C. R., has sent out personal appeals to the top 15 business and banking houses of the country asking for their "money-support" and in good time before the elections.

Rajaji wants his industrialist-friends to take con-

rage in both hands and publicly declare that "Swatantra is the Party of my free choice and I will help it, come what may." He has written to his fat capitalist donors to "intelligently understand" that the Swatantra needs to be supported, if for nothing else, "at least to keep the Congress off the Communist road."

Everything progressive in the Congress which the monopolists do not like, they attribute to Communist ideological or political influence. It is their inherent fear of Communism, that is, of a progressive forward-moving future of our country, that the wily C. R. seeks to exploit it.

Donations For Swatantra

Grown grey in the political game he also understands and appreciates in his circular letter, the fear of the "top industrialists of the country" to openly support his party as against the ruling party. In such cases he asks for their secret help and assures that their "confidence" would be honoured. Fond as Rajaji is of talking in terms of dharma he advances the argument, "even God accepts anonymous donations for charity in His name."

The India Press Agency, September 26, discloses, that

The leading capitalists of Kanpur offered to help but for a consideration—a chance for them to show themselves off—in exchange for a special programme of their own with the Prime Minister, a dinner with the Employers' Association of Northern India in return for a donation of Rs. one lakh and twenty five thousands, tea with the Tannery owners Organisation for Rs. 25,000, and personal attendance at the Silver Jubilee Session of the textile dealers, the Kanpur Kapra Committee, for a purse of Rs. 50,000.

This is how the two lakh's quota was finally made up, after the "big moneyed people" of Kanpur had publicly demonstrated that they were the real masters, that the Prime Minister himself came down to dine with them, take tea with them, attend their functions etc.

Pandit Nehru considers Marxism outmoded. About a century back Marx had written that a Government under capitalism could not be above classes but functioned as the executive organ of the capitalist class. This old truth was demonstrated in Kanpur with Pandit Nehru present.

All the appointments of the Prime Minister were with the bosses, to get money for his party. He had only one function with the

men and the big donors. Public criticism was however, so widespread that the Prime Minister could not but take due note of the critical atmosphere. He indulged in what he calls "some loud thinking" to assuage outraged feelings.

The National Herald, September 25, has quoted him at length. Stating over and over again that he didn't like to collect such purses he said, "I will tell you frankly that I feel a little ashamed in doing so. I do not like it."

Again he said, "You give this money to me and I take it as a postman to pass it on to the Congress. But I don't like it. I do not know how far it is proper for me as Prime Minister to take this money."

Pandit Nehru also admitted that he knew why the "big moneyed-people" give him and his Party their money. "They only want Congress to be under an obligation to them by accepting their money."

The Indian people are no longer so gullible as to be satisfied with mere admissions. They will however, serve to strengthen their political understanding that the most respected national leader and the Prime Minister of the country puts his Party and its election needs above sound national ethics and political proprieties. Such funds secured from

nehru bows before kanpur magnates

people, addressing them in a public rally through a mike!

Kanpur is buzzing with talk about what else lay behind these donations except the exhibitionism of the big moneyed people.

27 Millions Of Tax Arrears

During the last session of Parliament it was disclosed that a sum of Rs. 27,600,000 was due from the members of the Employers' Association of Northern India on account of default in payment of income tax, gift tax and wealth tax, and it was only the Government headed by the party which Pandit Nehru in turn leads, which could help them out.

So far as the Kanpur Tannery owners are concerned trade union leaders pointed out that they paid the lowest wage in the industry in this country, while 96 workers discharged after their strike this summer have not been reinstated.

It is again the Congress Government that can help them to keep the situation frozen and keep the discontented workers "in their place".

The local M.P., S. M. Banerjee, duly wrote to the Prime Minister about this whole affair and that the local Congress leaders had turned down his proposal to earmark the funds from the capitalists and their organisations for the Prime Minister's Relief Fund.

The Prime Minister promised to look into the matter but on reaching Kanpur he actually did as he was told to do by his local party-

such sources and such methods will get the Congress less and not more votes, despite Pandit Nehru.

"I have heard that some big people had decided to give money to the Congress, and other political parties like the Swatantra Party. I do not understand why they do it."

"What advice can I give these moneyed people? I will only tell them that they should choose the party they like and if they don't like us they should leave us alone. We don't want the political scene to be confused by their distributing their charity to all and sundry."

The Prime Minister can easily get the right answer to the above if he were only to read again J. R. D. Tata's letter to himself! Pandit Nehru undoubtedly knows his history. Must he be reminded that the capitalist class seeks to keep up its domination by throwing up and patronising two political parties, one Liberal and the other Conservative, so that Parliament becomes their political boxing arena and Communist and like elements are kept out.

The Swatantra leaders are out to raise a crore of rupees, the Congress target is Rupees two crores for their respective election campaign funds! The above is only the beginning!

More and still more howling exposures will come to the surface as the elections draw near. The Indian people know the old adage, the one who pays the piper also calls the tune. The Indian voter learning from the experience of life, will have his say: He is no more a respecter of persons nor servile to big money.