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# UNITE TO ROUT THIS MENACE

AN EDITORIAL

## On National Integration Conference

By AJOY GHOSH

**NEW AGE**  
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## ALIGARH WARNING

After the communal riots in Jabalpur, after the solemn assurances held out by the tallest of the land, and all together, at the recently held National Integration Conference, one would not have expected another major communal riot to break out, and that too in a seat of learning.

Yet the unexpected and shameful tragedy has happened at Aligarh. The city is under 24-hours curfew. The toll is ten dead and 43 injured. There has been looting of shops, both Hindus and Muslims and stray cases of stabbing.

### Communalists' Hunting Ground

The Aligarh Muslim University has become the hunting-ground of both Muslim and Hindu communalists, who are well-organised and become united to denounce all secular and progressive elements as Communists, as was evident during the last University Enquiry Committee investigations and to an extent during the Parliamentary debate as well.

Nothing effective was, however, done to combat the communalism within the campus and effectively deal with the communal propagandists and organisers who misuse their position as respected members of the teaching or administrative staff of the University.

The whole trouble began with the University Union elections. In the student body the Muslims constitute the majority. The Jamat-e-Islami, corresponding to the RSS among the Hindus, is very well-organised, both among the University teachers and students. This time they came out openly and aggressively to campaign and contest the Union elections, with brazenly communal appeal and 100 per cent communal candidates.

They openly declared their opposition to any Hindu or any girl student, whether Hindu or Muslim, being elected and they won.

After the results of the union elections were announced on Sunday evening the fanatically inflamed victors took out a procession with the effigies of their opponents and burnt them in front of the Ziauddin hostel where the defeated candidates had their camp.

During the early hours of Monday, October 2 the Hindu students from a local College, situated outside the campus organised a raid to attack the sleeping Muslim

boys within the campus. They were led by known Jan Sanghis.

The Muslim students in turn avenged themselves on the Hindu students staying within the campus. Rowdism was let loose.

Throughout Monday attacks and counterattacks took place within the campus and wild rumours were spread throughout the city where panic and tension inevitably grew.

On Tuesday morning despite Section 144, in the words of District Magistrate's communique "a mob of about 5,000 persons tried to proceed from the city to the University area." The official communique, however, hides the fact that this mob was led by Jan Sangh leaders and the goonda gangs.

The police prevented their entering the University campus but they spread out and attacked the neighbouring

houses, looted shops both Hindus and Muslims near the University, and spread havoc.

After all these happenings the curfew was clamped, the full riot scheme enforced, and three battalions of armed police summoned from Agra. The Vice-Chancellor declared that the guilty will be punished and the officials that all will get protection. The latest official claim is "situation under control" but people doubt this complacent estimate.

What has happened at Aligarh is no accident but an organised and planned operation of Muslim communalism, occupying respectable and strategic positions within the University as well as of Hindu communalism outside.

The patriotic and peaceful citizens of Aligarh are eagerly awaiting the visit of the respected leaders assembled at the National Integration Conference to restore sanity and see that the guilty are punished and hounded out of public life here. It is the cause of secularism that is at stake in Aligarh.

## TAGORE MELA EXHIBITION

LAST week New Age published a bird's eye view of the Tagore Mela. This week some more information, particularly the exhibition on life and labours of Rabindranath.

This exhibition on the life and labours of Rabindranath will be one of the main features of the entire Mela and will occupy the centre of the huge 20 acres arena. As in all other items of the Mela, the theme of this exhibition will also be Tagore's message of nationalism, internationalism and grand union of humanity.

The multitudinous events of Tagore's eventful life will be presented chronologically, mainly through nearly 100 big size photographs. Though these photographs will naturally not be able to present all facets of Tagore's life, yet the organisers tell that some of these pictures will be exhibited publicly for the first time. Festival Committee is getting cooperation from many individuals and institutions.

"Santinketan" was poet's

abode for almost half of his life and here he built up the 'Visva-Bharati'. A section of the exhibition entitled 'Tagore and Santinketan' is being organised by the famous photographer Sambhu Saha, who has perhaps taken the largest number of photographs of Tagore during different phases of his life.

There will be another section exhibiting manuscripts, first editions of his publications and letters written by him. Along with it will be shown Tagore books published in 14 Indian and 32 foreign languages.

Tagore paintings will also form another section. The West Bengal branch of the National Women's Federation will arrange a poster exhibition on 'Tagore and the Women', drawn by artists. Paintings by famous artists from India and abroad on the basis of poet's writings on the themes of nationalism, internationalism and peace will constitute another attractive feature of the exhibition.

THE National Integration Conference that met at Delhi from September 28 to October 1 under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Nehru was, in many respects, a unique gathering. It was the first time since the attainment of freedom that political parties professing different views and people prominent in many walks of life met together to discuss one of the most burning problems of the day — the threat to national unity from fissiparous tendencies and the means to combat them.

The Conference undoubtedly suffered from several weaknesses. It was too large a body for businesslike discussion. It was attended not merely by secular organisations but also by the Jan Sangh and the Hindu Sabha as well as several people who hold views which by no stretch of imagination can be called secular and progressive.

Moreover, too much of the time of the Conference was taken up by discussion of the language problem. Such burning issues as the menace of communalism, especially Hindu communalism, which has grown alarmingly in recent years, the evils resulting from the alliance of secular parties with communal bodies, the numerous disabilities from which the Scheduled Castes and the tribal people suffer — all of which have vital bearing on the issue of national integration were hardly touched upon. Inevitably, therefore, on these issues, the Conference could give no bold lead.

That should not, however, lead one to the conclusion that the Conference served no purpose. On the contrary, the fact is that despite all these shortcomings and weaknesses, this Conference was a major event in our political life and it achieved concrete and tangible results.

The Conference approached the problem of languages in a rational and integrated manner and came to conclusions which, we have no doubt, will be widely appreciated. It worked out a code of conduct for all political parties, including the ruling party and the Government. It laid stress on the need to ensure rapid development of backward regions and areas. Also, it decided to set up a permanent National Integration Council headed by Prime Minister Nehru which would meet periodically, discuss all matters relating to national integration and make recommendations.

No one, of course, would be so naive as to imagine that the Conference has solved all problems. As was made clear by the representatives of our Party, the problem of national integration is, in the final analysis, a problem of rapid socio-economic transformation of our society. Such transformation cannot take place through mere goodwill. It needs sharp and sustained struggle against powerful vested interests. In fact, one of the basic reasons for the present situation is that such a struggle has not been effectively waged.

But we cannot also ignore the fact that disruptive tendencies are growing in our society — communalism, casteism, linguistic chauvinism, regionalism and so on. These tendencies which are being exploited by forces of dark reaction tend to divide the masses on false issues and weaken the very struggle for democratic transformation. We do not subscribe to the wrong thesis that struggles of the masses for their immediate demands will automatically eliminate these evils. Facts have shown that an independent and all-sided struggle needs to be waged against fissiparous tendencies in order to strengthen the popular movement and extend its sweep. Unless such a struggle is waged, Indian democracy itself will be in peril.

Hence it is that all those who stand for the regeneration of our country and for national advance have to come together to fight this menace. Here is common ground between patriotic people of all parties holding divergent views on many matters. Here is common ground between all those who cherish the best traditions of our national movement and want to preserve them — progressive-minded Congressmen, Socialists, Communists and others.

The statement unanimously adopted by the Conference after four days' deliberations emphasises this common ground. It sums up the agreement that was reached. Though limited to certain spheres only for the present, it can serve as a powerful weapon to combat those who want to intensify disruption, weaken the unity of the nation and take it backward.

All the secular parties and people will, we have no doubt, welcome the decisions of the Conference. The task now is to implement them in practice and to explain their implications to the masses on the widest scale.

The Conference has made a modest beginning. It must be the earnest endeavour of all of us and of every Indian patriot to carry forward the process.

(October 4)

# BEWARE OF THE FAITHLESS

THE National Integration Conference has been widely welcomed and the good hope for the desired future of our nation have been reposed in its deliberations and final decisions. It was the most representative and august assemblage ever held during the post-Independence period. It may not have achieved all that we Communists, along with other advanced patriotic elements, passionately desired. Its very broad character was its main limitation and also its big strength.

It unanimously and solemnly adopted a statement, which broadcast among the patriotic Indian people, will help to stir their healthy sentiment and fight the evils that threaten national unity.

It rightly thought of making the education of our young serve the prime need of inculcating the national spirit among them. It is no accident that the dark forces of reaction are concentrating upon poisoning the mind of our youth, to whom the past of the national movement is not living experience.

It decided upon a political code of public conduct to prevent the coarsening of public life, and making a mockery of and playing with India's destiny.

It also appointed a National Council of the top leaders of political parties and also esteemed leaders from the other walks of Indian life. It is to ensure that the decisions arrived at are implemented and a suitable mechanism evolved to look into the grievances of the minorities so that they be removed and the national unity further strengthened.

The Prime Minister who presided over the conference, with great dignity and tact, correctly spotlighted the significance of this historic conference in the following words:

"The Conference has been an act of faith for all of us. Behind the decisions we have taken there is a manifestation of this faith in India, the people of India, and ourselves.

"We have seen in spite of the differences (of different parties represented in the conference-PCJ) we can work together for a common purpose and achieve certain results."

## Press Comments

One would have expected the influential press of the Capital to play up and passionately popularise the positive achievements of the Conference. This however, is not so: Their comments only indicate how decadent and degenerate, alien to national sentiment and thoughts, the organs of reactionary vested interests have become.

The Birla oracle the Hin-

# NOTES OF THE WEEK

idealism in present day public life.

Its analysis is sound. "Our most tragic failure of the past ten years is that in a task which called for the most massive enthusiasm and the mobilising of the creative energies of the whole nation, the national leadership failed to appeal to the idealism of the people, but gave rise, instead, to opportunism and careerism and encouraged the scramble for political power as a passport to economic gain and personal preferment."

The Hindu cleverly uses the correct criticism of the Congress only to push it more towards the Right. After favourably referring to J. P.'s "partyless democracy" and dismissing it as somewhat utopian it advocates, "there is no reason why the Party system in India should not, at this stage of development, be worked in such a way that the decision of the Government and the measures passed by the legislatures represent generally the broad consensus of opinion on the issues concerned."

If the National Council functioned the way suggested it will keep the nation helplessly paralysed before the onslaught of disruptive forces. It cannot avoid the National Council, it therefore seeks to disarm it.

The next day, October 3, it cynically wrote under "A Code for Politicians", "opinions may vary, as to the utility of codes of conduct which carry no sanction beyond that of moral persuasion."

The Dalmia Jain oracle the Times of India, also seeks to destroy faith and sow confusion by killing the conference with faint phrase. In its October 2 editorial entitled "An Act of Faith", it patronisingly wrote that the conference "has done rather better than it could have been reasonably expected.... The code of conduct is of course open to the criticism that it is banal."

The voice of British Big Capital in India the Statesman, September 28, is high-pitched, "no conference however, distinguished its participants can integrate; it can only churn up the well-worn laments, symptoms and remedies. It is certain to approve, with acclamation, the desirability of integration."

It pinpoints as the "grim reminders of failure" the militant separatist movement in the South; the demand for Punjabi Suba; language riots in Assam, communal strife in Jabalpur and elsewhere; the emergence of caste as the dominant factor in Mysore and only slightly less so in some other states in the North, as well as the South.

The Statesman exaggerates these negative features in Indian life because it has, to act the prophet of doom, because the Western imperialist line is to seek a further expansion and deeper intensification of separatism, communalism and casteism within our country and thus achieve their imperialist aims vis-a-vis our country, with the help all pro-Western reactionary politicians who head these disruptive and separatist movements.

The Hindu of Madras specialises in selling the Swatantra line to the Congress-minded patriotic mass. In its September 30 editorial entitled "The Quest for Unity" it means the eclipse of national

The Hindustan Times, the Hindu and the like organs of the Right underplay the significance of this conference and instead of lending a helping hand in popularising its

decisions they only spread cynicism and doubts. The leaders of the extreme right, however, have launched a frontal offensive against the conference and its work. It looks like a neat division of labour. The influential Right wing papers with their national past, and the mass of their readers being drawn from the traditional Congress following, to spread critical and paralysing ideas to keep the patriotic mass passive, while the political spokesmen of the Right come rushing in to plant their poisoned seeds in the confused public mind.

The Swatantra patron-chief was really angry with the New Delhi meet. While it was on, he wrote, in the column "Dear Reader", "The national integration stunt has been, as expected, woven into and made part of the Congress election manifesto. The conference, summoned to be held now can really achieve nothing by way of integration. It will serve as a smoke-screen to cover the cause of all the new disintegration, viz., Congress policies; it may serve to cover the plans of the Congress bosses for exploiting caste rivalries in order to obtain votes, all the time swearing to each caste that they are out to abolish all other castes." (Swarajya, September 30)

C.R. exploits the Congress responsibility for the present mess only to argue that it cannot and will not and must not do anything different to remedy the situation. This is the amazing attitude of the jealous and reactionary politician resisting and sneering at national consultations for remedial measures against the current disruptive trends, just because he and his like thrive on their continued existence.

"Such a consensus should be easier to achieve in India—leaving, of course extremist parties like the Communist who have fundamentally no faith in democracy or the basic rights of the individual, enshrined in our Constitution, because the major problems that come up for solution are economic and social matters on which compromises and agreements are possible.

"If the Congress maintains a broad national approach to all major problems which will be acceptable to all sections of opinion, it may discover the key not only to national unity but also to more rapid national progress."

## THE JAN SANGH HOWL

The Jan Sangh leaders are no less annoyed than their secular allies, the Swatantraites, Balraj Madhok, MP, President of the Delhi Jan Sangh told a press conference at Gwalior, (Times of India, October 2) that the speeches of the various leaders at the national integration conference indicate that "the Congress is bent upon strengthening the forces of disintegration rather than going in for a real integration."

Just because the Communists played an active and constructive role in the National Integration Conference while the various spokesmen of the Right sat paralysed or talked in the air, and failed to divert the conference from its course that their influential organs are cynical about this conference which has done useful work and has become a new symbol of a national get-together at the highest and broadest level.

He saw threats to national integrity in the very idea of discussing if the Muslims had a fair representation in the services, also in the appointment of a Commission to enquire into the alleged grievances of the Sikhs as community. His penance is that all talk about caste, creed or community or talks about majority or minority communities should be banned, "if the country was to be really a united and integrated one".

The Jan Sangh leaders imagine that by thus exploiting the national sentiment against casteism and communalism they can achieve Hindu majority domination. This is a hardly veiled parade of Hindu com-

munalism masquerading as Indian nationalism.

## THE TWO EXTREMES

There are two different view-points about estimating the strength and the weakness of the Indian national situation. One is to overestimate the undoubted positive elements that make for Indian unity and underestimate the negative feature.

In his concluding remarks the Prime Minister tended to err this way when he proclaimed, "We are a stable country, going ahead which can compare very favourably with any other country." He made the chaos and instability in our neighbouring countries, his yardstick for the above judgment. A comparison with the worse situations in other countries should not make for self-glorification.

Thinking sections of the Indian people recall the strength of the forces of Indian national unity in the days of struggle against imperialism and are worried over the record and the policies pursued during the last 14 years of independent national existence, which have resulted in the forces of reaction and disintegration becoming active and bold. It behoves the Prime Minister, more than anybody else, to humbly and self-critically examine what has been so far wrong with the policies of his Government and his Party that the forces of evil and disruption are able to raise their heads the insolent and aggressive way, causing the deepest concern to all sober national elements, and which again was mainly responsible for his convening the National Integration Conference!

The other extreme is to overestimate the strength and capacities of the forces of casteism, communalism and separatism and see nothing else but doom writ large on the Indian horizon. The independent strength of these dark forces is little, their main strength is national disunity and narrow partisanship among India's national, secular and democratic parties above all the Congress, the Socialist and the Communist.

The Communist spokesman Comrade Ajoy Ghosh offered the key slogan to turn the Indian situation in the direction of greater national unity and democratic strength and against the forces of Indian reaction and disruption, by calling for a united national campaign throughout the country, at the grass roots, to popularise the cause of national integration. Is it really necessary to argue that the new turn in the Indian situation symbolised in the New Delhi Conference will not move forward unless the decisions of the Conference are inspiringly popularised among our good people, in all the towns and villages of our land.

—P. C. JOSHI

# MILITARY ACTION NOW NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE CALLS

Confidence and determination were the keynotes of the meeting of the National Campaign Committee for Goa, held at Bombay on September 25 and 26. Presided over by Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali, the meeting was attended by representatives of the branches of the National Campaign Committee from various parts of the country and by a large number of representatives of the major Goan nationalist forces.

FROM the border areas of Goa, Daman and Diu came reports of the impatience of the people of these territories at the passivity of the Government of India in the face of the new wave of terror and atrocities, which had followed Prime Minister Nehru's recent declarations on Goa.

From all over the country came reports of the shame and resentment felt by all sections of the Indian people at the failure to liberate our brothers and sisters in these Portuguese-held territories during all the 14 years since Independence.

Each speaker who participated in the general discussion, described in detail the work which had been done by the National Campaign Committee in different parts of the country, to bring the Goa question once again to the forefront of popular attention.

Sri Jivan Lokur, Secretary of the Campaign Committee branch in Belgaum, gave a report of the large number of meetings held on the Goa border—In Belgaum, Karwar and other places—where men and women belonging to all parties pledged themselves to support any action which may be taken by the Government of India to liberate Goa in 1961.

## Enthusiasm In Border Areas

Similarly, Sri Jashwant Chathan from Surat told the Committee of the powerful effect of the recent meetings held in Gujarat and particularly on the border of Diu and Daman, addressed by Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali.

Smt. Irene Heredia told of the work of the Social and Cultural Committee, which had already collected Rs. 20,000 for flood relief in Goa.

Smt. Berta Braganza, Editor of Free Goa, related her experience during her tour of U.P., Bihar and Punjab in July and August and concluded by urging the Committee to take note of the new stage which the movement had reached, which demanded a clear call for military action here and now by the Government of India.

This opinion was shared by a large number of speakers who followed, Romesh Chandra and George Vaz, both Secretaries of the National Campaign Committee, underlined the urgency of such effective military action as a concrete solidarity action with the people of Angola and also as an action in defence of Indian security and sovereignty by preventing the possible use of Goa as a NATO base in the present tense international situation.

Equal emphasis was laid by all speakers on building up a great mass movement of the

double our efforts to ensure the early liberation of Goa. A strong resolution was adopted unanimously which gives the call for military action in clear and unambiguous terms (full text of resolution given below).

Later in the evening of September 26 a meeting was held in memory of the Father of Goan National Movement, Tristao Braganza Cunha. Several speeches were made paying tributes to the great Goan leader and supporting the call of the National Campaign Committee for military action to free Goa.

Dr. G. Adhikari, Communist Party leader, suggested that a

# FOR IMMEDIATE LIBERATION OF GOA

Following is the full text of the resolution adopted by the National Campaign Committee:

The National Campaign Committee for Goa, having reviewed in detail the development of the liberation campaign in the present international and national contexts, draws the urgent attention of the Indian people to the new stage which has been reached in the glorious struggle to liberate Goa, Daman and Diu.

Portuguese colonialism stands isolated in the world as never before. In Angola, the people aided by neighbouring free countries, are writing new chapters of unparalleled courage, as they battle against genocide. In Goa, Salazar brutalities are sinking to new depths.

There is universal shame and resentment in our country at the failure to free Goa, Daman and Diu during all the fourteen years since Independence. This is indeed a crucial moment for the liberation movement.

The National Campaign Committee for Goa, with a full sense of responsibility, calls upon the Government of India, at this decisive juncture, to take military action without further delay to reunite with the Motherland these territories now languishing under the brutal rule of the Portuguese colonialists.

## PM's Statement Welcomed

The Committee welcomes the recent statements of the Prime Minister and other Government spokesmen, which indicate a perceptible shift in the Government's Goa policy and clearly warn the Portuguese Dictatorship that military action to end colonialism on Indian soil is not ruled out.

This shift in emphasis in Government's policy must be seen in the context of the nation-wide united campaign urging effective action by the Government—a campaign in which have taken part, above all, the Goan nationalist forces under the general direction of the Goan Political Convention, as well as thou-

# Raise The Demand From All Over On Oct. 25

THE National Campaign Committee for Goa has called for the observance, through demonstrations and meetings throughout India by all parties and organisations of November 25, 1961 the 451st anniversary of the enslavement of Goa—as "a day to demand immediate military action by the Government

T. V. Cunha Brigade should head any march to liberate the Goan people and Sri A. S. R. Chari immediately

of India to liberate Goa, Daman and Diu". Preparations for the observance of the Day will include a lobby outside Parliament, the issuing of statements and resolutions by prominent persons and mass organisations and the organisation of demonstrations and meetings in as many centres as possible.

offered himself as a volunteer in any such brigade which may be formed at the call of the Campaign Committee.

## Portugal Stands Condemned

Any action taken by the Government of India to liberate these parts of our country will be welcomed and supported by peoples in all lands, just as was the recent courageous action of the Government of the small country of Dahomey in putting an end to a Portuguese enclave on its soil.

The National Campaign Committee for Goa, Daman and Diu, urges the Government of India to delay no further. The liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu now is demanded to keep our faith with the African peoples, to protect our country's sovereignty, to save our own brothers and sisters from tremendous suffering.

The Committee calls for the observance, through demonstrations and meetings throughout India by all parties and organisations, of November 25,

the 451st anniversary of the enslavement of Goa, as a day to demand immediate military action by the Government of India to liberate Goa, Daman and Diu. The Committee calls for resolutions, statements, messages and telegrams to be sent to the Prime Minister from all parts of the country on this day, pledging full support to the Government in taking military action to free Goa.

The Committee also appeals to the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committees and other friendly organisations in Asia and Africa and in all the continents to observe November 25 as a day of solidarity with India's efforts to free Goa.

The Committee is confident that the Government of India will respond to its solemn call which reflects the will of our entire people.

In order to hasten the liberation of Goa, the Committee calls for a mass movement of the Indian people, prepared to take all possible action for the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu, including a united mass march into Goa.

The Committee appeals to the Goan Political Convention and all other Goan nationalist forces, and to all other Indians of all parties to join in their thousands in supporting this call for urgent military action by the Government of India and in taking mass popular action for the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu.

### PLEDGE YOUR SUPPORT

If you agree with the call of the National Campaign Committee for Goa, sign the form given below and send it to the Committee at 14-B, Janpath Barracks, Janpath, New Delhi:

I, the undersigned, give my full support to the call of the National Campaign Committee for Goa for immediate military action by the Government of India to liberate Goa, Daman and Diu.

Signed .....

Name .....

Address .....

# REPORTING FROM VIGYAN BHAVAN

From Our Special Correspondent

Everybody who came to the Committee Room H of the Vigyan Bhavan on September 28 afternoon was conscious that it was a unique gathering embarking on an uncharted course.

THESE committee rooms as well as the main hall of the Vigyan Bhavan have already in the few years of their existence seen quite a few meetings and conferences, of national and international importance.

And yet this one somehow appeared to be the most important of them all from the point of view of the nation and its destiny, and in a sense internationally too.

Which way would it turn? Would it be in a fruitful direction or that of barren word-spinning and singing of hosannas, avoiding to tread on sensitive toes?

Whether it would turn out to be an attempt to secure a rubber-stamp for Government policies, impatiently dismissing unpleasant criticism or coming down with a heavy hand on it?

Might it not lead to bitter recrimination for which there was no lack of ammunition in any participant's arsenal and might it not end up in smoke that way, spreading gloom all around?

Plenty were the doubts and misgivings that afternoon crowding the minds of all those present in Committee Room H. As for the back-benchers — they were the pressmen — they were gnawed more than anything with the anxiety whether they would not be asked to clear out after the ceremonial part was over or at least not allowed to return for the next session.

None of these fears — we found out with gratitude by the second day — would really turn out to be true. For those responsible for the conference being called, and for steering it when it had assembled, coming from different parties and including the highest among them, were only too aware of the pitfalls and determined to keep clear of them.

Diffidence and circumspection was perhaps the dominant note of the steering. If it was overdone at times, it was perhaps inevitable in a first conference of this type.

It was because of this that when at the end of the Conference Jaipal Singh proposing a vote of thanks to the chair paid glowing tributes to Nehru's patience, it was more than an "idle compliment" ("the salt of life") — a profoundly and keenly felt feeling shared by all.

The patient hearing that every viewpoint got from others and the capacity demonstrated by all for listening was indeed something without precedent in our national life. Without meaning any disrespect to all the big guns of education, etc., one must say that they completely overshadowed the much-maligned politicians in emitting endless plethora of words.

This is not to say that much of it was not relevant, valuable and highly educative. But a lot of it could better have been left for some other gathering.

In this context one felt the

aptness of Dr. Zakir Hussain's remark that concession to eccentricity was "a cherished virtue of democracy". Had this concession not been carried a little too far, it would have given the National Integration Conference the time to discuss the really burning problems of integration like the menace of communalism.

The situation turned out to be so odd that the Conference could never take up that question as a specific item of the agenda. And after Smt. Indira Gandhi's feeling reference on the first evening to the human aspect, it was left to Comrade Ajoy Ghosh to refer to it even while the Conference was discussing the question of education and language. His hunch unfortunately turned out to be only true. The Conference could never reach that item.

The predicament of the communal parties present at the Conference was real. They were in it, yet not of it. Perhaps it was inherent in the idea of the Conference that they should be placed on the defensive.

The Jana Sangh and Hindu Sabha spokesmen did try to propound the thesis of integration through forcible absorption.

But these were voices in the wilderness. No Congressman or Socialist even indirectly supported them. It was hearing to hear Sri Sampurnanand trace the evil of communalism to the British imperialist device of dividing Indian history into three exclusive compartments of "Hindu, Muslim and British periods".

On the issue of an all-India script, it accepted the view that Devanagari could be popularised as an additional script, not as one which would replace the indigenous scripts.

The Conference has recommended greater safeguards for minorities, linguistic and religious, as well as for the tribal people.

It is unfortunate that a section of Hindi-lovers still refuse to see that these alone are reasonable and practical proposals.

While there was lot of truth and force in what Sri Braj Raj Singh said, whether it was in relation to Hindi or in relation to the suppressed castes, his withdrawal from the Conference revealed the mentality of running away from the responsibility of making a co-operative effort that is dictated by the larger interests of the nation and the people. It also revealed the Socialist Party's fatuous idea that concern for Hindi was somehow a monopoly of that Party — which was far from the case in this Conference.

All responsible nationally-minded participants who could influence the decisions of the Conference took a positive attitude towards Hindi, both in regard to its advancement within its own region as well as its development as an all-India language.

The Communist Party it will be recalled had first suggested the holding of such a Conference and any impartial observer who is not afraid of stating the truth would recognise the important and key role played by the Communist

Party delegation in making the Conference a positive success. Every Communist is entitled to feel immensely proud of it — as this correspondent who sat through the whole Conference feels. Of the four invitees only the General Secretary and Dr. Z. A. Ahmad were able to attend.

**Communist Participation**

Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, who acted as the spokesman, emerged as a truly national leader, putting across the Party's viewpoint on all issues with dignity, restraint and firmness where issues of principle were involved.

There was a strong move to put a ban on legitimate struggles of the oppressed sections of the people by removing the proviso "before exhausting all methods of conciliation and mediation" at the end of Section (III) of Clause 1 of the Code of Conduct proposed for political parties.

Had that proviso been removed, it would have meant that no "agitation for seeking redress against any grievances relating to communal, caste, regional or linguistic issues" could be supported by Communists if they were to remain loyal to the code, even when the grievances were patently genuine.

That exactly was the object of those who sought removal of that crucial proviso and they said it in so many words.

Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, intervening in the discussion, put the matter straight. He said: "As regards casteism, communalism, linguistic chauvinism and regionalism, we all agree that they are bad. But we cannot place all of them in the same category. With regard to language, I have expressed my opinion earlier. (See main speech on Centre Pages—Ed.) But even as regards casteism, we must differentiate between the rivalry that goes on among members of the higher caste for jobs, contracts, etc., on the one hand and the conflict between upper-castes and lower-castes on the other.

"For centuries, millions of our people, tribal people and untouchables especially, have been oppressed, exploited and denied human rights. If today they want to assert their legitimate rights, the upper-caste people often resent it.

"This too may create bitterness between different sections of the people and increase tension. But that does not mean that the urge on the part of the oppressed castes to advance is wrong. This is only an example.

"A blanket ban on agitation to seek redress of grievances which is likely to give rise to bitterness between sections of the people would be wrong in this context. It may prevent the undertaking of agitation in the interest of the oppressed castes and people. We cannot, therefore, support the deletion of this clause.

"Of course, I fully agree that every effort should be made on all such issues to reach agreement by methods of negotiation and conciliation. But if these methods fail, agitation on peaceful lines may become inevitable. I would, therefore, urge that the clause should not

be deleted."

The Conference finally, after discussion, agreed to retain the clause as originally drafted.

On the question of eschewing violence Ajoy Ghosh said we Communists are all for it. "We all disapprove of it (violence), no matter who undertakes it." At the same time, "I would like to stress that the responsibility in fighting violence rests, above all, on the ruling party, on the Congress and the Government. Often the police acts in such a way as to provoke violence. That must be avoided," he said.

A blanket ban on fasts was sought to be inserted in the code by some people. Dr. B. C. Roy was particularly keen on it. He said that even Congressmen were going on fasts against each other and for such things as permits. Wives too went on fasts against maltreatment by husbands. Dr. Roy, therefore, wanted a ban on fasts to be included in the Code of Conduct for political parties. Obviously it could not be done. Agreement was, however, reached on referring the matter to the Council for National Integration and it was included in that form in the statement.

In the interests of fighting communalism and strengthening national integration the Communist delegation would have very much liked to see the Code of Conduct also lay down that secular parties should not enter into alliance with communal parties like the Congress and PSP have done with Muslim League in Kerala. Ajoy Ghosh told the conference:

"Association or united front of secular parties with communal parties lends the latter a certain amount of respectability and helps them to grow. This has happened in certain parts of the country as we all know. It must be given up."

The Conference has done good work and the Communist delegation in it has played an effective positive role to advance the cause of secularism, democracy and national unity in face of danger that may not be threatening immediately to overwhelm, but which nevertheless is real and serious.

The Prime Minister in his brief but extremely moving and significant closing remarks referred to the uniqueness of the gathering; not only from the point of view of the diversity of thinking and "various parties" represented in it but more so for "the general approach" it had adopted. "We have seen that in spite of these differences we can work for a common purpose and achieve certain results," he said.

"Essentially," he said, "these problems have to be approached logically, reasonably as a matter of faith... Faith in ourselves, faith in our people, faith in our capacity to work together, to solve big problems even though we may argue and shout at each other from time to time.

"Therefore, this Conference essentially has been an act of faith for all of us, and because of that, I feel, it has meant much more than any ordinary, political or other group, deciding this way or that way."

The early conclusion of a German peace treaty is vitally and urgently necessary for world peace.

How did this situation arise? The imperialist powers, and in the first place the United States of America, violating the Potsdam Agreement, have encouraged the revival of the political, economic and military forces which were basically responsible for setting up the Nazi regime.

These forces are today shaping the policy of the German Federal Republic, which they have made into a militaristic and revenge-seeking state. Their aims are the integra-

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Even the West German trade union organisation, the DGB, dragged along by certain leaders, also supports this policy, which clashes with the interests of the workers and helps to confuse them. Its present attitude inevitably recalls the failure of the German trade union leaders when they gave way before the Hitler Labour Front in 1933.

Severe repression is meted out to all progressive forces and active members of the peace movement.

It was from West Berlin, situated in the heart of the GDR and transformed, with the complicity of the Western Powers, into a centre of espionage and provocation, that the aggressors intended to carry out their plans.

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**An Appeal to Workers of All Countries**

Workers of all countries, we, delegates and observers from 47 countries in all continents and of various trade union affiliations,

Gathered in Berlin from September 22 to 24, 1961, on the initiative of the WFTU,

Speaking for more than 114 million workers,

Aware of the perilous danger of atomic war,

Issue an urgent appeal to the working class of the world to be vigilant and united, and to act for the preservation of peace.

As long as imperialism exists, there will always be a danger of war.

We are unanimous in our conviction that the greatest threat today emanates from West Germany and that the most dangerous provocations can at any moment arise from the abnormal situation in West Berlin.

**Peace Treaty An Urgent Necessity**

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# greatest threat to peace on earth

World Trade Unions Confer On Germany and West Berlin

THE call for a speedy settlement of the German problem by signing a Peace Treaty, given by the Soviet Union, was at first replied by the Governments of USA, Great Britain, France and West Germany by threats of war.

The Bonn Government of West Germany, dominated by the militarists of the Hitler regime and the big monopolists prepared for a provocation in East Berlin. The network of spies and provocateurs built up in West Berlin got busy to push into East Berlin and occupy it. That would have been the beginning of a Third World War.

The Governments of the socialist countries immediately took the decision to ask the Government of the German Democratic Republic to close the border of East Berlin with West Berlin, which was done on August 13, 1961.

This swift move foiled the plans of the German revenge-seekers, who want to recapture Czechoslovakia, Poland, East Prussia, Ukraine and so on. A mad adventure but they are at it seriously.

To rouse the workers of the world to fight this menace to peace and to bring about a German Peace Treaty, the WFTU called an International Trade Union Conference in Berlin on September 22 to 24.

Delegates from all continents attended. The conference adopted three documents. One was an Appeal to the Workers of the World; the second, an address to the workers of West Germany, who still have some illusions about their bourgeoisie and the right-wing leadership of the Social Democrats. The third is an address to the Governments of USA, Britain, France, West Germany and East Germany and the Soviet Union.

We are giving below the Appeal to the Workers of the World.

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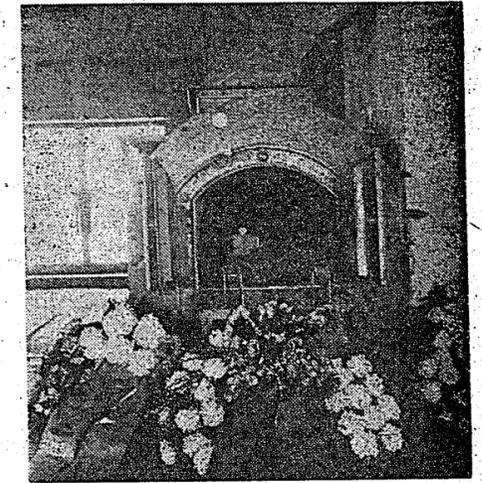
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Grim Reminder of Barbarous Past: A Gas Chamber where thousands were done to death. —Photo by Virendra Kumar

essential conditions can be created for a future of social progress for all peoples.

The negotiation of a German peace treaty has been proposed for a long time and on many occasions by the Soviet Union and the GDR. The need to sign a peace treaty and to settle the question of West Berlin by negotiations which will put an end to the pan-Germanic ventures of the leading circles in Bonn, is today recognised and endorsed not only by all the socialist States but also by the neutral countries.

In the capitalist countries, large-scale struggles for peace are rapidly developing and are weakening the war camp.

That is the road we must take, united, redoubling our efforts.

The early signature of a German peace treaty is at the present time at the heart of the problem of peace. It would open the way to universal and complete disarmament and to the future of peaceful co-existence which you desire so ardently.

Your action to achieve this aim is inseparable from your struggle against all imperialist aggression. The enormous sums now swallowed up every year by the arms drive must be used to expand peaceful production and to meet the needs of the peoples.

Regardless of your views and trade union affiliations, your international unity of action is the primary condition for the achievement of your common demands:

● The preservation of peace which is in danger,

● Universal and complete disarmament, the only way to remove the atomic danger and end nuclear tests,

● Peaceful co-existence between States with different social systems.

Let us demand in united action the early signature of a German peace treaty and a negotiated settlement of the West Berlin problem.

Berlin, September 24, 1961

# KUTTIPURAM, a defeat for durgapur

★ From P. K. Kunhanandan

Exactly while Prime Minister Nehru was exhorting the nation's leaders assembled in the National Integration Conference in New Delhi to face the challenge of casteism and communalism, the PTI announced the victory of a Muslim League candidate in Kuttipuram by-election with the active support of the Kerala Congress.

Communalism and the threat it poses to national integration would have received a deadly blow if the Congress High Command had the courage to disapprove the KPCCC line and direct its ranks in Kerala to vote against the Muslim League. It was the deliberate policy of indirectly supporting the League candidate pursued by the Congress as a whole and the direct support given by some Congressmen that had enabled the Muslim League to win.

The victory of the Muslim League candidate Mohsin Bin Ahmad is taken by the nationalist circles in Kerala as a defeat for the Congress and a victory for the communal forces in the country who work to wreck national integration. The Muslim League victory will no doubt create more problems for the Kerala Congress and the High Command in the future.

Nevertheless, the Kuttipuram by-election is also an indication of the increasing strength of the democratic forces headed by the Communist Party and growing weakness of the Congress-PSP-League combine in Kerala, as the following chart will show:

This decision of the KPCCC was very much resented by the rank and file Congressmen, especially by the nationalist Muslims.

The KPCCC member from Kuttipuram Kunhi Mohamad came forward to uphold the anti-communal traditions of the Congress and filed his nomination against the League candidate. The Communist Party supported him wholeheartedly. But the KPCCC directed him to withdraw. He defied the directive and he was suspended from the Congress. The KPCCC called him a rebel and a renegade.

Prominent Congress leaders like Kozhikurath Madhava Menon M. P. went to Kuttipuram to campaign for the League though the KPCCC had formally decided not to take part in the campaign. Worse still was the circular issued by the Calicut DCC to local committees indicating that Congressmen may vote for the League candidate.

A clarification on this circular by a spokesman of the DCC revealed that the circular was sent on instruction from the KPCCC.

The Muslim League leaders indulged in a campaign of communal frenzy and religious fanaticism. A combina-

tion of the communal and anti-national propaganda of the Muslim League and open complicity of the Kerala Congress in it have assured the victory of the Muslim League.

## CONFLICT GROWS INSIDE CONGRESS

AS the General Elections are approaching nearer, the rift inside the Kerala ruling alliance and the internal crisis of each political partner in the alliance are growing steadily.

The unilateral action of the Chief Minister, Patom Thanu Pillai in extending the term of the Chief Secretary, A. G. Menon without consulting the cabinet and the alleged corrupt practices of his private secretary were the subject matter of a violent conflict between the Chief Minister and Home Minister Chacko which erupted in a cabinet meeting in August and in the KPCCC in September.

The open decision of the KPCCC to work for the defeat of the KPCCC member (suspended) Kunhi Mohamed who contested as an indepen-

dent candidate against the Muslim League with a declaration to uphold the Durgapur Resolution of the Congress and on national integration, and secret instruction to Congressmen to vote for the Muslim League candidate has been the cause of a current revolt against the leadership of the Kerala Congress. Many local Congress committees and leading Congressmen in Malabar have defied the KPCCC and declared their support openly to the 'rebel' Kunhi Mohamed.

In the Travancore-Cochin part of the State, Congress committees and Congressmen defied the directive of the KPCCC Secretary that Congressmen and committees should not associate themselves with the Kottiyur Kisan Jatha (see New Age last week), widespread defiance of the KPCCC's order by the rank and file has even forced the Congress Secretary to issue a clarification that the KPCCC directive did not mean that Congressmen should not attend the reception to the Jatha and public meetings; but only that they were not to address such meetings!

And finally came the editorial of the Mathrubhumi, the nationalist daily strongly disapproving the KPCCC's present policy in support of the Muslim League.

## CONFESSIONS OF A CULPRIT

THE internal rot and communal rivalry inside the KPCCC was the con-

sequence of a failure of the All-India Congress.

## Chacko Names Lal Bahadur

Chacko then named Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Home Minister of India, as a chief villain during the liberation struggle who was according to him the architect of Congress-League-PSP unity in Kerala. There is no means of checking up the truth of the allegation, but Chacko made it. He said: "There were many inside the Congress who opposed the unity. But Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri understood the mind of the people. It was his endeavour that brought unity here."

Chacko complains that the Congress was not in a position to work with a clear programme ever since the Alliance Government was formed. He said he was not at all hopeful that the League will help the Congress in the future.

The confession of P. T. Chacko continued: "Progressive activities, wholeheartedly supported by the Congress workers in the past, are now being opposed by them."

"There are Congressmen who opposed even the nationalisation of transport. Communalism is growing stronger inside the Congress. Everything is seen in a communal light and analysed accordingly."

"Group rivalry inside the Congress has increased manifold. Congress workers failed to take independent decisions, on the merits of problems... If we fail to end such camp divisions, the Congress organisation will break down. There is a scarcity of energetic workers in the Congress."

## FRESH THINKING AMONG CATHOLICS

THE Christian working people in Kerala under the influence of the Church, especially the Catholics were traditionally kept away from any progressive movement hitherto. Correct formulation of demands and struggle against the anti-people policies of the Alliance Government conducted by the Kisan movement in recent months have helped to build unity of kisans belonging to all communities and unity with other sections of the people.

The iron curtain that existed between the Kisan Sabha and the Catholic peasants was steadily breaking down ever since the Amravathi Satyagraha. This unity is further strengthened by the recent Kottiyur peasant march.

Serious rethinking and re-appraisal of approaches and attitudes towards social and economic problems has started in the Catholic hierarchy in Kerala.

Symptomatic of this rethinking is an article published in the Catholic organ Deepika of August 26, 1961. The article was written by the Joint Editor, K. M. Joseph.

Under the caption "People With and Without Problems", the article tells the truth about economic classes with different interests striving inside the Catholic community. One could not

imagine a year ago such an article appearing in the Deepika edited by a Reverend Father under the guidance of the Bishop.

In recent times the attitude of Deepika towards the present Government has also registered some change.

The Deepika article says: "It is quite common to divide people into such categories as the haves and have-nots, landlords and tenants, capitalists and workers, rulers and the ruled, etc. Yet there are some among the Catholic who secretly argue that differentiation should not be talked about and all such things are thinking on class lines and communalism."

"As in any other community, in the Catholic community too, there are some fortunate people with no problems. These people have nothing to worry about jobs or security of life, wages or permanency of tenure of land one tills...."

## "Priests Live Better"

"Our priests, though they do not have so much materialism as the common people, are also in a position to live without problems...."

"As far as the priests are concerned all their problems with regard to food, clothing, housing, etc. have been permanently solved. That is why all of our priests forget the material needs of our people in their words and deeds. I am saying this frankly even though it might give rise to anger against me...."

"If a change has to come about in this sad state of affairs, the Reverend Fathers should get themselves liberated from the grip of those who have no problems and should go among the masses suffering from material want. Then only the priest would get convinced about the real problems of the community."

This article generated a lively discussion inside the Catholic community, but infuriated some priests and bishops on the top. This rethinking is all the more significant in the background of the anti-eviction Jatha of the peasants organised and led by a priest, Father Vadakkan.

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# Orissa Since The Midterm Elections

Govt. Yielding To Mahatab-PSP-Ganatantra Attacks

★ By RAMAKRISHNA PATI

The present Congress Ministry of Orissa started functioning actually from July 2 although the formal oath-taking ceremony had taken place a week earlier.

AS is well known the present majority of the Congress Party in the Assembly was achieved in the face of virulent attacks and open manoeuvres of the Mahatab group. The latter were keen to see that Bijoyanand Patnaik was defeated in his efforts to secure a majority.

The fact that the Congress spent tons of money getting votes and for purchasing jeeps alone nearly 13 lakhs rupees were spent should not astonish anybody. Surprise at such huge sums being spent by Congress would mean little backwardness.

However, Mahatab was not alone in this battle nor was his attack directed against Bijoyanand Patnaik alone. His sword of slander and vilification was directed mainly against the Communist Party. With him together in the fray were some members of the PSP and the Ganatantra Parishad with its leader the Maharaja of Patna.

After the election the Mahatab-Ganatantra Parishad-PSP combine has become more closely knit and organised. Their combined attack on Patnaik's promises and declarations regarding development plans in Orissa carried some momentum for some time. But the people are watching in silence both with hope and years. It cannot be brushed aside as purely sceptical mood.

## New Ministry's Promises

During the elections and after the election through press conferences and public statements, the following promises were held out before the people:

1) One small-scale industry in every panchayat.

2) Ninety mile concrete road from Lonka Iron ore mine to the Pradip Port, mainly for carrying iron ore.

3) Fifty sugar factories out of which big factories will be two or three.

4) Development of mines, 5) More industries,

6) Taxes on consumer goods (potatoes, onion, fuel wood, kerosene, etc.) imposed by the Coalition Ministry should be abolished.

7) Allowances to the brothers and relatives of the ex-rulers of the former princely states should be cancelled.

8) One more Engineering College (not civil) in Rourkela and one more medical college (over and above the two existing) in Berhampore in 1961.

9) More money to be had from mineral resources and forest resources than from imposing taxes.

10) Progressive land reform during the first Assembly session, and

11) Overall outlay of Rs. 300 crores for the Third Plan instead of Rs. 160 crores provided.

These promises were nevertheless attractive to the people. Mahatab did not attack it from that end. The PSP, Ganatantra Parishad and

such industries were also laid down.

The declaration of the Chief Minister, therefore, did not come as a bolt from the blue. It actually fell short of the mark, of what the people want.

## Patnaik's Go-it-Alone Policy

The question hence was not having an ambitious Plan nor of the Chief Minister putting forward such a Plan. For a backward State like Orissa the aspiration of the people to march forward is there and the Communist Party has already gone ahead with such a demand.

So what would have been just for the Chief Minister was to take the people into confidence, make it into a statewide campaign, build up the national sentiment behind such a demand into a movement. This would have scotched the reactionaries and made their attacks ineffectual.

What was done however was that Chief Minister instead of doing this presented himself as the Messiah who would deliver the people by himself.

His declarations to the effect that there would be no thatched house in the countryside; every panchayat would have a factory made him into somewhat of a laughing stock.

Of course, it is a fact that after the formation of the Ministry some of the promises have been fulfilled:

\* Taxes on consumer goods have been abolished;

\* Allowances to brothers

and relatives of the ex-rulers have been cancelled;

\* An Engineering College and a Medical College have been opened.

The rest are yet to come.

The crucial test was the Land Reforms question. Before and after the formation of the Ministry Chief Minister Patnaik declared in categorical terms that during the first session of the Ministry, the Land Reform Act should be passed.

As a matter of fact some of the Cabinet Ministers said that they would fix the ceiling at 15 standard acres. But no sooner it was circulated in the press, pressure from inside the Congress including the Mahatab group and Biswanath Das was put on the Ministry. The Chief Minister had to come out in the press stating that nothing finally had been fixed.

Now when the Ministry has come out with its proposed amendments to the existing Land Reform Act passed by the Coalition Ministry, the attack has come in the open. Ganatantra Parishad, Mahatab, Biswanath Das and PSP all joined together.

## Contrast Of Two Land Bills

The PSP, of course, does not attack the amendments as such but carries on a whispering campaign that the proposed amendments are as reactionary as the previous Act.

Difference between the two Land Reform measures; i.e. the one passed by the Coali-

tion Ministry and the amended one put forward by the present Ministry is as follows: On Ceiling:

Coalition provisions—Orissa Land Reforms Act fixes ceiling at 25 standard acres with powers to the Government to vary the ceiling area in respect of any locality having regard to the situation of the land, its productive capacity, area mostly inhabited by Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes or other backward classes and other factors that may be prescribed.

"A person with or without family, a company or other body corporate can hold land under personal cultivation upto 25 standard acres provided that if the members of the family exceed five in number, the ceiling limit shall be one ceiling and together with it 5 standard acres of land on account of each member in excess of 5 so as not to exceed 50 standard acres in the aggregate.

"... A standard acre has been defined as one acre of perennially irrigated land or two acres of seasonally irrigated land or three acres of rain-fed land or four acres of dry land.

"Perennially irrigated land" means land which is assured of supply of water from any source by flow of irrigation for at least three crops during the year. "Seasonally irrigated land" means land which is assured of supply of water from any source by flow irrigation for at least one crop but not more than two crops during the year (at least one of which shall be jute, paddy

\* SEE PAGE 10

# Over 3000 Threatened In Rourkela—Union's Warning

The management of Hindustan Steel Ltd., has now threatened 3,145 workers engaged in construction and operation, under the name of being on muster roll and workcharged with retrenchment. A mass meeting held on September 23 at Ambagan, Rourkela, under the auspices of the Steel Mazdoor Union, has emphatically protested against the proposal.

These workers have worked hard under very trying conditions without proper wages, proper housing and leave facilities in constructing and running this huge steel project for the last five years. All of them are experienced and valuable workers.

The resolution adopted at the meeting further said:

It is well-known that the expansion of the plant is scheduled to start in January, 1962. Secondly, about 4,000 workers are yet to be recruited into the regular establishment to fill up the standing force. Thirdly, the construction of the remaining residential sectors and some roads has not yet been completed.

Loading and unloading of raw materials has been unnecessarily given to profiteering contractors. Now tenders are invited even for packing and repairing of railway tracks which was previously done departmentally by these very workers. The Fertiliser Plant, the Dairy Farm, the Vegetable Farm need recruits.

While in Bhall 6400 work-charged workers are retained

the quota of employment reserved for Orissa. The homes of most of them have been washed away in the floods. The proportion of local people taken in Rourkela is far less than in Durgapur or Bhilai. It is not just an issue which concerns the 3,145 workers alone, but entire Orissa at large.

Finally this retrenchment would also be wholly illegal inasmuch as it will certainly violate section 25 of the Industrial Dispute Act as that section does not differentiate between regular and casual workers. That section only differentiates between categories of workers.

Any retrenchment of seniors in the muster roll cannot be carried out with impunity while the juniors in regular establishment are retained.

Warning the management, the meeting declared that the workers are determined to resist to the last any such illegal and unjust retrenchment.

The meeting appealed to the management and Government especially the Orissa Government to intervene immediately and stop the authorities concerned from effecting the proposed retrenchment, failing which they alone will be responsible for any bitter consequences that may ensue.

OCTOBER 8, 1961

NEW AGE

PAGE SEVEN

# National Integration Conference : A Historic Landmark

## THE STATEMENT

The National Integration Conference at its closing session on October 1, 1961 adopted a statement on its work and results.

The statement starts with giving a summary of Vice-President Radhakrishnan's inaugural speech with which the Conference opened on September 28.

THE Vice-President in an inspiring address had referred to the long, unbroken tradition of Indian civilization which had survived many seemingly impossible historical predicaments through which India had passed. He had dwelt on the many factors which made for "this strange power of our country".

In the greatest periods of our history, when we were able to make a mark, we adopted the attitude of toleration and goodwill; the Vice-President had told the Conference. "But whenever we surrendered these principles and resorted to rigid fanatical attitudes our country suffered and declined. If the misfortunes of our country tell us anything it is this: the greatest need which we have is of developing qualities of goodwill and toleration among the people whom we have in this country."

The statement then refers to the Prime Minister's remarks thanking the Vice-President and welcoming the invitees.

He explained how the Conference had been convened and pointed out the evils of communalism, casteism, regionalism, linguism and narrow-mindedness. It had to arrive at certain definite conclusions in order to give a lead to the country, the Prime Minister said.

A Steering Committee consisting of sixteen persons was appointed.

The statement further on reads:

After a general discussion, the Conference considered the report of the National Integration Committee and, more especially, the decisions of the meetings of the Chief Ministers held on May 31, June 1, and August 10, 11 and 12, 1961.

These as well as the recommendations of the Seminar on National Integration organised by the University Grants Commission in 1958, were considered and discussed at length.

Certain economic aspects of integration were also considered and a code of conduct of political parties was discussed.

There was broad agreement with the proposals put forward by the Steering Committee in regard to these matters.

India's unity in the midst of diversity was stressed. In the course of a long history, people of different races, religions and languages made their own contribution to the building up of India. But in spite of this diversity, India had always had a basic unity and a peculiar and distinctive identity.

Even though the achievement of political unity and freedom have confirmed this unity, various dissimilar and disruptive tendencies, such as, communalism, casteism, regionalism and linguism, tend to disrupt the solidarity of the people. These disruptive tendencies have to be controlled and countered. While certain group loyalties on a religious, regional or linguistic basis may continue, these should be subordinated to the national interest.

The Conference took note of certain fears and apprehensions of some minority groups and the need for taking steps to remove all legitimate grievances.

National integration is a psychological and educational process involving the development of a feeling of unity, solidarity and cohesion in the hearts of the people, a sense of common citizenship and a feeling of loyalty to the nation.

The Conference welcomed the suggestion made by the Sarva Seva Sangh for launching a mass campaign for a pledge to affirm his faith in the universal principle of civilised society to settle disputes by peaceful means and to abstain from resorting

to physical violence in disputes with fellow citizens of India.

The following pledge was suggested for this purpose: "I, as a citizen of India, affirm my faith in the universal principle of civilised society, namely, that every dispute between citizens, or groups, institutions or organisations of citizens, should be settled by peaceful means; and, in view of the growing danger to the integrity and unity of the country, I hereby pledge myself never to resort to physical violence in the case of any dispute, whether in my neighbourhood or in any other part of India."

## EDUCATION

Education provides the most important means of bringing about national integration. Since the problems of national integration or of national unity essentially involve the attitudes of groups or large sections of the community, and since education has in its broadest sense been recognised as a powerful instrument for influencing or modifying these attitudes, the Conference regards the process of education and its reorientation, where necessary, as of primary importance.

Education has been considered in many aspects both by the Chief Ministers' Conference as well as by the seminar convened by the University Grants Commission. There is agreement in regard to many of these aspects, such as that the linguistic minorities are entitled to have instruction in their mother tongue at the primary stage of education.

This has been reaffirmed on many occasions, and the Conference is of the view that effective steps should be taken to implement this principle not only in the letter but also in the spirit.

In the case of Secondary Education, the Conference agreed with the Chief Ministers that the mother tongue formula could not be fully applied for use as the medium of instruction in the Secondary Stage of education. It is expected that instruction will be generally given in the regional language or, where certain circumstances prevail, in

any other language mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution, or in English.

Special arrangements may, however, be made in the case of certain hill districts and certain Adivasi areas.

The view was generally accepted that textbooks should be written on a national rather than State or regional level, and when they are written in any regional language, arrangements could easily be made for their translation or adaptation into the other languages.

The recommendations made by the University Grants Commission in this regard, namely, that a national Advisory Board consisting of eminent scholars and University teachers from different States be set up to advise on the writing of the inter-provincial text-books or for reviewing text-books prescribed in different States, making recommendations for revision and improvement, wherever necessary, was also accepted. It was suggested, however, that such a board might include some eminent writers.

The work of producing such text-books should be entrusted to some central agency.

The Conference recognised that Hindi must develop ultimately as the link for inter-State communication. As, however, it would take some time for the language to evolve sufficiently to express all modern concepts, English will continue to serve the purpose till Hindi is adequately developed.

Views were expressed strongly that in the interest of greater uniformity and cohesion of policy, education should be made a concurrent subject, or at least, for administrative purposes, an All India Educational Service should be constituted.

The Conference accepted the proposition that the study of English is important from the point of view of international communication and the growth of modern knowledge, generally and more especially in science, industry and technology. This would be necessary at all stages of higher education, particularly so at the level of post-graduate study and advanced research.

The three language formula, as set out in paragraph 9 of the Chief Ministers' recommendations was generally accepted.

It was urged that early steps should be taken in the Hindi speaking areas to teach another modern Indian language, preferably of the South Indian group, in order to implement the three language formula.

It was also agreed that the study of Hindi and English should be commenced at an early stage. It was felt in this connection that the distances between the different Indian languages would diminish as the stock of modern new words for new concepts grew, as it was bound to with the advancement of learning.

It was agreed that where schools and colleges using minority languages could not be affiliated to universities or boards within the State, they might be affiliated to Universities or Boards outside the State. Existing affiliations may continue.

As regards the medium for University Education, while a plea was made for the use of Hindi as the medium on an all-India basis, the general view was that the regional languages are bound to replace English as the medium

of instruction as soon as the necessary preparations for the change-over could be made acceptable to the academic world. But it was agreed that in such an arrangement, there would be the necessity of a link in the shape of a language understood all over India.

It was felt that this link must ultimately be Hindi, but since Hindi, like any other regional language, will take some time for full development, English will continue to be such a link.

This implied that Hindi must continue to be taught as a second language as in the Secondary stage of education, where necessary; and it also implied that English, apart from continuing as a transitional link, will remain as a language of international importance for the enrichment of our languages in regard to science and technology.

The Chief Ministers had expressed the view that phasing of this change-over from English to Hindi or a regional language according to subjects would be necessary, but if, as recommended by themselves and the University Grants Commission, all technical and scientific common words, including well known international terms, are included in the technical terminology based on international usage and are common to most of the Indian languages, then such phasing may not be necessary.

Views were expressed strongly that in the interest of greater uniformity and cohesion of policy, education should be made a concurrent subject, or at least, for administrative purposes, an All India Educational Service should be constituted.

The Conference was of opinion that in order to promote better understanding and mutual goodwill and a sense of solidarity, universities and colleges in all States should encourage deserving students from other States to study in them. For this purpose special facilities in regard to admission and scholarships may be provided.

It was urged that in order to promote national integration, a reorientation and reorganisation of education was necessary as also for an improvement in the quality of education and the development of a sense of discipline, of tolerance and of responsibility. Education should foster national feeling, a sense of belonging so that our youth develop as good citizens.

There should moreover be a synthesis of professional and academic education to the same end. Stress should be laid on the inculcation of a sense of Indianness through the proper teaching of history, in particular bringing out the richness of our composite culture, explaining the present and projecting the vision of a glorious future.

Education should develop in the young a sense of mission, a repugnance towards dominating over others, and a civilised pattern of social behaviour; it should aim at creating integrated individuals.

The transition of India from a partially modernised to a fully modernised society poses especially difficult problems

for Indian youth and all the resources of the Indian educational system must be so deployed as to strengthen national unity and to make the road to adult responsibility smooth and interesting. Teachers and students should be encouraged to play an important part in promoting rationality, objectivity and a scientific attitude, and in fighting obscurantism, superstition and intolerance.

The Conference strongly urged that in all schools in India, the day's work should begin with the community singing of the National Anthem.

## CODE OF CONDUCT

The Conference was of opinion that in order to foster and develop national integration, it was necessary to have a code of conduct in respect of political parties, the press, students and the general public.

The Conference was also of opinion that in view of the impending general elections, a special code of conduct should be drawn up for the guidance of political parties during the election campaign.

It is not possible to formulate comprehensive codes on all these matters without further consultation with the interests involved. There was, however, general agreement among those present at the Conference to the following code for immediate adoption by political parties:

- (i) No party should indulge in any activity which would aggravate existing differences or create mutual hatred or cause tension between different castes and communities, religious or linguistic.
- (ii) Every political party in any agitation it may launch in respect of any matter should ensure that there is no incitement to violence and that no acts of violence are resorted to. If in spite of its best efforts, there is any outbreak of violence, it should be forthwith condemned.
- (iii) Political parties should not resort to agitation for seeking redress against any grievances relating to communal, caste, regional or linguistic issues, which is likely to disturb peace or to create bitterness or increase tension between the different sections of the public, before exhausting all methods of conciliation and mediation.
- (iv) Political parties should desist from creating obstructions in or breaking up meetings, processions, etc., organised by other parties;
- (v) The Government, while taking measures to maintain law and order, should take care not to impose undue restrictions on civil liberties and should not employ such measures as would interfere with the normal functioning of political parties.
- (vi) Political power, at any level, should not be used for furthering the personal interests of members of one's own party or to harm the interests of members of other parties.

The conference was of the opinion that the representatives of various political parties at the State level and at the national level should continue to endeavour to develop

the code of conduct and to evolve a machinery of mutual conciliation and consultation.

The Council for National Integration, which is being established by this conference, should take steps to evolve codes of conduct for the general public, students and the press, and also the code of conduct to be observed during the forthcoming general elections.

The Council should give early consideration to the setting up of a machinery for the examination and redress of grievances of minorities. The question of fasts for political and other purposes should also be considered by the Council.

## Economic Development For Promoting National Integration

The Conference recognised the importance of regional balance in economic development as a positive factor for promoting national integration. It is true that regional inequalities in economic growth have diminished to some extent after the advent of political independence and as a result of the Five-Year Plans for economic development, but the disparities that remain are substantial.

The Conference felt, therefore, that a rapid development of the economically backward States and backward regions in any State should be given priority in national and State plans, at least to the extent that a minimum level of development is reached for all States within a stated period.

Removal of regional economic disparities also requires the removal of all barriers to the free movement of skilled labour and managerial personnel between the different States. More attention has to be paid to economic development in rural areas and to greater decentralisation and dispersal of economic activity. There should be a periodic review of the progress made.

## National Integration Council

The Conference decided to set up a National Integration Council to review all matters pertaining to national integration and to make recommendations thereon. This Council shall consist of:

- (1) Prime Minister as Chairman.
  - (2) The Union Home Minister.
  - (3) Chief Ministers of all States.
  - (4) Seven leaders of political parties represented in Parliament.
  - (5) Chairman of the National Integration Committee of the Indian National Congress (Shrimati Indira Gandhi).
  - (6) Chairman, University Grants Commission.
  - (7) Two Educationists.
  - (8) Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities.
  - (9) Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.
  - (10) Seven persons nominated by the Prime Minister.
- The Conference felt com-



Vice-President Radhakrishnan inaugurating the Conference.

## COMMUNALISM MOST SERIOUS MENACE —AJAY GHOSH

The following are the main points made by General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, Ajay Ghosh, in course of his speech at the National Integration Conference on September 29:

WE welcome this Conference. We are deeply thankful for the opportunity that has been given to us to put forward our point of view. We hope that our deliberations will be successful.

I agree, sir, when you say that we need not get panicky. But I would stress that complacency too would be unwarranted.

In the recent period, there has been a pronounced growth of forces that make for national disintegration. The ugly events that occurred in Assam, Jabalpur and other places were bad in themselves. But even more serious was the fact that there was no sharp nation-wide reaction against them.

At the very outset I would like to draw attention to certain contradictory aspects of the present situation. India is today, administratively speaking, more united than ever in its history. Economic planning is carried out by a central body. Above all, state power is no longer exercised by the British who were interested in keeping and accentuating conflicts inside this country.

Despite all these favourable factors, it can be denied by none that fissiparous and disruptive tendencies have grown alarmingly in recent years. They threaten one of the most precious heritages of our freedom movement—the unity of the nation.

Why has this happened? How has this happened? The

ident that the implementation of its decisions and recommendations would help in preserving the integrity and solidarity of the nation and in promoting national integration.

ried forward only if two tasks were fulfilled:

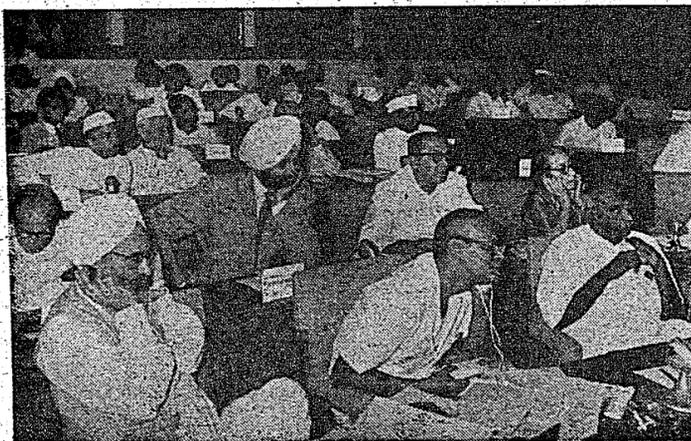
First, an inspiring objective was placed before the people, the objective of rebuilding the country in such a way as to bring maximum benefit to the vast majority of our people, of putting an end to the staggering contrast between wealth and poverty, of radical reforms in economic, social and administrative spheres.

Secondly, concrete measures were taken for the speedy realisation of these objectives.

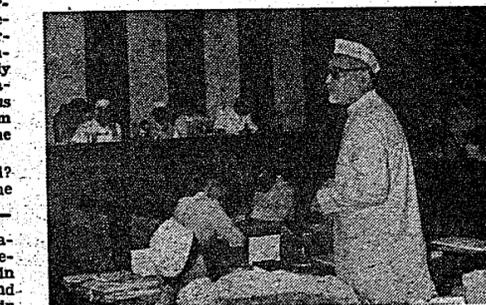
Unfortunately this was not done. Inevitably something like an ideological vacuum came into existence. Antiquated and even obscurantist ideas which had never been completely rooted out began to operate once again on the minds of men and were utilised by certain parties and elements to consolidate their own position.

I feel that national integration which we all desire can be realised fully only if an inspiring national objective is placed before the people and a determined fight is waged against powerful vested interests who stand in the way of realisation of this objective. In the final analysis, national integration is a problem of democracy and of far-reaching socio-economic transformation.

(Continued on page 14)



A view of the Conference in session. In the front row from left to right: P. S. Kairon, Ajay Ghosh and K. Kamraj.



Dr. Zakir Husain Speaks



# INTUC Approval Of Grasim Award

## Red Flag Union Condemns Betrayal

★ From DIWAKAR

WORKERS of Gwalior Rayon and Silk Manufacturing Co. (Grasim) at Nagda were agitating for the last two years for revision of pay scales, new gradation and implementation of survey report of Government of India on Viscose Rayon Industry and demanding five-hour working day as recommended by the medical experts, under the leadership of Grasim Mazdoor Union (Red Flag), affiliated to AITUC.

THE INTUC Union also made similar demands, under pressure of the united action of workers. It being the representative union, under Madhya Pradesh Industrial Relations Act, has the sole monopoly to enter into negotiation and agreement on all these demands.

But inactivity and indifference of the INTUC Union, exasperated the workers and setting discontent burst open into a mighty Gherao of the managers. The management announced on July 16, 1960 stating that decision will be arrived at on all these demands within a period of three months.

### Arbitrators And Award

D. P. Mandella, Birla's trusted lieutenant and Ram Singh Bhal Verma, MP, INTUC boss in Madhya Pradesh were appointed as arbitrators to decide upon the demands. A year passed by and there was no settlement on these demands. Workers again were restive and on march.

It is well known that Grasim and Bharat Commerce concerns of Birla's at Nagda are without any rational wage structure. Here workers get "all-inclusive" consolidated wage and that too very low and without having any regard to the rising cost of living, all these years. There is no D.A. linked up to cost of living index though the nearby industrial centres—Ujjain and Ratlam textiles—pay D.A. on the basis of the cost of living index.

In the two nearby textile centres of Ujjain and Ratlam the minimum earning of lowest paid worker—doffer boy is—basic 36 plus D.A. 64 = Rs. 100. But the workers since 1958 (last settlement on wages by INTUC) get a consolidated wage of Rs. 77-50 in Grasim and Rs. 60-00 in Bharat Commerce. This clearly deprives workers of proper basic wage and D.A. linked with cost of living index.

The Grasim Mazdoor Union (RED FLAG) demanded the following wage scales in four grades instead of six as at present:

- A. 200—15.00 P.A.—350
- B. 175—12.50 P.A.—300
- C. 150—10.00 P.A.—250
- D. 120—8.00 P.A.—200

The Union insisted upon splitting up of these grades into proper wage structure i.e., basic wage and D.A. linked with cost of living index.

It further insisted upon implementation of 5-hour working day as recommended by Survey Report of Government of India in March 1959.

Amidst great fanfare the decision of arbitrators dated August 16, 1961, was announced by the INTUC Union and it declared that, "Workers would work five hours a day instead of eight as at present. This unprecedented victory, along with new pay scales will force the RED FLAG Union to lower its head in share." (Jagran July 30, 1961).

However, the cat was out of the bag very soon. The workers are still working eight hours a day, the arbitrators have rejected this demand.

The story of new pay scales is still more disappointing and has sent a wave of anger amongst the workers. This is quite evident from the new pay scales, as under:

#### AGREEMENT 1958

- A. 110—6—175
- B. 90—5—150
- C. 85—4—125
- D. 80—3—110
- E. 77½—2½—105

A big section of workers, getting their wages under old grades, have reached their maximum under old grades and get only Rs. 4 to 7 as increment.

These scales of pay would come into force from January 1, 1961.

Except for this demand, no other demand has been entertained by the arbitrators, and the INTUC Union (Grasim Mazdoor Sangh) withdrew rest of the demands. The arbitrators stated that till the five year period of the award is over, the Union would not raise demands and they were treated as withdrawn. The demands are:

- (1) 10 per cent Gas Allowance be given in the following departments.
- (2) Spinning, Auxiliary, Viscose, (Churning Section) Refrigeration and after treatment.
- (3) In the above mentioned departments workers should be given one hour and 2 minutes for tea and meals, etc.
- (4) Relievers be provided in adequate numbers.
- (5) A holiday resort be constructed on River Chambal for workers' entertainment and health.
- (6) Spinning department should be made air-conditioned.
- (7) Grades be fixed anew.
- (8) Minimum wage be fixed.

Thus it is clear that the Union and arbitrators both not only duped the workers for a long period of time but betrayed the faith and hopes reposed in them as impartial and just arbitrators. The INTUC has once again proved to the hilt that its so-called representative monopoly position is used only for the rank betrayal of workers demands.

The Grasim Mazdoor Union (RED FLAG) AITUC affiliate passed a resolution protesting against the award and exposing the betrayal of the workers by INTUC.

The Union in its resolution stated:

- 1 The wage increase is unreal as it is based on keeping the compliment of the workers—total and department-wise constant, while the production is raised from 60 tons a day to 81 tons a day.
- 2 The rise in the cost of living is not taken into consideration and thus wipes out the effect of increase in wages. The rise in COL index average of Ujjain or Ratlam in 1958 and 1961 is 23 points.
- 3 The demand for five hours working has been compromised for a five-year period.
- 4 The amenities as demanded by INTUC Union have also been withdrawn, which otherwise would have improved working condition a little.

The RED FLAG Union organised a protest demonstration on this 15th August and exhorted the workers to act unitedly to do away with the

1961 AWARD	
125—7½—215	
120—6—180 EB 201	
110—5—165	
100—3—130	
90—2½—120	

# REPRESSION AGAINST PUNJAB TRADE UNIONS

★ From SATISH LOOMBA

The Government-INTUC-employers combine is making a desperate effort to crush the nascent TU movement in the Punjab.

DURING recent years, the working class in Punjab has made remarkable progress in organisation. The Punjab Committee of the AITUC unites over 50,000 workers organised in 63 unions and its general influence is much wider. Non-affiliated unions also look to it for guidance.

Twice in successive verifications of membership undertaken by the Central Government, the AITUC in Punjab has come out with a larger membership than the INTUC and the HMS membership put together. The Congress and the INTUC have in vain tried to stem AITUC's growing influence. Pursuing every policy of disruption and surrender of vital interests of workers, the INTUC has become more and more isolated.

Its strike-breaking activities during the 36-day-long general strike at Amritsar, the metal workers' strike at Jullundur, the strike of engineering workers at Yamunanagar, the strike of Atlas Cycle workers at Sonapat and in numerous other places have earned for it the hatred of large masses of workers.

The Congress Government tries through all means at its disposal to bolster the INTUC and curb the AITUC. The Labour Department is openly used to deny conciliation machinery and reference to adjudication to the AITUC unions.

Action on complaints made by AITUC unions is prolonged over years; in various Committees, repre-

five-year limit of the award and unitedly struggle for securing five hour working-day and increase in wages and improvement in gradation along with radical improvement in working conditions which impair their health in this hazardous industry.

Recently Birlas are attempting to salvage their losing concern of Hind Cycles by merging the same with Grasim.

Birlas are doling out Rs. 27,000 per year and have contracted for three years to Eastern Economist towards advertisement charges, which was earlier Rs. 15,000 a year.

Birlas have raised Director's fees from Rs. 100 to 200-250 per meeting. The Grasim ordinary share of Rs. 10 stood at 57.50 in July 1961.

Birlas are contending

	(In Crores Rs.)		
	1961	1960	1959
Sales	10.84	9.7	8.36
Gross Profit	3.79	3.50	2.51
Net Profit	3.18	2.77	—
Reserves	2.20	1.65	—
Dividends	22.5%	20%	10%

The financial position on March 31, 1960 as it stands is as under:

With a paid-up capital of Rs. 4 crores and odd the depreciation fund stands at Rs. 4.53 crores and the reserves and other tax liability set aside at Rs. 5.9 crores and gross value of the block at Rs. 7.13 crores.

Moreover the Grasim is constructing another factory at Mavoor near Calicut in Kerala with a production capacity of 100-150 tons a day,

their claim of 12 years tax holiday (Agreement with former Gwalior Government which is up to 1965) to the tune of Rs. 2.24 crores against an appeal to the Supreme Court by Government of India.

Thus it can be seen that if there is any industry which can fulfil the obligations of need-based wages agreed in Indian Labour Conference in 1957, it is Grasim in particular and Rayon Silk Industry in general.

Apart from direct victimisation, other attacks have also been stepped up. One way is to press for early hearings of tribunal cases in the knowledge that leaders cannot appear in the hearings.

At the same time, the INTUC has started a virulent campaign of vilification and slanders. In many places, it has not hesitated to press for action against militants.

The Government has ostensibly launched this attack in the name of meeting the communal situation.

How bogus is the claim is exposed by the fact that one of the forces most active is the Rashtriya Mazdoor Sangh, the Jan Sangh's labour organisation which has suddenly burst into activity. It concentrates all its fire on the AITUC and it has been directly emboldened by the Government's attack on the AITUC.

The AITUC and its unions have always been in the forefront of those who champion communal unity. Whenever the Hindu communalists or their Sikh counterparts have sought to disturb harmony, the AITUC and its unions have not only endeavoured to keep the workers united as a class but have conveyed the message of unity also to other sections of the people. The record of the AITUC in the fight for communal peace is a proud one.

Even after the facts that created the tension are over Government seems to be bent upon continuing with its repression against the AITUC-led trade union movement as no releases or withdrawals of warrants have so far taken place.

# WHY THE SYRIAN BREAK

## Result Of Tragic Distortion Of Partnership

THE dissolution of the union between Egypt and Syria was not surprising. It was the inevitable result of the distortion of the basis on which the partnership was founded. The peoples of the two countries welcomed their union into the United Arab Republic 3½ years ago as a factor of strength.

### Union Was Advance

It was above all a closing of the ranks in the face of grave threats from the imperialist powers.

The Egyptian working class was then enjoying democratic concessions gained during the battle for independence and was trying to secure further gains.

Syria had actively helped Egypt during the invasion of 1956. Close relations between the two countries had been established even earlier.

In 1955 they jointly stood against the Baghdad Pact, sponsored by Britain and America with the twin aims of keeping their hold on the Middle East and creating war bases on the borders of the Soviet Union.

The Baghdad Pact (now Cento) was rightly seen as a threat to every country in the Middle East. For Syria the danger was immediate and direct.

On her eastern border stood the Iraq of Nuri El Said, then an eager participant in the Pact. On her northern border is Turkey, then as now, a pillar of the unholy alliance.

Internally, Syria in 1955 was emerging from a period of pro-French military dictatorship and starting once again on the road to national freedom.

The three years 1955 to 1957 saw an enormous advance: parliamentary life was restored, the trade unions recovered their freedom of action, trade relations with the Socialist countries were established, the Communist Party functioned openly.

The Bagdad Powers were preparing for action. In the autumn of 1957 provocations began on Syria's northern border where Turkish troops under American command were massing.

Plots after plot against the constitutional Government were discovered.

In face of these threats, the Syrian National Assembly passed a resolution in November 1957 in favour of union with Egypt.

The move was welcomed in Syria on the understanding that the United Arab Republic would be a federal union. This meant that while presenting a united front against the common enemy, the two countries could be free to run their own internal affairs.

This, however, was not Nasser's idea of how the union was to function. After an enthusiastic start it became clear that Syria's democratic gains of the previous years were to disappear one by one.

### Democratic Gains Destroyed

Parliament was dissolved, political parties were abolished, trade unions were compelled to accept Government nominees as their leaders.

Syria's economy was infiltrated by Egyptian finance capital and eventually the Syrian Cabinet itself was disbanded and the country governed from Cairo.

At an early stage the Syrian Communist Party warned that the U.A.R. could only live and prosper if it kept to its original aims.

A statement from its executive committee in November 1959 reaffirmed that the solidarity of the Arab peoples remained their chief weapon in the struggle against imperialism.

But the U.A.R. could only play a liberating role and safeguard its own independence on the basis of democratic institutions.

The chief points in the programme of action put forward by the Communist Party were: freely elected Parliaments for each of the two members of the union, as well as a central Government; freedom of political and trade union organisation; close cooperation to improve the economies of the two countries without subjecting one to the other.

The same principles were reaffirmed more than once by the Communist Parties of

Syria and Egypt. Both warned Nasser that the union shaped by him in the last three years, shorn of its progressive character, was in danger of disruption.

Far from heeding them, Nasser and the Egyptian ruling class launched a merciless war against the two Communist Parties and all who shared their views.

From early 1959, a regime of police terror has been imposed on both Egypt and Syria.

The Syrian bourgeois parties, afraid of the growing influence of their own working-class organisations, readily stepped into line with the Egyptian ruling class in this anti-democratic crusade.

They now seem to have been equally afraid of the nationalisation measures enforced in July in both Egypt and Syria.

So afraid that they have hastily put an end to the union with Egypt knowing that it would find few defenders in its present form.

Now they have to face the Syrian people who have not abandoned their struggle for freedom and democracy.

(Daily Worker, London.)

### YOUNG BLOOD IN CONGRESS

THE President of the Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee, Brij Mohan is an energetic young man. It is a tribute to him that the cause of 'young blood' is taken up even in the Congress organisation under him. At any rate that is the impression one is bound to get after reading his statements in press.

Recently the election committee of the DPCC met to select the candidates for five parliamentary seats in Delhi. Brij Mohan, being the President of the Delhi Congress, presided over this important meeting. His influence over the deliberations of the meeting was obvious from the statement he made to newsmen after the meeting.

According to Brij Mohan the consensus among the members was that the number of seats from the Union territory was too small as compared with number of senior Congressmen living in the territory. They thought they should replace those sitting members who had completed a term of ten years to afford a chance to young blood.

After reading this statement of the DPCC Chief I was so convinced about his serious concern for the 'young blood', that I was about to congratulate him. But there was a snag.

This list of candidates announced by the DPCC Chief included the name of Brahm Perkash and his opponent say that he too has fulfilled the conditions for retirement on the basis of ten-year rule. And so next day the three sitting members who have been denied tickets were reported to have raised this point in a communication to the Congress President Reddy.

According to a report they 'accused' the DPCC of group politics in the selection of candidates. According to them the ten-year rule could not have influenced the DPCC in not nominating them because the rule applied to Mr. Brahm Perkash also.

That being the situation I had to amend my own views regarding Brij Mohan's fondness for the

## SCRAP-BOOK

'young blood'. It seems it is the same old story of Congress factionalism.

The division and conflict inside the Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee is nothing new. But it is strange that even after its shameful defeat in by-election in New Delhi constituency the Congressmen have learnt no lesson.

### TALKING OF TEXT-BOOKS

I WONDER if the Congress rulers can cite any sphere of life in which scandals are not taking place? Latest to my notice has been brought from Madhya Pradesh. It is a scandal which is continuing for the last six years under the education department.

While scandals galore in Madhya Pradesh the Ministers have no satisfactory reply.

Some say on the eve of elections the all powerful ministers do not wish to annoy the profiteering publishers. Why?

### P. M.'S RELIEF FUND

CONGRESSMEN who so enthusiastically collect money from big money bags for election fund even after creating embarrassment for the Prime Minister Nehru treat his appeal for Relief Fund with utter disregard. Here is a news item which I have come across from a South Indian paper:

"The Congress-led panchayat of Ullal in South Kanara (Mysore State) threw out a motion for making a contribution of Rs. 200 to the Prime Minister's Fund and Rs. 100 towards the State Chief Ministers' Flood Relief Fund."

"The motion was moved by a member of the local Citizens' Committee which also has its representatives in the Panchayat Board in its meeting of August 30."

I don't think it needs any comment. The concern of the Congressmen for unfortunate victims of national disasters is indeed worth noting.

—AGRADOOT

# EMPHASIS ON REGIONAL LANGUAGES

## Love Of Mother Tongue Is Not Linguism

### AJOY GHOSH'S SPEECH AT INTEGRATION MEET

★ From Centre Pages.

Much has been said here about the importance of education in national integration. I agree with that view. But I would stress that education, in order to achieve national integration, must have social purpose and must be linked to such national objectives.

I do not want, however, to deal with this problem at length. I would confine myself to certain urgent issues which have to be tackled.

I think it would be conceded by all that of all the menaces that confront us, communalism is the most serious. All communalism is bad but communalism of the majority community is the worst of all. The menace of this communalism, that is Hindu communalism has grown steadily.

Communal ideas are infiltrating even into secular parties and into the administration. This sometimes leads to complete paralysis of the administration where minority communities are the victims. Jabalpur was an instance.

#### Remove Genuine Difficulties

Opposition to communalism does not mean ignoring the genuine difficulties from which certain communities suffer. This applies above all to the Muslim community. Muslims are the biggest religious minority in India. It must be admitted that even in our secular State they suffer from a number of disabilities—most of which exist not so much in law as in facts of life.

It cannot be denied that discrimination is practised against them in many spheres and that many of their grievances are genuine.

Since objection has been taken that I am digressing from the subject under discussion, I shall not dilate on it further. Nor shall I say anything on casteism just now.

We will take that up, as has been decided in the Steering Committee, later.

Just now we are discussing the issue of language. I feel that this issue cannot be placed in the same category as communalism or casteism.

Love for one's mother tongue and the urge of people speaking the same language to come together in a single state—these are basically healthy urges and have to be recognised as such. Of course this urge can be distorted and given a disruptive form. That is what I would call "linguism".

It is quite possible to work up linguistic passions, to belittle other languages, to adopt an attitude of intolerance towards them, and to deny linguistic minorities their legitimate rights.

Carried to an excess in disregard of broad national considerations, linguistic chauvinism can work havoc. Such things have already happened. Events in Assam are a grim reminder of this menace.

A number of recommendations made by the Chief Ministers' Conference are good. But that cannot be said about all the recommendations.

It has been suggested by them, for example, that where 60 per cent of the people of a district speak a particular language, that language also should be given official status in that district. I think this percentage is too high. It should be reduced to 33 to 40 per cent.

#### Hindi As All-India Language

Our position on the issue of language has been made clear on several occasions. We feel that for national and emotional integration, as well as for convenience, there should be one language which is understood by the masses. That language cannot be

English which is understood only by a microscopic minority of our people. It will have to be Hindi. Of course, even after the adoption of Hindi, English will continue as an additional all-India official language for some period. We are, therefore, in favour of extensive popularisation of Hindi and all provision being made for teaching Hindi in all parts of India.

But this does not mean that Hindi is to replace English for all purposes for which the latter is today used. Some of the functions which English performs today will be gradually taken over by Hindi. But most of these functions will have to be performed by what are called regional languages. These are languages spoken by a vast number of people in well-defined territories. Many of them have long history, and developed literature.

In order to bring administration closer to the people in all States, we consider it imperative that the change-over from English to the regional language for purposes of State administration should be speedily effected. But the medium of instruction at all stages including the University stage will have to be eventually the regional language.

If that is not done, if English or Hindi is made the sole language of higher education, then the cause of education will suffer in non-Hindi speaking States. Also the literature in non-Hindi regions will remain undeveloped. Literature gets developed fully only when it is made the medium of instruction for all stages and for all subjects.

We want that every Indian should learn Hindi. At the same time, we strongly feel that students in Hindi-speaking areas should learn one other modern Indian language. This would not merely widen their outlook but also help to make Hindi acceptable in non-Hindi areas and facilitate integration of the country.

We cannot also do away with English which has a rich literature on every subject and knowledge of which is essential—especially for higher studies.

The three-language formula is therefore, inescapable. I shall say it is inherent in the situation.

We do not approve of the suggestion that the Devanagari script should become the common script for the whole country and for all languages. Of course, no one can object to the proposal which has been made by Smt. Indira Gandhi that Devanagari may become an additional script for regional languages. If valuable books in regional languages are published, in Devanagari script, besides their own script, that will certainly be helpful.

We are not in favour of the Roman script as common script for the whole country.

Now that the majority of states have been organised on a linguistic basis, the question of linguistic minorities, as well as religious minorities has assumed great importance.

Defence of the rights of the minorities is essential for the development of democracy.

#### Permanent Minorities Commission

The Special Officer for Linguistic Minorities under Section 350-B of the Constitution is at present only a reporting agency. He has no powers.

We are firmly of the view that a permanent Minorities Commission should be set up armed with all requisite statutory authority.

We are in favour of a Code of Conduct for political parties.

We also strongly urge the formation of a body to continue the work of this Conference. It should not be a very big body.

#### Joint Mass Campaign Necessary

Finally, I would like to stress one point. In the period after the winning of national independence, the dominant tendency has been to rely exclusively on laws to remove such evils as untouchability, communalism and so on. Of

course, laws are necessary. But they are not enough especially if we bear in mind the deep roots that casteism and communalism have in our country and the way they pervade our social and political life. Many of the laws passed like laws on untouchability have remained on paper.

We all remember how in the days of the national movement, Gandhiji developed a nationwide campaign against untouchability. Such campaigns are not undertaken today. We feel that if secular parties come together and carry out united campaigns against evils like communalism and casteism, good results can be achieved.

We know there are deep political differences amongst secular parties on many questions. But we are of the view that despite these differences, we can unite on many issues in order to combat and defeat the forces of dark reaction which are trying to take our country backward and destroy all the precious heritage of our national movement.

We hope our deliberations will be fruitful and this Conference will constitute a major step towards national unification.

## OBSERVE 'NO WAR' DAY ON OCTOBER 22

### All-India Peace Council's Appeal

#### Conference Called On German Problem

TA KING into account the seriousness of the international situation, particularly the main danger which the German problem constitutes, the All-India Peace Council has called for the observance of Sunday October 22 as a "No War" Day.

This was announced at a well-attended Press Conference in New Delhi, on October 3, by Ramesh Chandra, General Secretary of the All-India Peace Council.

The observance of the "No War" Day will be marked by:

- Meetings and demonstrations to be held on this date, largely centring round the question of Germany and Berlin.

- Support to be extended by these meetings to Prime Minister Nehru's clear statement in regard to the recognition of the fact of the existence of two German states and his insistence on the recognition of the borders of Germany as established by the last war as final as well as on a peaceful solution of the problem through negotiations at the highest level.

- Focussing the attention on the necessity for the Government of India to open diplomatic relations with the German Democratic Republic, as a necessary corollary of our

- recognition of the fact of the existence of two German States.
- In view of the urgency of the German problem for world peace, the Secretariat of the All-India Peace Council has also decided to hold on November 14, in Calcutta, a special National Conference on the German Problem to be attended by delegates from Peace Committees and other organisations from all over the country.

- These decisions of the All-India Peace Council follow the stirring call given by the Presidential Committee of the World Council of Peace which met at Warsaw on September 20 and 21, under the chairmanship of Professor J. D. Bernal, for popular action in all countries to settle the German problem through a peace treaty.

The statement of the Presidential Committee has declared that such a treaty must:

- Recognise the existence of two German States;
- Accept the present frontiers of Germany as final;
- Transform West Berlin into a free and neutral city, assured of communications with all countries and with statute guaranteed by the four powers in the presence of the United Nations.

Among West European countries West Germany today has the strongest army. It already has 35,000 men equipped with most modern weapons, including rockets, and the West German militarists are demanding atomic weapons and who knows if

they do not have them already.

If plan MC 96 materialises West Germany will be able to manufacture atomic, chemical, and biological weapons. It already has submarines, warships and the most modern aircrafts.

How the Western Powers have 'destroyed' Nazism can be seen from a few examples. Twelve of the eighteen ministers of the Central Government in Bonn are Nazis. Globke, the right-hand man of Adenauer, is the author of Nuremberg laws which made the liquidation of six million Jews possible.

Inspector General of West German Army, Foertsch is a war criminal. Heusinger, the NATO Chief, is the man who had planned the attack on England.

Over a thousand judges served on special courts which sentenced innocent people to death in the countries occupied by Hitler, many of them have Indian blood too on their hands.

The police is practically in the hands of Gestapo and S.S. with S.A. man Schroeder is the minister.

Over eighty per cent diplomats have served under Von Ribbentrop and were active Nazis. This includes the former Ambassador to India, Melchers.

How serious Western Powers were in destroying German military equipment has been mentioned by Churchill in his Memoirs. He had written to Montgomery not to destroy German arms and equipment as they could be useful in war against the Soviet Union.

Instead of Western Powers eliminating or controlling West German industry it is West Germany which today controls West European economy.

Anti-Fascists At The Helm In GDR

Leaders of GDR, all active anti-Fascists, were fully aware of the responsibility history had placed on their shoulders and today, twelve years after their assuming the responsibility, one can say that they have done their job well.

It is no easy task to inculcate the feeling of equality of all mankind in a nation convinced for generations that it belongs to a superior race destined to rule.

No foreigner can today complain of any kind of racial feeling in GDR.

As a member of Nikru-mah's party put it, children in GDR are not afraid of the black man. While the children in West German

# A PEACE-LOVING GERMAN STATE

FIRST TIME IN HISTORY

## GDR's Twelfth Birthday

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

BERLIN, October 2.

Seventh October is a day of historical importance. On this day the first peace-loving German State came into being which later took the road to socialism and so the dream of founders of Marxism, Marx and Engels, was fulfilled in their own country. Twelve years ago on this day the German Democratic Republic was founded.

It was a month after Western Powers had founded the West German Federal Republic and thus divided Germany. In order to be able to understand the development in both parts of Germany let us recall the Yalta Conference.

#### Declared Aims Of Yalta . . .

The Four Powers of anti-Hitler coalition had declared on February 11 1945:

"It is our inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism and Nazism and to ensure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world. We are determined to disarm and disband all German armed forces; break up for all time the German General Staff that has repeatedly brought about the resurgence of German militarism, remove or destroy all German military equipment; eliminate or control all German industry that could be used for military production; bring all war criminals to just and swift punishment and exact reparations in kind for the destruction wrought by the Germans; wipe out the Nazi Party, Nazi Laws, organisations and institutions; remove all Nazi and militarist influence from public institutions and from the cultural and economic life of the German people; and take in agreement such other measures in Germany as may be necessary to the future peace and safety of the world."

Three months after the signing of the declaration Nazi Germany surrendered unconditionally. All peace-loving people and specially the people of Europe thought that the danger of German militarism was gone for ever.

Postwar events showed that their hopes were false. Western Powers were more interested in "fighting Communism" than in liquidating German militarism. So far as West Germany is concerned the declaration remained only a piece of paper. Not a single point has been implemented.

... Negated In West Germany

Among West European countries West Germany today has the strongest army. It already has 35,000 men equipped with most modern weapons, including rockets, and the West German militarists are demanding atomic weapons and who knows if

they do not have them already.

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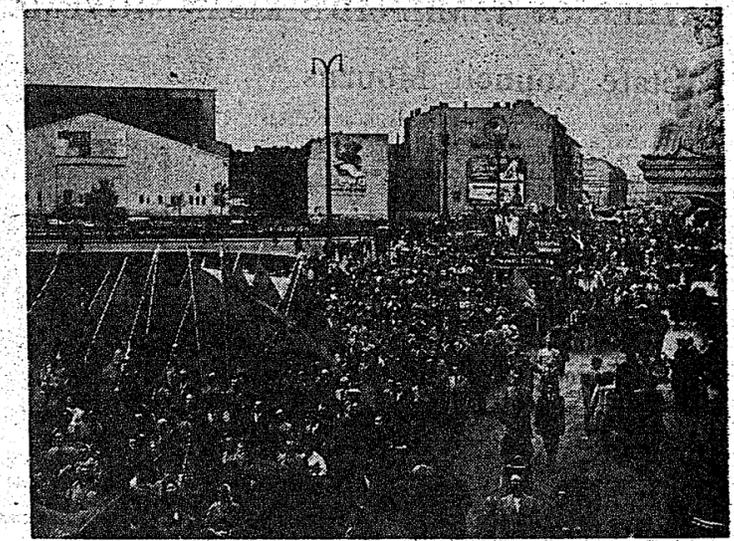
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FRIEDRICHSTRASSE, Humming centre of East Berlin. A demonstration is passing. — Photo by Virendra Kumar

schools are taught that Africans are lazy and inferior, the children and more so the grown ups in the GDR are repeatedly told that all men are equal.

Talking of attitude towards coloured people one is astonished at the number of black dolls in toyshops and they are cheaper. It is here that a new attitude is created. A small girl who plays with a black doll and learns to love it does not regard a coloured person when she sees a living one as something to be despised. Perhaps it was a little out of the way but it shows how deliberately and carefully the problem has been tackled.

Nazism Completely Uprooted

Coming back to the Yalta Declaration, Nazism has been totally uprooted in GDR. There is no Nazi in any institution be it the Government, mass organisation or local administration, army, police or the judiciary.

It would be more correct to say that having been an active anti-Fascist is a pre-condition for holding any important post.

If it is found out that somebody was an active Nazi he is fired immediately. If some war criminal is discovered even today he is tried as in case of Schaefer, reported in New Age of June 11.

In contrast to re-militarisation of West Germany, GDR had till recently an army of 90,000 men commanded by anti-Fascists many of whom fought for Republican Spain. There is no conscription as in West Germany, the army comprises volunteers and it is not just symbolic that arms are handed over by workers to youngmen joining the army. It was after August 13 that the youth organisation FDJ (Free German Youth) called upon youngmen to volunteer and over 150,000 followed.

While in West Germany re-vanchists are raising territorial claims not only against

Poland, Czechoslovakia and Soviet Union but their agents are also active in Italian Southern Tyrol, the GDR has more than once declared that the present boundary of Germany is final.

As regards economy all the factories, as the entire property of those who helped Hitler in any way, were confiscated and became national property. Division left GDR in a very disadvantageous position. All sources of raw materials and entire heavy industry was left in West Germany.

Today GDR is the biggest brown coal producer in the world. In per head production of plastics also GDR is on top. In optics and fine mechanics, machine making and chemical industry also GDR has a leading position.

Unlike West Germany GDR does not export capital nor render help of the kind we receive from West Germany. She exports machines and equipment on commercial basis.

Foreign trade of GDR is based on equality and mutual advantage. GDR was the first country which started trading with India on rupee basis. It is no wonder that over hundred countries have trade relations with GDR.

The foreign policy of GDR is based on Panch Sheel. The Government supports every proposal which could in any way reduce international tension and lead to lasting peace. While West Germany rejected outright the Rapacki Plan for an atom-free zone in Europe GDR gave it full support.

Striving For German Unity

In spite of basic differences with West Germany GDR did not write off German unity; she made about 150 proposals to West Germany which were ignored. The reasons of ignoring these proposals are first, that the GDR "does not exist" and secondly, that GDR stands for disarmament and

recognises present boundaries as final.

One simply wonders at the blindness of Bonn. Not only the socialist countries but also the neutral countries have recognised the existence of two German States. The British Liberal Party has at its conference advocated de facto recognition of GDR.

Even the personal representative of Kennedy in West Berlin General Clay has last week recognised the existence of two German States. But the old man in Bonn keeps on repeating his old song.

As a matter of fact West Germany should be thankful to GDR that she has shown to the world that Germans are also human and once freed from militaristic influence they can be just as peaceful as any other nation. They thus destroyed the impression gained by people of Europe through centuries that Germans were an aggressive militaristic nation.

Time To Accord Recognition

Twelve years is a short time in the life of a nation but what GDR has achieved in this period deserves our heartiest congratulations. We Indians have so much in common with GDR and it is a pity that our Government, though recognising the existence of GDR, has not yet established diplomatic relations with her.

Why are we still afraid of Bonn breaking diplomatic relations with us? Bonn is guilty of more than one unfriendly act towards us. Our Prime Minister is constantly being ridiculed and insulted. Latest in this series is the Deutsche Oststidien which wrote "How long is the Great Pandit going to abuse our patience?"

It is time we told imperialists in Bonn that we are not going to tax their patience. Instead we are going to establish diplomatic relations with Berlin outright and not keep Bonn in suspense any longer.

## END OF FAST WELCOMED

### CPI Secretariat Calls For Full Restoration Of Civil Liberties In Punjab

WELCOMING the end of Master Tara Singh's fast on October 1, the Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India issued the following statement to the press:

The whole country has felt immense relief over the fact that Master Tara Singh has ended his fast. The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India congratulates Master Tara Singh on the decision he has taken. The tension that had dangerously developed as a result has appreciably lessened and calm consideration of issues involved can now be undertaken.

The Secretariat feels that in order to help the process further, there should be no delay in Government releasing all those who have been put behind bars in connection with the fast. All attachment of properties, warrants of arrest and other such measures taken by the Government should be cancelled forthwith. The Secretariat urges that the restrictions placed on civil liberties and the freedom of the press in Punjab be immediately withdrawn.

# OUR DEAR COMRADE B. SRINIVAS RAO IS DEAD

## FATHER OF TAMILNAD'S KISAN MOVEMENT, NOBLE SON OF PEOPLE

### State Council Mourns

WE announce with deep regret the death of Comrade B. Srinivas Rao, member, Secretariat of the Tamilnad Council of the Communist Party of India and also the President of the Tamilnad Kisan Sabha as well as a member, Central Council of the All India Kisan Sabha. He died at Tanjore at 5 a.m. today due to a sudden heart attack.

Comrade B. Srinivas Rao was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India for a very long time and it was he who founded the Kisan Sabha in Tamilnad with others.

Comrade Srinivas Rao took a leading part in the National Movement and many a time he was lathi-charged and jailed by the then British rulers. He actively participated in the non-cooperation movement. He was an A-ICC member for a number of years.

Later on when the Congress Socialist Party was formed, he was one of the leading figures in the Socialist movement and he was the Secretary of the Socialist Party in Tamilnad.

When differences arose between him and Sri Jayaprakash Narain in the approach towards the ways and means of attaining socialism he left the Congress Socialist Party and found his way to the Communist Party and in fact he was one of the founder members of the Communist Party in Tamilnad.

Comrade Srinivas Rao is the father of the Kisan movement in Tamilnad. By his untiring and selfless service he has helped to build up a strong Kisan movement in Tamilnad. He led the historic Kisan Padayatra from Coimbatore to Madras covering over 450 miles explaining the 17 amendments put forward by the Tamilnad Kisan Sabha to the Land Ceiling Bill.

During the recent Kisan Satyagraha struggle in which over 16,000 satyagrahis were arrested and jailed, Comrade B. Srinivas Rao had widely covered almost all areas where the picketing was done and had given inspiration to the satyagrahis and others. For a long time he was suffering from asthma.

Much enthused by the recent awakening of the peasants who voiced their protest against the pro-landlord Land Ceiling Bill of the Madras Government, Comrade Srinivas Rao did not even care about his deteriorating health. On hearing the death of a Kisan satyagrahi in the Tiruchi Central Jail on the 28th instant Comrade Srinivas Rao rushed to Tiruchi. After returning to Tanjore again on the 29th, the asthma trouble started in the night. Necessary and immediate medical attention proved of no benefit.

A noble son is lost! It is not only a loss to the Communist Party and the Kisan Sabha, it is a loss to the entire democratic movement in the country and especially Tamilnad.

Comrade Srinivas Rao, at his age of 55 has left behind his wife, two daughters and a son.

His body is being taken to Tiruthuraiipoondi in Tanjore District and the funeral is to take place tonight.

Madras,  
September 30, 1961.

Tamilnad Council  
of the CPI.

### We Dip The Red Flag

THE Communist Party of India dips the Red Flag in memory of Comrade B. Srinivas Rao who breathed his last, on September 30, at Tanjore. Through his life spent in the service of the people and the Party, he won the respect of all for his utter selflessness and tireless energy.

He grew up with the national movement and embodied its best virtues. He began his political life as a Congress worker, faced lathi-charges, suffered imprisonment. As a Left Congress leader he helped found the Congress Socialist Party in Tamilnad. Its Jayaprakash-Asoka Mehta-Masani leadership could not satisfy his revolutionary aspirations nor his ideological quest. He became one of the founders of the Communist Party in Tamilnad and rose to become one of its topmost leaders.

He devoted his whole life to organising and leading the Kisan movement. His last public act was patiently organising and successfully leading the Kisan satyagraha against the reactionary clauses of the Ceiling Bill and demanding justice for the peasantry. The big landlord-ridden Tanjore had been the main centre of his militant activities, he died at his post of duty there. At the funeral, over 25,000 peasants and citizens came to pay their last respects to him. Peasant women shed tears and sobbed. They had known him as the protector of their honour, their leader who gave them hope and helped them to organise their mass movements which became militant and mature enough to produce their own sons and brothers to become its martyrs and fighters.

The never ending hardships of a Communist life shattered his health. He died in the saddle, as he desired.

The Communist Party mourns the loss of a dearly loved Comrade and a heroic mass leader who brought honour and prestige to the Party. We send our respectful condolences to the bereaved family.



Bidding farewell to dear departed comrade. The body is kept on the dais of the meeting held before the funeral-procession started.

## Satyagraha He Led Till Two Days Before His Death

★ An Earlier Report From R. Ganesan

MADRAS Sept. 28.

THE two-week-old heroic satyagraha of the militant kisans of Tamilnad was withdrawn on September 27, when the Action Committee met at Tanjore. This satyagraha was launched on September 15 to influence the outcome of the ceiling bill discussions inside the Madras Legislature. Since the clause by clause consideration of the bill had been concluded the satyagraha was also called off.

This satyagraha has shaken whole Tamilnad and has been a grand success. In a statement to the press the Action Committee President, B. Srinivas Rao, has proudly congratulated the 15,000 satyagrahis, those already arrested or convicted. He has also thanked numerous organisations and individuals who demonstrated their sympathy and support for the peasants' cause and struggle.

### An Effective Demonstration

The Kisan leader rightly claims that the big Kisan satyagraha has effectively demonstrated the just deep discontent of the Tamilnad Kisans and their great land

hunger, the Kisan demands have won broad democratic support cutting across party differences, the pro-landlord policy of the Madras Government and the reactionary features of the Ceiling Bill stand thoroughly exposed.

The Kisan leader has very realistically hailed it as a victory of the satyagraha that a new chapter in the Bill was introduced, protecting the tenants from eviction for three years, a change from the original stand of the Congress Ministry.

The Kisan leader has called for further intensified efforts to achieve the main big aim of the Kisans, land for the tillers.

The Action Committee has also demanded that the Madras Government release all the satyagrahis so far arrested and those already jailed and also to withdraw all the pending cases.

On the last day of the satyagraha over 500 volunteers were arrested, this makes the total arrested more than 15,000. The journalists and public workers, with living memories of the earlier national struggles state that even in the days of the various nationwide satyagraha movements such a large number of people were not jailed in the whole of Tamilnad.

The pro-landlord Congress legislators have been thoroughly rattled by this peaceful

and just satyagraha, which despite them won wide popular support. An interesting example was the privilege motion moved by the Congress MLA, R. Srinivas Iyer against the satyagraha leaders who led the picketing before the Assembly and also against the Communist MLA Kalyanasundaram who considered it his elementary duty to be amidst them.

### An Issue Of Privilege?

Kalyanasundaram opposed the move and demanded that an open enquiry be held by the House itself instead of pushing the affair into the lap of the Privilege Committee. He added that by such moves the people's movement could not be held back, on the other hand it is the ruling party and its Government that will stand discredited. His plea was not accepted and the issue has been referred to the Privilege Committee of the House.

The satyagraha being off the Kisan Sabha branches are taking stock of the situation and preparing themselves for the next and bigger tasks. The Action Committee has called upon all the Kisan units to hold demonstrations on October 1, all over the State, and explain the situation as also the task ahead to carry forward the gains of this grand and spontaneous upsurge of Tamilnad's Kisan millions.