

4060-1

ORGANISED ASSAULT ON

INDIAN UNITY

Dark Forces At Work Behind U. P. Pogroms



VOL. IX, NO. 42 OCTOBER 15, 1961 25 N.P.

When a tussle over a Students' Union elections is transformed with lightning speed into a State-wide communal pogrom, it becomes a matter of utmost concern for the entire nation.

WHAT has happened in the U.P. cannot be brushed aside just as mere communal rioting because it has dangerous features which bode ill for the country as a whole, and unless checked early might prove to be the most powerful factor destroying the integrity of the nation.

An excitement over the University Union elections in Allahgarh, allowed to be worked up along communal lines, became the starting point not of a traditional riot between two communities, but of systematic loot and arson, simultaneously started in distant places, in which the life and property of the Muslims were made the sole target. This organised pogrom underlines the serious danger posed by the current situation in the U. P.

The depth to which this canker has now begun eating into the nation's vitals could also be seen from the fact that it is the student community that is being instigated by well-entrenched reactionary forces to take a leading part in this communal pogrom.

At the recently held National Integration Conference, the struggle against communal forces was not sharply posed and this important issue,

though touched, did not get top priority. Discussion on it was somehow bypassed, though the representatives of the Communist Party attending the conference did emphasise the urgency of tackling it.

The U. P. disturbances have clearly shown how communalism has today become the most powerful instrument of national disruption, particularly in the Hindi-speaking area, while its impact in other regions can hardly be ignored. This has become all the more serious because certain political parties and elements—the RSS, the Jana Sangh and the Hindu Mahasabha—have made Hindu-Muslim conflict the main plank of their political activity.

It has, therefore, become all the more urgent for political parties wedded to secularism to face this challenge boldly and defeat it.

The Allahgarh incidents are significant as they clearly show how a communal incident, however small, can be exploited by organised reactionary elements to attack the very foundations of national unity.

The communalisation of the Students' Union elections was itself brought about by a chain of events which shows how the lack of a determined struggle against communalism

had weakened the secular forces in the University.

The Allahgarh Muslim University has for long been the hotbed of communalism. After independence, the nationalist forces for sometime could enter its precincts and put certain curb on the communal forces. But during the last few years, communalism raised its head once again in the University.

Wrong Handling By Education Minister

The manner in which the Education Minister handled the Allahgarh University affairs did not lead to the weakening of communal elements there. Rather, the Jama'at-e-Islami was able to extend its influence, while the offensive against all healthy secular forces was stepped up in the name of fighting Communism.

Elements associated with Jama'at-e-Islami could cash in on the general frustration of the Muslim community and this, in its turn, accentuated Hindu communalism.

Among those holding important posts in the University can be found persons with a pronounced communal outlook even if they may not be formally members of the Jama'at-e-Islami. These include the Pro-Vice Chancellor, the Proctor and some of the Provosts as well.

The majority of students in the Allahgarh University are

Muslim. Hindu students on its rolls number 1,700 out of the total strength of five thousand. Of this, about 1,200 Hindu students live in the city while 500 are in the University hostels.

The city itself has been an active centre of Hindu communalists, while the two colleges in the city—the Dharam Samaj College and the Barasenji College—from which these Hindu students mostly come to the University, are known to be infested with Hindu communally-minded elements.

The accentuation of communalism on both sides in the last two years have seriously weakened the anti-communal students—such as those rallying round the Students' Fede-

dents because of the existence of factions among them, the Hindu students, though in a minority, contested all the seats in the Union Executive and all the posts of office bearers. Immediately the Muslim students took it up as a communal challenge and closing their ranks decided to capture all the seats, leaving not one single for the Hindus.

The Jama'at-e-Islami students carried on a whispering campaign that no Hindu or girl candidate should be elected.

Once the elections were posed along communal lines, the Muslim students, being in an overwhelming majority, swept the polls and not a single non-Muslim candidate or a girl candidate was

by **AJOY GHOSH**

ration—so much so that they have hardly any effective say in student affairs.

It was in this background that the Union elections this time were fought along blatantly communal lines. In other years, some Hindu students used to get elected to the Union Executive of 13—not by rules but by a healthy convention which the Muslim students themselves helped to grow.

This time, sensing a division among the Muslim stu-

dent. In this communal frenzy, naturally the politics of both the Jama'at-e-Islami as well as the RSS got their imprint, though it was still confined to the students as such.

In fact, the incidents on the University campus immediately following the announcement of the poll, were confined to the students and despite their communal character could have been dealt within the four walls of the University itself had the University authorities, particularly at the Proctorial level, shown a sense of responsibility.

When the students got divided into two clear-cut communal camps, the University authorities should have taken immediate action to suspend the Union elections. They very well knew how explosive the situation could become once it broke the bounds of the University and spread to the city.

Besides, the Proctor, the Wardens and the Provosts should have intervened immediately after the results were announced, since the whole atmosphere was tense.

At least, they should have stopped the procession of the victors going to the Ziauddin Hostel, where, they should have known, this could lead to clash with the Hindu students. One may reasonably charge them with dereliction of duty for allowing the University to be set ablaze with communal passions.

With all this tension, the clash inside the University was itself a minor one: a sort of students' brawl in which, despite its communal overtones, outside elements had not yet taken the leading part.

The clash between the students of the Ziauddin Hostel

Builders Of Communism, Mainstay Of Peace

Editorial

The Communist Party of India hails the forthcoming Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,

the first and greatest Party of the world Communist movement.

Every Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been a Congress registering steady and continuous advance of the Soviet people along the path charted out by the great V. I. Lenin. Every Congress has been an event of great importance not only for the Soviet people but for the working class of all countries and for progressive humanity as a whole.

But perhaps no previous Congress of the CPSU evoked such worldwide interest as the forthcoming 22nd Congress. That is not surprising in view of the period in which it is meeting and the issues it will discuss.

Adopted nearly a year ago the Statement of Eighty-one Communist Parties made a penetrating analysis of the contemporary world situation. It said:

"It is the principal characteristic of our time that the world Socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society."

The significance of these profound words is brought out in the new Draft Programme of the CPSU, a document which the Congress will discuss. In simple words and easily understandable terms the Draft Programme brings out the historic significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution, of the path traversed by the Soviet people since that memorable event, of the transformation that this has helped to bring about all over the world. It announces that the building of communism, the cherished

dream of mankind has become an immediate practical task for the Soviet people and points out how this task is to be achieved.

It would be no exaggeration to say that never in the history of the world has any Party placed such a grand perspective to be realised in such a short time and with such supreme confidence. The Draft Programme underlines the fact that the future belongs to socialism and communism.

The Congress will also discuss the rules of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, whose adoption and implementation would strengthen the monolithic unity of the CPSU and make it an even more powerful instrument to carry out the new Programme.

The Congress will meet at a time when the battle between the forces of peace and war has entered a crucial stage and when the threat of a devastating thermo-nuclear war hangs over the world. The whole of mankind wants this threat to be averted.

The Congress will discuss this question and give a clear reply as to how to combat the menace of war.

Other issues to be discussed by the Congress will also be of great importance to forces of socialism, democracy, national freedom and peace in every country.

The Congress is meeting at a momentous time in the history of the USSR and indeed, in world history. We have no doubt that its decisions too, will be of momentous importance and will decisively influence the course of history in the coming period.

—AJOY GHOSH

* SEE BACK PAGE

Asian Planners' Useful Suggestions

THE Conference of Asian Planners convened by the ECAFE ended in New Delhi last week after adopting the report of a nine-man Technical Committee. The decision to hold this Conference was taken at the 19th session of the ECAFE in which the member countries had expressed misgivings about the new trade groupings in Western Europe.

The adverse effects which the formation of these groupings was bound to have on the exports of ECAFE countries, especially after Britain's proposed entry into the ECM, had made it imperative that the countries in the region take some concrete steps to coordinate their economic plans and evolve some scheme of cooperation in raising the level of their economies.

The Delhi Conference was the result of this compulsion and as such was very much timely.

And yet, cooperation and coordination between countries as diverse as India and Thailand cannot be easy. The wide variations in Government systems in different countries of the region, their policies and practices, all combine to make it a real uphill task, which a Conference of planners alone can by no means solve.

Hence the unfinished nature of the job done by its participants who have been able to do little more than to propose formation of two bodies to train planning personnel. These two bodies are: an Asian Institute for Economic Development with a training programme "geared to the urgent needs of the Asian countries", and a Regional Advisory Group on Economic Development and Planning to render practical assistance in planning.

A Long-Term Proposition

Apart from the proposal to form these bodies the Conference refrained from suggesting any other scheme for coordination of plan policies of the ECAFE countries, although, through the Report of its Technical Committee, it made the necessity for such coordination very clear. "It would be in the common interests of developing countries in the region", it said "to take advantage of such economies of scale and possibilities of inter-regional division of labour as might promote the growth of the industrial economies as well as of the region as a whole".

This is certainly an unexceptionable sentiment, but as the Report itself recognises it can be practicable only as a "long-term" measure.

It is, however, in the sphere of trade that the Conference's proposals are of a more practical value. Realising the need for widening the markets for products of smaller countries "to make full economies of large-scale production feasible" it suggests their marketing in neighbouring countries through mutual collaboration.

Simultaneously, the Conference added "Asian countries with rising industrial output could meet the region's requirements of machinery and manufactured goods". The Conference also suggested formulation of specific schemes of trade cooperation aimed at "ensuring stable and fair commodity prices".

These recommendations of the Conference, if taken up earnestly by the participating countries, can go a long way in lessening the load of inequities which the ECAFE countries have to carry as a result of their trade with the Western countries. The latter too will perhaps learn to behave better if they know they are not the only partners which the countries in the region can have.

The Conference has thus not all been in vain. It provided a good forum for exchange of opinions on problems facing the region. If it could do no more than merely re-emphasise the need for intra-regional cooperation, the fault lay not with it but with the governments of some of the countries of the region which, although smarting under the discriminatory trade practices of the imperialist countries, prefer to remain a part of diverse imperialist alliances.

Political Pressure Thru' Economic Aid

AN example of the brazen-facedness with which imperialism uses economic assistance as a weapon to browbeat the recipient governments into submission to its own policies is provided by the US State Department, which has been withholding the promised assistance to Ghana for building a dam and a power station on the river Volta.

The Ghanaian Government, led by President Nkrumah, is in the front ranks of the powers pursuing a non-aligned policy in international affairs, a policy which the late Dulles called "immoral". Dulles himself withheld assistance to another non-aligned country, Egypt, for her Aswan project (which is now being built with Soviet assistance).

Now his successors, professedly "respecting neutrality", are seeking to play the same game with Ghana. They forget that like those of their "august" predecessor's, their tactics too will end in failure. For, if the socialist world could enable Egypt to do away with their aid in 1956 it can as well enable Ghana to do the same in 1961.

Morarji Turns A Blind Eye

This, however, does not seem to be the view of India's Finance Minister Morarji Desai, who, while in the United States recently, let himself go to the extent of doubting the Soviet competence to match its aid efforts with those of USA's. "Soviet aid to India cannot compare with that from the United States" he is reported to have

INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

to a Harvard University Faculty Club. "The Russians would like to give more" he added "but they simply cannot afford to".

The reason for this ungracious remark about a generous friendly country, which has enabled us to build a Bhilai, was, no doubt, partly the Minister's known antipathy to "socialist aid", but mainly it was born out of his concern to cajole the private US investors into aiding the "private industry" in India.

In so conducting himself he was, however being only consistent, for never in his life has he concealed his affection for private investors both at home and abroad. But, being the Finance Minister of a country which has benefited so much from Soviet aid, he could have at least avoided this totally false comparison between the two aids.

Nobody in India denies the magnitude of American aid to the country, but none can equally point to a single steel or heavy engineering plant, or a machine tool factory which this aid has enabled India to build. On the other hand, the assistance from the Soviet Union, although lesser in quantity, has invariably helped to raise basic industries which provide the foundations for the country's future development.

Morarji, as the Finance Minister, could not have certainly been ignorant of this aspect, especially when even the latest list of heavy industrial projects, to be taken up in the Third Plan, does not contain a single instance of any plant being set up with the US aid.

Out of the seven projects in this list, three (the two precision instruments projects to be set up in Rajasthan and Kerala, and the Heavy electrical equipment project in Uttar Pradesh) will be taken up with assistance from the Soviet Union, a country which according to Morarji "simply cannot afford to give more".

while three others (a high pressure boilers plant at Tiruchi, another heavy electrical plant near Hyderabad and a machine tool project at Pinjore in the Punjab) will be built in collaboration with two other socialist countries, Czechoslovakia and the GDR.

Only one, the Heavy Plate and the Vessel Works will be built with assistance from an advanced capitalist country, the UK, while the United States draws a complete blank.

Disgraceful British Game

THE pace set by the United States, in using aid as an instrument to influence the Governments in the aided countries is being followed with no less vigour by its other allies. The United Kingdom, a country which devised a system of preferences when it suited her, but is now bent upon giving it up for the sake of better gains, is now letting India down in its programme of developing the HF 24 supersonic aircraft.

The Bristol Siddeley Company, which provided the Orpheus 12 engine for the aircraft, has refused to develop it to attain "mach 2" (double the speed of sound) because the "NATO did not want it".

The NATO is said to have patronised the development of the engine originally, but later it gave it up for the sake of some other type. The Hindustan Aircraft, which built the HF 24, however, wanted the same engine to be developed for attaining the new speed, but this the British firm refused to do unless India "was prepared to bear the entire cost which might go up to Rs. 6 crores, and that too without any guarantees of performance".

India can, however, do better than to pay this huge sum without any assurance about the new engine's workability. She is said to be negotiating with the Soviet

Union for procuring and indigenous manufacture of the engine which provides power for the MIGs. It is this step of India, a step which she could not take to keep up her programme of building a national aircraft industry, which has really irked the British firm.

According to the Time of India correspondent, G. K. Reddy, it (the firm) has told the Government of India that "it cannot release any more 'classified' information about its new jet engines to the Indian Defence Ministry in view of the latter's recent dealings with the Soviet Union". He adds in a despatch to the newspaper's issue dated October 3 that "in usual course this information would have been furnished by the firm, but on the present occasion political considerations have evidently crept in".

The British firm will not make the engine on its own, for the NATO has no need for it, nor will it build it for India with guarantees about its performance; and all because India, a little wiser now than when it first entered into agreement with it, has simultaneously begun negotiations with a socialist country. Could a cruder attempt be made to scuttle India's plans to build her own aircraft industry, or could economic aid be more crudely exploited to influence the policies of the Indian Government?

As opposed to this "exercising of control", for it is no less, is the straightforward aid policy of the Soviet Government. This week it signed an agreement with India regarding collaboration in the utilisation of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. After signing the agreement the Soviet representative Prof. Emelyanov said that "control among friendly countries in disgraceful".

How different this is from the policy of the United States and the UK which insist on controls as a pre-requisite to giving any assistance in the atomic field. Will Morarji take note of this aspect of the Soviet aid too into consideration when he begins to compare it next time with the US or other Western aid? (October 10)

—ESSEN

Release Tamilnad

THE Tamilnad Council of the Communist Party of India has strongly urged the immediate release of the 15,000 kisan satyagrahis now held in jail custody in the various jails of this State and the withdrawal of all cases pending against them.

In course of a statement issued to the press on October 7 M. R. Venkatraman, Secretary, Tamilnad Council of the Communist Party of India says:

The satyagraha was on when the ceiling bill was discussed in the State Legislature to focus attention on the amendments urged by the Kisan Sabha before it became law. It was the inconsiderate attitude of the Government for over 1½ years, to all representations and petitions that forced the Kisan Sabha

to undertake this form of representing their grievances even at the final stage of the bill. The satyagraha was called off on September 28 when the legislature concluded discussion on the ceiling bill.

The Kisan Satyagraha was something unique. Thousands courted arrest. Lakhs of people watched and supported the Satyagrahis. Nothing of this nature on a provincewide scale had been seen since the days of our great freedom struggle. Not even then had arrests of over a thousand every day for fifteen days taken place.

It is a tribute to the people and the participants in the satyagraha that in spite of provocation from the police here and there, the whole movement was entirely peaceful and the discipline and courage shown by the satyagrahis was praised all around.

The eminently practicable amendments suggested by the satyagrahis also drew very wide mass support.

Any democratic Government should have welcomed this disciplined expression of mass public opinion. But the Government resorted instead to wholesale mass arrests and has taken the fullest and petty advantage of the satyagrahis not wishing to defend themselves by sentencing them to heavy terms of imprisonment.

The hated Criminal Law Amendment Act of the British regime intended to crush the boycott of foreign cloth has been used by the State Government here to protect the landlords and crush the kisans and stifle their just demands.

It is pertinent to point out that as a result of this

* SEE FACING PAGE

ANDHRA NEWSLETTER

NO PERMANENT RELIEF FOR FAMINE-STRIKEN RAYALASEEMA

★ From V. HANUMANTHA RAO

The news received from Anantapur district that it is faced with drought conditions once again, consecutively for the fifth year, is, in fact, no news.

FOR, when was it not visited by drought? When did not the Government allot some lakhs of rupees to start relief works? When did not Congress ministers promise that permanent steps will be undertaken to eradicate famine from Rayalaseema, which is another name for famine? And when did not the Prime Minister dole out some money to the famine-stricken people?

Yet, the famine comes in a cycle; relief is given in a cycle; famine comes again. This has been going on since last one hundred years. So this year too.

As one travels from taluq to taluq in the district, one cannot find even a single green sprout; it is a vast stretch of barren land. Even the villages on the banks of Penna river which escaped these conditions in earlier conditions, have fallen in line.

Sowing is not done in many places and where sowing is done, crops are withering away. Tanks have no water and even wells are drying up fast.

No Jobs, No Money No Food

People find no jobs, so no money or food. They started migrating to neighbouring districts but soon came back because the situation is no better there. Those who come back looked on helplessly for some days and then went about to rich and landlords' houses for alms or loans.

In certain cases, when this was not forthcoming, they have resorted to force. Stray incidents of looting have already been reported from

giving retrospective effect to the Act, reducing the ceiling to 15 acres and doing away with all exemptions, the Government has refused to listen to the issues of the peasants.

It is important that though the Satyagraha has been withdrawn after the specific purpose for which it had been called is over, the Government refuses to release the arrested satyagrahis. Thousands are in jail on remand and their remand period is extended from time to time. Several hundreds have already been convicted.

The jails are more than overcrowded and the authorities are not attending to their facilities which are accorded to even ordinary prisoners and even according to jail rules. Water scarcity, inability to supply plates and mugs, bad food, lack of medical attention, no bedding and unbearable

overcrowding have led to outbreak of dysentery and other diseases. Three persons have already died—Perumal of Valluvakudi, Thavasi Thevar of Dindigul and Kuppuswami of Paramakkudi. Does the Government want to be vindictive because the kisans offered peaceful satyagraha in their thousands?

Keeping the Satyagrahis in jail custody in such hellish conditions is the height of injustice. I hope and trust that wisdom will prevail with the Government. The Government should not deal with this as a prestige issue when thousands of lives are involved. I urge that they should all be released forthwith.

May I also appeal to friends of all other political parties and other organisations to raise their voice and urge the Government to release all the Kisan Satyagrahis forthwith.

* FROM FACING PAGE

Kisan Satyagrahis

movement the Government has been forced to retreat on some issues. A separate Bill has now been put forward restricting the personal cultivation of temple and miff lands.

● The chapter on tenants in the original bill threatening eviction has been withdrawn and substituted by a chapter providing no eviction for three years in the application of the Cultivating Tenants Protection Act.

● By accepting to equate a standard acre with 80 cents of land paying Rs. 15 as revenue per acre, the ceiling has got reduced in such cases to 24 acres.

● Legislation for Minor and Part Inams has also been proposed.

These are undoubtedly concessions wrung from the Government though in respect of

INTEGRATION COUNCIL MUST ACT

Communal Disruption Most Serious Menace

THE Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India issued the following statement on October 9 on communal riots in Western U.P.

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its sense of grave concern and indignation at the manner in which a clash between certain un-uly Muslim and Hindu students in one of the hostels of the Aligarh University has been developed by certain interested elements into a big campaign of murder, arson and loot directed against the minority community in several towns of U. P., resulting in the loss of many innocent lives and serious physical injuries to many more.

The communalisation of the Aligarh University Union elections during which the Muslim and Hindu students voted largely on communal lines was a highly regrettable development.

It is a known fact that communally-minded Muslim elements, working under the inspiration of Jama'at-e-Islami are well-entrenched in the Aligarh University, both among the staff and the students. Their anti-secular outlook and activities serve to accentuate communal feelings in the University.

Even more regrettable was the incident that took place in the Ziauddin Hostel after the announcement of the election results, where a scuffle between two rowdy students developed into a clash between the Hindu and Muslim students, present there.

But, however regrettable

these incidents may be, they cannot justify the spate of violence that was let loose during the subsequent few days against the life and property of innocent persons who had nothing to do with the affairs of the University.

It may be noted that the above-mentioned clash between the students of the Ziauddin hostel resulted in minor injuries to 12 students, 7 of whom were Hindu and 5 Muslim. All of them were discharged from the hospital within three days. None was killed or even seriously injured.

And yet wild rumours were persistently circulated to the effect that several Hindu students had been killed in the University and on that basis communal hatred and frenzy was roused to a pitch unknown in recent years.

It is a fact beyond dispute that communal organisations like the Jana Sangh and the RSS took the lead everywhere and exploited the situation to the full for their own disruptive political ends.

Immediately after the incidents in the University, students were sent from Aligarh to several other towns of Western U. P. to inflame the situation there. The RSS and the Vidyarthi Parishad, a student organisation under the influence of the Jana Sangh became everywhere the vanguard of the student masses who were mobilised under extremely provocative slogans. Anti-social elements were recruited to do the work of stabbing and looting.

It is noteworthy that while in most places the local authorities have arrested a large number of

people on such charges as violation of curfew or Section 144, the real instigators of the trouble, persons who from behind the scenes are organising or financing the rioters have not been touched, except to some extent in Meerut. It is obvious that unless such persons are severely dealt with by the administration, they will continue to hold the entire society to ransom and cause anarchy and bloodshed whenever they want to do so.

That all this should happen within a few days of the National Integration Conference cannot but cause the utmost concern to all those who want to safeguard and strengthen the unity and integrity of the country. The menace of communal disruption, particularly in the Hindi-speaking States, cannot be fought off effectively unless its seriousness is realised.

All secular minded people should, therefore, stand together irrespective of their political affiliations to root out this evil, which is the biggest single factor working for disintegration of our national life.

In this case, it is essential that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in his capacity as the President of the National Integration Council should get a thorough enquiry instituted in order to nail down the political forces that have been at work behind this spate of communal frenzy.

The National Integration Council should treat these incidents with the seriousness that they deserve and work out a line of action to prevent their recurrence in future. This task should be given topmost priority by the Council.

up against certain difficulties:

Yes, fair price shops can be opened, but where is the money in hands of people to buy those grains? There are no jobs going about.

To create jobs, relief works have to be started. But it seems contractors are unwilling to come forward to start works for two reasons: they undertook certain works during last year when similar situation had arisen, but with the first rains, these relief works were suspended and contractors were not paid. Naturally they say: Why should we come now? Secondly, the Zilla Parishad also started some works in the routine way, but contractors were not paid again.

It is very nearly a fortnight since announcement of relief was made, but there is no report in the State headquarters about the progress of relief, according to an official spokesman.

So quick is the relief work! As for the permanent measures to erase famine from Rayalaseema, the less said, the better.

Tungabhadra Project Only Hope

Sri Sanjeeva Reddi, ex-Chief Minister, hailing from this district, did practically nothing in this regard during his tenure of chief Ministership. He was more worried in opening colleges or some technical institutions in these Rayala-

seema districts than tackling this basic and century-old problem.

The only permanent remedy for these districts is the Tungabhadra project, and more particularly the Tungabhadra High level canal, which passes through some of these districts and may as well bring about a revolution and change the face of Rayalaseema.

This is proved by the fact that so far as the Low Level Canal from the Project flowed, the landscape turned green and there was no famine in those areas.

Construction of High level canal has been included in the Second Plan and again included in the Third Plan, but not to be completed in the Third Plan period. The second best plan to meet the situation is to sink wells on a large scale. Perhaps, some lakhs of money has been sunk in this scheme to sink wells, but there was no checkup to find out whether these wells have been sunk at all or whether the money given by way of subsidy and grant has been spent for other purposes.

A real problem in this area is water is not struck even when digging is done beyond 60 feet. There was no serious thought given by Government

MADURAI'S FEAR OF RAISING POPULAR HOPES

From IPA Special Correspondent UNNIKRISHNA WARIER

MADURAI, October 7.

"Not an exciting meeting, but a useful one", commented the Prime Minister at the end of the two-day session of the AICC in Madurai.

WHILE all would agree with the first part of the statement, few among the seasoned Congressmen seem to agree with the second. The dominant impression among the delegates and observers appeared to be that, despite the important agenda of the session and its timing, the Madurai AICC could achieve little by way of giving a fighting lead to the vast mass of Congressmen getting ready for the great election battle.

Meeting as it did on the eve of the general elections—and with the ostensible purpose of finalising the Congress election manifesto—it was only natural that the main attention of the session should be centred on the discussion on the manifesto. However, the very nature of the manifesto acted as a drag on the discussions.

Its rather insipid content and matter-of-fact tone evoked a chorus of protest from the more active and younger section of the members, who wanted the manifesto to appeal to the sentiments of the electorate by a more forceful declaration of the "Socialist ideals" and economic achievements of the Congress Governments.

The demand for a slogan that will catch the imagination of the masses, for stress on the programme of land reforms and urban improvement, for improving the language of the document and even for a catchy heading—these were by no means accidental. These demands reflected the anxiety of delegates that unless the Congress adopted a more vigorous programme and policy on the eve of the general elections, the mere recounting of past achievements and glory, or even a paraphrasing of the programmes in the Third Five Year Plan would not help the

Congress worker to face the electorate and meet the challenge of Opposition criticism.

Particularly indicative of this apprehension was the criticism of the three-line paragraph in the manifesto dealing with agrarian reforms: "Agrarian Reforms are the basis of rural progress. Much has been done in the past years in regard to such reforms. These reforms, including the ceiling on lands, must be given effect to as soon as possible in all the States".

Discontent Voiced

A West Bengal delegate drew applause when he criticised the above paragraph and complained of the "slow and hesitant progress of agrarian reforms in the States". His demand that the manifesto call for immediate implementation of agrarian reforms and "a reasonable ceiling" on lands in all the States had warm support of the delegates.

Similarly the demand for "decent wages" to industrial workers, a promise to end unemployment in ten years, the abolition of collection of land revenue and institution of village officers, the reform of administrative set-up, stress on balanced regional development and special attention to backward areas, the appointment of an agency to formulate and implement price policy "immediately", even before the elections, and the use of the armed forces to liberate Portuguese possessions: all these were expressive of the urge of the delegates for some important "promise" from the leadership with which they could go to the electorate.

The leadership was, however, wary of making any

such promise. It preferred to rest on the brief statement of subjects in the manifesto, describing the latter as "a dignified and balanced document".

Sri Dhebar was almost apologetic when he appealed to the delegates not to consider the manifesto as "hacked document" and claimed that it really was "pregnant with importance".

The Prime Minister, describing the Election Manifesto as "the grand strategy", warned against cheap vote-catching methods and reminded the delegates that the Congress was a "rather elderly" national party. He ridiculed the idea of including every demand in the election manifesto and said that in that case it would become a grocer's list. "Do not lose sight of the dignity of this great organisation", he pleaded.

Even so, the leadership could not completely brush aside some of the criticisms from the delegates and it was eventually agreed to give the election manifesto a title and sub-titles. Also, the Working Committee agreed to a request from the Ginger Group to change the word "Socialist" to "Socialist" in a paragraph which, however, did not really mean a concession of any significance.

Once the session had adopted the election manifesto, it had little else to do except to record its approval of the statement of the All-Party Conference on National Integration convened by the Prime Minister in Delhi, and to adopt a resolution on the international situation.

Surprisingly enough, both these tasks were completed in the shortest possible time—just in the course of the forenoon session. Except for the Prime Minister's speech on the resolution on National Integration, the whole forenoon session on the second day was a dull affair.

Apart from posing the problem of national unity in its historical perspective—that in

spite of so much diversity and the advent of so many foreign influences, India had maintained her essential unity through ages and even spread her culture to distant lands like Mongolia and Cambodia and Java and Indonesia—the Prime Minister made a significant declaration that no more division of the country would be tolerated, even if it meant facing a civil war.

There was passion and anger in his voice and he spoke of the fissiparous tendencies in the country and gave expression to his loathing of caste and communal outlook, describing the latter as "tribal".

He regretted the social and intellectual backwardness of the people which accounted for the growth of fissiparous tendencies. In the context of the national efforts to fight these dangerous tendencies and achieve integration, he was pained to notice "the wretched fight" among Congressmen for election tickets and soundly upbraided them.

Since the session was called upon only to okay the statement of the All-Party Conference on National Integration, the discussions were very much limited to that document and did not try to assess the role of the Congress as the premier political organisation and ruling party in the country in promoting national integration.

Obviously, some of the glaring lapses in Congress policy in States like Kerala—where the alliance with the Muslim League, had brought forth embarrassing and dangerous developments—were glossed over and conveniently ignored.

The discussion on a non-official resolution seeking a ban on communal groups did not add any more enlightenment.

Summary Dismissal of World Affairs

The resolution on the international situation was summarily disposed of with four speeches in less than an hour. The absence of the Prime Minister in the session when the resolution was discussed came as a surprise to all. Perhaps sensing the disappointment of delegates and the public, Pandit Nehru later came out with an unscheduled speech on international situation when the session was discussing the non-official resolutions.

The Prime Minister took the opportunity to stress once again this country's anxiety at the continued presence of foreign mercenaries in the Congo and to point out the responsibility of the UN in seeing that these mercenaries were expelled and Congo's unity safeguarded. Towards this end he demanded continuity and a sense of direction in the world organisation.

The Prime Minister voiced this country's profound and righteous anger at continued Portuguese atrocities in Angola. He castigated the Salazar regime for practising genocide on Angolans fighting for freedom on their own soil. He also criticised the Western Powers, without identifying them individually, for fraternising with the Portuguese dictatorship.

On the resumption of nuclear tests, the Prime Minister reiterated his known position. He said: "There is no argument, about it. Stop it. That is all we say".

A notable feature of the foreign policy resolution, which attracted immediate attention of observers was the absence of any reference to India's border troubles with China or Pakistan. However, the election manifesto makes special mention of these. The manifesto reiterates "India's policy to bring about vacation of these illegal occupations". The debates, however, steered clear of this issue.

Next Week In New Age

C. P. I. Election Manifesto

Due to Dussehra Holidays next issue of New Age, which will carry the Communist Party's Election Manifesto in full, will be delayed by a day.

Communal Parties : A Thumb-Nail Sketch

By NANDLAL GUPTA

Communalism has not only not been banished after freedom, as was hoped in certain quarters. It has assumed seriously menacing proportions during the last fourteen years. And now on the eve of the general election it has become more aggressive than ever before.

BEFORE freedom, it worked as a direct tool in the hands of the imperialist rulers in their fight against the struggle for independence. After freedom, it plays the same role in a different context. It strives to hold up the nation's progress towards consolidation of its independence, creating fissiparous tendencies; it opposes all serious efforts at national reconstruction.

If before independence Muslim communalism played the key role, after the attainment of independence it is Hindu communalism that is the most pernicious. Both, however, are nefariously active, serving purpose—the same sinister purpose—of holding up the toiling Indian people's onward march.

It is noteworthy that there have been occasions when the two joined hands to obstruct national progress.

In 1940's the Akali Party formed a Coalition Ministry with the Muslim League in the NWFP after the Congress had gone into the wilderness. Dr. Shyamprasad Mukherjee joined the Ministry of Fazlul Haq, the father of the Pakistan resolution, in Bengal; he advised Sardar Patel to accept the partition of the country.

They Applauded All Together

And must one need to remind oneself of the united front of the Akali Party, Jan Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha on the eve of the first general elections or the Jan Sangh's applause for the Congress-FSP-Muslim League alliance in Kerala?

After lying low a while, the Muslim League has again made its debut in a big and bold way. It has received fillip from the unscrupulous policies of Congress and the PSP. Its revival through Congress-PSP encouragement stands as an object lesson for all our people to see how the bankrupt policy of anti-Communism leads to suicidal consequences.

Along with the Muslim League, the Jama'at-e-Islami is forging ahead and with its hateful propaganda of separatism.

But the most sinister development of the post-freedom years is the march forward of Hindu communalism as represented by the RSS-Jana Sangh. Abetted again by the reactionary aspects of Congress policies and the invidious activities of the well entrenched reactionary elements inside that organisation, this evil force has been getting more brazen-faced day by day.

What is the modus operandi of the communal forces? Separating people on religious basis is their forte.

The Jama'at-e-Islami at its Delhi Conference gave a call to reconstruct Indian life on religious principles of Islam.

What vested interests does

the Jama'at serve? The answer becomes clear when we find it declaring that the solution of the ills of landlordism lies neither in abolition of landlordism nor in artificial restraints being imposed upon it even through the present Government's land reform policies.

The Hindu Sabha and the Jana Sangh speak in identical language. Deshpande in his presidential address at the all-India Conference of the Mahasabha in 1960 said: "Nor do I believe in the socialistic pattern of society as preached by the Indian National Congress".

The Conference adopted a resolution disapproving the present land reforms policy of the ruling party and urged upon "the Government to withdraw these harmful reforms."

... And Also To Indian Culture

Jana Sangh rejects the ideal of socialistic pattern of society as "alien to the spirit of Indian culture." (D. P. Ghosh, Times of India, November 25, 1956).

"Calling may depress agricultural production in many ways." (Organiser—May 30, 1960 p. 12)

The Government must give up its obsession with socialism, they say. We find the Organiser pleading that "the private sector consisting of both big and small entrepreneurs can contribute much towards the economic development of the country." (September 5, 1960)

They are opposed to the further expansion of the public sector. The Jana Sangh demands that the public sector should pay greater attention "to consolidation rather than expansion of its activities." (Organiser September 5, 1960).

In a press conference, Mahant Digvijay Nath declared: "Hindus are the nation in Hindustan or Bharat, while all non-Hindus are minority communities only." Hindu Sabha has demanded that Indian Union be declared a "Hindu Nation". It has pledged to work for Hindu supremacy, (Bulletin No. 1, September, 1960).

In the field of economics, Jama'at-e-Islami opposes "socialistic pattern" because it leads to collectivism. "We do not agree with the policy of the ruling party, that is, the 'socialistic pattern'." (Conference Number, p. 100).

Socialism Alien To Islam . . .
"Islam does not accept the principle that the Government should undertake industry, trade and cultivation on its own. The Government should undertake only such industries and trade as are essential for the national life. If it undertakes other such industries, it must hand them over to private entrepreneurs." (Capitalism and Socialism, 1959, published by Jama'at-e-Islami).

These cases were pending before the Sessions Judge, Adilabad, in connexion with incidents that took place in December, 1959 in the industrial town of the Birlas at Sirpur-Kagaznagar.

But, Government seems to have got into hot waters with the temporary injunction issued by the Andhra Pradesh High Court on September 28, 1961 against the Sessions Judge, Adilabad and Munsiff Magistrates from withdrawing the cases against Mr. San-

That their talk of Bharatiya culture only subserves the private interests they serve is clearly seen when they oppose planned development in the name of our national culture.

Thus we find them saying "The plans have no roots in the soil of Bharat," and "the history of the last decade has shown that the private sector has shown greater virility and capacity to invest and produce. If we can tolerate a Birla and a Tata, what is the harm if a few more spring up?" (Deen Dayal Upadhyaya, Organiser, April 21, 1961).

No wonder all the communal parties find themselves one with the Swatantra Party and are prepared to enter into an electoral alliance with it and the Swatantra Party on its part lends communalism a helping hand. C. Rajagopalachari finds nothing wrong with the revival of the Muslim League. He has made several offers of unity to the Jana Sangh and written essays in apology of communalism.

They dare not always oppose the foreign policy of non-alignment very openly. Sometimes, they pay lip service to it. Nevertheless they oppose every concrete manifestation of this policy and constantly press for a pro-Western orientation.

The Jama'at-e-Islami for instance says, "the foreign policy based on neutrality reflects far-sightedness and a single-minded desire for peace. . . However, neutralism, whatever its character, is in reality a negative policy."

V. G. Deshpande in his presidential address at Varanasi described India's foreign policy as obscure. He condemned Panch Sheel and co-existence as 'talk talk' that antagonised nations which were in a position to help us. He demanded a basic change in the foreign policy and

What they mean by enlightened self-interest is made plain by their propaganda. It is nothing but accepting to become a camp-follower of the West.

Thus the communal parties besides threatening national cohesion as they obviously do, serve reaction at home and abroad. That is the purpose behind their existence and activity. They represent a force which has to be unitedly and most vigorously confronted and routed by the Indian people. The task is urgent. The sands of time are running fast.

Andhra Govt. Withdraws Cases

PENDING AGAINST INTUC BOSS

From V. Hanumantha Rao

HYDERABAD:

The trade union wing of the Congress INTUC was much in the news during the last one week, with the reported decision of Government to withdraw cases involving charges of attempt to murder, loot, arson, trespass, unlawful assembly armed with weapons, etc., against the General Secretary, Hyderabad INTUC, Mr. G. Sanjivan Reddi. (Not the Congress President please!)

These cases were pending before the Sessions Judge, Adilabad, in connexion with incidents that took place in December, 1959 in the industrial town of the Birlas at Sirpur-Kagaznagar.

But, Government seems to have got into hot waters with the temporary injunction issued by the Andhra Pradesh High Court on September 28, 1961 against the Sessions Judge, Adilabad and Munsiff Magistrates from withdrawing the cases against Mr. San-

wanted India to "take help from other powerful nations like America."

Prof. Ram Singh in his presidential address to the 1959 annual session of the Hindu Sabha said that "strict neutrality is a hard impossibility in this closely-knit world and India has made enemy of every nation." He dubbed India's support to Egyptian nationalism during the Suez crisis as the "height of folly and inopportunistism."

The Jana Sangh follows an exactly similar line. It finds in the policy of non-alignment a manifestation of "appeasement", of "weakness".

Against Non-Alignment

"The Government of India has been leaning too heavily on the side of Communist powers." (D. P. Ghosh, Times of India, November 25, 1956). According to Shri A. Rama Rao, present chairman of the Jana Sangh.

"Non-alignment is a negative concept" and that "our foreign policy has completely failed" and that it must be given a "positive content," based on "enlightened self-interest."

What they mean by enlightened self-interest is made plain by their propaganda. It is nothing but accepting to become a camp-follower of the West.

Thus the communal parties besides threatening national cohesion as they obviously do, serve reaction at home and abroad. That is the purpose behind their existence and activity. They represent a force which has to be unitedly and most vigorously confronted and routed by the Indian people. The task is urgent. The sands of time are running fast.

STRONG WORDS ON INTEGRATION

AICC CAMP (MADURAI), October 5.

PRIME Minister Nehru's categorical declaration that there shall be no more division of the country whatever the pretext and whatever the sacrifices highlighted the AICC discussion on the resolution on National Integration.

Coming as it did at the end of his speech, this declaration of the Prime Minister, sounded like a stern warning to secessionist movements in the South, particularly the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam.

Many were taken aback by the passion packed into the Prime Minister's assertion that "we would safeguard the unity of the country, at all costs. If it should be civil war, then let us have it. There is no compromising on the basic fact of the unity of India."

Sri Nehru's warning was direct and clear. His statement that the protagonists of separatist movement would themselves be surprised by the consequences was taken to mean the growing concern in Delhi

about the activities of the Dravidianist politics.

It was Sri C. Subramaniam, Madras Minister, who set the ball in motion by a downright criticism of the DMK movement, heard for the first time from the AICC platform.

A discordant note in the discussions was struck by Sri K. K. Shah of Bombay, who wanted the deletion of the words "before exhausting all methods of conciliation and mediation" appearing in the code of conduct for political parties adopted at the Delhi National Integration Conference, where it deals with agitation by political parties.

Sri Shah said that if instead of Dr. Z. A. Ahmed, Sri Ajoy Ghosh had been present in the Committee which drafted the code, Sri Ghosh would have agreed to drop these words. He argued that by including these words, the seal of approval on agitations on communal issues by political parties had been given.

When Sri Shah counterposed Ajoy Ghosh and Dr. Ahmed, Sri Sanjiva Reddy intervened to say "that is all speculation. I do not think it is proper to speculate on what an individual would have done."

U.P.'S CONGRESSMEN TAKE IT EASY

Nehru's Whiplash Has No Effect

FROM RAMESH SINHA

(Pandit Nehru's visit to Lucknow, in the last week of September, undertaken to settle the "group differences in the UP Congress failed to produce any results. In a dispatch, written immediately after the visit our correspondent describes the deplorable state of affairs.)

ILL September 17, for ten days, the State Congress Parliamentary Board, along with the observers of the AICC, had sat long and arduous hours to select U.P.'s candidates for the next general elections. Huge hordes of hopefuls (at least 5,000) hovered over the city like white hawks.

Groups Fight For Tickets

In the first one or two days the leaders had played at bon homie and perhaps taken decisions about the candidates of two districts with some sort of unanimity. But the make-believe could not last long and soon both the groups were fighting for each seat, over every single name. At

one time C. B. Gupta and Ajit Prasad Jain also clashed headlong and the continuance of discussions became very difficult.

Charan Singh and Girdhari Lal, two ministers in the present set up who had both been candidates for the chief ministership when Gupta was "elected", were, during these talks, playing their own game. Some sort of an understanding had been created that in the case of Harijan candidates (and seats) Girdhari Lal's voice would be decisive and in the case of other so-called low caste candidates Charan Singh's opinion would be given weight.

They were now using their positions to strengthen themselves and describing their role as "independent".

Some decisions were then taken by majority vote, the minority group in almost every "lost" case annexing a

minute of dissent. Due to the role of Charan Singh, Girdhari Lal and one or two others on whom Gupta banked for support, there were some reverses for him which drove him into towering rage. Finally, even this way of transacting business had to be abandoned because it had become clearly impossible to carry on.

The meeting of the Parliamentary Board was postponed for the second time within a few weeks without as much as having begun the work of selecting nearly 430 Assembly candidates and 86 Lok Sabha nominees.

The emissaries of both the groups had rushed to Delhi with their "bundles of protests" as Pandit Nehru himself described them in the meeting of the UP PCC and Congress legislators.

The Congress was torn into irreconcilable groups. Making a pointed reference to this in his meeting with Congressmen of the state, Pandit Nehru had said that if the present situation continued and both the groups set up candidates against each other, both the groups would lose, the Congress would suffer a disaster. The reality was too

big to have escaped his attention.

His visit therefore was expected to heal this schism, to bring the warring groups together. Every minute he was here he tried to do this.

To restore the grievously lost perspective, he talked of the Five-Year Plans and the adventure of building a new India.

No Use For Idealism

He talked of the greatness of the Congress which had made them, including himself, what they were.

He tried hard to inject some idealism into their thinking and behaviour.

I sat in both the meetings he addressed—the meeting of the Presidents of the Antarim Zila Parishads and the meeting of the UP PCC. An overwhelming majority of the Presidents of the Antarim Zila Parishads are Congressmen. The extremely questionable means with which the ruling party had secured their victory have been the subject of much talk here.

On the other hand, the followers of Kamlapati Tripathi say that Panditji has made it clear that steamrolling by the majority would not be allowed and that it is not necessary that the lists sent from here would be accepted by the Central Parliamentary Board.

It was nice to listen to him. He said so many nice things in his sad, gently persuasive voice and some times one felt the whole pathos of our people's life reflected in his words.

He even chided his followers, even rebuked them sharply, calling them "nikamma", or good for nothing. Once in a while he used the weapon of ridicule also, and reflecting on their knowledge, said that had he had time he would have given them an essay to write on the Five-Year Plan and then seen the result of their labours!

He said the Assembly or Parliament seats were not rewards for past services, these august bodies were not asylums for the old and decrepit. He said only those who are capable of serving the people today, who fervently believe in the ideology of the Congress should be given Congress tickets.

The Congressmen were not offended; they thought all he said was for the gallery and meant to increase their chances of victory in the coming electoral battle.

In the eyes of their voters, they might be bad, they might be considered sinners, but their leader was all right, he was attacking their weaknesses and, therefore, he had to be supported to lead the country forward; and how else could this be done save by voting for those who were his nominees? So long as their seats were secure, they did not mind what abuses he heaped over them. As practical people, they were logical in their thinking.

I have asked many people, Congressmen and non-Congressmen, as to what has been the result of Pandit Nehru's visit to Lucknow. Many people frankly do not know because they see no change, they say the stalemate continues.

Others say he had come to launch his party's election campaign and he has done it in the most effective way he could do it under the present circumstances when the

stock of the Congress and of Congressmen is so low. They say there is no better or more effective method of warding off the attacks of your opponents than to self-criticise yourself.

He has disarmed the critics of his followers or, in any case, blunted the edge of their offensive by attacking them himself and now he would say, "Vote for them, because I shall see that they behave, I shall be responsible for them, I who is as angry with them as you are..."

The Congressmen, with rare exceptions, would not say it thus, but they do seem to agree with the analysis. And hence their concern continues to be somehow, by hook or crook to get the ticket.

The leaders of each group are, therefore, busy interpreting Pandit Nehru's remarks in their own favour. The Chief Minister's followers claim that he has supported the status quo, that is, their remaining in power.

People count and tell you number of times Pandit Nehru uttered the name of C. B. Gupta or Ajit Prasad Jain!

Ajit Prasad Jain's and Kamlapati Tripathi's followers tell in confidence that before coming here Pandit Nehru had written a strongly worded letter to Gupta saying that he was shocked to read the complaints about his doings and even if all that is written to him is not true, substantial parts of the complaints must be true.

According to the same friends, Panditji had written to Gupta to tell him when he came here what steps he was going to take to remove all those grievances of the minority. They further say that Panditji has been disillusioned and is regretting his decision to foist Gupta on the state as its chief minister.

The supporters of Gupta, on the other hand, tell you that Panditji had called Ajit Prasad Jain and given him a dressing down. According to them he told him that he had sent him to U.P. to bring about unity, but now he saw that, taking advantage of the differences between the two groups, he was trying to form a group of his own to become the chief minister of the state.

It is difficult to say whether any one of these stories is true. Maybe both are untrue and maybe both are true. But, really, it is immaterial. The common people are not so much bothered about who has been shouted at or who has been supported, and by whom.

What is being discussed here is the attitude of the state's Congressmen and the impact of Pandit Nehru's visit and teachings on it. The stories clearly tell what is the answer. They also tell how far down the steep slope the Congressmen of this State have travelled.

These Rishis of Reaction had met in the Sapru House

OBSCURANTISM RUNS RIOT

HINDU CONVENTION IN DELHI

From O. P. Mehrotra

The All-India Hindu Convention started its deliberation in New Delhi's Sapru House auditorium on October 6 with the recitation of vedic mantras and blessings of the Jagadguru Sankaracharya.

In the very first hour of its proceedings it became clear to the observers that it was going to be an exhausting session of exhortation on Hinduism, fondly referred to by the organisers as Hindutava.

Had that been all it would have been possible to ignore it. But the convention was much more than a congregation of devotees of one faith.

MOST BLATANT CHALLENGE

It was the most blatant and open challenge delivered to date to the very basis and foundation of independent India that is secularism. Never before have the forces of anti-secularism and obscurantism dared to so parade themselves in all their abhorrent vulgarity. Secularism was something utterly unpalatable and obnoxious for this gathering.

Speaker after speaker condemned it and demanded that Hindu religion should be the guiding force of all national policies.

Chairman of the Reception Committee Mahant Digvijayanath declared in his address: Hinduisms in the country would be a great act of National Integration.

The tone set by this Hindu Mahasabha leader was followed by most of the speakers and one from Maharashtra went to the extent of resurrecting the old slogan of Savarkar: Hinduse politics and militarise Hindus.

HEROES OF GANDHI MURDER

Who were the delegates attending this shrieking jamboree of Hindu communalists? Among them were Sadhus and Mahants from temples, and such Ramrajya Parishad and Sanatan Dharma leaders who have in the days gone by consistently defended the caste system and even with force resisted the movements against untouchability and education of Harijans and their entry into temples.

This is not all. Among the delegates, seated on the dais of the convention were such honourable men as Dr. D. S. Parchure, an accused in the Gandhi Murder Trial. Another luminary there was an absconder wanted in connection with the same murder—Dandavate, proudly parading his shoulder strap inscribed with the words—Hindu Rashtira Sena. When I met him after the convention he told me glibly that he could never be arrested during the whole trial period!

Such were the dignitaries gracing the Convention alongside Dr. C. D. Deshmukh and the ex-army Chief, General Cariappa.

These Rishis of Reaction had met in the Sapru House

was called shortsighted and his policy of non-alignment was condemned as a policy of appeasement!

It was the same with the resolution on economic policy. While it was a "reorientation of the plans" that was demanded in the resolution the speeches supporting it were full of abuse for socialist pattern, for planning as such and for all that is being done under the plans.

"What will you do with Bhakra if a bomb falls on it? Delhi will be submerged." That was the level on which they declaimed. The gem is taken from a Hindu Sabha leader's speech at the convention.

Two persons opposing the resolution were shouted at and made to sit down. One of them, Rajendra Sharma, a delegate from Sonapat later gave a written statement which said:

"It is regretful that under the guise of Hindu Convention the Hindu Mahasabha is trying to stage a comeback. In their attempt to rehabilitate themselves the Hindu Mahasabhaites are trying to suppress all justifiable criticism."

FOR "REAL" INTEGRATION

The most important resolution of the convention, one on which very provocative speeches were made, dealt with "National Integration" itself. The resolution declared "that the All-Parties National Integration Conference has failed to correctly understand the problem of integration of this vast country."

Speaking on the resolution V. G. Deshpande said that it was an election strategem of the Congress. He also took exception to "seven Communists" being invited to the National Integration Conference.

National Integration according to the resolution could be attained on the basis of Hindu culture, not composite culture. Speakers supporting it declared themselves against secular education being imparted to children in schools.

According to them a new history of India should be taught to the younger generation. What this should be like was indicated by Mahant Digvijayanath when he said that "the last one thousand years of history are full of wars between Muslims and Hindus". (Address of the Reception Committee Chairman to the Convention).

Through another resolution the convention named the "elements positively dangerous to the unity of the nation"—(1) those who are in sympathy with Pakistan, (2) Communists, and (3) foreign Christian missionaries.

All their big talk of "Hindu" being a broad term to include all who have "merged themselves with the national life of the country" was exposed by their own resolution. They do not of course include Muslims in the "90 per cent" who can uphold independence and dignity of India. It was further clarified by the repeated

suggestion to wipe out those who do not merge with national life, i.e., with Hinduism.

The total impact of the poisonous speeches on the minds of the assemblage could be seen when after every exhortation war-like cries would go up.

Most of the delegates were Hindu Sabha activists from nearby areas of U.P., Punjab and Madhya Pradesh. In addition to these there were some from Maharashtra and West Bengal also. The presence among them of C. D. Deshmukh was certainly striking and odd.

THE INNOCENT MR. DESHMUKH

Although he was clever enough not to say anything that the Hindu Sabhaites could claim as of positive support to them, yet his very presence at the convention just after he had attended and played a leading part at the National Integration Conference was mystifying.

He declared, "I am not aware of the precise rules of membership of the Hindu Mahasabha nor of the composition of the present convention, but it is my hope that in spite of the term 'Hindu' the Convention will be containing participants representing not only Hindus proper but also other sects or communities including Muslims and Christians."

Alas! There were no such representatives. Still Mr. Deshmukh insisted, "I am not prepared to agree that the Hindus should not have had such a convention."

Mr. Deshmukh explained during his address that although his personal inclination was against forming "communal associations" but under a democracy, by implication he said, everybody had the right to say what he thought.

Thus conceding this right to rabid communalists Mr. Deshmukh went a step further: he accepted their invitation, agreed to associate himself with the convention and to address it.

The Hindu Sabha leaders were not concerned with Deshmukh's advice. They were interested in getting eminent "Independents" like him on their platform to gain some respectability. To that he was perfectly agreeable, as shown by his performance. The organisers of the convention have now put him on the so-called Vigilance Committee they have formed. One does not know if Deshmukh is still unaware of it! Surely he cannot be that innocent.

As far as ex-General Cariappa was concerned he came there for "plain speaking". He was particularly impressed, by the demand for preparation of the country on a "nation-at-arms" basis as well as for a change in the foreign policy.

Cariappa went to the extent of exhorting them on the need of a united opposition including Hindu Sabha, Jana Sangh, PSP and of course, Swatantra Party! Bootlickers of British that the leaders of this show have

been, they listened with great respect to the tommy accent and felt puffed up with pride.

On the third day the convention passed a resolution condemning the communal incidents at the Aligarh University. But they had no word of condemnation for the riots in the various towns of U.P.

OUTBIDDING JANA SANGH

Incidentally the convention became the platform also to air the rivalry within the Hindu communal groups. The Hindu Sabhaites, whose show it was, accused the Jana Sangh of being soft on all the forces they consider anti-national. They made the Jana Sangh almost into a semi-sectarian party.

The Jana Sangh, however, being much more organised, with the RSS as its core, does not want to play second fiddle to a party they consider unequal in strength to themselves.

Division of seats has been a bone of contention between them since the inception of the Jana Sangh. The step-brotherly jealousies of the two become clear to anyone who talks to anybody from either of the two groups.

On this particular point I questioned many Hindu Sabhaites. And almost all of them expressed their anger against Jana Sangh.

A delegate from Dehradun said that he had been in the RSS for 16 years of his life. He described the RSS as more or less a secret organisation.

The Jana Sangh he said was set up when the RSS gave an undertaking to the Government in early 'fifties not to take part in politics. He was critical of the double-faced politics of the Jana Sangh.

Even in the final public meeting which marked the conclusion of the three-day convention on October 8, references were made to Jana Sangh. Although the other sections of Hindu communalists were represented in the convention, Jana Sangh leaders had kept aloof. Those who know the fascist pattern of the RSS can well understand why the Jana Sangh did not come on the convention platform.

SOME QUESTIONS

The All-India Hindu Convention has ended but the decent public opinion of the country certainly wants to know a few things.

How is it that India's public life has become so degraded that this demonstration of obscurantism and backwardness can take place with all pomp and pageantry in the capital of free India?

How is it that people suspected of being involved in the murder of one who is called the Father of the Nation come on an open platform and flaunt their association with that crime as a badge of honour?

Were the killings that were sparked off on the eve of this convention and continued right through its duration altogether unconnected with the calling of the convention?

'JANATA' IS ANGRY WITH 'NEW AGE'

THE Janata, mouth-piece of the PSP has reacted quickly to the reports of unaccounted party funds appearing in the New Age and elsewhere.

In its issue of September 17, it carries a story "Smear campaign against Praja Socialists", quoting reports in the New Age and the Link about Sri Asoka Mehta's promise of making a sum of Rupees two thousand per seat available to the party in the Uttar Pradesh, and presumably, to all other State units.

For U.P. alone, the offer would work out to a total of nearly Rs. 5 lakhs! Besides this, a sum of Rs. 10,000 per month was already being pumped into the coffers of the U.P. branch.

The New Age correspondent had also revealed that there were "enquiries" at party headquarters in Lucknow to probe into this "serious leakage" of a party secret.

Janata's reaction to the disclosures is significantly smart. It cites the reports in an attempt to make these out as "a story with all the elements of a thriller" and its headline dubs the revelations as a "smear campaign".

But singularly enough, there is not a word in Janata's story by way of denial of the substance of the report.

Readers would certainly like to know whether or not

SPOTLIGHT

It is a fact that large sums — inordinately large for the PSP's accounted finances — have been offered to State branches by Asoka Mehta.

A categorical answer to this query is significantly omitted.

WITH BELGRADE TOO!

THE cantankerous American reaction to the Belgrade Conference of non-aligned powers is too well-known to be recounted here. They were angry and unhappy at the truly non-aligned role because nothing short of stoicism will satisfy them.

The more rabid sections of the Yankee press let the cat out of the bag when they demanded that all aid should be stopped to those who did not toe the American line. The non-aligned, they pleaded, were actually not non-aligned but pro-Communists.

Here is comment which is typical of the type of reaction which will not stomach anything but stoicism.

"The term non-aligned can scarcely be applied to several of the most important governments present (at Belgrade). Tito basically is tied very closely to international Communism. Castro's regime is Communist-aided, Communist-managed and is fast assuming all the characteristics

of the Communist State, including even the confiscation by fraud of the bank balances of ordinary citizens. (1) Sukarno's guided democracy is made possible only through Communist support. Nkrumah has of late become extremely friendly with the Soviet Union accepting happily both advice and hospitality. The Government of Guinea has always been Moscow's pet fosterchild in Africa.

"And the Government of India, it is truly non-aligned? If so, why was the well-know crypto-Communist Krishna Menon, Mr. Nehru's principal advisor at the Conference, and why is he, Khrushchev's man Krishna, Minister of Defence in the Government of India and chief consultant of foreign affairs to the Prime Minister?"

A formidable charge-sheet, isn't it? One which convincingly proves that everybody who is not a "valet" to America (to quote disillusioned Tunisians) or does not wear a brain washed in the dollar-land is a "Commie"!

From whom do you think the above quotation is taken? Hundred per cent Wall Streetish, it is, however, not taken from any of the Yankee journals. It is a quotation right from the columns of the Janata, august mouthpiece of our redoubtable Praja Socialists! You can well see the nexus.

—Caruda

GOMULKA ON THE GERMAN QUESTION

From the Address on Polish National Day

The war started in Europe by Nazi Germany engulfed in its destructive and murderous march most of the world—it cost tens of millions of lives and resulted in enormous losses to material property. This war remains in the memory of the nations as the greatest of historical cataclysms. They will never forget the innumerable sacrifices and sufferings which had to be borne to achieve victory over Nazism.

THE greatest losses were inflicted on the Polish nation. We experienced the hell of the Nazi regime of persecution and torture. More than 20 per cent of the population of pre-war Poland lost their lives and nearly 40 per cent of our national wealth was burnt or otherwise destroyed. The genocidal Nazi murderers planned a wholesale extermination of the Polish nation.

When we now cast our minds back to the days when Poland was liberated from the most cruel and oppressive of occupations, we are reminded ourselves and would like to remind others of the obligations undertaken commonly by the great powers of the anti-Nazi coalition at Potsdam: "German militarism and Nazism will be extirpated," proclaim the Potsdam Agreements, "and the Allies will take in agreement together, now and in the future, the other measures necessary to assure that Germany never

again will threaten her neighbours or the peace of the world."

It is exactly sixteen years since the chiefs of the Governments of the USSR, the USA, Great Britain and later France put their signatures to this historic document.

There is not a single international obligation of greater moment which the Western powers have equally ignominiously betrayed.

Only sixteen years have elapsed since Hitler's defeat and German imperialism has revived again. Only in part of Germany—in the German Democratic Republic—has militarism been pulled out by its roots. It has raised its head, however, in the German Federal Republic, and again threatens the peace of Europe and the world.

The West German Bundeswehr, commanded by Hitler's criminal generals, has now become the military mainstay of the Nato countries in Europe. All the treaties and

promises concerning a limitation of the Federal Republic's armaments have been violated by the Bonn Government and the Governments of the Western powers without any scruples.

German militarism has again styled itself—much as in Hitler's time—"the defender of the West against Communism", and threatens with the old Prussian arrogance the peace-minded German Democratic Republic, puts forth brazen territorial claims with regard to Germany's Eastern neighbours, particularly Poland, and vociferously demands thermo-nuclear weapons.

West German militarism, resurrected, reconstructed and re-armed with weapons of aggression and mass extermination by its American, British, and French allies, is again threatening Germany's neighbours and the peace of the world.

Poland And USSR Have Shed Too Much Blood

Poland, the Soviet Union, and other Socialist countries have shed too much blood,

have paid too dearly for victory and freedom to look on passively as dark clouds gather over Europe and preparations are made for the moment when the heirs of Hitler—the Bonn militarists—allied with their partners from the Atlantic Pact, will bring on the nations of Europe and the whole world a new war, a new calamity, unpredictable in its consequences.

It is high time to do everything that is possible to prevent a dangerous development of the situation and raise a barrier against the aggressive, revisionist policy of the West German militarists and the trouble-seeking war circles in the Nato countries.

It is necessary to close the page of World War II, to conclude a peace treaty with Germany, a treaty which would provide the necessary guarantees against a renewed aggression on the part of Germany, stabilize the situation in Central Europe, as well as ensure for Germany conditions of democratic and peaceful development.

This treaty must guarantee the lasting character and immutability of the present frontiers of Germany, e.g., of the frontiers established in the Potsdam Agreements, and impose on Germany the commitment that it will live in concord with all its neighbours, that it will never resort to violence or threaten to resort to violence.

Germany from having nuclear weapons and any other weapons of mass extermination.

In this way the great powers and all interested states should clearly tell the revisionist forces in West Germany that all their revisionist hopes are in vain.

The peace treaty with Germany must finally do away with the entirely unjustified occupation regime in West Berlin and transform it into a free city under an international guarantee, e.g., into a neutral area.

The lack of a peace treaty in the course of the sixteen years which have elapsed since the end of the war has created a state of constant tension round the German problem, a state of tension replete with dangerous conflicts. It is high time that an end be put to this abnormal situation which enables the West German militarists and their allies to push the world to the brink of a thermo-nuclear war.

The stand expressed in this matter by the Soviet Government is the joint agreed stand of the Socialist states, expressing also the viewpoint of the Polish Government and nation.

The Government circles of the Western powers have raised a great hullabaloo round the Soviet proposals for the conclusion of a peace

treaty with Germany and a settlement of the Berlin question. In a flood of grandiloquent statements and threats they have confused public opinion about the real contents of the proposals of the Socialist states and camouflaged the actual weakness of their own stand.

The statements made by Western statesmen and the whole propaganda of the Atlantic Governments maintain that the Soviet proposals allegedly threaten the interests of the West, and in particular the so-called freedom of the inhabitants of West Berlin.

This is a lie calculated to mislead public opinion and to create a "Communist aggression" psychosis.

The Soviet proposals which enjoy our full support do not constitute a threat to anybody. Their sole aim is to consolidate peace.

Short of arguments, the Western statesmen deliberately distort the contents of the Soviet proposals, or simply conceal from the opinion of their countries the fact that the proposed free-city status for West Berlin entails the granting to it of unfailing guarantees by the four big powers, or a guarantee by neutral countries or the United Nations, ensures for it free communications with the world, and safeguards the right of the inhabitants of West Berlin to choose a

system corresponding to their wishes, without any interference or pressure from outside.

The status of West Berlin is closely linked with the peace treaty and is its logical consequence. The liquidation of the state of war and the restoration of full sovereignty to Germany entails the liquidation of the state of occupation on its territory.

Considering the status of West Berlin one must, therefore, take into account the fact that this city lies in the territory of a sovereign state—the German Democratic Republic, and that all traffic on communication routes from Berlin to other countries requires an understanding with the GDR authorities. Such an understanding can fully safeguard the interest of the Western powers with regard to West Berlin.

The proposals aimed at the conclusion of a peace treaty and the transformation of West Berlin into a free city are not directed against the Western states. They are directed against the plans of the German revisionists and militarists, they are designed to foil their perfidious game calculated to cause a clash between the big powers—former members of the anti-Nazi coalition.

The Bonn Government has rejected the Soviet proposals for the conclusion of a peace treaty, because it does not

want to renounce territorial claims with regard to Poland and other Socialist countries, because it does not want to renounce its plans for swallowing the German Democratic Republic, because it wants to prevent the cutting of the roots of the cold war and does not want the situation in Europe to normalize; in one word a peace treaty would signify for the imitators of Hitler in West Germany the general collapse of the militarist and revisionist policy they have been pursuing to date.

The absence of a treaty is welcome for individual Western powers since it creates possibilities for manoeuvres arising out of the contradictory character of their mutual interests.

But the fact that a peace treaty, irrespective of whether it be concluded with both German states or only with the German Democratic Republic, would put an end to subversive activities that have been conducted so far in West Berlin against the GDR and other Socialist countries, is hardest to swallow for the Western states. Herr Adenauer and his allies would like to defend this convenient outpost of subversion and espionage at all cost.

The true meaning of the reply given by the three Western powers to the memorandum of the Soviet Union concerning the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany is best characterized by the statement of a Bonn Government spokesman who said that the notes of the United States, France and Great Britain, addressed to the Soviet Union, expressed the policy of the Adenauer administration.

Indeed, when one reads these notes one is bound to conclude that they were drafted in Bonn and not in Washington, Paris or London.

Although the notes of the Western states are absolutely devoid of anything new and lack any constructive proposals, they contain, to say the least, some odd formulations.

Polish and world opinion learns from them that in the view of the governments of the three Western powers "the German Federal Republic does not hope to possess its own nuclear force", that "the foreign and military policy of the German Federal Republic imposes on itself essential restrictions", that "the Government of the Federal Republic has committed itself never to resort to force in order to change the existing frontiers", "that West Berlin does not lie in the territory of the German Democratic Republic," etc.

The whole world knows with what insistence and outright brutality Adenauer, Strauss, the Bundeswehr General Staff and the German militarists and revisionists are demanding atomic weapons.

Everybody sees and knows how the GFR is systematically liquidating step by step, with the consent of the Western states, the so-called armaments restrictions, and how the Bundeswehr is becoming the main striking force in



Aleksander Zawadzki, President of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Poland.

POLISH PRESIDENT IN DELHI

INDIA this week extends a hearty welcome to Poland's Head of State, Aleksander Zawadzki.

The sixty-two year old President of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Poland has been a miner by profession in his youth. He joined the Communist Youth organisation of Poland in 1922 and repeatedly suffered imprisonment during the inter-war years.

In 1943-44 he was Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Army, in charge of political affairs, was elected to the Central Committee of the United Workers' Party of Poland in 1945, and to its Political Bureau in 1948. He was a Deputy Prime Minister in 1952 when he was elected President of the Council of State which position he has held since then.

Arriving in Delhi on October 11 for a three-day visit the Polish Head of State is accompanied by Deputy Prime Minister Tokarski, Deputy Foreign Minister Naszkowski and another member of the 15-member Council of State Madame Musialowa, who is also chairman of the Central Board of the Polish Women's League.

The Polish delegation, which has just concluded a visit to Indonesia, comes to this country at a time when

Europe of the states of the Atlantic pact.

Everybody knows and is fully aware of the fact that Adenauer's assurances as to the striving for a revision of the frontiers by peaceful means are an ordinary political fraud, a jesuitical mask put on the aggressive face of the Bonn government.

But the governments of the United States, France, and Great Britain refuse to take cognizance of all this in their notes, and attempt to present to the public opinion of their respective countries the aggressive, militarist, West German wolf as a peaceful lamb.

In the conclusion of their notes the Western govern-

ments state that the signing of a peace treaty is out of the question "until the German nation is re-united", that if the Socialist states were to conclude a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic, Nato states would have to recognize that "as a threat to their national interests", that their duty is "to stand guard over the freedom of the more than two million inhabitants of West Berlin". We have already heard all that a thousand times.

The rigid and sterile stand maintained by the governments of the Western powers with regard to the solution of the German problems gives

the problem most vital for Poland's independence and existence—the German problem—has become the central issue of world peace. The Polish people suffered terribly from the brutal Nazi occupation which turned into a virtual campaign of extermination against the Poles. After the quest of centuries they have only now attained stable sovereign statehood within their traditional frontiers and they are determined to safeguard it at all costs.

German militarism, the old enemy, once again resurrected in the Western part of Germany, openly proclaims its diabolical plans of an Eastward thrust. It is backed by U.S. and the Nato bloc.

The conclusion of a German Peace treaty setting a final seal on the war that was over sixteen years ago has become an urgent necessity, for Poland, for all East European countries, and for world peace.

India has demonstrated her final, unequivocal, recognition of Poland's Western frontiers the Oder-Neisse Line. Both in Parliament and at the Belgrade Conference Prime Minister Nehru has forcefully pleaded for it.

The Delhi talks coming in this immediate background further strengthen mutual understanding and friendship between India and Poland in the common cause of consolidating peace.

ments state that the signing of a peace treaty is out of the question "until the German nation is re-united", that if the Socialist states were to conclude a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic, Nato states would have to recognize that "as a threat to their national interests", that their duty is "to stand guard over the freedom of the more than two million inhabitants of West Berlin". We have already heard all that a thousand times.

The rigid and sterile stand maintained by the governments of the Western powers with regard to the solution of the German problems gives

* SEE PAGE 12

Recognise Frontiers As Final

The meeting held in London last month at which Ilya Ehrenburg and Alexander Korneichuk from the Soviet Union and 53 other leading personalities from 20 countries from all over the world were present attracted considerable attention.

Among its sponsors was Acharya Vinoba Bhave and those attending from India were Jaya Prakash Narain, D. D. Kosambi and Dewan Chaman Lal.

Canon Collins, J. D. Bernal, Kingsley Martin, Ivor Montagu and others from Britain, Linus Pauling, Henry J. Cadbury, Erich Fromm, Hugh

Wolfe, Homer Jack and others from the USA were among those present.

The meeting declared itself for immediate negotiations on Berlin and the German question on the basis of confirming the fact of the existence of two German States, recognition as final of their borders as established by the last war; for general and complete disarmament as the only way to save mankind from war. It declared its opposition "to war, nuclear weapons and nuclear testing of any kind."

The following is the full text of the Statement unanimously adopted by the Meeting:

LONDON STATEMENT

THE International Meeting on disarmament and the reduction of world tensions convened in London from September 14 to 16, 1961, brought together at this critical moment personalities from the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, India and other countries of Europe, Asia and Africa who are united in their desire for a world without nuclear weapons and war. The Meeting declares:

Neither the Berlin crisis, constituting an immediate danger of war, nor any other problems, can be resolved by military means. Every local war in the centre of Europe is likely to become a general atomic war. War must be avoided. The United States,

the Soviet Union, Great Britain and France should immediately enter into negotiations on Berlin and the German question on a basis of the real situation and with a sincere desire to reach agreement. Military threats and warlike language must be avoided if negotiations are to succeed. We put forward the following suggestions:

1 A statute recognising the independence of West Berlin and free access to the city must be guaranteed on a clearly defined contractual basis by the four States with a U.N. guarantee and a U.N. presence.

2 Sixteen years after the end of the second world war it is now necessary to confirm the fact of the existence of the German Federal

Republic and of the German Democratic Republic.

3 The frontiers of Germany (the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic), as provisionally fixed after the second world war, must be recognised as final both by these four States and by the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic, and their inviolability guaranteed.

4 The re-unification of the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic is a matter for decision by the two German States and should not constitute a danger to European security.

5 Any further re-armament of the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic should be stopped immediately and their present armaments must be reduced.

6 There must be no nuclear weapons on the territory of the two German States, nor must their soldiers be instructed in the use of these weapons.

7 The creation of a large zone without nuclear weapons, and its eventual demilitarisation, consisting of the German Federal Republic, the German Democratic Republic, together with Poland and Czechoslovakia, with effective measures of inspection and control, should be guaranteed by the USA, the USSR, Great Britain, France and the United Nations.

The present international crisis has demonstrated all the dangers of an accelerated arms race and has increased

the danger of an accidental nuclear war which is desired by none of the atomic powers but is rendered possible by the dynamics of the nuclear war machine.

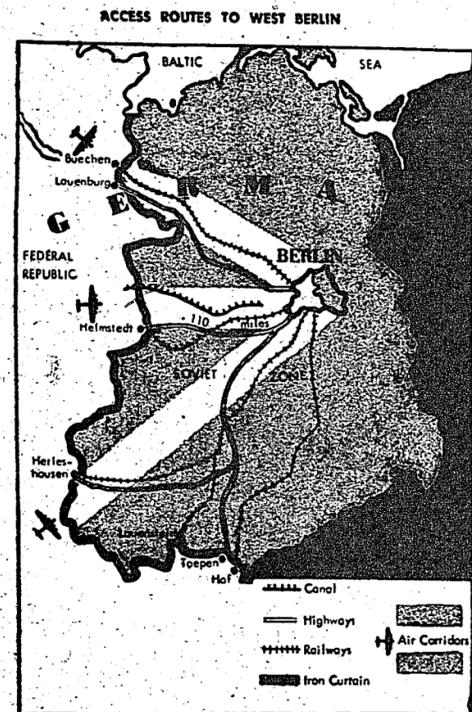
Only general and complete disarmament can save mankind from war. We accordingly call on the peoples to urge their governments to take immediate steps towards this goal of general and complete disarmament.

Disarmament negotiations have been held up in the past by the suspicions on the one side that only partial disarmament or arms control was intended, on the other that serious control of the process would not be permitted.

We accordingly call on all governments for a clear declaration that they stand for a policy of total disarmament and that they will accept appropriate controls at each stage and the gradual development of organs of world security.

We call for the rapid completion of such negotiations under the auspices of UNO, including the People's Republic of China, and the setting up of an international authority to supervise the rapid execution of the agreed disarmament plan.

The U.N. specialised agencies and other government and non-governmental bodies, such as the trade unions, business circles, religious groups and so on, must be urged to intensify their studies of the relation of disarmament to international and domestic economic relations.



American Propaganda Against Polish Frontiers: The above map purporting to show access routes to West Berlin appears in a USIS publication in India (Supplement to American Reporter, October 4, 1961) against the declared policy of the Government of India, which is meant obviously the Federal Republic, for the Democratic Republic—once again against Indian stand—is described in the map in revisionist terminology as the "Soviet Zone".

Such maps are being freely circulated in their publications by the U.S. and West German embassies in India. It is high time that the Government of India called upon these embassies to stop this propaganda that is against two friendly States and India's publicly stated stand.

KAIRON'S CHARGES REFUTED

STATEMENT BY AJAY GHOSH

Refuting Punjab Chief Minister Kairon's slanderous charges against the Communist Party of India and its Punjab unit, General Secretary Ajay Ghosh on October 5, issued the following statement to the press:

Few would congratulate the Punjab Chief Minister, Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon, on the statement that he has issued and on his performance at the recent press Conference where he explained the Government's decision to release the Akalis arrested in connection with the recent agitation, withdraw warrants against them and simultaneously continue to keep Communists in prison.

Everyone, of course, fully supports the decision of the Punjab Government to release the arrested Akalis. But one finds it hard to understand why an exception should be made in the case of Communists.

A few pertinent facts in this connection may be mentioned.

The agitation launched by the Communists had nothing to do with the Akali movement. It is also not true, as is alleged by the Punjab Government that they had to arrest Communists because the latter defied prohibitory orders. The arrest of Communist workers started on August 23 in Patiala Division and a general roundup of Communists all over the State took place on September 2.

FOR HINDU-SIKH UNITY

It was only after this that Communists were forced to begin satyagraha for civil liberties. The satyagrahis marched in batches of four, raising slogans of "Hindu-Sikh Unity Zindabad!", "Withdraw Section 144", "Restore Civil Liberties". This is borne out by news published in the Tribune of September 4.

Further, even according to the Government, not a single violent incident took place anywhere during our agitation.

Despite all this, our Party was virtually illegalised in Punjab. Over a thousand of our comrades were arrested. The police occupied the building where the Nawab Zamana, the organ of our Party is printed and forcibly closed down the press by arrests and intimidation of workers. Our office, as well as the office of the Nawab Zamana were occupied by the police for two days.

No reasonable person can justify these measures.

However, one expected that now at least, when normal conditions have been restored in Punjab, the Government would act with statesmanship and in conformity with the spirit of the decisions of the National Integration Conference which was recently held under the chairmanship

of our Prime Minister and in which the Punjab Chief Minister himself participated.

One of the clauses in the Code of Conduct unanimously adopted by the Conference was that while taking measures to maintain law and order, the Government should take care not to employ such measures as would interfere with the normal functioning of political parties.

I would request the Punjab Chief Minister to judge his conduct in the light of this clearly enunciated principle.

FALSE CASES

I may also add that the cases which have been launched against our comrades are patently false and even upto this day in the majority of cases the Government has not been able to supply chargesheets, which under normal legal procedure it has to do immediately after arrest.

The Habeas Corpus petition of Comrade Harkishen Singh Surjeet, Secretary of our Punjab Party unit has been admitted in the Punjab High Court on this very ground. He was arrested on September 2 and, so far as I know, he has not been given any chargesheet to this day.

The Punjab Government argues that the Communists wanted to fish in troubled waters merely for the sake of creating and enhancing unrest for political purposes. Facts which we have cited about the object of our agitation and the manner in which it was conducted refute this allegation.

We may also point out that we never favoured the fast of Master Tara Singh and that we repeatedly asked him to call it off. Such would not be the con-

STATE SECRETARIAT SURPRISED

The Secretariat of the Punjab State Council of the Communist Party of India issued the following statement on October 8:

We have read with surprise the statement of the Chief Minister, Sardar Kairon, in today's Tribune.

It has become quite difficult for Sardar Kairon to justify by slanderous charges that the Communist agitation was foreign inspired. Now he tries to justify it by saying that the movement has not been withdrawn by the State unit.

The Secretariat's statement of October 6 states:

"The Party congratulates its units, members, sympathisers and supporters who faced the challenge of the Kairon Government and is proud of the fact that it is their sacrifice that has made possible the successful termination of the pe-

duct of those who want to create and enhance unrest.

Another reason advanced by the Government is that there is no evidence that the Communists are prepared to call off their "trouble-making activities". We do not know what this means.

The fact is that in the new conditions which have come about and with the lifting of the ban on meetings, etc., the satyagraha launched by the Communist Party in Punjab automatically comes to an end. The satyagraha is being formally called off by our Party.

But by far the most amazing and even mischievous part of the Punjab Government's statement is the suggestion that the agitation launched by Communists for civil liberties may have been "inspired and motivated by foreign assistance and provocation."

The Punjab Chief Minister knows that he cannot produce an iota of evidence to substantiate this allegation and that the allegation is totally false. But he has made it deliberately and consciously so that he may justify the vindictive policy which he wants to pursue in relation to our Party.

Such tactics can do no damage to our Party but I would like to stress that such tactics on the part of one who occupies the responsible position of the Chief Minister of a state degrades politics and coarsens public life.

I would urge, therefore, that whatever the differences the Punjab Chief Minister may have with our Party, he should not indulge in such methods.

Finally, I would urge that immediate steps be taken by the Government to release all persons arrested in connection with the recent unfortunate developments in Punjab, that all warrants be withdrawn and conditions be created to normalise political life in the State.

ceful struggle against Section 144 despite all provocations. The Secretariat fully endorses the statement issued by General Secretary Comrade Ajay Ghosh."

Our movement was against Section 144, for the restoration of civil liberties and as soon as Section 144 was withdrawn the movement against it also came to an end. The statement by the Secretariat of the State unit formally withdrawing the movement against the Section 144 has already been issued from Jullundur.

Let it be known to Sardar Kairon that on this point there is absolutely no difference between the State and the Central leaders and the State unit fully agrees with the statement issued by Comrade Ajay Ghosh from Delhi as a rejoinder to Sardar Kairon.

PUNJAB

Master Tara Singh, the Akali Dal leader who on August 15 went on a fast till his demand for Punjabi Suba was accepted, abandoned the fast on October 1, 1961, on the assurance given by the Central Government to "set up a high-powered commission to go into the general question of discrimination and examine any charges of alleged differential treatment or grievances of the Sikhs".

THE termination of this fast by Masterji and of the counterfast by Yogiraj Surya Devji has been received by the people of the state with a feeling of great relief; it removes the prevailing tension as well as the false plea advanced by the Kairon Government to enforce its humiliating police rule in the state and to deny civil liberties to the people in every form.

So far as the Communist Party is concerned, it was never in favour of Masterji going on fast. The Punjab State Unit of the Party sent a

deputation to Masterji, before he started his fast, to persuade him to abandon his resolve, as the question of linguistic reorganisation was not the concern of the Sikhs alone, but required united movement of the Punjabi people.

While the fast was on the National Council of the Communist Party of India also appealed, through, resolution, adopted on September 20, to Master Tara Singh to abandon his fast and devote his ener-

* ON FACING PAGE

WITHDRAWAL WELCOMED

ON October 6 the Secretariat of the Punjab State Council of the Communist Party of India issued the following statement to the press:

The Communist Party is glad that the fast by M. Tara Singh and the counter-fast by Yogiraj Suryadev have been withdrawn and the situation can again become normal in the Punjab.

The Communist Party has always been opposed to the mixing up by the Akali leaders of the democratic demand for a Punjabi-speaking State with any alleged grievances of discrimination against the Sikhs, the Party has always held that such a communal approach disrupts the unity of the Punjabi people and harms the cause of linguistic reorganisation.

As such, in the Party's opinion, the Akali Dal's deal with the Government for the appointment of a Commission to go into the grievances of the Sikhs is in no way conducive to the realisation of the demand for a Punjabi-speaking State.

The Communist Party was made the main target of the repression launched by the Kairon Government because it has always exposed the disruptive game of the Congress rulers of allying with one communalist force or other and trying to suppress the democratic forces.

The Communist Party has continued its policy of fostering communalism in the present instance also. Congress leaders including Pandit Nehru have all along characterised the demand for a Punjabi-speaking State as communal and opposed it and even refused to entertain the Communist Party's proposal for referring the question to a Commission.

But now in its deal with the Akali Dal, the Central Government has referred the

question of "alleged Sikh grievances of discrimination" to a high-powered Commission.

It is quite evident that the appointment of such a commission to go into the grievances of Sikhs and Hindus will give rise to dangerous communal claims and counter-claims, charges and counter-charges and this communal poison will spoil the atmosphere of the State on the eve of the general elections.

Principled Stand Called For

The Communist Party is convinced that only the acceptance of a principled stand on the question of language and linguistic reorganisation can ensure lasting unity of the Punjabi people. It is this realisation that made the Communist Party go into the unity campaign despite the blanket bans imposed by the Kairon Government.

The Party congratulates its units, members, sympathisers and supporters who faced the challenge of the Kairon Government and is proud of the fact that it is their sacrifice that has made possible the successful termination of the peaceful struggle against Section 144 despite all provocations. The Secretariat fully endorses the statement issued by General Secretary Comrade Ajay Ghosh.

The Party will unflinchingly continue its campaign to unify the Punjab people for the acceptance of the principle of linguistic reorganisation. It calls on its units and members to plan out and carry forward this unity campaign on a wide scale.

Now that the fasts have been abandoned and Section 144 has been withdrawn, to restore normalcy in the State, particularly on the eve of the General Elections, the Communist Party demands:

1. Release all those who have been arrested under various charges;
2. Cancel all warrants and restore the properties that have been attached.

AFTER THE FASTS

* FROM FACING PAGE

gies to the cause of Hindu-Sikh unity.

Thus both before and after it was begun the Party persistently strove to see that Master Tara Singh abandoned the fast.

At the same time, the Communist Party opposed all attempts by the Akali Dal and Master Tara Singh to mix up the democratic demand for a Punjabi-speaking State with any alleged grievances of or discrimination against the Sikhs alone. The Party has always held that such a communal approach on the part of the Akali Dal disrupts the unity of the Punjabi people, strengthens the hands of the Government, and harms the cause of linguistic reorganisation in the State.

Accordingly, the Communist Party considers that the deal of the Akali Dal for the appointment of a Commission as stated above is in no way conducive to the realisation of the demand for a Punjabi-speaking State. After this fiasco of the fast of Master Tara Singh, all who genuinely support the demand for a linguistic state should seriously ponder how harmful this communal approach followed by the Akali Dal is for this cause.

Taking advantage of Masterji's fast and of the counterfasts inspired by Hindu communalists, and on the plea of maintaining communal peace Kairon's Congress Government launched the severest repression in the state, and the normal Rule of law was abandoned for a long time.

Section 144 was imposed all over the State and by an order under this section, any reference to the Punjabi Suba, the language controversy or the fasts, in writing or in a speech, was prohibited. A large police force, was mobilised from Rajasthan and the neighbouring states, and a virtual martial law was imposed in both rural as well as urban areas. The entire population was subjected to a humiliating, terroristic, police rule for about two months period.

In this situation when communal forces both among the Hindus and the Sikhs, were distorting the true democratic concept of linguistic reorganisation in the Punjab, thus sowing seeds of communal division among the Punjabi people, it was all the more necessary for the Communist Party and other secular forces to come out boldly to combat them and to unify the people on the basis of a democratic concept.

The Congress rulers have never taken a principled, democratic stand on the question of language and linguistic reorganisation. They have always played between Hindu and Sikh communalists, and to serve their narrow party interests, have never hesitated to utilise one communal force against the other. At every stage they have thus only deepened the cleavage between the Hindus and the Sikhs in Punjab.

Again in the latest stage when the demand for a Punjabi-speaking state was once again being raised, in order to

deny the democratic demand of linguistic reorganisation, they openly aligned themselves with the Hindu communalists.

In this nefarious game of the Congress rulers and the Chief Minister, the main obstacle and therefore the main target of attack has been the Communist Party, the party which exposes the disruptive policies of the Congress rulers, combats communal forces and tirelessly works for maintaining communal peace.

Kairon and the Congress rulers knew it fully well; but it did not suit their immediate party interests. Nowhere in the country have the Congress rulers conceded the demand of linguistic reorganisation willingly, whether it was Andhra or Maharashtra or Gujarat.

Even so in Punjab, the Congress rulers do not like anybody campaigning for linguistic reorganisation, even on secular and democratic lines.

The opposition of the Hindu communalists to the very language of Punjab and its reorganisation on linguistic basis, and the consequent division among the Hindu and Sikh masses on communal lines over this issue, is considered by the Congress rulers as the most efficacious weapon to turn down the democratic demand.

From the point of view of purely narrow party interests too, this division on communal lines, serves the interests of the Congress Party. It makes it easy for the Congress Party to ally with either the Hindu or the Sikh communalists during the elections and thus keep itself in saddle without any difficulty.

The Communist Party continuing to campaign for linguistic reorganisation on democratic and secular basis and for Hindu-Sikh amity could therefore, never be to the liking of Chief Minister Kairon.

In order to suppress the democratic demand, he was himself provoking communal disharmony and spreading fear and panic among the masses, and from the very beginning the Punjab Government took steps to stifle the activities of all democratic and secular forces.

Repression Unbounded

When the Punjab Government served a blanket (and unconstitutional) ban on papers on September 4, under the plea of prohibiting communal propaganda, even the Communist Party's daily, the Nawab Zamana was not spared.

The ban was challenged in the Supreme Court, but before it could come up for hearing, the Kairon Government realised its folly and withdrew its blanket ban on the press. Immediately after that, however, the same type of ban was imposed on all public activities, under Section 144 which was imposed in all the Punjabi-speaking districts.

The Communist Party could not abandon its legitimate and constitutional activities. It fearlessly carried on with its work of

unifying the people on the basis of democratic principles of language and linguistic reorganisation.

The State Government then pounced first and foremost upon the Communist Party and arrested a large number of Communist leaders in the Patiala Division. This was done even before any warrants for arrest of Master Tara Singh, Sant Fateh Singh and other Akali leaders were issued.

On September 1, 1961, the Chief Minister slanderously accused the Communist Party of planning sabotage. This was actually the green signal for launching unrestricted repression against the Party. What happened later on is

It can thus be seen that the Congress rulers are not keen to combat the communal forces in the state. They are opposed to the acceptance of the only democratic solution of language and linguistic reorganisation, which would weaken the communal forces and lay a firm basis for the unity of Punjabi people.

After the withdrawal of fasts, it was hoped that the State Government would take steps to normalise the situation in the State. But the fiasco of the fast of Master Tara Singh, seems to have made the Chief Minister more arrogant. He has declared that Communist prisoners would not be released and warrants against them would not be

was imposed everywhere and the Party was not allowed to carry on its unity campaign. With the withdrawal of Section 144 in all the districts, its struggle for civil liberties comes to a successful termination.

In the new conditions, therefore, there is no justification for pursuing the cases against the Communists. Everyone knows that false cases have been cooked up against the Communists.

Although many of them are under detention for over a month, no charges have been supplied to them, which under the normal legal procedure should have been supplied to them immediately after arrest.

By JAGJIT SINGH LYALLPURI

well-known. At one stage, without any legal authority, the police closed the Party's office, its daily paper, its press, and occupied it for a few days.

The Party launched a struggle for civil liberties in which more than 1,200 party volunteers were arrested while raising the slogan of "Hindu-Sikh Unity Zindabad."

The Congress rulers at the Centre, including Prime Minister Nehru, fully backed the Kairon Government in the State. They stoutly opposed all along the demand for a Punjabi-speaking state and characterised it as a communal demand. They sanctioned all measures taken by Kairon's government to suppress this movement.

Commission Dangerous

It is significant to note that Pandit Nehru and the Central Government who talked so eloquently against the acceptance of the principle of linguistic reorganisation, and even refused to accept the suggestion of the State Communist Party to appoint a Commission to examine the issue of linguistic reorganisation in Punjab, have not hesitated to strike a deal with the Akali Party to appoint a high-powered commission to go into the "charge of grievances and discrimination."

And when Pandit Nehru was asked to elaborate the scope of this Commission, he made a further dangerous suggestion that Hindus also could come before the same Commission with their alleged grievances.

It is quite evident that the appointment of such a commission to go into the alleged grievances of or charges of discrimination against the Sikhs or Hindus will give rise to dangerous communal claims and counter-claims, to charges and counter-charges of one community against the other, and thus communally poison the whole atmosphere in the state on the eve of the general elections.

The Hindu communalists have already given a call for a meeting of Hindu leaders "to prepare their case" to be placed before the Commission.

withdrawn.

He declared that this discrimination against them was justified because he was not convinced as yet that the Communists had adopted constitutional methods. The most amazing part of his statement was the slanderous charge that the Communist movement was "foreign inspired."

The Chief Minister of Punjab, Kairon, is notorious for making irresponsible and slanderous statements against his political opponents. He could never be accused of restraining his tongue in that respect.

Even so, since unfortunately he happens to be the Chief Minister of a State, it is the duty of the Central Government and the Congress Party to put some check on him. The Communist Party is to party with full rights under the Constitution of India. Sardar Kairon should have the courage to prove his slanderous charges against the Communist Party.

The State Unit of the CPI launched a struggle for civil liberties, when Section 144

Ridiculously false, unfounded speeches have been prepared by the CID.

We are confident that such false prosecutions cannot succeed in any law court.

Chief Minister Kairon also knows it fully well. But in his arrogance he expects that the Communist Party would beg him for 'mercy'. He should know that he cannot make the Communist Party bend before him. It has fought against his brutal repression and will be able to fight back and expose him in his own law courts, should he dare to launch false prosecutions.

Still we are confident that democratic public opinion in the state and outside the state, would exert itself and force the Chief Minister to give up his unjustifiable arrogant and vindictive attitude towards the Communist Party, release all Communist prisoners, withdraw all warrants and restore the confiscated properties, so that normal democratic conditions are restored in the state.

(October 7)

POSTSCRIPT

By its latest announcement dated October 9, the Punjab Cabinet has changed its decision and announced amnesty to Communist prisoners. The amnesty, however, is qualified. It is stated that those involved in cases of violence or incitement to violence would not be released, and those who are "wanted" by the police have to surrender within a week.

It is very well-known that the Party's movement for civil liberties has been perfectly peaceful, and Mr. Kairon cannot point out any single case of violence. Those who have been arrested on the basis of speeches have been involved in fabricated cases based on fictitious and ridiculously false speeches. Therefore, this reservation of the Government regarding "cases of incitement to violence" has no justification and still smacks of vindictiveness.

The decision of the

Government regarding the so-called "wanted list" is all the more ridiculous. One fails to understand the purpose behind this "surrender" when the Government has once taken a decision to grant amnesty.

The Communist Party has been struggling for the restoration of civil liberties, and all its members, released from jails, or those who are supposed to be "wanted" by the police would resume their normal activities guaranteed under the Constitution. It is for the Government to see how far it still intends to curtail the civil liberties in Punjab.

Everybody would expect of the Punjab Government to act in a graceful manner, once it has decided to restore civil liberties, and release all, withdraw the warrants, and restore confiscated properties, without any reservations and qualifications.

(October 10)

WESTERN BLACKMAIL WILL FAIL

* FROM CENTRE PAGES

them a manifestly weak position on the international arena and confirms the belief of public opinion in their own countries in the constructiveness and peaceful intent of the proposals put forward by the Soviet Union.

It is impossible now to ride far on Adenauer's bandwagon of the unification of Germany. And more than that — nobody is willing to ride it.

Is there anybody who does not realize that even the Western governments, though they speak about the reunification of Germany, have in fact no such desire? This can be seen in their own press which is full of statements resembling the view expressed by the well-known American columnist, Walter Lippmann. On June 29 he wrote in the New York Herald Tribune:

"There is no visible chance of re-uniting the two Germans. They have been divided for 15 years and in that time almost all of Europe on both sides of the Iron Curtain has acquired vested interests which oppose the re-union of Germany... The truth is that France and Great Britain are decided as a matter of undeclared national policy to prevent the unification of the two Germans."

True, nobody can maintain today that the unification of Germany, divided as it is, into two states of opposed social systems, is a thing of the near future. In a situation when German militarism is not rendered powerless but, with the help of its Western allies, is again raising its war potential and becoming increasingly aggressive, the division of Germany can only be deepened and perpetuated.

The problem of the unification of Germany is above all an internal German problem. It can be solved by the Germans themselves only.

A peace treaty with the two existing German states not only will not impede the unification of Germany but, on the contrary, may ease the tension between the GDR and the FRG and create an atmosphere more conducive to constructive talks between the Germans on the future roads of the unification of their country.

The postponement of the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany until its reunification would mean in the circumstances leaving these two problems in a blind alley.

Real Reasons For Opposing Peace Treaty

The real reasons for which the Western states oppose the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany are not in the least the result of a concern for German unity. The causes of the opposition to a peace treaty reside in the old, cold-war conception of policy from a "position of strength", which the United States does not want to renounce, despite the fact that its bankruptcy had already become obvious during Eisenhower's presidency.

Western Germany and the Bundeswehr armed with rockets and nuclear weapons are, according to the Atlantic strategists, to be an argu-

ment of strength, a means of blackmailing the socialist countries, a trump card in a dangerous game which puts in jeopardy the lives of hundreds of millions of people.

This is a new edition of the same policy conducted by the Western states prior to World War II, when they financed the remilitarization of Germany, and later paved the way for Hitler's expansion to the East. The Bundeswehr has only one aim — to serve as an instrument of this policy.

The refusal to conclude a peace treaty with Germany and the desire to perpetuate the occupation regime in West Berlin, threats and bellicose gestures in reply to proposals made by the Socialist states, testify to the fact that the states of the Atlantic bloc do not want to recognize political realities, do not want to reconcile themselves with the existence of two German states, do not want to renounce the policy of black-

mail and cold war.

This is a hopeless policy, inevitably bound to bring discredit on its initiators.

Common sense bids us assume that realism and a sober appraisal of the situation will eventually prevail in the policy of Nato countries.

The Soviet Union and other Socialist states have clearly expressed their readiness to negotiate regarding a peace treaty and West Berlin and to consider all concrete proposals made in this respect by other countries.

It is in the most deeply conceived interests of peace that a peace treaty with both the German states should be concluded with the participation of all the states which formed the anti-Nazi coalition and took part in the second world war against the Third Reich. The conclusion of a peace treaty with the two German states would be a big success in the cause of peace; it would meet the interests of all

nations concerned, including the German nation.

Should the Western states reject our outstretched hand, however, Poland together with the Soviet Union and the other Socialist states will sign a peace treaty with the GDR. This will be, obviously, the worse solution, but one that is unavoidable. We shall thus do everything in our power to ward off the danger inherent in the present situation in Germany and to consolidate the security and peace of Europe.

No endeavours of the trouble-seeking war circles in the states of the Atlantic bloc can prevent it.

We have behind us an invincible defensive force; we have behind us the justness of our cause in whose name we are fighting; we have behind us the nations of the whole world, which, just as the nations of the Socialist states, desire peace and a peaceful solution of the German problem.

POLITICAL CRISIS BREWING IN ITALY

From S. BENSASSON

ROME, SEPTEMBER 24.

"It is easier to win in the national lottery than to secure admission for children in a school". This is the proverb being repeated from mouth to mouth in Rome now, a few days before the reopening of the schools. It clearly reveals the state of chaos and crisis of the public school due to the 15 years of clerical power.

FATHERS and mothers have slept on the staircases of the nurseries and primary schools in order to be able to inscribe their children in the school secretariat, other parents have expressed their apprehension. All the days, there are endless queues in front of the schools. The school directors as yet do not know where to place their pupils and emergency classes have been set up in order to face the situation; the number of seats in many classes have been multiplied and different shifts have been arranged.

School Problem

This is the situation as far as the nurseries and primary schools are concerned. But even the middle school is facing a tragical situation due to the increase by 20 per cent of the number of pupils applying for admission. Some people are suggesting to utilise television for the middle school courses.

So, if one adds to the lack of accommodation the backward programmes, the high price of public teaching, the confusion existing in the field of text books, the lack of teachers (while tens of thousands of non-regular teachers are waiting for a post), one may easily understand that the Italian school system is foundering just now when our country is celebrating the hundredth anniversary of its foundation as a unified State.

Moreover, feeling the insufficiency of the present school system and without wanting to await the debate

in Parliament, the Minister of Public Education wanted to introduce on his own initiative a sort of reform for the classes from 11 to 14 years through two circular letters sent to the school directors with the only result of sharpening the confusion.

One may say that the school problem is one of the first which the Fanfani Government will have to face at the reopening of Parliament.

Fanfani will, for the rest, find many problems during to resolve during this autumn, 1961. The Republican Party, in effect, has announced its decision to provoke the crisis before the end of the year (nevertheless leaving a door open for eventual thinking over). This fact has already resulted in a series of conferences within the four coalition parties supporting the Government (Christian Democrats, Liberals, Social Democrats, Republicans) and no forecasts are possible for the moment.

Some circles attribute to the Secretary of the Christian Democratic Party, Aldo Moro, the intention to steal a march over the Republicans and to make Fanfani resign in October leaving to the President of the Republic the job of dissolving Parliament since it would no more be possible after November 6 considering that the Constitution does not allow it in the six last months of a Presidency.

On the contrary, the Republicans want to open this crisis after that date, i.e., after the discussion on the budget, so as to oblige the Christian Democracy to set up a new Government supported by the Socialists, as was done in Sicily. One must

say that in the conservative circles — as well as in the clerical ones — this perspective is no longer viewed with disapproval. Capturing the Socialists in a position of collaborationism — is their aim.

But there is another road-block in the Government's way and it is the debate on foreign policy which will open on the occasion of the discussion on the Foreign Ministry budget. There are deep divergences also among the Government majority (Fanfani is more favourable to West-East negotiations than his Minister of Foreign Affairs), nevertheless, hitherto they have not

succeeded in modifying the present policy of Atlantic "standstill" (immobilism).

The Communist group will start a great battle in Parliament for a policy of peace and disengagement on the Berlin question. The Political Bureau of the ICP some days ago launched a new appeal for the united struggle for peace, against the horrors of a third conflict in the world, deciding to convoke the Central Committee for October 2-4 in order to examine and discuss the report by Palmiro Togliatti on the international situation and the Communists' tasks in the struggle for peace.

A MARCH OF PEACE

MORE than twenty thousand persons participated yesterday in a "March of Peace", organised by the Centre for Non-Violence of Perugia. The March covered the distance from Perugia to Assisi for a distance of 24 km and lasted for more than 5 hours ending in a big meeting. The march was participated in by delegations from all Italy and by numerous political and cultural personalities.

Despite the principle of "impartiality" inspiring the Organising Committees which pronounces itself against "all violence" "from whatever part it is used", the resolution which was voted at the end of the meeting clearly denounces imperialism and colonialism as the causes of the tension and danger of war.

Moreover, the resolution demands the admission to the UNO of all nations that have come up since the last war and the revolutions following it, total and comprehensive, controlled disarmament, the end of nuclear tests and the ban to atomic weapons.

During the meeting a Japanese student took the floor (a

member of the committee for nuclear disarmament) recalling the massacres of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and denouncing the danger arising from the rebirth of Japanese and German militarism, supported by the United States.

Official affiliation to the March of Peace was given by the Italian Communist Party which sent a delegation headed by a member of the Party Secretariat, Pietro Ingrao. In accepting on behalf of the ICP the invitation to participate in the March sent by the Organisation Committee, Palmiro Togliatti wrote in his letter inter alia:

"We may not fully condone all the positions of principle of the promoters of the March and of all those who take part in it. But above this possible difference of opinions and above all we feel today the necessity that all people of goodwill should unite, come together, demonstrate their firm intention to work and struggle in order to maintain peace, to dispel the fear of a new armed world conflict, to save our country and all mankind from the horrors of a war which — should it blow up — would destroy probably our entire modern civilisation".

NEW THREAT TO CUBA DENOUNCED

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

AT a press conference held on October 5 at the Embassy of Cuba in New Delhi, Charge d'Affaires Armando Florez denounced before Indian public opinion a new conspiracy set afoot by the U. S. imperialists and their Central Intelligence Agency against Cuba.

"The extreme point has been reached where false documents have been produced which are supposed to have been signed by officials of the Cuban Ministry and the leaders of the Revolution", Mr. Florez pointed out.

Forged Documents

The latest instance cited was the attempt to foist such documents on President Frondizi of Argentina during his recent official visit to U.S.A.

With the utmost disrespect and lack of consideration for the distinguished rank of the highest dignitary of the said nation, Florez said, officials of the State Department of the United States, stooping down to the level of the coarsest and lowest intrigues, offered

to the consideration of the illustrious visitor, false documents which tried to show alleged plans of intervention of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba in Argentina.

He cited a despatch by Tad Szulc, in the international edition of the influential American paper, the New York Times of the September 28 who wrote the following about these dirty manoeuvres:

"Washington had hoped that Argentina would publish the subversive documents with a proper show of indignation against Cuba. However, the Argentine Delegation here made it known that it doubted the authenticity of most of them. It also indicated that it was rather shocked by the 'strange coincidence' of their appearance here during the Frondizi visit".

All this perhaps explains the reason why, according to the same paper of September 26 "the Administration in Washington sent immediate instructions to Miami in order to prevent the publication of the documents, when it came to know that the Cuban Counter-revolutionary Council stationed in that city was preparing to publicize them".

While the U.S.A.'s base at

tempt was thus exposed Mr. Florez pointed out:

"The Cuban Government does possess in fact authentic documents that prove the Yankee intervention in the internal affairs of the countries of Latin America".

Meanwhile in Havana on October 9, the acting Foreign Minister of Cuba Carlos Olivares invited to the Ministry the heads of Embassies and Legations of foreign states maintaining diplomatic relations with Cuba, and also Cuban and foreign correspondents, to acquaint them with the text of a note from the Cuban Government to all the governments of the world on the preparation by the Government of the U. S. of a new aggression against Cuba.

"Eve Of New Aggression"

In a brief statement, the Minister stressed that American imperialism, using all ways and means, is now trying to provoke Latin American countries into breaking off diplomatic relations with Cuba and thus "prejudice our Republic".

The campaign of slander in the press launched by the imperialists is part of a general plan of preparation of new armed aggression on

an even larger scale than the aggression last April. Possessing all the necessary information, Olivares said, we can declare that "we are on the eve of a new imperialist aggression".

The Cuban Government's note stressed that ever since the victory of the Revolution, the Cuban people have been subjected to constant aggressive actions on the part of the U. S. Government which seeks to hamper the creative labour of the Cuban people.

These aggressive actions find expression in campaigns of slander, encouragement of counter-revolutionary groups, open bombing of our cities, economic aggression, sabotage and, finally, armed aggression by mercenaries in the pay of American monopolies, the note says.

The note points out that in breaking off diplomatic relations with Cuba, the Governments of Central American Republics and Peru acted under orders from the U. S. State Department. At the same time they have established forces of armed mercenaries, directed and financed by U. S. imperialism, for the purpose of undertaking a new armed aggression against Cuba.

Groups of mercenaries have already been formed on the territory of U. S. and some

Central American countries to carry out the plans of aggression against Cuba. In Guatemala, over 600 mercenaries have even been included into the regular Guatemalan Army.

In Panama, over 500 paratroopers are being trained in guerrilla warfare methods. On the southern coast of Puerto Rico, near Santa Isabel, the U. S. Government has built landing strips for transport planes and bombers, where mercenaries are now being trained.

Counter-revolutionary activities are in full swing at the Guantanamo base. Efforts are being made to set up a "Cuban government in exile", to which Guatemala and Peru have already pledged their support. All this indicates active preparations by American imperialism of a new aggression against Cuba, the note says.

Carlos Olivares said that actively implicated in all these anti-Cuban activities were the Central Intelligence Agency and the U. S. Embassies which had become "veritable centres" for working out plans of aggression.

Carlos Olivares also showed on a map of the U. S. and Central America nearly 30 bases where counter-revolutionary mercenaries are being trained.

MEERUT AND ALIGARH : FIFTY STUDENTS APPEAL

* FROM BACK PAGE

are reported to have been "stoned" in some bye-lane which perhaps was to serve as the alibi for all their misdeeds and also the signal to get started, the big way. At this stage the goonda elements came to the fore, they joined the procession with kerosene oil tins, burnt some thelas (hand-carts) belonging to poor Muslim workers.

On advancing further the processionists are reported to have desecrated a mosque. They took away the Jamlat-ul-Ulema's flag and indulged in their rowdy acts. When the processionists neared a cinema house they were dispersed by the police.

Surprisingly enough these shameful and unlawful deeds were done in the presence of the senior officials of the administration!

For the rest of the day nothing more untoward was reported. All sorts of rumours about Aligarh remained circulating and tension kept on mounting.

The next morning despite Section 144 another procession was organised. Some of the processionists were seen holding kerosene tins and isolated acts of arson and looting were reported. By the afternoon stray stabblings started. Again exaggerated rumours ran riot the rest of the day. The curfew was imposed.

On the third day the Army was called in and a 24-hour curfew was proclaimed but the tense situation remained unchanged till the arrival of the Chief Minister, C.B. Gupta

and the Home Minister, Charan Singh who undertook personal visits to the affected areas.

It is they who for the first time gave out the truth regarding the Aligarh incidents. Central Minister Shah Nawaz Khan, also toured the affected areas.

In the evening of 8th a meeting of the citizens was called to which mostly the Congress leaders of the City were invited who however had remained indifferent to all these tragic developments, despite the local Communist leaders having personally approached them to join hands to fight the rumours and, maintain communal peace.

The people of the city were of course, greatly relieved to hear categorical statements from the Chief Minister and the Home Minister that in the regretful incidents on the University campus in Aligarh, on the first day, only minor injuries on either side were received and none had died as alleged by the rumour-mongers and the riot-organisers.

They now ask why this statement had not been made earlier and why the district administration did not take the help of secular political parties in fighting the wild-winded rumours and to keep the atmosphere peaceful.

This round of communal frenzy was set in motion by those elements whose tactic is to exploit every situation to call for "reprisal against the Muslims." None but the RSS and Jana Sangh elements bear the responsibility for what has happened in Meerut and around.

FIFTY prominent students of the Aligarh University—23 of them non-Muslims and 27 Muslim —have issued a joint appeal condemning the communal incidents in the city and on the campus.

The appeal printed as a leaflet in Hindi and Urdu has been widely distributed over their signature.

Following is a translation of the appeal:

Fellow students, friends! No condemnation is strong enough for the events which took place a few days back in the city and within the University area. These events originated from the activities of certain communal and narrow-minded elements (both Hindu and Muslim) who poisoned the atmosphere of our University by soliciting votes for candidates in the Union elections on a communal basis. This offered an opportunity to rowdy elements to turn personal squabbles into communal ones.

From whatever quarter these events originated, every peace-loving and thinking person cannot but strongly condemn them. We among the undersigned who are non-Muslims wish to declare that the majority of the non-Muslim students are greatly attached to their alma-mater and consider any attack upon the University as an attack upon themselves. We are greatly pained at the looting and arson perpetrated in the University campus by some communal elements from the city.

We declare, and assure our Muslim brethren, that if any attempt of this kind is made again on the University, we will stand shoulder to shoulder with them. We strongly condemn

those communal elements of the city who by spreading panic among the non-Muslim students of the University incited them to leave the hostels and thereby helped to poison the atmosphere of the city. We appeal to all non-Muslim students to return to their respective hostels.

We among the undersigned who are Muslims wish to assure our non-Muslim brothers that the larger number of Muslim students do not basically think along communal lines. We strongly condemn those, who, after the raid by a mob from outside, inflicted damage upon some shops and thereby made the non-Muslim students panicky. We appeal to our non-Muslim brothers to return to their hostels and assure them that they will be perfectly secure.

We all sympathise with those who suffered loss of life and property during the past disturbed days and demand that an impartial inquiry be instituted and all those who have committed acts of violence and arson in the city and the University Area be severely punished. We appeal to the Vice-Chancellor to immediately call a meeting of prominent students of all communities to consider ways of improving the present situation.

SECRETARY'S STATEMENT

GANESH Pal, Secretary of Aligarh Committee of Communist Party has in a statement characterised the Aligarh riots as shameful and a blot on the record of the town. He has called upon the citizens to uncompromisingly fight communalism. He says that the Union

elections in the Aligarh University took a communal turn, when both Hindu and Muslim communalists began to parade panels of Hindu and Muslim candidates and criticise the University authorities for their encouragement of such communal trends and also complicity in a very critical situation.

The incidents in the University have been exploited by Hindu communalists to plan and carry out murders. They have utilised goonda elements to further their nefarious schemes.

Comrade Ganesh Pal points out that the Communist Party right from October 4 has been trying to persuade other political parties and secular forces to form a Peace Committee. But these efforts have not been successful.

He also criticises those police officials who showed indifference to the deeds of the rioters on October 3.

But he congratulates all those, common people, teachers, students, policemen, public workers, etc., who tried to restrain the hands of the rioters. He has finally made an appeal to all concerned that peace should be maintained in the city.

(In connection with the attack on shops in the University area and how it happened that the People's Publishing House branch suffered comparatively minor damage, it is pointed out that the rowdy mob had no intention of sparing it. It was only due to the fact that sales staff and other comrades stood guard and heroically defended it that that particular shop selling "Communist literature" was not destroyed. Even while the attack was about to be launched in a big way, a rumour that a girls' hostel was under attack diverted the mob's attention from the shop).

NEW AGE

EDITOR: P. C. JOSHI

Printed by D. P. Sinha at the NEW AGE PRINTING PRESS, 5, Jhandewallan Estate, M. M. Road, New Delhi, and published by him from 74, Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi.

Telegraphic Address: MARKSADI
Phone: 225794

SUBSCRIPTION RATES
INLAND: Yearly Rs. 12-0-0;
Half-yearly Rs. 6-0-0 and
Quarterly Rs. 3-0-0.
FOREIGN: Yearly Rs. 20-0-0;
Half-yearly Rs. 10-0-0.

All cheques and drafts to be made payable to T. MADHAVAN and not to NEW AGE.

robbing peter to pay paul

SHAMEFUL STORY OF ANDHRA DEVELOPMENT FUND

* FROM PAGE 3

as to alternative measures to be undertaken to fructify these attempts to dig wells either by drilling tubes or by seeking military assistance.

Everytime there was famine, there was talk of permanent measures by Government, but with no result.

It would be a wonder, if the people of Rayalaseema are relieved of this famine under this Congress regime.

Peasants' Money As Landlords' Contribution

BEHIND the tall claim of "over-subscription" of the Ten crore Development loan floated by the State Govern-

ment lie the sordid and shameful story of "robbing Peter to pay Paul".

Imagine Government officials collecting small amounts ranging from one rupee to five rupees from small peasants, petty teachers and traders and after collecting a sizeable amount, surrender it to the local landlord or banker to induce him to subscribe to the Development loan—this is what one witnesses in the village.

There have been numerous reports in the local press about this outright fleecing of the poor and middle classes. This fleecing has been perfected into a method.

Landlords and bankers in the rural areas usually give loans at usurious rate of 12%

interest. Nothing short of this rate of interest, can induce them to give loans. But Government offers a petty interest of just four per cent.

It is this gap that is sought to be made up by the local officials, by collecting these small amounts and surrendering it to these landlords and bankers. After a cold calculation and after satisfying himself that he is assured of his usual interest that he condescends to subscribe to the Loan and take the bond.

No receipts or vouchers are given for such small collections. There is no account maintained for these collections. Whatever the Revenue Inspector says is the amount collected. How much money has been pocketed by these local officials

in the name of Development Loan is God's secret.

The State Government fixes up quotas to each district Collector. The collector distributes this quota to tahsildars; tahsildars to Revenue Inspectors who again allots it to still lower officials.

This is the period of agricultural operations in the village; people are hard pressed for money and more, peasants have much to do with various departments to get loans, seeds, fertilisers and so on. When they approach these departments, they are trapped. Pay so much and we shall give you the loan or fertiliser. The necessity is imperative and so the peasant is left with no alternative than to pay this amount and get what he needs.

The amounts collected are not always in such small denominations. They go upto even Rs. 300 in case of comparatively well-off traders.

To quote an instance, some merchants of Eluru were told by the Tahsildar that they should give a thousand rupees. They collected the amount from among themselves and paid to the Tahsildar. Failing to get any receipt or a scrip for the subscription made, they sent a registered letter to the Tahsildar of Eluru on September 2 demanding Bonds.

The Tahsildar, in return, threatened these traders that their licences to engage in their respective trades will be cancelled, if they insisted on receipts.

They were also told that they should give in writing that they, of their own free will, gave this money since they could not purchase the Bonds!

People pay so much money to government by way of taxes. But this is a "tax without receipt" as they put it.

While attempts are being made on the one hand to see that as much money as possible is made available to meet the credit requirements of the rural population at low rates of interest through cooperatives and thus release them from the clutches of the Marwari pan-brokers and usurious landlords, the same government machinery is, on the other hand, doing its best to see that this institution of fleecing and usury is not affected and kept intact.

Govt. Jeeps For Congress

TAKING the cue from the Union Defence Ministry which auctioned some of its jeeps just at the time of Orissa elections, the Planning Ministry in Andhra Pradesh Government put to auction 29 jeeps and ticket them off for a throw-away price. The Congress party has pushed these jeeps into the electioneering campaign.

These jeeps were auctioned on September 26 in Hyderabad Collectorate in two lots. Each lot fetched the Government only Rs. 51,000, which works out roughly to Rs. 3,400 per jeep.

A new jeep is estimated to cost anywhere from Rs. 12 to 14 thousand.

Lest someone might say that they have been auctioned because they were not serviceable, it may be stated here that the department had originally sent a circular to their officers in the districts to send on their vehicles to two centres in Vijayawada, and Hyderabad for check-up, servicing and overhaul. But, immediately, a second circular was issued cancelling the previous one and these officers were asked to send their jeeps to Hyderabad straight for an outright auction.

Some of these district officials are understood to have requested postponement of this immediate auction since they are badly in need of jeeps to go about and expedite starting famine works and other construction projects. It goes without saying that they were not heeded.

This auction is only the first of its kind to start with. If rumours are not incorrect, Andhra people would soon see in the newspapers an advertisement that some jeeps of the police department would be auctioned.

The common man is bewildered that the landlord who exploits and robs him and his family hereditarily, is helped and encouraged by Government. Plan or no plan—it makes no difference to him.

FIRST MEET OF YOUNG WORKERS CHARTER OF DEMANDS ADOPTED

* From J. B. MOITRA

A conference of young workers was held in Calcutta on September 29 and 30. Convened by a Preparatory Committee set up by the BPTUC, it was the first conference of its kind in the country to be held under the auspices of a central trade union organisation.

The main purpose of the conference was to draw the broadest sections of young workers into the trade union movement and to enthuse them to take an active part in it.

Naturally therefore, the conference concentrated its attention on the special problems of this section of the working class. These are not merely economic demands, but also problems concerning adequate facilities for education, mainly technical, cultural activities and games and sports for the young workers.

Besides these issues, another keynote of the conference was the message to all young workers: "We will work; we will build the country; we will create a happy future."

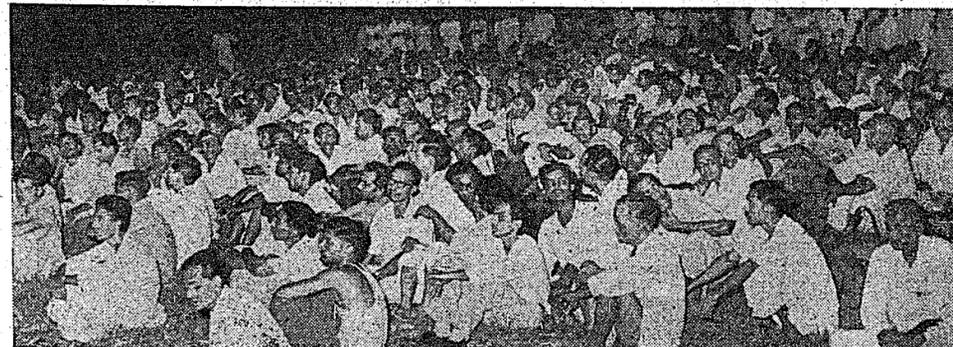
Over 402 delegates from 92 unions, some of which are not affiliated to the BTUC, attended the conference. Among the members of the Presidium, which conducted the deliberations, were Ranen Sen, MLA, President of the BPTUC, Satyapriya Roy, MLC, General Secretary of the All-Bengal Teachers' Association, and Smt. Sukumari Chowdhury.

Messages of greetings came from the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the "Sohyo" of Japan (second biggest youth organisation in Asia) young workers of Hungary, Committees of young workers under the Polish and Rumanian Central Trade Unions and the CGI of Italy. K. G. Srivastava, Secretary of the AITUC, Monoranjan Roy, General Secretary of the BPTUC, and Satyapriya Roy greeted the delegates.

The Conference passed a resolution urging upon the Government of India to accord a public reception in Calcutta to Yuri Gagarin, world's first cosmonaut, on the occasion of his visit to India.

It also adopted a charter of demands. Some of the important demands are as follows:

- Enactment of laws and revision of existing standing orders to ensure security of service to apprentices, trainees, helpers, boys and others.
- Guarantee of permanent employment when the apprenticeship period is over.
- Provision for allowances, leave and other facilities on the same scales as those enjoyed by ordinary workers.
- No restrictions on young women workers getting married and no ban on the employment of those who are married.
- Extension of facilities for technical education.



A sectional view of transport workers in session.

- Arrangements for night schools for the technical education of employed young workers.
 - Setting up of libraries in all factories and offices.
 - Encouragement to the literary and cultural activities of young workers and employees and to talented artists among them.
 - Provision of playgrounds gymnasium in all working class areas, democratic functioning of sports clubs which are now under the control of the employers' men, opportunities to sportsmen to participate in games etc.
- The conference also adopted a six-point programme, which stated that the work of centrally organising young workers in all areas should be immediately taken in hand, labour welfare organisations should be democratised and large numbers of young workers should be drawn into them, steps should be taken to organise sports centrally within the next three months, etc.
- A commission of eight persons was set up to take necessary steps to implement the charter of demands and the programme.

TRANSPORT WORKERS FORM FEDERATION

A significant advance was made by the organised working class movement of West Bengal when the statewide Road Transport Workers' Federation was formed on September 24.

The Federation represents all sections of road transport workers—urban and rural, passenger and goods-carrying, working on vehicles driven by electric, motor and manual power—under all types of owners—State, private companies (Indian and foreign) and individuals. It is the first federation of its kind in India.

Preparations for the conference were made by a Preparatory Committee set up by the Calcutta Tramway workers' union, the State Transport Employees' union, the West Bengal Motor Transport workers' union and the Bus workers' union.

The conference was held in Calcutta on September 23, 24 and 25. Over 250 delegates and 150 visitors, representing more than three lakhs road trans-

port workers in West Bengal, took part in it. They had come from almost all the 16 districts of the State.

A draft Declaration and a draft charter of demands were placed before the conference for discussion and adoption.

Messages of greetings were received from the 13-million strong Transport Workers' Trade Union International of the WFTU, National Federation of Indian Road Transport Workers and Co-ordination Committee of Central Government Employees' and Workers' Unions and Associations, West Bengal. Ranen Sen, MLA, President of the BPTUC, and Jatin Chakravarty, UTUC, also greeted the conference.

It then split up into several Commissions to discuss the problems and demands of different categories of road transport workers.

On the second day, the conference adopted the declaration and the charter of demands. Some of the main demands made in the Charter are as follows:

- Nationalisation of foreign oil monopolies, rapid expansion of our oil industry and measures to increase oil imports from the USSR and other countries, where the rates are much cheaper.
 - Modification and enforcement of existing laws relating to road transport workers.
 - Effective measures to ensure adequate living standards to the workers in keeping with rising profits and mounting cost of living.
 - Guarantees regarding security of service, trade union and democratic rights and provision for social security.
 - Fixation of the responsibility of the owners for police cases, implementation of the workers' demands, etc.
 - Stoppage of all types of zoolom, harassment, etc., by the police and other officials.
- The conference set up the West Bengal Road Transport Workers' Federation with an Executive Committee of 61 members including 19 office-bearers. Md. Ismail, veteran trade union leader, was elected president. Among the vice-presidents are Hemanta Basu, and Syed Sahidulla, MLC.
- The open session, held on September 25, was very largely attended.

TOKEN STRIKE OF TRAMWAYMEN

TEN thousand tramway workers and employees of Calcutta went on a token strike on October 5 in protest against the refusal of the Calcutta Tramway Co., a British-owned concern, to pay one month's basic wage as additional puja bonus. The call for the strike was given by the joint committee of the employees' unions.

The tramways carry more than a million passengers daily. The strike, therefore, seriously affected the city's over-strained transport system. The State Transport authorities put 45 additional buses on the streets; but they were pitifully inadequate to cope with the passenger traffic.

The company has paid a month's wage, as puja bonus. But the employee's demand is based on the fact that the company has made a huge amount of extra profits after the increase in train fares in November, 1959.

In course of the last eight months alone, the company raked in additional profits of Rs. 43 lakhs. The employees are, therefore, demanding a reasonable share of these extra profits in the shape of one month's wage as additional bonus.

Towards the end of September, the joint committee had approached the State Government and had urged upon it to intervene in the dispute. A tripartite meeting was held, and the employees' leaders were prepared to consider what should be the quantum of the additional bonus. But as the company was not prepared to pay a single naya paisa, the conciliation talks failed.

A spokesman of the Joint Committee stated that if the company remained adamant even after the token strike, the Committee would formulate a Charter of demands and take a strike ballot next month for a general strike.

The tramwaymen, however, is of the opinion that any further delay in the publication of the list of the constituencies which the Party proposes to contest, will adversely affect its election campaign.

"The Council, therefore, directs the Secretariat to publish, in course of the next few days, the preliminary list of the constituencies in which the Party will either put up its own candidates or support progressive independents.

"The State Council further directs the Negotiating Committee to continue unity talks with the other constituent left parties about the seats regarding which complete understanding has not yet been achieved."

1959. In course of the last eight months alone, the company raked in additional profits of Rs. 43 lakhs. The employees are, therefore, demanding a reasonable share of these extra profits in the shape of one month's wage as additional bonus.

Towards the end of September, the joint committee had approached the State Government and had urged upon it to intervene in the dispute. A tripartite meeting was held, and the employees' leaders were prepared to consider what should be the quantum of the additional bonus. But as the company was not prepared to pay a single naya paisa, the conciliation talks failed.

A spokesman of the Joint Committee stated that if the company remained adamant even after the token strike, the Committee would formulate a Charter of demands and take a strike ballot next month for a general strike.

W. Bengal Communist Candidates' List To Be Out Soon

THE West Bengal State Council of the Communist Party of India, which met from September 29 to October 3, discussed at length the question of allocation of seats amongst the six left Parties (CPI, FB, RSP, Marxist FB, RCPI and Bolshevik Party) constituting the united front.

It also considered the list of the constituencies, in which it will either put up party candidates or support independents. The Council thereafter adopted the following resolution:

"The State Council of the Communist Party of India is fully conscious of the necessity of forging left unity to fight the ensuing general elections in this state. It needs hardly to be pointed out here that the Communist Party has, at all times, taken the initiative in the matter of left unity and has spared no pains to achieve it.

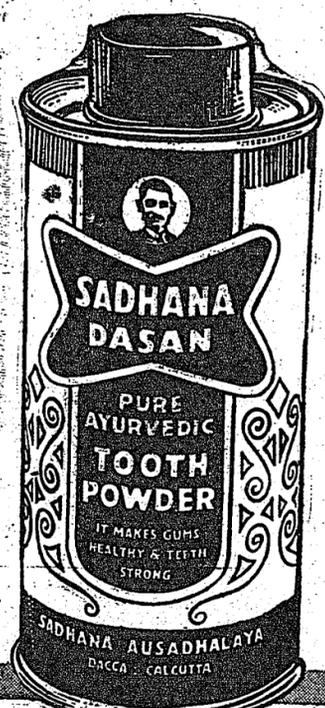
"Unfortunately, however, it has not yet been possible des-

pite our best efforts, to arrive at complete understanding on the allocation on some seats. As a result, the publication of the list of the Communist Party's candidates has had to be deferred.

"The State Council, however, is of the opinion that any further delay in the publication of the list of the constituencies which the Party proposes to contest, will adversely affect its election campaign.

"The Council, therefore, directs the Secretariat to publish, in course of the next few days, the preliminary list of the constituencies in which the Party will either put up its own candidates or support progressive independents.

"The State Council further directs the Negotiating Committee to continue unity talks with the other constituent left parties about the seats regarding which complete understanding has not yet been achieved."



SADHANA DASAN THE IDEAL DENTRIFRICE



SADHANA AUSADHALAYA—DACCA
206, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta-6,
Sadhana Ausadhalaya Road, Sadhana Nigra
Calcutta-4A.

Adhyaksha—Dr. Jagesh Chandra Ghose,
M.A. Ayurved-Sastri, F. C. S. (London)
M. C. S. (America) Formerly Professor
of Chemistry, Bhagatpur College,
Calcutta Centre
Dr. Nares Chandra Ghose,
M.B.B.S. (Cal.) Ayurvedacharya.

NOW AVAILABLE
Communist Party Publication
NATIONAL INCOME
Distribution and Rate of Growth
by K. P. Subramanya Menon
Pp. 31 Price: 25 nP.

NEW AGE
(Monthly)
OCTOBER 1961
Contents
Britain and the Common Market
by R. Palme Dutt
Review of Midterm Elections in Orissa
Legal Situation in West Berlin Question
Critical Stage in Indian Planning
by Ajit Roy
The Shape of the Future
by Stefan Heym

MEERUT'S THREE DAYS OF NIGHTMARE

From MUSADDI LAL
Secretary, City Committee, CPI

MEERUT, September 11
THREE horrible, nightmarish days and nights are over. Meerut is slowly returning to normal. It is an awful tale of how the mass of the people were suddenly overwhelmed by very high-powered communal propaganda.

It is, however, noteworthy that it never came to mass participation in the riots.

In fact there are several instances when the intervention of men belonging to one community saved the life of the other and vice versa.

Outstanding indeed, was the role of Comrade Prabhudayal, Communist member of City Municipality, who at the risk of his life prevented killings and defeated the several attempts of goondas to desecrate the mosque in his mohalla, Sotiganj.

The Home Minister of U. P. has in a statement to the press categorically stated that the current wave of riots which spread over the West U. P. had a 'set pattern', the 'killings' that took place gave

the impression of a 'trained hand' behind them.

According to the Home Minister the purpose of the 'conspiracy' was to 'create disorder' with an eye on 'political power'. Home Minister Charan Singh himself hails from Meerut and he spoke after studying the local situation.

The newspapers carried the reports of the Aligarh incident on the morning of the 4th but the city remained quiet, undisturbed. The Administration should have got alerted and active, but they did nothing.

On the morning of the 5th wild rumours about the 'killings' of innocent Hindu boys in the Aligarh University were set afloat and a students' strike was called for. The strike was prepared for during the previous night. By about 9 a.m. the Meerut College students were out of their classes, the other schools and colleges followed suit.

A procession of students started from the Meerut College which was later joined by others en route. The proces-

Charan Singh's Stand Welcomed, Insinuations Refuted

AJOY GHOSH, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India issued the following statement to the press on October 11:

In the course of his press conference held at Lucknow, Sri Charan Singh, Home Minister of the U.P. Government has said that there seems to be a deep conspiracy behind the recent communal incidents in U.P. He pointed out how false stories about the murder of Hindu students of the Aligarh University were spread in different parts of U.P. and how such incidents were used to inflame passions.

He has also given his view that the objective of the conspiracy is political.

With these observations of the U.P. Home Minister, we are in full agreement. We consider it a pity, however, that he did not name the communal organisations

responsible for these dastardly crimes. For reasons best known to him, he preferred to keep silent on this crucial question.

What amazes us, however, is that while maintaining reticence about communal organisations which hatched the conspiracy that led to these deplorable events, Sri Charan Singh has not hesitated to make insinuations against our Party. He has drawn pointed attention to the fact that "a shop which sold Communist literature" was not attacked by rioters. This, according to him, was "a curious incident".

It is not my intention to enter into a controversy with Sri Charan Singh, nor can we explain why that particular shop was not attacked. It is common knowledge, however, that our Party has always unequivocally condemned communalism—both of the Jana Sangh and of the Jama'at-e-Islami.

Everyone knows also that our opposition to communal-

ism has not been merely verbal and that during the recent spate of violence, our Party despite its small strength in Aligarh, and in Western U.P. in general, did its utmost to defend the properties of the members of the minority community.

Sri Charan Singh could easily have found this out if he had questioned even members of his own party in Aligarh and in other places. He should also try to find out as to why both the Jana Sangh and the Jama'at-e-Islami leaders detest our Party and denounce it continuously.

I would request Sri Charan Singh not to make use of every event to have a dig at Communists but to make genuine efforts to find out the real culprits responsible for this orgy of loot, arson and murder.

I would request him to take effective measures to curb these forces. Our Party will fully cooperate with all secular forces in this task.

sion remained peaceful till it reached Faiz-e-am College.

Here the boys split into two groups—the honest lot not agreeing to enter the College as the Faiz-e-am

had been declared closed already, and the other, the hardened gang which entered the College and ransacked its furniture.

The miscreants also remov-

ed the oil-painted pictures of one Nadir Ali, a big donor of this College and of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

After this the processionists

* SEE PAGE 13

Secularise Education Thoroughly

AJOY GHOSH ON ALIGARH & AFTER

* FROM FRONT PAGE

resulted in minor injuries to twelve students—seven of them Hindus and five Muslims. All of them were discharged from the hospital within three days. None was killed; no one was even seriously injured.

But the situation quickly changed on the second day, when the city came into the picture and the initiative was openly taken up by the Jana Sangh and the RSS.

The march on the University was led by a Jana Sangh leader of the town, while the RSS boys were most active in the procession. The march itself was worked up under false slogans: that Hindu boys had been killed in the University! You have to take revenge on the traitors! If you dare not touch the traitors, how will you save the country?

Although the main procession was barred by the police from entering the University, about a hundred Hindu boys reached the university campus and looted and burnt several Muslim shops there. After they had retreated a few Hindu shops were looted in the campus.

Some processionists entered the Railway Station and even raided the Kalka Mail, trying to drag out the Muslim passengers. All members of a whole Muslim family including women were killed. A Muslim student of the University visiting this family was also killed along with them. Jana Sangh and the RSS

rowdies stormed bus stations, trying to pull out Muslims and attacking them. Stabbing cases admitted into hospital numbered between 60 to 70 and over 15 persons lost their lives.

Interested Hindu businessmen, did not hesitate to come out as instigators and as philanthropic patrons of Hindu students.

From available reports, the police were unequal to the job at the beginning. But after the second day they did put effective curb on this mob violence.

From Aligarh, the poison spread rapidly to the neighbouring districts stretching through practically the entire Western U. P. The most seriously affected areas besides Aligarh were Meerut and Chandausi.

It is important to note that the very storm centres of this anti-Muslim pogrom constitute the stronghold of the Jana Sangh in Western U. P. The growth of the Jana Sangh in the U. P. particularly in the Western districts is a dangerous phenomenon in North India's political life in recent years.

And it is no accident that it is in this very region that Muslims live in substantial numbers. Their defence today has thus become the main task in the struggle against Jana Sangh politics.

What has come out with amazing clarity is that the Congress as an organisation has been singularly unable to intervene effectively in this

crisis. Traditions of Sri Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi seem to form a forgotten chapter in U. P. Congress today. It is noticed, time and again, that when Hindu communalism mounts the offensive, Congressmen are thrown on the defensive and almost withdraw from the scene.

Revive Ganesh Shankar's Traditions

Secondly, the inner factional quarrels of the Congress prevent Congressmen from putting up an effective fight against communal, disruptive forces. In Aligarh, for instance, the Congress is so miserably split into factions, that it could hardly act at the most critical juncture.

When the Chief Minister arrived at Aligarh and together with Sri A. P. Jain called a meeting of the leading citizens, Communist workers urged the formation of a Citizens' Committee, but two factions of Congressmen started quarrelling between themselves, with the result that the meeting itself got dispersed without a Citizens' Committee being formed.

The Communist workers, it has to be said to their credit, have stood their ground weathering the communal storm. Even Congressmen have recognised the work of the Communists trying to defend the minority community. But we ourselves know that our Party is a small force in these districts of U. P. and it is upto

the dominant political party in the State, as well as in the country as a whole, to come out in active defence of the minority community. The fearless traditions set by Gandhiji and thousands of Congress workers in this respect during the days of the struggle against foreign rule, must be revived.

It is in this context that one cannot help commenting on the observations of Sri B. N. Datar, Minister in Union Home Ministry. Sri Datar's was the first official reaction to the Aligarh incidents, and it is extraordinary to find a responsible Minister of the Centre saying that "most of the deaths and injuries that had happened during this period had no direct connection with communal trouble", and that only some people were exploiting the tension "for the wreaking of private revenge."

While he mentioned the elections being run on communal lines and the complete rout of the Hindu candidates at the elections as a cause of tension, Sri Datar did not think it fit to mention the role of the Hindu communal forces. Such alibis can hardly help to stamp out communalism, they actually encourage it.

It is high time now that the real people instigating these communal disturbances are unmasked. Although arrests have run into thousands, the leaders of the blatantly communal groups and parties have hardly been touched.

It is for this very reason that we have demanded that the Prime Minister in his capacity as the President of the National Integration Council "should get a thoro-

ugh enquiry instituted in order to nail down the political forces that have been at work behind this spate of communal frenzy." This is a task which deserves the top most priority at the hands of the National Integration Council.

Demand has been raised, and correctly too, that denominational educational institutions should go. But that by itself is not enough. The compulsions of national integration demand that there must be a concerted drive towards thorough secularisation of education. Colleges and schools run for particular castes or communities, or in which preference is given to some communities or castes, should be discouraged.

At Aligarh, as elsewhere, secularisation of the inner life of the University has to be taken up seriously. It is not a question of merely changing the denominational signboard; the people in authority whether in the university or in the Education Ministry, have to be nationalist in approach, outlook and conduct, having a wholesome hatred for all forms of communalism.

Emphasis has lately been laid on education as a vehicle of national integration. Secularisation of education and educational institutions should be treated as an urgently vital aspect of educational reorganisation.

These developments in the U. P. are portents of dark forces at work. If the unity of the nation is to be saved, they have to be fought today, and fought effectively.

October 10, 1961