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by P. C. JOSHI

After the Canal Waters Agreement and the Nehru-Ayub talks a big press build-up was organised for peaceful settlement of Kashmir dispute as well and ever-growing Indo-Pak amity and unity but the real aim was something else. The New Age had warned against nursing any illusions with U.S. imperialists bossing the show on the Pak side. Our warning has come true, all too soon.

Addressing a rally of ex-soldiers on October 8 at Rawalkot, President Ayub said: "Some people in India think that as the Kashmir issue has been hanging fire for 13 years, people will forget it and Pakistan will accept a solution such as India wishes. That is far from the truth."



The political correspondent of the Hindustan Times, Octo-ber 11, reveals the two alter-native proposals which Ayub offered Nehru for a settlement of the Kashmir question. The Pak dictator's first choice was a joint Indo-Pak-istan administration for the whole State more or less on the basis of Mr. Jinnah's well-known condominium pro-posal. This is the same old scheme which Pak pressed, with U. S. and Western help, for some years through the U. N. but failed to achieve. His second alternative was to merge Jammu with India and Azad Kashmir with Pak-istan ad "an independent Valley with equal rights to trade, commerce and passage for the two countries." This

Valley with equal rights to trade, commerce and passage for the two countries." This again is nothing new but the old one that the U. S. diplo-mats sought to achieve thro-ugh the ill-fated Sheikh Ab-Autab ugh th dullah.

Military Action Threat

Both proposals amount to liquidating Indian sover-eignty over Kashmir and handing it over to U. S. con-trol under one cover or the other, exactly what the U.S. imperialists have been plot-ting and conspiring to achi-eve for a long time, ever since the "birth" of this problem. problem.

Pak President did not leave the matter for further thou-

ght and peaceful talks after making the above proposals to Premier Nehru. Within two weeks of Nehru's departure from Pakistan, he proclaimed at Muzaffarabad: "The Pakistan Army can never afford to leave the Kashmir issue un-solved for an indefinite time."

(Times of India, October 8) Commenting on the above Commenting on the above amazingly provocative spee-ch; PTI reports: "Political observers said in Karachi that this was the first direct threat of military action to settle the Kashmir issue since President Ayub assu-med power in October 1958."

Words Of A Pappet

So Ayub has at last said So Ayub has at last said what he had not said before, Ayub, the plain soldier, earnestly wanting peace with India? What do the faces now look like of the reactionary Indian politicians who did all they could to paint the size Indian politicians who did all they could to paint this pic-ture of Ayub-the JPs, Masa-nis, Dr. Raghuviras and the like? How far do the hands of the scribes of the Times of India, Hindustan Times, In-dian Express etc. shake now, when in the past they did all they could to popularise Ayub as a man of peace. Are these words of neigh-

Are these words of neigh-bourly amity and of a leader seeking peace or the outrage-ously affected posture of war, of a puppet, with strings in somebody else's hands?

The American correspon-dents rushed up to Pandit Nehru in New York for his comments and he gave it back to them, calm, cool and polite: "It is comparatively difficult to live in unrealistic atmos-phere and talk about things which have no relation to the present situation. The moment present situation. The moment you touch it is like reopening Pandora's box. Things will come out all over, upset things everywhere and lead to migra-tions and so on." (Hindu, October 10)

It is only the very naive or the really crooked who will find Ayub's wordy somersault very difficult, to understand. The first big thing to note is that Ayub is not his own mastér.

Part Of U. S. Diplomacy

The second that U. S. diplomacy is all one piece, crude and clumsy on all counts, global and openly counts, global and openly aggressive in the last resort, What happened in Indo-Pak relations recently is only a part of the big piece of what happened at New York in the U. N. General Assembly and at Washington in the World Bank Confer-ence.

et us note the dates of the bellicose speeches of the Pak dictator. They followed close upon Prime Minister Nehru's

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SHAL : Huw Pu

TAYA ZINKIN, the In-dian Correspondent of the GUARDIAN, has won quite a deal of notoriety through her stories about our bor-ders ders.

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She has figured before, both in the Indian Press and Parliament. She goes all over the border areas and claims to know the per-sons who matter. She either sons who matter. She either manufactures or populari-ses just the stories that suit her masters. She goes wherever there is trouble only to create more trouble for India, maligns our foreign policy and flings mud at the Prime Minister and all the rest.

She is back at the job, again, the latest being her again, the latest being her October 4 despatch in the **Guardian**, where she wri-tes, "The Nagas are on war path again. Last month there was a series of raids on the Nagas who negotia-ted with the Indian Gov-ernment for Nagaland."

GUABDIAN DESPATCH

She quotes her doubles of the Times of India News Service to say that the underground Nagas have been killing Naga People's Convention members. She herself discovered that the Angami Nagas held "two public meetings challenging public meetings chancing the competence of the Naga Peoples' Convention to Peoples' Convention to speak for the Nagas with Delhi."

She holds Prime Ministér Nehru responsible for "creating a vicious circle." By not proclaiming, that "elections would be held Nehru first to ascertain as to which Nagas should nego-tiate with Delhi, he creat-ed trouble."

PLEA FOR PfilZO

Her further plea is, "It is enough to listen to Phizo, the nationalist even if terrorist, to realise that no solution is possible unless all the Nagas are associated with it." And she wants this done in a manner that her Phizo should emerge as the boss of Nagaland.

This is made abundantly clear by her demand that the Naga elections should be held "in an atmosphere of complete amnesty" and much more.

nothing else will convince the Nagas that Delhi is serious. There is still one British expert on elections in the Indian Civil Service; his presence would go a long way to make the Nagas feel that the voting is fair."

FIVE-ACT PLAY

The September issue of the Eastern World, London, the Eastern World, London, supplies the tail-pice. Commenting on the where-abouts and the hosts of Phizo in London, it writes, "his movements were better known to the U. S. Baptist Mission than even to Mic-hael Scott."

The various scenes of the imperialist drama which they seek to enact in Nagaland are cleverly conceived and not merely on paper. The actual reharsal is on.

SCENE ONE: Phizo men do the shooting and prevent peace and democracy come to Nagaland. peace

- SCENE TWO: Phizo in London is given necessary training in the U. S. Baptist Mission not in prac-tising piety but in run-ning politics by Allen Dulles' boys masquerad-ing as U. S. Baptist Missionaries.
- SCENE THREE: Phizo comes back to Nagaland as the national hero and goes all out to run the election campaign. He election campaign. He does not lack U. S. dol-lars and British pounds in his pockets.
- SCENE FOUR: A British civilian supervises the Naga elections and is given the cover of the Election Commission of India, in the same way as Dag Hammarskjoeld had the U. N. cover for opera-tions in Compo. tions in Congo.
- SCENE FIVE: Not yet writ-ten but everybody can imagine it.

We have a very simple question to ask our Infor-mation Ministry, the Home Ministry and the External Affairs Ministry: Why should Taya Zinkin be al-lowed one day more-hospitality of India? She should be sent back home by the first available plane. She misuses the freedom She misuses the freedom of complete annesty" and of the Press in India to at-much more. "Phizo should be allowed imperialist provocateur and to canvass in person since no honest journalist."

PANDIT Nehru's magnificent oration won justi-fied acclaim at the U.N. General Assembly. His further follow-up through subsequent interventions inside the U.N. and statements to the Press outside helped to highlight the Indian stand on all the major issues of the moment, sharply demarcating them from the unreasonable and unjust positions of the imperialist West and boldly establishing points of contact with the reasonable and just positions adopted by Khrushchov.

The dignified and distinctive contribution of Indian statesmanship has created a deep impression abroad. The Paris mass circulation daily La Figaro of October 8 admired Pandit Nehru's "supreme skill in a lovely but somewhat sad voice which gains sudden briskness when it attacks". Si milarly the popular evening daily, France Soir, concluded its account of the October 5 U.N. debate with: "Mr. Nehru seems to have convinced everybody.... This is another confirmation of the ever-growing influence of the Afro-Asian group in the U.N."

Reactionaries Unhappy

All Indians feel proud that the Prime Minister has heightened India's contribution in the big and critical affairs of the world. However, as India's banner maries proudly aloft, the heart Indian reaction starts throbbing wildly. Pro-Western leaders of the Congress dare not speak up. Even those outside are tongue-tied. The monopoly controlled Press, however, has to speak for them all, it cannot keep silent.

The Times of India editorial of October 5, entitled "Face to Face" stated: "No one can be med for not wanting to meet Mr. Khrushchov face to face." It opined, "Mr. Eisenhower's onditions are far more reasonable than Mr. Khrushchov's." It repeated the Western demand when it wrote: "It might not be a bad idea to give the job back to professional diplomats and Foreign Ministers." It pressed that the five neutral nations "ask themselves if it would not be better to abandon a mechanically neutral attitude on issues.'

In its October 8 editorial, this Dalmia daily discovered "considerable substance in the Australian view" and it considered the Nehru-Menzies exchange 'a particularly dismal sample of petty squabbling."

Birla's Hindustan Times is cleverer. In its October 8 editorial it criticises the Western Powers for rejecting the resolution of the five neutrals but then it turns round, "Now that the tumult of the debate has subsided, the question will be asked whether this five-Power aking was worthwhile."

What else is this if not a denial of India's historic role, lack of faith in the triumph of the cause of peace and an attitude of let the Western imperialists have their way? Indian reaction has no faith in our nation's great destiny, unity."

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it is cynical and servile. It sulks, and worse, when the Prime Minister raises high India's status abroad and fulfils Ind'a's duty to the world we live in.

CRISIS INSIDE CONGRESS

HE Congress is facing a big crisis in the biggest State of the country and where it used to be the strongest-in Uttar Pradesh. The dissidents have won a total victory in the latest PCC elections.

Chief Minister - Sampurnanand had made these elections an issue of confidence. The results have, therefore, only deepened the crisis by pitting organisational against the legislative wing of the ruling party, and threatening the existence of the State Cabinet itself.

It is worth recalling that C. B. Gutpa was twice rejected by the U.P. electorate but the very politician discarded and disgraced by the people has. become the great victor in the. internal struggle of the Congress organisation. C. B. Gupta. been the traditional Rightist inside the U.P. Congress. In the old days, he was the trusted lieutenant of the strong-armed Sardar Patel. Since Morarji came to the Centre, he has been functioning as his man in U.P. As he began coming on top he has won the patronage of Con-President Sanjeeva gress Reddy.

He has won his victory despite the opposition of Pandit Nehru and Pant who have been backing Sampurnanand all through. The biggest and the greatest inside the Congress High Command could not prevent the rehabilitation and triumph inside their own organisation of the ong-discredited Kanput Textile owners', U.P. sugar magnates' and local grain wholesalers' favourite, C.B. Gupta, for the simple reason that one cannot fight out a Rightist reactionary by let-ting Rightist policies themselves to be pursued in prac-

Horse-Trading In U. P.

Horse-trading is afoot to keep Sampurnanand in the State gaddi and persuade C. B. Gupta to make peace with him. Neither is very unwilling but manoeuvring for the upper hand is going on and of course for saving the face.

The Central Congress Parliamentary Board is in a real fix, for U.P. is no exception. In five or six other States. the ministerial and organsiational wings of the party are in conflict with each other.

The focal point of the current struggle is control over the State election committee which will nominate candidates for the next general elections. The Press reported last wee Dhebarbhai had succeeded in restoring unity in Andhra Congress. But the Times' of India, October 11, quoting "informed sources" states that Dhebar has succeeded "in nothing but a patch-work solution to preserve an exterior of

India's Banner Goes Up : NOTES OF THE WEEK They Sulk And Nibble

In Bihar, too, the ministerialists and the dissidents are heading towards an open conflict on the formation of the election body and the next BPCC meeting which is to decide the vital issue is due by the end of the month.

This position of the ruling party, of a house divided, is used by reaction to move it still more towards the Right. For example Argus, columnist of the Eastern Economist in his "Delhi Diary", October 7, cynically writes, "There are some querulous people who think the Prime Minister has exhibited a wrong sense of proportion, leaving the crisis in Uttar Pradesh to overflow while our efforts to provide a bridge in New York are not notably successful." It is an attempt to sneer at Pandit Nehru's work abroad and sink him in the pit of sins at home, asi him to not to bother about peace abroad but get him to make peace with the Guptas at home!

PIAN DISPARITIES -NEW TENSION

HE U.S. patronised Economic Intelligence unit of the Indian Institute of Public Opinion has produced a very interesting study which shows that under the Plans the economic disparities between the States instead of being lessened have become heightened.

According to this study, in real terms, the total income of the Indian Union over the 15 years' period, 1950-51 to 1965-66, is estimated to go up 86.38 per cent.

"The advance will be greatest in Punjab at 138.56 per cent, Orissa at 114.86 per cent and Gujarat 101.02 per cent."

"Bihar, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and West Bengal will nearly double their 1950-51 incomes.

"Comparatively slow-movers will be Assam (69.12 per cent), Andhra Pradesh (70.22 per cent), Kerala (76.43 per cent) and Madras (69.95 per

"In Uttar Pradesh the rate of rise in income generation will be in each Plan substantially less than the all-India average and over the three Plans together, it will be only 60.32 per cent against an all-India figure of 86.38 per cent."

"Madhya Pradesh increases will also be of a relatively low order (total 79.81 per cent)".

Weakening Our Unity

Congress failures have already set caste against caste, community against community and one language group against another, inside the various States of the Indian Union. This is not only weakening the Congress itself but also we damaging the cause of democratic unity in each State and of national unity as well. This is being bemoaned by the saner elements inside the

Congress itself. Another threat to national unity is emerging from the eco-

NEW AGE

nomic policies being pursued by the Congress rulers, under the Plans, and which lead to uneven economic development of the various States as the figures above given indicate. If the present shape of things is allowed to continue the day will soon come when the States will go against the Centre and make demands against each other. The alternative is a fair and equitable distribution of national resources, with a view to achieve a balanced economic development of the country as a whole. Drift can only strengthen separatist and disruptive tendencies leading ultimately towards national disas-

THE PLIGHT OF YOUTH

ter.

HE "youth going astray" and "students' indiscipline" are very common topics of discussion in the colmuns of the Press and speech-es of public figures. These phrases express only a part of the truth. They_describe the symptom of the disease which can be ignored no more. It is growing national disease and if not arrested in time it can blight the future of the nation.

Dr. D. S. Chauhan of the Institute of Social Sciences, Agra University, has recently concluded his study of the basic causes of "misbehaviour" - inf the youth. He interviewed 2.000 youngmen living in Agra city. The results of his study are stunning. His investigations reveal the following:

In the age group 15-25, 47.2 per cent were unemployed.

In the same age group under-employment was equally rampant, 30.7 per cent.

B Regarding economic conditions in general, a bare 8.7 per cent were free from worries.

Minetysix per cent of the youth interrogated were suffering from worries-economic or otherwise. The "incidence of frustration" was also highest in this age group, constituting 88.2 per cent of the whole. ong these frustrated youth,

49.9 per cent complained about "polluted and unwholesome atmosphere", 49.7 per cent of blighted hopes and 36.9 per cent of boredom. Parallel figures could be

quoted from similar investigations conducted among the Calcutta or Patna students and youth. Agra is thus no excep-

If the youth of a nation suffer the above conditions, how can they ever grow up healthy, competent and strong and help build the anew. Again, if a nation lets its youth suffer the above, what in turn will be its own suffering and shame when these very youth grow up to manhood.

This is the question of questions facing our educationists, planners and leaders of public opinion. The starting point of any new and honest thought and effective action must be that the existing social institutions, educational system and

employment policies and portunities are such that they fail in their first and foremost duty towards the youth, the future citizens of our country.

THE VOICE OF THE KISANS

HE Tamilnad Kisan Sabha has recently done a magnificent job when its lead-Manali Kandaswami and B. Srinivasa Rao, led two jathas, one from-Madurai and the other from Coimbatore. marching all the way on foot right up to Madras, organising and stirring up the kisans and landless labourers en route. They collected 200,000 signatures of kisans and khet-mazdoors on the Kisan Sabha Memorandum suggesting amendents to the Land Ceiling Bill to make it beneficial to the working peasantry.

On October 5, the kisan leaders met the Chief Minister to argue out their case that the present Bill as it was, was a big hoax, for under it little or no surplu land would be available for distribution among the landless and poor peasants. They pleaded for reducing the ceiling limit from 30 standard acres to 15 and concretely suggested measures to plug all loopholes to prevent cir-cumvention of legislation by the big landed interests.

The Chief Minister gave them a patient hearing and they very clearly warned him that if his Government failed to respond to the deep discon-tent and clear-cut demands of restive kisan masses. the Kisan Sabha would have no alternative left but launch a peaceful struggle for "genuine land reforms".

Inside Kerala Assembly

The same battle of land reforms is also being fought inside the Kerala Assembly where the President has sent back the Bill, duly pa der the Communist-led Government, with suggestions to dilute it in the interest of the landlords and the planters. This is not only a violation of State autonomy but a repudiation of the declared objectives of the Planning Commission itself for the Kerala legislation did not go beyond its consistent application. The Tamilnad kisan leaders are also demanding the

It is not only the irony ofthe times but the true lesson of current Indian experience that it is the Communists and the progressives who are fighting for a concrete and lication of the projust app gressive policies of the Congress and the Planning Com-mission while the Congressled State Governments are compromising and scuttling them in the interests of landlords and the big farmers.

Ours is the path of advance, theirs of retreat and the decision lies with the mass of the peasantry and Indian democracy who can neither be sat upon nor made to shut up.

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-P. C. JOSHI

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

THE Kerala Assembly is currently discussing and amending the Agrarian Relations Bill.

The original Bill was drafted by the Communist-led Government and was adopted by the Legislature in June 1959. The President delayed giving assent to it for over a year and after the Congress-PSP Coalition Government was formed in the State, sent it back to the Legislature with recommendations

Two facts to be remembered about the whole episode are-

ONE, the Communist-led Government's original Bill is the only legislation in the country that closely follows the recommendations of the Land Panel of the Planning Commission. None of the Bills drafted by the various Congress Governments can claim this.

TWO. the Centre's recommendation for the modification of the Bill is an infringement on the autonomy of the State, since no clause of the Bill violates the Constitution and even the President has not demand ed modifications on the ground that the Bill contains unconstitutional provisions.

The amendments introduced by the Congress-PSP Government will show what has prompted the demand for modifica-

The amendments are in

Communist Party Kangra District

T is the growing popularity of the Com nist Party in the area and their own declining prestige and influence that have made the local Congress leaders so desperate as to seek Pandit Nehru's support in the slander campaign against the Communist Party on the border issue, writes Paras Ram, Secretary of the Kangra District Committee of the Communist Party, giving details of the

In the Kangra district the Communist Party has been functioning since 1941. Its founder was the then leade of the Congress in the district, the late Thakur Hazara Singh, who had been President of the DCC till 1940. Paras Ram himself the General Secretary the District Congress Committee. The late Mahashey Amin Chand was General Secretary of the Tehsil Congress. Thus it was from the best of Congress workers that the Communist Party unit in Kangra was initially formed.

The people of Kangra had been in the forefront of all Congress-led struggles. Feeling dissatisfied with the Congress programme, progressive-minded elements in the Congress organised the Communist Party. Since then the Party giving leadership to the

When Jawaharlal Nehru toured the Kangra District in 1942, he could not help

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ers came over to the Party. Pundit Dhani Ram, former member of the PCC,

Party's work in the district.

tish army dominate the Congress now. route licences. Naturally Congress prestige is falling

years of Congress rule.

tion owners. And in seeking to give these benefits to a handful of vested interests, the benefits which the originnal Bill gave to lakhs of kudikidappukars (landless occupants of homesteads in landlord's land) and tenants are sought to be taken away. Naturally, the kisans are no mood to sit back idly while the fruits of their sufferings and sacrifices and struggles are being taken away just at the moment when they were getting ready to enjoy them.

Movement

Ontside

So, while the Congress-PSP-League majority inside the As-sembly is amending the Bill, outside, the peasantry is raising its demands, and the Communist MLAs are fighting every inch to press these demands. The Kerala Karshaka Sangham held a special conference in Trichur on September 28 to discuss the amendments and to chalk out plans to defend the

interests of the peasantry. The Special Conference came in the wake of the Statewide Protest Day observed on September 25. Every district had seen huge mobilisations on the day; in Trichur District alone, about 800 squads had

favour of the vested interests in land, specially the planta-tion owners. And in seeking LAND REFORM BATTLE IN KERALA

Speeial Kisan Conference 🔤

from house to house explaining the dangerous implications of the amendments

Six hundred delegates and number of visitors assembled in the Town Hall to participate in the deliberations of the Conference.

K. R. Gouri, President of the Karshaka Sangham, opening the deliberations, said that the original Bill had been drafted meet the age-old demands of our national movement, that it had been drafted within the framework of the Constitution to assure a better future for the people. But the amendments recommended by the Presiden were aimed to defeat the very purpose of the Bill.

After E. Gopala Krishna Menon had spoken in detai about the amendments which the Government was proposing, discussions continued in groups for two hours after which the delegate's session met again to hear reports of these discus-

REFUTING THE BORDER SLANDER Im والجعثية المرسلون

> saying in his speeches that the Communist Party had gained control of the Congress organisation in Kangra. In the indepen struggle, Communists inside the Congress were the most active. Dozens of its workers uffered imprisonment. They fought for the day-to-day demands of the masses and it was thus that the Party came to be a party near to

the hearts of the people. What is the picture today? Who controls the Congress organisation now? It is the old toadies of the British Government and the worst reactionaries of those days, people who in 1946 and even as late as 1952, opposed Congress candidates in the elec-tions. The Rai Sahebs and Rai Bahadurs who were recruiting agents for the Bri-

Further, the organisation is afflicted with factionalism like elsewhere. Congress leaders and workers are fighting among themselves for quotas and permits and

day by day. More so because people do not find any imovement in their living conditions after thirteen

The Communist Party, on the other hand, has continued to serve the people During 1948-52, dozens of its workers suffered imprisonment and others served the people from the underground. More of honest Congress leaders and workalong with several of his former co-workers in the Congress is today organising the peasantry in the Kisan Sabha under the Red Flag An increasingly large num ber of honest Congress workers are joining the Party and more and more of working people and the middle classes and the intellegentsia are coming to it. The Sixth District Conference of the Party was

held recently, on September 6 and 7. Thousands of people with bands and bugles and placards and posters joined its procession and flocked to listen to what the Party leaders had to say.

It is this growing popu larity of the Commu Party and their Own declining prestige and influence that are unnerving Congress leaders and ma ing them seek Pandit Nehru's support in their slander campaign against our Party.

Pandit Nehru is totally nformed about Communist propaganda in the Lahaul-Spitti region. There is no such propaganda, it is very hard for us even to go there. We had a unit of the Party there for some time but due to some organisational weaknesses had to wind it up at the end of 1958 and there is none nov. However much we may be

slandered. we Communists in Kangra are confident that by continuing to serve the masses fearlessly and boldly as we have done so far we will win their ever-increasing confidence and will surely discharge our historic responsibility.

NEW AGE

General Secretary of the Sangham C. H. Kanaran then summed up the deliberations and E. Gopalakrishna Menon moved the main resolution.

Heated debate took placemainly over one point: whether the Conference itself should give the call for a struggle against the amendments or whether, as the resolution had suggested, the Working Committee should be entrusted with the task of chalking out the plan for future action.

In the voting that took place the majority voted for the suggestion contained the resolution while a sizable vote was recorded for the amendment. -The Press later reported this saving that a move for "direct acti defeated and Law Minister Chandrasekharan is reported have said that the Karshaka Sangham itself had to give up the idea of "direct action" because its leaders were not sure whether they would get people's support against the Government's amendments to the Bill.

For over an hour-the debate became so heated it could not be concluded at 5 p.m. as scheduled—people who had come from all the surrounding villages had been waiting in front of the Town Hall to begin the demonstration.

Finally at six, the delegates came out, and the mammoth demonstration began its march to the Thekkinkad Maidan with A. K. Gopalan, K. R. Gouri and others leading it.

About a lakh of people had gathered on the maidan to listen to the leaders. K. R. Gowri presided over the rally which was inaugurated by A. K. Gopalan. Among those who spoke were E. M. S. Namboodiripad, C. Achutha Menon, Pandalam P. R. Madhavan Pillai and C. H. Kanaran.

The resolution adopted by the conference and explained at the rally declared that most of the amendments proposed by the Government would not Only adversely affect the vital interests of the toiling peasantry and kudikidappukars but would also defeat some of the important purposes and aims of the original Bill while giving undue advantage to plantation and factory Owners, etc.

After examining the am-

endments in detail the resolution continued, it had to be remembered that some of the amendments . recommended bu the President were of ery dangerous consequences. to the kisans, but the powerful and Statewide campaign of the peasantry and the Karshaka Sangham had been able to force the State Government to move less harmful amendments.

Concessions Won

For instance, the modification which the President had recommended of assuring by way of compensation an annuity equal to their net income calculated on the basis of fair rent to religious, charitable and educational institutions would have imposed more burdens on the tenants. But as a result of the agitation the State Government has had to agree to pay the additional compensation itself without putting it on the ants. The Government has adopted a similar stand on the Jenmikaram Abolition Bill also.

Though the additional compensation to be paid from the Exchequer will mean an added burden on the people as a whole, that the peasants alone will not have to bear it is a significant concession that has been won.

Similarly, the retention of the clause in the original Bill that its benefits will not go to those who have by transfers or partitions become small-holders since December 19, 1959, is also a victory won by the movement.

Greeting all those who have participated in the Karshaka Sangham's agitation, the resolution has called on them to get ready for an even bigger and more powerful movement against the amendments.

The resolution called for Statewide demonstrations on October 5 to submit hundreds of memoranda to the district and taluk authorities demanding the withdrawal of the antipeasant amendments.

The resolution has authorised the Working Committee of the Karshaka Sangham to take all steps necessary to fight the amendments.



PAGE THREE



EVERY NATION HAS ITS traitor. Right in Manhattan Castro picturesquely said Cuba had Batista and Congo has

produced Mobutu.

National

Mobutu broke the oath of his office staged a military coup against his civilian chief, the Prime Minister, and dissolved the duly elected Parliament of his country. Evidence from every conceivable source goes to prove Lumumba's charge that Mobutu turned traitor on the US promise to accept him as the titular ruler of Congo, after being stuffed with US dollars.

The UN General Assembly debates have floot-lit the Congolese demand for the restoration of the rights and functioning of the Congolese Parliament, and to let it handle Congo's problems, with the UN agencies and forces helping instead of hindering the process.

Mobutu knows his days are gone. In desperation he ordered his puppet troops to arrest Premier Lumumba. In all insolence he served an "ultimatum" on the UN to step aside and deliver the Congolese Prime Minister for arrest. The US Ambassador Timberlake wanted UN officials to help Mobutu arrest Lumumba. (Times of India correspondent K. C. Khanna's despatch from Leopoldville, October 11).

The heroic struggle of the Congolese people, the unanswerable justice of their elementary demand and the bold exposures of and constructive contributions of heads of governments from Asian, African, Latin American counries, including our own, made on the floor of the UN, alltogether these have turned the tide.

Rajeshwar Dayal, the Indian representative in Congo, of the UN Secretary General, has firmly rejected the illegal ultimatum of rebel Mobutu. More, as he moved his US-paid traitor bands of Congolese in uniform, with weapons and armoured cars to storm Lumumba's residence Indian General Rikhye, military adviser to the UN in Congo, stepped in with the resounding warning that force will be met with force.

Not only our country but all freedom loving nations will cheer: "Well done India." We only add, keep it up, India. Rebuff all moves of the colonialists, help Congolese independence, and win new laurels in the noble cause.

NO FIRING!

India rightly prides itself on the tradition of peace and democracy in our national life. Indiscriminate firing against unarmed political opponents, and that inside the four walls of the jail, goes against our grain. Four Akali prisoners killed inside Bhatinda jail by Kairon's police is a shocking violation of all that we seek to nurture in our ancient and good soil.

We are no friends of the communal Akalis but the police gun is no answer to their reactionary politics, fanning religions passions and ill manners. One evil leads to another. The Bhatinda firing led to the Patiala clash where the Akali procession clashed with the police, resulting in one Akali supporter killed by the police and police officers injured with weapons. The vicious circle goes on. The communalists have been handed over the banner of martrydom to flaunt and rouse the religious sentiments of the warm-hearted Sikh masses.

The Kairon Ministry has announced a judicial enquiry. It is something if all cooperate and honest attempts are made to render such tragedies a memory of the sad past.

First fire and then enquire-this can't be the way of Indian political life. We demand that the Prime Minister, fresh from his laurels abroad, publicly announce, in conth all Chief Ministers, that in future no police firings will be resorted to inside any Indian prison against political prisoners. This is the least that the fair name of the country and the memory of the dead demand.

October 12.

PAGE FOUR

SCRAP-BOOK

INTRODUCING THE SARVODAYI

F you find one morning in the personal columns f your favourite newspaper an advertisement calling on you for "all materials eches and letters (pubshed and unpublished), photographs, photostats etc., etc., connected with the life of the eminent Indian political (or is it nolitics?) figure of above Jai Prakash Narain" to be kindly forwarded to an American firm of publishers, you need not be surorised. I am giving you due ontice. After Thimayya, it is now

. P.'s turn to be introduced to the American public as the "champion of the free world in India." And for the "biographer" it will provide an opportunity to make another American asessment of the Indian political situaion Plans were chalked out

about a year ago and the work of collecting the relevant data, etc., have already been taken in hand.

The American author, assigned the task of preparing the outline of the biography" is said to have already arrived in India and is processing the already collected material from two camp offices in Bombay and New Delhi ssisted by a Patna journalist, a former private secretary of the Jeevandani lea-

The author has already had a number of sittings with J. P. to get answers to many important questions I hope one of the important questions was on how J. P. xnects to succeed Nehru as Prime Minister.

Whether he has answered the question or not, J. P. does deserve an America "biography" after his heroid battle in defence of the freedom of the Tibetan serf-owners.

NEXT PRIME MINISTER

M EANWHILE, Morarji Desai has again been sold to the American public as the next Prime Mi iste of India. His latest visit to the U.S. to become th of the vice-Chairman Norld Bank, has been the ccasion for an Associated Press feature published in the Christian Science Moni tor which says, Morarji may be India's next Prime Minister." For one, Morarji is a cent

per cent democrat. In the A.P.'s words, "Mr. Desai is one of the more bluntly anti-Communist member of Nehru's Cabinet. He says ndia must use democrati methods to solve its vas onomic problems. remain

"I would rather poor for one hundred years give up, de cracy said.' This, of course, is not likely to endear Mr. Desai to the hearts of India's

millions who are in no moo NEW AGE

to continue their present sufferings for another hundred years because they know that much faster progress is possible without sacrificing democracy if only people like Morarji are forced to get out of the places where they are now. The A.P. also is fully aware of this. But if millions don't like him. he is still the favourite of the

elite. Listen to the A.P.: "This hard philosophy does not win him public affection and he remains little known to masses who adore Nehru. But it earns respect among those who will help to choose Nehru's succes-

So, Morarji may be the next Prime Minister. Maybe, but it may not be too good to plan a whole strategy on that basis.

WHERE THE TIMES FOUND SENSE

IT was interesting, read-ing through the comments of Sydney and Melbourne papers on Australian Prime Minister Men-Lics' amenament to the five neutral Powers' resolution Highly critical most of them were-there were, of course, the few who shouted, Bravo,

What I like in most of them is the forthright acceptance of the fact that Australia allowed "herself to be made a catspaw

(Morning Herald) by the Western Powers. The Morning Herald's editorial said. "Australia should not therefore be surprised that her intervention provoked such an angry reaction and that nsy and transparent manoeuvre to which lent herself was backed by only four States"-what the paper had itself called "the power elite of the West."

The Melbourne Age lamented: "In the event, Australia has repeated that the Western Big Three have been saving for six months but apparanetly were not anxious to repeat in the present tense atmosphere of the U. N."

Related was the advice which the Sun gave: "Mr. Menzies might have avoided some of the bruising to which he was subjected if he had set off earlier for this vital Assembly session and hopped around a bit more among the supposedly uncommitted nations."

While the Australian monopoly Press was thus letting down Menzies in a big way, the only comment which brought him solace was of our own Times of India which found "sense in the Australian stand." Maybe that is the right type of "nationalism" and "pa-triotism" which the Times of India (Voice of Menzies?) complains we Comnunists don't have.

GUEST DIARIST

U. S. PRESSURE ON INDIA'S POLICIES

* FROM FRONT PAGE

noble call for peace, disarma- fondly imagine that the warthunder of Ayub and the em-It stunned the imperialist pty coffers of Morarji Desai will make India, shake and tremble, seek U. S. "advice" in foreign affairs and U.S. "aid" economic development, for

respondent of the London and on U.S. terms. They do not know real In-Daily Telegraph wrote that Ayub "foresaw that the pro- dia, they know their India lem would go on for a long through the Swatantrites. PSPers, Jan Sanghis and the weight into the settlement. servile among the Congress leaders like Raghuviras Morarjis or the scribes of the monopoly-controlled stand, pressing with a some press who dine and wine with what pro-Pak bias to bring them and readily accept their dollars and write out the sto-Pandit Nehru dared pas- ries they seek to put out and sionately plead for the cause popularise the line they want to broadcast among the peo-

on his border by the U.S. It is not enough to the participation of source, do Ayub. He will, of course, do Ridley writes further: Ayub. He will, of course, do "Since India is in dire need his bit. It is very necessary to of foreign exchange for her pump out all the poison Rightwing Indian newspapers have of development which starts been daily vending for over a next year, America is in a year now, under the cover of strong position to make her a policy of peace and amity influence felt " This line with neighbouring Pakistan of pressure was tried on Mor- but really to give pro-Western arji at the World Bank and twist to our foreign policy. helped Conference, held at Washing- to achieve a realistic underton just about that time. He standing of the forces in actwas given only a few crumbs ion which we have to handle and asked to come again in and shape in our own and world's interest.

> (October 12) OCTOBER 16, 1960

SINO-BURMESE BOUNDARY TREATY

Great Event For Asia And World

W HEN China's Premier Chou En-lai and Burma's Prime Minister U Nu got up from the table, warmly shook hands and congratulated each other, they could look back with satisfaction on the treaty they had just signed on behalf of their two countries.

As U Nu said, with the Sino Burmese Boundary Treaty signed on October 1, "a new chapter begins in the relations between Burma and China. And Chou En-lai added it has "set a good example of peaceful coexistence among Asian countries on the basis of the Five Principles and provided a brilliand model for all countries in the world in settling international disputes by peaceful means."

It was no easy thing, the achivement of this boundary settlement as U Nu pointed out: "There were many difficulties to overcome on both sides, some of them being inherent in the problem, and others being carried over from history." The boundary question between the two countries, said Chou En-lai, "was a result of the long-term aggressive policy of imperialism."

The Burmese Prime Min-ister explained how the settlement became possible: "No progress could, therefore, have been made with-out the will on both sides to reach a settlement. Friendship, understanding, the spirit of mutual accommo--these qualities, dis played to a high degree by both sides, have contributed to the present happy out-

com Chou En-lai said, "after China and Burma freed themselves from imperialist oppres sion and became independent and mutually friendly countries, the nature of the Sino-Burmese boundary question was fundamentally changed The initiation of the Five Principles of peaceful co existence by the Prime Ministers of our two countries jointly in 1954 as the code

* SEE PAGE 12

night.

On the rostrum from left: General Ne Win of Burma, Premier Chou En-lai, Ferhat Abbas, Prime Minister of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, Chairman Máo Tse-tung, Burma's Prime Minister U Nu, Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic, Liu Shao-chi and A. Kellezi, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Albania. Ministers of Albania.



OCTOBER 16, 1960

March next year.

infatuated American rulers

The power-mad and dollar-

time unless the U.S. threw its America indeed is very anxious to see the Kashmir dispute resolved and is I under- Indian what pro-Pak bias to bring this about."

ment and colonial liberation.

rulers of U.S. They inevitably

let loose Ayub to bark and

threaten to bite. John Ridley, the Delhi cor-

of world peace at New York. He was threatened with war ple.

writes further: massive Third Five Year Plan

International Monetary Fund Ayub has unwittingly



Joyous Peking parades waving flower bouquets as they throng past the Tienanmen Square.

SOVIET GREETINGS

N a message of greetings the development of humato the leaders of the nity. Chinese People's Republic N. S. Khrushchov and President L. Brezhnev of the Soviet Union have expressed "the sincere joy of the Soviet Union at the achievements of the People's Republic of China"-"tremendous achievements in all spheres of Socialist construction."

construction. The message continues: "The Soviet, and Chinese peoples are tied together by unbreakable friendship which conforms to the fundamental interests of the peoples of the two countries. The friendship and unity between the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and all the Socialist countries are a powerful factor in the present time which is now exercising a decisive influence in the whole course of

005

Wishing the great Chinese people "new, tremendsuccess in building Socialism and in the struggle for world peace," message concludes: "I "Long live the perpetual, unbreakable friendship between the Soviet and Chi-

"The Socialist countries

which are firmly fighting

for the realisation of the

existence between countries of different social systems

and for universal complete

disarmament, while expos-

ing the aggressive plots of

the imperialist clique, have

persistently adhered to the

olicy of friendship and co-

operation among the people

defended the cause of world

peace and security."

various countries and

principle of peaceful co-

×

nese peoples!"

TRIUMPHANT PARADE IN PEKING

The great triumph of socialist construction, firm support to the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples, strong opposition to imperialist aggression and determined will to safeguard world peace-these were the keynotes of the colourful celebrations all over China to mark the Eleventh Anniversary of the founding of the People's Republc of China.

T HE most colourful, of course, was the Tienanmen Square, where Peking's citizens wound up, their national day celebrations at a mammoth carnival of singing dancing and fireworks, lasting till after mid-

The Tienanmen Square was magnificently decorated with portraits of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Dr. Sun Yat-sen and flanking the square were portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Adding colour to the decorations were five traditional Chinese lanterns floating above the Square, suspended from balloons and twelve streamers, each forty metres in length, inscribed with slogans.

Reviewing the morning's parade from the rostrum were Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Chu Teh and other leaders of China along with distingui-

shed guests, Prime Minister U Nu and General Ne Win of Burma, Premier Ferhat Abbas of the Provisiona Government of Algeria and A. Kellezi, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Albanian People's Republic.

In the reviewing stands were nearly 2,000 guests from 70 countries of the world, among them guests from the eleven Socialist countries and from Japan, Cuba, Algeria, etc. On the stands were also diplomatic envoys of various countries in China, foreign experts helping China's Socialist construction, representatives of various nationalities and advanced workers and overseas Chinese.

The 100,000 square metre square was literally blanketed with bouquets. Beating drums and cymbals, workers, peasants, Govern-ment workers and students had started to converge on the Square from early in the morning turning the Square and the adjacent thoroughfares into forests of Red Flags. As the over half-a-million

demonstrators marched

through the Square, the most-heard slogans were of the solidarity of the Socialist camp led by the Soviet Union, of the unbreakable friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples, firm support to the liberation movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America and of friendship between China and the countries of peace and neutrality.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi speaking on the occasion, analysed the current favourable domestic and international situation. In a speech punctuated with appplause, the Vice-Premier dealt with the series of tremendous successes on all fronts of China's Socialist construction, scored "under the wise leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung and holding high the three red banners of the General Line, the Big Leap Forward and People's Commune."

Chen Yi said: "A product of the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China, our Party's General line for building Socialism will certainly be further developed and perfected and will continue to bring into play its immense power to lead the Chinese people from victory to victory.....

Turning to the international sphere, the Vice-Premier said, "The Chinese Government and people have consistently pursued a foreign policy of peace and made positive contributions to the cause of opposing imperialist aggression and defending world peace.

"The Chinese Govern-ment and people have unswervingly safeguarded the unity of the Socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, spared no efforts to strengthen the relations of mutual help and cooperation between China and the Socialist countries for general disarmament, prohibi tion of nuclear weapons and relaxation of international tension."

Speaking on China's re-

lations with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, Chen Yi referred to the establishment of diplomatic relatione with Guinea, Ghana and Cuba, the conclusion of Treaties of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression or of Peace and Friendship with Burma Nepal. Afghanistan and Guinea, the Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty, the agreement with Indonesia. the implementation of the Treaty of Dual Nationality and the smooth nego-tiations with Nepal for a complete settlement of the boundary question.

The present international situation, Chen Yi said "is highly favourable to the people of all countries in their cause of opposing imperialist aggression and defending world peace"favourable because the Socialist camp is mightier than ever "exerting an ever greater influence on the progress of human history", the national revolutions of the oppressed nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America which "are rising like hurricanes", the further development of the just struggle of the working the working class and people in the capitalist countries in the West for better living and working conditions and for democracy and freedom and the further gain in strength of the world peace movement.

In an attempt to extricate itself from its deteriorating position, U.S. imperialism is putting up frantic attacks and struggles, and Chen Yi, "but U.S. imperialism and its lackeys cannot block the advancing wheel of history. So long as the people of the world further unite to form a powerful, broad anti-imperialist united front and wage unremitting struggle, they will certainly be able to frustrate the policies of aggression and war of im-perialism headed by the United States and score continuous new Victo the peoples' cause of world peace, national independdemocratic freedom ense, and Socialism.'

PAGE FIVE

CHINA KEPT OUT AGAIN U. S. KEEPS CHIANG'S CORPSE IN U.N. CHAIR FOR ANOTHER YEAR

For the tenth successive year, China has been refused her proper representation in the United Nations. It was on September 27 that the Steering Committee of the 15th U.N. General Assembly adopted a U.S. resolution opposing the inclusion of China's representation as an item on the agenda of the General Assembly, twelve voting in favour (USA, Britain, France, Italy, Canada, Japan, Pakistan, Costa Rica, Haiti, Panama, Venezuela and the Kuomintang regime), seven voting against (the Soviet Union, Rumania, Bulgaria, Ceylon, Iraq, Sudan and Yugoslavia,), the representative of Libya abstaining.

influx of a large number of sident Boland of giving a newly independent African wrong ruling and said, "you fearing that they might vote for People's China's admission into the U.N., the U.S. wanted by this manoeuvre to prevent the General Assembly from even discussing the issue.

Decision Challenged

Β.

India, which is not a member of the Steering Committee, challenged its right to take such a decision. V. K. Krishna

RITISH Premier Harold

Macmillan in his speech

in the general debate in the

U.N. Assembly on Septem-

ber 29 made it a point to

come out in defence of

The only point he could make was that since it was

being done within the

framework of NATO there

was "no question of inde-

Germany which may threa-

utter violation of the Pots-

dam Agreement, and that

rearmament of Germany,

whether it was within or

outside the NATO frame-

work, was sheer negation

of all that millions had

died for in the Second

World War did not bother

Mr. Macmillan in the least.

peoples of Europe, who suf-

fered most at the hands of

German militarism, rose in

holy anger to denounce

Chairman of the Polish

Delegation, speaking next

morning pointed out that

Macmillan did not and

could not deny a single fact

adduced to in regard to the

militarist and revisionist

(i.e. seeking to revise the

established frontiers-Ed.)

character of the policy of

"Mr. Macmillan spoke as

if he did not know of the

revisionist and aggressive

declarations of Chancellor

Erhard. President Luebke

and Ministers Strauss and

Seebohm-not to mention

declarations of lesser re-

the West German Govern-

berlain of today.

Wla**di**slaw

ment."

cmillan as the Cham-

Gomulka,

The spokesmen of the

pendent military action by

That this itself was in

West German rearmame

MORE than on previous Menon speaking on October 4 occasions, because of the accused General Assembly Prehave brought a red berring across the whole of this debate and converted this more or less procedural part of our gramme into a substantive discussion.'

"The real culprit in this matter," Krishna Menon said "is the Steering Committee and I think we ought really to pass

a vote of censure on them." "We stand four-square for the representation of China and we think that this resolution (of the Steering Commit-

presentatives of the GFR

Government — declarations

which have reverberated so

loudly and met such de-

cided opposition from Eu-

ropean public opinion. in-

"How do assurances about

peaceful German policy

look in the light of these

statements?" Gomulka ask-

West German

Statements

Gomulka referred to the

Bundeswehr General Staff's

recent memorandum in

which it had categorically

demanded abolition of the

restrictions and the arming

of the West German army

with atomic weapons with other NATO members. An-

other instance of how seri-ously West German rulers

took these limitations was

Adenauer's declaration of

September 27—two days

before Macmillan rose to

"He who

defend him before the Ge-

would wish to denrive the

of tactical atomic weapons

would be a fool or even

worse," Adenauer had de-

of the British Prime Min-

ister." said Gomulka. "West

Germany again demands

equal rights in armaments.

and her Western allies are

step by step yielding to

millan with treating Po-

land as "a barter coin with

which he pays Chancellor

Adenauer in order to win

"In defiance of the words

West German armed forces

neral Assembly.

clared.

their demands

opinion.

éd.

British public

tee) should be rejected," he said. "It is only a question of who occupies these - chairs, Krishna Menon said. "Some gate-crashers have come in and must remove them," he said amidst applause.

The matter was brought up before the General Assembly by Soviet Premier Khrushchov despite the Steering Committee majority's misbehaviour and and's wrong ruling. Several Government heads

from Socialist as well as nonaligned countries had demanded the settlement of this major ssue in course of their speech es in the general debate itself. Cuba's Fidel Castro for instance had said, "The world will not be fully represented as long as the Chinese People' Republic-having a population one quarter of the world's total -is absent from this Assembly.

President Nasser had said. "It is unthinkable to the peo-ple of the UAR that the door of the U.N. should be closed to a quarter of the population of the

Common Market.

Poland and the integrity of

pend on any "transactions

between the States of the

Atlantic Bloc. The times are passed and will not re-

turn when the imperialist

States traded Poland as

merchants at an interna-

tional bazar. The inviolabi-

lity of the frontiers of our

by the Polish nation but

the Warsaw Treaty."

conciliation

neighbours.

without result.

also by all the States of

charge against Poland of

not showing a spirit of re-

GFR and the German na-

tion, Gomulka repeated:

tentions against the Ger-

man nation. We have ex-

pressed our conviction that

the time will come when

the Polish nation will live

in concord and friendship

with the whole German na-

tion, as today we are living

in concord and friendship

with the German Demo-

cratic Republic, free from

chauvinism and militarism.

putting forward no territo-

rial claims against her

"Poland has repeatedly

shown her readiness to establish diplomatic rela-

tion with the German Fe-

deral Republic, as is known,

"Poland put forward the

proposal for formation of

tral Europe under univer-sal control. In answer we

have received the Bundes-

tag resolution about atomic

ear-free zone

"We have no inimical in-

Replying to Macmillan's

towards the

untry is guarded not only

her frontiers do not de-

mulka,

Prime Minister Nehru in his speech in the general debate

Nehru's Speech

"It appears most extraordinary that any argument should be advanced to keep out China and to give the seat meant for China to those who certainly. do not and cannot represent China. "It is well-known that we in

India have had, and are having, a controversy with the People's Government of China over our frontier. In spite of that con troversy we continue to feel that proper representation of the People's Republic in the U.N. is essential, and the longer we delay it, the more harm we cause to the U.N. and to the consideration of the major problems we have before us. This is not a question of liking or disliking, but of doing the right

This coming soon after U.S.

delegate Wadsworth's anti-China speech in which he tried to use China's border dispute with India as a further argument to bar Chinese People's Republic's entry into the U.N. was a fitting rebuff to imperialist vide-and-rule' tactics.

Nikita Sergeyvich Khrushchov initiating the debate gave such a crushing reply to U.S. arguments that it made them squeal and squirm. Their Press launched another round of distortion of Khrushchov.

He described the situation of China's exclusion from the U.S. as "completely abnormal" and absolutely intolerable."

"If the purpose of our organisation as a universal organisation uniting all nations is interpreted correctly it is difficult to say who is in greater need of the restoration of China's rights in the United Nations. whether it is China or the United Nations itself. This organisation is in need of such a great nation, such a great country as the People's Republic of China being represented taking an active part in its work

Who Is The **Aggressor** ?

Answering U.S. charges about the "aggressive nature" of the Chinese People's Republic, and the illegal resolution procla ing China an "aggressor" which the U.S. had foisted upon the General Assembly in the Korean war days. Khrushchov said:

"Incidentally, it would be appropriate in connection with the above-mentioned resolution to enquire whose troops are at present stationed in Korea. If the State Department has even a short memory it can be recalled that there have long since been no Chinese volunteers in that country, while the American troops continue to occupy South Korea."

the U.S. delegate against China taking her seat in the U.N. said



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OCTOBER 16, 1960

FIROZABAD

The Firozabad (Agra District, U. P.) incidents of the last one month or so, involving loss of lives of many belonging to the minority community highlight misdeeds of the disruptive and reactionary forces, out to prevent the growth of a secular, democratic order in the country.

was none.

THE whole thing began and the latter insisting on with the erection of a big iron gate on the eastern side to let the new gate emerge on of the Jama Masjid, in addi- the lane. Both objectively tion to the present main gate worked towards the same evil on the southern side opening end of destroying communal on the main market of the town.

If so happens that five temples of the Hindus and Jains and a girls' school are situated in the lane on the eastern side of the Masjid where the big iron gate was to replace the already existing small Genuine apprehensions arose in the minds of Hindus that the new iron gate might in due course become the main gate, thus causing inconvenience to the temple-going Hindu women,

NEGOTIATIONS

Even though the trustees of these temples got an injunction order issued by the Sub-Divisional Magistrate banning the pulling down of the outer wall which stood between the lane and the newly-built iron gate, saner elements from amongst both communities started negotiations to find a solution to the dispute.

Representative Muslims of the town, anxious as they were to maintain peace, proposed the names of three Hindus including the Congress President of the Municipal Board, to suggest the solution and pledged themselves to accept the same. On the insistence of these three, two Muslim leaders, including Comrade Akh-tar Hussain Ansari, Communist trade union leader. and Municipal Commissioner, were added to the above three to trued to be not final. Even the make it a board of five arbitrators to settle the dispute.

These five lost no time, since tension was mounting, and reached common understanding on a solution. Meanwhile, the trustees of the tem-. ples, at the instance of Hindu ommunalists including Jan Sanghites, had already given the call for a one-day general hartal and procession for August 12. More, a small

crowd of 200 Jan Sangh boys reached the place of compromise talks shouting provocative slogans, on the night of This was just at the time premises of the Islamia Col-August 11.

when the common understanding already arrived at was being reduced to black mosque. Despite the police and white. And they succeed- bandobast, some damage was ed in provoking the Congress done, by pelting stones, on the Municipal President so much minarets of the new gate. that he left the meeting with- But worse was yet to come. A out signing the agreement. student procession started His abrupt departure was moving away from the Masjid taken advantage of by the Muslim extremists and under their pressure, one of the representatives also left the meeting, under a false plea, without signing the do-

and raising the outer want thus the Mushin crowd stood ded the announcement of the barat of rainchandrant was mosphere of good again to cover the new gate, facing the Hindu student pro-'new one with the same old passing at 11 p.m., on Septem- amity in the town.

OCTOBER 16. 1960

rgument advanced by

* SEE PAGE 10



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and not to NEW AGE.

MACMILLAN'S CHAMBEBLAINISM Western Policu Under Fire In U. N. his support for the interequipment for the West ests of Great Britain in the German army. "Poland, together with "Luckily," declared Goother Socialist States, has "the security of

thing.'

for years advocated the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany in order to close finally the chapter of the Second World War. With no result so far.

"Three days ago, we made from this rostrum the suggestion for concluding a non-aggression pact between Central European States. These are, I think, enough proof of our goodwill. But reconciliation with West German militarism and revisionism is not to be expected of us.

> No Positive Result

"So long as the Western Powers assist the Bundes in its rearmament, shield revisionism and en courage German claims against our frontiers, it is difficult to imagine that talks on the questions of international detente car lead to any positive result," Gomulka declared.

Czechoslovakia's Foreign Minister Vaclay David reolving to Macmillan said: 'It is easy to understand why the representative of Great Britain does not like to look back. The past is not just Hitler. Nazism and its crimes. The past is also the Munich policy of the British-and not only the circles which share the responsibility for having allowed

these crimes to be com-

mitted.

PAGE SIX

Hindu and Muslim commu- on the Masjid, became restive It was interesting



RIOTS

harmony and creating communal tension, where there

COMPROMISE

The five arbitrators had wisely come to the conclu-sion that the newly-built iron gate on which some good money had already been spent and with which Muslims had come to be small opening as it existed hitherto. It is obvious that

cession, with a small police party standing in between, facing the Muslims and asking them to make way for the procession to pass.

This was too much. One would think that the authorities might have enforced Section 144, warned the communal instigators in time, blocked the Hindu student procession away from the Muslims and taken due care to avert a clash. But no such measures were adopted. Despite the deputations by prominent Hindus and Muslims to the district authorities, even Section 144 was not promulgated let alone any preventive measures against the mischiefmongers.

The inevitable happened. on the Muslims. This was unassociated, should not be de- provoked and uncalled for, molished. But respecting the without the intermediary progenuine apprehensions of cess of declaring the assembly the Hindus and in order to illegal, dispersing the illegal prevent the possibility of a assembly first by lathi-charge, elash on this issue in the then by tear-gas and lastly by future, the outer-wall, first firing blank. Two fell covering it as it were, had dead on the spot and thereto be raised again, with a after the crowd dispersed on both sides.

the above compromise, On their way back the sti- a prominent risk of our or while it was honourable to dents looted and damaged their helplessness and despe-

thirst was quenched after ket by the side of the mosque, getting the mosque damaged a powerful bomb was dropped and getting two Muslims kill- from the roof of one of the ed by firing. But by now the situation had worsened on the wall, injuring nearly 100, half Muslim side. The saner Muslims who were willing to accept the earlier .compromise had now weakened and surrendered to the rabid cry of their worst ractionaries for rejecting the new compromise outright and even repudiating the representative character of those Muslims who had signed it earlier. It was now the turn of the Muslim extremists to play with the injured sentiments of their community.

TENSION

The Communist Party unit of Firozabad and later on the Agra District Council of the Party demanded a judicial enquiry into the police firing of August 12 and appealed to the common people to eschew communalism and get the the religious sentiments of The police party opened fire agreement implemented, as it was the only solution at the moment, which could restore communal peace.

> The situation was worsen ing rapidly. It was in this atmosphere of increasing bitterness that the Muslim signatories to the agreement, which included not only Comrade Ansari, but also two Congress Municipal Commissioners and On their way back the stu- a prominent PSPer, out of

terms and more, as if their ber 17, through the main marshops adjoining the mosque of whom had to be removed to the hospital.

CURFEW

The authorities indiscriminately arrested whichever Muslims were available near and inside the mosque, including the Imam, who leads the prayers. More. They arrested, past midnight, all the Muslim leaders prominent from their houses, especially those who had brought out the pamphlet, What Happened at Firozabad

Curfew was clamped down the next morning. In the first few days, when curfew was lifted for a few hours, stabbing incidents occurred More than 100 were arrested, for breach of curfew orders alone.

Then the authorities announced punitive tax of Rs. 10,000 to Rs. one lakh in those where stabbings localities occurred. This put an end to stabbing as far as the town of Firozabad was concerned. But. meanwhile, communal poison had spread to the neighbouring countryside. Many more lives were lost there and it is not yet possible to arrive at a correct estimate.

communal frenzy, This worked up by interested ele-



it was a good basis for maintaining peace.

But that was not to be. Only three out of the five arbitrators had signed the compromise, which was thus consbelated announcement of the compromise in the night of August 11-12 failed to prevent the general hartal and the closure of schools the next morning, which the Hindu communalists, with the Jan Sangh in the lead, had worked for. There was panic and apprehension of disorder in the town. Communal tension increased every hour.

The day dawned with the rumour that the big iron gate of the Masjid would be demolished. The Hindu students left the colleges, marched out lege, damaged its furniture, and proceeded towards the towards the mohallas mainly inhabited by Muslims.

FIBING

The Muslims, fed on counstudent raid

account the sentiments of still open. The ensuing conthe Hindus. And most of all, fusion and the depletion of the police force at the two Masjid gates were utilised by Hindu students and others to get inside the mosque, and without any interference from of Muslims the police.

It is worthy of note here that the authorities promulgated Section 144 in the evening at 6 o'clock, on August 12, nearly six hours after the firing, which had resulted in the two casualties. It is only after all this had happened

****** 01 ******** M. N. TANDON

that the District Magistrate BOMB THEOWN arrived and collected anew the representatives of both the communities for peace

talks on August 13. Naturally, the earlier terms of compromise voluntarily worked out by the leaders of both sides found favour again with everybody and the agreement was recorded under the signatures of prominent Hindus and Muslims. The D.M., DSP and the local Congress MLA counter-signed as witnesses. Minor modifications on the earlier agreement. favourable to Muslims, were also made in the new one.

nalists were seemingly at the and agitated. A crowd of that the same Hindu commutwo ends of the pole-the for-mer clamouring for demolition near the Imambara crossing, opposed the earlier comproof the newly-built iron gate on the main market road. mise now vociferously applau-

the Muslims, did take into some Muslim shops, that were ration, got printed a pamph- ments has disrupted social let in English in early Sep- amity and peace in Firozabad tember, What Happened at which had remained intact Firozabad, which gave out a even in the distorted version of known facts of the past incidents and which could only hooligan style, cause damage, rouse the communal feelings

> The distribution of this pamphlet naturally enough enraged the feelings of even secular-minded Hindus the and gave the biggest possible handle to Hindu communalists. They, of course, replied with equally venomous pamphlets and leaflets. The atmosphere became charged with communal passions on both sides. Saner elements were silenced and it seemed as if everybody was drifting towards something even worse.

The U. P. Home Minister having announced an enquiry by the Agra Divisional Commissioner into the fir-ing on August 12, instead of icial enquiry as demanded by the Communists and others, the Commissioner arrived in Firozabad on the morning of September 17 and inspected the Masjid site, etc. It was commonly hoped that even this enquiry would enable to clear the atmosphere and help prove that the firing was most unjust and uncalled for. Nobody knew then that things had been carefully same night.

-built from gate on the main market road, must now vocherously applau- As the procession of the anat to rectate the out at the outer wall. Thus the Muslim crowd stood ded the announcement of the Barat of Ramchandraji was mosphere of goodwill and

bloody days of 1947.

The district authorities, to oblige certain glass factory owners, are preparing to trap trade union leaders of the Communist Party in criminal cases. The whole-time Mazdoor Sabha Secretary, Moghul Beg, has been charged under Section 307, 120B, and 109 of the Cr. P. C. Comrade Ansari was already arrested under Sec. 107 and 117.

The situation is returning to normal. The numerous bangle factories are reopening. With the return of normalcy, the further exodus of workers has stopped, though a sizable number of the minority community has already left the town, half in panic and half out of sheer necessity of earning the daily bread.

SIGNIFICANT

The most significant feature of this communal storm was that it was confined to the middle class localities. The organised section of the bangle workers, Muslims, Scheduled Castes and the Hindus as well, maintained perfect peace in their mohallas and helped most to restore normalcy.

The local branch of the Communist Party and Work-ing Committee of the Mazdoor a new and sinister turn the Sabha are launching a broadbased united campaign embracing Muslims and Hindus As the procession of the alike to recreate the old at-

PAGE SEVEN



: + bu K. DAMODARAN MEMBER, CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE **COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA**

FIRST, the national bour-

geoisie in Vietnam was com-paratively weak and, there-

fore, it was easier to fight its

ideology and influence among

Party which was thoroughly united on the basis of

Marxism-Leninism was able to

put forward correct program-mes and policies suitable to

each stage and different twists

and turns of the revolution

and on this basis was capable

of uniting the entire people

geoisie under its banner.

including the national bour-

THIRDLY, the international

situation was favourable and

the time of the uprising was

well-chosen. After the fall of France in 1940, the French im-

perialists in Vietnam had sur-

rendered to the Japanese mili-

tarists who completed their

occupation of Vietnam by the

beginning of 1945. But the vic-

against Japan spelt disaster for the Japanese militarists

and they were preparing to

opportune time that the Party

called upon the people to

and seize power. And the people triumphed.

The August Revolution

was a National Peoples' Democratic Revolution. It

smashed the old State creat-

ed by the colonialists and

the feudalists, eliminated

the Nguyen dynasty with all

administrative machin-

the monarchist regime of

ery, and replaced it with a

new State-a State of Peo-

ples' Democracy, i.e., a State

of the workers and peasants.

administrative organs at

varipus levels. The task of

cratic Revolution in order to

advance to the Socialist Re-

volution and to build Social-

ism.

the new State was to complete the National Demo-

uprising

launch an all-out

Imperialist

Aggression

SECONDLY, the Communist

the people.

When the delegation of the Communist Party of India, consisting of Comrade Hare Krishna Konar and myself landed at Hanoi on August 31, the entire people of Vietnam were in a festive mood, getting ready to celebrate their 15th National Day. Healthy children playing in front of decorated

houses or under the shades of trees, chubby babies in their mothers' arms, charming dark-eyed girls in black pyjamas and white shirts, students carrying books or papers returning from a technical school or a library, youngmen and women on bicycles, peasants from the suburbs with conical hats made of bamboo and palmleaves, streams of people flowing down the streets and crowding the shops-all this was surrounded by a merry and festive atmosphere.

CROSS the streets, in to lead the people to victory. front of buildings, at He said that there were mainpublic squares and parks- ly three factors: everywhere one could notice national flags and blue peacebanners, slogans in red and yellow letters, and posters pearing the date 'September 2'. It was on this day, 15 years ago, that President Ho Chi Minh with firm steps mounted the rostrum at the historic Ba Dinh Square. declared to the whole world that the Vietnamese people were no more slaves and proclaimed the birth of the Democratic Remiblic of Vietnam.

It was the crowning of the victory of the August Revolution of 1945, which in its turn was the result of 16 years of heroic struggles of the Vietnamese people under the leadership of the Communist Party headed by Comrade Ho Chi Minh.

Struggle For Freedom

In fact, the struggle against tory of the Soviet army over the French colonisers had the Nazi hordes and the begun in the last decades of Soviet entry in the war the 19th century itself. There were many popular uprisings led by petty-bourgeois intellectuals and supported by the surrender. It was at this peasants; but all those strucgles were brutally suppressed by the French colonialists.

It was only after the Communist Party of Indo-China was founded in 1930 that t_.e revolutionary movement was plessed with a leadership capable of guiding the people along the road of the national democratic revolution. Comrade Pham Van Dong, a member of the Polit Bureau of the Workers' Party and the Prime Minister of Vietnam, recalls:

"In our country, the bourgeoisie and its parties have proved unable to lead the revolution, and in the course of the national and democratic revolution, our Party has rallied and united with good elements of national bourgeoisie. In the August Revolution, our Party succeeded in uniting the entire people in the Viet Minh Front, and brought the revolution to victory, followed by the founding of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam."

asked Comrade Ho Chi Minh how exactly he was able

But before long, the French colonialists, aided and abetted by the British and American imperialists, again invade the southern part of Vietnam and by December 1946, this new aggressive war extended to the whole country. The people wanted peace: but they could not but fight back to preserve their newly-won free dom. President Ho Chi Minh exhorted the entire people to smash the enemy and save the country:

"We would rather sacrifice everything than lose our indeendence, we are resolved not to be slaves.... Use guns or words if you have any, otherwise use hoes, spades, sticks; everyone must exert his utmost effort to fight the colonialists and save the country."

War Of

Resistance

The entire people responded to this stirring call and took part in various spheres of the nationwide war of resistance Pham Van Dong says:

"At the beginning of the war, we were weak and the enemy was strong, but we became stronger and stronger as we fought, while the enemy became weaker and weaker, finally we defeated him. The key factor was the mobilisation of the immense power of the people to fight the enemy and at the same time, to build up our strength in the political, military, economic and cultural spheres. Our People's Army grew up through fighting. Owing to these painful, persistent and heroic efforts we won the Dien Bien Phu battle. After fighting with sticks, we defeated the French Expeditionary Corps and foiled the American imperialists scheme to prolong and extend the Indo-China war."

During our short stay in Vietnam we had the occasion visit the historic battlefield of Dien Bien Phu, a large plain in the mountainous zone in the Northwest part of the country. It was only one hour's journey from Hanoi by air. The plain, about 18 kilometres long and six to eight km. wide, is surrounded by hills on all sides.

Weapons From The Enemy

The French and American imperialists turned it into a heavily fortified entrenched camp, manned by more than The people elected a National Assembly and a 16,000 men, using most up-todate weapons supplied by the new Government with new Americans A huge armoured tank 'made in USA' and many other weapons captured from the army lie scattered on the plain even today which help the visitors to get some idea of the resistance war. The French and American authorities believed that the fortified

defence system of Dien Bien tion to fight and to win was even stronger.

I asked Comrade Giap, Vice-Premier and the Com-mander-in-Chief of the People's Army wherefrom he got weapons to fight the combined strength of the American and French imperialists. He replied with a smile: "We got everything we wanted from the enemy. The People's Army, he said, fought with arms and ammunitions mainly captured from the enemy, although towards the end they them selves learned to manufacture them.

The resistance war was a and protracted war ong waged continuously for eight The Central Comyears. mittee of the Party and the military command under them had carefully prepared the plan of action and the strategic directions. The guerrilla tactics compelled the enemy to scatter his forces, while the concentrated forces of the peoples' army moved to the offensive against important strategic points where the enemy's forces were comparatively weak. The slogan was: "Strike to win, strike out when success is certain, if it is not. then don't strike." Thus after 55 days of ceaseless and heroic fight under difficult conditions Dien Bien Phu was captured

by the People's Army. It was this splendid victory that compelled the French imperialists to sign the Geneva Agreement in 1954. Peace was restored in Indo-China on the basis of the recognition of independence, sovereignty and teritorial integrity of the

peoples of Vietnam, Cam-Phu was impregnable, but the bodia and Laos. The declara-peiple's spirit and determina- tion of the Geneva Conference declared inter alia:

"The Conference declares that, so far as Vietnam is con-cerned, the settlement of political problems, effected on the basis of respect for the principles of independence, unity and territorial integrity, shall permit the Vietnamese people to enjoy the fundamental guaranteed by freedoms. democratic institutions established as a result of free general elections by secret ballot. General elections shall be held in July 1956...."

Violation Of Agreements

But this clear declaration has been violated by the imperialists. General elections were postponed and Vietnam still remains divided. The whole country has an area of 328,000 sq. km. and the population according to the census of 1957 is 26,340,000. According to the Geneva Agreement the northern part of the country, north of the 17th parallel, with an area of about 165,000 sq. km. and a population of more than 15 milliin, was recognised as the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, but the South remained under the imperialists and their lackeys.

It has virtually been turned into a colony and a military base of the American imperialists, while the northern part, free of colonialism and feudalism has already begun to build Socialism. Thus the 17th parallel has become the artificial boundary between two worlds. In one world

the old order of society has been rooted out, while in other the past lives and obstracts the advent of the future.

We were in North Vietnam for only two weeks. But, during this short stay we visitd as many places as possible ith a view to getting a firsthand knowledge of the couniry and its people. We saw not ly big towns like Hanoi and Haiphong but a few villages also. We visited the Statewned engineering plant at fanoi and the big cement actory and shipbuilding yard Haiphong. We saw a oint State-private enterprise nanufacturing textile goods Ve saw cooperatives of peaants and handicraftsmen. We alked to workers, peasants, ntellectuals, Buddhist monks and even to national capitalsts about their work, their living conditions, and their uture.

Better Life

> We saw with our own eyes their merry faces, their un-precedented enthusiasm, their unbounded self-confidence. It true that they have yet to travel a long road to reach their destination of a bright diassless future. But they have complete faith in that !uture, ecause they know they are masters of the present. They now that all the wealth of the country, the rivers and mountains, the rich paddy fields and blooming factories, nines, banks, railways, and plantations—all the means of production and exchange in the country-belong to them. There is no landlord, no capi-

and that with the active help and encouragement of the State they have now been organised in cooperatives and now life has changed for the better. Advancing To Socialism Mr. Trinh Van Can, a national bourgeois, who was formerly the private owner of a textile factory named Cu Doanh and now the manager of the same factory turned into a joint State-private enterprise, told us that he was more happy now than during the French occupation. Nguyen Cong Hoan of the Vietnam Writers' Association told us that the revolution not only saved the people but revived

literature and art and writers

VIETNAM BUILDS SOCIALISM

> Some members of the Song and Dance Ensemble of the Vietnam People's



enthusiasm. Everywhere there was an air of confidence. The reason is simple: the people know that they are building Socialism in their country. They have begun to realise that there is a purpose and a meaning for life.

Yet, not long ago, this beautiful country was groaning under imperialist and leudal exploitation. Under the French colonisers Vietnam was backward, semi-feudal country. There were few industries. Unemployment was rampant. The conditions of labour were inhuman. The French sers owned not only the industries and banks but land also. Landlords who were only four per cent of the population owned 70 per cent of the cultivable land and the peasants constituting 87 per cent of the population had only the remaining 30 per cent of sants were in conditions of semi-slavery. People remember other Socialist countries like ence is a very short period in very well the terrible famine the Soviet Union, China, history. And, for the Vietthat swept the country in 1945 in which two million Vietna- are selflessly helping the pro- of this period was a period of messe i.e., one-tenth of the cess of industrialisation in grim resistance to the French population, perished. North Vietnam. It is interest-But now the face of the ing to compare this disintercountry has completely



talist to exploit them. There is no oppressor to bring tears

to their eyes.

The old peasant at the SAY cooperative explained to us how he had to starve under the landlords and how happy he is today. Two of his children are attending higher technical schools. He himself has learned to read and write. Ninety five per cent of the villagers were illiterate under the French but now 95 per cent can read and write! The twentyoneyear-old girl, Son, working in the Hanoi engineering factory told me that her real wages have increased by about 60 per cent during the last three years. A worker at the Hongha cooperative told us that the majority of the handicraftsmen and artisans in Hanoi were unable to make both ends meet under the French regime

changed. There is no more fear of famine. Landlordism and feudal oppression have vanished for ever. Land to the tiller-the ageold aspiration of the peasantry — has been realised. Under the agrarian reforms more than two million peahouseholds---that is sant more than eight million peasants-got land. The success of the agrarian reforms payed the way not only for the emancipation of the forces of production in the countryside and a tremendous increase in agricultural production, but o for the development of industry and trade, and created favourable conditions for the building up of cooperatives and advancing to Socialism

Today there are about 35,000 cooperatives comprising more than 55 per cent of the peasant families and the rest are joining in mutual aid societies And the State actively helps them. No wonder that production of rice has increased to an unprecedented scale. Statistics show that agricultural production in North Vietnam at present holds the first place in Southeast Asia for both paddy yield and average per capita output. The per-hectare rice yield on peasant farms increased from 1.2 tons in 1939 to 2.28 tons in 1959. Total production of rice in 1939, the peak year of development under the French, was only 2.45 million tons; but in 1959 it was 5.2 million tons—that is, more than twice in 1939! It may be pointed out that South Vietnam, where land is much more fertile than in the North, produced only 2.94 million tons in 1959 as against 4.3 million tons in 1939.

Spectacular Achievements

The development of industries also is spectacular. Under the French colonishers. North Vietnam had no heavy industry worth the name. But now new industries are springing up in various parts of the country. In 1955 there were only 19 factories and even they were not in good condi-tion. About half of their nery was obs

But within the last five years North Vietnam has built 173 factories. The people now have their own machine-tool industries, engineering factories producing complex types of dustrial equipments, building industry, etc. We saw with our own eyes how the existing industries were being expanded and big new buildings were being constructed for new industries. In the past five years the Government of North Vietnam devoted 52 per cent of the State budget to economic construction.

Compare this with the state of affairs in the South where 82 per cent of the budget was spent on mili-tary affairs. They have built military airfields, seven strategic roads and more than 400 prisons in which over 230.000 Vietnamese patriots are being held prition.

We could not but notice that Rumania and Czechoslovakia namese people three-fourths North Vietnam. It is interest- aggressors and the American ested help of the Socialist have engaged in peaceful

countries with the flow of construction only for the last the so-called American aid to the underdeveloped capitalist countries. The experience of North Vietnam shows that cooperation with Socialist countries helps in a big way to strengthen the independent economy of the country and to increase the tempo of industrialisation.

We saw also the sweeping cultural revolution that is taking place in North Vietnam. Before liberation 94 per. cent of the people were illiterate. The Workers' Party knew that illiteracy was a scourge and that pauperisation and obscurantism went hand in hand. On the very next day of the birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, at the first meeting of the Provisional Government, President Ho Chi Minh stated:

Cultural Revolution

"Ignorance is a perfidious procedure through which the colonialists have kept us unde their yoke An illiterate people is a weak people. Therefore I propose to launch a campaign against illiteracy.

Five days later, a special department for Mass Education was opened and the campaign against illiteracy was launched. "Those who can read and write should teach those who cannot vet do so. said Comrade Ho Chi Minh. "Those who cannot read and write should strive to learn. Husbands should teach their wives, young brothers their older brothers, children their parents. I rely on youth's eagerness to carry through this task!"

Now 97 per cent of the population know how to read and write. This in its turn has facilitated the development of mot only literature and art but also scientific and technical knowledge. In the school year 1959-60, North Vietnam had nearly 2.4 million pupils general education and infant schools. This is five times as large as the 1939 enrolment in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia put together. The number of students attending higher and technical schools also is increasing at an unprecedented speed. Many young boys and girls are studying in Universities in the Soviet Union and other Socialist coun-

Increased Incomes

Along with the development of industry, agriculture and education the living conditions of the people are improving steadily. In 1959, for example, wages and salaries were 25 per cent and peasant incomes 15 per cent more than in 1957. More important is the fact that everyone has a job.

No more unemployment, no more hunger. No more illiteracy and ignorance. But this is only the beginning. The First Five-Year Plan (1961-65) that has just been approved soner. While there is an by the Third Party Congress gates and watching the delibe-average yearly increase of will mark a new period of rations of the Congress, I was re yearly increase of will mark a new period of rations of the Congress, I was cent in industry in development of Socialist Re- convinced that the confidence North Vietnam, the South is volution in North Vietnam

pier interventionists. In fact, they

six years. Yet in such a short span of time they have already won splendid successes. This proves that a people though small and weak. is fully capable of liberating themselves and advancing to Socialism if they are united and march forward under the leadership of a Marxist Leninist Party.

But neither the leaders of the Workers' Party nor the people in general are dizzy with successes. They know that they have still to go a long way on the road of Socialist construction. And it is precisely to prepare for further advances that the Third Congress of the Workers' Party was held at Hanoi in the first week of September It is, however, regrettable that South Vietnam, the part of the country south of the so called 17th parallel, is still groaning under the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, the Diem clique.

Efforts For Reunification

The Geneva Agreement of 1954 provided for the reunification of Vietnam by peaceful means. But the U.S. Diem clique have flouted the provisions and stand against the holding of free elections throughout the country. Does this mean that the people of Vietnam will remain divided for ever? Not at all.

The so-called 17th parallel is an artificial boundary and it cannot remain for long. The heroic struggles of the people in the South conduc-ted in various forms and under extremely difficult. conditions prove that the days of the enslavers are numbered. The' American imperialists and their agents will not succeed in maintaining the artificial division because not only the people in North Vietnam but also the people in the South are determined to achieve national reunification by peaceful means and because they know that there can be no peaceful reunification and a bright future for the country as long as the U.S.-Diem elique rule over the South.

Speaking on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of national liberation at the Hanoi Municipal theatre September 1 President Ho Chi Minh declared with confid ence:

"With our people's enthusiasm in patriotic emulation, with the disinterested assistance of the brother countries, the building up of Socialism in the North will certainly be successful and the peaceful reunification of the country achieved"

To build Socialism in the North and struggle national reunification of the country by peaceful meansthese were the two great tasks before the Third Congress which began its session on September 5 at Hanoi.

Hearing the reports presented by the leaders and the speeches made by the deleexpressed by Comrade Ho Chi witnessing an actual decline and pave the way for a hap- Minh was shared by the entire pier, more prosperous future. Fifteen years of independsive humanity, the working people of the whole including the people of India, fully support this noble struggle of the Vietnamese people.

> LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE OF VIETNAM !

HIMACHAL PRADESH

Where Classes Are Held In Stables years, it was suddenly found that he was inefficient-local gossip is that other considera-While Money Is Wasted Elsewhere Eleven In quite a few of which are elementary right of organisa-

★ FROM OUR COBRESPONDENT

At Arki, in Himachal Pradesh, primary school students attend their classes in the stable of the former Raja, 50 students to a room which used to accommodate two horses. A little beyond, in the girls middle school, there are only two rooms to hold eight classes. At the Theog high school it is slightly better-it has three rooms for five classes.

dle

HIS is the situation in In the Bilaspur high school, most of the schools-they 16 teachers have to teach 700 students, while at Bharavi, all lack proper and adequate there are only 12 teachers for more

Not Enough **Teachers**

And not only accommodation, there are not enough

teachers or equipment either.

single-teacher schools, and when the teacher goes on yapak Sangh, formed four leave, there is no one to teach the children. These teachers do not get a

fair deal either, as regards their living conditions. Transfers take place, not because they are needed for reasons of efficiency, but some political or other interest has to be served. Compensatory allowance is given at Simla and at Kotkhai, 36 miles above Simla, but in the stations in between it is not given. And even in the places where it is given it is not based on the cost of living.

desh. A few facts will reveal To add to their problems,

Himachal Pradesh had no col-

The situation is still worse the primary schools, teachers are denied even their this side of the picture. in Khrushchov Slashes Against U.S. Blocking

than 800 students.

Naturally in many cases tea-

chers are given classes which they are not qualified to han-

* FROM PAGE 6

that Chinese leaders denounced USA as imperialist. "Is this a discovery, gentlemen?" Khrushchov asked amidst applause Indeed the whole world knows that the most (rapacious) imperialist Power which is supporting colonial regimes is the United States of America. "All sparrows are chirping this from the rooftops (Applause). And the U.S. representative, you see, is incensed by this statement....What innocence! Just like a dame who tries to pass herself for a maiden while she has maybe a dozen children (Laughter and applause) ...

'The U.S. representative said that the People's Republic of China is attempting to seize slands in the Pacific. But what islands, I am asking you, Mr. Representative of U.S. imperialism? The People's Republic of China wants to liberate Taiwan and other islands located close to the Chinese coast. To whom do these islands be-

long?" "The People's Republic of China is displaying great constraint with regard to the liberation of these islands.. Had the Soviet Union found itself in a similar position you may be sure that we would not have tolerated the occupation of our territory and long since would have thrown out traitors so as to banish the very scent of them," he declared amidst applause.

Stones From **Glass House**

gate's slanders about China's internal order and his talk of representative to look into a mirror and see what kind of a regime exists in the United States.

He referred to racial discrimination and Negro-baiting in the United States and said, amidst applause, "He who lives in a glass house should not

Of China's Entry

throw stones.' He referred to the friends the U.S. cultivates-butcher Franco, hangman Rhee, etc.-and when Assembly President Boland interrupted to ask him to refrain from "personal attacks on the head of a member-State," meaning Franco, he told the President, "I reject such remarks," "Why didn't you stop the representative of the United States when he slandered great China."

Policy Of

Peace Speaking of China's policies,

Khrushchov said: "The Gov-ernment of China actively favours the creation of a zone of peace in Asia as well as a zone free from atomic weapons in the Pacific. It proposes a peaceful non-aggression treaty between all countries of Asia and the Pacific coast, including the United States." He referred to Chou En-lai's speech on August 1, 1960, reemphasising that the Government of the People's Republic of China adhered to the policy of peaceful coexistence of States of different social systems.

He referred to the vicious circle sought to be created by the U.S. in the matter of settlement of problems in the U.N. by the exclusion of China. Even if an agreement were reached on disarmament in the U.N., "the United States will declare that it cannot be implemented be- and South America's U.S.-con-Referring to the U.S. dele-tion, while it is the United the Socialist countries India States itself that is blocking in Nepal, Guinea, Ceylon, Afghaevery possible way the particidemocracy, Khrushchov said, pation of the Chinese People's "I should recommend the U.S. Republic in the United Nations."

said it was up to the delegates the States admitted in this ses-to decide the issue but he sion preferred to abstain. run the department for five where it is actually needed.

wanted them to ponder over cord of educational expansion the object the USA and its al- but whom has it served? lies pursued by denying China's College For

rights "Do they want the U.N. to consist only of States with one social system?" he asked. What would happen if the Socialist countries withdrew from the U.N. and created an international organisation of their own. It would lead to aggravation of tension and creation of two alignments continuously remaining ran-

ged against each other. "We do not want this. What we do want is that the United Nations should really unite all States, regardless of their social and political systems, that it should really unite all nations. Our common duty is to ensure life on earth without wars between States, without armed conflicts, and this can be attained only if all States are united in a single organisation -the organisation of the United Nations. That is why we support the United Nations Organ

Final Vote

In the final vote on October 8, the Steering Committee's recommendation was upheld by 42 against 34 with 22 abste tions and one absentee. Prominent among those voting for the U.S. resolution to keep out People's China and not even allow discussion of the issue by the General Assembly were the USA, Britain, France, Italy. Japan, Belgium, Spain, Thailand, Pakistan, South Africa dictatorships. Besides nery of the department is also trolled nistan, Indonesia, Iraq, UAR, Cuba, Ghana, Burma, Ethiopia, Sudan, Mali, Morocco, Nigeria, tions." Yemen and Yugoslavia voted colleges were being adminis-In conclusion Khrushchov for China's admission. Most of tered by one Deputy Director

One's Place

tion, with the Himachal Adh-

years ago, still remaining un-

Lack Of

Equipment

recognised by the authorities.

Most of the schools are

called Basic Primary Schools but none of them have any

equipment worth the name to

This deplorable situation is

not at all due to any lack of

funds, because plenty of mo-

ney is being spent in the name

of education in Himachal Pra-

Earlier the area comprising

lege, there were only eight

schools and only five per cent

of children of school-going

age attended schools. Now the

area has five Government de-

gree colleges and one aided

college and there were 45

schools in 1955-56 and a num-

ber of middle schools have

since been raised to high

school standard.

40 Students

even 40 students!

far.

course.

the

The total number of stu-

dents in the five Govern-ment colleges is 690-varying

from 40 in Rampur to 300 in

Mandi. When primary school children sit in sta-

bles, colleges are set up for

To complete the window-

dressing of the department, it

has a scheme to introduce the

B.Sc course in all the colleges

This course was introduced in

the Mandi college eight years

ago, but not one first-class

B.Sc. has been produced so

Provisions are there for tea-

ching Honours classes also,

out looking at the huge gap

who take up the course

between the number of peo-

and who finally appear for the

examination, only one conclu-

sion is possible-that students

are first persuaded to take it

up so that certain posts can be

created, and once these posts

are filled with favourites, they

are persuaded to give up the

The policy thus is not to

spend the money where it can

be spent usefully and effecti-

vely, but to use it to increase

whether they are needed or

not, whether they function

The administrative machi-

formation of the Territorial

colleges were being adminis-

properly or not.

top-heavy.

number of institutions

.

justify this nemenclature.

However that may be, instead of replacing him with a more efficient official, the work of this one man was entrusted to eleven officers-one Director of Education, one Planning Officer and one audio-visual official n the administration side in Himachal and one Principal Education Officer, four Education Officers, Divisional Inspectors òf schools and one Registrar of Departmental Examinations the Territorial Council wing.

The increased "efficiency" is seen in the state of affairs described earlier and also in the examination results which are generally in the region of 20 per cent. In the past Himachal has produced good administrators, but not a single student from the newly-opened colleges has got into the IAS or PCS. Good commissioned officers of the Indian Army have come from many areas of Himachal, but though the senior division of the NCC was introduced here some years ago, not a single cadet has been able t get a commission in the Indian Army.

This looks an impressive re-No Efficiency Passible

The inefficiency of these colleges is such that parents are unwilling to send their children to them and because of this reputation the number of students in the colleges is rapidly falling.

And no efficiency can be possible with the type of people that are employed: for instance there is the case of the Principal of a Post-Graduate Training College who has written a book in which appear such sentences as: While considering democracy, we have to think more than politics," "He (Gandhiji) successfully revolutionised as well through the instrument of education," "Adult ducation generally identifies itself with the imparting of ordinary literacy," etc.

Easier than looking for any sense in these sentences is to look for the strings he pulled to land himself in the job.

Another is the case of certain lecturer who was declared unfit for the NCC by competent medical authorities, but who later turned up with an NCC

Stop This Squander ?

These are no isolated incidents. The creation of so many posts, the top-heavy administration are all mainly due to favouritism.

There is widespread discon-A few years ago, before the tent against what is going on in the educational field, and Council, all the schools and drastic steps are being demanded by the people to stop the squandering of the mea-

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CALCUTTA'S CULTURAL

FRONT

T HE most feverishly discussed topic at the moment among advanced cultural circles in Calcutta is the strange new army in Assam, an army that sings peace and goodwill, the squad of As-samese, Bengali, Nepali and Khasi singers under the leadership of Bhupen Hazarika

This little brigade began its campaign in Shillong and has now invaded the plains, routing by its stirring songs the instigators of hate and fratricide.

and Hemanga Biswas.

in one of the theatres in Calcutta. He wept unashamedly as he spoke about the brave little cultural brigade, and said this is exactly what we Bengalis should do to protect minorities in Calcutta. A singer of renown "Culture-the word said. sounds like the rasp of a ord drawn from its scabbard. This is how the sword he swept the house with his should be used—the way they favourite Chandrakosh at the are doing it in Assam.

There is an autumnal nip in the air now towards evening—the rising Bhimsen Joshi and which means, of course, that the falling Nisar Hussain Khan. the annual spate of music con-

TANSEN

MUSIC CONFERENCE

ferences is about to burst upon thundered in Mian ki Malhar, the city. The first-the Tansen Music Conference-was held from September 7 to 12. I attended almost all its sittings and tried as patiently as I could to like it. But the most annoying and stupid feature of most conferences since two years back-the absurd idea of fi ing each sitting by mid-nightonce more put me off right from the start

Ban On Loudspeakers

I do not know if I shall be dubbed a poseur and a platonic snob, but I believe Indian classical music was not created to serve the ends of a rigorous commercial programme. It must be allowed latitude: it has a massiveness about it that cannot be cut down a la Procrustes Then of course there is the police ban on posting of loudspeakers outside. The order suppose is because people around-people who

anyhow-lose their sleep. But the ban has destroyed one of the greatest spectacles of wintry Calcutta-thousands of people squatting all

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night on the cold asphalt. listening to the intricate patterns of melody, and criticising and discussing them during the intermission. The real connoisseur used to be here, leaning on the wheel of a limousine, lost in the im-

matter

years ago brought us to our feet in excitement Abdul Halim Jaffar improves every season.

it fetches cheers. Both suffered from tabla theka. Joshi's accompanist could not for a long make out the rythm of drut

Where Are The **Bengali** Singers? Of the youngsters, Nasir Ahmed Khan failed with Behagra and Kedar; he is trying to be popular, and has become a bore. He is no longer the fellow 'in a muffler that we used to know whose chukker tans two.



* by Utpal Dutt

age of the rag, while the master of the car was in the front row in the stalls, probably asleep.

As it is, the programme at the Tansen this year still had its ecstatic moments. The glorious alap and jor in Kausi-Kanara by Ravishankar revealed to us that traces of Bhim Palasi and Jaunpuri need not vitiate the beauty of this rag. It is com-

plete in itself.

end.

Maestro Ali Akbar Khan played alap in Jai-jainti-Jaijainti as it should be, and not as it is usually hashed-and The other day I met an old got in khammaj. This latter was again a lesson that all khammaj need not be hip-swinging "Tum sach kaho"

> Ustad Amir Khan suffered from laryx trouble, and in a gharana where guiet round melody is the basis of ragbuilding, such trouble is apt to ruin the programme. However since Amir Khan is Amir Khan,

An interesting contrast was nsen's voice roared and

and we could see the storm clouds and lightning, with an occasional chant rising from the tower of some forgotten mosque-"Karim Nam". Nisar Hussain Khan sang a calm, profound Kalyan. Joshi followed up with a passionate Puria Dhanasri; Nisar Hussain with solemn Darbari.

Very soon Joshi will be the greatest Kheyal singer in India; very recently Nisar Hussain was the greatest. Gone are the great gamaks and halaks, gone the Chhut tans where every note sounded clear, distinct, in sistent. Still, this was dhrupadanga kheyal, a lesson to those who pretend to send their voi ces over three saptaks because

inept

Singers And Dancers Get Together, Rouse The **Best In The People**

FROM MADHUSUDAN BHATTACHARYA

~★ IN ASSAM ★…

and tension in Assam. Here is news of a different sort. of a pioneer effort to stir up the good and the noble in the Assamese, Bengalis and the tribal folks alike, and by their own singers and dancers, banded together into one team, as of one family.

MESSAGE OF PEACE

Led by Dr. Bhupen Hazarika, the noted film and music director of Assam, and Hemango Biswas, the founder-organiser of the Assam People's Theatre movement, the squad consisted of 26 Assamese, Bengali, Khasi, Jaintia and Nepali artistes

These artistes not only spoke different languages but subscribed to different views and ideologies. But sang and danced together because they were convinced of the urgency of taking anew to the people the message of peace and brotherhood which alone ensures the flowering of culture.

They concluded, September end, a 15-day tour of the riot-torn parts of As-800 sam, travelling over miles and covering thousands of people.

Bhupen and Hemango, old friends themselves, together conceived the slogan, "Let us Meet Toge-

lis—of both sexes—of all ages. They should all be sent back to school without ceremony Encouraging a novice is all very fine, but when one of them speechifies and tells us that he does not believe in laykari in dhamar, well l ask you!! Where are the real rising Bengali singers?

The maestro Tarapada Chakravarty is, of course, persona non-grata to our organisers surely an Usharanjan or a But Shiv Chatterjee or a Dipali Nag could have replaced at least some of the pretenders to fame whom the audience shunned like halitosis (because, consequent on their first swar, the house emptied like a smoked beehive.)

Finally, the souvenir-programme-printed in the royal anner of the Maurya period! In an article in it by one Utpal Bardhan-T. S. Elliott is described as a famous dance-critic and Adolph Appia as a dancer of a troupe called Wagner's Operal! Eulogies to Kathakali are attributed to both balletomanes; how Appia and Elliot could have seen Kathakali or where they have made There was a host of Benga- these remarks was not revealed. won wide response and not seen from the artistes alone.

prompt patronage by Chief Minister Chaliha who sent word round to the district authorities to cooperate and help.

Their first show in Shilboth effectively silenced.

ing artistes, whether Assamese or Bengali, joined them and they stand at the very top of the cultural ladder of Assam.

ACHIEVING THE IMPOSSIBLE

The squad broke through all passions with their very first song which proclaimed boldly that ours was a great nation where none was an alien. It was a well-blended chorus, with lines in Assamese, Bengali, Hindi, Ne-pali and Khasi, symbolic of the unity of composite Assam where people speaking these different tongues have lived and toiled together for ages.

This song achieved what seemed impossible to most of the audience in tensiontorn Assam, Leading Assamese musicians lustily sang Assamese songs. The young Bengali dancers in their saris rushed up to join their Assamese sisters to dance the festive Bihu together Khasi artistes Laloo and Lallang were cheered to the echo when they sang their famous folk songs.

The uplifting finale to this soul-stirring evening came when Bhupen and Hemango sang together their newly composed duet. It is a dialogue between Hardhan, a Bengali peasant uprooted from the bank of the Padma (the most turbulent river of East Bengal) who built his new home on the bank of the Luit (Brahmaputra) with the help and assistance of Rangaman. an Assamese peasant.

Hardhan signs in Bhatiali, the most popular and superbly melodious folk tune of Bengal. Rangaman sings in Bihu, equally popular folk tune of Assam. Hazarika and Biswas are already famous in Assam for their popularisation of and new compositions in the folk tradition, but with this new duet their prestige has reached a new high. As Hardhan's Bhatiali melted to lead the squad to the into Rangaman's Bihu, the Bengali-speaking district ted with brotherly love and North Bengal where the rehuman compassion.

natural cultural forms and to Calcutta as well.

I N the daily Press you ther," and approached the power of words of truth read only of differences their fellow-artistes. They and righteousness were more clearly still when the sound travelled They were promised through the villages.

IN THE VILLAGES

The news of this unique long on August 27 was such squad travelled like wild fire a success that the chauvi- through the villages they nists and tag cynics were passed. Whether noon or night, raining or blazing At Gauhati all the lead- hot they were stopped en route and had to put up unannounced and impromptu shows before they were allowed to go further the scheduled show! for

> They went to Goreshwar which had won notoriety for the atrocities commit ted there. After the show Hazarika spoke words of the sharpest admonition against the crimes which had made Goreshwar in famous throughout the country.

With repentence writ large on their faces, the assembled peasants said in reply, "We are ashamed of it all. There was nothing of this kind in our midst. But an evil wind came from towns and blew us off our feet. We are ashamed that committed. atrocities we that have made you come to us to tell things we have nown ever since our birth. We assure you, never will it happen again!"

PLANNING NEW CONQUESTS

Summing up their impression of their ' remarkable tour Bhupen Hazarika said, "We sang for our people and the people respon-ded to our message warmly". Leading Khasi artiste Laloo said, twitting the chauvinists: "They talk of separation but I will go on singing of fraternity. love. amity and harmony. It works!" Hemango Biwas said: "We may not have succeeded in sweeping all the dark clouds that are hovering over Assam we definitely succeeded in bringing down a few good showers. Our artistes samese, Bengali, Khasi, Jaintia, Nepáli moved toge-ther like a family-symbol of unity in diversity-and a united Assam."

The squad has inspired widespread local cultural activity in the cause of restoring fraternal amity. It is now planning new quests. Dr. Hazarika told me that he was preparing of Cachar as well as to fugees are living in camps. The effectiveness of the He plans to take the sound

SHILLONG

TWO HINDI BOOKS

A Travelogue By Rahulji

Rahul Sankrityayan: CHINAMEN KYA DEKHA (What I saw in China). Peoples Publishing House, New Delhi, January 1960. Pages: 240. Price: Rs. 4.

compatriots admit the great changes that have taken place in that country, it is just as well that we be on by the peasant himself notthe lookout for all the sources mentioning them. method in use in China is re-The name of the author of markably simple and can be this book needs no intro- practised in our country duction and only recently was his small booklet on the communes of China rethe communes of China reviewed in these columns.

The book under review seeks to supplement that booklet and from the date of the Introduction (May 1, 1959), it must have been awaiting publication for some time. It is a pity, however, that this apparent delay was not utilised for obtaining a more up-to-date introduction from the learned author.

Rahulji has been writing travel books for quite some time and all of them are marked by his essentialty Indian peasant's outlook, that is to say he is all the time comparing what he sees with what obtains in his own country, specially in Eastern U.P. That is why so many useful remarks that he has made in this book about certain China village-practices in must be highlighted and given as wide a publicity as possible Among these we would like

*** FROM PAGE 5**

tion

tion?

for settlement of this ques-

satisfactory to both sides."

U Nu emphasised the point

that the treaty "is a freely

agreed settlement of the

Burma-China boundary ques-

He said, "It would be ridicul-

ous for anyone to suggest that

this treaty was imposed by

Besides, the whole history of

the boundary question shows

that the Chinese do not allow

things to be imposed on them.

tried for years to prevail on

the Chinese to accept the

watershed between the Irra-

waddy and Salween rivers as

the boundary running north

tfrom the high conical peak,

but the Chinese Government

would have none of it, and it

was thus that this section of

limited when the British re-

Burma. "It is noteworthy, how-

PAGE TWELVE

"The British Government

Burma on an unwilling China.

S even the worst critics to mention the method of pre-A of China among our paring manure from night-soil by rendering it odourless. Its fertility is well-known, and all over Europe and in counwithstanding its odour. The well leading to a cleaning up Gandhiji would have welcomed as he used to attach a great deal of importance to the problems of the disposal of night-soil in the villages and conducted a series of experiments in Sevagram. Such methods are bound to attract our attention some years later as the number of people will-ing to handle such dirty jobs is bound to diminish.

The author has also noted a very cheap method of prolonging the lives of trees; it consists in filling up hollows in trees with cement and claims that this method considerably prolongs their lives.

Similarly the extreme economy in everything is remarkable. really author mentions (p. 138) the case of a building, housmud, and on a smaller scale

that of a small electric work installed in an unpreten-tious wooden shack (p. 125). In fact this economy has really impressed our author and he is at pains to stress its importance time and again.

As the author had gone to China at the invitation of the Buddhist Association there, we have a first-rate opportuvisiting Buddhist nity of shrines in that country including the earliest vihara built in memory of the Indians the who took Buddhism to China. His descriptions of the caves of Tuan-Huang and of the mausolea of the Ming emperors is extremely interesting and in themselves are worth the money spent on the book. The most important thing in this respect is his "discovery" of the Bhikkhuni-Sangha, of the Order of Buddhist nuns in China to this day. It exists nowhere else and further contacts are likely to yield better knowledge about these devotees of the Buddha and Ananda.

To some readers it will be news indeed that the Chinese have started using the method of dhyana for curing patients. Needless to say it is Indian and has reached China The through Buddhism (pages 218-19). In our literature its best exposition is in the Gita. This, ing a powerful pumping as also the fact of the interest station, which consisted of evinced by foreigners includbamboo-work plastered in ing Russians in the yoga, should help from reconsider

and for the countries of the

world to work out a solution to their outstanding issues."

The Chinese Press has said,

the treaty gives a solid slap in

the face of the U.S. imperial-

ists and their followers' who

have been viciously smearing

China as "bellicose" and seek-

the 2,000-kilometre-long boun-

line of peace and friendship

By Article 1, Burma agrees

area of Hpimaw, Gawlum and

Kangfang (59 square miles)

and China agrees to delimit

the section of the boundary

from the junction of the Nam

Hpa and the Nam Ting rivers to the junction of the Nam

Hka and the Nam Yung rivers

in accordance with the notes

exchanged between the Chi-

nese and British Governments

By Article 2, the two par-

the Meng-Mao triangular area which belongs to China. Tak-

ing into account the practical

ties decide to abrogate the

erpetual lease" by Burma of

s of the Burmese side, the

on June 18, 1941.

return to China the

between China and Burma.

The treaty lays down over

ing for "expansion"

their attitude towards things

Among other things he mentions the security enjoy-ed by women in China by citing the case of two girl gion, whether Buddhist, Muslim, Taoist, Catholic (p.

sive use of statistics copied from official hand-outs and somewhat careless editing and proof-reading, this book should be read by all those field alone, and the com-plete freedom enjoyed by standing among the two the followers of every reli-peoples of India and China. -RAM VARMA

106-7) or even Orthodox

with the people in this struggle.

On the contrary, being in lea-

gue with the police, he com-

mits highhandedness against

workers. As a matter of fact

Divakaran ought to have join-

ed the united front of the peo-

ple. But in this novel the native

bourgeoisie play not only an

indecisive role, but being an

ally of imperialism and feuda-

lism they come in the forefront

The workers fight, other sec-

tions of the people are also with

them, but with the most nume-

rous class i.e. peasantry, they

have not yet formed a united

front. The novel deals with

the events in 1946-47. There is

no doubt that in those days the

level of political organisation of

the people of Kerala was rela-

Divakaran is the propriet

of a cashewnut factory. The

iving conditions of the workers

of that factory are hopeless

Divakaran usurps the small plot of land belonging to Pad-

mavati. Padmavati who keeps

At the end of the novel the

mind of the reader is filled

with pathetic feelings, but at

the same time he also gets

convinced that the cause for

martyrdom is being fulfilled.

suffers

which Padmavati

tively weak.

as a reactionary force.

Christian (p. 107-8). Notwithstanding the exces-

And A Translation From Malayalam

BOOK REVIEW

PADMAVATI – Hindi translation of Malayalam novel, Narakathil Ninnu By K. Damodaran, B.A. Translated by S. Lakshman Shastry. Ashok Prakasan Grah, 20 A, Ramnagar, New Delhi-I. Pages 256. Prices: Rs. 5.50.

any other section of the peo-ERALA is a beautiful ple. The working class stood State in our country. Of in the forefront of fights for course it is not lacking in national independence against beauty but it is not lacking imperialism and for demoin exploitation either. Forcratic rights. In this novel merly, a major part of it was we get a glimpse of what great sacrifices people made under native rulers. So the for achieving national indepeople of the State had to pendence and democratic fight not only against British rule but at the same time rights. Divakaran does not stand

against feudalism, too. One more exploiter was there who was allied with these two exploiters. That was capitalism in Kerala. Divakaran is a representative of that capitalism. With the emergence of ca-

pitalism another class also came into being in Keralathe working class. This class more revolutionary than

HOW THE WEST KILLED THE 5-POWER RESOLUTION

The battles fought at the 15th General Assembly of the United Nations have shown that they have been eminently worth waging. They have brought in sharper relief before entire world opinion as to who stands where, what are the ends pursued and what are the means employed by the main contenders and participants.

THE highest, watermark and dictating the destinies of and the acid test that the world. came was the five non-aligned Powers' move to secure restoration of contact between the heads of the US and the Soviet Governments. In the first instance it was seen that one of the two, namely the USA, was in desperate hurry, through Eisenhower's reply, to reject the move and in doing so, to make the situation as unacceptable to the other ment. as possibl

Even this was not enough, Diversionary however. For the five countries' move loomed before the General Assembly in the form of a resolution, and the passage of the resolution despite the rejection of its content by the U.S. President would involve another rejection, this time of a mandate or request of the General Assembly itself. Hence the necessity to mobilise all forces and to muster all accumulated experience of all of them in intrigue and backstage manoeuvre to make impossible the very consideration of the Five-Power resolution by the General Assem-

Their

Reason

bly.

The extent to which they decided to stoop to achieve their objective is seen in the

unprecedented and unparallelled ruling of the Presi-dent, Boland, a Western ADDEMADUCE'S bloc nominee, in declaring the Argentine amendment carried when it had received only 34 votes against 41. What was it that the USA and its partners were so im-patient to reject and so determined to plained by Jawaharlal Nehru, who emerged as the main pilot of the move, it involved the crucial issue of the present international situation, namely whether its direction is to be

towards relaxation of tension and solution of issues or towards continuation of the German Chancellor Ade-"dangerous drift" till the nauer and Foreign Minister point of no return was inevi- Brentano. tably reached. The very modesty of the It comes out from press re-proposal-that the heads of ports that the meeting was the two Big Powers resume arranged at Adenauer's recontact-made for the fero- quest. The background to this city and desperateness of request was described by the those opposed to its under- Bonn paper, General-Anzeiger

the five uncommitted countries German Government which appeared to them as the be- seems to have caused some finning of the end, the start- worry to the Federal ing of the chain reaction in-, cellor. The paper stated on the volving the crumbling of all morning of Nehru's arrival their tightly held cold war that Dr. Adenauer would ask positions. Hence, for them, it Mr. Nehru for understanding was a pernicious move which of the West German Governwas a permittions more what and ment's policy; "The Federal had to be fought tooth and ment's policy; "The Federal had to be fought tooth and ment's policy; "The Federal nail and defeated at all costs. It involved also the acceptance of the role of non-aligned countries as something more than mere camp-follow-Nehru. ers. When Nehru claimed for

these countries the right to ne Rig lirection of peace, the U.S. and its close allies could not but see in it a challenge to what they consider their exclusive right, that of deciding

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lying idea. The slightest step as "continuous Communist in the direction indicated by propaganda" against the West the absurdity of Communist

> for nuclear armament the Bundeswehr, the all Nazi-cast General Staff's

of the Burmese people shows that they also do not allow things to be imposed on them guiding the relations between It would, therefore, be the two countries further created favourable conditions

equally ridiculous for anyone to suggest that this treaty was imposed by China on Burma. When we sign it today we do Chou En-lai referred also to so freely and on a basis of the attitude of mutual under-standing and mutual accomabsolute equality, and in the conviction that its conclusion modation, and friendly conis in the best interests of sultations all of which enabled Burma and Sino-Burmese fri-"a speedy settlement of the endship and of Asian and complicated boundary question, which is reasonable and

world peace.' U Nu paid glowing tributes to the Government and people of China "for the friendly and understanding attitude they have adopted towards this they question. A special word of gratitude is due to Premier Chou En-lai, the principal architect on the Chinese side of this treaty....In the course of the negotiations on this question, he has always been friendly, courteous, patient and understanding. Even when difficulties seemed insurmounthese qualities never table. deserted him.

Chou En-lai paid tributes to the "efforts and contributions the Burmese side has made." Beginning with 1954 when U Nu expressed his desire for settling the boundary problem, successive Burmese Governments have exerted efforts for the boundary remained undea settlement and in January this year, "General Ne Win, linguished sovereignty over (when he was Burma's Prime Minister) signed in Peking tions with independent the Sino-Burmese Treaty of Chinese side agrees to turn Burma, China readily agreed Friendship and Mutual Non- over this area (85 square ever, that in their negotia- with the Chinese G that all but a small portion Aggression and the agreement miles) to Burma to become Aggression and the agreement miles) to burna to become any dispute concerning the boundary question, part of its territory. ton the boundary question, it exchange and having re- after the formal delimitation of the boundary shall be settled the integrity of the tribes the ad by the two sides theorem. -approximately 13 miles in the Hpimaw area-of this thus paving the way for a section of the boundary The Chinese Press has Burmese side agrees to turn friendly consultations. should follow the watershed. of the boundary question." "Similarly the whole history

NEW AGE

SINO-BURMA BOUNDARY TREATY : DETAILS hailed the treaty as a "great over to China to become part and auspicious event" and of Chinese territory the areas (measuring 73 square miles) has said that it "will have a under the jurisdiction of the far-reaching influence upon the relations between Asian Panhung and Panlao tribes, which belong to Burma accord countries." "It has set a ing to the notes exchanged brilliant example for the Asian peoples to get along with each other amicably between the Chinese and British Governments on June 18,

1941 By Article 3, the intersection of certain villages the boundary line is ended by including two of these villages — Yawng Hok and Lungnai-in China and four villages—Umhpa, Pan Kung, Pan Nawng and Pan Wai-in Burma.

ġ. "in line Government, with its consistent policy of dary a permanent boundary opposing foreign prerogatives and respecting the sovereignty of other countries," renounces China's right of participation in mining enterprises at Lufang of Burma as provided in the Chinese-British notes of

of the boundary which had been already delimited in the

The areas to be adjusted under the present treaty are to be handed over to each other within four months after the treaty comes into force.

The treaty contracting parties agree that any dispute concerning the

aloof from politics is deceived by Divakaran as Sakuntala was eceived by Dushyanta. The militant worker, Kesavan, prevents her from com-By Article 4, the Chinese mitting suicide. He knows that she has been made pregnant by Divakaran, yet he adopts her as his wife. He becomes a real revolutionary not only in politics but in the realm of social reform, too. Padmavati along with her husband faces police lathi-charge. She is severely injured and dies.

June. 1941. Article 5 stipulates which section of the boundary will follow the traditional customary line and which are the exceptions and Article gives details about two sections

From this novel it becomes past and require no change. quite clear that not only the political problems, but also the cultural and romantic problems of Kerala and the rest of India



the integrity of the tribes, the

The massive rebuff to the Australian motion which get only five votes was another rude shock for the West. There is a calculated attempt now by Western publicists to explain "Why they did it?" In terms of the impending presidential elections in the USA. This is a patently

false and diversionary argu-

Attempt

The other attempt, equally false and diversionary, is to equate the Soviet stand with the American. This in spite of the non-aligned Powers move

the Soviet Union! Khrushchov's reply to the five non-aligned powers was the direct outcome of Eisenbilateral resumption of contact to a four-power meeting. Above all, at the stage came to the General Assem-

took it upon themselves to really amazing.

came to a verdict on the dealings with the President's amazing ruling Union." by which the minority-supported Argentine amendment was declared carried the Soviet Union and all Socialist countries joined the non-aligned countries to vote against it.

In our midst too there is no lack of apologists for the West who instead of sharing the indignation, blame Nehru for the way he exposed and fought back Western manoeuvres A. D. Gorwalla writing in Janata the official organ of the PSP explains how and why the General Assembly debate went as it did:

"Nehru does not seem to have learned yet that petulance in public is not permissible to a statesman....It would seem beyond Nehru's capacity to descend to the Khrushchov level of ranting abuse, but he seems to have tried to move toward it.... the fact that the West treated In the result after the Australian amendment had been deas one taken in collection with feated, he found himself compelled to withdraw the resolution he and his four collealetter of the leaders of the gues had put forward." (Em-

Apart from the sickening hower's and different from it servility of it, there is not a in that it did not counterpose word in this about the Argentine amendment and how it was pushed and foisted upon the General Assembly. The when the five-Power move hospitality of the columns of the PSP official organ opening bly it was not the Soviet itself to such anti-national, Union and its allies which anti-Afro-Asian, ranting is

Bid To Canvass block? As ex-

nauer, coupled with the re-.

cent spate of rallies addres-sed by the Federal Presi-

dent, the Vice-Chancellor

and other Ministers de-

manding return of Bismar-

ck's frontiers, as well as the

exposure of blitzkrieg plans

against the German Demo-cratic Republic have all

caused deep disquiet not

only in the East but also

among the people in West-

ern Europe. This is what is

described by Adenauer and

his cohorts as "Communis

propaganda".

Nehru's

A S a sort of tailpiece to his U. N. mission Prime Minister Nehru stopped over for a brief airport conference at Bonn with West

Chaninflammatory speeches, is pinning its hopes also on Mr.

of .

Emphasis It seems Adenauer thought that in order to continue with these doings it was not enough to mobilise Macmillan to give him a clean chit from the U. N. rostrum, but also-particularly with an eye on the Afro-Asian world-to persuade Nehru to do the same, or at

It is well-known that re- neutralised and tongue-tied cent West German demands on this issue, as has been the case so far. West German dislike for

memorandum on the subject Indian policy as a whole was The four countries have and its approval by Ade- indicated by General-Anxeiger appealed to all Governments October 12.

did the Soviet Union oppose taste the Indian Prime Min-the resolution. And when it ister is too credulous in his Soviet

INTERNATIONAL EVEN

After the airport conference which among other things was described as "frank" by Brentano, Nehru told pressmen that the principal subject of the talks in Bonn, as else-where had been "the maintenance of peace and to und ways and means to make it assured." This involved disarmament he said and proceeded to emphasise:

"It involves also nothing being done which injure peace or which adds to existing tensions nations.

Problem Of Berlin

It is worth recalling that Adenauer's theme song since last December's NATO summit in Faris has been that since disarmament was the principal issue involved in securing problem peace, no other problem should be touched till the disarmament issue was settled. Confident that disarmament would be effectively stalled for an indefinite period by U.S.A. and ames, Adenauer has calculated that he can meanwhile forge ahead un-disturged with his nuclear armament plans and the dangerous gample of a blitzkrieg and other provocations.

Asked about Berlin and whether any change in its status would cause an increase in tension Nehru said, "that depends on how the steps are taken by agree-ment."

The West German Government's declared position is that at no cost 'should any change in West Berlin's status he allowed.

Meanwhile, with U.S. sup-port and skilfully playing the British against the French Adenauer has succeeded in securing agreement on estabishment of West German military bases and stationin of 35,000 of West German troops on French soil.

Role In NATO

This latest victory for the Bundeswehr illustrates again the fact that while Macmillan and other apologists talk of controlling West German rearmament by keeping it within the NATO framework, it is the revived West German armed forces which are actually coming to secure the decisive position in NATO. Instead of NATO controlling a rearmed West Germany, it will be rearmed West Germany which will soon be controlling the NATO.

The Soviet Union along with Poland, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic in a joint statement has once again warned ag this trend of developments.

rob it of its significance and in its background story when get it defeated. At no stage it noted: "To his (Adenauer's) did the Soviet Union oppose taste the Indian Prime Min-permit the arming of the Bundeswehr with nuclear weapons and to press for urgent conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany.

> They have warned the Western Powers that continuing abetment on their part will make them responsible for all the grave consequences that might follow. As far as they are concerned the four Eastern Powers reiterating their readiness to sign a peace treaty declare that they have everything necessary their disposal to deal a crushing blow to any aggressor.

Discontent in France already boiling over reaches new high. Intellectuals numbering 180 headed by Sartre had signed the now famous manifesto calling upon French youth to refuse to fight in the dirty war against Algeria and a wave of persecution had swept the country. With German troops returning to occuny France, popular, demonstrations planned against this humiliation have national been banned.

U.S. DOLLARS IN CONGO

- Lumumba

THE situation in the Congo has further worsened. Despite the powerful plea Min made Prime by Nehru and others at the U. N. the Congolese Parliament has been prevented by Mobutu steps are taken, whether the and Kasavubu from meeting. They have openly declared that because Lumumba stands in the way of the establishment of their authority the warrant for his arrest signed by their Belgian Procurator-General must be executed. The U. N. machinery guided by the impartial Mr. Hamthe thoumarskjold despite sands of troops at its disposal refuses to help, the elected Parliament to meet and function

> Prime Miniter Lumumba in an interview with French Communist daily l'Humanite has charged that American dollars have been and are being distributed on an extensive scale and U. N. personnel are directly involved.

Demand For Commission

Lumumba has demanded immediate despatch of the U. N. investigation commission that Nehru had suggested in his speech at the General Assembly. He says that he will produce concrete evidence to prove his charges. In spite of these methods employed against him he has declared employed his readiness to abide by the verdict of Parliament and to go in opposition if voted down. The majority of people and the armed forces remain with

-ZIAUL HAQ



-Seven Years In Prison

a, en price d'alerte à

ie.

Salvation is of Kenya,

As surely as tomorrow's sun,

For Kenya is outs by right.

bars-keeping his head high and imparting confidence to his compatriots with this line-"Kenya is ours by right."

Eight million Africans of worst tortures and brutalities, thirty thousands of were killed in cold them blood during the sevenyear emergency, over 2,000 still languish in concentration camps, slow death through torture and lack of food and care is their all because they said "Kenya is ours by right."

BRUTALITIES IN KENYA

The British imperialists, out to deny this, have roband murdered the cople of Kenya, have stopped at nothing to establish and nurture a settler aris-... the camps." Imperia-stocracy with the only pur- list justice, again! pose of exploiting the Af-

ricans further. Eight years ago, when the Kenyan liberation movement under its beloved leader Jomo Kenyatia gathered strength and became a threat to the conti- still behind the bars. He nuation of imperialist rule, was released from prison the imperialists struck with their state of emergency.

Jomo Kenyatta was arrested and framed, the war, in the heart of the Kenya African Union was Turkana desert-a banned. The key crown ble hell on earth. witness in the frame-up, Macharia, later African publicly declared that he elected Kenyatta as its Preand other witnesses had sident in absentia. But the been bought by the Govern- British Government rement to give false eviden- fused to register the Union ce against Kenyatta. And Macharia on whose was Kenvatta evidence sent to jail then, is today undergoing . imprisonment for giving that false evidence. Imperialist justice!

FROM THE DOCK

Kenyatta, addressing the case, from our point of view, has been so arranged

Kenya African Union you should feel that we have comething ple and if you think that

Magistrate from the dock, words which all Africa is said: "We feel that this singing:in order to strangle the

"Your being a European (settler), it is natural that His own freedom cannot Europeans. Our activi- will have to bend before ties have been against in- the might of the Kenyan justice to the African peo- people.

PAGE FOURTEEN

Our star is rising, our freedom comes, JOMO KENYATTA-for by asking for African rights seven years behind prison we have turned to be what you say is Mau Mau, we are sorry you have been misled. "What we have done and

shall continue to do is to demand the right for the African people as human Kenya have suffered the beings, that they shall enjoy the same facilities as other people. Peace shall to this land and this truth shall be known Shameful atrocities have continued since the declaration of the emerger the worst among them the Hola Camp massacre of March 3, 1959, then eleven African detenus were beat en to death under a "plan" approved by the Governor of Kenya and his Ministers.

The author of this "beat to death" plan has been rewarded with the honour of becoming a "Member of the British Empire" for playing "a prominent and honourable part in running nourable part in running

THE DAY IS NEAR

The state of emergency has ended but Kenyatta is on April 14, 1959, after serving his sentence, but is now incarcerated at Ladverita-This year the Kenya National Union

And —as is legally necessary false for every political organiation to function since the declaration of the emergency. The KANU took back his name, but he presides over the heart of every Kenyan and no imperialist torture can erase this.

On this October 16, it will be seven years since Keryatta was a free man. Let us greet him with

"The day of freedom in Africa is breaking, The sun of the revolu-

tion is ablaze. be delayed very much lon-V.P.G.



Labour Right Gets Thorough Beating At Scarborough

* By Cable

From OMEO GOOPTU

At the Scarborough Conference just concluded, the Labour Party has spoken out for world peace, disarmament and Socialism. There were moments when the reactionary leadership of the party with the willing help of "megaphone columns of Mammon's Press" was seen to be almost succeeding once again to confuse the party on the important issues of the day and then stealthily lead it to the path of revisionism and cold war.

THE entire Big Business Press made unremitting efforts to manoeuvre, smear and listort policies put forward by the growing progressive ranks challenging Gaitskell and his band of breezy salesmen of "new capitalism" in order to pave the way for a Right-wing victory.

Left Emerges Victorious

But for the first, time in many, many years, the old discredited policy of the Right-wing leadership which has for the past decade made the party an appendage of Torvism has suffered a crushing defeat. On every major sue which came up before this momentus conference e.g. on H-bomb strategy, on Clause Four of the Party's Constitution' embodying So-cialist principles, on the supremacy of the annual conference over all other organised sections within the party, the Left forces have emerged mictorious.

Scarborough undoubtedly has been a historic occasion for the Labour movement not only in Britain but throughout the world.

The supreme issue before Britain and the whole of mankind is that of peace and disarmament. It is a tribute to the deep humanity and political understanding of the British labour movement to recognise it as such and force Scarborough to make a choice between those who wanted Britain to lead the way towards survival ous future for her and a prospe people and those who were against freeing Britain from the deadly bonds of nuclear strategy, NATO and American

Peace And Disarmament

And the battle intensely and sometimes grimly fought was won by the forces advocating peace and disarmament. The AEU (Amalgamated

Engineers' Union) resolution which demanded that in advance of an international agreement on complete disarmament, the Government should unitaterally renounce the "testing, manufacture. stockpiling and hasing of all nuclear weapons in Great Britain" secured a majority of 407,000 votes thus

NEW AGE

making it the official policy of the Labour Party. The res tion of the mighty TGWU (Transport and General Workers' Union) whose General Secretary is Frank Cousins was also approved by 43,000 votes. Both the AEU and the TGWU resolutions were against the nuclear strategy and for the abolition of the bomb. The official motion sup-

porting NATO and the retention of the bomb was defeated by 297,000 votes to the loud cheers of the delegates. It was killed after, what many had thought, one of the finest debates in the history of the party. The Woodwork ers' motion which said that "Realities of international policies make imperative out continued membership of NATO" and which supported the official statement was defeated by a larger majority of 332,000 votes.

This was a great and inspiring victory for the progressive forces led by Cousins-Mikardo-Zilliacus, not to mention the Communist Party, won in face threats, political blackmail, all kinds of specious arguments and behind-the-scene manoeuvres by the Right-wing leaders.

Socialism And Clause 4

The conference also endorsed motion reaffirming belief in Socialism and in the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange. This motion by Vehicle Builders' endorsed the cherished Clause 4 of the party's Constitution fixing Socialism as the movement's aim. It may be remembered that it was this Clause 4 over which a great controversy arose in the earlier part of this year when Gaitskell attempted to delete it completely from the Constitution. The overwhelming unanimity "of the entire working class and Socialist movement has defeated Gaitskell's attempt and the proposal was abandon ed. However, the conference was talked into adopting the report of the Executive which while not repudiating the clause advocated a mixed economy for the country.

decision Another vital ctina t propaganda and blatant the Scarborough de trickery initiated by Gaitskell loyally carried out.

1 Star (1997)

and his "Hampstead set." A motion which asserted the supremacy of the conference decisions in the party as a whole including the M.P.s was adopted by an overwhel-

ming majority. However, when the decisive defeats of all of the Right-wing plans became known, Gaitskell television interview, the evening. announced same bluntly that he and his followers in Parliament supporting the bomb and NATO intend to defy the conference decisions and continue their policies unchanged. He indulged in mudslinging when he referred to the victors as "pacifists, neutralists and fellow-travellers".

The Left has protested vigorously at Gaitskell's arrogance and latest tactics. The Leftwing Tribune has declared, "A leader who can indulge in the kind of mud-slinging which has been displayed today can neither unite the party nor lead it to victory."

Warning To Leaders

Konni Zilliacus, M.P., one of the leaders of the victorious forces at Scarborough, has said that the inevitable result of combine Gaitskell trying to party leadership with rebellion against the party policy "will be to start a civil war in the Parliamentary Labour Party." He has reminded the party that sixty Labour M.P.s were al-ready pledged to their electorates during the last election to campaign for nuclear disarmament and another thirty were known to agree with their

views. In a statement issued by the Political Committee of the Communist Party it has been stated, "the Parliamentary Labour Party has the duty to carry out the decisions of the Labour Party conference. This is the plain meaning of the resolution passed at Scarborough that conference decisions on policy shall be sovereign.

"Labour representation in Parliament must not be nullified by one section of Labour M.P.s loyally carrying out the decisions of the conference while another chooses to vote in an opposite direction. The unity, as Harold Wilson has declared, needs to be based on carrying out the majority decision of the Labour Party conference"

The issues debated at Scarborough have been thrashed out in a way no issue has ever been debated. before. Those who now refuse to accept the conference decisions are enemies of democracy in the labour movement. The movement has reached decisive and dedemocracy was adopted by mocratic decisions which should the conference against in-tense private pressures, Press propaganda and blatant the Scarborough decisions are

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Big Business Critique

F 0 2

THE Federation of Inan Champers of Com-merce and Industry (FIC-Ci) has again been at its out trick of accepting the need for a big rian, and then seeking to readjust it in fa, our of the private sector. In an analysis of the drait outline of the Third Plan, published this week, it has come out with a list of "read, ustments" which, if accepted, will change the very complexion of Plan. lne

Basing itself on the private sector's "spiendid" per-formance in the Second Plan, during which it overstepped the investment target by about Rs. 900 crores, the FICCI has suggested a bigger anocation to it in the Third Plan. The draft's ratio of 61:39 between the puolic and private sec-tors needs to be revised to 55:45, which it had itself ted, since the former suggested, since the tormer the relative performa

the two sectors under the first two Plans." The Second Plan had

originally contemplated a ratio of 69:40 between the two sectors. Ultimately, however, due to budgetary and other concessions, given by the Government, and the freedom to expand which it enjoyed, the pri-vate sector was able to in-vest almost as much as the public sector. The logic of public sector. The logic of these concessions is now ig home to roost to the coming home to roost to the planners in the form of the demand for setting the Third Plan ratio at 55:45 ab initio, so that the end result might even be more favourable to the private sector than in the Second sector than in the Plan.

The FICCI suggests re-adjustments in allocation of public sector's invest-ments as well. It decries

the latter's preoccupation with industrial development. In fact, the draft ment. In fact, the draft would have been specially helpful, in its view, if in this particular matter, it had not made "any rigid or i destring draften between doctrinaire division between rapidly since independence as the public and the private in West Bengal. sectors." Just how it will like this division to be 1955, Dr. B. C. Roy, the State's ended is also made clear in Chief Minister admitted in his the demand for throwing the Minister admitted in his the demand for throwing budget speech that although open all ventures in indus- budget speech that although tries to the private sector, the rate of population growth ically it mentions oil, in this State was the lo specifically it mentions oil, in this State was the lowest in and expansion programme the whole of India, the prob-in steel and coal, which, ac- lem of unemployment was cording to it, should be "eating into the vitality of treated as realistically in West Bengal." this respect as fertiliser has He⁻ had pointed out that

Public Sector's Role

ber of unemple private sector's right to en-try into all industries, the FICCI' condescendingly assigns one specific role to the public sector. It "could construc tion of industrial houses," it says, presumably for workers to be increasingly

The problem has by now assumed far more alarming workers to be increasingly employed in the private sector. Rightly has this suggestion been debunked by the National Herald in a forthright editorial which proportions and there is no sign whatsoever of the process being reversed even in says that in making it, the are Federation which is never of the country's industries are tired of decrying what it concentrated in West Bengal, calls the Government's en- it is still largely an agricultural croachment on the domain State. A comprehensive survey of the private sector. has of the extent of unemployment "an inconsistin rural areas is yet to be made. On the basis of sample surveys in four out of 15 districts

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ency of its own"

directly take up tion of industrial

was of the order of 120,000.

Of The Plan

If the Government has to comme its incustrial ventures to housing, and ventures to has not to do much be it cannot be needing an the resources which the increa-sed taxation, envisaged in the arait, will bring it. hence, in the FiCCl's view, it could make do "even on the pasis of the present levels of taxation". More-over, "management . and ability entrepreneuriai being the "key econom resources that required to be developed through in-centives", any policy of increased taxation, which has a potentianty to hit them, should be ruled out altoge-

Sources Of Revenue

ther.

As alternative sources of revenue—for, after all, the public sector might be in need of more funds some-times to build houses—the FICCI suggests (i) re-tion in the total investment (i) reducin schemes other than housing) by the public sec-tor, and/or (2) increased recourse to deficit financ-ing. (in schemes other than

The fact that the latter The fact that the latter course will result in infla-tionary prices does not worry the FICCI, for such private sector better off in the long run. Moreover, if there still remains a deficit, even after tapping these sources, it could be made up by the private sector rais-ing more resources than en-visaged in the draft.

The sources for the pri-vate sector could be banss, which could give much more industrial credit than estimated at present, and equity capital from abroad To the latter end the FICC suggests "reorientation" of economic policies "to create the necessary conditions fruitful collaboration between Indian and toreign entreprenueurs." v

The FICCI is not only against raising additional taxation, it even frowns upon any system which in-voives a detailed scrutiny of the existing incomes and expenditure of the proper-tied classes. "There are too many authorities in Gov-ernment," it says, "asking ernment," it says, "asking industry and trade for too many reports". Why can this arrangement not be simplified by just asking simplified by just asking the assessees how much they earned and taking them on their word? A very suitable arrangement no doubt, but obviously, not for the Exchequer.

The FICCI has shown great concern for increas-ing agricultural production, but not through land reforms to give land to the tiller. In fact, according to it, the "fixation of a ceiling on landholdings will not be conducive" to this end. The only way to do it, in its view, is to produce more fertilisers through the fertilisers through the agency of the private sector.

The FICCI has also in-dulged in certain homilies about curbing consumption

NOTES ECONOMY to increase savings. It has,

INSIDE OUR NEWS &

however, not specified as to what sections should curb their consumption and where. Surely, there is enough conspicuous and ostentatious consu or inxury goods among weathy classes, which could be slashed with ad-vantage, but to do this a plethora of taxes—on. exof luxury goods among penditure, gifts, etc._are needed which the FICCI is not willing to accept. Who else could it be having in mind when it made the suggestion ommonplace Surely not the poorer peo-ple who sometimes do not even get one square meal a day?

Against The Nation

The FICCI is the premier organisation of India's trade and industry, and as India's such has a vital role to play in reconstructing her economy, which requires the unstinted labour of all sections of her people. To be true to this role, however, it has to be constructive in its approach, and not just be hidebound by its in its approach, and hold just be hidebound by its narrow grooves—of ideolo-gical predilections and sec-tional interests of Indian Big Business that dominate it. If it does not do so and the introduces how so the continues to produce the type of critiques it has, it will only be putting itself against the interests of the nation as a whole and earn the hostility of all who seek India's economic advance and the people's welfare.

CHEESE AND REFRIGERATION

THE FICCI pleads for fruitful collaboration between Indian and foreign private enterpreneurs. The following are a few instan-ces of Indo-U. S. collaboration (taken from the Capital, October 6) to produce items about whose imme-diate fruitfulness to the people at large the FICCI-might be convinced, but we are not:

Sardar Pritam Singh Sandu and U. S. firm to produce cheese (he to produce cheese (he might set up a dairy farm as well with the coopera-tion of the U.S. investors);

Messrs Bhawani Prasad Girdharilal of Kanpur to produce feron refrigera-tion compressors in coope-ration with a U.S. firm;

The Elixir Trading: Company of Kottayam to set up a plant for hard or chip board in collabora-tion with a U. S. firm;

Hindustan Wired Glass Manufacturing Company to produce wired glass in cooperation with a U.S. firm.

Cheese, . refrigeration compressors. hardboard compressors, hardboard and glass products are all high priority items for our enterpreneurs, but they decry a modest target of 6.9 million tons of finished steel.

-ESSE.V October 11

GOD FAILS B.C. ROY-UNEMPLOYMENT CONTINUES TO GROW

From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

PERHAPS in no other State has the problem of unemployment worsened so

"eating into the vitality of

survey carried out by the State Government's Statistical Bureau in September 1953 had revealed that the total numyed employ ment-seekers in the urban and Having established the ment-seekers in the urban and rivate sector's right to en- rural areas of West Bengal on the date of the survey was 10.1 lakhs, and that the net annua increase in the employment seeking population in the State

in September 1953, the State Statistical Bureau estimated the total number of unemployed employment-seekers in rural areas at 560.000. Obviously it was an underestimate beca it did not take disguised and seasonal unemployment into consideration.

Serious Malady

Even then the figures underlined the magnitude of the problem seven years ago and the Chief Minister had to admit that "the economy of West Bengal, particularly the agricultural sector, is in the griup of a serious malady."

The crisis of the agrarian economy of the State has become far more acute since then as the cumulative result of such factors as successive droughts and floods, mounting burdens of debt and taxes, large-scale mala fide transfers and partitions of land following in the wake of the abolition of landlordism and recurring food cri-

It can be, therefore, safely and 1,344 in May. assumed that though practical-September 1953.

serious. The two Five-Year to create some jobs in this every year is estimated at only gone on swelling!

NEW AGE

ector. It is roughly estimated that the rate of increase of jobs is about two per cent but job-seekers are increasing at a much faster rate.

The latest report on the working of employment exchanges in West Bengal shows that there were no fewer than 258,579 names on the "live registers of employment exchanges on August 31, 1960. The corresponding figures for May, June and July last were 217,528, 228,561 and 243,843 respectively.

It will be wrong to assume that these figures convey a complete picture of the actual unemployment position in the non-agricultural sector, since the majority of job-seekers, with hardly any confidence the employment exchanges, do not register their names.

Job-seekers have adequate reasons for adopting such an attitude. A total of 31,525 names were registered in August as against 21,703 in May. But the rate of placements in jobs remained more or less stationary with 1,730 in August

As a result of growing ecoly no new jobs have been crea- nomic distress, more and more Although about 30 per cent ted in the agricultural sector, middleclass women are crowdseveral lakhs have joined the ing the employment market. In ranks of the unemployed since August alone, 1,015 names of will succeed itember 1953. women were added to the The past five years have The position in the non- 4,963 already registered in em- shown that the West Bengar

Plan have no doubt helped ing the employment market ranks of the unemployed have

about 180,000-about 60,000 more than what had been estimated by the State Statistical Bureau in September 1953. To this must be added the unaccounted thousands who come to West Bengal . from other States in search of livelihood.

Govt. Does

Nothing

Today the total number of the unemployed in the nonagricultural sector in this State is estimated at 925,000. This means that in every second urban family there is at least one able-bodied unemployed person!

What has the Congress Government in West Bengal done to tackle the problem and ease the situation? Virtually no-

In his budget speech in February 1955, Dr. Roy had stated that "an investment of Rs. 1.400 crores will be necessary to create full employment conditions in West Bengal course of the Second Five-Year Plan." But then, in the same breath, he dismised this objective as impossible of achievement and ended in a philoso phical vein: "We do hope that with the grace of God ... we

Government has not succeeded agricultural sector is equally ployment exchanges. Government has not succeeded serious. The two Five-Year The number of people enter- and "by the grace of God", the

PAGE FIFTEEN



R. A. R. MENON, In-dependent nationalist. dependent nationalist, who joined the Communistled Ministry of Kerala and an Opposition MLA since February 1959, breathed his last in the afternoon of Sunday, October 9.

He had come to Trivandrum He had come to Invances to attend the current sittings of Communist Opposition is fight-ing a determined battle against the attempts of the Construct the attempts of the Congress and its allies in Kerala to reand its ames in Kerala to re-duce to a minimum the bene-fits which the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill confers on the landless and poor peasantry of the States.



His colleagues of the pre-sent Opposition in the legislasent Opposition in the legisla-ture, his personal friends and political opponents in the ruling party, non-party peo-ple-all joined together in paying tributes to his hon-esty, integrity, fearlessness, non-partisan spirit and hat-red for all that is unjust. Warm references to his self-ses services to the people were

less services to the people were made in the Legislative Assem-bly in the morning of the 9th and the Assembly adjourned for the day as a mark of res-pect for his memory. Government offices were also closed for the day. While tributes were thus

While tributes were thus being paid to his memory by prominent personalities in the public life of the State, his dead body was being taken from Tri-vandrum to Palghat, where he and his family have been living for the last several years, and from there to Chittoor where the ancestral family house of the late Doctor is situated. The the late Doctor is situated. The body is to be cremated in the compound of the ancestral family house—a privilege allowed by the local Municipal Council to the eldest member of the Ambat family to which the Doctor belowed and of the Doctor belonged and of which he became the eldest member a few years ago (other citizens of the town are to be cremated in the public burial place).

Lovable Old Man

I had the honour and privi-lege to go from Trivandrum to Palghat and from thence to Chittoor in the pilot car which went ahead of the ambulance

went ahead of the ambulance van carrying the dead body of our departed elder statesman. I was witness to several scenes at wayside places at which men, women and children were waiting for hours together to have their last glimpse of the great man. I was also witness to the fact large taking correthe final leave-taking cere-mony at his ancestral house cereat which members of his family, relatives and local citizens gathered to witness the traditional rites being the traditional. Files being performed within the sacred precincts of the family house and at the crematorium. Having seen both, I do not

know which was more affectionate—the sense of fondness which the common people of which the common people of Kerala have towards the sturdy fighter for democracy and for decent norms of behaviour in in

and the second second

public life: or the affectionate regard with which members of his family (a good number of whom have had sharp political differences with him and who even issued a joint statement dissociating themselves from his politics at the time of the his pointes at the time of the last mid-term elections) have for their Karanavar (eldest member of the family) in whom they found, despite poli-tical differences, a lovable old

People's Homage

The ambulance van carrying the dead body and the accom-panying vehicles (including the car in which his wife and daughter were travelling) were to have started from Triwandrum at about 6 o'clock. It, however, could not start till about 9 o'clock. People over the 240-mile route had therefore to wait for long after midnight. And yet hundreds of people And yet hundreds of people gathered even in small places with wreaths of flowers and, above all, their affectionate hearts. The numbers swelled into a few thousands at Trichur Palghat. (Both these and towns had the good fortune to have him as their Municipal Chairman for quite a number of years.) Several thousands were disappointed that all this place in the night and took they could not come and pay their last respects to him.

Among the people who gathered at various places were those who held various political views and came into contact with him in various capacities; they were all unit ed in their respect for the man in Dr. A. R. Menon. A veteran Congressman of

Palghat, Sri M. Narayana Menon, told the public meeting held at Palghat to mourn his death: "I have known him in-timately for the last few decades. I have seen him at work as the Chairman of the Trichur Municipal Council, as the Chairman of Palghat Municipal Council, as a member of Cochin and later on of the Travancore-Cochin Legislature, as the Health Minister of Kerala and, finally, as a member of the Op-position in the present Legisla-ture of Kerala. I have worked with him, I have fought him. Out of all this emerged a bond of friendship between us which cannot break with his death."

Ecentful Career

The man who drew towards him such fulsome tributes even from his political opponents had an eventful career. A brilliant student in his day, young Ambat Ramunni Menon had his medical education in the U.K., from where he came back with great academic distinction. He set up practice and natural-ly won great renown as a successful surgeon and unerring physician.

He, however, did not confinehimself to the life of a practis-ing doctor, but threw himself earnestly into the non-coopera-tion movement and marked the blooming National Cong-ress of Kerala with the stamp of his iduitiduality

of his individuality. A member of the AICC in the 'twenties, he gradually in-terested himself in the move-ment of the people of his own

NEW AGE

State, Cochin, and of the States' people in general for responsi-ble Government. One of the founder-members of the Cochin founder-members of the Cochin Congress, formed in 1937, he later on became a Minister of the State under the diarchic constitution introduced by the late Sir Shanmugham Chettiar,

then Dewan of Cochin. A nationalist to the core, he continued in the Congress and was a Congress member of the post-independence Coof the post-independence Co-chin and Travancore-Cochin Legislatures: Nevertheless, he could not identify himself with various things that used to take place within the Con-gress; impatient with cant and hypocrisy, intolerant of corrupt practices, ignorant of corrupt and croup intraves. personal and group intrigues, he flared up at such Cong-ressmen as used their Cong-ress membership for self-

aggrandisement. Many were the scenes that he made with such Congress leaders who brought discredit

whose leaders were even then intriguing for power. I cannot but record here one

incident which was characteri tic of Dr. A. R. Menon and his relations with all honest na-tionalists. Sometime in 1938 relations with all nonest ma-tionalists. Sometime in 1938 there was a municipal election in Palghat. We, that is, the Socialists and, other Leftists, were in a majority in the KPCC with myself as its Se-cretary; we wanted to put up a veteran Congressman of the Gandhian way of thinking, Sri R. V. Sharma, who knows no intrigues and who had no wires to pull for becoming Chair-man, but who had only honesty and disinterestedness to sup-port him. Rightist Congressmen did not like this and were intri-guing among themselves. Dr. Menon was then oc-cupying such a position in

Dr. Menon was then oc-cupying such a position in the Congress and the Munici-pal Council of Palghat that, if he had any personal ambi-tion, he could have intrigued and himself got the Chair-

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Dr. A. R. Menon, while he was the Health Minister in the Communist-led Cabinet of Kerala, inspecting the mobile dental van pre-sented to the Kerala Government by the All-India Trade Union Congress. The AITUC had received the van as a donation from the Trade Union Council of Czechoslovakia.

to the organisation and poisonto the organisation and poison-ed the political atmosphere of the State with their personal and group intrigues. Through all this, however, his loyalty to the organisation remained—but only up to a limit; and when that limit was reached, he bade good-bye to the Congress as an organisation even while conti-nuing to be loyal to the cause for which he still believed the Congress stood.

Supporter Of Just Causes

In the course of all these de velopments in his own and the State's political life he had been keeping a close watch on been keeping a close watch on the Left wing in the national movement that was taking shape in the State. He used to give an attentive ear to those of us who had formed the Con-gress Socialist Party in the 'thirties and were trying to unite with all non-Socialist Leftists in the Congress in the struggle against the Right manship. We (myself, then President of the KPCC the late Mohammed Abdur Rahman and the late Comrade Krishna Pillai) went to him and had a frank discus-sion with him on the situation and requested for his help. He gave us his full and generous support with which Sri Sharma got elected. At no stage in his political

career did he hold firm Leftist political views. I cannot, there-fore, recall to my mind any pointcal views. I cannot, there-fore, recall to my mind any stage in the development of the Socialist and Communist move-ment in Kerala in which he was our single "ally" in the traditional sense. Yet his ser-vices were available to us for innumerable causes when we were able to convince him that they were eminently just. they were eminently just. However, as he began to see how the Indian National Congress, in nurturing which he had played a notable part, was gra-dually deteriorating in its standards of public behaviour, particularly as he began to lose hopes of reviving it in its pristine glory, he began to see in us the continuators of the cause us the continuators of the cause for which he had fought during his whole life. It was thus that he began to draw himself to-wards us in the later 1950's and in the end joined us in the 1957 General Elections.

I cannot but recall to my mind several talks that we had after the elections in which he and expressed the hope that a Communist-PSP - Independ-ent Government would be formed; he tried his best to persuade his friends in the PSP to join such a coalition. We ourselves were inclined to that view and, readers will recall, we made a public offer to the PSP to form such a coalition. we made a public oner to the PSP to form such a coalition, even though our Party with its independent allies had a clear majority. It was when the PSP contemptuously rejected this offer and when Dr. A. R. Menon independently came to the conclusion that the PSP was in no mood to accept his advice, that he threw himself heart and soul with us and joined our Ministry. Even after joining our Ministry, he was anciously watching whether we were being too hasty with our legislations. He used to give us the benefit of his long experience in public life and caution us against haste and indiscretion. At the same time, close comradeship and the server of this tong

indiscretion. At the same time, close comradeship and the sense of cooperation that developed between us slowly dissolved his early suspicions about us; he began to see in us trusted colleagues and comrades. On the other hand, the in-

decencies and irresponsible at-titude of the then Opposition towards our Government confirmed him in his worst fears of his old Congress colleagues and roused in him indignation and anger which he alone is capable

"Swim Or Sink Together "

It was thus that he threw himself heart and soul into the defence of our Government and the celebrated passage in one of his speeches in which he declared that the Communists their democratic allies and and their democratic allies would "swim or sink together". The more our political oppo-nents indulged in their cam-paign of rabid anti-Commun-ism, the closer he came to Communism, so that at the time of the recent mid-term elecof the recent mid-term elec-tions he fought the election not with some symbol assigned to Independents but with the Communist Party's own sym-

His political career was thus part of the rapid change that as taken place in the political life of Kerala. And we of the Communist Party are proud that he, who was universally that he, who was universally respected even by his worst political opponents, he who had no political philosophy except his deep attachment to the peo-ple and intense hatred of in-justice, joined the ranks of our allies, though not the ranks of the Party itself. We pledge to ourselves that, cherishing the traditions of de-cent public life that he built up, we will try to still further ex-pand and strengthen the unity

pand and strengthen the unity of the Communists and non-party democrats in order to re effectively serve our peono ple.

