

CHINA MUST PUT AN END TO SUCH ACTS

NEW AGE COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

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OIL PRICES—IMPOSE STATUTORY CONTROL!

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Over fourteen years after Independence, the battle to liberate our national economy, in one of its vital sectors, namely oil, from the foreign monopoly grip, is at last gaining momentum. Behind the temerity of the oil companies to reject a Government decision concerning the prices of petroleum products, stands the immense power—economic as well as political—which they possess in the capitalist world.

Behind the decision of the Government to adhere to its previous decision, based on the Damle Report, concerning the same, lie the gains from the breaches which have been already made, in the last couple of years, in to the foreign monopoly of the oil industry by the State sector.

THE Damle Committee Report had submitted that there should be reduction from the ceiling selling prices, in force heretofore, of the bulk refined products and bitumen, of the order of Rs. 12.41 crores and Rs. 1.37 crores respectively.

Against this, has now come out the General Manager of Burmah-Shell with the statement: "The products in question are in limited supply in Persian Gulf and we have found no evidence that they are generally available other than at full posted prices".

And against this argues the General Manager of Stanvac that there is "a market situation where no major supplier is willing to offer discounts".

BLACK LIE

The plea of "non-availability of discounts is a black lie.

The Damle report quotes enough evidence to show that "discounts were being granted for a large and increasing volume of oil and the amount and duration of discounted sales contracts was increasing along with the size of the discounts".

Pointing to the under-quoting resorted to by these companies, the Damle report

reminds: "In some cases the prices quoted were even lower than the landed cost of the product from Russia. Such under-quoting by any oil company could only be possible if substantial discounts were available to it on fob postings".

What then is behind the present move of the oil sharks?

NEW TACTIC

It is the arrogance of the two of the most powerful companies of the capitalist world's most monopolised industry, that together with five other sister concerns control over more than four-fifths of the prospected resources, three-fifths of the output, more than half of the transportation and refining of oil in the capitalist world.

Actually the Damle report is far too moderate in its suggestions concerning the price reductions.

As early as 1956, the Government's own report prepared by Sahani, had admitted that every year oil companies were making an excess profit of Rs. 50 crores.

What the oil sharks have now in view in fact "put another way"—to use his own phrase—is the Bur-

mah-Shell's General Manager's statement referred to above. Rejecting a reduction on refined products, admitting a reduction on crude oil, what these monopolies now want is to expand their refineries in India.

MONOPOLIST MEMORY

In other words, when they could not prevent the emergence of the State sector in our country's oil industry, they are now trying to limit its expansion as much as possible.

Says the Burmah-Shell's General Manager, and that, too, without a blush: "Burmah-Shell refineries are ready and always have been, to refine indigenous Ankleshwar crude and has all along expressed their full willingness to do so".

How conveniently he has forgotten that it was only the other day, when Ankleshwar was being born, the foreign monopolies had refused to accept the Ankleshwar oil. Nay, more! One gentleman was even prepared to drink every teaspoonful of oil, if it was found there!

Let us not forget that it was when the oil in Ankleshwar was discovered in the State sector and the Government took concrete steps to take up refining and distribution tasks in the State sector that the oil companies "condemned" to another ad hoc reduction, and to accept An-

Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary, Communist Party of India has issued the following statement to the press:

I have read with surprise and regret the information given by the Government of India about the recent patrolling by Chinese soldiers in Indian territory. It is also reported that new checkposts have been established by the Chinese even beyond the territory shown in their own map of 1956.

"Such acts, especially in the context of the dispute already existing, cannot but heighten tension, create deep resentment among the Indian people and further embitter the relation between the two countries.

"We demand that the Government of the People's Republic of China must immediately put an end to such acts. We demand also that effective measures must be taken by them to ensure that such things do not occur again."

ankleshwar oil for their refineries.

And let us not forget that it was when the offer of Soviet crude oil for processing at the coastal refineries in our country was being considered by the Government, that the oil companies offered a discount on crude oil.

The lesson, therefore, is that the Government must stand firm and take "steps to make alternative arrangements, so that the economic life of the community is maintained" as stated by the Oil Minister, K. D. Malaviya in the Lok Sabha.

It has to be remembered that perhaps in no other field of industry in the capitalist world, the assets are so big, the profits so high. The assets of the Standard Oil of New Jersey were, in 1959, nearly equal to the national income of Sweden. And those of the Royal Dutch-Shell were greater than the national income of the Netherlands.

It is no wonder that the relevant figures that are required for finding out the correct values of the costing, viz., the entire oil price structure from c.i.f. prices to the retail prices, were never made available to the Cost

Accountant, when he was preparing his report.

It is no wonder that these monopolies had refused to submit the necessary vouchers required for determining the posted prices of refined petroleum products, to the Damle Committee. They had even refused to disclose the names of their original suppliers/producers!

The monopolies plea of having difficulties in negotiating with their principals is sheer nonsense. For, as the Oil Minister has aptly characterised, the difference between them and the companies operating in India is "that between Tweedledum and Tweedledee".

The reason behind the present stand of these monopolies is their refusal to yield to the present world situation, to the resurgence of newly independent and developing countries.

The lesson hence, is not further institutions of committees to solicit enquiries from these monopolies, nor pious hopes that these monopolies would voluntarily sacrifice a little from their fat profits in the national interest of our country, but the institution of a statutory control on prices of petroleum products.

HURRAH FOR GOAN COMMANDOS

HERE is a bit of heart-warming news from the Goan front. On November 16, a squad of Goan commandos attacked the Portuguese Police Station at Quepem, near Sengem. The Portuguese police offered stiff resistance but nothing availed them against the deep patriotism and effective skill of the guerillas.

Five armed minions of the colonialists paid with their lives the price of their disloyalty and the commandos made good their escape with the haul of small arms and ammunition, which will come in good stead during the coming actions against the Portuguese usurpers.

It is worth noting that this patriotic action took place exactly from where five political prisoners made good their escape which we reported last week.

All the so-called precautions and new fangled measures that the Portuguese are resorting to would not save them long against the ingenuity and the courage of the armed sons of the Goan people.

The Friends of America who were misusing the Prime Minister's US visit to confuse Indian national opinion about US aims and policies are faced with a rude shock. They tried their very best to build up a favourable image of USA in Indian eyes. Their trade-secret, key slogan, was to sell Kennedy's line of "new frontiers" as genuinely respecting neutralism and non-alignment and, thus, offering new possibilities to countries like India, of making friends in a big way with the USA.

THIS vast and very expensive propaganda campaign of the Friends of America has been badly damaged by no less a person than the US President himself. Soon after Prime Minister Nehru left the USA, President Kennedy made a last minute change in his Seattle speech, November 17. The original text read that the US was "determined to prevent certain nations from adopting neutrality and to prevent certain others from abandoning it".

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Later, a Presidential Adviser said that change from the original language represented no major shift in policy; the President meant that the US did not want "allies to become neutrals, or neutrals to become Communists". (Times of India, November 15)

The honest followers of non-alignment have no room left to take it easy or nurse any illusions about US policies. They remain what they were, selfish in content with the method of dictation as their form of operation. This calls for vigilance.

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change in India's policies following Pandit Nehru's US visit and talks with President Kennedy.

There was also a repudiation of the inspired campaign of the Indian correspondents of the monopoly-controlled Rightwing dailies of the Indian capital, who had published the stories and given him new direction to be more friendly with the US. "He denied having left any instructions with the Indian delegation at the UN for any change in policy".

He said: "I have given no instructions. From day-to-day new problems come up and they have to be considered at the UN in the broad context of our policy and have to be dealt with accordingly".

Pandit Nehru also rebuffed the various anti-Menon slanders that he was distorting Indian policy of non-alignment and so on, all designed to isolate the Indian representative at the UN from the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister told newsmen on landing at Santacruz airport that there was "no question of Krishna Menon having overstepped his brief in the UN."

"There is great deal of deliberate misreporting and an attempt to create difficulties. I do not believe there is anything like overstepping his brief" (Times of India, November 21).

The much ado over Menon is also acting like a boomerang. On November 18, H. R. Vohra cabled from Washington to the Times of India that last October President Kennedy had "brusquely cancelled" the appointment with the Indian representative. But "at the Prime Minister's suggestion Menon will now make up with President Kennedy".

It is good fun to read in the same Times of India, November 21, that the Prime Minister told the Indian pressmen, "during his discussion with President Kennedy the latter had expressed his desire to meet Mr. Menon and this was conveyed to Mr. Menon".

Leaders like Asoka Mehta, however, remain more-loyal-than-the-king. He stated at Kanpur (Hindustan Times, November 20) that "the Prime Minister had tried to undo some of the damage done by Krishna Menon".

The US is playing the clever game of differentiating between India and these two non-aligned countries. The non-aligned world is tuning in to every word from New Delhi and watching every Indian step.

Prime Minister himself seems to be conscious of a new watchful attitude of India's allies. Therefore, as soon as he alighted at Palam he announced that there would not be "any change in India's policy or broad details of their implementation either in the international field in general or at the United Nations in particular" (Hindustan Times, November 21).

This was a firm denial of the widely expressed US demand that there would be a

binies have taken in partnership their doubles from these countries.

Again as West Germany is being built up as the strong arm of the Nato so is Japan for the Nato, so is India being formally in it and through the US Japanese Mutual Assistance and Security Treaty, which stirred such national indignation of the Japanese people as to make them turn up en masse to hound out the US President, when he ventured last, to express his "friendship" and strengthen "solidarity".

Inevitably enough India's relations with Japan have been formally friendly but not politically significant. Ours has been the stand point of non-alignment while Japan stands committed to the other, imperialist side.

The Japanese Ambassador in India has, however, attached "great political significance" to his Prime Minister's visit to our country "in view of the deteriorating situation in South East Asia".

Just as US Ambassador Galbraith never tires of repeating that India must play a leading role in the region so is Japanese Prime Minister coming to plead that our country, alongside his, bears in the words of his Ambassador "a special responsibility in bringing about peace and stability in the region".

It is not India's job to pull the US chestnuts out of fire. Again there is nothing in common, in terms of past history or current national policies to enable the Prime Ministers of India and Japan to function together in South-East Asia. The peace-loving non-aligned independent India has repeatedly demanded through its Prime Minister that the imperialist outsiders leave the area in peace and the International Control Commission help restore normalcy, of respecting the independence and integrity of the countries concerned. The Japanese side, true to form, is throwing in the bait of greater economic "aid".

According to Karachi Correspondent of the Times of India, November 19, Prime Minister Ikeda noted during his discussion with President Ayub that though Britain and France had an interest in Asia they did not have enough resources to deploy in the area. The USA had an interest and resources. He did not elaborate the remark".

U. S. DALAL

He, however, said enough to disclose that he was coming not only as the political representative of the Jap monopolies but also as the Dalal of the US monopolies as well.

The Japanese propaganda is laying stress on the fact that the common grievances against the Ecm must throw India and Japan together. The Japanese monopolies realised that Britain's joining the Ecm is bound to weaken its economic

relations with India. They are out to replace the British in the Indian market.

We have, however, our own ambition to manufacture the needs of our own people. This means rapid and all sided industrialisation. Here the policy of the Jap monopolies is no different than that of their US big brothers. Both seek to dictate to us through the Aid India Club nor is the practical experience of collaborating with the Japanese firms any different.

Indian monopoly reaction, however, thinks different. Their view point is effectively stated in the Times of India, November 20, editorial significantly entitled "Welcome" it concluded that Ikeda's visit could be "the occasion for a new chapter in the development of a mature and intelligent Asianism".

The direction in which Indian Reaction seeks to advance Indian development is that India too become as committed to the West as Japan already is. This they call intelligent and mature Asianism. Intelligent and patriotic Indians would call it by its true name, Americanism.

British Racialism

THE British House of Commons on November 17 passed the Commonwealth Immigration Bill. Even the Tory Times captioned its editorial, "A bad bill" and wrote:

"The effect of the present Bill is first and foremost to treat Commonwealth citizens much the same as aliens... It strikes at the very roots of the British tradition and Commonwealth links. The damage, emotional, economic, and political, which it is likely to do the already fragile fabric of Commonwealth can hardly be exaggerated".

The mild Labour Chief Gaitskell made an impassioned appeal to his Government "to drop this shameful shabby Bill, which was a plain anti-Commonwealth measure in theory, and plain anti-colour measure in practice".

The Indian Prime Minister on arrival back home was asked about this notorious Bill and said, that he had no particular comment. "I am not interested in Indians going to the United Kingdom. But I dislike our being treated in a separate way in the Commonwealth. That is a different matter."

This is a whining whimper instead of a full-throated protest, worthy of our country. Pandit Nehru is obviously more chary of trading on Tory toes than understanding the problems of Soviet security.

The N-tees cool the war-making ardour of the Nato Generals. The Tory Bill hurts India's national selfrespect.

-P. C. JOSHI

SHARP TUSSLE AT GATT

Effective steps to protect India's trade interests to counteract Britain's entry into the European Common Market would be demanded by the Indian delegation to the current GATT session in Geneva, it is learnt here.

NDIAN delegation — which is led by the Union Minister of Commerce and Industry, K. C. Reddy — will be pointing out that India's trade with the GATT countries has been shrinking while that with the non-GATT nations is expanding. The delegation while pointing out this unpalatable fact, will state frankly that as at present constituted and has been functioning, the GATT is more of a "rich nation's club" than a promoter of underdeveloped nation's trade.

The demand of the underdeveloped countries for the reduction of tariff barriers by the developed countries thus promises to be the central issue at the GATT meeting. India will acquiesce in Britain's joining the EEC provided the entire Common Market area reduces their present prohibitive tariffs on Indian textiles and other semi-manufactured goods.

The attitude of this country is that not just pious hopes but concrete results should be produced by the GATT session if its utility is to be really felt.

Strong support for the Indian position expected from Japan and other Asian members of the GATT who are being discriminated against by the European members of this organisation.

barriers, while Committee Number Three dealt with the subject of development of trade of under-developed nations.

Some of the recommendations of these two committees are understood to be significant in the context of the current controversy. One of the three Committees has recommended that developed nations of the GATT, particularly the European members, should help in the growth of trade with Asian and other under-developed countries by relaxing trade barriers and diversifying trade patterns.

Special mention is made of the need to alter the pattern by which the under-developed countries provide the raw materials and primary commodities, while the developed countries export machinery and finished goods.

The Committee has recommended that steps should be taken energetically to enable the less-developed nations to export semi-manufactured goods and certain items of manufactures—where these have made headway—to the developed countries.

India is likely to make a firm demand that these recommendations should be given concrete shape.

While similar recommendations and vague hopes have been expressed in previous sessions too, nothing has so far come out of them. This time, there will therefore be widespread demand for firm and specific commitments from the developed countries. (IPA)

BANKIM MUKHERJEE

DEATH has snatched away a prominent figure in India's struggle for freedom, Bankim Mukherjee, on the evening of November 15, in Calcutta. A renowned and beloved leader of the Indian Trade Union and Kisan Movement, he was the Deputy Leader of the Opposition in West Bengal Assembly. He was a member of the National Council, CPI.

Bankim Mukherjee was suffering from kidney trouble when he was removed to the Medical College Hospital. He was operated upon on November 9. He was 64 and survived by his mother. His wife, Shanta Bhalaria, a veteran trade union leader, died in 1953 in Vienna.

Leaders of the Communist Party and other political parties, mass organisations, and several Ministers, Speaker and Secretary of the State Assembly visited the hospital and paid their respects. A wreath was sent by the Chief Minister.

The body was brought in a procession to the State Kisan Sabha office where it was kept overnight. Last rites were performed on November 16 after the body was taken out in a big funeral procession.

A seasoned parliamentarian, a veteran politician, topmost orator and an engaging conversationalist, Bankim Mukherjee was born in May 1897. While studying for MSc, he joined the non-Cooperation Movement and left for Etawah and was jailed there. As a Municipal Commissioner of the town, he came into contact with Pandit Motilal Nehru and was sent to Bengal to organise the Swarajya Party.

In 1927, he came in touch with the Communist Party and became its member in 1936. He was a member of the AICC between 1929 and 1939. He was a Vice-President of the EPCC and a member of

its Election Committee between 1937 and 1939. In order to propagate the ideas of socialism, he published and edited a weekly New Light in 1930.

His first touch with the trade union movement was during the jute mill workers' strike at Chengall. In 1925, he, along with a few others, led a mass deputation of the workers of Lilooah and Chengall to Pandit Motilal Nehru, President of the Indian National Congress, during its Calcutta Session.

He led the historic jute mills workers' strike in 1928-29. He was jailed for a year while leading the Carters' Strike. He was again imprisoned for four years for joining the Civil Disobedience Movement. During his political career he was jailed eight times.

He was one of the founders of the Kisan Sabha and was its Vice-President till his death. He was in the front rank of the trade union movement and was a member of the General Council of the ATTUC.

Bankim Mukherjee was a member of the pre-Independence Bengal Assembly from Asansol (Labour) Constituency. In 1952, he was elected to the West Bengal Assembly from Budgebudge after defeating the present Police Minister. He retained his seat in 1957 and was nominated by the CPI to contest the same seat in the next elections.

He had a vast knowledge of the national movement of the country. His speeches in the Assembly, particularly on land revenue system were listened to attentively even by the Treasury Bench members. His evidence before the Flood Commission remains still a valuable document on the land tenure system of the country, specially of Bengal.

The Communist Party has lost a towering leader and beloved elder comrade.

We dip the Red Banner.

India needs aluminium —hungary offers plant

GOVERNMENT of India is considering the feasibility of setting up an aluminium plant with Hungarian collaboration, in the Korba area in Madhya Pradesh, it is learnt.

The proposed plant is to have a capacity of fifty thousand tons of alumina and twentyfive thousand tons of aluminium ingots when it attains full production.

Korba has been selected as the site of the plant in view of the availability of bauxite, which is the prime raw material for aluminium production, in the area. Electric power and water are also available in plenty in the Korba area.

Hungarian Government has offered the technical know-how and credit facilities for the plant. If it cannot be accommodated in the trade agreement which is to be signed shortly between India and Hungary, the latter will extend separate credit for the plant, it is understood.

A technical mission from Hungary recently visited the proposed site for an on-the-spot study of the prospects of setting up such a plant. The team was satisfied with the power and water facilities available in Korba, but was not able to come to any definite conclusions, because of lack of data concerning the extent of bauxite deposits.

Consequently, Government of India experts are currently engaged in assessing the bauxite deposits in the Korba belt. The Hungarian expert team, it is expected, will submit its recommendations soon after receiving these data.

Total outlay on the plant is yet to be determined, as also foreign exchange component. This is so, because Hungarian experts have suggested that all machinery and equipment which could be manufactured in India should be availed of, and that only absolutely necessary equipment should be imported. (IPA)

Under Congress Rai

LESS FOOD, WORSE HEALTH

FROM AJIT ROY

General Death Rate Per Thousand Population

1956	9.8
1957	11.0
1958	11.3
1959	12.1

The death rate from some of the easily preventable diseases has also been going up according to the latest available figures. As for example, the incidence of death per thousand of population on account of fever, small pox, and cholera increased from 4.3, 0.05, and 0.08 in 1958 to 5.1 and 0.43 and 0.13 in 1959 respectively.

The solicitude of the Congress Government for people's health can be judged from the fact that while about 50 lakh persons suffer from active or probably active tuberculosis and about 4½ lakhs die of it every year, the Government of India could not manage to utilise exactly one-half of the meagre allocation of Rs. 12 crores made in the Second Plan.

Let us now come to the question of "especially better and more food".

The per capita availability of cereals was 16.3 cw per day in the pre-war years. This availability was very much lower during the last four years as will be seen from the data given in the Economic Survey, Ministry of Finance, Government of India:

1957	13.0 cw
1958	12.0 "
1959	13.7 "
1960	13.1 "

It is certainly true that average longevity in India has shown some rise in the post-war period. But even a layman knows that much of it is due to the emergence of antibiotics and other wonder drugs, for which Congress Government can hardly claim any credit.

Not only that. According to the vital statistics published by the Government of India the general death rate per thousand population has shown a consistently rising trend during the Second Plan period as will be seen from the table below:

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"I am not referring to military neutralism". He patronisingly conceded that India need not join US military alliance.

"Nor do I speak of economic neutralism". He has learnt not to insist in the case of India that "our exact economic system can and should be adopted".

"What I am speaking of is moral neutralism — a neutralism that parrots the line that I have often heard in my trips to neutral countries abroad. The basic theme is the simple one—there is little to choose between the US and the Communist bloc."

"This is pure bunk".

Kennedy would dictate to us the colour of our non-alignment outfit and lay down the dance-pattern considered la mode by Washington. Nixon would also insist that the chorus should be a big howl against the countries of Socialism.

NON-ALIGNED UPSET

The Hindustan Times Correspondent, P. Das Gupta, cables from Cairo, November 20, that in the local Arab press Kennedy's and Nixon's references to neutrality have been interpreted "as the desire to manipulate non-alignment for Washington purposes".

That is why President Nasser requested Prime Minister Nehru for a stop-over, for more than a talk at the Cairo Airport. That is why President Tito also came rushing to join the talks. The non-aligned statesmen are really upset.

The US has cut off its wheat supply to Yugoslavia. UAR has already suffered the body-blow of Western inspired Syrian secession. The memory of Belgrade provoked this US offensive against these two and the memory of the same Belgrade brought the three statesmen together.

The press reports that the other two pleaded for another get together, in some form or another, of the non-aligned Belgrade set. Prime Minister Nehru was not willing and considered the move premature.

The US is playing the clever game of differentiating between India and these two non-aligned countries. The non-aligned world is timing in to every word from New Delhi and watching every Indian step.

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Japan's Role

AMERICA'S rulers have not done with India, after the conclusion of the Prime Minister's visit. Their interest is a continuing one. This week India is experiencing a full-blooded US incursion, personified in the visit of Japan's Prime Minister and his big entourage.

To US imperialism, Japan is in Asia what West Germany is in Europe. The giant US monopoly com-

panies have taken in partnership their doubles from these countries.

Again as West Germany is being built up as the strong arm of the Nato so is Japan for the Nato, without being formally in it and through the US Japanese Mutual Assistance and Security Treaty, which stirred such national indignation of the Japanese people as to make them turn up en masse to hound out the US President, when he ventured last, to express his "friendship" and strengthen "solidarity".

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He, however, said enough to disclose that he was coming not only as the political representative of the Jap monopolies but also as the Dalai of the US monopolies as well.

The Japanese propaganda is laying stress on the fact that the common grievances against the Ecm must throw India and Japan together. The Japanese monopolies realised that Britain's joining the Ecm is bound to weaken its economic relations with India. They are out to replace the British in the Indian market.

We have, however, our own ambition to manufacture the needs of our own people. This means rapid and all sided industrialisation. Here the policy of the Jap monopolies is no different than that of their US big brothers. Both seek to dictate to us through the Aid India Club nor is the practical experience of collaborating with the Japanese firms any different.

Indian monopoly reaction, however, thinks different. Their view point is effusively stated in the Times of India, November 20, editorial significantly entitled "Welcome", it concluded that Ikeda's visit could be "the occasion for a new chapter in the development of a mature and intelligent Asianism".

The direction in which Indian Reaction seeks to advance Indian development is that India too become as committed to the West as Japan already is. This they call intelligent and mature Asianism. Intelligent and patriotic Indians would call it by its true name, Americanism.

British Racialism

THE British House of Commons on November 17 passed the Commonwealth Immigration Bill. Even the Tory Times captioned its editorial, "A bad bill" and wrote:

"The effect of the present Bill is first-and foremost to treat Commonwealth citizens much the same as aliens... It strikes at the very roots of the British tradition and Commonwealth links. The damage, emotional, economic, and political, which it is likely to do the already fragile fabric of Commonwealth can hardly be exaggerated".

The mild Labour Chief Gaitskell made an impassioned appeal to his Government "to drop this shameful shabby Bill, which was a plain anti-Commonwealth measure in theory, and plain anti-colour measure in practice".

The Indian Prime Minister on arrival back home was asked about this notorious Bill and said, that he had no particular comment. "I am not interested in Indians going to the United Kingdom. But I dislike our being treated in a separate way in the Commonwealth. That is a different matter."

This is a whining whimper instead of a full-throated protest, worthy of our country. Pandit Nehru is obviously more chary of treading on Tory toes than understanding the problems of Soviet security.

The N-tests cool the war-making ardour of the Nato Generals. The Tory Bill hurts India's national selfrespect.

—P. C. JOSHI

SHARP TUSSLE AT GATT

Effective steps to protect India's trade interests to counteract Britain's entry into the European Common Market would be demanded by the Indian delegation to the current GATT session in Geneva, it is learnt here.

INDIAN delegation — which is led by the Union Minister of Commerce and Industry, K. C. Reddy — will be pointing out that India's trade with the GATT countries has been shrinking while that with the non-GATT nations is expanding. The delegation while pointing out this unpalatable fact, will state frankly that as at present constituted and has been functioning, the GATT is more of a "rich nation's club" than a promoter of underdeveloped nation's trade.

The demand of the underdeveloped countries for the reduction of tariff barriers by the developed countries thus promises to be the central issue at the GATT meeting. India will acquiesce in Britain's joining the EEC provided the entire Common Market area reduces their present prohibitive tariffs on Indian textiles and other semi-manufactured goods.

The attitude of this country is that not just pious hopes but concrete results should be produced by the GATT session if its utility is to be really felt.

Strong support for the Indian position expected from Japan and other Asian members of the GATT who are being discriminated against by the European members of this organisation.

barriers, while Committee Number Three dealt with the subject of development of trade of under-developed nations.

Some of the recommendations of these two committees are understood to be significant in the context of the current controversy. One of the three Committees has recommended that developed nations of the GATT, particularly the European members, should help in the growth of trade with Asian and other under-developed countries by relaxing trade barriers and diversifying trade patterns.

Special mention is made of the need to alter the pattern by which the under-developed countries provide the raw materials and primary commodities, while the developed countries export machinery and finished goods.

The Committee has recommended that steps should be taken energetically to enable the less-developed nations to export semi-manufactured goods and certain items of manufactures—where these have made headway—to the developed countries.

India is likely to make a firm demand that these recommendations should be given concrete shape. While similar recommendations and vague hopes have been expressed in previous sessions too, nothing has so far come out of them. This time, there will therefore be widespread demand for firm and specific commitments from the developed countries. (IPA)

BANKIM MUKHERJEE

DEATH has snatched away a prominent figure in India's struggle for freedom, Bankim Mukherjee, on the evening of November 15, in Calcutta. A renowned and beloved leader of the Indian Trade Union and Kisan Movement, he was the Deputy Leader of the Opposition in West Bengal and Pandit Motilal Nehru, President of the Indian National Congress, during its Calcutta Session.

Bankim Mukherjee was suffering from kidney trouble when he was removed to the Medical College Hospital. He was operated upon on November 9. He was 64 and survived by his mother. His wife, Shanta Bhalerao, a veteran trade union leader, died in 1953 in Vienna.

Leaders of the Communist Party and other political parties, mass organisations, and several Ministers, Speaker and Secretary of the State Assembly visited the hospital and paid their respects. A wreath was sent by the Chief Minister.

The body was brought in a procession to the State Kisan Sabha office where it was kept overnight. Last rites were performed on November 16 after the body was taken out in a big funeral procession.

A seasoned parliamentarian, a veteran politician, topmost orator and an engaging conversationalist, Bankim Mukherjee was born in May 1897. While studying for M.Sc, he joined the non-Cooperation Movement and left for Etawah and was jailed there. As a Municipal Commissioner of the town, he came into contact with Pandit Motilal Nehru and was sent to Bengal to organise the Swarajya Party.

In 1927, he came in touch with the Communist Party and became its member in 1936. He was a member of the AICC between 1929 and 1939. He was a Vice-President of the BPC and a member of

its Election Committee between 1937 and 1939. In order to propagate the ideas of socialism, he published and edited a weekly New Light in 1930.

His first touch with the trade union movement was during the jute mill workers' strike at Chengall. In 1928, he, along with a few others, led a mass deputation of the workers of Lilloah and Chengall to Pandit Motilal Nehru, President of the Indian National Congress, during its Calcutta Session.

He led the historic jute mills workers' strike in 1928-29. He was jailed for a year while leading the Carters' Strike. He was again imprisoned for four years for joining the Civil Disobedience Movement. During his political career he was jailed eight times.

He was one of the founders of the Kisan Sabha and was its Vice-President till his death. He was in the front rank of the trade union movement and was a member of the General Council of the AITUC.

Bankim Mukherjee was a member of the pre-Independent Bengal Assembly from Asansol (Labour) Constituency. In 1952, he was elected to the West Bengal Assembly from Budgebudge after defeating the present Police Minister. He retained his seat in 1957 and was nominated by the CPI to contest the same seat in the next elections.

He had a vast knowledge of the national movement of the country. His speeches in the Assembly, particularly on land revenue system, were listened to attentively even by the Treasury Bench members. His evidence before the Flood Commission remains still a valuable document on the land tenure system of the country, specially of Bengal.

The Communist Party has lost a towering leader and beloved elder comrade.

We dip the Red Banner.

India needs aluminium —hungary offers plant

GOVERNMENT of India is considering the feasibility of setting up an aluminium plant with Hungarian collaboration, in the Korba area in Madhya Pradesh, it is learnt.

The proposed plant is to have a capacity of fifty thousand tons of alumina and twentyfive thousand tons of aluminium ingots when it attains full production.

Korba has been selected as the site of the plant in view of the availability of bauxite, which is the prime raw material for aluminium production, in the area. Electric power and water are also available in plenty in the Korba area.

Hungarian Government has offered the technical know-how and credit facilities for the plant. If it cannot be accommodated in the trade agreement which is to be signed shortly between India and Hungary, the latter will extend separate credit for the plant, it is understood.

A technical mission from Hungary recently visited the proposed site for an on-the-spot study of the prospects of setting up such a plant. The team was satisfied with the power and water facilities available in Korba, but was not able to come to any definite conclusions, because of lack of data concerning the extent of bauxite deposits.

Consequently, Government of India experts are currently engaged in assessing the bauxite deposits in the Korba belt. The Hungarian expert team, it is expected, will submit its recommendations soon after receiving these data.

Total outlay on the plant is yet to be determined, as also foreign exchange component. This is so, because Hungarian experts have suggested that all machinery and equipment which could be manufactured in India should be availed of, and that only absolutely necessary equipment should be imported. (IPA)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

INDIA-CHINA BORDER DISPUTE

QUESTION:

What is the stand of the Communist Party of India on the India-China border dispute? What does the CPI suggest about the recovery of territory? (Bijoy Kant Thakur, Darbhanga)

The CPI Election Manifesto has urged armed action for the recovery of Goa from Portugal and negotiations with China about territory south of the MacMohan Line, why this discrepancy? (Nihal Singh, New Delhi)

ANSWER:

RIGHT from the outset of the India-China border dispute and, more particularly, since the Meerut meeting of our National Council in November 1959, the Communist Party's stand has been made perfectly clear.

Firstly, the CPI has made it known time and again that it stands for the territorial integrity of the country. Only the inveterate anti-Communists can parrot the plea that as China is a Socialist country, the CPI stands for bargaining away Indian territory to it.

Secondly, the CPI has made it clear that in its opinion the frontier of India in the Eastern Sector lies along what is known as the MacMohan Line, that in the Western Sector it is the traditional frontier between the two countries that should be recognised, that the whole of Jammu and Kashmir, including the part occupied by Pakistan, forms a part of India.

After this clearcut and categorical statement only those who refuse to see and hear can say that the CPI puts on a par the territorial claims of China and the case of the Government of India. To give only one example, the Chinese case is that they do not recognise the MacMohan Line, while the Government of India is of the opinion that this line forms the frontier between the two countries in the Eastern Sector. The CPI does not agree with China but with the Government of India. The same is the case with the other sectors of the frontier.

Third, the CPI has always urged that the dispute between our country and China should be settled through peaceful negotiations and states that this is in full accord with our country's approach in regard to disputes between nations.

Here, too, it needs to be stressed that this is precisely the stand taken by the Government of India. Pandit Nehru himself time and again has rightly lashed out against those reactionary forces in the country—notably the Jana Sangh, PSP and rabid Rightists in the Congress itself—who want to wave the big stick and talk loosely of war between the two countries.

As a matter of fact, it is clear enough to any impartial

observer that these reactionaries are not in the least interested in the settlement of the boundary dispute nor in the exercise of Indian sovereignty up to the limits of frontiers.

Their whole game is the anti-national one of using the dispute for furthering their nefarious aim of shifting our country from non-alignment to alliance with imperialism. Readers will recall the vociferous propaganda of the Rightists till only a few months ago about the need for an Indo-Pak Joint Defence Treaty.

Another objective the Rightists hope to secure by their clamour is the weakening and suppression of the democratic movement in the country. Theirs is the strident plea that there should be no struggle and no "disturbance" since India is "threatened".

It should be noted that the CPI appreciates the policy of negotiations, and not bellicosity, adopted by the Government. Its Election Manifesto states: "Indeed it redounds to the greatness of our nation that India adheres to this only correct approach for the solution of problems which have arisen between India and China today".

Fourth, the CPI has reiterated more than once that the dispute between our country and China is not only the concern of our people and the Chinese. It has the gravest consequences for the cause of Asian solidarity, the maintenance of world peace and the struggle against colonialism.

It is these wider aspects of the problem also that the CPI bears in mind when stressing the need for negotiations as the way out of the impasse.

Any action that further worsens India-China relations is sharply assailed by our Party. We have urged that the Government of India stand firm to its policy of negotiations. We have roundly condemned the inveterate foes of Indian progress who raise such a cacophony against China. And, the General Secretary of our Party has sharply criticised the recent acts of the Chinese soldiers in Ladakh.

No! It is not the CPI that has to hang its head when confronted by accusations of lack of patriotism. It is the accusers themselves who need to sink down in shame. It is they who are seeking to take partisan advantage out of a national issue. It is they who cause the gravest damage to the cause of India's territorial integrity.

Now for the related question on Goa. We certainly do not equate the People's Republic of China with the Portuguese imperialists. We certainly do not agree that that our experiences with China and Portugal have been the same.

No matter the present tragic position, the fact remains that China is a great socialist country, a huge segment of the Asian awakening of which we, too, are a part and partner. India and China have both suffered from imperialist oppression, both have only recently recovered their independent personalities; both need peace and all their energies to make of their ravaged lands a thing of beauty and the people's joy.

And Portugal. It is an imperialist power that kills and burns. It is an imperialist power tied to the aggressive NATO bloc. It is an inveterate enemy not only of India but of China, of Asia, of Africa and of freedom.

For fifteen long years the Government of India has tried to negotiate with Portugal. But with no result and only to the detriment of our Goan brethren. This negative experience itself provides the clue to the methods to be adopted against the Portuguese imperialists.

Incidentally, it should be borne in mind that the CPI advocates the same policy of negotiations to recover our territory vis-a-vis our neighbour Pakistan. There, too, we are against any brandishing of the sword and for the proffering of the olive branch, despite the attitude of Pakistan's rulers.

Negotiations with China and with Pakistan and armed action against the Portuguese—the consistency in the CPI stand is provided by one overwhelming historical fact—Asian solidarity and world peace.

—MOHIT SEN

***** INTO BATTLE

WE are vastly encouraged by our readers' response to the added go that we are trying to put into *New Age* for the added responsibility of facing the electoral battle.

In the past two issues, we have taken up the PSP Manifesto, maintained our Exposures and done our best to answer your questions. We have given you the Punjab comrades' manifesto and the start of the election campaign in Andhra.

In this issue the Jana Sanghites are flayed alive and shown up for the decadents that they are. M. N. has given us a sweeping portrayal of the Kerala scene as the mighty Malayalees get on their toes for the election sprint. And Rajasthan comes under our searchlight.

The big news for next week—and we would urge all agents to immediately order their increased copies—is the article of the General Secretary Ajoy Ghosh. Our typist comrades are just rushing through their job and it goes to the press on Saturday night.

It will take up some four *New Age* pages and deal with the main issues confronting the electorate, the analysis of the Congress record and the programmes of the Right parties and the PSP.

This article is a must for every intelligent voter, to say nothing of the election workers.

Rebel Phizo— British Citizen



PHIZO, THE CHIEF OF THE Naga rebels, in London, back to his British masters, is old news. The latest is that his British patrons have duly awarded him British citizenship.

He left Nagaland when it became hot for him to stay on. He was smuggled out via Pakistan. Since he went illegally, he had no official papers with him and entered U.K. with a false passport. He has been living there virtually as a stateless citizen. The British Government giving him, an Indian citizen, and that, too, a fugitive from Indian Law, British citizenship constitutes an affront to India, its self-respect and sovereignty.

The matter came up in the Parliament, on its very opening day. Deputy Minister for External Affairs, Lakshmi Menon, stated that the Indian High Commission in London was consulted but this was about all.

Phizo denied that he was an Indian national. The British Government obliged him by granting him British citizenship and a British passport. It, however, recorded him as an Indian national not to wound Indian susceptibilities further. In this double-faced manner, the British have legalised Phizo's existence and saved him from the arms of Indian law.

The Indian Government, it is reported, has informed the British Government that it reserved the right to ask for Phizo's extradition. It was simultaneously declared on the floor of the Indian Parliament that the Government had "no intention of doing so at present". This double-faced make-believe is also a part of the British heritage of India's present-day rulers.

Phizo is an Indian citizen, a warrant of arrest on a charge of conspiracy to murder his colleagues is yet in force. He is also guilty of other crimes according to the Indian Government itself.

The first task of the Indian Government in such circumstances is to demand Phizo's extradition, in the exercise of India's sovereign right over all its citizens.

We are not for being vindictive against Phizo and the Nagas. After getting Phizo back from the British Government, it is for the Indian Government to exercise clemency in the interest of peace and amity in Nagaland or take whatever measures are considered necessary and justified.

The Nehru Government has not only made a mess of the Naga problem, but also sacrificed Indian sovereignty and self-respect the way it has handled the Phizo affair. (November 22)

ANTI-COMMUNIST BRAND OF LIES

Ramesh Sinha Lucknow

ON the last day of the U. P. State Assembly (November 17) intervening in the discussion forced through a calling attention motion by Pratap Singh, a Praja Socialist member from the hill districts, Chief Minister C. B. Gupta declared that the allegation made by this member that cloth, iron and explosives were being smuggled to China from the PWD border circle of Tanakpur were utterly baseless.

Earlier, Revenue Minister, Hukum Singh had similarly, on the basis of inquiries made through the intelligence and the Public Works departments, said that the allegations of smuggling anything to China made by this member were wrong and without any basis.

For months before he brought forth this fraudulent and mischievous charge, this man had been going round propagating and issuing statements that Indian Communists were carrying on anti-Indian and pro-Chinese propaganda in the border districts of the State.

When challenged to produce evidence he could not produce even a shred. That did not, however, prevent this ambitious upstart in

politics from continuing to mouth the most irresponsible and vile slanders both against Indian Communists and our officers and men working in the border districts.

Later on, perhaps not to left behind in this campaign, Socialist leader Raj Narain Singh made a tour of the hilly border districts. He, however, was honest and on his return stated publicly that he found not a single Communist anywhere in those far-flung areas. Even that did not silence this slanderer.

And recently, his leader Triloki Singh himself, who is really not fit physically to undertake such hazardous journeys, accompanied Pratap Singh to those areas.

On his return to Nainital he, too, has repudiated Pratap Singh and told pressmen that he found no Communist anywhere in the border areas and, therefore, there was no question of their carrying on anti-Indian or pro-China propaganda.

One does not know whether even now this man will shut up. Is there no statutory or moral law to curb and bridle such despicable liars?

m. n. govindan nair interviewed

M. N. had just returned from Kerala. He was full of the new developments in his State and the big new opportunities opening out for the advance of the mass democratic movement. Naturally this would have its impact on the forthcoming General Elections. The prospects for the Communist Party are far better now than they have ever been since the mid-term elections last year.

"THE first point I wish to stress", he said "was the boomeranging of the Congress tactics to use the communal weapon against us. You all remember the disgraceful alliance that was set up, under Congress blessings, during the 'liberation struggle' and after, to try to isolate us Communists. The casteist Nair leaders, the Christian hierarchs and the Muslim League Maulavis were all roped in.

"We had warned at that time that such an alliance would have the most adverse effects on the political life of the nation, that it would not last and that the Congress would rue the day when it adopted this most shameful policy. All our predictions have come true".

The Muslim League had been wooed by the Congress as early as the 1957 General Elections. It had been accepted as an equal in the grand anti-Communist alliance. The League flag had flown together with those of the Congress and the PSP in the election rallies in 1960. And afterwards had come the pay-off—the granting of respectability and then shabby shunning of the League.

Nehru claimed that he had not read the League manifesto. Later the League was refused a seat in the Government. This was followed by the disgraceful trick of the "independent" mask on the League leader's face before giving him the Speakership. And now the demand that the League as such should not contest the elections.

"We are happy", said M. N. that the Congress has decided, whatever be its motives and the pressures to which it was subjected, to break with the Muslim League. We had all along been asking it to do so in the interests of national integration.

"But naturally enough, many Muslims are furious at the way in which the Congress leaders have played shuttle-cock with the League. They are even more angry with the PSP leaders and their acceptance of the Congress diktat".

Latin Christians

Another dissatisfied partner of the alliance is the Latin Christian community, numbering some 12 lakhs. They had taken a leading part in the "liberation struggle". Yet when it came to Ministry-making and the formation of Government committees and recruitment to Government services, the Latin Christians were found to be on the outside looking in.

The Latin Christian leaders feel that the same step-brotherly attitude is being meted out to them by the Congress PSP leaders as far as the allocation of Lok Sabha tickets is concerned. They are of the opinion that two or three Parliamentary constituencies are theirs by "right".

In particular, they insist on having candidates of their choice in the Ernakulam and

for M. N. mentioned was the controversy that had arisen with regard to the allocation of certain seats. The most furious of the conflicts was with regard to the allocation of the Kottayam constituency to M. O. Mathal.

"The Congressmen of the locality are most vehement in their opposition. They are furious at what they regard as the foisting on them of a reject from Nehru's household, round whose name grave scandals cluster. They are openly talking of the undue pressure that Birla seems to be able to exercise on the choice of Congress candidates", was M. N.'s summing up.

The local Congressmen of the Thiruvella constituency are also not at all happy over the person—Ravindra Verma—who has been given the party ticket.

M. N. next turned to the question of the experience of over 15 months rule by the Coalition Cabinet. "Even the staunchest supporters of the coalition are fed up with the constant bickering and public quarrelling that has become the most conspicuous feature of the Ministry's activities.

"The Congress as the major partner in the coalition wants to have a preponderant voice both in the shaping of policies and in the actual administration. The PSP, however, feels that 'its' Chief Minister Pattom must be accepted as the leader of the team by all

Kerala—'Liberators' Dogfight, Surge Forward Of Popular Unity

It should be remembered that the biggest chunk of the peasants are of Syrian Christian stock. The Government has been totally neglecting their problems and, even more, it has actively let them down. The more spectacular among the manifestations of their anger was the Kottiyur jatha, the struggle against the Amravati evictions and the movement against the prohibitive taxes on the so-called encroachers.

The list of candidates published by the Congress-PSP alliance has further infuriated the Catholic Congress, whose leaders are quite openly stating that the present Ministry and the leadership of the two parties are playing the game of the Nair communal leader Mannath Padmanabhan.

"I want to emphasise", said M. N. "that from these developing conflicts the conclusion should not be drawn that there is no possibility of a patch-up. If the last alliance was opportunist there is no reason why there cannot be another get-together on an opportunist basis.

"The point is not whether unity or disunity is the only form of relationship in the future. The point is that the whipping up of communalism to defeat Communism does not ensure a stable rapprochement. It only makes the job harder of drawing the various communities into the vortex of national and of democratic politics".

Another unsettling—for the Congress-PSP gang-up—fac-

during this period. Naturally enough there had been great disappointment throughout the Party after the mid-term elections.

But all along every single Party comrade was conscious of two facts: firstly, that a reverse for the Communist Party is never more than a temporary set-back; secondly, 40 per cent of the electorate had voted Communist despite everything—the others had to be won over.

Communist Work

And so the comrades of Kerala got down to work, went deeper into the masses and more courageously into their service. Whenever injustice had to be fought and the people organised for any activity likely to benefit them, the comrades were there.

"Right from the outset the Party concentrated on outstanding issues agitating the masses, especially the peasants. The great jatha right across Kerala, led by A. K. Gopalan, for the implementation of the Agrarian Relations Bill enacted by the E. M. S. Ministry. This had a big impact on the peasants and helped to effect a dent in the wall of prejudice erected by the 'liberation' leaders.

"Now comes the struggle of the peasants for the recording of their rights. New Age has already carried an interview by me on this subject a few weeks ago. It is tied up with the peasants wanting to secure the rights given to them by the Agrarian Rela-

by mohit sen

putation and on the basis of as wide a consensus of opinion as possible, to evolve a truly national plan for Kerala. Following this tour, a series of all-parties conferences were held at our initiative with the same object.

"Finally came the grand Third Plan jatha led by E. M. S. and A. K. Gopalan which came to so triumphant a conclusion at Trivandrum on November 13. You have already published the details about this jatha so I won't go into them all over again. I would only stress its role in awakening mass consciousness about Kerala's plan and the realisation that the Communists are in the forefront when it comes to the development of the State".

Incidentally, M. N. mentioned that the Communist demonstration in Trivandrum was admitted by papers like the Hindu and the Indian Express to have been the biggest ever in the city. This has a significance against the background of the Congress demonstration (during Sanjeeva Reddy's visit) and the PSP rally (during Asoka Mehta's visit) in the same city only a few weeks ago. Both these demonstrations had been planned for a long time; those two parties as a manifestation of their strength. They were impressive affairs but the Communist demonstration has outdone them both!

M. N. wanted that there should be no undue optimism generated by the picture he was drawing. There should be no feeling that the struggle was pretty nearly over and that the Communists were just going to sweep ahead. A big and stiff task lay ahead for the Communists to win over the majority.

"What needs to be realised is that a big shift has taken place among the masses in our favour and that new opportunities are arising for united mass, democratic advance.

"This is a bitter blow to the peasants but also a big eye-opener. The landlords who are now resorting to these dishonest methods to deny them their rights, were in the van of the 'liberation struggle' and had brought them in under the plea that all happiness was being held up by the Communist 'devils'. Who the actual devils are, the peasants now see.

"The peasants have put forward a most reasonable set of demands, which it is quite possible for the Government to accept. It is around this charter that mass peasant actions and picketing are planned from November 27".

Then, of course, there were a number of strikes by the workers in which the Communist-led trade unions had played a worthy vanguard role.

"But the scope of Communist activity was by no means confined to these partial economic struggles, however important. The Party had also taken up in a big way the cause of Kerala's planned development.

"In 1960 itself the Party had organised a tour of M.P.s to meet all strata of the po-

When asked about the coming elections M. N. said that the Communists were trying for adjustments with the PSP and with the progressive independents in different constituencies. These negotiations were still in progress so the list of candidates could not be drawn up just yet. But all (except one seat where the Party would support the Congress as against the League) the Lok Sabha seats would witness a stiff fight.

Productivity Against Workers

FROM OUR LABOUR CORRESPONDENT

The deliberations of the 19th Session of the Indian Labour Conference held at Bangalore on October 8 and 9 proved to be important in more than one respect. An effort was made—and it is still continuing—to boost productivity drives.

FOR this purpose, a Code of Efficiency and Welfare was submitted to the conference. In earlier tripartite meetings, such attempts were defeated and it was generally agreed that since all parties were engaged in implementing the Code of Discipline no more Codes were to be considered.

But some elements persisted in their efforts and at long last, at this session, a tripartite draft report—called the Menon Committee Report—was submitted, which recommended adoption of this new Code.

Workers' interests were said to be represented on the committee by Anthony Pillai, MP, of the HMS. The report is unanimous.

A few examples of the obligations of workers in the suggested Code of Efficiency and Welfare are interesting. It lays down:

● "Workers agree (i) that they shall not resort to restrictive practices or to activities which would involve loss or reduction in the quality and quantity of production. Any loss of production in quality or quantity can thus, be put on the shoulders of the workers and violations alleged.

CODE OF CONDUCT

● The draft also states that "workers agree (ii) that inter-union or inter-craft rivalries should not be allowed to interfere with efficiency in production and that towards this end, they shall strictly abide by the Inter-Union Code of Conduct".

But no such Code of Conduct has been so far accepted by all the parties concerned. The Union Minister has not called a single meeting for the last two years to discuss this problem and the one held at Madras was just a formality.

In fact, after the first meeting in May 1958, the Government was not very much interested. In the States too, not a single meeting of the representatives of the four central TU organisations to even discuss it has been held so far. Cases of violation referred to the Implementation Machinery and the Labour Ministry remain unattended.

● "(iii) that they shall cooperate with the management in undertaking experiments in productivity techniques".

In the name of experiment, increase productivity, and then make the experiment a practice!

● "(iv) that they shall provide appropriate machinery within their organisation for (a) educating the workers in their rights and responsibilities in regard to production; (b) dispelling from the rank and file membership misapprehensions in regard to productivity techniques".

Here the boot is on the other foot. It is the employers who need education about the rights of workers and this clause only means that in the name of productivity or efficiency, the workers should

not raise their voice against increased work-loads.

● "(v) that they shall ensure maximum participation in the programme of Workers' Education and shall seek expansion of such facilities".

Workers' education by whom? And what sort of education? The present Workers' Education Scheme is working more in the interests of employers' ideology than for progressive labour relations. Instead of seeking the cooperation of the trade unions, more and more employer and non-working class elements are being put in charge of this Scheme. And non-cooperation with this Scheme would be a violation of the Code.

COMPETITIVE COSTS

● "(vi) that in making demands on industry, they shall bear in mind the need to maintain competitive costs of production in the larger interests of the community".

This means that workers should either not demand or lower their demands of wages, DA, Bonus, etc., in the interest of so-called "efficiency".

As far as the gains of increased productivity are concerned, it is only mentioned that the employers shall ensure that workers receive their due (emphasis ours) share. As usual, due share is to be decided by employers.

It may be that due share will sometimes fetch the workers nothing, as the gains may be required for expansion-cum-rehabilitation of the industry. As regards bonus we are already suffering due to the priority being given to rehabilitation expenses.

In some other cases, the share may be in the form of somewhat better working conditions only. All these apprehensions are fully justified in view of past experience.

Moreover, since independence productivity has increased. Workers have given their best under the circumstances and this is acknowledged by the Government of India also.

B. N. Datar in his note to the Commission on Redistribution of National Income has stated that during the period 1947-1956, productivity rose by 52 per cent. During the same period, wages rose only by 27 per cent.

Workers have not been given their due share and there is no machinery set-up by the Government which would do justice to the workers and see that the gains due to increased productivity are properly divided.

Under various names like checking vagabondism (keeping workers at machines for a longer time), rationalisation, payment by results, discipline, efficiency, etc., the employers are trying to increase production and productivity at the cost of the workers.

The AITUC, at the 15th Indian Labour Conference, declared that rationalisation would be accepted by the workers, provided: (i) it is in

the interest of the country's economy; (ii) it does not involve retrenchment and (iii) its gains are equally distributed between the employers and the workers.

Experience has shown that employers and the Government have totally ignored the agreement at the tripartite conference and imposed rationalisation on workers on their terms.

The AITUC cannot be a party to any such scheme. Therefore, it opposed the proposed Code of Efficiency and Welfare. The HMS and UTUC also opposed it while the employers and the INTUC welcomed it.

The Indian Labour Conference, on the suggestion of Naval Tata, has set up a sub-committee to examine the draft Code. The AITUC has refused to serve on this committee.

The battle against increased workload and rationalisation has now entered a new phase.

The second important item on the agenda of the Conference was the abolition of the contract system. Everyone knows the pitiable condition of contract labour and in the recent period there has been a tendency to have more and more work done through contractors, both in private and public sectors.

In a recent judgment in

the case of the Standard Vacuum Refining Co. versus their workmen, the Supreme Court criticised this system and stated that contract labour should not be employed when the work is incidental to the manufacturing process and is necessary for it and of perennial nature, which must be done every day.

Nanda, Union Labour Minister, who was the Chairman of the Conference, observed that the principles against employing contract labour, mentioned in the Supreme Court judgment, have to be observed by all.

Yet the official recommendation is seriously defective.

To begin with, it was agreed that the principal employers will be responsible for payment of wages to the workers employed under the contractors and also for ensuring that their terms of service and basic amenities are not different from what have been decided for the industry or are provided in the Acts. Here also, the employers, however, did not agree to these terms.

It is mentioned in the recommendations that if they are not followed voluntarily, legislative action may become necessary for the effective implementation of the decisions. Adequate inspec-

tion machinery is also to be provided to ensure its effective enforcement.

The AITUC is in correspondence with the Union Labour Minister so that all lacunae in the recommendations are removed.

As in other respects, a hard battle lies ahead of the working class to get justice done to contract labour and for getting the contract system abolished. The decision of the Indian Labour Conference is only an important phase in the struggle, which gives official sanction for a determined fight against this vicious system of exploitation.

As regards reduction of hours of work in hazardous occupations, it was agreed that safety measures recommended in the reports on hazardous occupation should be tried expeditiously. If minimum standards of safety are not ensured, the question of reduction in working hours will then be reconsidered. The Chief Inspector, Factories, was directed to submit regular reports to the Standing Labour Committee on this subject.

A proposal to deduct 10 per cent of wages towards Provident Fund, without raising the employers' share of 6.25 per cent was opposed by the AITUC and other workers' organisations and dropped.

EXPOSURES

★ by O. P. MEHROTRA ★

Corruption Galore

It is unthinkable to screen the record of any Congress Ministry and not find howling cases of corruption, financial irregularities and favouritism. And so it is with Rajasthan.

RESTRICTING the limits of such an enquiry even to the proceedings of the State Assembly, one finds corruption galore in Rajasthan, too, like any other State under the Congress rule.

Thus, on December 16, 1958 on the floor of the Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha an Opposition MLA disclosed that a loan of Rs. 30 lakhs had been given by the Rajasthan State Government to an industrial concern, the Swedish cotton mills of Kanpur.

The Times of India reporting the debate on December 17, said: "The Deputy Minister for Industries, Rikhab Chand Dharwal who defended the Government was heckled by his own party members—Congressmen belonging to the dissident anti-ministerialist group.

"Critics of the Government action made, among others, these points: the spindles licence for the establishment of the Udairpur mill had originally been obtained from the Union Government by a party other than to whom the loan was now being given; this party had failed to obtain a loan of Rs. 10 lakhs from the Government for the purpose; this party had then transferred its

10.75 crores were still unrealised on December 31, 1957. The Audit Report on the appropriation account for 1954-57 on the Rajasthan Government gave even more interesting facts.

According to it, the total number of defalcation cases pending on July 1, 1958 was 304 involving Rs. 20.06 lakhs. A breach in a newly-built dam had cost the Government Rs. 10,000 but money had not been recovered from the contractor.

The report also referred to payment being made for work not actually done.

The audit referred to six advertisements in daily newspapers inserted by the head of the department to refute certain Press allegations against a hospital at a cost of Rs. 4,830.

The Times of India, December 29, 1958 reported: "The Finance, Industries and Electricity Departments of the Government of Rajasthan have been severely criticised for lack of coordination and the consequent neglect of the problem of Palana lignite mines.

"The neglect in the committee's opinion, had deprived the State exchequer of several lakhs of rupees", said the report.

The above cases of corruption have been mentioned in just one session of the Vidhan Sabha.

Deeds Against Words

How liberally the Congress Ministers give assurances! How many of them are carried out? That in itself is an interesting story.

The Assurances Committee of the Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha in its third report presented to the House in December 1959 recorded that 1,100 assurances given by the Government in the House since 1953 had not been carried out.

The Committee regretted that the State Government not only failed to carry out its assurances given from time to time in the Vidhan Sabha but showed scant regard to its recommendations. A Times of India report dated 24th December 1959 said:

"The Committee regretted that the State Secretariat had developed a habit of disregarding its recommendations. It reported apathy on the part of the concerned department towards the implementation of the assurances. It added no progress had been made in spite of the fact that the Government's attention had been drawn repeatedly to these lapses.

"The Committee particularly drew the attention of the Government to the lapses pointed out in the recommendations of the Committee in regard to working of the Justice, Agriculture, Rehabilitation, Power, Election, Cooperation and Jagir Departments.

"It noted that not a single assurance had been fulfilled even after a year had gone by.

during the year it had to concur in the extension of services of 959 temporary employees. It complained that the appointing authorities continued to have scant regard for Public Service Commissions regulations and executive instructions in respect of temporary appointments.

According to a Times of India report of December 26, 1958, "The appointment of an upper division clerk to the post of assistant to the Food Commissioner in the grade of Rs. 250-25-400 E.B. 500 under the Central Grow More Food Scheme was cited" by the Commission as a case that "transcends the rest of cases of irregular appointments".

And here is a case of utter disregard for a poor teacher's appeal:

Replying to a question from an opposition member, the Revenue Minister of Rajasthan Murlidhar Vyas said "that Devendralal Shah, a teacher in the Multipurpose High School, was suspended from service in 1957 for taking part in politics.

"Six months later he was served with a charge-sheet by the Education Director. He denied all allegations and requested to be heard in person or to be reinstated. The enquiry against him was pending when he reportedly poisoned himself on August 31, 1959. He was 36 and was alleged to be a Communist" (Statesman, 16-12-1959).

The Rajasthan Public Service Commission in its report for 1955-56 said that

Rajas Bare Their Fangs

Thanks to the compromise of the Congress leaders with the former princes and jagirdars in Rajasthan today the forces of feudalism and right reaction are posing a serious threat to the Congress itself.

Although successful in creating a Rajas lobby inside the Congress, they wanted a much more subservient instrument to defend their interest.

In the political set-up of Rajasthan, the Jan Sangh and Ram Raja Parshad were only too willing to become the Rajas' tool. The record of the Jan Sangh spokesmen inside the State Assembly and outside spotlights this role. Here are a few examples:

● When the Local Self-government Minister in the Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha requested the House to defer enactment of Clause 100 of the Municipalities Bill and promised to give effect to the decision to tax the property, buildings, vehicles or animals owned by the former rulers, except those in personal use, a Jan Sangh member raised an objection.

The contention was that the provision making certain taxes obligatory on municipal boards was opposed to the principle of decentralisation!

● The Nathdwara Treasury find on December 25, 1957 and the disclosures in this connection before the Commission of Enquiry had created a stir in Rajasthan. The need for controlling the public trusts after this had become obvious. But when the Rajasthan Government

brought a bill for this purpose, the Jan Sangh and the Ram Raja Parshad called it interference of the State in religious affairs!

When the Rajasthan Tenancy (Sixth Amendment) Bill, 1959, was being discussed in the Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha, the Jan Sangh, Ram Raja Parshad and Swatantra (by that time it had been haggard) made it perfectly clear that they were opposed even to the modest land reforms of the Congress Ministry.

Although the Jan Sangh by this time had become cautious (also because Swatantra Party had made its debut as the champion of the Rajas) all the same its spokesmen put the view of the party in these words, as reported by the Times of India of December 2, 1959:

"Since land was limited, the Government, instead of emphasising resettlement of the landless on agricultural land, should try to open other avenues of employment for the landless".

The Ram Raja Parshad spokesman championed the cause of the jagirdars in a more vociferous way. Its representative "wanted the scope of the standard acre to be enlarged".

But the class attitude of the landlords was most bluntly expressed by Raja Man Singh (Swatantra Party) who opposed the concept of ceiling on land. "He considered 30 acres inadequate and expressed the apprehension that after ten or fifteen years the Government would accept the failure of their policy".

● Sharma made a reference to a decision of a First Class Magistrate in Jaipur in which the court had held that mill yarn was mixed in the Khadi produced by the Gram Seva Mandal, Karoli.

"No state official, Sharma said, could work in any other institution. But the Secretary of the Khadi Board, a paid employee, was also an office-bearer in a private institution.

He criticised the practice of Board officials taking loans for institutions run by themselves and said this was against the policy of the All-India Khadi Commission.

"Sharma went on to allege that even when certain khadi institutions did not produce khadi they received loans from the Khadi Commission and the State Khadi Board by producing fictitious records".

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Across U. P.'s Pastoral Scene Hooded Men Stalk

From RAMESH SINHA

When the State Assembly met after a fairly long interval on November 13, the people's minds were still full of the horrifying events that had rocked Uttar Pradesh a few weeks earlier and left such indelible scars on the body and the soul.

A number of adjournment motions were given notice of. The Home Minister was asked to give a full account of the happenings and on November 14 the Assembly debated the grave issue of the communal riots, or as the Home Minister was pleased to describe it, the issue of "recent disturbances of public peace and order."

Home Minister Charan Singh gave a dead and rambling, though a fairly long-winded, account of the happenings. It was a police inspector's report, a petty report in which the passion of patriotism was conspicuous by its absence. For him, the events that had wrung such a deep cry of anguish from the Prime Minister's heart and aroused the whole nation's intense anxiety about the country's future, constituted merely the "disturbances of public peace and order."

And, as I must express my regret, we shall see later, the report was not even impartial. But there were some changes in it since his last report. For instance, there was no mention of the resolutions passed by the State Assembly on October 10 and 11, 1956.

False Statements

He had also admitted that the whole nation's intense anxiety about the country's future, constituted merely the "disturbances of public peace and order."

Shahjahanpur City Committee of Bharatiya Jana Sangh in which they have condoned the killings of the Hindu students at the hands of Muslim goondas in Allahgarh," he said.

The official statement of these facts even in its present incomplete form, helps to bring out at least to some extent the role played by the Jana Sangh and the unmentioned RSS. It helps to brand the guilty men and, to this extent, it is welcome.

But this time, the conspiracy which lay behind these organisations of these riots, and which had been unequivocally admitted by the Home Minister in his earlier press conference, has not even been hinted at. He had said: "Last time, he had said, 'All this leads one to suspect that there is a conspiracy behind these incidents... a conspiracy which is laid deep and wide. One would not be surprised, if as days pass, communal incidents increase in number and intensity. The aim of the conspiracy, according to my reading of the situation, is definitely political.'"

But now, when he has been compelled to "cite concrete evidence, he suggests that there was no purpose behind them. This is what he says: 'It appears that an organised effort was made to spread the trouble specially by members of some parties and organisations (how shy he is of naming them—R.S.) which do not subscribe to the concept of national integration as Government sees it.'"

Different Communalists

He goes on: "It may be that the question of national integration is not merely a governmental or party question; it is a national question. It may be that this effort was not a part of their official policy, but nevertheless, individual members of these bodies took a prominent part in the affair."

scarcely, he is a nationalist who would not denounce the revival and attempts at revival of the activities of the Muslim League and the Khaksars, and who would not equally be willing to join in exposing the true character of some of those gentlemen who parade themselves as nationalist Muslims but to suggest that the Jana Sangh and the RSS organised the recent carnage, which had a political motive, because of some obscure and stupid or mischievous activity of the Muslim League and the Khaksars, who have not even been able to open an office in Lucknow, is not only preposterous, but anti-national and treacherous. It means diverting the attention of the people and the nation from their real enemies.

The Home Minister of this State is not reputed to be a person who does not know his mind and, therefore, he must be conscious of what he is doing. Thirdly, though obviously compelled by a realisation of the ridiculousness of his accusations against the Communist Party in relation to the last aspect of the Muslim League reaction, he has played a role in bringing about the public opinion in the State has played no small part in the Home Minister's speech.

He had pleaded that this menace could not be fought in a half-hearted or unprincipled manner. He had asked for the formation of secular committees in each district to fight against the communal forces. He had asked for the convening of a State Conference to discuss the issue.

National Appeal

At the end of his speech he had even appealed to the Home Minister and the Chief Minister that "even if some of the things that I have said seem bitter, please do not be side-tracked by them. Take the truth in them, and let us join hands to strengthen the democratic forces in the State."

with dangerous doctrine on their lips and with daggers in their hearts. (Editorial, November 15). The Herald further says, "The U.P. experience has indicated the danger of drift, and the parallel of the Third Reich when the Nazis appeared, to which attention is often drawn by alarmed people, is not pointless" (emphasis ours).

Emphasising the urgent need of fighting this danger, the Herald says, "The determined communal parties and organisations, must be fought at all levels, by executive and legislative action, too. It may seem not easy to ban communal parties and organisations under the Constitution, but they can be subjected to rules and regulations like other associations and be deprived of their fascist possibilities."

"If even this cannot be done under the Constitution, the Constitution must be amended" (ibid.). Charan Singh was much chagrined at Chandra Jeev Yadav's reference to the identity of his views on cooperative farming, etc. with those of the Jana Sangh. But communalism has a material economic basis also; all the communal politics of the Jana Sangh is also for the attainment of certain well-defined economic objectives of certain definite classes. Anti-Muslimism is only one of its weapons as anti-semitism was a weapon of the Nazis. In the long run, communalism will be destroyed completely only when its material economic basis is rooted out. Secularism and socialism go ill with Charan Singh's mental equipment.

Assurance To Muslims

The debate on the whole was poor. Sufficient awareness of the issues was unfortunately lacking in the speeches of the spokesmen of the Socialist and Praja Socialist parties. Influenced by strong public opinion in the State against the doings of the Jana Sangh, the PSP leader, TIRU Singh, changed his attitude towards it a little and for the first time criticised it for its role in the riots. For the rest, he indulged in his usual personal vendetta against the Gupta Ministry and tried by some remarks of Charan Singh, he walked out with his followers, a thing which he had never done so far. It has been rightly said that this showed his light-hearted attitude towards the problem being discussed. Their speeches were largely what have been called "election speeches."

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The only other serious speech was made by Acharya Deepankar who accused the Jana Sangh and the RSS of "cold-blooded murders" and the government officials of being "passive spectators". He also criticised the Congress for encouraging disintegration by its opportunist alliances.

Secular Unity

The National Herald, in the above-mentioned editorial, wrote, "If all secular, socialist, parties are agreed on the need for fighting communal parties, they should think of the steps that are necessary." After this debate, which has further unmasked the face of the communal enemy, will the Congress and the Government in the State take the initiative to call a meeting wherein these questions could be discussed?

Kerala Kisans Battle-Ready

From Our Trivandrum Correspondent

A serious situation in Kerala's countryside is developing following the offensive of the landlords on the rights of the kisans and the failure of the Government to intervene in the situation. Though eight months have elapsed since the passage of the Agrarian Relations Act, the kisans have not been able to reap all the benefits accruing to them.

One of the reasons for this situation is the failure of the Government to appoint an adequate number of Land Tribunals as laid down in the Act to dispose of the petitions filed before them. Another reason has been the policy of wait-and-see adopted by the Government because of the landlords having challenged the Act in the Supreme Court and the matter being before the Court.

As a result, hundreds of kisans have begun to justifiably suspect whether they will ever be able to enjoy the benefits of the Act and what they will not have to vacate even the pieces of lands which they are at present cultivating.

Forty per cent of the tenants who go before these Tribunals to prove possession have neither the documents of possession nor the receipts for payment of rent. The landlords have challenged the claims of every one of these undocumented tenants and portrayed all of them as malafide and either as labourers on wages or trespassers. Certain landlords who never

disappointed. The same is the story of the Tribunal at Kasargod. If Chandrasekhar says that more Tribunals will be appointed, it will take 10 years before the present applications are disposed of.

But the reality of the situation is that the courts are inadequate in number, in the working Tribunals there is no adequate staff, court fees stamps are not available and so on.

But the Government is still blind and adamant in their policy which in practice has sabotaged the implementation of the Agrarian Relations Act and frozen its provisions beneficial to the kisans.

The second biggest problem that faces the kisans is the large-scale offensive of the Government for compulsory collection of arrears of rent from tenants who have been occupying Government forests or revenue lands. If arrears are not paid, police come and forcibly evict these tenants. Coupled with this evulsion offensive is the eviction of age-long settlers on forests and other areas in the name of and for the purpose of plan projects.

simple promises affecting the Amaravathi settlers remain unfulfilled.

The third problem is the failure of the Government to exercise its powers and prevent over 30,000 acres of temple lands belonging to Kottiyar Temple from being leased out to the Nair Service Society. The middlemen, abolished by the Malabar Tenancy Act of the days of British Rule, have staged a comeback in the era of the socialist pattern, under and with the blessings of the Congress-FSP rule.

The Minister concerned, Velappan, who is a nominee of the NSS in the Cabinet, is indifferent to the sufferings of thousands of tenants belonging to all communities who are faced either with eviction or surrender to the Nair landlords of the NSS.

A big storm was raised by Father Vadakkan's lathas on this issue and a united campaign was organised. But Velappan told the Assembly last week that in permitting the lease to NSS, the District Collector was acting according to law and the Government could not intervene.

The rights of thousands of undocumented tenants, the ending of such systems as Sree Padam, Pandara Vaka land tenure, the issue of food relief and other measures have been agitating the kisans. The Kerala Karshaka Sangham held a special session in the first week of November and deputed a delegation to meet the Government to demand that the Government accede to certain pressing demands, failing which the Karshaka Sangham has decided to organise picketing

Andhra Congress' Shame

From V. HANUANTHA RAO

The Congress in Andhra has failed to submit to the High Command a unanimous list of candidates for the next general elections. In as many as nearly a hundred seats, i.e., in one-third of the seats, it suggested more than one name in some cases, there were as many as four to five names.

THIS despite half-a-dozen meetings of the Pradesh Congress Election Committee car went round distributing knives, etc. in Meerut. This is not correct procedure. If any discrepancy should creep into any report published in the New Age, there is not the slightest objection to its being corrected at any time and, therefore, no objection is being taken to his pointing out, rightly or wrongly, any mistake in our paper.

But what is being objected to is his veiled and far from honest attempt to place the "incorrect" report in the New Age on the par with the highly mischievous reports of the various organs of the Jana Sangh and the RSS.

Some readers might wonder why so much precious space should be devoted to analyses of the political or pathological aversions of the State's Home Minister? Why should they be given, so much importance? Because the situation in this extremely important and inflammable region is still very serious.

Even in the matter of collecting funds for the Congress party group interests are playing a vital role. For instance, according to the Secretary of the Pradesh Congress, an understanding has been reached by the Pradesh Congress with the Government to sell 29 re-conditioned jeeps to the Pradesh Congress instead of auctioning them. All these jeeps belong to one department and it is believed that these jeeps went to the district from which the Minister in charge of that department hails.

The general complaint from the local committees was that the local man was ignored and someone from outside was thrust upon them; that a candidate who got the absolute majority in the Mandal Congress Committees of the area was not selected.

The groups at lower levels were so uncompromising in their attitude that when the Congress President, Sanjeeva Reddi, went on an election tour to Bhains in Adilabad district, two hundred were arranged for him and two chariots were made ready to take him round in a procession and two public meetings were organised.

At other places in his tour, one of the other group boycotted his functions. Besides, he received a number of memoranda and delegations complaining about the choice made.

ROGUES ARE BACK

West Germans are to have a new government. The Bundestag is meeting on Tuesday to elect Adenauer as Chancellor for the fourth time. The old man is going to have his own way. The fact that it took him six weeks to sign a coalition agreement with the Free Democratic Party (FDP) shows that it was no smooth sailing. The list of Ministers is not yet final; some changes might take place before the new government is sworn in.

LET us recapitulate the events after the general elections held on September 17. In the elections Adenauer lost the absolute majority. It was clear that a coalition government would be formed. The Social Democrats proposed a coalition of all the three parties. This was turned down by the other two who wanted to divide all the ministries among themselves.

But despite of the rebuff, the SPD (Social Democratic Party of Germany) leaders are even now repeating their demand for an all-party government. In a way they are correct. They have no differences with the other two parties and their playing the opposition is just a farce.

The FDP had gone to polls with the slogan: "Coalition

with CDU/CSU without Adenauer". But after the elections their love for ministerial chairs turned out to be stronger than their love for principles.

In this connection one cannot but agree with the Hamburg magazine, Der Spiegel, when it wrote: "It seems that at the end of Adenauer's rule, character in political life has dried up". In exchange for four ministries the FDP accepted Adenauer as Chancellor.

Some important office-bearers of the FDP have resigned in protest. A dentist in Dueseldorf is going to file a suit against Mende, President of the FDP, accusing him for breach of confidence.

For the people of West Germany the fourth term of

Adenauer means a further worsening of the standard of living, further remilitarisation; more limitation of democratic liberties and greater insecurity.

THE war psychosis created by the West German politicians has turned out to be a boomerang. They have created panic among West Berliners. Within two months of the security measures taken by GDR Government, 45,000 persons have migrated from West Berlin. In October, 1398 removal vans passed through the Drewitz autobahn checkpoint only. The number of migrants by train or air is not known.

The recent American provocations on Friedrichstrasse have only enhanced the exodus. Large concerns like AEG, Siemens, Deutsche Telefonwerke are shifting whole departments to West Germany.

The Senator for Internal Affairs, Lipschitz, announced in the course of a lecture in Liberal Club that 22,000 people had left West Berlin. Three days later the

OUR BERLIN CORRESPONDENT EXPOSES THE NAZI REVIVAL IN GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC

Press Department of the Senate put the number at 31,083. According to the latest announcement of the Senate 3,287 left West Berlin every week between August 13 and October 14.

Herr Brandt stated that the large number of people leaving West Berlin is due to students leaving for vacations. Within twenty-four hours a spokesman of the Senate announced that students leaving for vacations are not required to inform the authorities of their departure. In simple language, Herr Brandt's statement was not true!

Having created the panic, the West Berlin authorities are now trying to check the exodus. Lipschitz left a tirade of abuse against those leaving West Berlin. He called them "defeatists", "half-fellow-travellers" and "half-intellectuals" in a public meeting of the SPD. He further said: "We demand from USA, Britain and France to send their fathers, sons and brothers to war."

It is reported that the Senate is considering proposals to ban migration from West Berlin without permission.

SINKING SHIP AND ITS RATS

IT is said rats forsake a sinking ship. Herr Brandt seems to be pretty sure that the "battle for the freedom of Berlin" is lost. And who can know it better than he? He is reported to have already bought a house in West Germany.

He had promised to leave West Berlin only if he were elected the Chancellor.

Then he seemed to be willing to leave if he became the Foreign Minister. Adenauer preferred Schroeder (formerly a member of the SA).

Now Herr Brandt will leave if elected Vice-President of the SPD. Let us hope he is elected, otherwise he might have to leave even without a job in West Germany.

EINSTEIN INSULTED

WEST BERLIN postal authorities are going to issue stamps with pictures of 16 personalities. Albert Einstein was to be one of them. The Tradition Unions of Hitler's Army protested against this choice, calling the world renowned scientist a "Jewish emigrant who betrayed his home country".

The postal authorities replied that no final decision had yet been taken. In the GDR the postal authorities would have forwarded the letter to the Public Prosecutor who would have filed a suit against the authors for propagating racial hatred. But West Berlin is a part of the "free world."

MURDERER AT LARGE

ERICH Bunke, formerly the head of Sabotage and Counter-espionage Department of the Gestapo in Copenhagen during the occupation of Denmark, responsible for the murder of numerous resistance fighters, who himself admitted having murdered 11 Danes, has been released under Superannation Rules (a man cannot be tried for crimes committed over 15 years ago). In 1953 he was given a job in the Customs Department ins-

pite of the fact that he was being sought by the Danish Government.

SCOUNDREL RAVES

THE West German television broadcasts every Sunday a table talk by six journalists from five countries. On Sunday, October 29, a certain Dr. Marathe, a lawyer by profession who indulges in journalism as a hobby, took part in this broadcast. He claimed to represent the Daily News. It is no accident that the West German television chose him to speak for our country. They could hardly find a better person (from their point of view).

He called Nehru as Herrscher (Ruler) who could do what he liked. According to him our politicians have made only enemies. He called Krishna Menon the evil ghost (der ueble Geist) of Nehru, who stood behind Nehru's foreign policy.

When other journalists expressed admiration for Menon, Dr. Marathe retorted: "He might be clever, but his goal (aim) is not good. This is my opinion. He is a clever man, very clever, but he always wants to stand on the side of Russia".

When the host, Hoefler, referred to Dr. Radhakrishnan receiving the Publishers' Peace Prize, he intervened: "Does it hinder the coming war?"

Hoefler quoted Dr. Radhakrishnan's words: "The people of the world have the alternative, either to destroy themselves or to regard and tolerate each other like a big family". The doc's sarcastic comment was: "These are mere phrases".

Speaking of our soldiers in Katanga, he had the cheek to say: "They were not non-violent."

This lawyer by profession and cold-warrior by conviction did exactly what his West German hosts wanted — to show to the West German public that Nehru's foreign policy is not a national policy and that Krishna Menon is one of the most unpopular figures in India.

Would it not be better if Dr. Marathe chose another, less harmful hobby?

AMONG MUSLIMS

NATIONAL INTEGRATION UNDER FIRE

The inclusion of Jana Sangh's Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Dr. Sampurnanand and Dr. Katju in the National Integration Council has roused much synicism and even more suspicion among a section of Muslims. Not only the Jana Sangh leader but also the other two who are prominent Congressmen have come to symbolise in their eyes Hindu communalism.

THE role of Dr. Katju during the Jubalpur riots only served to strengthen this feeling. During the Uttar Pradesh riots even a communal paper like the Kanpur Siyasat thanked God that Chandrabhan Gupta had replaced Sampurnanand, otherwise it would be difficult to say to what further extremes matters would have gone.

Most Urdu papers have noted, even in their headlines, the inclusion of these gentlemen. Some have made it a plea for demanding communal representation for the Muslims also. It has even been argued that as against these "communalist" Hindus there is none to represent the Muslims.

The two Muslim members of the Committee are discounted on the ground of their being holders of official positions—one being a State Governor, Dr. Zakir Husain, and the other a Chief Minister, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad.

The Siyasat bitterly wrote that there is "not even one person who can represent the Muslim minority".

The Patna daily Sadai Aam, owned and edited by a Congress member of the Legislative Council, published the news under the caption: "Dr. Zakir Husain the only Muslim representative among 37 members".

The daily Satli, owned by a State Deputy Minister, gave the headline: "National Integration Council: Muslims to be represented by Bihar Governor Dr. Zakir Husain; Jana Sangh's Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Dr. Sampurnanand also included".

The Sadai Aam has "not much objection to the inclusion of the Jana Sangh leader", since it considers the Council has to "keep itself informed of every shade of opinion in the country". But if this is so "it is all the more necessary to have effective representation of the Muslims".

But while these pro-Congress dailies would have been satisfied with the inclusion of Congress and pro-Congress leaders like Dr. Syed Mahmud and Maulana Hifzur Rahman, the Kanpur Siyasat wants the Muslim League also to be there.

It had a five column tell-tale banner headline: "In the high power National Integration Commission all parties represented except the Muslim League".

It moreover, threw spanners among pro-Congress Muslims by hinting mischievously that "After the Muslim Convention Jawaharal at heart (became) suspicious of Maulana Hif-

zur Bahman and Humayun Kabir, too, was in disgrace ever since the publication of the book Indla Wins Freedom".

The Jamaat-e-Islami, the main organisation of Muslim communal reaction emerging after independence, does not seem to be interested in this

aspect of the problem—in the Muslim representation on the National Integration Council. It is suspicious of national integration itself.

"Because the steps the Government is taking in the name of merger and national integration can have only one logical result. And that can be nothing else but that provincial, linguistic, regional and racial conflicts among the Hindus will be overcome and while striking at the distinctiveness of the Muslims they will be asked to merge".

Since this "logic of the

Jamaat is not shared by the others, they support national integration but look at it as a federation of religious communities in the country and accordingly raise the demand for communal representation even on the Integration Committee.

What is valid in their criticism is their objection to the representation given to Hindu communal elements which certainly needs to be corrected. But the form of correction cannot be to accord communal representation to elements of all communities.

jamaat-e-islami recants?

IT was pointed out in these columns that the Jamaat-e-Islami conscious of its role as the main organisation of Muslim communal reaction, had given a call for the united front of all Muslim parties, especially the Muslim League, the Jamiat-ul Ulema and itself as a precondition for negotiating with Hindu communal parties. Since then the Jamaat seems to have recanted on this point.

It is said that the Jamaat does not stand for such a united front of all Muslim parties. But since the call was given in a formal editorial of the official organ of the Jamaat, there is even a hint of an accusation that the editors aired their own views and not that of the Jamaat!

This has come in the form of a letter from the Ameer (the Leader) quoted in a clarification by the Jamaat's daily organ Dawat. Says the Ameer: "So far as the particular editorial of the Dawat is concerned ... you gentlemen (i.e. the editors) are aware that it was written by yourself. You did not even consider it necessary to consult responsible persons in the Jamaat". (Dawat, October 28).

But there is also an attempt to defend the Dawat. Further on, says the Ameer: "Despite this, however, no intelligent person can construe the editorial as an invitation for a united front".

The Ameer, Maulana Abul Lals Siddiqui, however, ignores the fact that while much of intelligence may not be necessary for understanding an editorial of the Dawat, the proverbial propensity of people to forget things is not so common, after all, as to allow the Maulana to throw dust in the eyes of the people.

What the Dawat actually proposed was, in its own words, as follows: "Will not the Muslim organisations even now realise the importance of uniting at one point (muqta-e-ittihad)? ... if this is the common danger then will it not be better, in order to

face it, to form a joint board of all Muslim organisations?"

What is the difference between "uniting at one point" and forming "a joint board" and between forming a united front of all Muslim organisations?

The fact is that the Jamaat after issuing this call found itself in difficulties. Not only had it opened its flanks to the charge of communalism, which for the present, it wants to avoid at any cost. But since the other Muslim organisations are equally afraid of the charge, the Jamaat faced the danger of political isolation.

Maulana Hifzur Rahman of the Jamiat-ul Ulema was already fighting his battle against the charges of communalism levelled by Uttar Pradesh Home Minister Charan Singh. The Maulana, therefore, promptly came out with a statement, denouncing and rejecting the Jamaat's invitation of Muslim united front.

It was this which forced the Ameer-e-Jamaat to come out with that labour-ed explanation of the Dawat editorial. But these antics of the Jamaat-e-Islami only serve to expose it as an opportunist, unprincipled party of communal reactionaries.

aligarh offensive

EVER since the normalisation of the situation at Aligarh, the communalists among the Muslims are trying hard to overcome their isolation by concentrating fire against secular and progressive elements in the University. They have lost no time in mounting their offensive with renewed vigour.

Their first target was the Vice-Chancellor, Bashir Husain Zaidi. The Jamaat-e-Islami organ Dawat accused him of "playing an important part in the conspiracy to change the present character of the University". He was said to have "considered it prudent to bow down before the forces of aggressive communalism".

Moreover, "the demand of resignation from the Pro Vice-Chancellor Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan is a necessary part of this conspiracy". This latter gentleman was openly said to be the only hope of the Muslims in the University.

But since the Vice-Chancellor and the Pro Vice-Chancellor made up their differences, at least for the time being, the tone of the Urdu communal press has suddenly changed. Now their main target are the Communists.

The Siyasat in two editorials "thanked God that due to the efforts of Khawja Abdul Majeed and some other well wishers of the University the differences between the two (the Vice and the Pro Vice-Chancellors) have been removed....

"But at the same time we cannot but mention the hidden snakes, the Communist group, which is still engaged in its activities of destruction and sabotage".

So yesterday it was Bashir Husain Zaidi and today it is the Communists. It is not difficult to understand that what the communalists oppose is any progressive individual or group who dares to stand in the way of communalism in the University.

Their aim is to turn the Aligarh University into a centre of Muslim communalism—political as well as ideological. Any effort to oppose it is "a conspiracy to change the character of the University", it is "disruption and sabotage".

The recent incidents, however, have awakened the common Muslim, no less than the others, to the necessity of fighting against communalism. The efforts of the communalists in the Aligarh University cannot succeed in confusing the issues. But more about it later.

"Most Congressmen Represent Reaction" Says Lakshmi N. Menon

SPEAKING at Nagpur on November 17, Lakshmi N. Menon Deputy Minister for External Affairs, criticised the average Congressman for placing himself above the interests of the country.

She said she was upset to find that in Parliament she found most Congressmen, while swearing by Gandhian principles, merely represented the reactionary urges in India. Many Congressmen were foremost in their opposition to progressive legislation concerning overdue social reforms.

Far too many Congressmen, she felt, donned khadi but secretly owed allegiance to or harboured sympathies with communal organisations like the Jana Sangh, Hindu Mahasabha or the RSS.

She deplored the "increasingly noticeable tendency among Congressmen and Congress Committees to go after money". It was very distressing she said, to find that several persons who had made great sacrifices in the fight for freedom were ignored by Congress Committees and discarded in favour of those who gave money to the organisation.

Lakshmi Menon said that, unlike in the past, constructive activities no longer interested the average Congressman. He was too deeply engrossed in petty local squabbles to take any interest in the nation's development plans.

She said that the All-India Women's Conference had accused the Congress leadership of preaching one thing and practising another in regard to women. Congress leaders generally extolled women to the skies from the platforms at the time of the elections. However, when it came to the distribution of the party ticket, women were conveniently forgotten.

When 50,000 women emerged from the universities every year as graduates, she said, to claim paucity of capable women candidates would amount to an indictment of the Congress itself, which could not attract the right type of women.

During her recent tours of Maharashtra, she had been "horrified" to find that not only had deserving women been denied the party ticket as against illiterate and not-so-loyal or devoted applicants but even opposition members, who had crossed over were given preference.

She said that the Congress Governments in Madhya Pradesh and the Punjab had made attempts to take away by the back door certain benefits conferred by central legislation on women.

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NEHRU EXPLAIN!

Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India has issued the following statement to the press:

"RECENTLY, in the course of a television interview in America, Prime Minister Nehru was reported to have made some remarks on the People's Democracies of Europe. Several days have passed since then. But these reports have not been contradicted. We have to assume, therefore, that they are correct.

"The remarks made by Nehru, whatever other purpose they may have served, have not certainly enhanced his reputation for objectivity.

"When he was asked as to why the 'right of self-determination' should not apply to the people 'under Soviet domination', Nehru is said to have replied 'that would be an ideal thing'. His only comment was 'This is not that type of colonialism'. He added, 'I dislike it also. It sometimes is worse from the human point of view than the other'.

"We have no illusions that Nehru will ever 'like' the system which has put an end

to the domination of exploiters.

"As to the question whether what prevails in these once backward countries is colonialism of a new type can be judged by anyone who cares to visit the Industries Exhibition now running in Delhi. Anyone can get a glimpse of the change that has come about in these countries.

"But the question is not one of the likes and dislikes of Nehru. The question is whether he has the right to hurl insults at and doubts about the very sovereignty of countries with whom India maintains close and friendly relations, countries which have consistently denounced colonialism, supported the oppressed peoples in their struggle for freedom and are helping the newly independent countries, India included, to rebuild their economy and liquidate the heritage of colonial rule.

"The question, moreover, is whether it shows regard for truth to suggest that 'from the human point of view' conditions in these countries are worse than in countries under imperialist subjugation.

"Certainly, if by the term 'human' Nehru meant capitalist and landlord, one could understand his sentiment. But that hardly is what one expects from him.

"Nor did one expect that the grim features of colonialism—as seen even today in Angola, Algeria and Goa and as prevailed in India only a few years ago—would pass out of his memory so soon.

"Moreover, we do not even remember Nehru expressing doubt even once about the independence and sovereignty of those regimes of aggressive Nato bloc which have given bases to American imperialists, betrayed national interests and are endangering the lives of their own people.

"In this context, and in the context of the truly fraternal relations that prevail between the USSR and the People's Democracies, Pandit Nehru's comments are not only deplorable. They are slanderous.

"They may gladden the heart of reactionary elements in America and elsewhere. But they can do no good to India's prestige. Nehru, therefore, owes an explanation to the people of this country'.

SCRAP-BOOK

WISE ASSES

"SATISFACTION is the virtue of an ass". This is how A. P. Jain, the President of the U.P.C.C. replied to a question "whether he was satisfied that the criteria laid down by the A.I.C.C. for selection of candidates had been fulfilled".

That being so, let me present here a picture of the All-India organisation of the dissatisfied "wise men and women", viz., the A.I.C.C. The dissatisfied and disgruntled have started arriving in New Delhi as the Central Congress Election Committee has started its deliberations to screen the list of the Congress candidates.

The A.I.C.C. office has taken timely precautions to save its office staff from unnecessary harassment and botheration. At No. 7 Jantar Mantar Road, a new reception office has been started to cope with the enquiries of the visiting deputations of the power-loving Congressmen who have not received a "fair deal" from their respective State Election Committees.

An index of "wisdom" of the Congress-grumblers can be judged from the large number of representations awaiting disposal by the Central Election Committee. According to one estimate, these representations run into "more than 2,000 fullscap pages". According to another report "about 60 men" were appointed to classify them and "prepare briefs for the screening committees and central leaders" of the Congress.

The available reports clearly indicate that on the threshold of the third General Elections, the Congress is much more disunited than it ever was. But the Congress leaders never agree to this analysis. They see it upside down. Putting the cart before the horse they call it a virtue.

JANA SANGH WANTS ARMS

I was little surprised to read a report of the proceedings of the Jana Sangh All-India Pritinidhi Sabha (General Council). But the tragedy lies in the fact that many newspapers have not done justice to this all important meeting.

Here is what, to my knowledge, remained unreported and credit of reporting it goes to the Times of India's Hindi publication Nav Bharat Times.

The Delhi edition of the paper (Nov. 16) reported "interesting discussion" on the Election Manifesto of Jana Sangh. When the India-China question was be-

ing discussed, some young (yuvak) leaders emphasised that Jana Sangh should not accept the principle of using only conventional arms by the defence forces. Like other countries the policy should be the use of nuclear weapons.

This suggestion was, however, not accepted. The Jana Sangh Manifesto, according to this report, has promised the voters that taking licences for arms for defence of life and property would not be necessary under its dispensation.

Some delegates, however, demanded that the Jana Sangh should declare that licences for pistols, guns and revolvers will be abolished by it. But the leadership did not accept this amendment too.

In the background of the rioters' role of the Jana Sanghites in the country, these demands have particular importance, for they clearly reveal what they are upto.

TROUBLED CONSCIENCE

A reader from Bombay has forwarded the following piece, which appeared in Time Magazine of October 22, 1961, with his comments.

"The U. S. and British Embassies told the Turkish Foreign Affairs Ministry that they feared serious repercussions if the death sentences were carried out. Indian Ambassador J. K. Atal called on ex-President Inonu, leader of the Republican Party asking him to intervene and throw his considerable weight behind the bid for clemency. Inonu refused to interfere".

The "sentences" referred to above relate to now disgraced Adnan Menderes and his associates. Writes our reader "I do not know whether Pandit Nehru has a guilty conscience. When that nation was in grip of a struggle, Pandit Nehru decided to go there at the invitation of the 'decaying Menderes'".

—AGRADOOR

NEW AGE

EDITOR: P. C. Joshi

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National Conference Calls

Recognise G. D. R. Now!

From Romesh Chandra, General Secretary, All India Peace Council

The imperialists and the West German militarists and revanchists have made no secret of their intense fear that the non-aligned countries, led by India, should take a correct stand, in the interests of peace, on the German question.

THE imperialists and West German press screamed in rage when Prime Minister Nehru merely stated India's view that the existence of the two German States was a reality which must be recognised, that the frontiers of Germany as established by agreement after the Second World War must be taken, as final, and that a peace treaty with both German States must be signed.

Subsequently, the West German militarists' propaganda machine, supplemented surreptitiously by the USIS and similar imperialist agencies, has been working at full speed throughout this country, seeking to confuse Indian public opinion on the crucial issues of peace and war—the German and Berlin problems.

It is in this context that the All India Peace Council launched its campaign on the German question by calling for a "No War Day" on October 22. The main issue discussed at well-attended meetings held in connection with the call at Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay, Patna, Madras and several other places was the German problem.

The response to the call was overwhelming. In Bombay, the Peace Committee in cooperation with the All India Trade Union Congress (Maharashtra Committee) organised a 20,000-strong rally. Calcutta's University Institute Hall was almost packed to capacity despite the Pujā vacations; the Madras Peace Committee organised an excellent week-long exhibition of photographs and pictures from the GDR.

It was these meetings held all over the country that

urged the Government of India to recognise the German Democratic Republic in view of the reality of the situation, of India's assured policy of non-alignment and in the interests of a relaxation of international tension.

The Plenary Session of the Conference at the University Institute Hall was a powerful demonstration of the will for peace of the Indian people. The hall was overcrowded with several standing in the corridors and balconies. Each of the speakers was heard with rapt attention.

Pandit Sundaralal presided. Messages from Prof. J. D. Bernal, Chairman of the Presidential Committee of the World Council of Peace and from several national peace committees were received amidst applause.

Foreign guests who spoke included His Excellency Mr. Lemety, High Commissioner for Ghana; Mr. Cherkasov, Consul General for the Soviet Union; Dr. L. Haban, Consul General for Czechoslovakia; Professor Bruno Kalsar, Member of the Academy of Sciences of the German Democratic Republic who came specially with a message from the German Peace Council; Reverend Saranankara, Lenin Peace Prize Winner, representing the Peace Movement of Ceylon; Mr. Andrey Zlak, Czechoslovak M. P. and member of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee.

All over Calcutta, the American and West German propaganda "Indian Organisation" had pasted posters attacking the Conference and the All India Peace Council. A handbill was distributed by these paid gentlemen which supported all the West German and imperialist slogans on the German problem. But all in vain.

The second resolution

Recognise the existence of the two German States;

Recognise the frontiers of Germany as laid down in the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements;

Recognise the independence of West Berlin as a free and neutral city assured of communications with all countries and with a statute guaranteed by the four powers and a U. N. presence".

The second resolution

BONN MERCENARIES KILLING GOANS

From Our Correspondent

DESPITE the winter, Delhi has her share of sunshine and warmth, in abundance. But on the afternoon of November 17, the air was rather chilly in the swank lounge of a New Delhi hotel. A cold war draft had blown in. Cold warrior, Von Merkatz, Minister for Federal Council Affairs in the Bonn Government was holding his Press Conference.

Von Merkatz, was visibly uncomfortable in Delhi's climate. He was at pains to "prove" his government's record of "anti-colonialism" by going as far back as to Bismark!

But soon enough, the wolf was seen under the sheep's skin.

To the pointed question, whether he would deny the press reports (New Age, last week) of the presence of West German mercenaries in Goa, fighting against our people and defending Portuguese colonialism on our soil, he could only babble out that "... may be some Germans of the Foreign Legion, who roam about in the world from place to place, have been recruited by the Portuguese authorities also...

To another, immediately following question, asking for his government's attitude towards the occupation of Goa by the Portuguese, his answer was an outright apology for colonialism.

He appeared to be more concerned with "Portuguese worries", than with the fact that a part of Indian territory is occupied by that colonial power. All he could wish us was a solution which may be

"fair, just and peaceful for both the parties".

No word of regret, let alone condemnation for his countrymen, who with arms are defending a colonialist power on our own territory. No word of denunciation of that colonial power. But a plus hope for a "fair and just" solution—not only for us but for the Portuguese colonialists as well!

Such was the audacity of this messenger from Bonn, airing his imperialist views, however camouflaged they may be, in our country's capital. For, can there be any solution of this problem other than the immediate end to the Portuguese occupation of Goa?

Or take the question of Oder-Neisse border. Our country's and the Prime Minister's views are well-known on this question. That, short of war, there is no way to reopen a discussion for the redrawing of this border.

Flagrantly in opposition to this view was the pronouncement of Von Merkatz, on this subject.

Usurping to itself the right to speak on behalf of all German peoples, as their "trustees", the Bonn Government considers that the Oder-Neisse border question can only be settled by a "future over-all government" of a "unified Germany" said this spokesman of German revanchism.

Can the claim of German revanchism and militarism for changing the map of Europe according to Hitler's dreams, be mouthed more brazenly, than has been done by Von Merkatz in New Delhi?

A TIME-BOMB UNDER FANFANI

From Our Rome Correspondent

A time bomb has just been put under the chair of Signor Fanfani, the Italian Prime Minister. No, this is certainly not a terrorist attempt; it is a plain cabinet crisis which, however, won't burst until the last days of January, 1962, since it was decided few days ago.

This is, perhaps, a procedure without precedent in the history of parliamentary democracy, and it well illustrates the utmost confusion prevailing in the Italian political situation, after 15 years of Christian Democratic absolute power.

The protagonist of this queer delayed crisis is the smallest Italian Party: the Republican Party (only six deputies and no senator).

Although very small, the Republican Party is not less important as far as parliamentary stability is concerned, since the present government wouldn't be able to maintain the majority it needs without its support.

Actually, the Republican leaders had been threatening a crisis for months, but so far it had yielded to the pressure of Christian Democracy. It has submitted once again, now, but partially...

It has given up foregoing the crisis immediately; nevertheless, it seems that it has decided, without any possibility of change, to open it on January 26 and we can even say that it has fixed exactly the hour, i.e., the usual opening hour of Parliament. They fixed this date on purpose, since it

coincides with the opening of the National Congress of the Christian Democrats.

Thus, the Republicans wanted to confront the Supreme Assembly of the Catholic Party with the necessity of making a political choice: either a new ministerial "right" formation, or a new ministerial "centre-left" formation, accepting the external support of the Socialist Party. The latter solution is the one Republicans would adopt, of course, for they think the Socialist Party is "ripe" and can become one of the "democratic parties".

The Christian Democratic as well as the non-Christian Democratic Left holds a different opinion.

Hence, a hard battle at the next Christian Democratic Congress is expected. The governmental party will soon find itself in an even more difficult position because of the "white semester", i.e.,

the last semester of the President of the Republic power, when, according to Constitution, he has no authority to dissolve Parliament any more.

Therefore, the Christian Democrats will have to cope with and find their way out of the present parliamentary composition, which actually offers only three solutions: "centrism", Right coalition, "centre-left".

Centrism—the present formula—ranges from the Liberal Party, representing the Right, to Social Democratic and to Republicans, to the left wing of Christian Democracy. The latter is exactly the formula the Republicans have just been considering as obsolete, for they are sick of being parties to a conservative policy which did not last long (actually, their collaboration with Fanfani and Liberals was meant to be

only a transitory solution to the crisis which opened in July 1960, after pro-fascist Tambroni was thrown out by the toiling masses).

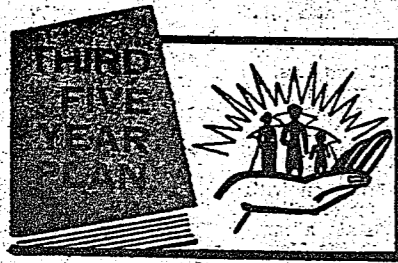
Under the pressure of the masses and in the face of the Communist propaganda and agitation, firstly, the Socialists had to become firm and to pass the opposition (they had benevolently abstained from voting in the confidence motion); afterwards, also the Republicans had to become firm and finally to pass to the opposition, with a certain delay though.

So we can say that this is the first success realized by the Opposition, although the Republican's manoeuvre definitely aims at making the Socialists both come back to the fold of the bourgeois democracy and leave the Communists.

However, that is a problem we are going to tackle the right time.

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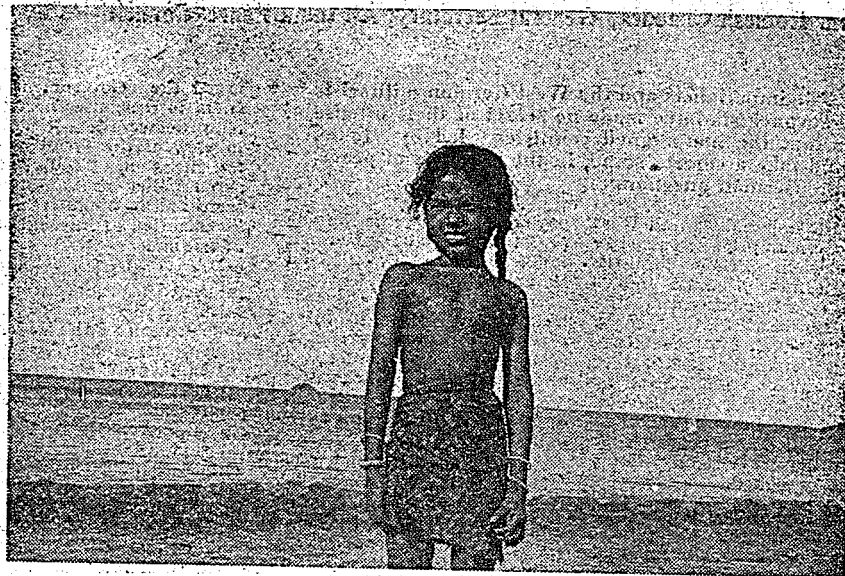


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GOA CALLING!



ABOVE: Goa's young daughter looks to us with hope and a question.
LEFT: One of the many Goan armed heroes who wait for India to move in soon.

INDIA YET TO RESPOND

Goa, Daman, Diu, these are very tiny bits of our country but they are in alien hands. This makes all the difference. Nothing stirs the Indian heart today as the three lettered word: **GOA**.

GOA, Daman and Diu in the dirty and feeble hands of the Portuguese are a dishonour of our ancient motherland. They are the burning tika of shame on every Indian forehead.

The Government of India's do-nothing policy has been clothed in the Gandhian garb, of peaceful persuasion and moral isolation of the Portuguese occupationists has been tried through the years and has proved its barrenness.

Relying upon a huge Parliamentary majority the Congress Government may have gone on drifting but African developments shook its self-righteous passivity.

From the platform of the seminar recently held in our capital every African leader demanded from India; **ACTION, ACTION, ACTION**. They needed no prompting. The demand came from their very heart, born out of their living and epic struggle against colonialism, with effortless ease they pointed their finger towards Goa and unanimously urged that Goan liberation would be the greatest Indian contribution to African liberation.

Faced with this fiery and fraternal demand India's Prime Minister had the frankness to publicly admit that the earlier Indian policy of peaceful change had proved a failure. He had also announced that in the new measures to be adopted the use of force by the Indian side was not ruled out.

Portuguese terror against the Goan patriots continued and once again India's Prime Minister warned that Indian armed forces would be used if the Portuguese usurpers continued to resort to terrorist methods.

Listening to this new bold

and forthright policy pronouncement Indians felt happy and the Goans longingly await Indian intervention. Nothing has, however, happened up-to-date. The pro-Western Rightist party like the Jana Sangh has been loudly charging the Prime Minister for indulging in demagoguery for electioneering purposes!

The Indian Prime Minister's public indignation and threat of future action did make the Portuguese very panicky. This is clear from the very measures they took soon after.

They resorted to large-scale arrests of even those who only talked politics sitting in the tea or toddy shops. They beat up the prisoners. They tortured to death the patriots in jail. More, they mined every public building, every economic enterprise that could be of any use to India, they planned to blow up everything standing before they were forced to quit Goa, the tactic of scorched earth against India.

The Portuguese have done their very best to seal up Goa from India. All Indian newspapers have been banned. The Radio is regularly jammed.

When nothing happened from the Indian side they began to breathe again, more foul than before. This is very well revealed in the Oheraldo, a Portuguese daily they publish in Goa.

It publicises very exaggerated stories of famine, unemployment and high prices in India to drive home the lesson that the Goans will not be better off within India. It lampoons Pandit Nehru in skits and cartoons.

Recently it had a feature, "Nehru and His Family" re-

ferred to his daughter, sister and others. For the answer: What is nepotism, it wanted Goans to look towards Nehru and then have another look at Salazar, who never drank, did not marry, lived an ascetic life!

It is easy enough to answer from where the Portuguese colonialists, who are literally paper-tigers, get their swagger.

Newspaper-reading Indians already know that Goa is an

by
P. C. JOSHI

important NATO naval base, besides being a good natural harbour.

The Nato alliance is no formality. The Nato partners of the Portuguese are helping them to keep Goa and use it as an imperialist base, a pressure-point against India, as and when the need arises.

This is so not only militarily and politically but also economically. After the achievement of Indian independence West German, Italian and Japanese firms have entered into partnership with traitor local mine-owners to exploit its manganese and iron ore.

It is not only the Nato that is helping the Portuguese to save Goa but also the Seatocento combine through Pakistan. Pakistan's interest in Goa has been very rapidly increasing.

Last week the New Age published the story of the Portuguese buying horses from Pakistan to more effectively police the Indian border and of sending its soldiers and French-German mercenaries for training in horsemanship and the like to Pakistan. Technical administrative personnel like censors, intelli-

gence men etc, are also being got from Pakistan.

Food and other necessities of life that used to be formerly supplied by India are now coming from Pakistan. There is regular air service between Goa and Karachi. The sea route is being ever more frequently used.

Indian action for the liberation of Goa is not only a struggle for the unification of Indian motherland, not only India's national contribution in the common anti-colonialist cause of African solidarity but a direct struggle to defeat and smash the Nato-Seatocento designs against India.

On the very eve of the Prime Minister's last visit abroad V. R. Bhatt wrote in his London Diary, Hindustan Times, November 4, that Pandit Nehru "will present Macmillan with one of the most difficult problems he has ever faced. This concerns the future of Goa and the two other Portuguese colonies on Indian soil—the zero hour for which every sign indicates is rapidly approaching".

After the above there was a gap in the Indian press which only proved that Pandit Nehru drew blank and got a polite or a blunt NO from Macmillan.

From the U. K. India's Prime Minister went to USA. On the day he left the country the Hindustan Times, November 4, carried the following heading "Nehru may seek U. S. support in liberating Goa".

Goa did not figure in the Kennedy-Nehru joint communique. It is obvious that Washington reacted no better than London on India's claim over Goa.

Back home the Prime Minister was asked what was the U. S. attitude about Indian steps to liberate Goa. Obviously rattled, he answered "I do not go about asking these questions"

(Times of India, November 21).

Expecting support for the liberation of Goa from the Nato patrons of Salazar fascist dictatorship could not but prove illusory.

In the United Nations the Indian representative on behalf of 33 Afro-Asian countries proposed a resolution "condemning the attitude of the Portuguese Government and asking that seven-man U. N. Probe body be set up to collect information on the non-autonomous territories administered by Portugal."

The Times of India on November 17 wrote a caustic editorial entitled "Empty Words" commented: "How perfectly appropriate it is that a colonial power guilty of shooting down Goans and Angolans in 'cold blood' and of occupying Indian territory should be denounced for failing to be adequately informative."

The situation within Goa itself is ripe for immediate and affective Indian intervention. This is proven by the news we published last week of five Goan political prisoners making good their escape from a Portuguese prison without firing a shot or hurting a fly.

This week we publish still more welcome news of the Goan guerillas having liquidated five Portuguese policemen in the same place, despite all the Portuguese terror.

Twentyfifth November has been fixed as Goa Day by the All-Parties National Campaign Committee. We have no doubt the Day will be widely celebrated and India's Prime Minister firmly reminded that the time has come to make good his solemn words.

Indian honour and sovereignty demands that Indian Army march into Goa.

The Nation's slogan for November 25 is: No More Drift; Act Now!