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CRY LUMUMBA

* by KRISHAN CHAMPAR 18 1961

So Lumumba is dead. Along with his two compatriots Okito and Mpolo, he lies

dead, hacked to pieces, in an unknown grave.

The Katanga Government has given an award of eight thousand dollars to the murderers of Lumumba, Okito and Mpolo. Who are these murderers? Mr. Munongo, Tshombe's Minister for the Interior, will not tell us. They will remain unknown. Not only their names but the village to which they belonged will also remain undisclosed, unknown.

derer, the village where this crime was prepetrated, and the grave where the remains of these African patriots lie buried.

The murderer is Belgian imperialism. The village is called NATO and the grave is known as UNO. I could almost delineate for you the faces of the grave-diggers, but Brutus is an honourable man!

Munongo the Minister for Interior in the Government of President Moise Tshombe of Katanga, is a very learned guy. He cannot understand our re-He cannot understand our resentment at Lumumba's murder Atter all, he asks in righteous anger, if the US could kill Sacco and Vanzetti, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, why can't we, he asks, kill a few trouble-makers like Lumumba, Okito and Mpolo. Just like that! "But some persons," he walls, "would like to deny us this right because we are black and a young nation."

Black Heart

No! Munongo, we do not accuse you because you are black in the face. We accuse black in the face. We accuse you because you are black in the heart. You have a black, putrid, foul heart. You are not young. You are as old as fascism itself. We know your face and we know your heart, we saw its hideous face in the last. war in huge Swastikas over unknown crematoriums, con-centration camps and ghettoes.

Do not be ashamed of your black face. Only men have faces. You are not a man but a mask. Just a black mask of the Belgian imperialists and their allies carrying death and destruction amongst the innocent people of Congo, so that Brussels may continue to exploit and loot the wealth of this African nation; its cotton, copper, uranium ore and other natural resources under its black folds. Go on Munongo, uttering brave lies put into your mouth by your masters. We know what you are Just a Minister of Interior Deco-ration and Exterior Fabrication!

Lumumba had started to die a long time back. He was quite hale and hearty, but he had started to die. It all happened many months ago, let me recall, when the Belgian imperialists, after having promised independence to Congo,

New Age greets the 15th Anniversary of the heroic RIN uprising on February 21, 1946, which dealt a heavy blow to the British enslavers and made a deri-sive contribution to the

attainment of Independ-

A ND yet I think we know after having elected a Par-the name of the mur-dependent in Congo and Lumumba as its legally-elected Lumumba as its legally-elected Prime Minister, when after having done that, the Belgians refused to quit, the innocent Lumumba, believing in freedom and democracy and having a pathetic faith in the UN Charter, called for the intervention of the UN in his country. country.

That was the time when hangmen started to gather round him. They streamed in large numbers into his country under the sacred cloak of the UN. The first thing that they did was to take away his



army from him. One cannot forget that General Mobutu's men were first paid by the UN over the head of and against the orders of Patrice Lumumba. Then they took away his airfields. Then the Parliament was closed.

And when Lumumba who had called in the UN to strengthen the frontiers of Congolese freedom, protested, Hammarskjoeld went to Katanga and shook hands Katanga and shook hands with Tshombe. It was a fateful hand-shake. Let us remember. Memory is a good thing. Sometimes it can convey certain things with frightenning clarity. Today all of us remember that incident with agony, but at that time only the Soviet Government protested vigorously against it, laying bare the treacherous machinations of the Belgian imperialists and their NATO machinations of the Belgian imperialists and their NATO allies, backed in his most suave and gentle manner by Hammarskjoeld.

Soviet Stand.

Let us also remember that when the Soviet delegate at the Security Council sessions on Congo spoke so sharply and clearly against these machina-tions, as if almost with a sense tions, as it almost which a sense of foreboding, most of our Asian delegates and some African delegates with the exception of a few were vying with each other to give a clean chit to Mr. Hammarskjoeld. Little did they know that by giving a clean chit to Mr. Hammarskjoeld, they were signing the death warrant of Lumumba

and hanging a noose round Congo's freedom, At that time, firm and united action by Asian and African delegates was re-quired to repel the onslaught of the invarialists. Instead of the imperialists. Instead we observed discord, dis-unity and dismal lack of unity and dismai lack of foresight. In this plethora of pusillanimity, weak-kneed wavering and treacherous double-talk, the case of Congo went by default and the doom of Lumumba was

Sense Of Shame

I do not say it with any sense of pride but with great shame and sorrow that the sleeves of many Asian and African delegates are also stained with the blood of this

stained with the blood of this great African martyr.

Imperialism may be dying, but it is not dead yet. It has to be kicked out of existence. It cannot be killed by words or empty threats alone. Unfortunately, in this matter, where the urgent need was to safeguard the newly-won freedom of the Congolese nation, we had nothing of the Congolese nation, we had nothing else but words and empty threats, backed by

inaction and confusion.

When the Congolese Parliament was closed, we took a grave view of it. When grave view of it. When, Lumumba was detained by Mobutu's men, we took a grave view of it. When he was sold over to Tshombe, we took a grave view of it. Unfortuna-tely, a system like imperialism, fighting for its existence, can-not be cowed down by mere grave views of it. It has to be fought at every step and hounded out of every position of vantage by the resolute efforts of all anti-colonial people who love freedom, dignity and peace.

The course of events at the UN, too, must be changed and the guilty brought to book. As for Hammarskjoeld I do not want to say anything against him, for Brutus is an honourable man! But may we ask him why he went at all to Congo? To sit there like a yogi and contemplate the navel? nd contemplate the navel?
The Belgian imperialists are

back in the saddle. They are fanning the flames of civil war. They have destroyed the Congolese army. They have killed the democratically-Congolese army. They have killed the democratically-elected Prime Minister of Congo, and all that Hammarskjoeld does is to shrug his shoulders in utter helplessness. "I am helpless, I cannot do anything. The UN cannot interfere in the internal affairs of a country." Hes Hammarsk. of a country". Has Hammarsk-joeld suddenly gone non-violent? One wonders.

But a closer look at current affairs would reveal that the leopard has not changed its spots. Hammarskjoeld's masterly inactivity has not helped to strengthen the freedom of Congo, or its legally-constitut-

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India Act

Editorial

THE DISCREDITED AND hated puppets of the Kasa-vubu-Mobutu-Tshombe gang have murdered Lumumba

and his two comrades. The outraged conscience of humanity has not only expressed shock and horror but cried out aloud for the prompt punishment of the murderers.

The guilt of the Belgian colonialists, aided and abetted by the Western imperialist Powers who helped to over-throw the independent democratically-elected legal Congolese Government headed by Lumumba, who sought to impose the brutal puppet regime of murderer-monstrers, who used the U.N. flag for their nefarious neo-colonialist aims, who paralysed effective U.N. action, stands fully

Prime Minister Nehru has expressed the gravity and urgency of the issues involved in Congo in clear and firm words. "There has been quite enough of putting up with these people and the time has come when strong and effective action to punish those who are guilty must be taken. Unless this is done with the speed and the entire situation in the Congo pulled up, the consequences are going to be far-reaching. It will become increasingly difficult for countries to associate themselves with an attitude and a policy tries to associate themselves with an attitude and a policy which tolerate murder and brutality."

Speaking for the USSR, Zorin said that Lumumba's death "deprives of all significance the continuance of discussions on the Congo on the basis of the former facts. The really peace-loving peoples and particularly those of Africa and Asia must now reivew their positions on all the questions submitted to the Security Council and the U.N."

Lumumba's martyrdom has transformed the situation inside Congo, among world opinion, and the heavy shock it has delivered to the U.N. has led to the Security Council discussions being indefinitely postponed.

In India, a national mourning rally is being planned in the capital city with the cooperation of all patriotic parties, Congress, Communists and others. India's national conscience has been stirred as it has never been before in recent times and demands immediate and effective action to ensure the victory of the noble cause for which Lumumba died. The only way to achieve it and for India to heighten its contribution is for the Indian Government to join its efforts with those of the independent African Governments and the representatives of the Socialist camp headed by the USSR.

Lumumba's martyrdom will stand immortalised in world history as the symbol of Congolese liberation, as the purifier of the U.N. from colonialists' manipulations and the inspirer of new and unbreakable bonds of solidarity among all civilised nations who love and cherish freedom and who seek to fight for peace.

Lumumba's martyrdom will not go in vain. It has exposed the brutal bestiality of colonialism and inspired the forces struggling to end it with new determination and strength.

The representatives of the colonialist Powers are stammering with shock and are being heaped over with ignominous shame. They stand isolated and paralysed for the time being but they are not going to easily leave the Congo to the Congolese people themselves nor stop thinking out new moves to misuse the U.N. as before.

We have no doubt India will join hands with other freedom-loving peaceful States and ensure that the future of Congo, Africa, the U.N. and the world will not remain the same after Lumumba's death.

The words of wrath of the Indian people must activise the Indian Government to unfold new and effective initiatives unitedly with other anti-imperialist Afro-Asian, Latin American and Socialist States to avenge Lumuba's death and ensure a new triumph against the colonialists and for world peace.

Congress And National Integration

THE three-day Conference of Pradesh Congress Presidents and General Secretaries in Juliundur, though held primarily to gear up the Congress m chinery for the forthcoming General Elections, also discussed problems of national integration. The National Integration Committee headed by Indira Gandhi, which was set up to implement the Bhavnagar decisions, is to meet in New Delhi on February 25.

All that the Press has remiliarly on the question of ported of the proposals made language, the policy of the by delegates at the conference Congress Governments to rnational integration is that either to continue English or ceremonies conducted by immose Hindi without at the portant functionaries of the same time developing the restate should have "an atmost glonal languages." ate should have "an atmos. gional languages. phere of composite culture about them" and that problems of national integration should be tackled at the governmental as well as nongovernmental level.

That the Congress today has to talk about problems of national integration is an admission of the fact that it. both as the first party in the country and as the party that country and as the party that try for special attention so that the government, has that they can come up to the ralle to integrate the pation. rule to integrate the nation

But the leaders who met in Juliundur, if the proposals they made were any indica-tion, showed a total unawareness of the causes of the problems or perhaps they were deliberately avoiding an examination of their own policies.

For it is these policies, by the organisation will be only taking the na-tion down the path of further disunity and further Pandit Nehru, addressing disintegration.

The session, said he was dis-

Prime Minister Nehru himself has voiced the sentiments of the people that the public sector should be expanded and should command the controlling heights of our economy, but in practice his own

It is the demand of the nation, reflected in many re-solutions of the Congress itself, that radical agrarian reforms should be introduced in favour of the peasantry, but the Congress Governments dilly-dally on this problem and when they do something, do so in favour of the vested in-terests in land. No different are their poli-

cies in relation to language and linguistic provinces, which Congress leaders say, consti-tute one of the main elements of disruption. If the Congress had remained true to the pled. ges it gave to the nation dur-ing the freedom struggle and formed linguistic States on its big step towards national in-

Instead, the Congress op-posed the demand when agitations came up in State after State and even when it decided to reconstitute It decided to reconstitute the States on a linguistic is. Bombay was kent bilingual. It needed anothe

Punjabi-speaking people. Si-

When the Congress talks of resisting resisting "casteism" what it actually seeks to do is to deny opportunities to the victims of centuries-old caste oppress to come up to the level of the rest. In the name of fighting "regionalism" what the Congress wants to oppose is the demand of the economically backward areas in the coun-

These are surely not policies that can lead to national in-

of national integration?

pursued by the organisation a number of conflicts—the and its Governments, which far from integrating the nation, have in fact, accentuated the problems, and as long as Congress leaders are not prepared to honestly blood", the opposition of State face up to this fact, they will be only taking the nation down the nation of the control on their constituencies in the problems of the starting point of attacks by one community on another, people were killed, houses were raided and set on fire. About 21 deaths have been officially reand so on.

tressed by groupism in the Congress which, to a great extent, prevented the organisation, prevented the organisation of the congress which, to a great extent, prevented the organisation of the congress which the congress w tion from concentrating on ideas and policies... Grounism is a rather mild term to describe what is just now going on in the Congress. We print elsewhere in this issue reports concession after concession to elsewhere in this issue reports the foreign and Indian mono. of the succession wars in U.P. and Bihar.

These are in States where the Congress is in an over-whelming majority in the legislatures. In States where it finds itself reduced to a minority, it joins hands with the most reactionary eleminority, it joins hands with the most reactionary ele-ments in the country—ex-princes in Orissa and the Muslim Jeague in Kerala— to keep itself in power. And as in the case of Kerala, when the people instal a non-Congress Ministry in office, it traumles underfoot ce, it tramples underfoo all democratic practices and

ment. Surely this organization cannot bring about national integration as long as it follows such policies of suppressof the people, opposing their democratic demands, violating their democratic rights and joining hands with the disruptonist forces in the coun-

The nation had already be. and Bhutan are confrontended in Lullundur, only any and university of the nation had already be. The n met in Lullundur, only an-xious about winning the next bilingual, it needed another agitation and bloodshed before the Marathi and Gujarati. Speaking people could win their linguistic States.

And even today the same right is being denied to the Punjabi-speaking people. Si
Note that the midst.

And even today the same right is being denied to the Punjabi-speaking people. Si
Note that the midst in grepeated in Jabalpur. Let us hope an enquiry will bring out the sordid details of this political patronage to unspecification and maintaining the next elections and maintaining the next elect

NOTES OF THE WEEK

Jabalpur Warning

T HE senseless events in parts of the country, but Press reports do not reveal anywhere that the Congress leaders who dscussed problems of national integra-tion considered the Jabal-pur incidents at all. Two years ago, we had such exported to have seen some perplosions in Sitamarhi and sons in police uniforms among Bhopal, last year in Feroze- the mobs". pur and now in Jabalpur.

What touched off the events Jabalpur was undo a shocking crime. A young girl, while at home unprotected, had been dishonoured by two young men and the girl unable to bear the shame had committed suicide. If the girl and her molestors had both tegration.

And what is the state of this organisation which talks so much of solving the problems of national integration?

and her molestors had both belonged to the same community, the perpetrators of the crime would have faced the normal course of justice.

There would be a supplementation of the crime would have faced the normal course of justice.

There would have been anger The Juliundur session was people but there would not itself being convened to solve a number of conflicts—the Jabalpur had the girl and the rival claims of more powers criminals not belonged to two

deaths have been officially re-ported. And the incidents did not remain restricted to Jabalpur, it spread to outlying

If they had read the reports of these ghastly incidents, Congress leaders at Juliundur would not have so lightly sugwould not have so lightly sug-gested solutions like ceremo-nies conducted by important functionaries of the State having "an atmosphere of composite culture about them" unless of course, they were deliberately misleading the deliberately people about the seriousness of the problem.

Or, as happened in Madhya Pradesh, the conscience of some of them is not so clear. The Statesman wrote editorially on February 11 an enquiry should include in its scope the role played by political patrons of known ruffians and other bad characters... "If it were possible to look

into the malodorous minds of these political tacticians they would perhaps be found weighprobably, they bask, however, secretly, in the glory of having well served their party, group, faction or themselves. They may even pride themselves on heing nationalists. selves on being nationalists though nobody poses a greater threat to national unity".

NEW AGE

the crimes but also those who give them protection.

Meanwhile, the Jabainnr events have raised another question. Madhya Pradesh has always been notorious for its Jabalpur in the last formight should have given the conclave in Jullundur an indication of the explosive situation that exists in had come to normal, there was a regular cone of the was a recrudescence of the trouble in the town and it spread fast to outlying areas.

Participants in the distur-tances are said to have used firearms, and the Times of India reported that "at one cr

It is quite clear tha complacency on the part of the local administration played a big role in the worsening of the situation. This is another aspect of the Jabalpur events that has to be enquired into

But, the immediate task is to bring back normaley and restore confidence. The Communist Party in Madhya Pradesh has already appealed to people to condemn the unfortunate incidents in Jabalpur which sparked off the riots and to make all efforts to create an atmos. unfortunate incidents phere of goodwill and neace in the town. Similar appeals have been made by the Chief Minister and the Congress Party. A meeting of representatives of all political parties have al-ready been held to consider steps to extend to the Go-vernment all possible coope. ration to counter mischie vous propaganda and main-tain peace.

All of us fervently hope that there will not be any further incidents in Jabalpur, But the problem which sparked off such riots at Sitamarhi, Bhopal, Ferozepur and Jabalpur, remains and Indian democracy has to preently address itself to the task of finding a lasting solution to it.

Bhutan And India

THE Maharaja of Bhutan, now in our country to discuss, according to the Press, the questions of Bhutan's development plans and of Indo-Bhutan relations, has already had talks with the Prime Minister and is reported to be "happy over the outcome of the talks".

While no official communique is yet available on these talks, one cannot but note the way the Right-wing Press has dealt with the visit.

The Maharaja's arrival was built up against the background of the "growing Chinese threat from the north".

The Statesman Correspon dent wrote: "Since both India and Bhutan are confronton danger from

that Bhutan "agrees to be guided by the advice of the Government of India in regard to its external relations" while India undertakes "to exercise no interference in the internal administration of Bhutan".

dministration or con-This is definitely not the spirit in which the Indian monopolist Press has been writing about Bhutan. Hindu's Rangaswami, for

instance, wrote: "While the Government of India point out to the Maharaja of Bhutan that all foreign aid must, therefore, be processed thro-ugh Delhi..." etc. A Statesman Correspondent

wrote: "Some of the Bhutan to think of itself as sovereign country.

suggestions made, as by a columnist of the Hindustan Times, that the Indian army he marched into There have been should be marched into Bhutan to solve all pro-

We are certainly anxious to develop our country's relations with Bhutan. But this is not the attitude that can help to strengthen the special ties we wish to have with Bhutan, nor is it an attitude that can help democracy thrive there.

Anti-Worker Tactic

THE Congress-PSP Government of Kerala has decided to extend prohibition to two more taluks of Trichur District. If it had come as part of a policy to introduce prohibition in the whole State, we would discuss it at a different level.

But the Kerala Government has no such policy. It was only recently that Law Minister Chandrasekharan, who is also the Minister in charge of Pro-hibition, said that prohibition had failed and its only result had been that the Government was losing in revenue.
Why then has the Government decided to extend prohibition to these new areas?
The toddy-tappers of Kerala,

who used to enjoy innu-ble benefits through cooperative societies under the Communist-led Government, have been the first target of the Coalition Government's attack. All toddy shops were returned to the contractors and these contractors are now refusing to pay their legiti-mate dues to the tappers. And

the tappers have gone on It was when they announ ced their decision for strike that the Government thou-ght of extending prohibition to the two taluks which would mean a loss of reve-nue of Rs, 38 lakhs.

But the Congress PSP Government would prefer to lose this huge amount in revenue rather than force the contractors to concede the de-mands of the tappers—which would not mean more than four annas per tapper. Is any comment necessary on the anti-working class policies of the Kerala Governi

-RAMDASS

FERTILISERS - GOVERNMENT SURRENDER TO MONOPOLISTS

HE importance of ferti-lisers for raising agri-cultural production cannot be gainsaid, least of all in the case of a country like the case of a country like India, where for centuries good cultivable land had been denuded of its riches without an adequate recompense being given to it for its bounty. Hence, when the Ford Foundation on the construction of the motion of good cultivable land had been denuded of its riches Ford Foundation, or other cooperation of private enteradvisers dole out advice to

But when they seek to exploit it to side-track attention from a more basic precondi-tion to raise production like land reforms, or pave the way for further intrusion by their own private investors, it is necessary to call their bluff and put the things in a correct

The need to raise the production of fertilisers was noted by the Planners in the Second oy the Planners in the Second-Plan. The Sindri Fertiliser Factory, which is at present facing certain difficulties, was the first to be set up for this purpose. A chain of other pub-lic sector fertiliser projects was also planned. Work on three of these—Nangal, Neyvell and Rourkela—was also initieted Rourkela... during the Plan period.

All these however, could not suffice to meet the requirements in the country, nor were they meant to, for, the legacy in agriculture perpetuated by the colonial-lsts—could not be ended in one

American Approach

The right course was to con-The right course was to continue the process, and set up more factories in the public sector to produce fertilisers and make them available to the cultivators on a reasonable

This course was, however, not adopted because the Ford Team and other Ameri.

Suggested a first accepted, will end in only the manufacturers—in this em. This approach, as experience has shown, is but philosophical garb for allowing an entry to the private industrialists into a domain reserved for the public sector.
Hence, fertilizers, too, were

thrown open to the private sector to produce and exploit, and since foreign exchange had to be raised to put up plants, foreign entreprenem too, had to be provided a niche in the fertiliser programme.

This is how the American dvisers" had planned their scheme, to which our authori-

ties fell an easy prey.
With this pragmatism at the back of their mind they allocated 200,000 tons of introgeneous fertilisers, and most of the increase in the output of phosphatic fertilisers to the private sector to produce in the Third Plan. The rest of the target of one million tons of the former was to be raised in the public sector. With this private industrialists at home grab one Plan project or the for it from abroad. The US advisers, had in a way let it be known that their funds,

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advisers dole out advice to us to raise fertiliser production, they only labour the obvious.

But when they seek to exploit it to side-track attention from a more basic precondi-

Foreign Proposals :

With decks thus cleared the

With decks thus cleared the Government has been flooded with a host of proposals from local industrialists, backed up by guarantees of collaboration from American firms.

Among them are the Birlas with Koppers for the Visas warded a 30-day imprisonment, five years probation and khapatanam factory, the Birlas with Philips Petroleum Company for the factory at Namrup near Naharkatya, Khandelwal Brothers with International Ore and Fertiliser Company for a factory in Madhya Pradesh, Surajmal Nagarmal of Calcutta with Vitro Engineering and Chemical Corporation for the Hanumangarh factory in Rajasthan and the Sahu Jains with Westingfor the Hanumangarh fac-tory in Rajasthan and the Sahu Jains with Westing-house Electric Company.

The Khataus of Bombay are also known to have submitted a proposal for establishing a fertiliser factory with US col-

ce cultivators on a reasonable made a bid for the factory to be set up at Hanumangarh in Rajasthan.

ged another condition, which, if accepted, will end in only the manufacturers—in this, case the indigenous and foreign owners—making all the gain, with the consumers—excepting the top fringe—read maining as bereft of fertilises as ever. At present the entire production is pooled and entire production is pooled and for all mass organisations

OR the first time in decided to organise a special trade unions, youth and students, women, lawyers, writers etc.—which conference. The General Council of the Punjab Branch has already met and decided to organise a special conventions of trade unions, youth and students, women, lawyers, writers etc.—which has already met and decided to organise a special conventions of trade unions, youth and students, women, lawyers, writers etc.—which has already met and decided to organise a special conventions of trade unions, youth and students, women, lawyers, writers etc.—which has already met and decided to organise a special conventions of trade unions, youth and students, women, lawyers, writers etc.—which has already met and decided to organise a special conventions of trade unions, youth and students, women, lawyers, writers etc.—which has already met and decided to organise a special conventions of trade unions, youth and students, women, lawyers, writers etc.—which has already met and decided to organise a special conventions of trade unions, youth and students, women, lawyers, writers etc.—which has already met and decided to organise a special conventions of trade unions. the reach of the ordinary cultivator.

But this price being too low for our foreign "friends", they want it to be raised to ensure a "fair profit return". The Governn agreed to take steps to "allay their misgivings" in this respect, which means that in future the State units will have to compete with private units, and the price of fertilisers will cease to have any social purpose, which it might be having hitherto.

is a national task, if the nation's fertilisers are to first and foremost serve its interests, rather than the interests of local and foreign manufacturers.

Common Criminals

Among the, American com-Among the American com-panies offering collaboration for setting up fertiliser plants in private sector in India is Westinghouse Electric which has been subject of much pub-licity in the US press recently. Together with certain other "glants" in the world of elec-tricity it was accused before a "glants" in the world of elec-tricity it was accused before a Federal Judge of "fixing prices of major electrical items among themselves and of collusive bidding on con-

eyes of their own country's free enterprise". What else can law, to our shores to indulge in similar "collusive" practices here.

The secret behind the American fertilizer circles' too much interest in our fertilizer about the state of the American can economy:

Besides these, Perrin and Co.
—an Indo-UK joint venture—has submitted a proposal to set up a factory at Kothagudem in Andhra Pradesh — 1888.

lands. The credt to bring it to our notice goes to the National Herald which in a leading arti-cle recently noted that "Hollywood spends something like thirty million dollars a year in Italy producing movies".

ECONOMY

INSIDE OUR NEWS &

Italy was chosen" it says "because production costs are lower there than in the United States ... Similarly, motor cars, typewriters, electronic machines are made tronic machines are made in various European counFebruary 11: Arthur Gold-

matters is profit, and if he can reap the maximum in other countries he will not mind even curtailing production at

was to discharge some 80,000 workers next week; it was learned yesterday. With stocks of unsold new American automobiles now over 1,00,00 "General Motors"—the States' largest producer—de-cided to close nine of its 23 plants next week; throwing some 46,500 employees out of work (The Hindusthan Standard, February 8).

NOTES

in various European countries by American producers, and the US labour unions have started a campaign against buying these goods, branded as products of 'cheap European labour'."

To the US industrialist what matters is profit, and if he can matters is profit, and if he can be seen that the proper we'll be in a real depress. the United States was already in a recession—and was head-ing for a depression. "If we don't take the proper action we'll be in a real depression in the United States' he said. The Labour Secretary is on a five-state inspection tour of un employment problems Reuter (Sunday Standard, February

> Dr. P. S. Lokanathan and his Council of Applied Economic Research pleaded last week for the abolition of tax on bonus shares and for certain other concessions in corporate and personal taxation to remove disincentives to business activity. The following statistics published in the published in the Hinda (February 10), however, tell a different story.

845 new companies with ar authorised capital of Rs. 113 crores were registered in the balf-year ended September 1960 as against 1,452 companies with a share capital of Rs. 161 crores in the whole of of joint stock companies is also estimated to have increased

in Andhra Pradesh, while Sahu Jains and Jalans have made a bid for the factory to Hold Session In Delhi

for all mass organisations supporting the Peace Movement in the country—and from reports of the preparations being made all over the state.

The Kisan Sabha are not far behind. Preparations which are going ahead for the All India Kisan Sabha Conference opening in Kerala on March 29 the fullest use is being made of this opportunity.

The Coimbatore Session of the All India Trade Union Congress gave a big public welcome to the news that the Session would be held in India, and called on all trade unions

country, it is clear that are being linked with the pre-fullest use is being made this opportunity.

he Coimbatore Session of take a Page Flog. Kisan movement is planning to take a Peace Flag on foot through the villages all the way from Trivandrum to the Kisan Conference Session, gathering support at each village the Flag passes.

A Cultural Committee is ning to organise a numbe of cultural events to show the best in Indian music, drama and painting to the over 300 guests from 70 countries ex-pected for the World Council

The Tagore Centenary Peace Festival Committee has organised a magnificent celebra-tion meeting in honour of the great Poet at which th

units, and the price of fertilisers will cease to have any social purpose, which it might be having hitherto.

Fertilizers all-right, but at a high price with the private interests — both indigeneous and foreign minting profits— and foreign minting profits— such is the prospect which the Government's surrender of a rational and nationally accept. ed fertilizer policy offers for the country.

To stop this surrender, and to make the Government retrace the steps it has already taken in this behalf,

Session would be held in India, and called on all trade unions of the surfering support at each village the Flag passes.

The All India Youth Federation's Working Committee has issued an appeal for support to all its branches.

In the meanwhile, the State ed by the news that apart from preparing for Peace Conferences and Conventions to be nead to the preparations for the Working Committee has been movements of Africa—including the Flag passes.

The All India Youth Federation's Working Committee has issued an appeal for support at each village the Flag passes.

The All India Youth Federation's Working Committee has issued an appeal for support at each village the Flag passes.

The All India Youth Federation's Working Committee has been fation's Working Committees are busy proper to all its branches.

In the meanwhile, the State ed by the news that apart from preparing for Peace Conferences and Conventions to be nearly in regard to the preparatory Committee has been formed—and several sub-Committees have begun work to prepare for sectional peace of Rabindra Sangathering support at each village the Flag passes.

The All India Youth Federation's Working Committee has issued an appeal for support to all its branches.

Great Interest is being rous-tour the world famous figures associated writers will speak on Tagore's work.

Great Interest is being rous-tour the world famous figures are busy preparing for Peace Conferences and Conventions to be ment led by Prof. J. D. Bernal, there will also be present the leaders of the g

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Congress And National Integration

THE three-day Conference of Pradesh Congress Presidents and General Secretaries in Jullundur, though held primarily to gear up the Congress mathough heid primarily to gear up the Congress ma-chinery for the forthcoming General Elections, also discussed problems of national integration. The Na-tional Integration Committee headed by Indira Gan-dhi, which was set up to implement the Bhavnagar decisions, is to meet in New Delhi on February 25.

for national integration is that either to continue English or ecremonies conducted by impose Hindi without at the portant functionaries of the State should have "an atmospherical state and the same time developing the regional languages. phere of composite cultur about them" and that pro culture blems of national integration should be tackled at the governmental as well as non governmental level.

That the Congress today has to talk about problems of national integration is an ad-mission of the fact that it, country and as the party in the country and as the party that try for special attention so that they can come up to the rule to integrate the nation.

But the leaders who are the country for special attention so that they can come up to the level of the rest.

But the leaders who met in Juliundur, if the proposals they made were any indication, showed a total unaware. ness of the causes of the problems or perhaps they were deliberately avoiding an exanination of their own policies.

For it is these policies, pursued by the organisation far from integrating the nation, have in fact, accenbe only taking the na-down the path of further disunity and further disintegration.

Prime Minister Nehru himof the people that the public sector should be expanded and should command the controlling heights of our economy, but in practice his own Government goes on making concession after concession to the foreign and Indian mono-

It is the demand of the nation, reflected in many re-solutions of the Congress itself, that radical agrarian reforms should be introduced in favour of the peasantry but the Congress Governments dilly-dally on this problem and when they do something, do so in favour of the vested interests in land.

No different are their policles in relation to language and linguistic provinces, which Congress leaders say, consti-tute one of the main elements of disputies. of disruption. If the Congress had remained true to the pled-ges it gave to the nation dur-ing the freedom struggle and formed linguistic States on its own, that would have been a big step towards national in-

Instead, the Congress op-posed the demand when agitations came up in State after State and even when it decided to reconstitute

PAGE TWO

All that the Press has re- milarly on the question of ported of the proposals made language, the policy of the by delegates at the conference Congress Governments is for national integration is that either to continue English or extended by immediate the conducted by immediate the conducted

> When the Congress talks of resisting "casteism" what it actually seeks to do is to deny opportunities to the victims of enturies-old caste oppre centuries-old caste oppression to come up to the level of the rest. In the name of fighting "regionalism" what the Con-gress wants to oppose is the demand of the economically

> These are surely not policies that can lead to national integration.

And what is the state of this organisation which talks so much of solving the problems

There would have been a of national integration?

a number of conflicts—the pursued by the organisation a number of conflicts—the and its Governments, which fival claims of more powers for the Central and State nation, have in fact, accentuated the problems, and as congress leaders are "new blood" against "old not prepared to honestly face up to this fact, they leaders to outsiders being imposed on their constituencies to select candidates, the claims of blood" against "old numity on another, people were killed, houses were raided and set on fire. About 21 deaths have been officially re-

addressing ported. And the incidents did not remain restricted to Jabalpur, it spread to outlying areas like Narsinghpur, Sauton from concentrating on ideas and policies. Groupism is a rather mild term to describe what is just need to a nave been officially reported. And the incidents did not remain restricted to Jabalpur, it spread to outlying areas like Narsinghpur, Sauton from concentrating on ideas and policies. Groupism is a rather mild term to describe what is just need to the control of th is a rather mild term to describe what is just now going on in the Congress. We print elsewhere in this issue reports of the succession wars in U.P.

These are in States where the Congress is in an over-whelming majority in the legislatures. In States where it finds itself reduced to a minority, it joins hands with the most reactionary eleminority, it joins hands whin the most reactionary ele-ments in the country—ex-princes in Orissa and the Muslim League in Kerala— to keep itself in power. And as in the case of Kerala, when the people instal a non-Congress Ministry in office it tramples underfoot office, it tramples underfoo all democratic practices and dismisses such a Govern-

Surely this organisation cannot bring about national integration as long as it folof the people, opposing their democratic demands, violating their democratic rights and joining hands with the disjoining hands with the dis-ruptonist forces in the coun-

it decided to reconstitute the States on a linguistic basis, Bombay was kept bilingual. It needed another agitation and bloodshed before the Marathi and Gujatarati. speaking people could win their linguistic States.

And even today the same right is being denied to the Punjabi-speaking people. Si
The nation had already become aware of this after the assam disturbances. It is being denied to recome aware of this after the assam disturbances. It is being denied to the cast away by the people from the nation had already become aware of this after the assam disturbances. It is being denied to the common danger from the north, the discussions are expected to throw up the necessity of cooperative action out the sordid details of this political patronage to unsocial elements. More than the authorities should be made to punish not only those found guilty of committing to met in Lullundur, only anaxious about winning the next come aware of this after the assam disturbances. It is being expected to throw up the necessity of cooperative action the sordid details of this political patronage to unsocial elements. More than that, the authorities should be made to punish not only those found guilty of committing to met the north, the discussions are expected to throw up the necessity of cooperative action that, the authorities should be made to punish not only those found guilty of committing to meet in Lullundur, only anaxious about winning the next come aware of this after the Assam disturbances. It is being expected to throw up the necessity of cooperative action the north, the discussions are expected to throw up the necessity of cooperative action that the north, the discussions are expected to throw up the necessity of cooperative action that the north, the discussions are expected to throw up the necessity of cooperative action that the north the discussions are expected to throw out the north, the discussions are expected to throw on the north, the discussions are expected to throw out the north, the discussions are

NOTES OF THE WEEK

Jabalour Warning

the conclave in Juliundur in and currew imposed and it an indication of the explowas thought that the situation sive situation that exists in had come to normal, there parts of the country, but Press reports do not reveal anywhere that the Congress leaders who dscussed problems of national integra-tion considered the Jabal-pur incidents at all. Two years ago, we had such explosions in Sitamarhi and Bhopal, last year in Ferozepur and now in Jabalpur.

What touched off the events in Jabalpur was undoubtedly a shocking crime. A young girl, while at home unprotection, and hear debonared by ted, had been dishonoured by two young men and the girl unable to bear the shame had committed suicide. If the girl and her molestors had both belonged to the same commu-nity, the perpetrators of the crime would have faced the

There would have been anger of national integration?

The Juliundur session was people but there would not itself being convened to solve a number of conflicts—the rival claims of more powers for the Central and State different communities.

of these ghastly incidents, Congress leaders at Juliundur would not have so lightly sug-gested solutions like ceremo-nies conducted by important functionaries of the State having "an atmosphere of composite culture about them"
—unless of course, they were deliberately misleading the people about the seriousness of the problem.

Or, as happened in Madhya Fradesh, the conscience of some of them is not so clear. The Statesman wrote editorially on February 11 an enquiry "should include in its constant of the state o in its scope the role played by political patrons of known ruffians and other bad cha-

these political tacticians they would perhaps be found weighing lives against votes. More probably, they bask, however, secretly, in the glory of having well served their party, group, faction or themselves. They may even pride them-selves on being nationalists, though nobody poses a greater threat to national unity".

the crimes but also those who give them protection.

Meanwhile, the Jabalpur events have raised another THE senseless events in Jabalpur in the last fortnight should have given Though the army was called was a recrudescence of the trouble in the town and it spread fast to outlying areas.

Participants in the disturbances are said to have used firearms, and the Times of India reported that "at one or two places, the police are reorted to have seen some per-ns in police uniforms among

It is quite clear tha complacency on the part of the local administration played a big role in the worsening of the situation. This is another aspect of the Jabalpur events that has to be enquired into

But, the immediate task is to bring back normale, and restore confidence. The Communist Party in Madhya Pradesh has already appeal. ed to people to condemn the unfortunate incidents in unfortunate incidents in Jabalpur which sparked off the riots and to make all efforts to create an atmosphere of goodwill and peace in the town. Similar appeals have been made by the Chief Minister and the Congress Party. A meeting political parties have al-ready been held to consider steps to extend to the Go. vernment all possible c vous propaganda and main-tain peace.

All of us fervently hope that there will not be any further incidents in Jabalpur. But the problem which spark such riots at Sitamarhi pal, Ferozepur and Jabalpur, remains and Indian democracy has to urgently address itself to the task of finding a last-ing solution to it.

Bhutan And India

THE Maharaja of Bhutan, now in our country to discuss, according to the Press, the questions of Bhutan's development plans and of Indo-Bhutan relations, has already had talks with the Prime Minister and is reported to be "If it were possible to look of the talks".

While no official communique is yet available on these talks, one cannot but note the way the Right-wing Press has dealt with the visit

The Maharaja's arrival was built up against the backp against the back-of the "growing Chiground of the "growing Chi-nese threat from the north".

The Statesman Corresponhreat to national unity". dent wrote: "Since both India The nation had already beard Bhutan are confront-

that Bhutan "agrees to be guided by the advice of the Government of India in regard to its external relations" while India undertakes "to exercise no interference in the internal

administration of Bhutan".

This is definitely not the spirit in which the Indian monopolist Press has been writing about Bhutan. Hindu's Rangaswami,

instance, wrote: "While the Government of India politi out to the Maharaja of Bhutan that all foreign therefore, be processed through Delhi..." etc.

A Statesman Correspondent

wrote: "Some of the also designed to encourage Bhutan to think of itself as a sovereign country."

There have been even estions made, as by a nnist of the Hindustan Times, that the Indian army should be marched Bhutan to solve all

We are certainly anxious to develop our country's rela-tions with Bhutan. But this is not the attitude that can help to strengthen the specia ties we wish to have with Bhutan, nor is it an attitude that can help democracy thrive there.

Anti-Worker Tactic

THE Congress-PSP Government of Kerala has decided to extend prohibition to two more taluks of Trichur District. If it had come as part of a policy to introduce prohibition in the whole State, we would discuss it at a different level.

But the Kerala Government has no such policy. It was only recently that Law Minister the Minister in charge of Probition, said that prohibition had failed and its only result had been that the Governhad been that the Govern-ment was losing in revenue. Why then has the Govern-

ment decided to extend pro hibition to these new areas?
The toddy-tappers of Kerala

who used to enjoy innumera-ble benefits through their Cooperative societies under the Communist-led Government communist-led Government, have been the first target of the Coalition Government's attack. All toddy shops were returned to the contractors and these contractors are now refusing to pay their legitimate dues to the tappers. And the tappers have the tappers have gone on strike.

It was when they announ. ced their decision for strike that the Government thou-ght of extending prohibition ght of extending prohibition to the two taluks which would mean a loss of revenue of Rs. 38 lakhs

But the Congress-PSP Government would prefer to lose this huge amount in revenue rather than force tractors to concede the de-mands of the tappers—which would not mean more than four annas per tapper. Is any comment necessary on the anti-working class policies of the Kerala Government?

-RAMDASS

FERTILISERS - GOVERNMENT SURRENDER TO MONOPOLISTS

cooperation of private enter-

prise to help produce further fertiliser supplies". It went so

fertiliser supplies". It went so far as to say that "five sites have already been identified as

With decks thus cleared the

Foreign

Proposals

HE importance of ferti-lisers for raising agri-cultural production cannot be gainsaid, least of all in and know-how, will be readily forthcoming if the plants are set up in the private sector. In fact, the Development In fact, the Development Loan Fund, which provided foreign exchange for the Trombay project in the public sector, even went to the extent of ascribing its credit mainly to the "cognisance (it took) of the Indian Government's announced intention to enlist the cooperation of private materials. case of a country like India, where for centuries good cultivable land had been denuded of its riches without an adequate recompense being given to it for its bounty. Hence, when the Ford Foundation, or other advisers dole out advice to us to raise fertiliser pro-duction, they only labour the obvious. suitable for private fertiliser plants and other sites are under consideration".

But when they seek to exploit it to side-track attention from a more basic precondi-tion to raise production like and reforms, or pave the way for further intrusion by their own private investors, it is necessary to call their bluff and put the things in a correct

The need to raise the production of fertilisers was noted by the Planners in the Second Plan. The Sindri Fertiliser Factory, which is at present facing certain difficulties, was the first to be set up for this purpose. A chain of other public sector fertiliser projects was also planned. Work on three of these—Nangal, Neyvell and Rourkela—was also initiated during the Plan period.

All these, however, could not suffice to meet the require-ments in the country, nor were they meant to, for, the legacy of centuries of backward in agriculture perpetuated by the colonial-lsts—could not be ended in one quenquennium.

American Approach

available to a factory at Kothagudem in Andhra Pradesh, while satu Jains and Jaians have made a bid for the factory to be set up at Hanumangarh in This course was, however, not adopted because the Ford Team and other American advisers suggested a "pragmatic" approach to "roblem. This course was a "pragmatic" ap The right course was to con-

experience has shown, is but istrialists into a domain reserved for the public sector.

Hence, fertilizers, too were wn open to the private r to produce and exploit, and since foreign exchange had to be raised to put up plants, foreign entrepreneurs, too, had to be provided a niche in the fertiliser programme.

This is how the American "advisers" had planned their scheme, to which our authorities fell an easy prey.
With this pragmatism at the

want it to be raised to ensure a "fair profit return". The Government has already agreed to take steps to "allay their misgivings" in this respect, which means that in future the State units will have to compete with private units, and the price of fertilisers will cease to have any social nurpose which it might back of their mind they allocated 200,000 tons of intrageneous fertilisers, and most of the increase in the output of phosphatic fertilisers to the private sector to produce in the Third Plan. The rest of the target of one million tons of the former was to be raised in the public sector. With this allocation began a race among private industrialists at hon to grab one Plan project or the other, and seek collaboration for it from abroad. The US advisers, had in a way let it be known that their funds.

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ign owners—making all the gain, with the consumers—

excepting the top fringe remaining as bereft of fertilisers as ever. At present the

entire production is pooled and

distributed at a price within the reach of the ordinary cul-

for our foreign "friends", they want it to be raised to ensure

But this price being too low

is a national task, if the nation's fertilisers are to first and foremost serve its peeasants' interests, rather than the interests of local

Criminals

Among the American com-Among the American com-panles offering collaboration for setting up fertiliser plants in private sector in India is Westinghouse Electric which Westinghouse Electric which has been subject of much publicity in the US press recently. Together with certain other "glants" in the world of electricity it was accused before a Federal Judge of "fixing prices of major electrical items among themselves and of collusive bidding on contracts".

and Chemical Corporation for the Hanumangarh factory in Rajasthan and the Sahu Jains with Westinghouse Electric Company.

Beauth of the Hanumangarh factory in Rajasthan and the Sahu Jains with Westinghouse Electric Company.

known to have submitted a proposal for establishing a fertiliser factory with US col-Besides these, Perrin and Co.

—an Indo-UK joint venture—
has submitted a proposal to set

and foreign manufacturers.

Common

that is what they are—in the eyes of their own country's free enterprise". What else can law, to our shores to indulge poor free enterprise do, however, if it has no other virtues to advertise?

The secret behind the American fertilizer circles' too much interest in our fertiliser industry is let out in a recent review of the activities of US industrialists in some other of the virtues of tree enterprise". What else can the carries were regis balf-year ended to a sequential the same of the American economy:

Detroit (Michigan) February 7: The crisis-ridden American Automobile Industry

lands. The credt to bring it to was to discharge son thirty million dollars a year in-

Italy producing movies".

"Italy was chosen" it says "because production costs are lower there than in the United States . . . Similarly, motor cars, typewriters, electronic machines are in various European in various European countries by American producers, and the US labour unions have started a campaign against buying these goods, branded as products of 'cheap European labour'."

To the US industrialist what matters is profit, and if he can

ECONOMY

INSIDE OUR NEWS &

matters is profit, and if he can reap the maximum in other countries he will not mind. with a host of proposals from local industrialists, backed up by guarantees of collaboration from American firms.

Among them are the Birlas with Keppers for the Visakith Repartment of 2,000 dollars.

Birlas with Philips Petroleum Company for the factory at Namrup near Naharkatya, Khandelwal Brothers with International Ore and Fertiliser Company for a factory in Washing and other American collaborators.

The imposed on it was 30,000 dollars while the manabers of set up industries abroad. In India, too, he sees a golden opportunity to mint enormous profits in fertilisers, on the basis of cheap labour and freedom to compete the way he does in his own land. Hence his indirected haste to rush in while the going is good, and even to blurt out the purpose which he has in the cal reven curtailing production at home to set up industries a golden opportunity to mint enormous profits in fertilisers, on the basis of cheap labour and freedom to compete the will not mino countries he will nome to set up industries a golden opportunity to mint and freedom to compete the way he does in his own land. Hence his indirected he will not mino countries he will nome to set up industries a golden opportunity to mint and the countries he will nome to set up industries a golden opportunity to mint and the countries he will nome to set up industries a golden opportunity to mint and the countries he will nome to set up industries a golden opportunity to mint and the countries he will nome to set up industries a golden opportunity to m

with International Ore and the first lizers will be offer a company for a factory in Madhya Pradesh, Surajmal Nagarmal of Calcutta with Vitro Engineering and Chemical Corporation for the Hanumagarh factory in Rajasthan and the state of the that they are not "the best advertisement of the virtues of

data. The creat to bring it was to disting some output our notice goes to the National workers next week; it was Herald which in a leading arti-learned yesterday. With stocks of unsold new American automobiles now over 1,00,000 units "General Motors"—the United States' largest producer—de-cided to close nine of its 23 plants next week; throwing some 46,500 employees out of

work (The Hindusthan Stan-

NOTES

dard, February 8). South Bend (Indiana) February 11: Arthur Gold berg, Secretary of Labour a metting here last night that the United States was already in a recession—and was head-ing for a depression. "If we don't take the proper action we'll be in a real depression in the United States" he said. The Labour Secretary is on a five-state inspection tour of unemployment problems—Reuter (Sunday Standard, February

Dr. P. S. Lokanathan and his Council of Applied Economic Research pleaded last week for the abolition of tax on bonus shares and for certain other concessions in corporate and personal taxation to remove shares and for certain other concessions in corporate and personal taxation to remove disincentives to business acti-vity. The following statistics published in the Hindu (February 10); however, tell a different story.

845 new companies with crores were registered in the balf-year ended September 1960 as against 1,452 companies with a share capital of Rs. 161 crores in the whole of 1959-60. The paid-up capital of joint stock companies is also to have increased

World Peace Council To Hold Session In Delhi

OR the first time in decided to organise a special conventions of trade unions, its history, the World Trade Unions' Peace Conventions of trade unions, youth and students, women, lawyers, writers etc.—which in India, New Delhi from Conference. The General will be held during the period of the World Council Session, grand opportunity for the Indian Peace Movement and for all mass organisations supporting the Peace Movement in the country—and from reports of the punjab Branch has already met and decided to send 35 participants from all over the State.

The Kisan Sabha are not far behind. Preparations which are going ahead for the All participants. ment in the country—and are going ahead for the All from reports of the prepara- India Kisan Sabha Conference tions being made all over opening in Kerala on March 29 the country, it is clear that are being linked with the pre-the fullest use is being made parations for the World Peace of this opportunity.

of this opportunity.

The Coimbatore Session of the All India Trade Union Congress gave a big public welcome to the news that the Session would be held in India, and called on all trade unions to send large numbers of their Council Session. The Kerala

to enable the large number of foreign delegates to participate in them.

A Cultural Committee is planning to organise a num of cultural events to show the best in Indian n and painting to the over 300 guests from 70 countries expected for the World Council

The Tagore Centenary Peace Festival Committee has orga-nised a magnificent celebration meeting in honour of the great Poet at which th exponents of Rabindra San-geet will sing, while some of the world's most celebrated

social purpose, which it might be having hitherto.

Fertilizers all-right, but at a high price with the private interests — both indigeneous and foreign minting profits— such is the prospect which the government's surrender of a rational and nationally accepted fertilizer policy offers for the country.

To stop this surrender, and to make the Government retrace the steps it has ment retrace the steps it has already taken in this behalf,

PARLI DEFEAT

to the constituency and vote

our candidate won with a mar-

ber and percentage of votes

number of valid votes polled

in that election (35,623). In the mid-term election of 1960, with the electorate reduced to

63,956, the vote increased to 33,543 in number to 67.2 per

cent of the valid votes polled (49,973). In the present by-election with the total elec-torate still further reduced to 63,943, the Communist candi-

date secured 25,927 which was

65.4 per cent of the valid votes

valid votes polled.

in that election (35.623)

gin of 17,000

On the 22nd of this month, the Congress-PSP Ministry of Kerala, supported by the Muslim League, will enter the second year of its life.

Two days later, on the 24th, Governor Giri will deliver his address to the Legislators to whom he would presumably explain the achievements of the Ministry for the last one year and outline its profor the next year.

THESE will be occasions majority of 12,000. In the midfor the spokesmen of the term election last year, when three parties to indulge in a the keenness of the contest dot of propaganda lauding made voters employed in other their Ministry, and, of course denouncing the "anti-nation. of the Communist Op-

not decisively alter the balance of position in the Legislature as the Congress-PSP-League victory in Devicolam would have if the Communist candidate were defeated.

ber and percentage of votes secured by the Communist candidate and his opponents in 1957, 1960 and 1961 are compared.

In 1957, when the electorate was 67,555, the Communist candidate secured 21,627 votes. This was 60.7 per cent of the number of valid votes polled Yet, in the words of the lathrubhoomi, the Congress ally of Calicut, "It (by elecn) is of great significance ent peculiar conditions of the State. It is gene test of the three parties' alliefore the voters is whether to choose Communism or de

Official Interference

polled (39,737).
On the other hand, the Unlike the Communist Min-isters at the time of the Devi-Congress candidate in 1957 secured 13,996 votes which recolam by-election (when, it will be recalled, they did not visit the constituer the election campaign in ac-cordance with the decision of the Communist Party that the election campaign should be conducted purely at the organisational level by party work-ers and not by Ministers), the majority of Congress and PSP Ministers actively participated in the Parli campaign

Some official function other 'happened' to take place the constituency during the fortnight of the election, so that the Chief Minis ter, Dy. Chief Minister and six other Ministers (totalling other Ministers (totalling eight out of the eleven Ministers) were in the constituency during the election campaig

They held consultations with their "friends" and "contacts" at receptions, dinners, and other "social the PSP or the Muslim Lea- the Congress Ministers. functions" which were used by them to hear representa-tions from, and make offers to, various influential people who come ne or use their candidate in the elec who could be of use to tion. They, of course, found time to address public meet-ings and otherwise particlago, pate in the election cam-

PAGE FORE

None of these activities, prove the argument advan-ced by the anti-Communists was elected with a

Communist Party which is gress, being increasingly isolated among the people.

It is on the other hand the Congressmen

Congress-PSP-League alliance that is increasingly falling in popular esteem. It will be an impossible task for their leaders to explain the fact that made voters employed in other constituencies and even in other States take leave, come he combined vote of the three parties today is less than what the Congress was in 1957— that, too, in an election in which eight Ministers actively campaigned.

They would, however, find it impossible to explain away the defeat that their candidate suffered at the hands of the Communist candidate in the recently-held by-election to the Legislature at Parli—a by-election caused by the death of the universally-respected Health Minister in the Communist Minister.

The fact that in spite of the absence of such a keen context, the Communist candidate won by a 12,000 margin irrefutably proves the falsity of the claim made by the Ministery.

It is true that this was an ordinary by-election. It had no crucial political significance as the Devicolam by-election. The significance as the Devicolam by-election only when the absolute number and percentage of votes of notion.

(eight out of eleven), it is the PSP that is dominating the show because of the fact that their leader is the Chief Minister. This is being taken the utmost advantage of by the present Ministry has brought about a major shift in public opinion against the Communist Party which is cross heir leader is the Chief Min-

In one area, Panur in Can-nanore District, the local PSP MLA is using his position to browbeat everybody in the locality including Congress-men. The goondaism of his followers has become so un-bearable that the Secretary

3 Although the Congress is the major partner in is a race for its chairmanship the Ministry in that it has a as between Chief Minister larger number of Ministers Pattom Thanu Pillai and the Within the PSP, too, there. Pattom Thanu Pillai and the Deputy Leader of the PSP Deputy Leader of the PSP Legislature Party, Sri P. K. Kunhu, Both of them made public statements to the effect that they proposed to at the forthcoming State
Convention of the PSP

It may be mentioned that the last convention had taken a decision that Chief Minister-ship and party chairmanship should not be combined in the same person

ame person.

It is against these publicly-known facts that Governor Giri has taken upon
himself the impossible task himself the impossible task of convincing the people that his Council of Ministers is a happy team, united within itself and discharging its official duties in an honest and efficient manner. He had the amazing courage to tell the people of Kerala and outside the convenience. courage to tell the people or Kerala and outside that the whole trouble was that Pressmen were manufactur-ing differences where none existed. That nobody in Kewhole trouble Pressmen were rala takes this pro ment of the Governor Seriously can be seen from a few extracts from the Malayalam Press.

"Signs of disunity between the ruling parties of Kerala have, for some time, been visible. Not only is there con-

Portent For Kerala

inside the alliance, but it has assumed such serious proportions that the whole Ministry would have been accounted. istry would have broken up had it not been for the fear of Communist victory in the elections that will follow.

presented 19,390 votes which represented 39.1 per cent of the valid votes polled. In the midserm election, the joint can part of both the Kerala Condidate of the Congress, PSP gress and the Kerala PSP. gress and the Kerala Three issues had created

didate of the Congress, PSP and the Merala PSP. and the Muslim League secured 16,430 votes, which as can be seen, represented a increase of 2,434 in number but represented a fall of 8.2 per cent (from 39.1 to 32.9). In the present by-election, they secured 13,760 which represented 34.6 per cent of the valid votes polled.

Three issues had created wide divergence between them:

1 The amendments that were made in the Cabinovant for the Chief Minister but not in consultation with the Council of Ministers. All important files valid votes polled. dealt with by all the Minis-Two significant conclusions emerge from the above figures:

The Communist candidate increased his votes by the Chief Minister before final orders are passed. Both the content of this decision, as well as the The Communist candidate The Communist candidate increased his votes by of this decision, as well as the 4,350 between 1957 and 1961 procedure through which it when the number of votes in was taken was resented by the constituency fell by 3,612. Congress Ministers and other Congress alone (with out any electoral alliance with Chief Minister to dictate to the PSP or the Muslim Lea-

gues) secured 13,996 votes in 1957 the combined vote of the P. S. P.-Congress

three parties together in 1961
was only 13,760; the combined
votes of the three parties today is in other words less by
236 than what the Congress
alone could mobilise four years
Congress Congress Minister, Sri Ummar This would effectively discrete the argument advantage of the argument advantage of the ground of Sri Ummar of Home Minister Chacko on the ground of Sri Ummar Koya's "ill-health". Congress-

NEW ACE

unofficially denied by the Governor in more than one public pronouncement he has recently made.

If that is done, the Governor himself and the Ministry that advises him dwould only be making a laughing stock of themselves, since facts cry aloud that not only is there a crisis inside the alliance, but it has assumed such serious pro-

tion was quick and sharp.
"If Congressmen are intent upon creating a split," he said, "I, too, am prepared for it." On the question to Cabinet Rules, he flatly de-

The organ of the Anti-Communist Front, Thozhilali, Communist Front, Thozhilali, writes as follows:
"Discordant notes are heard

cabinet Rules, ne flatly denied that there was any dispute over it. As for the Education portfolio, he said he was quite competent to deal with the portfolio and he was quite competent to deal with the portfolio and was hot going to hand it back to the Congress. Finally he made it plain, "I am is men and Praja Socialist against one another. Communists are jubilant. The atmosphere here is surcharged with pain and concern as to where Kerala is moving... We know

* by E.M.S. NAMBOODIRIPAD

with the Cabinet and the ruling party."

These pronouncements of the Congress and PSP leaders are, however, only a small part of the crisis that has developed in the relations between the two parties. A large number of other pronouncements by other leaders of the Conby other leaders of the Sweet-filled jar is too narrow but there are too many hands poking into it. The result will be that the Dinaprabha of Calicut, Sudarshanam of Calicut, Sudarshanam of Cannanore, Kerala, Bhushanam of Kottayam; etc.—as a matter of ber of other pronouncements by other leaders of the Con-gress and PSP would show that not only are relations be-Tussle

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prove the argument advanced by the anti-Communists Koya's "ill-health". Congress-the 28-month rule of the Communist Party followant portfolio should be given back to the Congress.

In ground of Sti Ummar of Home Minister Chacko on the one hand and the influential KPCC leadership and Industries Minister, Damodaran Menon, on the other.

not concerned with the Kerala Fradesh Congress Committee, I am concerned only with the Cabinet and the ruling party."

These pronouncements of the Congress and PSP leaders

that the present squabbles between the Congress and the PSP Ministers have arisen out of selfishness and greed. The mouth of the sweet filled jar is too many hands paking into

fact, every paper which supports the Congress-PSP-Muslim League alliance has taken editorial note of the internal crisis within the alliance as well as within each of its competent par-ties. Papers like the Mala-yala Manorama and Mathrubhoomi, which have the largest circulation among the Malayalam papers, have also come out with sugges-

* SEE PAGE 43

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JAN SANGH POLICIES

HE Jan Sangh's fifth annual session held at Lucknow in December presented the spectacle of reaction's hopes running wild and its ambitions vault-ing to new fantastic heights. Being a pre-election conference, it was marked by a rather pathetic attempt to create spectacular effect, and, of course, little serious business was transacted. All the same, we learn a lot about the Party's real nature, the strength it possesses and its hopes and tactics from the reports read at the session, the resolutions passed and the statements and interviews given by its leaders.

Deen Dayal Upadhyaya the tested 56 seats in various Deen Dayal Upadhyaya the General Secretary of the Jan Sangh stated at the end of the Conference that they proposed to contest about 1,000 seats for the State Assemblies and about 200 for Lok Sabha. He also stated that his Party's work was satisfactory in "U.P. and Maharashtra and to a lesser extent in Delhi". The Report sumbitted by him claimed the following data about the Jan Sangh's strength: total membership has registersed a small rise since the last annual conference held at Nagpur in January last—it has tested 56 seats in various municipalities and won 23. The Mayor of Gwailor belongs to Extremely commendable has been the Jan Sangh's progress among Vanavasis", says desh. "Evidence of the faith Vanavasis have come to have in Jan Sangh, was given when uttarsi, Vanavasis turned out in large numbers". And the Jan Sangh ambition in M.P. is etc. "Jan Sangh looks forward with confidence towards emerging Nagpur in January last—it has confidence towards emerging gone up from 214,907 to 215,370. from the 1962 elections as the gone up from 214,907 to 215,370. Irom the 1962 elections as the But local committees have main opposition party not only de facto as at present, but de The Jan Sangh has set up irre too.

"constituency committees" but In Maharashtra Jan Sangh

Organisational Picture

A workers' study camp, on an all India level was held in Poona last year. This year camps were held at divisional and other levels. Thirteen such camps were held in UP; one in Bihar, two in Gujerat and one in Rajasthan. In preparation for the General Elections conferences are to be held in each Lok Sabha or Vidhan Sabha constituency.

Sabha constituency.

In local bodies Jan Sangh
won the following number of
seats in elections held during the year-U.P. 10, Karnatak 32 Maharashtra 6. Bihar 7. Pun jab 1, Gujerat 10, Madhya Pradesh 27. The present posi-tion in the Legislature is as follows: Raiya Sabha 1. Lok Sabha 4. Vidhan Parishad 12 Vidhan Sabba 52

Reports from different States made the following noteworthy claims:

In U.P. while the Party had polled 11 lakh votes with 209 candidates in the 1952 elections, its votes in the 1957 elections are 35 lakhs for 250 candidates. Three of the U.P. MIAs claimed by the Jan Sangh quit the Party. But the sangh quit the Party. But the Jan Sangh with only 19 MLAs in the U.P. Assembly secured 39 votes for its candidate for the Rajya Sabha. The candi-

The Jan Sangh received direct encouragement from the former Chief Minister Sampurnanand, who sent congratulatory message to its Deputy leader in the U.P. Assembly for moving a resolution on the Sino-Indian border issue. The fact that the Mayor of Lucknow is from the Jan Sangh, attracted this year's session to that city.
"Organisationally it is the

only Party besides Congress which can boast of an active which can boast of an active provincewide network of branches. The MP, branch has a primary membership of 23,000, ders in buckets set up an arch over 509- local committees. Of buckets, a clock dealer put While last year there were 25 an arch of clocks and watches; Mandal Committees, this year there are 49. The Sangh control of the con

these have registered an has 45,000 primary members. increase from 455 to 584 only. There are 84 Mandal Committees. Nearly 5,000 villages were contacted in the course of a campaign against Govern-ment's scheme of cooperative In Delhi Jan Sangh is the

second largest Party in the Municipal Corporation. Membership is claimed to have gone up from 14,000 last year to 15,000 this year. Some 170 local committees are functioning. The Jan Sangh also has a students front—the Vidyarthi Pari-

Sangh.

The Jan Sangh draws its chief social support in the urban areas from the class of traders and dealers who thrive

Commercial Support

"We are a nation just awakening from a profound slumber. We are only just beginning to flex our muscles

period of quiet consolidation, a term of national and nationalist reconstruction before it can be safely allowed to engage in encounterthe rival challenges of foreign ways of life. The present may not give us a proper chance to develop along our own lines and be our own selves at our best". (Organiser, January

carpet and crockery dealers.

In the rural areas the Jan
Sangh finds support among
strength against the Sangh finds support among the feudalist elements. The leader of Jan Sangh Assembly

Party is the Raia Jaunpur. In Rajasthan, the Jagirdar ele-ments, patronise either the Jan Sangh or the Ram Rajya

guru Daljit Singh, leader of the Namdhari Sikhs, Mahashaya Krishna of the Arya Samaj, and Prabhu Dat Brahmchari. Bhai Lalbhai Patel who had figured as a prominent Swatantra Party leader at that Party's Patna Convention, had also sent greetings to the Jan Sangh

Hindu Fascism

familiar ingredients of the fascists Its avowed aim is to put back the clock of social progress. "Demagogy" aga-inst socialism is its slogan. In the name of upholding "Rindu culture" and conditions it propounds the fami-liar racialist theory that once marched under the banner of Swastika. Hindus alone are the sons of the motherland, it pleads and says that Hindu communalism is not nationalism. It describes non-Hindu citi-

zens of Bharat as aliens and traitors. Guruji Golwalkar, the father and philosopher of the Jan Sangh, declared at Nagpur shad which enjoys some influence in U.P. Becently it has organised a literary organisation — the Akhil Bharatiya Sahityakar Jan Sangh, declared at Nagpur on January 15: "In our oblivious of past history, and of our own national entity we have put the aggressors (Muslims and Christians) on par with own national burns, (Muslims and Christians) on par with motherland and Christians) on par with the sons of the motherland (the Hindu)". And as the fas-cists in Europe indulged in Jew-baiting, their counter-parts in India distinguish raders and dealers who thrive mainly on anti-social practices and are philistinies in outlook. The outlook found a typical expression in the following editorial comment of the party's English weekly mouththe limbo of oblivion, the system which was based on social inequality and racial dominance. Thus Guruji de-clared in a recent address to the students of Dr. Shenoy's School of Social Sciences in Gujerat: "Is there such a concrete form for our idea (the idea of having "a different way of life that can achieve lasting peace and happiness for man."—G)? There is— the Varna system forgotten through ignorance."

In the same speech he commended another familiar theory of the Nazi racialists—that of rearing a better race of humans by cross-breeding with the rule was laid down that the eldest son of a Namboodiri family could marry only the daughter of the Vaishva. Kshatrya or Shudra con munities of Kerala. Another still more courageous rule was that the first off-spring of a married woman of any fessing that "it is an uphill der in Lok Sabha Atal Behari class must be fathered by a task".

Namboodiri Brahmana and That the Jan Sangh did not SEE OVERLEAP

■ by GARUDA

ren by her husband".

Like all fascist parties the Jan Sangh preaches militarism, and territorial expansion. Thus, the Party counterposes the building up of military strength against the economic strength and popular well-being Rama Rao, declared in his presidential address at Lucknow: "with the growing defence needs; resources available for other developmental Parishad. Pro-feudal and communal purposes must cease"

elements figured prominently among those who sent wishes of success to the Lucknow session. These included Sadmust one day form Indian must one day form Indian The Jan Sangh also unholds must one day form Indian territory. Guruji Golwalkar said as much at a Delhi meet-ing last year. The party has also its band of shock troopers. In fact, as is quite well-know the Jan Sangh is only the poli-tical organisational front of the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS) which was responsible for the communal fanaticism that led to the fascist act of Mahatma Gandhi's murder.

The party's leading cadres a · all recruited from the RSS. The Jan Sangh has all the the Jan Sangh—General Secretary Deen Dayalji, erstwhile President Pitambar Das and Lok Sabha leader Atal Behari vajpayee, to mention but a few names are all seasoned RSS cadres. The RSS choose the Party's organisers for the different regions. South Zone Secretary Jagannath Rao Joshi, West Zone Secretary Sundar Singh Bhandari, East Zone Secretary Nana Deshmukh or Balraj Madhok the North Zone Second belong to the RSS. Secretary all

The Party's political line closely follows the RSS ideology. I have already cited Guruji Golwalkar's views above. Madhok also in his book A Study of Indian patriots.

Cooperation. It is not fortuit-ous that the Lucknow conference did not adopt any resolution on the most burning issue of peace and disarmament—an issue which deeply agitates all Indian patriots. not developed a common race spirits, continue to be foreign elements within the body of the nation irrespec-tive of the length of time for which they ... might have been living in that country

Demagogic Slogans

The Jan Sangh's resolution on political situation stated:
"Jan Sangh is the only organised political force in the country which has been trying to stem this tide of disrup-tion by stressing and reenshrining Indian nations based on the love of the land and its age-old culture" What precisely is meant by this "re-enshrining" can be understood from the comments of Guruil.

For instance, it would mean better race of humans by For instance, it would mean cross-breeding with the fighting the Indian people's superior race. He said: "In cherished goal of socialism in an effort to better the order to take the country back superior race. He said: "In an effort to better the human species through cross-breeding the Namboodiri Brahmans of the North were settled in Kerala and a based on a casteist dominance over the people. This means the line of the li over the people. This means such an open challenge to history that only a fascist party wedded to violence could give camp of imperialists and neocolonialists. In matters of foreign policy, it only carries the behest of this camp. As resolution indicates it by confessing that "it is an uphili dask".

then she could beget child-ren by her husband". enunciate any programme of national reconstruction is, of course, not surprising at all. The Lucknow session did not conceal the Party's hostility to planned economic progress. It decided the Third Plan is planned econor "ambitious", denounced any extension of the public sector and cooperative farming, de-claring: "Extension, of public sector and programmes of coed to satisfy the ideological craving for Socialism"

It championed private capital and declared: The Jan Sangh feels that the private sector can play a greater part in the imple-mentation of the Plan. It would be desirable if the priate sector mainly plans for its consolidation rather than expansion during the few years". It, of course, mouthed the slogan of "land ceilings" but as we know "land ceilings" is neither fish, fowl nor good red her-ring in the hands of the re-actionaries. Giving an ener-getic fight to cooperative farming has been and wa again affirmed as one of the chief planks of the Party's

Foreign Policy

What can be the foreign policy of such a reactionary party? It is a policy which does not coincide with Indian ideas and interests at any point. The Jan Sanghites scoff at the idea of international coopera We are no internationalists they aver, and attack India's foreign policy of peaceful co-existence, and international cooperation. It is not fortuit

Nationalism, declared: "In Indian patriots.

India the Aryan race the presidential address had made a passing but specific race of the country, or have not developed a common mannent with inspection and recognities continue to be control must be demanded by a nations. The alternative to a nations. The alternative to coexistence will be coextinc-tion". In fact, on more than one occasion the Jan San-ghites have come in support of the armaments race disarmament

> Having always been out of tune with the Indian free-dom movement and having played no role in the anti-imperialist struggle, the Jan Sangh leaders have consist-ently decried India's stand against imperialism and colonialism in the world. They do so on the shameless plea that it adversely affects Indian national interest by displeasing the colonialist

Thus, in Congo, the Jan Sangh acted as apologists for Belgium, blamed India for having offended the "real man" Mobutu, and ran down India's call for convening the Congolese Parliament.

But their pleading for less

meddling in international affairs is a pose. Actually, the Jan Sangh, like anti-patriotic and pro-fascist parties all over the world today owes allegiance to the American-led

FEBRUARY 19, 1961

PAGE FIVE

3 Although the Congress is the major partner in the Ministry in that it has a larger number of Ministers (eight out of eleven), it is the PSP that is dominating the show because of the fact that 3 Although the Congress is a race for its chairmanship as between Chief Ministers (eight out of eleven), it is the PSP that is dominating the show because of the fact that 3 Although the Congress is a race for its chairmanship as between Chief Ministers (eight out of eleven), it is the PSP that is dominating the show because of the fact that 4 Congress is the major partner in is a race for its chairmanship as between Chief Ministers (eight out of eleven), it is the PSP that is dominating the Legislature Party, Sri P. K.

our candidate won with a mar-

in that election (35.623)

date secured 25 927 which

gin of 17,000.

On the 22nd of this month, the Congress-PSP Ministry of Kerala, supported by the Muslim League, will enter the second year of its life.

Two days later, on the 24th, Governor Giri will deliver his address to the Legislators to whom he would presumably explain the achievements of the Ministry for the last one year and outline its programme for the next year.

THESE will be occasions for the spokesmen of the three parties to indulge in a lot of propaganda lauding their Ministry, and, of course, constituencies and even in denouncing the "anti-national anti-democratic, etc." character of the Communist Op-They would, however, find

away the defeat that their candidate suffered at the didate in the recently-held by-election to the Legislature at Parli-a by election caused by the death of the late Dr. A. R. Menon, the universally-respected Health Minister in the Communist Ministry

It is true that this was an ordinary by-election. It had no crucial political significance as the Devicolam by-election had in 1958. The victory or denot decisively alter the balance of position in the Legislature. as the Congress-PSP-Leagu ry in Devicolam would if the Communist candidate were defeated.

ompared.

In 1957, 1960 and 1961 are compared.

In 1957, when the electorate was 67,555, the Communist candidate secured 21,627 votes. This was 60.7 per cent of the number of valid votes polled in that election (Press). Yet, in the words of the Mathrubhoomi, the Congress daily of Calicut, "It (by-elecis of great significance in the present peculiar conditions of the State. It is gene rally considered to be an acid test of the three parties' allibefore the voters is whether to choose Communism or democracy.

Official Interference

Unlike the Communist Min-isters at the time of the Devicolam by-election (when, it will be recalled, they did not the election campaign in ac-cordance with the decision of the Communist Party that the election campaign conducted purely at the organisational level by party workers and not by Ministers), the majority of Congress and PSP Ministers actively participated in the Parli campaign

in the Parli campaign.

Some official function or other 'happened' to take place within the constituency during the fortnight of the election, so that the Chief Mi ter, Dy. Chief Minister and six other Ministers (totalling eight out of the eleven Ministers) were in the constituency

during the election campaign.

They held consultations with their "friends" and "contacts" at receptions, dinners, and other functions" which were used by them to hear representaons from, and make offers to, various influential peo who could be of use to ir candidate in the electheir candidate in the tion. They, of course, found time to address public meetings and otherwise participate in the election

PAGE FOUR

This would effectively dispaign. None of these activities, er, helped them to win he seat. The Communist candidate was elected with

term elections together with the good work done by the present Ministry has broupresent infinistry has brought about a major shift in public opinion against the Communist Party which is being increasingly isolated PSP leaders in various localities to strengthen their party at the expense of the Congress.

among the people.

It is on the other hand the Congress-PSP-League alliance that is increasingly falling in popular esteem. It will be an impossible task for their leaders to explain the fact that the combined vote of the three parties today is less than what constituencies and even in other States take leave, come the Congress was in 1957—that, too, in an election in which eight Ministers actively to the constituency and vote,

Huge

Margin

The fact that in spite of the absence of such a keen contest, the Communist candidate won by a 12,000 margin irrefutably proves the falsity of the claim made by the Congress, PSP and Muslim League supporters that last year's Communist victory at Parli was due to the person-likely discussed at a meeting, the President of the present political situation in Kerala which the Congress, PSP and Muslim League leaders starfed carrying on an open campaign against the PSP misdeeds in Panur. Similar 'misunderstandings' between the Congress and the rather serious crisis which has developed in the relations between the Congress and the PSP components of the present political situation in Kerala which the Congress, PSP misdeeds in Panur. Similar 'misunderstandings' between the Congress and the PSP workers on a local scale have been developing in other localities, too, for the last several months.

The existence of this crisis mittee and other 'Congress team' the presuded in PSP misdeeds in Panur. Similar 'misunderstandings' between the Congress and the PSP workers on a local scale have been developing in other localities, too, for the last several months.

All these problems were thoroughly discussed at a meeting of the KPCC held on January 29. At the end of that meeting, the President of the of the claim made by the I Congress, PSP and Muslim S League Supporters that last I year's Communist victory at Parli was due to the personality of Dr. Menon.

The significance of this Communist victory can be seen only when the absolute number and percentage of votes secured by the Communist

#itself may probably be officially denied in the Governor's address, as it has been Congress Ministers would take

their leader is the Chief Minister. This is being taken the utmost advantage of by the PSP leaders in various localities to strengthen their party

In one area, Panur in Cannanore District, the local PSP MLA is using his position to browbeat everybody in the locality including Congress men. The goondaism of his followers has become so un-bearable that the Secretary

made public statements to the effect that they proposed to contest for the chairmanship at the forther Convention

It may be mentioned that the last convention had taken a decision that Chief Ministership and party chairmanship should not be combined in the

should not be combined in the same person.

It is against these public-ly-known facts that Governor Giri has taken upon himself the impossible task of convincing the people that his Council of Ministers is a banny team, united is a happy team, united within itself and discharg-ing its official duties in an ing its official duties in an honest and efficient manner. He had the amazing courage to tell the people of Kerala and outside that the whole trouble was that Pressmen were manufacturing differences where none existed. That nobody in Kerala takes this pronouncement of the Governor seriment of the Governor seriously can be seen from a few extracts from the Mala-

"Signs of disunity between the ruling parties of Kerala have, for some time, been visible. Not only is

JAN SANGH POLICIES

THE Jan Sangh's fifth annual session held at Lucknow in December presented the spectacle of reaction's hopes running wild and its ambitions vaulting to new fantastic heights. Being a pre-election conference, it was marked by a rather pathetic attempt to create spectacular effect, and, of course, little serious business was transacted. All the same, we learn a lot about the Party's real nature, the strength it possesses and its hopes and tactics from the reports read at the session, the resolutions passed and the statements and interviews given by its leaders.

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Organisational Picture

A workers' study camp, on an all India level was held in Poona last year. This year camps were held at divisional and other levels. Thirteen such camps were held in U.P.; one in Bihar, two in Gujerat and one in Rajasthan. In preparation for the General Elections conferences are to be held in each Lok Sabha or Vidhan Sabha constituency.
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won the following number of seats in elections held during the year—U.P. 10. Karnatak 32 Maharashtra 6, Bihar 7, Pun-jab 1, Gujerat 10, Madhya Pradesh 27, The present position in the Legislature is as follows: Rajya Sabha 1. Lok Sabha 4, Vidhan Parishad 12, Vidhan Sabha 52.

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In U.P. while the Party had polled 11 lakh votes with 209 candidates in the 1952 elections, its votes in the 1957 elections are 35 lakhs for 250 candidates. Three of the U.P. MLAs claimed by the Jan Sangh quit the Party. But the Jan' Sangh-with only 19 MLAs in the U.P. Assembly secured 39 votes for its candidate for the Rajya Sabha. The candidate won.

The Jan Sangh received direct encouragement from the former Chief Minister Sampurnanand, who sent a congratulatory message to its Deputy leader in the U.P. Assembly for mov-ing a resolution on the Sino-Indian border issue. The fact that the Mayor of Lucknow is from the Jan Sangh, attracted this year's session to that city.

"Organisationally it is the Party besides which can boast of an active provincewide network of branches". The M.P. branch has a

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The Jan Sangh draws its urban areas from the class of traders and dealers who thrive mainly on anti-social practices and are philistinies in outlook. The outlook found of the very since the very and are philistinies in outlook.

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Commercial

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They pine for the Varna Ashram system of society which history has relegated to the limbo of oblivion, the system which was based on social inequality and racial dominance. Thus Guruji declared in a recent address to

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School of Social Science

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Pro-feudal and communal The Jan Sangh dis

The Jan Sangh also unholds the theory that Nepal, Afghan-istan (and of course Pakistan) are parts of greater India and must one day form Indian territory. Guruji Golwalkar said as much at a Delhi meet-ing last year. The party has also its band of shock troopers. In fact, as is quite well-known the Jan Sangh is only the poli tical organisational front of the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS) which was res ponsible for the communal fanaticism that led to the fas-cist act of Mahatma Gandhi's

The party's leading cadres a · all recruited from the RSS. Thus, all the leading lights in the Jan Sangh—General Secretary Deen Dayalji, erstwhile President Pitambar Das and Lok Sabha leader Atal Behari Vajpayee, to mention but a few names are all seasoned RSS cadres. The RSS choose the Party's organisers for the

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Demagogic Slogans

The Jan Sangh's resolution on political situation stated: "Jan Sangh is the only organised political force in the country which has been trying to stem this tide of disruption by stressing and reenshrining Indian nationalism to Varna system forgotten based on the love of the land its age-old culture" What fami- precisely is meant by this "reenshrining" can be understood from the comments of Guruil.

For instance, it would mean fighting the Indian people's cherished goal of socialism in human species through cross-breeding the Namboodiri Brahmans of the North were settled in Kerala and a rule was laid down that the eldest son of a Namboodiri over the people. This order to take the country back over the people. This means such an open challenge to his-tory that only a fascist party enormity of the task, and its resolution indicates it by confessing that "it is an uphil der in Lok Sabha Atal Behari task". still more courageous rule was that the first off-spring of a married woman of any class must be fathered by a Namboodirl Brahmans and That the Jan Sangh did not the series of this camp. As the behest of this camp. As it is known the Jas Sangh leader in Lok Sabha Atal Behari der in Lok Sabha Atal Behari the Jan Sangh did not the series of this camp. As the series of this camp. As it is known the Jas Sangh leader in Lok Sabha Atal Behari der in Lok Sabha Atal Behari the series of this camp. As the seri

then she could beget child-ren by her husband". national reconstruction is, of Like all fascist parties the Jan Sangh preaches militar-The Lucknow session did not planned economic progress. It decided the Third Plan is "ambitious", denounced any extension of the public sector

■ by GARUDA

capital and declared: "The Jan Sangh feels that the private sector can play a greater part in the imple mentation of the Plan. It would be desirable if the pri-vate sector mainly plans for its consolidation rather than expansion during the next few years". It, of course, mouthed the slogan of "land ceilings" but as we know "land ceilings" is neither fish, fowl nor good red her-ring in the hands of the reactionaries. Giving an ener-getic fight to cooperative farming has been and was again affirmed as one of the chief planks of the Party's

Foreign Policy

What can be the foreign policy of such a reactionary party? It is a policy which does not coincide with Indian ideas and interests at any point. The Party's organische different regions. South Zone Secretary Jagannath Rao Jan Sanghites score Secretary of international cooperation. Sundar Singh Bhandari, East We are no internationalists they aver, and attack India's foreign policy of peaceful coexistence, and international cooperation. It is not fortuit-

mament with inspection and foreign elements within the a nations. The alternative to body of the nation irrespective of the length of time tion". In fact, on more than one occasion the Jan San-ghites have come in support of

Having always been out of tune with the Indian free-dom movement and having played no role in the anti-imperialist struggle, the Jan Sangh leaders have consistently decried India's stand against imperialism and colonialism in the world. They do so on the shameles plea that it adversely affects Indian national interest by displeasing the colonialist powers.

Thus, in Congo, the Jan Sangh acted as apologists for Belgium, blamed India for having offended the "real man" Mobutu, and ran down India's call for convening the Congolese Parliament.

But their pleading for less

meddling in international affairs is a pose. Actually, the Jan Sangh, like anti-patriotic and pro-fascist parties all over the world today owes allegi ance to the tory that only a fascist party wedded to violence could give it. The Jan Sangh realises the colonialists, In matters of foreign policy, it only carries

secured by the Communist candidate and his opponents in 1957, 1960 and 1961 are Portent For Kerala

in that election (35,623). In the mid-term election of 1960, with the electorate reduced to 63,956, the vote increased to 33,543 in number to 67.2 per cent of the valid votes polled (49,973). In the present by-election with the total elec-torate still further reduced to 63,943, the Communist candi-date secured 25 227 which inside the alliance, but it has assumed such serious pro-portions that the whole Min-istry would have broken up 65.4 per cent of the valid votes polled (39,737).
On the other hand, the had it not been for the fe Congress candidate in 1957 secured 13,996 votes which reof Com elections that will follow.

secured 13,996 votes which represented 39.1 per cent of the valid votes polled. In the midterm election, the joint candidate of the Congress, PSP and the Muslim League secured 16,430 votes, which as can divergence between them:

1 The amendments that

red 16,430 votes, which as can be seen, represented a increase of 2,434 in number but represented a fall of 8.2 per cent (from 39.1 to 32.9). In the present by-election, they secured 13,760 which represented 34.6 per cent of the valid votes polled.

I we mendments that were made in the Cabinet Rules of Procedure by the Governor on the advice of the Minister but not in consultation with the Council of Ministers. All important files dealt with by all the Ministers checkled as a consultation with the Council of Ministers. dealt with by all the Two significant conclusions emerge from the above figures:

ters should, as per the amended the strength of the communist conditate.

The Communist conditates the strength of The Communist candidate are passed. Both the content increased his votes by of this decision, as well as the 4,350 between 1957 and 1961 procedure through which it when the number of votes in was taken was resented by the constituency fell by 3,612. On the other hand, while Congress leaders as they saw the Congress alone (within it an effort by the PSP out any electoral alliance with Chief Minister to dictate to out any electoral alliance with the PSP or the Muslim Leathe Congress Ministers. to dictate to

gues) secured 13,996 votes in 1957 the combined vote of the P. S. P.-Congress three parties together in 1961 was only 13,760; the combined Tussle

was only 13,760; the combined votes of the three parties to day is in other words less by 236 than what the Congress alone could mobilise four years

2 The portfolio of Educations within the two parties themselves are far from happy.

Congress Minister, Sri Ummar

There is, for example, the business of the parties of the proposed of the parties of the proposed of the parties of Koya, was taken over by the Chief Minister ostensibly on the ground of Sri Ummar

unofficially denied by the Governor in more than one public pronouncement he has received made.

If that is done, the Governor himself and the Ministry, he said, its point of view was entitled to serious consideration by the Chief Minister. To the question as to what would happen if the Chief Minister A. A. Rahim.

Is a laughing stock of themselves, since facts cry aloud that not only is there a crisis inside the alliance, but it has the chief Minister's reactive made.

In that is done, the Governor himself and the PSP, but internal squabbles are also taking place within these parties. It is selfishness and lust for power which lie at the root of these squabbles," writes Prabhatam, edited by former Congress Minister A. A. Rahim.

Chief Minister To the question as to what would happen if the Chief Minister declined to do so, the President's reply was:

"The Chief Minister's reactive made.

The Chief Minister's reactive minister and the PSP, but internal squabbles are also taking place within these parties. It is selfishness and lust for power which lie at the root of these squabbles," writes Prabhatam, edited by former Congress Minister A. A. Rahim.

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The Chief Minister's reaction was quick and sharp.
"If Congressmen are intent upon creating a split," he said, "I, too, am prepared for it." On the question to Cabinet Rules, he flatly denied that there was any dispute over it. As for the Education portfolio, he said

dispute over it. As for the Education portfolio, he said he was quite competent to deal with the portfolio and was hot going to hand it back to the Congress. Finally he made it plain, "I am concern as to where Kerrala is moving... We know

* by E.M.S. NAMBOODIRIPAD

ed in the relations ed in the relations between the two parties, A large num-ber of other pronouncements by other leaders of the Con-gress and PSP would show that not only are relations be-tween these two parties get-ing worse and worse ing worse and worse, every day, but also that the internal

by-no-means-concealed group rivalry between the supporters of Home Minister Chacko on This would enectively disprove the argument advanced by the anti-Communists that the 28-month rule of the Communist Party followed by its dismissal and midran Menon, on the other.

not concerned with the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee, I am concerned only with the Cabinet and the ruling party."

These pronouncements of the Congress and PSP leaders are, however, only a small part of the crisis that has develon-

sis develop. Jar itself will get broken."

obetween arge numuncements the Consumer of Cannanore, Kerala Bhushanam of Kottayam, etc.—as a matter of fact, every paper which supports the Congress-PSP-Muslim League alliance has taken editorial note of the internal crisis within the alliance as well as within each of its competent parties: Papers like the Mala-yala Manorama and Mathru-bhoomi, which have the circulation among the Malayalam papers, have also come out with sugges-

* SEE PAGE 13

FEBRUARY 19, 1981

TRIPURA TO-DAY

S ANJIVA REDDI, the Congress President, during his first visit to this Centrally Administered Territory of India, on January 18 last, was greatly annoyed to find that hardly three thousand people turned up to the control of the con

trucks returned empty from action. A big movement was the refugee colonies and the launched for land reforms, for the refugee colonies and the supervisors and other officials of the Rehabilitation Department failed miserably to mobilitations and against evictivators) and against evictivators and solutions of the remainder of the refugee colonies and the refugee colonies and the refugee colonies and the refugee colonies and the refugee for land reforms, for the rehabilitation of the land reforms and the rehabilitation of the land reforms are represented by the rehabilitation of the land reforms are represented by the rehabilitation of the land reforms are represented by the rehabilitation of the land reforms are represented by the rehabilitation of the land reforms are represented by the results of the rehabilitation of the land reforms are represented by the results of the results lise the refugees, as they did in the past when Dhebarbhai and Indira Gandhi visited

But this was not accidental. It was an indication of a clear shift that was taking place in the present political situation of Tripura and this did not escape the notice of the politi-cally conscious public of the Territory.

During the second General the Congress and Election. Bloc each won one seat in the Lok Sabha and 15 seats in the Territorial Council. And though the Congress polled about 12 thousand votes less than the Communist Party and its allies in the Territo Council, they held office with the help of two nominated

An analysis of the vote revealed that about 80 per cent of the Displaced Peris, who are more than half of Tripura's population voted colidly for the Communist Party. The electorate totally rejected the middle parties formed both among th placed Persons and the tri. bals. Even the independent candidates could not get elected, where they were not allied to the

Front

The vote mobilised by Congress from the refugee colonies could never be considered as free votes. While the Congress leaders held before them bright picture full of empty promises, the officers and staff of the Rehabilitation Department hreatened to stop their do and loan if they did not agree to vote in favour of Congress.

As soon as the Congress leaders occupied the office of the Territorial Council, the leadership of the middle par-ties like the PSP, RSP, etc., veered round the Congress and rallied themselves under the banner of "anti-Commercial" panner of "anti-Commi A United Front committee was under the name of Committee". The assault of the reactionary forces on the democratic Com-munist regime in Kerala and the atmosphere created by the India-China border issue— helped them for the moment

But it did not take long for the refugees to get disillu-sioned. Within a year after the general election was over the food crisis, in the colonies in particular, took the acutest form. A refugee mother sold her child for Rs. 13 only. The promise of the Congress lea-ders for better rehabilitation proved to be without any basis

Whatever money was given to the Displaced Persons was ng eaten up by the office bearers of the cooperative societies run by Rehabilitation Department. The Congress leadership, instead of exposing the corrupt practics of the Department themselves associated with it

PAGE SIX

The food crisis stirred the

for the public meeting for which dozens of trucks and jeeps were used by the local Congress leadership. It was the first time that entire kisan masses

tion of the tenants and barga-dars from the land. The redars from the land. The refugees, though not so united as the tribal kisans, launched mass hunger strikes on several occasions. The last mass hunger strike which was started in opposition to the closure of the Rehabilitation Department resulted in the death of ment resulted in the death of a refugee hunger striker in jail. The Congress leadership not only attempted to disrupt these struggles of the refugees, but actively assisted the Administration to suppress them.

Hass Struggles

While these day-to-day struggles of the poorer sec-tions of the people continu-ed, a big-political exposure of the Congress leadership or the Congress leadership took place as the news of Assam riots poured in. The leadership of the Tripura Congress not only refused to condemn the riots, but themselves started rumour mongering against the tribal and Muslim minorities of Tripura, bringing the State to brink of fatricidal strife. It was on the prompt and active intervention of the Communist Party that this situation could be tackled and a communal riot avert-

Both against the transfer of Berubari as well as on the demand for an enquiry into Assam riots the citizens of Agartala and other divisional towns observed hartal and general strike in cooperation with the Communist Party and other left organisations

The people were no less disappointed with the ignoble role of the Congress leaders in the Territorial Council. During the first year of the Council buring the first year of the Council the Congress and the Communist Party unitedly demanded the withdrawal of all "exceptions and conditions" which is the conditions of the conditions and conditions" which further curtailed powers of the already truncated Council; they unit-edly adopted a budget which reflected only a fraction of the needs of the people. But as soon as the Central Govern-ment started turning down these united moves, the Con-gress leadership succumbed

these united moves, the Congress leadership succumbed. They surrendered these powers to the Administrator voluntarily, turning the Council into a travesty of democracy.

That is not all. Whatever power was available was used by the Congress leadership for promoting the interest, not of the people, but of their relatives. Works worth lakhs of rupees were distributed either without calling any tender or ignoring lowest tender offered. Employment was given not d. Employment was given not to the deserving candidates, but to the nearest blood-rela-tions. By exposing a number of such scandals the Communist Bloc in the County c in the Council incre ly demonstrated that the Congress leadership works only for their selfish-interests ignoring

the best interests of the people and the nation. The unity of the people

accurately to what extent the present shift of the may may be considered as consci-

y political. ne elections to the Panchayats under the Panchayat Raj Act have been postponed; the election of the Agartala Municipality is not contemplated in the near future. If mass meet ings and mass demonstration are any indication, it can safe ly be said that the ly be said that the rallies held under the auspices of the Communist Party are almost always several times bigger than those held under other flags.

statement that was sign-ed by about 150 promi-nent citizens of Agartala and the joint rally on Republic Day put the Congress leader-ship in panic. Though the Congress leadership openly opposed the demand in one of the recent sittings of the Territorial Council a large But the Congress leaders are not sitting idle, Finding it ex-tremely difficult to attract the people by further holding out empty promises, they are adopting other methods. Though the unity of India is their pet alogan, in practice they seek to utilise every opportunity to excite the refugees against the tribal people, the Hindus against the Muslims.

They appeal to the narrow caste and group interests and hope to draw one section of the people against another. When a Bengali landlord evicts a tribal tenant, resistance to eviction is nosed as tribal reetc., of Tripura.

etc., of Tripura.

The Congress disintegration which started long ago with the crack-up in the Congressa tribal tenant, resistance to eviction is posed as tribal re-sistance to Bengalis, or when a Muslim peasant defends his right to land illegally seized by a Hindu Mahajan, the Hindus are asked to rally against the Muslims

A large number of news_

sands of rupees in the share of advertisements. These papers are the carriers of this communal veneral of al venom. Co cil jeeps are being used by the ngress leaders and cil money spent in mak-ing extensive tour through-out the Territory only to tell the people that it is exenthe people that it is exen-sion of the powers of the Council and not a Vidhan Sabha that they want, so long as Tripura is not merg-ed with Assam. The middle parties in Tri-jura never counted for much

From Nripen Chakravarty

pura never counted for much. As in the past the Praja Socialist Party appears in the field only on the eve of the general classics. But this year in come elections. But this year in some of the towns a number of peo-ple who actively helped the Congress during the last election declared themselves as Praja Socialists. And it is to be noted that the majority of them desire that the Praja them desire that the Praja Socialist Party and the Communist Party and the Communist Party move together not only in the present Vidhan Sabha agitation but also thereafter.

The leadership of the Scheduled Costs

duled Caste Association made a common front with the Congress in a number of constituencies during the las The very fact that this Asso-clation joined hands with the left parties in the present Vidhan Sabha movement could not escape the notice of the politically conscious public. These signs of the times are bound to cause increasing un-A large number of newspapers, both daily as well as weekly, are being run by Congress leaders, for which the Council spends thou-

JAN SANGH POLICIES

* FROM PAGE 5

INTUC-spor

Vajpayee was recently invited the USA. He went there carrying a message from Guruji Golwalkar in which the der of the "free world" and claimed a kinship of ideology and aims with her.

Communist Party put forward the demand for a full responsible Government

full responsible Government with an elected legislature

under the Chief Commis

sioner Ray. The Communist Party, the Praja Socialist Party, the RSP and the Scheduled Caste Associa-

tion formed a Convenor's

Committee which now conducts the struggle for Vidhan Sabha. The joint

statement that was sign.

Territorial Council, a large

number of Congressmen, including a Congress member of the Council, put their signatures on the joint statement which contains, among others, signatures of all prominent advocates, businessmen. educationists

sponsored so-called pancha-yats of refugee colonies, with

the break-up of a number of

INTUC-sponsored Unions in the town, has now spread among the town middle class, who were considered to be their biggest reserve so long It is not possible to assess

ce the present dis-Territorial Council

and aims with her.

It has been unmistakably clear that the Jan Sangh is prepared to play the role of quislings in India—the same kind of role that Syngman Rhee, Menderes, Chiang Katshek or Boun Oum of Laos, have played or are playing. It have played or are playing. It is in this light that its hatred for Indo-Soviet friendship is to be seen and it is in this light again that its mockheroic pose of "expelling the invader" is to be seen through. It is sheer demographer that its mockheroic pose of "expelling the invader" is to be seen through. invader" is to be seen through. It is sheer demagogy on the one hand, and rendering gratitour service on the other to world forces who want to sabotage Indian foreign policy.

The Jan Sangh bases its hopes in the coming General Elections on the innumerable omissions and commissions of the ruling party. "The Jan Sangh shall right the wrongs of the Congress"—is its elecof the Congress",-is its elec-

Its Chairman Rama Rao Ats Chairman Rama Rao said in an interview that the Jan Sangh would emphasise the following major issues in the elections: (i) The problem of rural housing; (ii) popularising the small-scale village industries; (iii) repairs to irrigation tanks in villages; (iv) propagade villages; (iv) propagano against cooperative farming; (v) exhorting all States to go in for anti-cow slaughter legislation at once; (vi) solution to food problem, and reduction of prices; and (vii) "processing of raw after processing".

Replying to another question, Rama Rao said: "The Jan Sangh which occupies a fourth place now on the electoral map must get a double promotion and occupy second place in the coming elections. That is my modest aspiration. This my modest aspiration. That is means intensive work in the villages, large-scale mass con-tacting is necessary for this special programmes like pro-

special programmes like processions, Hari Kathas, Burra Kathas, street dramas, another things should be arranged..."
To the question of alliances, Jan Sangh General Secretary Deen Dayal Upadhyaya gave the following reply: "It is too early to say. I am not sure that other parties are disciplined enough to carry out the terms of an alliance faithfully. The other difficulty is the indiscriother difficulty is the indiscri-minate alliances of these par-

"In Kerala the PSP is allied with the Muslim Lea. gue. The Swatanfra Party is very close to the Akali Party. These are communal, secta-rian parties, Rajaji said recently at Calicut that there was nothing wrong with the Muslim League and Jan Sangh. Of course, there are many issues on which many issues on which we quite agree with the Swatan-tra Party. PSP is also a national party which belleves in a united India. Considering these factors I think local adjustments are local adjustments are more practical than a national

It may be noted here that Swatantra Party leader C. Rajagopalachari had sent the following message to the Jan

materials that are being exported from India on a large-scale without much benefit, and to export them wisdom prevail and steps be taken to halt the rake's pro-

gress of the Congress".

But the Jan Sangh General But the Jan Sangh General Secretary made an uncomplimentary assessment of the Swatantra Party. "The initial exuberance of the Swatantra Party has subsided", he said, "its policies continue to be uncertain".

About the PSP he stated the following: "In anti-stated the following: "In anti-stated the said,"

following: "In spite of some attempts by the leaders of the PSP to put their house in order the PSP continues to be a party without much organisation. It is its weakness as well as strength. They cooperated with us on the issue of Chinese aggression. Acharya Kripalani's resignation affect ed the prestige of the Party".

ed the prestige of the Party".

Thus, the Jan Sangh regards both the Swatantra Party and the PSP as to some extent belonging to a common lik. It envisages securing some gains for itself by having adjustments with them.

The Bindu Mahasabha, which Udadhyaya described as a 'nationalist' party and groups like the Ram Rajya

groups like the Ram Rajya Parishad will of course be direct allies. But the Jan Sangh is proud and con-siders itself distinctive for the fact that it has got a shock brigade, in the form of RSS voluntees. RSS volunteers, which its other possible allies lack. A clear cut ultra-Right ideo-logy is its other important source of strength.

source of strength.

Not bigger than a man's palm, the Jan Sangh has soaring ambitions, and its steps need to be watched. It is a party of determined saboteurs of the nation's progress.

FEBRUARY 19, 1961

MOSCOW TO VENUS!

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

NCE again the land of Socialism has astoundad the world by the granding the world by the granding to the same shock alive to the earth. orld by the gran-magnificence of first cosmic travellers to co her scientific achievement. Within a few days of launching her giant six-and-half ton Sputnik, she has sent a fully equipped interplar tary spaceship towards planet Venus. As you read these lines this man-made wonder laboratory is hurling its way through depths of cosmic space at speed of twentyfive thousand

an hour. The road to mankind's glorious future opened on the earth by those who stormed the Winter Palace in 1917 now reaches out to the stars. The reaches out to the stars. The workingman by taking into his hands his own destiny now goes out into the unlimited regions of outer space to become the master of the Universe Legisla graphys showed. verse. Lenin's genius showed the way to the backward and illiterate Russia of yesterday and the Soviet system and socialism have brought her to such heights of human achievement where even the most improbable dreams become

Reaching Stars

Not so long ago I considered astronomy to be a science re-motest from day-to-day human affairs and turned to it now and then to rest, and as I used to say, to escape from life. Now even my nine-year old daughter Gulnar who goes to school in Moscow plans in-terplanetary flights and talks in terms of in terms of cosmic geography. Who dare say today that her

dreams are unreal or remote from life? Who dare say that they are dreams at all?

Living in Moscow, situated one could say now on the crossroads of the universe, one gets used to news of sm one gets used to news of senscientific achieve ments. But the measure of the awe-inspiring tempo of Soviet progress every time turns out to be bigger than one imagin-

A few months ago I remem-er I held wonderstruck in my hands the first photograof the far side of the Moon just released by Tass, not so long ago I patted and

NAME (

EDITOR : P. C. Joshi

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All cheques and drafts to be made payable to T. MADHAVAN and not to NEW AGE. tween the planets of the

And now this miraculous creation of Soviet hands is off to Venus, the bright Morning and Evening Star of the firmament, the Goddess of Beauty and Love, worshipped by poetic hearts for thousands of years. And even choice of destination is deeply symbolic. It is not to the other nearest Planet, not to Mars, the God of War, that the Soviet space rocket blazes the trail but to the charming Venus, Goddess of Love and Beauty. It is as if all the peaceful aspirations and strivings of the human race get a direction from this noble gesture.

Mysterious

Mysterious

The planet Venus although it approaches the earth clodess to fill at a distance of some 40 million kilometres, keeps her secrets to herself and much less is known about other heaven by bodies.

There are two reasons for this, First, when Venus is closest to the earth, it faces us with its dark side in the daytime and, secondly, the planet has a dense atmosphere of permanent heavy clouds never seen. Because of this we do not even know the period

Launched

In Space

What a great feat of powerful and super-accurate rocketry this wonderful launching has been can be seen from the fact that, first an improved multistage rocket put into orbit a heavy artificial earth satellite on February 12. Then later on the same day another guided space rocket was accurately launched from it, while the Sputnik went on at her terrific speed round the earth. The Earth, Soviet spacetround in its turn, this last rocket set the automatic interplanetary station on its course.

Then, in its turn, this last spaceship will continue to approach orbit of planet Venus for flight to Planet Venus. The whole tricky operation was successfully carried through and the space-vehicle is moving on a trajectory very close to her set course.

The very fact of launching a space rocket not from the earth but from a satellite already in orbit at a command from the earth and in the intended direction and at a particular speed, is a colossal scientific achievement and opens up tremendous possibilities for future cosmic research.

The main objects of the

tremendous possibilities for radio transmitters of space future cosmic research.

The main objects of the probe are: to check methods of putting the space vehicle into the interplanetary trajectory; to check radio community to check radio community. into the interplanetary trajectory; to check radio communications over colossal distances; to guide the space a week.

Station from the earth; to measure more accurately for Deadly the first time, on a big scale, with the help of a man-made moving object the distances of solar system; and to carry out a programme of physical research in outer space.

Cosmic
Laboratory

The equipment on board the interplanetary station is functioning normally. And what a lot of instruments it is carrying can be seen from its big weight—643.5 kilograms. A special centre in the Soviet Union is tracking the flight of this well-equipped automatic and remotely controlled wonder laboratory. It has already travelled hundreds of thousands of miles into space and by the time you read this it will be long long way from Mother Earth.

This is certainly the greatest achievement in the field of space exploration since the launching of the first Soviet sputnik three and half years ago. February 12 marks the date of the opening of space traffic be-

Moscow, February 13

never seen. Because of this we do not even know the period

Dangers

During its long flight the cosmic laboratory will be subjected to the most diverse effects and deadly dangers.

SCRAP-BOOK

SIGNS OF THE TIME

HE thought that was uppermost in my mind on February 5, the day of the Congress Diamond to enchain it.

It is a political chloroform on the conscience of the nation, used not to bring a cure to the nation's ills but to enchain it. Jubilee, was how far has the organization that was once all-powerful and inspired the nation now gone down the hill.

down the hill.

In the Capital city the Congress President was taken out in a procession with four bands playing the latest tunes from the films and municipal extends as we take up the uncompromising ansary the uncompromising axis were of a moral ideology. I commit myself to carry this ideology wherever I got "."

The report further goes on to show how certain individuals submitted there.

day, however reveal the following state of the affairs inside the country

itself:

On February 5, Ex.
Chief Minister of U.P., Dr.
Sampurnanand and his
more than one hundred
followers (members of the
both houses of U.P. Legis
lature) decided to boycott
the opening of the joint
session of the two legislative houses by the U.P. Governor.

Congress M.P. and AICC
members who are working
actively for this movement.

Here is what the report
member of the AICC, Liladhar Asthana, referred to
the Prime Minister's call
for unity. But there must
be some ideology behind
which we can unite, he
said. Talk of unity de-

The Assam Pradesh Congress Committee met on February 5 to "discuss differences among

Pandit Nehru denounported to have told Andhra Congressmen would not tolerate mem-bers rushing to All bers rushing to the press with charges and counter-

In Bombay where civic elections for the Muni-cipal Corporations are due shortly "the Bombay Pra-desh Congress Committee desh Congress Committee has run into troubled waters in preparing the list of candidates!"

of candidates!"

These are the signs of the time which the Congress President cannot read at all.

M.R.A. MEET

A LL types of reactionary movements are floated and financed in the U. S. to subvert the policy of to subvert the policy of British Raj! non-alignment and to stem the growth of democratic pondent of the National ideas. One such movement is the Moral Re-Armament of Dr. Buchamen.

Save a report of "A Special gave as a reward Rs. 500 to the staff of the circuit hassembly of the MRA recently held in Bangalore. A Hotel who "served" her and port will clearly show the direction of this movement. Recently Goenka's Sun-

put free Asia on the ideological offensive.

"Mr. Niharendu Dutt Mazumdar, former Law Minister in W. Bengal, said, Coexistence is a concept of connivance at immorality. It is a political chloroform

coexistence as we take up the uncompromising ans-wer of a moral ideology. I

with four bands playing the latest tunes from the films and municipal school children making up the crowd dutifully supplied by the Congress Corporators.

The Congress President did not feel shamefaced at all but in his magniloquence he declared that no opposition party could deliver the goods and so it was for the Congress to shoulder the responsibility of the Country.

The press cuttings of the country try.

One Profulla Tripathi of West Bengal gives the information that "he had distributed 10,000 MRA pictorial magazines in Bengal". From where the monney comes to distribute these nicely printed magazines is not mentioned in the report.

Prime Minister Nehru has himself on several occasions

himself on severe The press-cuttings of the spoken against this movement. But even then there are people right amon Congress M.P.s and AICC

says:

"A Congress M.P. and member of the AICC, Liladhar Asthana, referred to the Prime Minister's call for unity. But there must be some ideology behind which we can unite, he said. Talk of unity does not amount to anything. There must be some thing great to hold us together. I am sure MBA will fill the gap and make our unity strong

and impregnable. Reactionary Congressmen look to the MRA itself to fill the ideological gap!
Let us see if the AICC office really spanks such Conreally spanks such Con-gressmen or lets them carry

TIPS FROM **ELIZABETH**

NDER British Raj the burrasahibs used to tip their lower-ranking subor-dinates for their servility to them. All the same it is regarded as a very undigni-fled practice now. In certain places it is banned. No visit-ing dignature aver included places it is banned. No visit-ing dignatory ever indulged in this practice during the tour of this country. But British Queen did revive the old tradition of the Resident Radi

Herald (February 6) before leaving the Circuit House in Agra where she was

in India:

"A force of convinced men and women emerged from the Assembly committed to speak fearlessly on the basic issues and to put free Asia and to speak fearlessly comput free Asia and to speak fearlessly computed to speak fearlessly computed

-AGRADOOT

February 14

Defeat Reaction!

D URING the last thirteen years along with and despite considerable democratic advance a ding-dong communal battle has gone on in the Punjab. The seeds that continue to sprout were, in fact, sown in the far past and in order to understand present developments a brief survey of the historical background of the problem is necessary.

Later on, when the viceregal coults was shifted from Calcutta to Delhi in 1912, Delhi was separated from it and this area was reorganised as the Ambala Division.

Thus, in the British Factor of the problem is necessary.

Imperialism played its sinister role in the Punjab not only in 1947 but also a century cearlier. Under Ranjit Singh for earlier. Under Ranjit Singh for the first time major part of the Punjab was unified under a sovereign state based on Punjab itself. From the Jammu plateau to the Multiple and the state of the state jabi itself. From the Jammu top without the firm founda-plateau to the Multan desert and from Rawaipindi to With memories of the recent Rupar the entire area came struggle waged by the Sikhs under one administration in which Muslim governors Ranjit Singh was the unconand generals had not only scious instrument of history followed a policy of religious in that under his benevolent presecution but also used deponting the Puriod Later the Puriod L otism the Punjabi nation slogans of a religious jehad to

Mughal Empire was not a weakened.

theocratic state. His darbar It was because of this that (Court), officer-corps, system there could not be agreement of justice, his administration on the issue of adopting Pun. and general approach were not jabl as the court language.

communal and were generally Ranjit Singh followed the line
representative of the Punjab of least resistance and let

Encouraged
as it was then.

Persian continue.

sit was then.

He was a great realist, a son of the soil with his feet a nation because the economic firmly planted on mother pre-requisites were lacking. Though trade and communications had considerably deventions to chance of survival for tions had considerably deve- and outside),

Nature Of Unity

teep in view three things here. British awarded Jammu along First, this unification was with Kashmir to Gulab Singh First, this unification was with Kashmir to Gulab Singh achieved on a feudal basis, and as the price for treachery and achieved on a feudal basis, and under a monarchy. As such it had its limitations and with Ranjit Singh's death the elements fell apart and the British got their golden chance to fish in troubled waters. United by a great soldier and statesman the Punjabis held the British out of the province for forty years but with his death had annexed the province.

Secondly, the political unifi-

had annexed the province.

Secondly, the political unification was not yet complete.

With an eye to the future the moreover, before things could come to a head, Delhi had fallen. After crushing the revolt, the British inflicted the most brutal punishment on the peo-British pressurised Raniit Singh to agree not to cross the Sutlei. Thus, large Blood

Rritish

Operation

and some other principalities) which the British declared to be under their protection and whose chiefs preferred the Whose chiefs preferred the British foreigners to Ranjit Singh. , who had generally ing small chieftains of their states (though providing generously for their wants and comforts) a policy progressive

Thus, already over a cen-tury before partition British imperialism had shown its role as an enemy of the free. dom and unity of the Pn jabi people—utilising the treacherous selfishness of the feudal chiefs for its own sinister designs on the Pun-jab—the only Indian pro-vince yet unyapprished

Nabha, Jind, etc. Pushto-speaking areas were also part of the province but were sepa-rated later and constituted into a North-Western Frontier Province (The former North Western Province and Awadh were now renamed United Provinces, to avoid confusion). The subsequent develop-

ality achieved political unification to a greater extent than ever before.

The state that emerged as a result of the struggle of the munal and caste divisions, Sikhs and the downfall of the though they had considerably

Sighas of a religious lenad to rally the Muslim majority behind them, popular thinking was on religious lines and the subsequent developments in the Punjab cannot be understood without keeping in view two things: (i) the requirements and misdeeds of the British policy of divide and rule; (ii) the role of the feurule; (ii) the role of the feu-dals and the communal leaders

Disruptors

economic basis was feudal.

After annexing Punjab the

The British used all the levers of disunity and disruption fostering communal and caste divisions (in the army the Punjab, of stemming the dide of foreign conquest was Punjab its commercial capital, administration and politics and fanning regional rivalries and conflicts. As the central dated trade which flourished greatly under Ranjit Singh, modern industry, transport, etc., were not there at all. The economic basis was feudal.

However, it is necessary to After appraing Punjab its necessary to the constant of the modern industry, transport, and the Mughais and fanning regional rivalries and conflicts. As the central dater trade which flourished greatly under Ranjit Singh, where the national, and later strong they relied on the economic basis was feudal.

However, it is necessary to After appraing Punjab its commercial capital, administration and politics and fanning regional rivalries and conflicts. As the central districts were the national, and later strong they relied on the economic basis was feudal. lim feudalism had its main stronghold and the masses were yet unawakened).

The same was their atti-tude to the Hafiana districts

where with the backward patriarchal set-up and the political frustration conse-quent upon the defeat of 1957 revolt the masses were passive and the traditional leadership drawn from the clan chiefs and upper social strata was drawn into col-laboration with imperialism and with minor concessions enabled to rally some mas

The Hariana leadership was mainly Hindu and the region was deliberately kept back-ward in order to maintain its Singh to agree not to cross the Sulfei. Thus, large Punjabi per of the Delhi region in two ple of the Delhi region in two ple of the Delhi region in two ways: By delivering Delhi to pillage and massacre and the present districts of Ludhiana, Ferozepore, Ambala and former PEPSU) remained outside his administration.

These areas included the Phukkiam States (Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Faridkot, etc., and some other principalities).

Very backward in industrial development and an important market and source of new materials and base for military operations on the fron-tier the Punjab had a very weak industrial bourgeoisle The historical process of the political unification of this region, which had gone forward during the preced-ing centuries, was reversed. Delhi and Hissar divisions were separated from the reand powerful compradore elements. All these reactionary

ments. All these reactionary elements were the tools of imperialism in its game of "Divide and Rule".

One of the chief weapons to keep the Punjabi people divided and weak was communal

cunningly.

This counterblast was, howUrdu was folsted upon the
ever, a double-edged weapon
Punjab—along with English—
for it put forth the plea of

tan put Sikis nothing
terji began to rally the Sikh
masses on two planks—"Sikh
State" and "war against Pak-

and Punjabi was suppressed and denied any place in educa-tion and administration. The fact that the religious literature of the Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs was in Persian, Dev Nagri and Gurmukhi script respectively was used to pro-pagate that Urdu was the language of Muslims, Hindi of Hindus and Punjabi (with Gurmukhi script) of Sikhs. This was facilitated by the system of educational institutions along communal lines (which was fostered under official patronage and which still survives as a permanent

Pakistan

False theories about the origin of the so-called Gur-mukhi script (really the Pun-jabl script—a product of deve-lopment stretching over thousands of years) were propagated to prejudice the non-sikhs against it.

nursery of communal ideo-

The result was that with he spread of the press written literature was confined to a great extent to the Sikhs, though in the countryside popular Punjabi literature flourished, with folk songs, traditional bards, and recitations from the old romantic and Sufi poets. The middle classes became com-munally divided on the issue of language and script.

The struggle for proportions in the services, the disputes over representation in the legislature and separate electrontes with an experiment. legislature and separate elec-torates—with each community led and incited by reactionary communal politicians, vocifer-ous for its claims and the Bri-tish rulers in the happy posi-tion of arbitrators, skilfully balancing one against the other and utilising and widening all fissures—continued to serve as a powerful weapon to keep the people divided and the liberation movement weak.

With the communal award

With the communal award this policy reached a new stage, giving official recogni-tion to communal politics and encouragement to communal separatism and conflict. The conflict was especially acute because the Muslims had a slender majority which the Muslim communalists sought to preserve and increase and the Hindu and Sikh communalists sought to reduce on the plea of weightage for min terparts were using in other

Partition

Holocaust Delhi and non-were separated from the remaining region arbitrarily and made part of the Punjab. At the same time, the Punjab princes were rewarded for their treachery to the nation by awards of jagirs, and the small principalities and stripts, of proportions in serior, and the small principalities vices, and with the coming of Narnaul, Dadri, Bawal, of Narnaul, Dadri, Bawal, of communal representation and separate electorates were exploited most of the plan of a Sikh homeland (i.e., an area where no community was in the majority was in the majority and where the Sikhs could hold the balance).

The English—

One of the Punjabi people and weak was communated a counterblast.

Akali leaders came out where the plan of a Sikh homeland (i.e., an area where no community was in the majority and where the Sikhs could hold the balance).

This counterblast was, however, a double-edged weapon for it put forth the plea of

saving the maximum area istan". When the issue of lin-from falling into Pakistan guistic States began to come ("Muslim") hands and at the same conceded the principle of state-formation on the basis

of communal proportions. Then came partition, the culmination of the British policy of "divide and rule".

The communal pogroms organised by the British, in the background of the separatist demand of Pakistan and the Mountbatten and Radcliffe Awards and the communal animosities and passions rous ed thereby, led to a fratricidal civil war in which at a modest estimate over eight lakh Punjabis perished and a crore up. rooted from hearth and home.

Forms

The immeasurable perfidy of the imperialists is seen in that through their machinations and the activities of their agents they were able to inflict greater holocaust and destruction on the Pun-Jab than any foreign mili-tary invasion had ever done in its long history of re-peated foreign invasions.

Partition also had other far reaching effects. Besides other effects, it reversed the process of economic concentration and political unification that was developing despite the foreign rulers. With the growth of some modern industry and transport with the growth of trade, commercial intercours and the provincial market, the process of unification of the various dialects into one Punjabi language, had been great-ly hastened.

Progressive Punjabi literature had begun to develop, common national conscious-ness and united mass movements grew apace despite obstacles. But before these processes could fully mature and unify the Punjabis on a firm modern and secular foundation partition cleft them into two and carved out two provinces — one Muslim and the second Hindu-Sikh sovereign states. It also left a poisonous heritage of communalism.

Separatist Demand

Communal politics — the bane of the Punjab under the British and their powerful weapon against the liberation movement — now developed in new forms. Instead of the slogan of Hindu-Sikh united front now Hindu-Sikh conflict began to grow more and more acute, centring increasingly round the issues of language, script and state-reorganisation making these issues counters in the game of

The Akali leadership led by Master Tara Singh began to plead that "the Muslims had got Pakistan, Hindus Hindusboth for maintaining the Akali grip on the Gurdwaras and for political deals with the Con-

Akali leaders put the label of

Punjabi Suba on their demand

That this was a democratic cover for what was basically a communal-separatist demand (also intended as pressure for political bargaining) came out clearly in Masteril's persistent refusal to put the demand for State reorganisation on a secular and democratic basis and

make it the common demand of all Punjabis; his periodic communal mobilisations and threats of morchas, and his

use of the demand as a bar-

It also came out clearly in

his virulent opposition to the dissolution of PEPSU and its merger in the Punjab — a necessary step, besides other things, for bringing all Punjabl-speaking areas in one administrative unit, therefore, being campaigned, for bringing of the property of th

being campaigned for by the

He took the stand that in

PEPSU, constituted mainly of the former Sikh princely states, the Sikhs already had political power and thus it

of his demand. All that he wanted was that the Punjab be divided, Hariana districts, etc., separated and the Sikh

majority areas constituted into a province besides PEPSU.

This attitude led to a

This attitude led to a crisis inside the Akali Dal itself and a section led by Jathedar Raman with its main base in the PEPSU areas separated and took up a non-communal and antifeudal stand and began to propagate for Punjabi Suba on a secular, democratic basis. It was with this group, alongwith some other pro-

alongwith some other pro-gressive elements, that the Communists had a united

front in the 1954 Pepsu

tions and the merger of PEPSU areas into the Punjab,

Which brought these Punishi

areas under one administra-tion—a big popular victory and important advance to-wards the achievement of

wards the achievement of Punjabi State—Master Tara

Singh continued propagating his demand. He interpreted it variously as the demand for a slikh-majority State (56 per

cent) of a state in which "Sikh should be freed from Hindu-

majority domination" and de-marcating areas for the state that disregarded linguistic

He continued to make the sikh Gurdwaras the main base of his agitations and religious-

communal approach his main ileological weapon of rallying the Sikhs behind the Shiro-nani Akali Dal (necessary

brought in other areas communal considerations.

Communalism

undaries and excluded or

After the SRC recon

constituted partial satisfacti

nunists and other demo-

lar and democratic bas

gaining counter.

cratic elements.

of Sikh State.

gress):
This entire approach has helped to prejudice the cause of the Punjabi language and State in the eyes of the Hindu masses and impeded the growth of secular democratic consciousness among large sections of Sikhs

Last Census

It would be wrong to assume—as the impression is sought to be conveyed by the powerful Hindu commu-nal press in the province— that communalism is a oneunat communalism is a one-sided affair in the Punjab. In fact, the Hindu commu-nalists are equally, if not more, responsible for the unfortunate happenings that have continuously poisoned the atmosphere in poisoned the atmosphere in the province. Just before the 1951 census, they, with the support of an influential section of Hindu Congress. men, campaigned actively that the Punjabi Hindus should get Hindi (and not Punjabi) recorded as their

mother-tongue.

Besides the townpeople they specially concentrated on the Harijans in the rural areas (where the peasant proprietor is Sikh and where the kisan movement had so far failed to drew the Harijans) and raised the bogey of Jat (and Sikh) domination.

The argument was that acceptance of Punjabi language would result in formation of Punjabi Suba which would villages. This created a very tense situation in the villages-all over the State, making the Punjabi language itself a victim of communal nolitics The tension was so acute that the Government had to exthe Government had to exclude the entry about language from the census records. The Hindu communal leaders have continuously carried on a virulent campaign not only against the Akali demands but the very principle of State reorganisation on linguistic basis
—a campaign of distortion and vilification incitement.

Samiti Agitation

As part of this campaign they raised the demand for "Greater Punjah" which "Greater Punjab" which should include Himachal Pra-desh and some districts of Western U.P. with a view to strengthen the Hindu majority still more.

After the decision on SRC Report that demand became untenable they mainly concentrated on two things: (i) denving that Punjabi is the denying that Punjabi is the mother-tongue of all Punjabis and asserting that entire Punjab is bilingual with Punjabi being the mother-tongue of "the majority" (the Hindus); (ii) opposing any alteration, on whatsoever basis, in the present boundaries of the Punjab so that the wesent jab so that the present strong Hindu majority is prepared at all costs.

The opposition to Punjabi— for which purpose communal

prejudices against Gurmukhi (wrongly made out to be a sikh script) are incited—is also tactical and part of the tiguous. A Boundary Commission be formed to demonstrate manoeuvres designed to preserve the status quo in the boundaries of the States.

The agitation launched by the Hindi Samiti on the plea

of protection of Hindi (which exploited the undemocratic compulsion in the Hariana re-gion of studying Punjabi as a second language which was seen there as a concession to ready directed against Punjabi with the above aim in view.

It may be stated here, by the way, that the sponsors used the Hindu temples and Arya Samaj Mandirs in the same way as the Akalis have used the Gurdwaras for communal agitations.

Communist Stand:

Thus a state of affairs has come about as a result of a number of factors, where a large section of the Sikhs feel that the exclusion of the Hindi areas (mainly populated by Hindus) would add to the community in the State and the large bulk of Hindus in the Punjabi area feel that any alteration in the boundaries of the State would lead to a reduction of the solid Hindu majority and may even threa-ten that majority itself.

The communalism of the majority has thus been opposed to the principle of linguistic demarcation itself, going to the extent of denying the mother-tongue itself. While the communalism of the minority has expelled the minority has exploited the principle of linguistic demarcation (and also the issue of language and script), thereby prejudicing their cause in the eyes of Hindu masses.

Communal leaders of both mmunities have fanned the intensify communal polarisa-tion. This activity has always been more intense in the period immediately preceding

The Communist Party has continuously and consistently emphasised that:

The communal approach on the issues stands in the way of their solution, compli-cates them further, divides the people and also paralyses their united resistance to anti-popular measures of the Kaion Ministry.

Punjabi, with Gurmukhi script, be accepted as the mother-tongue of the Punjabi area and given its full status in the spheres of education and administration. And so Hindi in the Hindi region. The compulsion about Punjabi in Hindi region be abolished, making its study voluntary. Hindi as the national langu age, should be taught as a second language in the Punsecond lan jabi area.

The principle of linguistic States be applied to this region also, forming a Punjabi-speaking State with the Hndi-speaking region given the right to join Delhi and the demand of Greater Delhi conceded. (Before the merger of PEPSU the Party actively campaigned for this step as a most important advance towards the above goal).

sion be formed to demarcate the two linguistic areas, taking

It has fought against communalism and for communal unity, opposed the communal agitations and "morchas" and "andolans" and propagated its secular and democratic solu-tion of the issues involved. But till recently, its was the lone

Congress Opportunism

The Congress, the premier and ruling party has followed a policy of unprincipled opposition to the principle of linguistic States and of com-promise and bargaining with the communalist—especially the Akalis—while using one against the other in its power politics. This has helped to complicate the issues and keep the com-munal fires burning.

In the Sachar formula it made important concessions of the communalists—both made important concessions to the communalists—both Hindu and Sikh—and refused to accord its just status to Punjabi. In the Regional formula which came as a result of Congress-Akali deal, while it conceded that there are two linguistic-cultural region inguistic-cultural regions in the State and agreed to set_up Regional Committees of the Legislature with some powers, it included Kangra in the Hindi region under com pressure

Thus, the advance registered was accompanied by negative features and the fact that it was the product of a political deal as a result of which the Akalis joined the Congress, prejudiced the Regional sche-me itself in the eyes of the Hindu masses and played into the hands of the Hindu communalists.

The Congress won the general elections with Akali support. The Hindu communalists were able to launch their so-called "Hindi Andolan". Soon afterwards dissatisfaction bee grow among the Akalis over the fulfilment of the terms of

Later when Kairon virtually scuttled the Regional formula the bulk of the Akalis came the bulk of the Akalis came out of the Congress and the Shiromani Akali Dal restarted its political activities and intensified communal cam-

paigning.
Exploiting Sikh religious sentiment and the discontent against the Kairon Ministry the Akalis won signal succes in the Gurdwara election And soon after the Akali "morcha" followed—in which also provocation by Kairon played an important part.

Helping Akalis

Thus, with its unprincipl-Thus, with its unprincipled compromises and undemocratic policy on the issues concerned the Congress only helped the Akali leaders to rally the masses and the province has been faced now with one and now with another communal morcha, dividing the masses and complication these and complicating these assess at the second complicating these issues still further.

It would be wrong to think, however, that there has been

no impact of the general de-mocratic advance in the rest

the formation of the linguistic States one after the other, culminating in the notable popular victory of the peoples of Maharashtra and Gujerat.

Build Unity!

These developments did lead to some rethinking in sections of the masses influenced by the communal parties. This has been further helped by two factors, the bitter experi-ence and lessons of 1947 (that have helped the common peo-ple to resist attempts to incite campaigns carried on by the

Communist Party.

Two factors in the objective situation also helped. One was the anti-feudal consciousness and unity of the people of the states developed in the various peasant struggles. Because of this the Akali leadership failed to mobilise the Sikh mas the States for their demand to preserve PEPSU. In fact, that policy created a crisis in the organisation and later on they were forced to retreat on the

The second factor has been the unequal position of Hari-ana and the standing injustice despite the fact that the demo-cratic movement is still weak in the area, Hindu communalists have not been able to rally large masses behind their line of continuing the status quo as regards State bo ries "in order to save the Punjab Hindus from a Sikh-

This false communal plea has failed to rally large sections and the politically vocal sections of the Harian generally support the demand of separation of the region from Punjab and its incorpora-tion in a separate Hariana

Under these conditions if the Congress had followed a firm principled course, the tilted against the commu and the process of unifica-tion of the Punjabi people carried forward immensely. carried forward immensely.
But the Congress has followed an unprincipled and dangerous course leading to opposite results as stated above.

What might have hannened is illustrated by recent deve-lopment. Recently under the compulsion of events and developments in the rest of the country Punishi was ac cepted as the language of administration in the Punjabi districts and related steps taken towards giving it the

due status. When, in support of these steps Congressmen came out against the theory of Hindi for Hindus and Punjabi for Sikhs, the Hindu communalists found their former position untenable. With th tion untenable. With the continuous and consistent campaign of the Communists, now reinforced by the Congress stand on the issue and as a result of the growth of secular approach among sections of Hindu masses to this issue, some realism dawned on a section of the Hindu communal leadership treated and munal leadership itself and declarations began to be made that Punjabi is the mother that Punjabi is the tongue of Hindus also

On the one hand, this was a reflection of the healthy

CONFERENCE URDU

From RAJ BAHADUR GOUR, M.P.

THE Second All-India more specially in States where a substantial number of Urdu-Taraqqi-e-Urdu-Hindi was speaking people reside, held at Kanpur in Uttar The main resolution of the held at Kanpur in Uttar Pradesh on February 4 and 5 1961. "Urdu Nagar." a city of well decorated tents and Shamianas, arose on the grounds of Halim College compound. Boy scouts had their own camp and were busy making arrangements.

Within the compound were book stalls of Maktaba Jamia Millia, Maktaba Shahrah, Idara Anis.e-Urdu and certain religious bodies.
On the occasion of this Con-

ference was also organised an exhibition of Urdu newspapers and periodicals and publications brought out since 1947. The Exhibition was quite good and was declared open by Rani Ram Kumar Bhargav—grand daughter-in-law of the late Munshi Naval Kishore.

Munshi Naval Kishore has done great service for the Urdu language by publishing a great number of Urdu books, classics as well as works of contemporary writers of his days. That his grand daugh-ter-in-law should inaugurate an exhibition of publications was only a recognition of the place of pride he occupies in the history of Urdu language.

The Conference was inaugu-rated by B. Rama Krishna Governor of Uttar Pra-The Conference had a few expectations pinned on him, for he was not only a known scholar of Persian, Urdu and Telugu (besides the fact that he fluently spoke Marathi, Kannada and even Arabic) and had, therefore, quite an affectionate liking for Urdu; but also that he was the Governor of a State where Urdu is particularly facing

Confidence ... Restored

Restored

direct that such language shall also be officially recognised throughout that State or any part theereoff for such p

MP, presided over the second of conence. He struck a note of conence He struck a note

vell-meaning people, and Anjuman-Taraqqi-e-Urdu more particularly, are bearing fruit. Today Urdu is being fruit. Today Urdu is being increasingly recognised as a national language of our country and its rich literary heritage and proud place in Indian society is being increasingly

It is, therefore, in this changing atmosphere that the Government of India issued the Notification of July 14 1052 according a place to Urdu in the cultural and administrative life of our country and

Conference has welcomed this change in the situation and also this notification. However, the resolution makes it abundantly clear that the Notification does not fully meet the demand of the Anjuman made on behalf of the millions of Urdu-speaking people of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Delhi and the Punjab. The Anjuman has demanded that Urdu be recognised as a "Regional Language" under Article 347 of our Constitution in the above states.

Not Separatist

Certain elements have mis. chievously given a twist to the above demand and certain gullible persons have failen a prey to the mischief. They interpreted this demand to

age.
The Anjuman had more The Anjuman had more than once refuted this mischievous allegation. When UP, and Bihar have, under Article 346 declared Hindi and only Hindi as the official language of those States and when in the Punjab the Sachchar furmula operates to the exclusion to the President. The Conference was quite successful. Over 200 delegates attended the Conference inspiration of the fact that it was being held at a time when Urdu workers everywhere are busy with Census work. mula operates to the exclusion of Urdu, and when Delhi is the seat of quite a good number of Urdu-knowing people, the Anjuman has taken recourse to Article 347 of the Constitu-

tion.
This Article says: "On a This Article says: "On a demand made in that behalf, the President may, if he is satisfied that a substantial proportion of the population of a State desire the use of any language spoken by them to be recognised by that State, direct that such language shall also he officially recognised.

political life, specially in Uttar Pradesh, had created an atmosphere of hostility against Urdu. Urdu was denounced as alien and Urdu speaking people were doubted for their patriotism.

However, persistent efforts mand under Article 347 of One of Constitution.

The Conference resolution recorded as their mother-tongue in the coming Census. This campaign bodes ill for the July 14 Notification of the people of Punjab.

Government of India fails If it succeeds in misleading short of the latter and only considerable sections of Punjab.

Secondly, Urdu-speaking pressure on the Congress; and also create favourable conditions for vote-catching in the soon. Yet Urdu has no place even in the Municipal administration in such places and also create favourable conditions for vote-catching in the coming elections. This game, however, can be defeated by all the secular parties and versed all this by again making the insue of Punicipal Subscience. number in such places as Kanpur, Jaunpur, Agra and so on. Yet Urdu has no place even in the Municipal administration in such places.
Lastly, even this Notification has no legal status in the presence of an Act in U.P. declaring Hindi as the standard for the such places and the such places. So far as the Akalis are continuous as the signs that the dominant Ication has no legal status in the presence of an Act in U.P. declaring Hindi as the

official language of that State. That is why officials could conveniently ignore and in practice deny even

Other

Resolutions

The Conference has, there-fore, demanded that the official language Act of these States should be amended to include the specific place that Urdu has to be accorded in the administrative and educa-tional life of these States.

The Conference has also said

in its resolution that Bihar has taken no steps even under the July 14 Notification of the Government of India Madhya Pradesh has not taken official cognisance of the requirements of the Urdu-speaking people

in that State.

By another resolution the
Conference has demanded Conference has demanded that the office and authority of the Linguistic Minorities Commissioner should be ex-panded. At present many State mean that the Anjuman wanted to carre out separate regions in the above States where Urdu would be exclusively used as the official langumere correspondence with the Government concerned and to submitting their annual report

Ajoy Ghosh Sends Message

THE Communist Party of India has consistently advocated the view. that each language snoken in our multi-lingual country should be given every cial recognition in the mossible opportunity of Bihar and Delhi—which possible opportunity of growth in the region in which it is spoken; that education in all its stages languages spoken by the people of that region; that languages spoken by considerable minorities in have also taken the view of Urdu for official purpostable that Hindi should gradually replace English as the inter-State language of India as far as the Communist and of the Central Indian Party of India is concerned Administration but that there should be no imposition even in this regard and it should not in any way of the country in event and the country in any way of the country in event and the country in the country

In course of a message number of people speak it to the All-India Urdu Conference (Kanpur, February 4-5) General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Communist Party of stitution as one of the national language of this country.
Clearly, therefore, not

only every possible facility should be provided to its teaching in all stages, but it should be given also official recognition in the IIP the home-regions of this beautiful language. All deeducation in all its stages mocratic elements in our should be provided in the country support this view, country support this view, including many Congressmen. Nevertheless, in actual practice hindrances continue to be placed in proconsiderable minorities in any region must also be viding facilities for educatostered and protected and tion in Urdu in these very given due official status. We have also taken the view of Urdu for official purposations and also in the use have also taken the view of Urdu for official purposations.

tion even in this regard and or Urdu-speaking people of it should not in any way our country in every pos-hinder the full growth of sible way, considering Urdu the regional languages of language and its literature our country.

As regards Urdu, it is an incontestable historical fullest possible growt development as a new contestable and the language. as a precious cultural hertfact that it is the language of a very considerable number of our people in the Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Delhi and outsea large specifies of our Urdu-Delhi and quite a large speaking countrymen.

*FROM CENTRE PAGE
reaction among the masses against the attempts to incite them against their own mother tongue in the game of communal powerpolitics; on the other hand. this section of the leadership led by R.S.S. chief Goliwalkar now adopted the tactic of declaring the entire area of the present State as Punjabi-speaking in order to be able to argue for maingaing the status quo on the constant of the punjabi and Hariana people able to argue for maingaing the status quo on the constant of the punjabi and Hariana people in the punjabi and Hariana people for linguistic demargation.

dership led by Master Tara Singh has drawn any lessons that the toe to eason that it was only due to tactical reasons that some Akail leaders had begun talking of non-communal initial they want is something different. Among the supporters of the "morcha", there is bewilderment and some hearts searching is going on. Now Masterji has started his campagating that the "morcha" has won great victories including "the promise not to discriminate against the Sikks in the way of linguistic demargation.

"sympathy and responsibility" was well received by the Conference.

Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru, directives are sought by the MP, presided over the Confer-Urdu-speaking people of the ence. He struck a note of con-U.P., Bihar, Delhi and the Punjab.

The Notification of July 14, Now with Congress-Akali negotiations in the offing it

the July 14 Notification of the feeple of Punjab.

Government of India falls short of the latter and only considerable sections of Punspeaks of Urdu being used for jab Hindus, it would increase not incertain districts and the city of Lucknow.

Firstly, the purposes specified are not satisfactory.

Secondly, Urdu-speaking people are in quite a good anumber in such places as

Akali leadership led by Sant
Fatch Singh had begun to
put its demand on a secular
basis, demanding acceptance
of the linguistic principle
with a Boundary Commussion to demarcate the boundaries. Among sections of
the Akali masses also there
has been some rethinking.

basis of concessions to Akali
communalism in return for
election advantages for the
Congress.
For this will directly play
into the hands of the Hindu
communalists, who will exploit it to raily the Hindu
masses and it will strengthen
Sikh communalism among the masses and it will strengthen Sikh communalism among the

> through a firm stand on de-mocratic principles, through the formation of the Pun-jabi Suba and Hariana Prant on a secular linguistic basis as pointed out in nist Party that would solve the problem once for all and also create condition forging strong unity of the Punjabl people and for deis a consummation devoutly to be wished for

the Punjabi and Hariana peo-ple for linguistic demarcation cining the promise not to dis-criminate against the Sikhs in the formation of a linguistic

ple for linguistic demarcation of the area.

Such a united front alone can forge the mass sanctions to compel the Congress rulers to follow a principled course and convede the demand. During the Akali morcha itself, because of the exigencies of the situation to exigencies of the situation bitter morcatic basis, an unprinciexigencies of the situation and learning from bitter experience, a section of the Akali leadership led by Sant Takah Sirah had begun to concessions to Akali Patan for the basis of concessions to Akali Patan for the p

ALIGARH ENQUIRY REPORT SMASHES

* FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

THE Report of the Aligarh Muslim University Enquiry Committee which has recently been which has been widely commented upon in the press and is going to be laid before Parliament.

the GOI, the Committee says that "the price paid in every case was reasonable and in some cases considerably less than the figure arrived at for purposes of valuation" by the Chief Technical Adviser.

The Committee has dealt at

laid before Parliament.

Although formally appointed by the University, the Committee was really nominated by the Government of India since its personnel was decided upon by the Education Ministry.

Its Report is a very important of the University and has suggested a series of response to the University for not settling audit objections, but those who had inflated these unsettled interest interest. personnel was decided upon by the Education Ministry. Its Report is a very important document and deserves serious consideration by all those who are interested in problems of University education and organisation. But the way in which a few members of Parliament and a section of the press have been treating the Enquiry Committee suggests that some people, at least, have been interested solely in obtaining from

ments have been cut down to

size by the Committee's investigations. There are only two or three cases of appointments

posts where the Committee has discovered any irregula-rity at all. All the other

cases relate to administrative staff, down to minor clerical posts.

FALSE

CHARGES

tments to teaching

ested solely in obtaining from it sensational revelations about all kinds of misdoings in the Aligarh University.

Such people must now sorey be disappointed, although hey might hide their discomfiture by distorting some of the Committee's statements or jumping on the few irregularities that the Committee has

The New Age had exposed in March 1960 the irresponsible character of the allegations levelled against the

isble character of the allegations levelled against the University during a discussion in Parliament on March 2, which had been widely publicised in the press.

ALLEGATIONS

DISPROVED

These allegations had been widely grist to the mill of those who were attacking the Wulley point of communal reaction. Wild accusations of financial irregularities, embezziement, favouritism, etc., were accompanied by insinuations in the allegation in the press.

CHARGES

Kerala Education Bill or had been critical of the manner in which the Kerala situation had been handled by the Union Government.

"Now, whatever may be one's views as regards the correct-position is not convincing. For example, it seems to suggest that the founding fathers (of our resign from Government service are not applicable to University in the University."

On the canduct of the processity received are not applicate the pean of the manner in which the Kerala situation had been critical of the manner in which the Kerala situation and been critical of the manner in which the Kerala situation and been critical of the manner in which the Kerala setuation been critical of the manner in which the Kerala setuation and been critical of the manner in which the Kerala situation and been critical of the manner in which the Kerala situation and been critical of the manner in which the Kerala situation and been critical of the manner in which the Kerala setuation and been critical of the manner in which the Kerala setuation and been critical of the manner in which the Kerala situation and been critical of the manner in which the Kerala situation and been critical of the manner in which the Kerala situation and been critical of the manner in which the Kerala situation and been critical of the manner in which the Kerala situation and been critical of the manner in which the Kerala situation and been critical of the manner in which the Kerala situation and been critical of the manner in which the Kerala situation and been critical of the manner in which the Kerala situat were accompanied by insinua ployees.
tions about "anti-national" The C

been made. "Rumours of the wildest character which have ference about the wisdom of not the slightest evidence in support, are readily accepted.

"For example, we may refer that the University must rectathe uproar created by the allegation that machinery out by the Committee and so worth several lakks of runees far as possible accept the allegation that machinery out by the Committee and so worth several lakhs of rupees far as possible accept the intended for the Engineering College had been diverted to Pakistan. This we find was a totally baseless allegation "Similarly wild allegations regarding anti-national actication out by the Committee and so teachers to form or to carry on active Communist propoganda among students of the University. So much for the political carried with these financial teachers of the University and administrative reforms.

"Gimilarly wild allegations regarding anti-national activity on the campus disturb the public mind, but leave the University helpless. The denial of such rumours is not readily possible, nor does it carry conviction to minds already repidiced".

Much had been made in Parliament and in the press of purchase of houses and land by the University at supposed. It supposed it eachers of the University staff of the Parliament and in the press of purchase of houses and land by the University at supposed. It supposed in the Education Minister in the had been made about artitions."

Much had been made in the press of purchase of houses and land by combitant prices. In one case the Education Minister unived press comment by not defending the Scoretary of the Ministry. The Committee has now found these accusal that the forty relations of a about by the Hindustan Times are now reduced to 20! The University as a mino-communal lines. They have accepted the ideal for the Washing upon the report of Replying upon the readily possible, nor does in the University and the Communists at Aligarh has now of substantiating the charge the University and the Communist of the Communists of the University and the Government of allegation of the Government of allegation was attempt was made to make the University and the Communist in the Replying of the

garb and the Hindustan Times suggested that they had strengthened their position in the University by practising nenotism! nepotism!

All these charges were laid before the Committee. Its distinguished member, Justice P. N. Sapru went into the than the figure arrived at for purposes of valuation" by the Chief Technical Adviser.

The Committee has dealt at mittee expressed "broad agree-"

ACADEMIC FREEDOM

This Note is of the greatest interest to educationists everywhere because it sharply poses the issue of what academic freedom consists of and how it

ed, it flows from political

"The question may be raised whether lecturers should be allowed to participate in political activities and join political parties. I can see no valid objections to this".

More specifically still, Justice Sapru says: "It was said in the course of our investigation that some teachers of the University had appeared in the course of the course of the University had appeared in the course of the University had supported the Kerala Education Bill or had been critical of the manner in

tions about "anti-national" The Committee has rightly emphasised the importance of University autonomy. But it has at the same time laid certain limitations on it and in its practical proposals allowed the most performed and emphasised the importance of the University autonomy. But it has at the same time laid certain limitations on it and in its practical proposals allowed channels of Governent interference about the wisdom of which opinions may differ using the sapru has this to say: "There is evidence to show that some of the teachers of the University autonomy. But it has at the same time laid certain limitations on it and in its practical proposals allowed channels of Governent interference about the wisdom of which opinions may differ the sapru has this to say: "There is evidence to show that some of the teachers of the University autonomy. But it has at the same time laid certain limitations on it and in its practical proposals allowed channels of Governent interference about the wisdom of which opinions may difference to show that some of the teachers of the University autonomy. But it has at the same time laid certain limitations on it and in its practical proposals allowed channels of Governent interference about the wisdom of which opinions may difference to show that some of the teachers of the University autonomy. But it has to some of the teachers of the University and may be used to show that some of the tonic specific proposals. There is evidence to show that some of the tonic specific proposals allowed call market thought and indeed call

"There is no evidence whatsoever which would justify us in coming to the conclusion that these leftist beliefs are a cloak for combeliefs are a cloak for communalism or that they have been misusing their power, authority or influence as teachers to form or to carry on active Communist pro-

whatsoever.

Most of the others are either very distant relations or are relations of those who have married relations of the Professor. Thus, one included in the list is the husband of the the list is the husband of the sister-in-law of a cousin of a lady who has married the son of a second cousin of the Professor!

Five are connected by marriages which took place long

rive are connected by mar-riages which took place long after their appointments. The lists of the alleged rela-tions of other teachers show

tions of other teachers snow similar lack of accuracy. In Muslim and non-Muslim studence, eight relations are listed, ents together in a single but in fact only one of these "academic community". The one, eight relations are listed, but in fact only one of these is a distant relation and the other seven are not related at

freedom consists of and how it should be protected.

"Thought and its free expression in the Universities", Justice Sapru says, "should not and cannot be controlled without destroying the academic freedom of the universities. So far as political activity is concerned, it flows from political activity is concerned, it flows from political activity is concerned.

Muslims where caste considerations do not affect marriages, relation ted through marriages are extremely numerous.

except by making a law forbid-ding marriages connecting ding marriages connecting families of members of staff. This needs stressing here because the Committee, while declining to "overemphasise" the fact of relationships, has not offered any judgment on the complaint implied in these

the complaint implied in these lists, namely, that "influence was used by the relatives referred to" in securing appointments of the listed persons.

The Committee had to deal with the question of communalism in various forms. It has broadly found that the outcries about communal discrimination in admissions and appointments were exaggerated. It has approved in general ed. It has approved in general the methods and procedures of admitting students current followed by the University. nts currently

SECULAR UNIVERSITY

now 35 per cent of the whole number—"not, in our opin-ion, an unreasonably small number—"not, in our opinion, an unreasonably small proportion". It has recognised the difficulties of members of minorities who might face discrimination elsewhere; and while rejecting the idea that all Muslim students should come to Aligarh or should get preferential treatment here, it suggests an investigation by the Government of allegation about discriminations against minorities in the "various regional universities".

It suggests that the Banaras University might modify some of the method of persuasion and large-heartedness on the part of all concerned, progressive forces will assert themselves and that it will become increasingly clear to the socalled traditionalists that a separation of the solution and the state of the solution.

related at all in any manner educationist, had firmly laid

In the Committee's words, In the Committee's words, "in our opinion, apart from standing for these things which every University must recognise as the true objective of University education, the Aligarh Muslim University must develor and or sity m sity must develop and em-phasise the study of what we may describe as the contri-bution of the Muslim com-munity to the complex pattern of our national cul-

ture". It will best do so by bringing , ents together in a single
; "academic community". The
hostels of the University where
hostels of the University where
Muslim, Hindu and Sikh students share rooms and eat
together are the best testimony to the success with
which the youth of all communities can break old walls and
barriers separating them

or distant. In one case a marriage was anticipated to provide five relations to a senior Professor, none of whose relations (except for a daughter) are on the staff.

These connected lists will hardly carry any conviction, specially when it is remembered that among educated Muslims where caste con-

ALIGARH'S -FUTURE

All will hope with the Committee that "the practical steps already taken by the University with a view to fostering (inter-communal) emo-tional integration will continue to prevail in its policies and practices so that it may serve as a model for others to

This does not mean that communalism is a spent force in Aligarh. It does exist Justice Sapru in his note has pointed out that many people who have a deep reverence for their religious traditions are not necessarily communalists.

But he has sounded the warning that "some organisations like the Jama'at.i-Islami have carried religious revivalism to an extent which needs vigilance on the part of the University! This does not mean that

part of the University!

The communalists of both sides are the greatest ally of each other. Each act of discrimination, overt or covert, against the minority, a riot at Non-Muslim students are now 35 per cent of the whole number—"not in our onin munalism to be co successful must be

FEBRUARY 19, 1961

INDONESIA'S REVOLUTION

ESPITE many difficulties, obstacles and complexities, the political situation in Indonesia had, in the main, been shifting to the Left during 1960.

must be patriots and democrats who aspire for Socialism.

These conditions were essentiated by backbone in policy.

The trader the recent did not propose the recent did not policy.

both military and personal; that the moving force of the Indonesian revolution is the entire Indonesian people, who are consistently anti-imperial-

ist and anti-feudal, with the workers and peasants as the basic force; that the character

national-democratic; and that

its perspectives are socialism, not capitalism.

The Broad Lines of the

Plan for National Construc-tion are in keeping, within certain limits, with the anti-feudal and anti-impe-

rialist features of the Indo-

It does not empha

foreign capital investment, but

land reform, and agriculture, industrialisation and heavy industry and it places the state

sector in a leading position in

the country's economy.

Bureaucrats and other un-

haracter of the Indo

Capital was available from

The foremost factor for the

Plan of Construction was the Indonesian people themselves. The main task was to arouse

their still-unawakened mighty

forces and then find the right

organisation and cadres.

For this five things were

Stronger revolutionary national unity from top to bottom following the example

of the rapid and correct working of the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly.

• The state sector of the

taken over, as well as other

foreign monopoly capitalist concerns. Profits on foreign capital must be reduced, all

round international economic relations developed, prices pegged and wages raised. Land reform must be seriously car-

enthusiasm, the fullest democratic liberties must be

given to the people, but not to the reactionaries who oppose the Broad Lines of State

Policy. Constructive criticism

must be encouraged and bure-

aucracy, corruption and waste stamped out. All activity against the trade unions, in-cluding efforts to create false

Large scale explanation

Training of cadres to fit

ghout the country.

ried out.

O To

Indonesia's construction

necessary:

Raising

Resources

D. N. Aidit, Chairman of the and to oppose dictatorship, Indonesian Communist Party, told this to the special Plenum 30 and 31, 1961, in making his

He said that the entire forces of the Indonesian re-volution, with the nationalists, religious groupings and Com-munists as the core, had launched an offensive against the remnants of colonialism and

He said the dissolution of the Masjumi and PSI was an important step in the national struggle. These two reaction-ary groups and the now disintegrating Democratic League had held important positions in Government institutions, in economic and political life and institutes of higher learning

They had used their post tions to spread cynicism and pessimism, especially among young people, to despoil parts of the national organism of the Republic, to damage the apparatus of Government, spread disorder in the econo-my, split national unity and reaken the fighting spirit of

creative persons said the Plan could not be implemented without foreign capital invest-But he warned that the social base of those reactionnesian revolution since it was precisely because of foreign ary groups—imperialism, feu-dalism and compradore capi-talism—had not been destroycapital investment that the Indonesian people have lived for centuries in the lap of ed. The reactionary force would not disappear merely with the dissolution of rethe country's abundant re-sources; or money and experts could be borrowed from coun-tries showing goodwill towards

Reaction's Disguise

Reaction was now changing its old, filthy clothes
The new-style reactionaries pretended to suppor main line of Indon policy—the implementation of the 1945 Constitution. Indonesian policy—the implementation of the 1945 cialism, Guided Economy, Guided Democracy and National Identity—but they really tried to sabotage it. especially by opposing the forces of national indepen-

economy must be streng-thened and any attempt to He called for vigilance to hand back enterprises to private hands prevented. Remaining Dutch firms must be expose both the old and new kind of Right wing. Imperialism was desperate because of the successes of the Indoforces were creating various difficulties, depressing living standards still further, obs tructing the development of the cooperative movement and distorting Indonesian Government policy contrary to the

The Communist Party of the Broad Lines of State Policy and the Broad Lines of Planned Economic Develop-

cluding efforts to create false
trade unions, must be stopped.

Sames.

This depended on the level
trade unions, must be stopped. The Broad Lines of State Policy contains the vital and basic problems of the Indoand discussion, involving the maximum number of the people must be carried throu-

It explains that the basic enemies of the Indonesian re-volution are imperialism and eudalism, that the task is not to establish the political power of one class, one group or one the needs of the Plan must party, but of the entire people be speeded up, and the cadres

tial for the Broad Lines of State Policy and the National Plan of Construction to be fulfilled well. It was the duty of the Communist Party and all progressives to struggle for the fulfilment of these condi-

tions.

The General Line of the Indonesian Communist Party, laid down at its last Congress was to continue to build the national front and to build up the Party for the completion of the demands of the August 1945 revolution.

On this basis, the Party had unfurled three banners, the banner of the national front, of the building of the Party and of the 1945 revolu
into a military pact, resistance to foreign monopoly capital, etc.

"Only by placing the inte-rests of the class and the

could only be won by a national front. Recently President Sukarno gave the drawing together of the forces unity of national, religious and Communist political groups

(NASACOM). The correctness

of this policy was proved by the fact that the imperialists and Right-wingers are fright-ened to death of NASACOM.

But the broad masses of

the people must be active in a national front and since

the vast majority of the peo-

ple are workers and peasants it must be based on the close

alliance of workers and pea-

the united front meant for the CP the strengthening of NASACOM unity and working

harder and in a more organis-ed way among the ranks of the

He reported recent successes

in work among the peasants due to the devoted work of

large numbers of cadres of the

Party. Many cadres from the towns had been tirelessly going in and out of the villages, staying in the midst

of the peasants in order to help them to organise and to create cadres from among the peasants themselves as well as

to carry out research on agra-

rian questions and the living conditions of peasants.

It is impossible to have a broad and consistent anti-imperialist national front

with a peasant movement which does not develop.

To help the peasant move-ment the land reform, which

had become the official policy of the Government, must be carried out consistently and in a way beneficial to the pea-sants and especially the agri-

cultural workers and poor pea-

consciousness among the pea-

sants: the peasants themselves

must free themselves from the landlords. Only in this way could development among the

peasants, such as the develop-ment of cooperatives and the

Peasant

Movement

sants.

the neasants did not mean neglecting the work among the workers or the petty bourgeoisie, the intel-lectuals and other sections to strengthen the national front.

to remember, in connection with the national front that the task is to solve the most hasic contradicion of the present time, namely the con-tradiction of the Indonesian nation and the imperialists. This included the freeing of West Irian, preventing attempts to drag Indonesia into a military pact, resistance

terests, that is, the interess people, and by preserving within recognised limits the class and party interest will our cooperation with other classes and groups be benefi-

achieve such cooperation",

he said.
To uphold the banner of

party building we must build a Party which has a broad mass

character and which is con-solidated ideologically, politi-

cally and organisationally.

He reminded the Plenum

Party's policy because it was at one with the direct economic and political interests of the

mass of the people and with national interests. That was

why they were devoting atten-

other problems

destructive elements.

tion to activities in the sphere

ported by our Party and very much in line with its general

programme, it is more necessary than ever to be vigilant in

This means raising the

ideological level of the whole

Party and studying our philosophy in the correct way, that is connected with

the living reality, the facts.

the day to day line and the

Where this is being done it

removes difficulties for our members and increases the

working capacity of our

It is also necessary to encou-

rage the spread of such educa-tion among the masses outside

the Party, especially education about the basic problems of

D. N. AIDIT

competent leaders in all fields of work political, economic, cultural, mass work and Party work.

But this was not nearly enough for the great struggles ahead. It was necessary to develop many more cadres of democratic parties, so that all their energies could be devoted to the implementation of the Broad Lines of State Police

The criterion for a cadre of the Communist Party, taking his whole life and development into account, is: is he firm in implement-ing the Party line, in observing Party discipline, in keeping close ties with the masses? Is he able to work masses? Is he able to work independently, is he active, does he work hard and selflessiv?

Such cadres must be assisted to develop by giving them guidance and encouraging res-ponsibility; by assisting them to evaluate their own work and to correct their mistakes, without continuously attack-ing them; by enabling them to study and promoting them at the right time, and hy helping

fere with their work. In this way, many cadres could be developed. But for this it was essential to have true democratic life in the Party, to see that its members understood democracy and its relation to centralism

that the Congress decisions on building the Party had pointed out that the reactionaries found it difficult to attack the centralism.
This was necessary for them to become good fighters for democracy outside the Party and to take part one hundred per cent in the struggle against imperialism and feudal

The Communist Party holds of ideology, quietly smuggling bourgeois idealist outlooks into political, legal, cultural and high the banner of the 1945 Revolution, for its complete realisation, namely the complete abolition of imperialism It was wrong to be passive in face of this attack, to allow the working class fortress to be infiltrated and disrupted by and feudalism in Indonesia is the indispensable condition for proceeding towards a socialist

After the Provisional Peo-Great ple's Consultative Assembly which endorsed policies sup-Victory

"The Communists do not want to take a short cut in history and that is why as long as the demands of the August 1945 revolution have not been realised in their entirety we shall not let go of this banner of the revolu-tion."

Many of the programmes and slogans put forward by the Communist Party for completing the August 1945 re-volution have become decisions of state bodies, including the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly. This is an outstanding political victory for the Indonesian people. dan people.

But deep ravines separate the decisions of official bodies from the implementation of these decisions. A very heavy struggle is needed to put these

the Indonesian revolution and its character and explaining the socialist objective and the nature of socialism to remove The only guarantee for this is the strong unity confusions that arise in these days when everybody talks about socialism.

With the correct political nation, of the working people, of the working class and of the Communists. Only with such strong unity can victory be

FEBRUARY 19, 1961

Liberty Salutes

Lumumba, Martyr Of Man!

YOU can know a man by YOU can know a man by his enemies. Rarely have capitalist Press, radio and television gone to such lengths to vilify a leade and foully murder him as in the case of Patrice Lumumba, 35-year old Premier of the Congo.

Why because he personifies the Congolese people's demand for Uhuru—freedom. Freedom to rule their own country and use its abundant wealth for their own betterment.

But for the imperialist Pofrom uranium, copper, dia-monds, coffee, cotton, and from the rubber and ter fruit of Belgian exploita-

When Congolese crowds early in 1959 assembled, des-pite all bans to hear Lumum-ba's report and to acclaim the Patrice Lumumba was born in Wembonyama a village of grass and mud huts in the central Kasai Province.

His peasant parents were replied with a massacre; at least 49 Africans were killed Roman Catholics. He received his early education at a Pro-testant mission school, follow-ed by a teacher's training at a Congolese 'crowds were Catholic seminary. That was the highest education African could get under the

Belgians.
Wide further reading on his own left the young Lu-mumba a free-thinker in * FROM PAGE FOUR religion, with a growing sense of the injustice of the established colonialist order. He did not want to take up

teaching, became first a Go vernment tax clerk, the transferred to the postal service and was made assistant postmaster at Stanleyville, capital of the Eastern Pro-He had been a keen student

of political ideas since his school days, but his active political life really started at

There he became President of the African Staff Associa-tion—one of the few kinds of organisations permitted for Africans by the Belgian colowere banned. Lumumba increasingly chafed against these restrictions.

Steadfast Comrade

But just then he was re-moved from the scene alto-gether; the authorities ac-cused him of embezzlement and imposed a two-year jail sentence. He served the sen-tence rather than give away subordinates in the post office who were responsible. office who were responsible. Released from prison, he went to Leopoldville, worked in a law firm, then as sales

executive for a Belgian-owned brewery.

Married, with four children, the tall, rake-thin young man with a small goatee beard and

cultural societies as an out-standing speaker. standing speaker.

Independence had already been demanded by all these groups jointly in 1955. Then in 1958 the Congolese National 1958 the Co been demanded by all these groups jointly in 1955. Then in 1958 the Congolese National Movement (MNC) was set up, with Lumumba as President

This was the first nation-vide Congolese independence wide Congolese independence party—and is today still the only one of the Congo's, now 65, parties and groups to have

again shot down in October 1959—with at least 20 killed—and the next month the Beland the next month the Beland the next month the Beland the cord of Impa allestons

Belgian Government was formore than any other party. Congolese leaders in Brussels Belgian in January 1960

Their hope received a rude shock when Lumumba went to the first All-African People's Conference in Accra in December 1958 as the leasure of the first All-African People's Conference in Accra in December 1958 as the leasure of the Belgians were Kasavul take part unless he was pre-sent—so the Belgians were forced to free him from jail and fly him to Brussels. der of the Congolese delegation. The Conference pled and fly him to ged Africawide support for the Congo's freedom strug-

Freedom

Lumumba demanded immediate independence and the formation of a strong central Government—the only hope if tribalism and regionalism were not to deliver the coun-

and the next month the Bergian authorities arrested and jailed Lumumba for alleged incitement.

But so great was the indeBut so pendence pressure from all ba, won 35 seats out of 137 in sides by this time that the chamber of deputies—

Despite Belgian attempts to bypass him, in favour of Mr. Kasavubu, Lumumba's Govern-ment obtained the necessary majority after negotiation

Great Leader

How the Force Publique, the 25,000 strong Congolese Army, rose up against its Belgian officers. How Belgium replied by pouring paratroopers into the Congo, and how the Congo appealed to the U.N

Lumumba himself repeatedly and strongly remind U. N. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjoeld that the with other groups.

Still the Belgians hoped

Congo, according to the Secuthat the new Congo—with rity Council resolution, to see Belgian officers, administrators, bases—would stay a colomy under another name lace—and to help the Congolese Gongo, according to the cecuresponse to the property of the congolese Gongo, according to the cecuresponse to the property of the congolese Gongo, according to the cecuresponse to the congo. when he arrived he still bore the marks of the manacles on his wrists.

tors, bases—would stay a colony under another name, leaving the giant Union Miniere
and the Society Generale

Conso.

and the Society Generale and the Society Generale dominating its economy.

The swift events that followed hardly need recalling. How Lumumba, in the presence of King Baudouin, roundly recalled the colonia—

—not to "take over" in the Congo

KERALA ALLIANCE CRACKING

tions to save the alliance Ministry from the serious kie up crisis that has affected it.

A special article published then in the Mathrubhoomi on Feb-

decisions, the Belgian

Belgian guns at Leopold-

could continue to rule, sent

Lumumba on a viist to Brussels, in the hope that he could be fashioned into a pliable

African

Unity

"At the time of the General Elections in 1957, the anti-Communist parties fought among themselves, thus splitting their votes. The result was a Communist victory. The people of Kerala have had an experience of Communist rule. A desire that such a possiblility should not arise again is the basis of the present allility ance... It, therefore, does not require great foresight to say that this unity should be continue so long as the threat defeated, however, must give the Nation Development Council did not account the same stand. Here, for example, is the comment made by the Indian share; they, on the other han came back satisfied when the result of the Parli by-election:

"The majority of 12,200 votes and require great foresight to continue so long as the threat defeated, however, must give think of organising a united to the Nation. Development Council did not face the Central Government with the unanimous demanded the Nation. Development Council did not face the Central Government with the unanimous demanded the propole of Kerala for it is the comment made by the Indian came back satisfied when the came back satisfied when the very council did not face the Central Government the unanimous demand of the people of Kerala for it is the comment made by the Indian came back satisfied when the very council did not face the Central Government the unanimous demand of the people of Kerala for it is the comment made by the Indian came back satisfied when the very council did not face the Central Government council did not face the Central Government with the unanimous demand of the people of Kerala for it is the comment made by the Indian came back satisfied when the very council did not face the Central Government with the unanimous date the people of Kerala for it is the comment made by the Indian came in this. The all-Indian face the Central Government with the unanimous date with the unanimous date and the people of Kerala for it is the comment made by the Indian came in this. The all-Indian face the Central Government with the unanimous date with the unanimous date and the people of Kerala for it among themselves, thus split-

alliance to the effect that the alliance Ministry will continue for its full term of five years, the article goes on: "Those who fix such a five-year limit to unity are presumably preton that the alliance Ministry will continue for its full term of the party which has a mutual blekering."

Another organ of Indian Big Business, the Times of India, echoes the same sentiment in pared to have unity broken its editorial which is signifi-and multilateral contest take cantly entitled "Warning from place, when another election Kerala."

takes place after five years. people at least who believe that this is an over-optimistic assessment. We cannot afford struggle, are living in a fools paradise. The 1959 struggle was the first and last of its

kind."
The article in conclusion demands a categorical joint statement by all the parties rooted out of Kerala.

ing ther so-called 'demo-crate unity' is the negative appeal to their ranks to put up a joint front against Communism.

The anti-Communist Malaylam Press, however, is not alone in this. The all-India Press controlled by Big Business takes the same stand. Here, for example, is the comment made by the Indian Express on the result of the came back satisfied when they would be appeal to their ranks to put up a joint front against Communism Communism Communism Serves and the PSP Ministers who attended the National Development Council did not face the Central Government with the unanimous demand of the Kerala when they appeal to their ranks to put up a joint front against Communism C

continue so long as the threat of Communist rule lasts."

Referring to the statement made by some leaders of the alliance to the effect that the continue so long as the threat defeated, however, must give think of organising a united people's campaign for securing people's campaign for securing continue so the ruling party which has continue so long as the threat defeated, however, must give think of organising a united people's campaign for securing party which has continue so long as the threat defeated, however, must give think of organising a united people's campaign for securing party which has continue so long as the threat defeated, however, must give think of organising a united people's campaign for securing people's campaign for securing people's campaign for securing party which has continued to the ruling party which has conti

akes place after five years.

"There are, however, some the Parli constituency of the Kerala Assembly in a by-election last week is a fresh warnthat this is an over-optimised tion last week is a fresh warn-assessment. We cannot afford to take any risk in this matter. Those who think that if the Communist Party comes to power again, another call can be given for a liberation struggle, are living in a fools paradise. The 1959 struggle was the first and last of its

"....If the Congress and the their constant effort to be one up on the other, they will only help the Communists to prove their claim that the adminis-tration of the State has suffer-

to the people, a programme for the development of the country in general and of the State in particular. Kerala's industrial development of the particular. Kerala's industrial development of the state in particular. Their only hope of continument still continues. The unanimous demand of the Kerala.

The Communist Party for ing ther so-called 'demo- animous demand of the Kerala

get even less than half of what its Legislature unanimously demanded. They would not

The Communist Party, for its part, has always held and continues to hold that the work of securing for Kerala nations' economic develop-ment is a task which should to the Government that. despite its anti-Communism the Party would continue to the State. It thus opened out the possibility for developing a common movement for the development of the nation.

CRY LUMUMBA!

* FROM FRONT PAGE

ed Government, rather it has helped those foreign elements who wanted to subvert that indestructible. Let these stoo-

ges, puppets and quislings.
Some people may have grown
too old or too wise or too
senile, but the young heart of
Asia and Africa is sound and anger of Communism renains and till it is completely octed out of Kerala."

It is very clear from the above that the champions of anti-Communism do not expect to strengthen the bonds of unity among themselves on the basis of a positive programme of service tes means to them.

ed since the Namboodiripad Ministry was replaced by the Coalition Government."

The people of Kerala are, on the size of freedom is unquenchable in our hearts, and on the slain boddes of Lumumba, Okito and Mpolo will rise a curse more formidable than the mighty armies of to extend the horizons of NATO, and this curse of the people will drive the foreign February 15.

exploiters from the heartland

who wanted to subvert that Government and thus destroy ges, the Munongos and Tshomthe newly-won freedom of Congo.

Otherwise those who control the affairs at UN have no peculiar fascination for non-violence. They chose a particular method in a set of given circumstances because it suited them best. It was napalm bombs in Korea, now tory and forgotten for all time.

given circumstances because it suited them best. It was napalm bombs in Korea, now it is non-violence in Congo. Methods may differ but the purpose is the same: imperialist domination.

But they will not succeed, neither those who wish to lack to us as our masters where their stoo
The their stoo
The trium and forgotten 101.

But Lumumba will live. At this very moment of his death, he is being reborn and reincarnated in a million African hearts. His name is whispered like some sacred incantation in every African home, and his words ring true in our ears like a multi-million chorus of re
The trium and forgotten 101.

But Lumumba will live. At this very moment of his death, he is being reborn and reincarnated in a million African hearts. His name is whispered like some sacred incantation in every African home, and his words ring true in our ears like a multi-million chorus of recoast in Afric

PAGE THIRTEEN

PAGE TWELVE

implementation of certain and organisational line of the beneficial laws proceed along Party, its success would be

FEBRUARY 19. 1961

SAMPURNANAND TO FORM PARTY?

From Ramesh Sinha

would not be out of place. As is known, it was an unexpected turn of events that had, aided by Sampurnanand's foolish gamble, catapulted Gupta to power. He did not command a majority in the Congress legislature party.

But now he had come to

possess' two assets: Nehru's support, because he needed him for the 1962 elections, and power of the new posi-tion which he could use to break up the opposition in his own party. Both these his own party. Both these were used by him to buy np support for himself just as they had been used earlier by his discredited fore-

Quite a few stunts were staged about "economy", drive to end corruption", and so on, and, one must admit that, they were so well don the imagination of the peo-ple. People were being persua-ded to believe that it was a new Gupta who had learnt the lesson of his two ignominous defeats.

Unity Destroyed

He announced that he would be a democrat who would never enter the legislature through the back door. Simultaneously with all this was carried on the seduction of the ever-too-willing Congressmen and now it does appear to be a fact that a majority of the seduction of the seduction of the seduction of the congressmen and now it does appear to be a fact that a majority of the seduction was on a group basis" (Statesman, Feb. 9). a fact that a majority of the Congress legislature party has "But even he had to "admit" rallied behind this new star that the "unanimity" was of theirs in the U.P.! "only technical"; for before

But it did not create unity this drama of "unanimous n the Congress or its legisla- election" was staged, there vant of the people, had an in many ways reminiscent of nounced that, after resigning the disgraceful scenes enacted the Chief Ministership, he would go back to his old job between Dr. Sri Krishna Sinha of teaching in the Kashi-Vid-

The Kashi Vidyapith had hastened to assure him pub-licly that his honoured post had always been kept vacant for him. But he did not leave either for Kashi or for Uttar Kashi. He hired a huge and aristocratic bungalow in the city to stay and began to

A word about the hectic higgie-haggle for "unity" which preceded February 6 would not be out of place. As is known, it was an unexpective known, it was an unexpective known that they were not as known that they were not had a now willing Need and Bisht

too had lost many a thing due to the removal of their top supporters from the ministeri-

fered a crushing defeat, it had proved to be an ugly and still-born child.

A word about the hectic for placete the Hallstone and Vichitra Narain Sharma, and Vichitra Narain Sharma, address.

When he came to the mee-ting he read out his letter and said that he did not wish

done. They all wrote, mind you individually, to the Go-vernor along the same lines. They also formed an "Action Committee" to guide their actions in the future.

A FTER the four month's enforced interrugation. Heeded by the ruling Congress party to try to put its house in order, when the U.P. State Legislature met on February 6, the Congress party was found to be riven more irrevocably than ever before.

With the exception of one off two, the entire lot of what has come to be known as the Sampurnanand group boycotted the Governor's Address along with all the parties of the Governor's Address along with all the parties of the Opposition; and, for the first time in the history of U.P's Legislature, the Congress Governor, B. Ramakrishna Rao had to address a minority house.

If the vaunted rules of Western style democracy were to be applied, the new Governor abulled from the first time in the newer once asked either Kamilapati fered a crushing defeat, it had proved to be an ugly and still-hear call parts.

The first open to lead in the open to lead in the open to lead in the open to lead in firm supporters of the exmandant in the future.

The nineteen, who had suffered to similate a sture, They also formed an "Action Committee" to all the efforts open called the target poposition to all the efforts of so-called unity by the efforts of so-ca stay outside the Ministry as

stay outside the Ministry as ordinary Congressmen.

They are, reliably reported, to be toying with the idea of forming a new organisation under the leadership of Dr. Sampurnand to fight the Congress in the coming General Elections. The full picture of this proposed organisation is not yet known, but, it is being said that it would appeal to all the parties of the opposition except the Communist

Party, to form some sort of an alliance or united front to fight the Congress in 1962.

These Congressmen under the leadership of Sampurna nand, the Jan Sangh, the Swatantra Party and the Praja Socialist Party (or at least the Triloki Singh wing of it) will organisation. The Party of Lohia, too, will be brought in to have some arrangement with it if not an actual united front.

I am further informed by people who should know that, in connection with that, in connection with the launching of this new venture, consultations are going on between Sampur-nanand, Jaya Prakash Nara-yan (who misses no oppor-tunity to rush to fish in any place where there are trou-bled waters) and Minoo

Probably Asok Mehta and are reported to be agreed on

SUCCESSION WAR IN BIHAR

From Our Special Correspondent

THE death of Sri Krishna Sinha, has unleashed a bitter war of succession inside the Bihar Congress which is being fought with all the weapons of intrigue. that are becoming characteristic of Congress affairs in one State after another.

In the first engagement that has just concluded, the former Revenue Minister and a protegee of the former dis Destroyed sident group, Binoda Nand
Jha has come out victorious
having been declared "unanimously elected" by the Legis-

election was on a group basis" (Statesman, Feb. 9).

election" was staged, there took place a bitter contest between the two rival factions,

in 1956, after K. B. Sahai had: quarrelled with the Chief had the "blessi Minister's favourite Mahesh A. N. Sinha and

But the people of Bihar had their own ideas about the pro-claimed "successors". They defeated both M. P. Sinha as

Sahai also went for his dar. shan and had some talks with the ailing Chief Minister. But after his return from Calcutta wide publicity was organised in the Bihar press, suggesting that Dr. S. K. Sinha has again given his "blessings" to K. B. Sahai and has named him to

of his rival as anything authoritative. And in the public enough to advise Sanjeeva meeting held to mourn the Reddy to allow M. P. Sinha to death of S. K. Sinha, he once contest. again declared that he had had the "blessings" of both
A. N. Sinha and S. K. Sinha
before their deaths. Thus he

Gone

Jagiwan Ram and Anugraha back to their original faction.
Babu's son Satyendra Narain Sinha (a Lok Sabha member from Bihar) rushed to Patna and decided that the Revenue as soon as some big induce-Minister B. N. Jha an old ment was offered to them. And leader of their faction should there was no dearth of inducebe their nominee and not K. B.

Schol "F. B. And To Continue The Latency The Control of the Control Sahai. "K.B." had no option

The Congress High Com. ed in s mand was seriously perturb- support. ed at these developments. Som ed at these developments.

Many among them traditionally belonged to the late
A. N. Sinha's faction in

Bihar and now wanted their

nomines to be the Chief

Minister. G. B. Pant is also minister. G. B. Pant is also reported to have favoured B. N. Jha for reasons best known to him. Hence, San-jeeva Reddy and Sadiq All were despatched posthasto

the disgraceful scenes enacted during the infamous struggle between Dr. Sri Krishna Sinha and Dr. Anugraha Narain Sinha in 1957.

Sri Krishna Sinha had on two different occasions named ed two different persons as his "heir apparent". In 1954 he had named Krishna Ballabh Sahal, the Revenue Minister in the then Cabinet to be his "snccessor", as the Chief Minister of Bihar. But Sanal and nas named nim to be the next Chief Minister Minister with M P. Sinha as his Deputy.

M. P. Sinha, however, contradicted this story by issuing a statement to the press characterizing K. B. Sahai as "one among thousands" who went to see the alling Chief gathered so much strength as to be almost sure of their victory. Hence B. N. Jha was bold enough to reject the compromise proposal on the agreed candidature of the Caretaker Chief Minister Deep Narain

Minister's favourite Mahesh
Prasad Sinha, he proclaimed
the letter to be his "successor", and left no stone unturned to annihilate K. B.
Sahai's group. This drove
K. B. Sahai into the arms of
the rival faction led by Dr.
A. N. Sinha

A. N. Sinha and S. K. Sinha
before their deaths. Thus he
proclaimed his candidature for
Chief Ministership on the very
morrow of S. K. Sinha's death.
Sinha had removed the dominating personality from the
scene of Congress politics in
been eliminated in 1956-57
litself. But the situation in the
other faction was not so simple. Central Railway Minister
Jagilwan Ram and Anugraha

But ultimately the earstt to withdraw. while dissident group succeed-The Congress High Com. ed in securing the majority

Some of the top monopoly bosses operating in Bihar had their own dirty role to play in this ministerial tangle. Birla's Searchlight openly backed the late A. N. Sinha's faction and enthasiastically supported B. N. Jha's candidature. Seth Shanti Prasad Jain.

who had played the host to the alling Dr. S. K. Sinha at Calcutta till only a few days back, is reported to have changed sides after his death. He was among the first to wire congratulations to B. N. Jha after his victory. Another congratulatory telegram to be received within few hours of the election was from Mahanthi, the Chief

* SEE FACING PAGE FEBRUARY 19, 1951

Afro-Asian Solidarity held at Bombay in December. But already it has done valuable preliminary work in helping to bring the Goa issue over again to the fore-front of the Indian political Right at this moment, three

States

mportant Goan leaders are touring-one in the South in West Bengal and one in the Punjab—addressing meetings and press conferences, public rallics and conventions, and meeting leaders of various par-Tour Of

They are seeking support for the work of the National Cam-paign Committee and for its page Committee and for its urgent demand for more effective action by the Government and people of India to drive Portuguese imperialism out of our sacred soil.

They have already completed a tour of some parts of the country, to Rajasthan (Bea-war, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Alwar) and Andhra (Anantapur and Cuddapah). At each of these places the Goan leaders re-ceived a tumultuous welcome the Goan leaders reby thousands of citizens, be-longing to all parties and

At each of the four important centres they visited in Rajasthan, Diwakar Kakodkar Goan People's Party, who has himself spent 8 years as pri-soner in the Portuguese Devil's Island of Cape Verde) and Cajetan Lobo (Secretary of the Goan Liberation Council and also one of the Secretaries of the National Campaign Com-mittee) were accorded warm civic receptions by the local municipalities.

Huge public rallies, meetings of bar associations, students, trade unionists, the press and interviews with leaders and workers of various partiesentire programme thumping success.

Rajasthan Donation

Aruna Asaf Ali, Chairman of the National Campaign Committee, joined the tour at Jodhpur, personally re-ceived a sum of five hundred rupees for the work of the Committee at the Civil reeption held there, from the Rajasthan Congress President Mathura Das Mathur.

Collections, large and small, coins and notes, were made in coins and notes, were many at several meetings and every-where there were promises of

T is just two months since the National Campaign committee. District Campaign Committees were formed with the support of leaders of various parties, local legislators and other representative personalities. sentative personalities. And now the tour continues

It will be recalled that the National Campaign Committee has begun its work at Delhi, where a 15-man del headed by Rev. Father Dr. H. O. Mascarenhae of the Goan Political Convention, had met leaders of all parties, the Prime Minister and other Ministers and had been promised support by all.

Bombay Gate

By ROMESH CHANDRA

Later, in January, the Committee sent a delegation, headed again by Father Mascarenhas, to the Bhavnagar Session of the Congress. The delegation contributed towards making Goa an important issue at the Session and was offered support by delegates from all States.

In Bombay itself, where so many Goans live, the National Campaign Committee's Secre-taries, Cajetan Lobo and George Vaz, took the initia George Vaz, took the initiative to set up a Goa Gate on the Republic Day, where lakhs who saw it were reminded of their duty to liberate Goa. The Governor of Bombay paid a special visit to the Gate, where volunteers were standing colecting coins for the Goa cam—(published last week) and the naign.

Messages sent to the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Council's emergency session at special visit to the Gate, where Cairo (January 21-22) by the volunteers were standing col—Goan Political Convention (published last week) and the National Campaign Committee

The National Campaign Committee was also fortunate in being able to send one of its leading members,

Goan cause and her speecn, devoted to Goa, was warmdevoted to Goa, was ly acclaimed by all.

BIG RESPONSE TO GOA CAMPAIGN

Bertha Braganza, Editor of Resolutions were passed by tuguese Colonialism and Free Goa to the Afro-Asian both the Afro-Asian Women's Conference at Conference and the Afro-Cairo in January. She was Asian Solidarity Council call-place. Cairo in January. She was able to win wide support among all delegates for the Daman and Diu.

Editor.

With the Santa Maria episode, a new spirit has Unity

Forging

Aruna Asaf All, in a press statement, has said that con-tacts are being established for the holding of such a Confer-ence with General Delgado and Captain Galvao and also the representatives of the International Junta of Portuga General Delgado as well as other Portuguese democrats now in exile in France and other parts of Latin America; and also with the leaders of the national movements in Mozambique, Angola, Portu-guese Guinea, Cape Verde etc.

As a step towards this Conference, the National Campaign Committee is organising National Convention for Goan Liberation and Against Portuguese Colonialism and Fascism in New Delhi at the end of March 1961.

The Committee is also invitaing representative the people of Goa, Daman and Diu and all other Portuguese colonies to participate in this national convention and declare their solidarity.

been given to the movement against Portuguese fascism and colonialism. With a view to unite the anti-colonial forces all over the Portuguese democratic forces both within a view to unite the anti-colonial forces all over the Portuguese democratic forces both within a view to unite the anti-colonial forces all over the Portuguese democratic forces both within a view to unite the anti-colonial forces all over the Portuguese democratic forces both within a view to unite the anti-colonial forces all over the Portuguese democratic forces both within a view to unite the anti-colonial forces all over the Portuguese democratic forces both within a view to unite the anti-colonial forces all over the Portuguese democratic forces both within a view to unite the anti-colonial forces all over the Portuguese fascism and colonialism. With a view to unite the anti-colonial forces all over the Portuguese fascism and colonialism. With a view to unite the anti-colonial forces all over the Portuguese fascism and colonialism. With a view to unite the anti-colonial forces all over the Portuguese democratic forces both within a view to unite the anti-colonial forces all over the Portuguese democratic forces al A large number of repre-

guese-held colonies with the
Portuguese democratic forces both within and outside to intensify the movement
Portugal, the National Campaign Committee for Goa
has proposed the holding of liberation of Goa, Daman and
a Conference Against PorDiu before the end of 1961.

Bihar Congress Battle Rages

Goa Gate set up in Bombay on this Republic Day.

* FROM FACING PAGE

fron and Steel Company governmental position (TISCO).

War Continues

B. N. Jha's victory, however, has not ended the war of succession in Bihar. In fact, it has only opened it. True, M. F. Sinha and his faction have lost the first battle. But they are yet not convinced that they are yet not convinced that they have lost the war. Many stalwarts of the faction are also dissatisfied with the "bad leadership of M. P. Sinha and are beginning to look for a "new leader". A few are represented the result of the Chief. ported to be wavering and may even be lured into the other faction if suitable ministerial posts are offered.

FROM FACING PAGE without any notable following task. Ministership is reported which, however, he aspires to have been promised to as build now by utilizing his high many as 19 and Deputy Ministership.

National Campaign Committee were also well received; and

personal contacts were made with the Asian and African

The real leaders of this The real leaders of this faction are K. B. Sahai and Satyendra Narain Sinha (son of the late Dr. A. N. Sinha) who do not like Jha or anybody else replacing them. They would like to maintain Jha as the figurehead in 1961 and then jump to the Chief, Minister's post in 1962.

There is yet one more aspirant to the Chief Ministership in 1962—Bir Chandra Patel at several meetings and everywhere there were promises of more collections later. Alwar sent a first token donation of one hundred and thirty rupes for the work of the Committee.

In Andhra, huge public conventions and meetings were more complicated. B. N. Jha, though technically the held in Anantapur and Cudapah districts, addressed by George Vaz, one of the Secre-

NEW AGE

tership to 63 different persons.

It is impossible to accommodate all these people inside

It seems to be united on ex.

cluding a certain number of the national movement. With their departure from the ters of Dr. S. K. Sinha's Cabinet, but is divided on the names. Hence the tussle goes to an end.

problem. A group chieftan of the defeated faction is re-ported to have told Sanjeeva Reddy before his departure for Delhi that the people of his faction were "like the Nairs of Kerala, without whose cooperation no Con-gress Government can func-tion in Bihar".

Congress politics in Bihar has lost the stability which was imparted by the two stal-warts—S. K. Sinha and A. N. Sinha with their dominating

PAGE FOURTEEN

NEW AGE

FEBRUARY 19, 1961

PARLIAMENT'S SHOCK AT CONGO KILLING

★ by Ziaul Haq

When Parliament convened on Tuesday to meet in joint session to hear the President's Address the thing upper-most in people's minds was the murder of Lumumba. The day before's radio and the morning's papers had carried the statements of Tshombe's men proudly proclaiming their achievement. It was the hope and prayer of everybody that the President's Address would at least take note of the event and voice the Indian people's unanimous indignation over the crime and sympathy for the Congolese and African peoples.

In vain one strained one's ears to catch some words to that effect in the President's Address. They were just not there. The address talked of "my Government" having "consistently urged the withdrawal of the Belgians, the release of political personalities and more particularly those who have parliamentary immunities." This while the whole world stood aghast and in mourning at the cold-blooded murder of the leader of the Congolese Parliament, one who was supposed to have enjoyed the greatest amount of those parliamentary immunities.

Could this lapse be ascribed simply to the fact that the event was too recent to have been included in the President's Address which is necessarily finalised some time in advance?

Advancing such an explanation or remaining satisfied with it would only amount to an admission that those who bear responsibility for the Address either do not grasp the enormity of the crime that has been committed or deliberately want to play it down. Otherwise they would have seen the absolute necessity of making that last minute change in the prepared text of the Address.

When the two Houses reassembled separately immediately after the President's address, there was still some hope that they would find some appropriate means of volcing the popular sentiment on the issue. Nothing however happened in the Lok Sabha, and in the Rajya Sabha as soon as Bhupesh Gupta had raised the issue the Chairman in his wisdom announced adjournment for the day.

Nehru's Speech

It was only on the second day that the situation was retrieved by the Prime Minister making a statement. He was obviously speaking with very deliberate restraint. What Lumumba meant to the Congolese people was brought out by him very simply and effectively. Lumumba was the foremost leader of the Congolese national movement, Nehrusaid More than that—Tshombe's regime had openly declared that it was afraid Lumumba's place of burlal, if disclosed, would become a centre of pilgrimage for the people of the Congo.

Nehru highlighted the "audaciousness" with which the Katanga regime had announced their crime and said it was the Belgians who ran the show there and a Belgian officer had been directly incharge of Lumumba's captivity.

Why the Belgians and their stooges had decided to carry

out such a grave and dastardly crime at this stage? It was Nehru's feeling that they perhaps feel that the balance of forces was turning against them and under the new dispensation even the U.S. might shift its policy. Hence they thought they must do away with Lumumba.

Prime Minister Nehru solemnly declared admidst cheers that there was no question of India acceding to the U.N. request for combatant troops unless India felt assured that they would not be used against the Congolese people to suppress their aspiration for freedom.

He, however went out of his way to emphasise that India's capacity to help the Congolese people was limited. The full picture was not clear as yet and it would take four or five days more to decide. Nevertheless, he felt that the U.N. operation should continue and should not be called off, because that would mean greater bloodshed.

Waiting perhaps for the picture to become clearer he observed a studied silence on Hammarksjold's role and did not commit himself as to whether the operation could continue with such a person at its head.

BORDER REPORT

T HE opening of Parliament was looked forward to especially because the report of the officials of the Governments of India and the People's Republic of China which had been signed in Rangoon on December 12, 1960 was to be made available

As the Prime Minister had stated in the concluding days of the previous session the report actually comprised two separate reports—one Indian and the other Chinese. This, as explained by the leader of the Indian official team to the Press after the Report had been laid on the table of the two Houses, was inherent in the very nature of the assignment. The Prime Ministers of India and the People's Republic of China in their directive to the officials had asked them to study relevant material "on which each side relied in support of its stand."

Summing up the outcome of their official talks the President's Address said that China's "intransigeance" was still continuing. India on her part firmly held that "the frontiers between India and China have been for long well established by treaties, customs and usage.

"In spite of present unwillingness, or even intransigeance" said the President, "my Government hope that sooner than later, China will persuade herself to come to a satisfactory agreement with our country in regard to our common frontiers.

"Friendly relations with our great neighbour," he went on to say, "can then become a reality which will endure and contribute to our common good and to stability in Asia and the world."

The Chinese officials in the conclusion of their report charge the Indian side with the responsibility for the continuing "basic differences between the two sides." They say that it is due "to the refusal of the Indian side to recognise basic facts concerning the boundary" which, according to them, "have again been proven" (in these negotiations) "by different kinds of documentary material" produced by them.

Differing Stands

They nevertheless say, "still the Chinese side hopes that by this exchange and examination of the materials in the possession of the respective sides and the explanation of the respective points of view, the two Governments would gain a further understanding of the real situation of the boundary and thus conduce to their continued search for avenues to a fair and reasonable settlement of the boundary question."

The Chinese officials reiterated in these talks that the Sino-Indian boundary had never been delimited. "The Indian side," according to the official summary of the report released by the Indian External Affairs Ministry, 'had no difficulty in demonstrating that the statements made by the Chinese side, the practice of the Chinese Government in the past and since the establishment of the People's Republic, and International Boundary Law precedents all fully establish that a traditional boundary which conforms to natural features, and has been accepted in tradition and custom, does not require formal delimitation to establish its sanctity."

As for the boundary between India and the People's Republic of China, the same summary says:

"The majestic arc of the Kven Lun and the great Rimalayan ranges forms the most impressive natural boundary in the world, has been recognised in tradition and custom for centuries, has determined the limits of administration on both sides and has received confirmation, for different sectors at different times, during the last 300 years in valid international agreements."

The Chinese side disputed the watershed principle which they charged the Indian side of making "the only or decisive factor" in the formation of a traditional customary border. They disputed the validity of the international agreements cited by the Indian side and reiterated the demand for "overall negotiations."

Explaining their refusal to discuss the boundary in the

Western part of Kashmir and that with Sikkim and Bhutan the Chinese report says in its conclusion:

"With regard to the boundary between China's Sinkiang and Kashmir west of the Kara-Koram Pass and the boundaries between China and Sikkim and between China and Bhutan as repeatedly raised by the Indian side in the discussion, they do not, in accordance with the talks and the joint communique of the Prime Ministers of the two countries and the past statements of the Chinese Government, fall within the scope of the Sino-Indian boundary question and are irrelevant to the task of the officials of the two countries."

This casts doubt on Kashmir's accession to India and on India's relations with Sikhim and Bhutan. The abovementioned Indian Summary of the Report says, "China has now come out openly on the Kashmir issue, and declined to recognise the accession of Kashmir to India. She had also gone back on the acceptance as recently as April 1950 by Premier Chou En-lai of India's relations with Bhutan and Sikkim."

The Indian side strongly objected to the charge made against them by the other side that "India regarded Tibet as an independent country."

"The Indian side pointed out that this was a most objectionable distortion of the well-known and clearly established policies of the Government of India," says the official Indian summary in relation to this charge.

The closing para of the conclusion of the Chinese Report recalls the profound friendship between the peoples of China and India and states:

"Far from conflicting in their fundamental interests, they have every reason to call for cooperation in their common cause of building their respective countries and defending world peace."

It expresses the hope that through friendly consultations in a spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation the boundary issuebetween India and China would be speedily settled.

Meanwhile the dispute persists and hardens and gets: more complicated.

National Council Calls

AVENGE LUMUMBA!

The National Council of the Communist Party of India began its Session in New Delhi on February 15 with the adoption of a resolution on the foul murder of Patrice Lumumba and his comrades. The Council stood in silence to mourn the death of the Congolese leaders. The following is the text of the resolution.

THE meeting of the National Council of the CPI notes with shock and revulsion, the premeditated and dastardly murder of Mr. Patrice Lumumba and his colleagues, Mr. Joseph Okito and Mr. Mpolo. The Council pays its homage to the memory of these brave martyrs of the cause of Congolese independence, and sends its profound condolences to the families of the departed leaders and to the entire Congolese memble.

The assassination of Mr. Lumumba and his colleagues olimaxes a whole series of bloody crimes, the Belgians and their hirelings directly aided and abetted by the U.S. imperialists and the NATO Powers have been perpetrating over the past few months to drown the Congolese independence in the blood of the people. The murder of the Congolese leaders and all these crimes would not have been possible, but for the treacherous role the Secretary-General of the U. N., Mr. Hammarskjoeld played in the interests of the colonialists and the Mobutu-Tshombe- Kasavu-bu hooligans. For this crime against humanity and the U. N. charter itself, Mr. Hammarskjoeld must be made to own his responsibility and to a severe.

bility and to answer.

The National Council of

the Communist Party joins with all freedom-loving Afro-Asian people and all men of goodwill throughout the world in demanding that the Mobutu gangs and the armed forces which have been let loose on the Congolese people must be disarmed and disbanded at once and those responsible for the murder of Mr. Lumumba and his friends be given exemplary punishment. The Republic of Congo must be cleansed of coll imperialists and their local agents so that the independence of that country is assured.

The National Council urges upon the Government of India to do everything in its power, diplomatically and otherwise, to save the independence of the Congo from the calculated crimes of U. S., Belgian and other imperialists. In this connection the recognition of the legal Government of the Congo at Stanleyville headed by Mr. Gizenga is an imperative step, The Council hopes the Government would now realise what a vile role the U. N. Secretary-General has been playing and would demand his removal.

The Council appeals to all patriotic forces in the country to raise their voice unitedly in support of these demands and rally to the cause of the freedom and dignity of the Congolese people. The Council appeals to all popular organisations, to the members and friends of our Party and to all lovers of freedom to immediately organise dmonstrations all over the country in protest against this latest crime and express solidarity with the Congolese peo-