

AMERICAN CAUGHT IN SMUGGLING RACKET

★ From OUR CALCUTTA CORRESPONDENT

International smugglers, led by Yankee crooks and assisted by local entrepreneurs, seem to be having a free field in India for their nefarious racket. Through aeroplanes, ships and cars, they are carrying on this smuggling business, bringing in watches, gold bars and other contraband goods to our country.

A GROUP of Indian businessmen are working hand in glove with these international smugglers. While revelations by Usha Advani involved in the smuggling racket carried on through the Uruguayan Embassy continued in Delhi, from the eastern part of the country, comes the sensational news of the import of gold in the motor car of an American tourist.

The total quantity of gold which was being brought in was five maunds, valued at more than Rs. 22 lakhs. Only a few weeks ago, contraband gold worth Rs. 43 lakhs, was seized at the Calcutta port from an ocean-going liner Ruth Everett by the Customs Officials.

Close on the heels of the gold haul by the American tourist came the news on September 15 that an attache case reached the Dum Dum airport all by itself in an Air India flight from Hong Kong which contained one thousand watches worth about Rs. one lakh. The attache was not booked in any person's name, and yet it found its place in the plane, passed through the customs and accommodated itself snugly in the luggage boot of a waiting private taxi, belonging to a Marwari merchant in Calcutta.

The Customs officials refused to enlighten investigators, but well informed circles let out enough hints, which revealed that a group of influential businessmen in Calcutta had been carrying on this nice little trade for a considerable time without any apparent difficulty. Police is reported to have arrested one person in this connection.

The incident that took place on September 11 at Petrapol where the contraband gold was found in the American tourist's car is also not the work of any ama-

teur. There were special cavities in the door panels which could be closed or opened electrically and spring arrangements ejected the contents automatically.

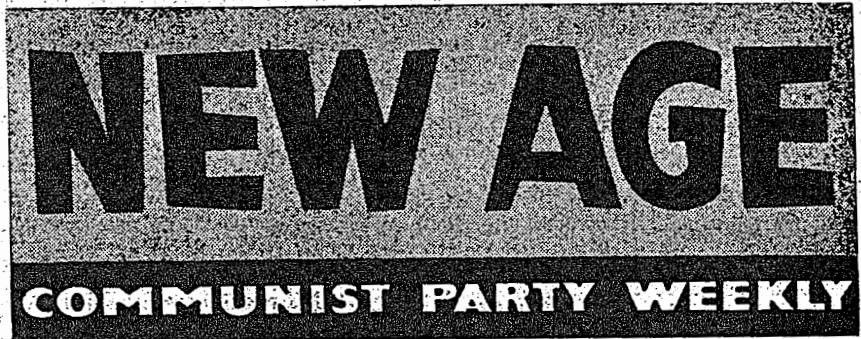
The American tourist was entering India from East Pakistan when he was checked at the border post at Petrapol, near Bongaon and the search resulted in the discovery of the hidden gold.

American tourists now seem to have developed a special liking for our country! A number of American Central Intelligence agents, military experts, smugglers, Gope peddlers are regularly visiting our country in the garb of tourists, and our Government officials normally follow the Prime Minister's advice to be courteous to tourists!

Despite all loopholes in the system and the difficulties of an international gang-up, the smuggling racket is doing extremely well on our soil although sometimes, cases like those stated above are discovered by the officials. More often than not, the racket goes on smoothly without any sort of impediment.

The Statesman of Calcutta on September 15 reported that the Burmese Customs officials at Rangoon port, seized gold and diamonds worth Rs. three lakhs from the ship Jag Ganga which was due to leave for Calcutta on September 14, but was held up due to some chance.

It is not a fact that the Government of India are not aware of this net of smuggling and it can be mentioned here that there is a strong rumour that an Indian diplomat, Ajoy Mitra, was recently murdered in Vienna while he was trying to track down a gang of smugglers. Officially, of course, it was stated that he was found dead in his flat.



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People are, therefore, rightly perturbed, and ask why the Government is unable to stop this smuggling racket. People are naturally interested to know who are these people whose coffers are being filled through this easy-money racket and what the Enforcement Branch, which is so particular about the foreign travel of Indian citizens, even on genuine and important grounds (even in cases where no foreign exchange is involved), is doing to stop the

anti-national activities of these smuggling tycoons?

To this date, no one knows to whom the American tourist was going to deliver the smuggled gold and only a few days before the entry of the 'gold-car', another Cadillac had entered India carrying contraband gold and one top-ranking industrialist had been found travelling in it. After it was discovered that this top-ranking industrialist who is also a jute mill-

owner, was involved in this case, the car mysteriously disappeared.

It is reported that the Revenue Intelligence department of the Government of India had received information about the car on August 21, but even then the car was not held up or tracked down later.

It is also confirmed that some of these smugglers who are linked up with the inter-

★ ON PAGE FOUR

U. S. Adventure In Cuba

USSR'S WARNING

★ From Masood Ali Khan

MOSCOW, September 18:

Last week the Soviet Union gave a grim warning to the hotheads of the U.S. that any adventure in Cuba could lead to very serious consequences and might even touch off a nuclear war.

THE Soviet forces were given orders to display the highest degree of military preparedness and it was made clear that Cuba will not be left alone to face the American intervention if the U.S. imperialists dared to launch an attack upon that valiant island.

This categorical Soviet warning which clearly stated that the Soviet Union will come to the aid of Cuba, as it was prepared to do in the case of Egypt during the Franco-British attack on

Suez, has had some sobering effect and Kennedy has been forced to state that the U.S. does not propose to launch an attack on Cuba.

But in view of the unbridled military propaganda that reigns in the USA and the mad war dance of the American Press, calling for provocation and an adventurous plunge to subvert the revolutionary Cuban regime, the Soviet people continue to display extreme vigilance.

The Soviet press points out

that the plan to "first isolate and then attack Cuba" is not going to succeed.

Pravda says that Kennedy's statement of September 13, where he pointed out that intervention on the part of the United States could not be necessary or justified at the present moment, caused satisfaction both in the United States and abroad. But the lovers of military ventures still keep their fingers on the triggers of war. The situation remains tense and calls for vigilance on the part of the peace forces of the world, Pravda declares.

Pravda points out that we are again witnessing an aggravation of the international tension caused by the ruling circles of the imperialist camp. When Kennedy asked for permission to call up 150,000 reservists, he had broader plans in mind and not only Cuba. Provocations on the border of Democratic Berlin go on; the U.S. has announced plans to stage a new series of nuclear tests, including explosions on high altitudes; there have been recently provocative flights of U-2 planes in the Far East.

And now Senator Prouty has placed a resolution in the Congress, granting the U.S. President the right to use troops against "Communist aggression in any part of the world." What is the aim of this resolution, Pravda asks. Is it to legalise the feverish preparations of a preventive war? The world has a right to know the answer.

GDR'S SOLIDARITY

★ From P. K. Kumbhakar Nair

BERLIN September 16:

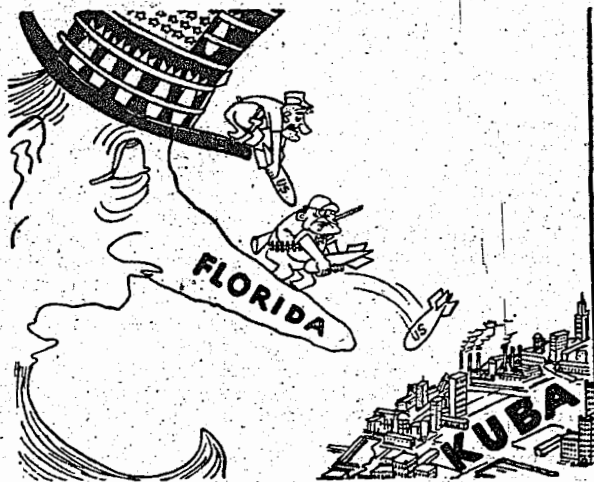
Thousands of Berliners on September 14 afternoon paraded the streets to express solidarity with revolutionary Cuba. Angry and agitated demonstrators told Yankees "Hands off Cuba and West Berlin."

FACTORY workers and middle class employees, students and youth, half of them women, just returning from their work joined in the demonstration which culminated in a big protest meeting in the Friedrichstadt Palace Square in the heart of the city.

The National Front Vice-President Horst Brasch, main speaker in the meeting said, "Our love, aid and solidarity go to those people fighting for their national independence. Therefore the cause of Cuba is our cause too".

All leading newspapers in GDR wrote powerful editorials this week declaring full support to Cuba and warning U.S. of grave consequences of their aggressive designs.

The West German Communist Party which is now illegal, in an appeal broadcast by "German Freedom Station 904" (an underground radio station of West German patriots) called upon West Germans to register their protest with Bonn Government and U.S. Embassy against anti-Cuban provocations.



A GDR cartoonist's view of "Refugees" raids on Cuba.

★ SEE ALSO PAGE 13

COMPLACENCY AND PIOUS WORDS ON PRICES

Editorial THERE IS NO SUCH thing as price problem facing the country, if we are to believe the Union Minister for Food and Agriculture, S. K. Patil.

Giving an interview to a representative of the *Hindu* in Madras on September 13 he blamed "panicky press reports coming from Ministers and other important people" for the loss of that public confidence which is "needed more than even commodities".

Unfortunately, however, the confidence for which Patil pleads cannot be generated among the people whose experience is quite contrary to the claims made by him. While, according to the statistics relied upon by Patil, the rise in the prices of the main foodgrains "has been of a very insignificant order", the common people everywhere cannot get either food or other consumption goods unless they pay fabulous prices.

This is a reality which even Patil's colleagues in the Union Cabinet cannot but recognise. That was why, at the very time when he was making the above-mentioned claims regarding the comfortable price situation,—as a matter of fact, a day prior to the interview given by Patil to the *Hindu*—the Government of India's decision on certain measures to 'hold the price line' was announced by the Planning Commission. After explaining these measures, it was pointed out that, "for the success of any policy to hold the price line, it is important that hoarding, profiteering and speculation should be dealt with as anti-social activity and that the distribution machinery, both wholesale and retail, should be enabled to function in the best interests of the community."

Union Minister for Economic Coordination, T. T. Krishnamachari went a step further and expressed it as his "personal opinion" that "the best way to bring down the prices of essential commodities is control". He denounced the greed for profit which businessmen exhibit—a factor which adds to these difficulties.

Which of these two is the authentic voice of the Government of India—Food Minister Patil's or that of the Planning Commission and Krishnamachari? Does the main danger arise from 'unnecessary panic' created by certain people, as Patil asserts; or from the greed of profiteers as Krishnamachari says, and from the complacent refusal to take any effective measures, as the people notice in Patil?

Anybody who is conversant with the actual situation will not blame the Planning Commission and Krishnamachari for taking an alarmist or panicky view. The point of criticism against them will, on the other hand, be that, even though underlining the seriousness of the situation, they are not taking effective measures to meet it.

The measures proposed to be taken in accordance with the announcement of the Planning Commission—such as display of prices by all dealers, widespread publicity, association of local consumer organisations, harnessing of public support including voluntary organisations etc.—do not attack the problem at its roots. Those roots, as is being pointed by the Communist Party and other progressive political parties and organisations, are the monopolists, bankers, landlords and speculators who are in control of the production, import, stocking, transport and supply of essential goods.

It is impossible to evolve any policy of "holding the price line" unless the Government recognises this as the reality and takes concrete measures to break the hold of these anti-social elements over the economic activities of the country. This monopoly cannot be broken unless the Government intervenes in these fields of economic activity with a view to protect the common people from their anti-social activities.

That was why the National Council of the Communist Party demanded in its Hyderabad resolution that the Government should take the responsibility of supplying to the people rice, millets, wheat and other essential articles of consumption,

ECONOMIC NOTES

by ESEN

The uncertainties created for our foreign trade by Britain's impending entry into the E.C.M. seem to have had one good result. They have forced even the most inveterate critics of the policy to increase trade with the East European countries to shed to some extent their ideological predilections and see reason.

THE Government, no doubt had no such predilections; not in any case to a marked degree, but the leaders of big business, who handle a good part of our external trade, were surely their victims. A few of them like G.D. Birla occasionally thought, otherwise, but then they were exceptions which proved the rule.

In fact, only a few months ago, the Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) had pleaded before the Mudaliar Committee on Foreign Trade Policy that trade with East European, or rupee payment countries, did more harm than good. The goods sent to them, it had said, were reexported to India's traditional markets; and the prices offered were also not always remunerative.

That was, however, FICCI's view when the Mudaliar Committee was collecting evidence. Since then much water has flown down the Jumna, or rather the Thames, on whose banks the fate of the Commonwealth's trade with the West has virtually been sealed.

An increase of Rs. 13 crores in exports to East European countries in the first half of 1962, compared with the same period last year, contrasting with a decline of Rs. 16 crores in exports to the rest of the world, has provided an irrefutable evidence of the potentialities of this market at a time when the traditional markets are shrinking.

The Government has understandably comprehended the significance of this development, and has decided to despatch a delegation to these

advanced countries of the West have contrived to exploit the developing countries. The President of Pakistan, forgetting for once his CENTO loyalties, has also called it a "cartel" formed to dictate terms to less developed countries.

An instance of how it has already begun to be done is provided by certain West European producers of nitrogenous fertilisers, who have formed an export cartel which, according to the *Economic Times* (September 11, "Is export to hurt India, Pakistan and China?").

This cartel, known as NITREX, includes practically all the leading fertiliser manufacturers of West Europe with the exception of ICI and Italian ANIC. Among its members are West Germany's three main producers, including BASF which is collaborating to set up a fertiliser factory in India.

NITREX will be the world's largest exporter of nitrogenous fertilisers with a capacity of five million tons a year at its disposal. This will enable it "not only to save the skin of its members, but also to compete with Soviet bloc countries and the US".

"The Soviet bloc countries and the US", more especially the first, have always been at the back of the mind of the E.C.M. leaders. But these can certainly look after their interests on the basis of their resources and advanced technology. India, however, buys about 180,000 tons of nitrogen per year and mostly from the West. It is thus she, and countries like her, which will be hard put to import this valuable commodity for their agricultural development.

We have talked only of potentialities, because, as yet trade with East European countries has never been expanded fully, nor has it been put on a sound footing. Very often we hear of its being unbalanced, with deficits on this side or that. All these aspects have to be gone into by Governments and parties in all the concerned countries to take their trade to the maximum level.

THE mention of development has reminded us of certain very disquieting features of the growth of our economy, revealed in the Reserve Bank's Report on "Currency and Finance" for 1961-62 released last week. What the Report unfolds is a picture of an unsteady pace of growth, both in industry and in agriculture.

The rate of industrial growth during the year was only 4.6 per cent as compared with a rate of 11.1 per cent in the preceding year and an average rate of growth of 8 per cent over the Second Plan period.

Foodgrains output, which has touched a record of 80.5 million tonnes in 1960-61 showed no increase during 1961-62 and fell short of the Second Plan target of 81.8 million tonnes by 1.6 per cent.

As a result of this decline in the rate of growth the rate of increase in the national income too fell to 3 per cent compared with 7.1 per cent in the previous year and an annual average of 4 per cent for the Second Plan period.

These disturbing trends, brought out in an official report, should make our planners sit up and ponder whether they can ever hope to attain their targets if such shadows have to cross their path so often?

There was a time—and that none too long ago—when the ruling circles of Britain were proud of their empire on which "the sun never set".

It was this pride in their empire that made their war-time hero, Winston Churchill, declare that he was not prepared "to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire".

There are, it appears, still sections of the British ruling circles who share this viewpoint. Substantial sections of the ruling Conservative Party are actually in revolt against their leaders' decision to enter the Common Market. The British Labour Party too has joined them. The common fear of the Labour and minority Conservative leaders is that joining the Common Market would weaken and disintegrate the Commonwealth.

The question thus posed before the British people is: The empire, now known as the Commonwealth, or the Common Market?

That British entry into the Common Market would weaken and disintegrate the Commonwealth is now clear beyond doubt. All the participants in the London Conference of Commonwealth Premiers, held from September 10, with the exception of that notorious representative of racialism, Sir Roy Welensky of Rhodesia, warned the British Prime Minister that serious consequences would follow the British entry into the Common Market.

There was no difference of opinion on this between whites and non-whites, between the Asians and Africans. Indian Prime Minister Nehru joined hands with Pakistan President Ayub Khan in warning the British Prime Minister that what would affect their respective countries could not leave Britain herself unaffected.

Parallel to these deliberations of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, Labour Party leaders from the Commonwealth countries also met and discussed the problem. Hugh Gaitskell, the British Labour Party leader, naturally took the initiative, but he was joined by his colleagues from New Zealand, Australia, Canada, Singapore, etc.

OPPOSITION TO PROPOSAL

Some of them are former Prime Ministers of their respective countries, while others, including Gaitskell, are potential Prime Ministers. Their opposition, therefore, means that, barring Britain and Rhodesia, the present ruling party and the opposition party that is likely to become the ruling party of every Commonwealth country are at one with each other in their opposition to Macmillan's proposal to join the Common Market.

This, therefore, signified the most serious crisis facing the British ruling circles. For the first time in its history, a Commonwealth Conference could not come to any agreement on the question under discussion. On the 17th, when the discussion on the Common Market was concluded, it became clear that every one of the participants stood where he was when the Conference opened a week ago.

A hope had been expressed at some stage that a joint communiqué (which, of course, would not mean anything)

would be issued; even that seemed difficult. The only 'assurance' given by the British Prime Minister to his colleagues was that "his Government would take note of every point they (the other Prime Ministers) had made, and that Mr. Edward Heath would return to Brussels to try his best in the light of their anxieties and their requests".

Why were the Commonwealth Prime Ministers other than the British so unanimous in their opposition to the British proposal? Again, why was the British Prime Minister insistent, that even if the Commonwealth virtually breaks on this issue, Britain

would stick to its decision to join the Common Market?

It is obvious that the opposition of the non-British Prime Ministers stems from the damage which British entry into the Common Market would cause to their economies. All of them (with the exception of India's Nehru and possibly one or two African Prime Ministers) are at one with the British Prime Minister in welcoming the objective which the leaders of the European Economic Community, de Gaulle and Adenauer, set before themselves when they decided to create a European Political Union out of the Economic Community.

It is not to the European Economic Community, nor to its political projection, the European Political Union, that they are opposed, but to the terms on which the Common Market is created and Britain asked to join it. (This is also the position of Gaitskell and other Labour leaders from Commonwealth countries.)

Prime Ministers of Canada and other 'white dominions' pointed out how their products would have to face fierce competition from their rivals of the Common Market countries.

The President of Pakistan and Prime Ministers of other Asian countries also explained how the disruption of their traditional trade with the United Kingdom will create difficulties in the fulfilment of their development plans.

The African representatives have the additional complaint that the "associate" status given to them would be tantamount to treating them as inferior nations. They are, therefore, totally opposed to it.

Indian Prime Minister Nehru, however, did not confine himself to the economic loss which would be

India's lot if her traditional trade relations with Britain are disrupted. Agreeing with Pakistan President Ayub Khan in this respect, he made the further point that Britain's entry into the Common Market would increase international tension, rather than ease it.

He repeated this in his concluding speech on September 17 when he stated that the Common Market as an organisation is bound to be 'inward looking', rather than 'outward looking'. This is obviously another way of saying that such an economic grouping will restrict, rather than expand, international trade.

Prime Minister Nehru, however, did not take this argument to its logical conclusion. For, such an assessment of the

Conflicts and contradictions between the major partners.

The traditional contradiction between France and Germany has, of course, been resolved (for how long, it is yet to be seen). But in thus resolving the contradiction between the 'big two' of the capitalist part of the European continent, the contradiction between Britain and the two continental powers has come out into the open. While the British are making frantic efforts to join the Community so that they may be in a position to mould its policies, the French and the Germans are determined to make it as difficult as possible for the British to realise their objective.

In this conflict between the

smaller powers on the one hand, and the Labour Party and a section of his own party on the other, would affect British politics, can be seen only in the coming weeks. In the meanwhile, let us try to understand the implications of the stand taken by our Government and its leader Prime Minister Nehru on Britain's entry into the Common Market.

It is perfectly understandable under these circumstances that the dominant section of the ruling circles in Britain should prefer Europe to Commonwealth. For, the question involved in this is whether they would have the opportunity to mould the shape of things to come in capitalist Europe and through it the capitalist world. Franco-German leadership over capitalist Europe would mean that Britain would be totally ineffective in evolving policies

one' and the 'two' stand the smaller powers on the continent who are wooed by both and who, therefore, try to take the utmost advantage of this conflict among the three.

It is well-known that, although named the European Economic Community, the Common Market has nothing to do with Europe. That part of Europe which is outside the capitalist system—socialist countries in Europe which cover the entire Eastern Europe—are outside this "European Community".

Furthermore, those African countries which till very recent times were the colonies of France have been given the status of "associate" members of this European Community; the same is now sought to be given to the former African colonies of Britain. In other words, it is a European Community from which more than half of Europe is excluded and in which a major part of Africa is sought to be included.

It is equally well known that, although it is claimed that the formation of the European Economic Community and the subsequent formation of European Political Union will help the integration of Europe, these integration

political gains to be secured for the ruling circles through continuing the cold-war, maintaining the NATO and other military alliances and getting a leading position for Britain in this military bloc; or, the economic advantages to be gained for the people through expanded trade with the non-aligned and socialist countries?

British Prime Minister Macmillan's insistence on British entry into the Common Market even in the face of the almost unanimous opposition of the Commonwealth means that the dominant section of the British ruling circles have chosen the former, rather than the latter.

It does not matter to them whether Britain is not able to maintain her economic links with the Commonwealth partners, not to speak of expanding trade relations with socialist countries. Macmillan is far more concerned at the danger to the cold war policies which will arise from free and equal trade relations with all countries including the socialist countries.

How this conflict between the British Prime Minister and his Government on the one hand, and the Labour Party and a section of his own party on the other, would affect British politics, can be seen only in the coming weeks. In the meanwhile, let us try to understand the implications of the stand taken by our Government and its leader Prime Minister Nehru on Britain's entry into the Common Market.

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on such European and world problems as Berlin, NATO armed forces in Western Europe, etc.

It is the French and the German ruling circles who will be able to put pressure on, and to a limited extent even to dictate to, the United States and other capitalist powers in the name of Europe.

Joining the European Community would, of course, mean the weakening of Commonwealth ties. This would, in its turn, affect the economy of Britain. But then it is far more important for the dominant ruling circles in Britain that they acquire a decisive voice in the future of Europe than be able to maintain the economic gains which they can secure through the Commonwealth ties.

Here, therefore, is a question of which to choose: The

E. C. M. AND COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE

by **E. M. S. Namboodiripad**

visions of the Treaty of Rome and are aware of the role played by the historic movement towards close economic integration in strengthening the economies of member States and fostering their capacity to contribute economic expansion and social progress, both at home and abroad. The proposed enlargement of the Community, it seems to the Government of India, can hold out significant prospects not only for the prosperity of its own people, but also for the expansion of international trade and for the acceleration of economic growth and social progress in developing countries.

So long as the Government of India as a whole makes such an assessment of the European Economic Community, even Prime Minister

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Emergency And Crisis Talk

IS the Government of India to adhere to its policy of trying to find a peaceful settlement with the Government of China even while defending the borders? Or, should the Government and the people prepare themselves for a military solution of the India-China border problem?

Put in this straight and unambiguous manner, nobody will say that he stands for a military, rather than a political, solution of the problem. A full scale war with China—and with any country for that matter—is unthinkable for a nation which is pledged to the policy of peaceful settlement of all disputed problems in the world.

There are, however, some people who, even though not openly repudiating the policy of peaceful settlement, use every opportunity to prevent that policy being faithfully followed. These people were not at all pleased, they were angry, when the Government of India, in its letter to the Government of China on July 26, suggested preliminary talks between representatives of the two governments with a view to create the proper atmosphere in which regular negotiations could be conducted and the border problem settled.

Nor were they pleased when they found that the Government of China responded to this by proposing that negotiations should be conducted on the basis of the reports of the official teams.

They were unhappy because, if this trend develops, the two sides may come to a stage when fruitful negotiations start.

It was at such a time that reports appeared in the press that Chinese armed personnel crossed the McMahon line and that they continue to occupy positions south of the line. This proved a God-sent opportunity to the opponents of negotiations. They try to point this out as evidence of the "futility of talks and negotiations" with the Chinese. They demand that the Prime Minister cancel his visit to African countries and return to India after he London Conference. So on and so forth.

These people have, however, been unable to deflect the Union Government from the path it has chosen. Defence Minister Krishna Menon told reporters before leaving Delhi on his way to New York that there was no need for a feeling of crisis over the situation. "We are more or less conditioned to the situation. The Chinese threat on the border has been going on for a long time. Action will be taken when something serious happens".

The issue in dispute between the Government and its critics on the India-China border is not whether, in certain local situations, the Government has to use its armed forces against the Chinese. Such local actions are being taken by the Government in several places. In the NEFA area itself, the Government is reported to be taking what it

NOTES OF THE WEEK

considers are the measures necessary to meet the situation that has developed. The critics of the Government, however, would not be satisfied with such local actions. What they demand is that the Government should have no talks or negotiations with the Chinese till all such local conflicts have been resolved.

Report On Integration

THE Emotional Integration Committee, presided over by Dr. Sampurnanand, has submitted its final report to the Government of India. It is reported to be a comprehensive document covering all aspects of education in relation to National Integration.

The recommendations of the Committee have not been published. What have appeared so far are certain forecasts made by correspondents who claim to have knowledge of the contents of the report and statements made by some of its members. These are obviously inadequate for any comment on the contents of the report.

There is, however, one statement reported to have been made by the Chairman of the Committee, Dr. Sampurnanand, which, if it reflects the approach of the Committee will detract from the value of whatever positive recommendations have been made by the Committee in its report.

The statement attributed to Dr. Sampurnanand is that "there had been a very strong current of emotional integration in the country for thousands of years. What was needed today was strengthening of that national integration".

Students of history—not only Indian history, but world history—know that whatever integration existed in the ancient world was qualitatively different from the integration brought about in the modern age of "nation-states". The two "integrations" are poles apart in their essential content.

It is true that there was integration of a sort in the ancient days. The great empires of ancient India, of Greece, Rome, Assyria, Babylon, etc., are undoubtedly part of the great heritage which ancient society has handed down to humanity.

The great binding force of ancient religious faiths too united millions of people inhabiting various parts of the world. Among these were the religious faiths which had their origin in India.

While acknowledging the contribution made to human civilisation by all these political and religious factors of ancient society, these forces of integration cannot be said to be solidly based on economic life.

On the other hand, the forces of integration in modern society have their roots in the growing forces of a new economy—an economy based on industrial and technological development. The conditions created by these economic changes make it impossible for disintegrating

forces to operate as they did in the earlier society and to retard the natural process of integration. This is a process through which every European country passed in the 18th and 19th centuries. It was out of this that what is now known as the "nation-state" arose. It is this process through which India and other countries of Asia and Africa are today passing.

This process, however, is meeting increasing resistance from the remnants of the old social order and the ideologies which they give expression to, such as casteism, communalism, regional and tribal separatism, etc. The struggle between the new forces of national integration and the remnants of the old social order is the essence of the present-day struggle for national integration.

It will, therefore, be idle to put before ourselves the image of the "integrated India of ancient society" and to model ourselves on that image for solving the problems which modern India has to solve—the problems of creating an industrially and technologically modern India out of the ashes of such remnants of the old social order as caste, inequalities, religious feuds, local, regional and tribal exclusiveness, etc.

Is this what the Emotional Integration Committee presided over by Dr. Sampurnanand is trying to do? We have to wait for the full report of the Committee to be published before answering these questions.

Breakdowns, Crises And Accidents

HARDLY had the capital city of Delhi got out of a serious "power crisis" when a new "water crisis" fell on it. Citizens of Delhi have thus had the unfortunate experience of having their daily life disrupted twice in the matter of two months.

While the earlier "power crisis" made their life most uncomfortable the present "water crisis" creates the threat of their health being seriously affected. They will remember how a similar water crisis led, some years ago, to widespread epidemics like jaundice, which affected several tens of thousands of them.

The capital city of the country, however, does not stand alone in this respect. Various cities, various parts of the country, are at one time or another affected by breakdowns of power which have become a chronic feature of such industrial areas as Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Coimbatore, etc.

Thousands of workers being forced to remain idle, lakhs and crores of rupees worth of production being lost to the nation, etc., is the fate of these industrial areas when the authorities concerned fail, as they very often do, to keep the power plants working normally.

Nor are such breakdowns in the normal life of the people confined to power and water alone. The recent growth of railway accidents is alarming. It would show that there is something seriously wrong in the way in which our system of railway transport is organised.

These breakdowns, crises and accidents are by no means caused by any natural calamity, as are floods and droughts. They are the results of careless planning, and still more careless execution of plans, by those who have been entrusted with the responsibility of planning and its execution. Maybe that, in some specific cases, the responsibility for failure is that of the personnel at the lower order, but, in a large number of cases, the responsibility should be squarely put on the shoulders of personnel at the higher levels.

To this should be added that, even in those instances where personnel at the lower levels are responsible for failures, those at the higher levels should take their ultimate responsibility, since it is their job to check and supervise the work of those under them.

One of the most deplorable features of the situation is that those who are rally responsible are not prepared to own it up. It will be recalled that, at the time of the power crisis in Delhi, there was an unseemly controversy between the Delhi and the Punjab authorities as to who should bear the responsibility. This tendency on the part of the authorities concerned to try to shift the blame on to somebody else's shoulders is the most serious obstacle to the proper solution of the problem.

It is high time that the Prime Minister and his colleagues of the Union Government paid attention to this serious problem. After all, no amount of talk on planning, no amount of statistics quoted in official documents, would convince the people that planning is useful and necessary, if, at every stage of planning and its execution, in relation to every aspect and department of planning, such breakdowns, crises and accidents take place, as a result of which millions of people are made to suffer.

STOP THIS SMUGGLING

★ FROM FRONT PAGE

national smuggling ring—are a group of exporters of commodities who frequently adopt the means of "under-invoicing" their goods. The rates shown in their invoices are usually lower than the actual rates secured from the foreign countries. The surplus money deposited in banks in overseas countries like England, United States of America and so on.

Through this method, the exporters evade the payment of income tax, excise duty etc., and then they smuggle in, through the help of foreigners, cars, watches, gold bars negotiated via the surplus money, to the country for further trade. It is learnt that the officials of the Customs and Excise

Treating The Symptom

THE reported move on the part of the Congress leadership to abolish the 4-anna membership in order to put an end to bogus membership will remind us of the days in which the institution of 4-anna membership was established.

Just a little over 40 years ago, Gandhiji conceived the idea of drawing the common people into the Congress organisation. He wanted to end the state of affairs in which the organisation was confined to small groups of the intelligentsia. All Indians from the highest to the lowest, he thought, should be made to join the national organisation as full and equal partners in the struggle for building a free and democratic India.

That was why he reduced the conditions of Congress membership to the acceptance of the Congress pledge of struggle for Swaraj and to the payment of a subscription which was within the reach of the poorer sections of the people.

The institution of 4-anna membership which was thus built up as the means through which the common people were drawn into the movement, has, it appears, now become the means through which narrow groups of power-hungry politicians are able to fight their factional struggles against one another. No more is the enrolment of Congress members the process through which soldiers are recruited for the nation's anti-imperialist battle. On the other hand, leaders of different factions are now using it to get more and more recruits into their respective factions.

While this shows the depth of degeneration which has crept into the Congress, the remedy suggested now would not make any improvement in the situation. For, the 4-anna membership is not the only medium through which power-hungry politicians of the Congress organisation can try to fight their factional battles. If this particular medium is not available, they will then get some other medium. The disease is not a particular form of organisation, but the fact that the ruling party as a whole has become thoroughly degenerated. Will the High Command be able to treat this disease?

—E.M.S. Nambudiripad
September 19.

The Punjab State Council of the Communist Party of India met at Jullundur on September 12-14, 1962, with 65 members attending.

THE Secretary of the Council, Harkishen Singh Surjeet placed before the meeting a Work Report relating to the period since April on behalf of the State Executive. The Report deals with developments that have taken place in the recent period, e.g. Temporary Tax Measures and the campaign against it, crisis inside the Akali Party and the question of prohibition, Kairon's merger proposal and the problem of utilisation of surplus evacuee lands in the interest of the poor.

The Council discussed the problem of Temporary Taxes thoroughly and endorsed the tactical line of uniting with those who can be united with in the campaign against tax evasion, cutting down of construction costs, annulment of allowances to princes and their relatives. It should abandon unnecessary construction works and postpone such as can wait till better times. Having taken all these steps to bring about economy in expenditure the Government should raise resources by taxing the rich.

The State Council considers that unity of the people in a common movement, irrespective of political differences is essential to compel the Government to retreat and reverse its policy. The Council calls upon all units to take practical steps and to build popular unity and carry forward the popular movement based on such unity.

Resolution

THE Punjab State Council of the Communist Party of India urges the President of the Indian Union to withhold his assent to the Temporary Taxation Bill, as it hits the poor and lower middle class people including Harijans and is deliberately calculated to sow discord between Harijan and non-Harijan sections of the community.

The Council stands for effective measures for the uplift of Harijans and other backward class people. The Punjab Communist Party in its election pamphlet on Programme for Welfare of Backward Classes had correctly demanded an expenditure of Rs. 10 crores on Welfare Schemes against Rs. 2.22 crores allocated in the State Plan. The grant of free house sites, repeal of Compulsory Service Act, protection and promotion of employment for them in large-scale development works, solution of indebtedness problem and provision of cheap credit facilities and end to their social and economic oppression.

The Council reiterates the demand for adoption of all those measures for genuine uplift of those classes.

The Council demands that Rs. 10 crores be allocated for welfare of those classes out of the consolidated funds of the State in the Third Plan period.

The Council strongly condemns the taxation policy of the Congress Government which is behind its temporary tax measures and its proposals to collect Rs. 40 crores through taxing the common people in the next three years.

It asks all units to intensify independent campaign to defeat this anti-people policy and to guard against the diversion of the discontent of the masses by the reactionary parties. The Communist Party must constantly combat the idea of general "united front" with reactionary parties. It must also counter the propaganda of the Congress that those who oppose planned development. The Communist Party must differentiate

its position from those who while opposing taxes oppose the very concept of planned development. The Council urges the implementation of wholesome recommendations made by the Resources and Retrenchment Committee which would bring adequate funds to the State treasury for financing development in Third Plan without imposing undue burdens on the common people.

The Council further urges reduction in the size of the State Ministry, reduction in unduly high salaries and allowances, abolition of redundant posts, end of corruption, embezzlement, wastage and extravagance, stopping tax evasion, cutting down of construction costs, annulment of allowances to princes and their relatives.

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E.M.S. Reports

On the second day of its meeting the State Council heard the report of the General Secretary, E. M. S. Nambudiripad, on the decisions of the National Council of the Party. He explained the significance of the Twenty-second Congress of the Communist Party of Soviet Union with specific reference to our country such as the possibilities of strengthening the industrial base of our economy as also of winning the broad masses of the people to the ideas of scientific socialism.

He also dealt with the state of Party organisation and emphasised the need of full adherence to the principle of democratic centralism and also the need to activate the basic units of the Party. In the end Comrade Nambudiripad concentrated on the important campaign initiated by the National Council such as signature campaign for Disarmament and Peace, for the peaceful solution of India-China Border Dispute, Against Unjust Taxes and High Prices, for democratic set-up for Pondicherry and the Release of Political Prisoners, and asked the Party units to mobilise vast masses.

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MEETING OF PUNJAB STATE COUNCIL

Discussion On Burning Problems

★ FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

They are levelling accusations and counter-accusations in the press and from the public platform against each other, including charges of corruption and embezzlement of funds. The main charge of Sant Fateh Singh group against M. Tara Singh is that he abandoned his fast-unto-death in a cowardly fashion, broke the sacred pledge to lay down his life for the attainment of Punjabi Sooba, thereby bringing down the prestige of the Sikh community to the lowest ebb.

M. Tara Singh on the other hand charges Sant Fateh Singh with playing into the hands of the traitors of the Panth like Gill and Co., who it is alleged were linked with Partap Singh Kairon who wants to destroy the unity of the Panth.

The Akali Party is thus torn by a serious rift from top to bottom and two rival Akali Dals have come into existence, each with its own daily organ of propaganda.

2. The main immediate issue of Akali factional warfare is to decide which faction controls the SGPC—its funds and authority. Each faction thinks that by controlling the SGPC it can consolidate its position among Sikh masses and come out triumphant as the real representative of the Panth.

But the roots of the crisis lie deeper. It is a crisis of communal policies of the Akali leadership. For many years Akali leaders misled the Sikh masses on the issue of Punjabi Sooba, propagating that Panthik salvation lay in attainment of the Sooba. They distorted a secular-democratic demand into a religious communal one.

This policy of theirs together with opportunist stand of Congress leadership and propaganda of Hindu communalists widened the gulf between Hindu and Sikh masses. The morcha and fasts launched by Akali leaders widened the gulf still further and the objective of Punjabi Sooba receded into the distance still more.

The Akali movement for Punjabi Sooba thus came to a dead end. It entered a blind alley from which there is no way out.

It is the Communist Party that continuously pointed out that the demand of Punjabi Sooba was a democratic demand that concerned the entire Punjabi people whose unity was essential pre-requisite to its attainment. The Akali leaders by their communal approach were doing great disservice to the cause. Their morchas and fasts would not bring Punjabi Sooba nearer, but make it still more difficult of attainment.

It is the fate of this policy of the Akali leadership that lies behind the present crisis.

3. The statement sometimes made by Sant Fateh Singh that Hindu-Sikh

unity is necessary for the attainment of Punjabi Sooba is a partial reflection among sections of Sikh masses and Akali ranks that Sikhs alone cannot attain Punjabi Sooba. Our own consistent campaigning too has considerably contributed to this realisation.

Such realisation, however limited, is a welcome phenomenon. It makes all the more incumbent on us at this juncture to further the process by exposure of Akali communal policy and by positive propaganda of Hindu-Sikh unity.

But it would be utterly wrong to think that Sant Fateh Singh has broken with communal policies of Akali Party and has become the champion of struggle against M. Tara Singh's communalism. In fact there is no basic conflict between their policies.

Both are making religious Panthik appeal to Sikh masses. Both stand for using mass-wards for political purposes and independent political entity of Sikh Panth. Even on the issue of Punjabi Sooba the approach of Sant Fateh Singh is still religious-Panthik. In fact on this issue Sant Fateh Singh is talking of greater sacrifices to restore the lost prestige of Sikh Panth.

4. The task of the Communist Party at a time of this acute crisis in the Akali Party is to intensify the mass campaign for the separation of religion from politics and exposure of Akali leaders to wean away Sikh masses from their ideological-political influence. By doing this we can build the unity of Hindu-Sikh masses and strengthen the struggle against poverty, unemployment, dearth, unjust taxes and other anti-people policies as also advance towards the democratic solution of reorganisation of our State on linguistic basis. The Council passed a number of other resolutions such as on high prices, District Coordination Committees, Fanchayat Raj, Prohibition, and Utilisation of surplus evacuee lands.

The resolution on District Coordination Bodies reads as follows:

THE composition of District Coordination Bodies and the manner in which they are functioned are injurious to the growth of democracy in our State. The declared aim of these bodies is to dispose of public complaints and grievances in an expeditious manner. But all the Opposition Parties have been completely ignored and the Coordination Committees consist of District Officials and local representatives of the ruling Congress Party.

Thus an attempt is made at coordinating district administration and district committee of the Congress Party. This is a step in the direction of identification of the ruling

Party with the state administrative machinery and is derogatory to the entire spirit of democracy.

Ministers have been attached individually to various District Coordination Committees and attempt to influence District Officials to act in accordance with wishes of local Congress leaders. Thus district administration is made to obey dictates of the local Congress leaders, subvert their narrow interests and damage genuine public interests. The services are demoralised and their efficiency suffers grievously.

The Punjab State Council of the Communist Party of India emphatically protests against the composition and functioning of Coordination Bodies and demands their reorganisation so as to give representation on them to the Opposition Parties and important elements in public life.

THE Congress ruling clique in the Punjab in order to subvert its narrow selfish interests is endangering successful working of Fanchayat Raj institutions. Elections of Zilla Parishads Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen in Fatiala and Sangrur districts have been postponed again and again simply because the ruling clique could not muster majority to have its own nominees elected to these posts. The normal functioning of these Parishads have been kept in abeyance in the narrow interests of the ruling clique.

In district Gurgaon most blatantly unfair means have been used to threaten, blackmail and bamboozle members and reduce majority into minority and instal minority into power.

There is open interference in functioning of Gram Panchayats in the interest of Congress-led factions. Numerous examples of suspension of Panches and Sarpanches on political grounds have occurred in recent period. A most glaring example of such interference took place in Barnala where the Sarpanch has been suspended for political reasons and in a most illegal manner a Panch was installed. Sarpanch by the authorities against the wishes of the majority in a dictatorial manner and even a civil court gave its verdict against this irregular and illegal procedure.

The above are but some of the glaring instances of dictatorial attitude of the ruling clique towards functioning of Fanchayat Raj institutions. The Punjab State Council of the Communist Party of India condemns this attitude of the ruling clique and demands an end to such undemocratic practices. All the democratic elements in the political life of Punjab including all honest Congressmen should muster forces to protect democratic institutions from onslaught at the hands of the ruling clique.

INCREASING TEMPO OF ANTI-TAX AGITATION

BANGALORE, September 15:

The agitation against the new taxation measures brought forward by the State Government is gathering momentum day by day.

THE Government wanted to rush through all the seven Bills on taxation in the Assembly without giving any time for the people to understand their implications and then to start agitating against them. But their efforts have been thwarted to some extent now in view of the widespread opposition voiced against them inside as well as outside the Legislature.

The Bills are being opposed not merely by the members of the Opposition parties but also by some leading figures of the Congress party like Annarao Ganamukhi, an ex-Minister.

The Finance Minister of the State B. D. Jatti is trying to outdo Morarji Desai in imposing fresh burdens on the people. He was able to get through the enhancement of Entertainment Tax by 25 per cent when the Session started in spite of strong opposition. But in the next Bill, one imposing a Health Cess at the rate of 12 nP per rupee on Land Revenue and also almost doubling the existing rate of cess on property taxes and vehicle tax, etc., the Government had to yield to the pressure of the Opposition and reduce the cess to 9 nP per rupee.

The other Bills too are facing still fiercer opposition and the Government has been forced to send the Sales Tax Bill to the Select Committee. The consideration of these other Bills is also delayed because of the stiff opposition inside the Congress party itself to these measures.

Opposition outside the Legislature has been steadily growing. Hurtle has been observed in various towns like Gulbarga, Kunta, Honnava and many other places. Merchants, municipal bodies and various other organisations have voiced opposition to one measure or other. Even the President of the Bangalore District Congress Committee has openly appealed to the Assembly members to oppose some of these taxes.

The Karnataka Provincial Executive Committee of the Communist Party which met on September 8

and 9 considered these Bills at length and passed a detailed resolution on the subject. It has pointed out that instead of levying these burdens on the common people the Government can get the necessary resources by other means.

In pursuance of a decision of the Executive a mass demonstration was held before the Vidhan Soudha in Bangalore on September 14. The procession went round the main streets of the city and then approached the Vidhan Soudha where the Assembly was having its session. A few yards away from it the procession was stopped by the police. A deputation went to present a memorandum to the Chief Minister.

Meanwhile several members of the Opposition including PSP, Communist and independent MLAs came out and addressed the demonstrators. N. L. Upadhaya, Secretary of the Provincial Council of the Party exhorted the people to continue the struggle against these taxes.

Reports have come about similar demonstrations and meetings in Mysore, Mangalore, Mercara, Bijapur and various other centres in the State.

A detailed memorandum was also submitted to the Chief Minister on behalf of the Provincial Council of the Party a few days ago explaining the serious consequences of these taxes for the common people. The provincial Executive has decided to continue the agitation.

THE Provincial Executive Committee of the Party has also planned some measures to strengthen the Party while carrying on this anti-tax agitation. It has decided to hold a Provincial Party School for 10 days from districts and areas to cover the entire Party in the course of one year.

The Party has also decided to observe "Literature Sales Week" from November 1 to 7 all over the State.

It has also given a call to collect Rs. 10,000 Party Fund for the Provincial Centre before the end

WEST BENGAL CONVENTION AGAINST HIGH PRICES

A CONVENTION against high prices of essential commodities and mounting taxation was held in Calcutta on September 9 under the joint auspices of the Communist Party, FB, RSP, Marxist FB, RCPI, Socialist Unity Centre, Workers Party and Bolshevik Party.

About 500 delegates from different districts and from various mass organisations attended the Convention. Women also came as delegates.

The Convention unanimously adopted the main resolution. Among those who spoke in sup-

port of the resolution were Jyoti Basu, Leader of the Opposition, leaders of seven other left parties and several delegates.

Other resolutions passed at the Convention paid homage to the memory of the martyrs in the people's cause, strongly protested against repressive measures to suppress movements of different sections of people, demanded unconditional release of all those involved in the food movement of 1959, and an enquiry into the serious disturbances in Calcutta on September 4 and punishment of police officers responsible for provocative action.

The State Convention was preceded by a series of local conventions in different areas. Of these, the conventions in North, South, East and West Calcutta and in Howrah are particularly worthy of note.

demanding that those arrested should be brought there and set free. Immediately all the arrested persons were brought there and were released.

This agitation has roused the entire people of the town and the struggle has ended successfully.

A SERIOUS controversy has again arisen in the State on the issue of changing the name of the State from Mysore to Karnataka. The question had come up in 1956 at the time of the reorganisation of states. At that time even though the SRC had recommended the name of Karnataka, the name of Mysore was given to the State with a view to pacify those sections in the old Mysore area who were opposed to unification. But this compromise did not satisfy the people who had fought for Karnataka's unification. They have been pressing for the naming of the state as Karnataka.

This issue came up in the last session of the Assembly in the form of a non-official resolution moved by a Congressman. The debate went on for four days. Opinion was sharply divided both in the Congress Party as well as in the opposition parties except the Communist Party. The Congress and the PSP had given freedom to their members to speak for or against on this question.

The Congress Party could not come to any agreed solution to this issue. It was thought that the motion would be finally voted upon. But it ended melodramatically when Nijalingappa, the

Chief Minister, announced that the debate be carried over to the next session.

But at this stage some of the Assembly Members of the Congress as well as of the Opposition had taken the initiative to move a resolution calling for division of the State into two parts if the other resolution of changing the name of the State to Karnataka was passed. Now that the original resolution is expected to come up for discussion again, the protagonists of Mysore have set up a powerful committee and are planning a big agitation against Karnataka and for retaining the name of Mysore.

The ugly communal feelings are being worked up again. It is a well-known fact that the main opposition to the naming of the State as Karnataka has come from the Vakkaliga community in the State. According to them the change in the name will perpetuate, once for all, the domination of Lingayats.

On this issue there is division in the cabinet, in the Congress Party, in the PSP, and others too. The most pitiable is the fate of the PSP which has called its State Unit as Karnataka PSP, but is unable to agree to naming the State as Karnataka. Worst communal passions are sought to be worked up on this question in the already communalism-ridden state of ours.

The Communist Party has always stood for the name of Karnataka on historical, cultural and rational grounds. Majority of the people desire the name Karnataka since it alone will reflect their long cherished aspiration.

IMMEDIATELY after the successful struggle against increase of 1 nP in the rates of tea and estates served in hotels, the Party Unit in Sirsi under the leadership of M. S. Dhaharwar took up the struggle for supply of rice by the Government at the rate of 48 nP per kilogram.

Meetings and demonstrations were held from September 5 to 10. Since the Government refused to yield, picketing of the Assistant Commissioner's Office was started on the 10th. On the 13th when the Assistant Commissioner tried to enter the office by having some persons arrested, hundreds of people gathered and women protested themselves across the passage.

The situation was tense and then the Assistant Commissioner asked Comrade Dhaharwar to read a statement which said that enough rice supplies have already come and they will be distributed to the people at the rate of 48 nP per kilo. This pacified the people. Then they

DELHI TEACHERS' CONDITIONS

★ From Our Correspondent

On September 5, the President's Birthday, Teachers' Day was celebrated everywhere with great fanfare. Collections were made for the fund for welfare of teachers. What actually happened in Delhi shows the hollowness of this concern for teachers' welfare.

In most of the Government schools, the principals, under compulsion from the Directorate, forced the teachers to surrender a day's salary each as contribution towards the fund. Is it fair? Is that the way we are going to give dignity and respect to teachers?

The condition of higher secondary education in Delhi deserves a look on this occasion. To say the least, it is scandalous. Shortage of teachers, lack of accommodation and bungling over text books are some of the highlights.

The position in some schools is queer. Sardar Patel Vidyalaya is a case in point. It is different from the ordinary schools in the sense that it does not get any grant-in-aid from the Government. As such its authorities seem to have purchased from the Government all the rights and privileges.

The Principal of the school whom the Directorate has recognised, does not possess any recognised degree. From the reports about his behaviour and conduct in the school it appears that he has not the slightest idea of the responsibility and dignity of his job. Tired of his autocratic behaviour dozens of teachers have been forced to leave the school during the short span of its existence.

According to some teachers working in that school, no self-respecting person would like to serve under him. He asks teachers to increase the marks of certain students who fail in the annual examination. When they refuse, they

are forced even to act as peons.

This situation might well explain why the Directorate of Education closes its eyes to the misdeeds of private school principals. The situation, all the same, is most unsatisfactory. The teachers feel miserable and helpless. They cannot give their best to the students.

One would ask, "Is there no authority that can look into what is happening?" Why has the school been given recognition? If the Directorate recognises a school as fit to prepare students for its examination, it is its responsibility to see that it is properly run. Just because they are not taking any aid, a school's authorities should not be allowed to play with the lives of the children.

The teacher is the key factor in education. He should be allowed to function with dignity and self-respect. That is precisely what is not happening in the schools of Delhi. The above school is one of the glaring examples showing how teachers are treated as chattels and slaves.

Teachers in Government schools do not get their salaries in time. Whenever a teacher visits the Directorate, the behaviour of the bureaucracy is simply disgusting. For small things they have to run about from one counter to another.

Clerical staff in the schools is short and the teachers have to do most of the clerical work. In some cases, particularly in girls schools, they

West Bengal Newsletter

★ From Jnan Bikash Moitra

BANK EMPLOYEES DEMAND NATIONALISATION

CALCUTTA, September 16:

The All-India Bank Employees Association meeting in its 12th Annual Conference here has demanded the nationalisation of the banking industry in the country in the interest of the planned development of its economy.

Nationalisation, the conference said in a resolution, would considerably help in the solution of "the triple urgent problems that face our economy," namely, "shortage of foreign exchange, mobilisation of internal resources and the unabated rise in prices."

THE Conference was inaugurated by the Mayor of Calcutta on September 10 at the Calcutta University Institute, which was packed beyond capacity. The streets of Calcutta thundered with slogans when a huge number of bank employees marched in a colourful procession to the venue of the inaugural session.

Over 600 delegates and observers from all States participated in the conference. Mansoor Habesi, representative of the National Association of the Bank Employees of the UAR attended as a fraternal delegate.

In his welcome address, Prof. Nirmal Bhattacharya, M.L.C., Chairman of the Reception Committee, said that the Conference was meeting at a critical juncture. He dealt at length with the problems of the bank employees. He showed with facts and figures how monopoly was fast developing in the banking industry, and emphasised the urgency of nationalising the industry.

The conference was greeted by Mohammad Elias, M.P., Vice-President of the BPTUC, the General Secretaries of the Federation of Mercantile Employees' Unions and Insurance Employees' Association, and representatives of the All-India State Bank Employees' Association and All-India Reserve Bank Employees' Association.

Messages of greetings were received from the WFTU, Central Trade Union organisations of Soviet Union, France, Ceylon, Austria, China, Japan, Poland, Hungary, Indonesia, etc., and many prominent people in India.

A. C. Kakkar, President of the AIBEA, presided over the session.

The delegates' sessions were held on September 11, 12 and 13.

The four-day conference con-

cluded with a mass rally in the evening of September 13.

Prabhat Kar, M.P., General Secretary of the AIBEA, read out the Report, which had been unanimously approved earlier. The Report dealt with all the problems faced by the trade union movement in the country in general and the Bank Employees' movement in particular.

The main resolution adopted at the conference expressed deep resentment over the recently published Bank Award of the Desai Tribunal. It empowered the Central Committee of the AIBEA to take necessary steps for a negotiated settlement for improving the Award, and also urged upon the Bankers to arrive at such a settlement of the disputes.

The new Central Committee of the AIBEA was elected with A.C. Kakkar and Prabhat Kar, M.P., as President and General Secretary respectively, two Vice-Presidents, four Assistant Secretaries, and one representative from each State.

RESOLUTION ON AWARD OF NATIONAL TRIBUNAL

The following is the text of the resolution on the award of the National Industrial Tribunal (Bank Disputes) adopted by the Conference:

1. This 12th Conference of the All-India Bank Employees' Association entirely agrees with the assessment and analysis of the Desai Award, as set out in the Delhi Resolution of the Central Committee.

2. The findings of the Tribunal smack of caprice and bias

against the workmen and are devoid of judicial approach. The increase granted in the existing wages bears no relation either to the minimum needs of the workers or to the paying capacity of the industry. The increase is very low in comparison to the existing emoluments of other middle class

parties, including the Congress, and those owing allegiance to them to support the main demands of the jute-growing peasants.

The delegates, who came from different districts, narrated how the peasants were being bled white because of the ruthless exploitation of the money-lenders, middlemen and wholesalers. They said that the policy so long pursued by the Government in regard to the jute problem had benefited only the owners of jute mills.

Pointing out that jute manufactures constituted one of the main foreign exchange earners, they emphasised that the problem facing the jute-growing peasantry had become one of the key national problems. The Government must, therefore, deal with the problem on this basis.

The open session of the Conference was attended by about 10,000 peasants. Abdulla Rasool, M.L.C., Kisan Leader, presided. Among those who addressed the rally were, Harekrishna Konar, M.L.A., Biren Roy, M.L.A., Sanat Baha, M.L.A., and Bhowani Roy Chowdhury.

Ajoy Ghosh Memorial Fund

DONATIONS have started coming in since my announcement last week of the first 116 rupees. Binoy Roy, sending in his first instalment of a cheque for Rs. 250 says in his letter, "I have decided to donate Rs. 1,000 towards Ajoy Ghosh Memorial Building Fund. I shall pay the rest in three equal monthly instalments. I shall also try to collect as much money as I can for the fund."

A warm tribute to the memory of Ajoy Ghosh comes from Rashid who has paid Rs. 11 from his wage Rs. 85 per month. It should be remembered that he is a full-time Party

worker for the last 19 years and during all this period he has been drawing a Party wage. He has promised to collect more from friends and sympathisers.

The third amount is a welcome cheque for Rs. 101 by K. E. Panicker who represents the AITUC in the WFTU.

Do not wait for others to approach you for donation. Send your donations directly to me.

I hope all friends and others who hold the memory of Ajoy Ghosh in esteem will subscribe liberally to this fund.

The five lakhs must be collected.

September 20, 1962

S. V. GHATE

employees in comparable concerns and is insignificant in the context of high price level. Even the meagre increase is not uniform. The rate of increment for the sub-staff is ridiculous, the scales of pay are defective and faulty.

3. Many issues of vital importance to the employees, such as the pay-scales for Supervisory Staff, Promotion Policy, Abolition of guarantee cashier system, weekly rest to Watch and Ward Staff etc. have been left undecided on one plea or the other.

4. The Tribunal has agreed in principle to abolish Class IV area, but in doing so, it proceeded with the imaginary difficulties of the banks and extended the existence of this area for another four years.

5. The principle of merger of dearness allowance with basic wage has been reduced to a farce as the only benefit that could accrue to the employees from such merger has been taken away by providing that the pay in relation to Provident Fund, Gratuity and/or pension is to be taken 80/75 per cent of the new basic pay in case of clerical and subordinate staff respectively. Such a formula is unparalleled and is an innovation fraught with dangerous possibilities for the working class as a whole.

6. The Tribunal has drastically curtailed and withdrawn many of the other benefits which the employees earned in the shape of pay and allowances and has also attacked some other rights and privileges. It has given a free hand to the Banks to exploit the employees and further has blocked the employment potential in a rapidly growing industry like banking by lifting the ceiling on the overtime work.

7. The Tribunal, appointed by the Government of India, in March 1960 rejected in December 1960 the demand of the employees for interim relief on the plea that the main Award would be out before long admitting that after the matters have been heard fully, if the case warrants, a provision could be made for giving effect to the Award from an earlier date. In June 1962, the Tribunal admitted that the case has been made out for an increase in the wages but refused to give retrospective effect to its Award from such earlier date.

8. It is to be noted that this is the second wage revision in the ever progressing Banking industry in course of last 12 years. During the period, the Banking industry has registered an all round progress and today it has

stabilised its position and is on the threshold of an era of abundant prosperity. After the expiry of the last Award in March 1959, the bank employees' sought for revision in the wages on the basis of progressive evaluation of social justice and settled principles of industrial law and conventions. This Award manifests a tendency of a retrograde step as it has rejected all such principles and conventions. The unanimous decision of the Fifteenth Indian Labour Conference setting out norms for need-based wage has been criticised and ridiculed. The Tribunal has demonstrated an arrogance of superior wisdom which even seeks to spurn the socialistic goal of the country.

9. The Central Committee rightly came to the conclusion that the Award is unsatisfactory and disappointing and at least some of the most glaring anomalies, inadequacies and contradictions as set out above require improvement and adjustments. It accordingly decided to approach the Banks with the request to introduce the necessary improvements through mutual negotiations, taking the Award as the basis.

10. This Conference notes with regret that the Bankers have failed to realise the significance of a peaceful approach for a peaceful negotiated settlement. It is unfortunate that they have preferred to manifest an uncompromising attitude by resorting to untenable pleas and sticking to mere technicalities.

11. This Conference reiterates that in the interest of maintaining normalcy in the banking industry, improvement of the Desai Award is imperative. This Conference directs the Central Committee to continue its efforts for a negotiated settlement with the Bankers.

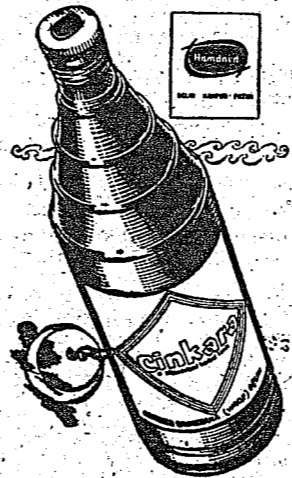
12. This Conference strongly apprehend that to achieve settlement an all-out movement is essential.

13. Under these circumstances, the Conference empowers the Central Committee to draw up details and forms of a militant programme and also to give a call for strike if it is so warranted by the situation.

14. This Conference calls upon the bank employees to remain in all preparedness to carry out the programme and to repulse firmly any attack sought to be made upon their existing rights and privileges to mobilise public opinion in support of the movement.

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JUTE-GROWERS' CONFERENCE

THE West Bengal State Conference of jute growers was held on September 14 and 15 at Islampur in Murshidabad District, one of the most important jute-growing districts of the State. About 200 delegates including women, participated in the conference.

Nine fraternal delegates from the Bengal Chatkal Mazdoor Union and three from Assam also attended.

Bhowani Roy Chowdhury, General Secretary of the Bengal Chatkal Mazdoor Union, greeted the conference on behalf of the Jute Mill workers.

The main resolution adopted by the conference said that a powerful movement must be built up in the districts on the basis of the following demands:

● The price of raw jute should be immediately fixed at Rs. 45/- per maund.

● The jute industry and the jute trade should be nationalised;

● The Government should make bulk purchases of raw jute through the State Trading agencies to prevent the jute mill owners and speculators from depriving the jute-growing peasantry of a jute price for their produce;

● Loans at low rates of interest should be given to the jute-growing peasantry;

● Arrangements should be made for the supply of jute seeds and fertilisers at fair prices.

By another resolution, the Conference demanded security of service for the jute workers, employment for *badliwallahs* (substitutes), a satisfactory settlement of the issues of wages and bonus, and immediate publication and implementation of the recommendations of the Wage Board.

The resolution further said that the Government of India should now make efforts for exporting jute manufactures to newly-liberated and socialist countries.

It urged upon all political

SEPTEMBER 23, 1962

NEW AGE

TRADE UNION ROUND-UP

Durgapur

Works Committee Election

The election of the works committee in the Durgapur Steel Plant which was held on September 11 decisively established that the INTUC union, which is recognised by the management, has no hold over the workers.

OUT of ten seats, nine seats have been won by the Hindusthan Steel Employees Union defeating the INTUC candidates by large margins. The president of the INTUC union is Atulya Ghosh, the Pradesh Congress President and it was at his behest that the plant authorities were forced to grant the union recognition. This was done ignoring the rightful claim of

the Employees Union and its sway over the employees has been amply established in this election.

The employees were very much enthused by this victory and celebrated it in a befitting manner. When the results were announced, there was a spontaneous demonstration in the project area although it was quite late in the night.

AT JAMSHEDPUR

THE sub-committee of the Central Wage Board for Iron and Steel Industry held its sittings from September 3 to 5, at Jamshedpur to hear the claims of the trade unions for an interim relief pending the final recommendations of the Wage Board on the various issues before it.

On behalf of the five AITUC Unions in the Steel Industry i.e., the Jamshedpur Mazdur Union, the United Iron and Steel Workers' Union, Burnpur, Rourkela Steel Mazdur Union and the Bilhal Steel Mazdoor Sabha, Ali Amjad General Secretary of the JMU appeared before the sub-committee to give evidence on the demands of the workers.

The memorandum submitted on behalf of the AITUC Unions made a demand of thirty rupees as an interim relief. It pointed out that the Labour Department of the Government of Bihar had calculated the minimum wages

Iron And Steel Wage Board Hearing On Interim Relief Question

for Jamshedpur on the basis of the norms accepted by the 15th Indian Labour Conference at 1958 prices to be Rs. 181.68 np. The minimum wages for other steel centres also would not work out at anything less than this.

The memorandum pointed out that the present scale of basic wages and dearness allowance in the minimum category come upto only 50% of the norms only in Jamshedpur and in other centres very much less than even this.

It was pointed out that the minimum wages of a steel worker in Jamshedpur today are Rs. 92.06; in Burnpur Rs. 61.00; in the Hindusthan Steel (State Sector) only Rs. 75 which has recently been increased to Rs. 85.

It was also pointed out that according to the First Pay Commission formulae, the minimum D.A. which should have been available to the Steel worker was Rs. 65 whereas the rate of D.A. in the Steel Industry varies from Rs. 35 per month in Burnpur to Rs. 45 per month in Jamshedpur.

In none of the Steel Centres is the dearness allowance linked up with the cost of living index and it is totally inadequate in relation to the rise in prices.

The AITUC memorandum pointed out that the wide gap between the minimum need-based wages and the actual remuneration received is brought out in sharp relief by the extent of indebtedness of the steel workers.

Survey Of Indebtedness

A recent survey conducted by the Government of Bihar into the indebtedness of the industrial workers at Jamshedpur reveals that 78.49 per cent of the workers having an income of upto Rs. 100 per month, 80.91 per cent of those earning between Rs. 100.00 to 150.00, 83.61 per cent of those earning between 150 to 200 and 80.21 per cent of those earning between 200 to 250 per month were in debts to the extent of 5 months to 6 months of their earnings.

It was pointed out in the AITUC memorandum that a Bombay textile worker today earns more than the steel worker when it is trumpeted all round that the Steel worker is the most highly paid in

all other countries of the world.

The AITUC Unions which gave their evidence first were followed by the independent unions, not affiliated to any of the Central TU Organisations. They were the Association of the Hindusthan Steel Employees Union, Calcutta and the Hindusthan Steel Employees Union, Durgapur. These Unions supported the demand put forward on behalf of the AITUC and submitted a similar memorandum.

INTUC Also Supports

The INTUC Unions which were represented by V. G. Gopal, General Secretary of Tata Workers Union also supported the demands placed by the AITUC and joined with the workers' common demands of Rs. 30 as Interim relief.

Earlier the Sub-Committee examined the representatives of various managements. What these representatives submitted before the Wage Board could not be known to the workers side, because the Board was examining the various parties separately which was not the usual practice.

A demand has been made on behalf of the AITUC Unions that all parties appearing before the Board should be supplied with the comments, memoranda etc., submitted by the others. However, it is known that the representatives of the management are at this stage.

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HIMACHAL PRADESH

TRANSPORT DEPARTMENT KEEPS DISPUTE HANGING

FOR the last several years the dispute between the Himachal Government Transport Workers Union and the Himachal Pradesh Transport Department seems to come to no settlement.

After a number of years the Transport Department came to an agreement with the Union in April 1960, providing for payment of night-out allowance, payment of Punjab pay-scales to technical staff and confirmation of staff, etc. When the Government refused to implement the assurances given in the agreement, a strike notice was served on the management in November last year. Again the management gave an assurance to implement the agreement before the Conciliation Officer, Mahasu.

Eight Months Passed

More than eight months have again passed and there is no sign of fulfilment of the promises made by the Transport Department.

On the other hand the Transport Department is trying to set up a Company Union by means of pressure, victimisation and discrimination against members of the present recognised union. Several office-bearers have been transferred from Bilaspur to other centres. A large number of workers have been suspended on flimsy grounds and decisions on these charges are postponed for months and years together to harass these workers.

Gradually a sense of frustration and desperation is mounting among workers leaving them no other choice but to wage a strike battle in this essential service.

It may also be noted that the Himachal Pradesh Administration does not know its

own mind. They have introduced a scheme of consolidated allowance. According to a reply given by the Union Transport Minister before a meeting of the Informal Consultative Committee of Parliament, the transport worker is given the option to accept this allowance in lieu of compensatory allowance, house rent allowance, overtime allowance, night duty allowance, travelling allowance and daily allowance.

False Pleas

However in practice the management has denied promotion, new recruitment, etc., to persons who do not opt in favour of this allowance.

On the one hand the HP Administration has been sponsoring INTUC unions, on the other it took up the position last May that since workers are now Government employees, they have no right to form trade unions.

The management also takes another strange position. It maintains that benefits provided by labour legislation cannot be given to Himachal transport workers as the latter are Government servants and the only rules that govern them are Central Government Service Rules etc.

In fact the officials who have been ministers in erstwhile states find it impossible to accept the position of trade unions. Their anti-labour attitude is so gross that the INTUC unions have also strongly criticized the anti-labour policies of the Transport and PWD Departments in Himachal Pradesh, in their meeting at Simla on September 9.

Conciliation proceedings have also been going on between the Simla Hotel Mazdoor Union and several owners of hotels in Simla. Again the managements are taking

an adamant attitude. One of the owners is the President of the Simla City Congress Committee and the Punjab Deputy Labour Minister, Bhagwat Dayal, is taking undue interest in the dispute in favour of the owner. On top of all this, there is the news that the Punjab Government has decided to abolish the payment of Hill Compensatory Allowance in Simla and Dharamsala. As the Union Territory of Himachal Pradesh follows the pattern adopted in the neighbouring State of Punjab, this is going to affect the interests of employees and labour in Himachal as well.

Higher Cost of Living

The cost of living in the hills is definitely higher than that in the plains. To take only one example, the bus charges are nine naya Paisa per mile, i.e., more than twice the charges in the plains. All foodgrains, vegetables and fruits are brought from the plains to the hills thus raising their price considerably.

The Temporary Taxation Bill passed by the Punjab Legislature envisages payment of Rs. 60 per annum by employees drawing more than Rs. 150 per month. This is to affect all Himachal employees in Simla. The widespread resentment among employees against this Bill is reflected in the resolutions passed by even the INTUC Unions in Simla and the coverage given to this anger by the Congress weekly Himachal Darpan published from Simla.

The abolition of Compensatory Allowance by Punjab Government from January 1 onwards will naturally prove to be the last straw on the camel's back. Already there is a move to bring all the unions in Simla and Himachal together to resist this move.

ASSAM NEWSLETTER

Factional Fight Complicates Pak Infiltration Question

Floods apart, the one question that has been dominating the political scene of Assam is that of Pakistani infiltration. Factional fight inside the ruling party has complicated the question which is itself a delicate issue that calls for a national approach. Current trends leave no room for doubt that communal politics has been imported into the question, vitiating the atmosphere.

WHILE the ruling clique at first underestimated the implication of this question and the danger latent in it, the opponents of the Ministry in the Congress leadership of the State threw all restraint overboard and gave it a communal colour to achieve their factional end. Faced with this pressure of the situation, the Government now have taken an attitude that also has not been helping a desirable approach to the question or a healthy solution in keeping with the accepted ideal of secularism.

For a pretty long time different sources put the figure of Pakistani infiltrants differently. But none of these sources had any convincing basis of calculation of those figures quoted by them.

At long last the Chief Minister of Assam, B. P. Chaliha told the State Assembly on August 4 last that the number of Pakistani infiltrants in Assam was a little less than 3 lakhs. It is understood that according to the estimate of the State Government the figure is 2 lakh 60 thousand. Later on, the Union Home Minister also stated in Parliament that about three lakhs of Pakistanis had infiltrated into Assam.

But it is significant that neither the Union Home Minister, nor the State Chief Minister disclosed the basis of their calculation. This has provided the anti-Ministerial group of Congress leaders of Assam as well as certain avowedly communal elements with an opportunity to question the authenticity of this figure.

They did not stop at raising doubts only. At least one of them, Deveswar Sarma, who is said to be the "chief architect" of the policy of the anti-Ministerial group in Assam at present, came out with a statement accusing the Government of underestimating the problem and of giving out wrong figures.

Sarma's Statement

Sarma, in his statement which has since been circulated in a booklet form in thousands of copies, asserted that the number of Pakistani infiltrants in Assam could not be less than 7½ lakhs, if not 10 lakhs. To quote his own words, "All available figures indicate that the number of Pak Nationals infiltrating into Assam in the 1951-61 decade is of the order of 7½ lakhs. And, if a close and careful survey could be taken of those infiltrators who are stealthily settling in the jungles and Brahmaputra Chars, the figure would be all like-

hood swell by some 2½ lakhs more."

With a large number of border security force, civil police, intelligence branch people—both Central and State, and not all of them are surely members of minority community—operating in the State, 2½ lakhs of Pakistanis could "stealthily settle" in jungles and Chars! But Sarma is no immature player in the political field and hence, he makes it equivocal when he says, "if a close and careful survey could be taken". It is for the census authorities to say if any "close and careful survey" was made or not.

Average Rate Of Growth

He has built his case upon some arithmetical and a seasoned political leader of the ruling party that he is, he can certainly claim some access to official statistics. In his Press conference where he first made his statement, he is reported to have given the impression that figures quoted by him were unquestionable inasmuch as he had them from official sources.

He has quoted the population figures of the three previous census operations in Assam to show that the average rate of growth of population in this State could not be more than 21 per cent for a decade. He has also given certain figures of migration of refugees from East Pakistan into Assam—2,74,455 persons before 1951 census operation and 3,70,545 after 1951 census till March 1962. He has included 50,000 industrial labour who have, according to him, migrated into Assam during the period.

On this basis, he has calculated that the population of Assam in 1961, had there been no census, would have been normally 11,105,724. But according to 1961 census, the provisional population figure is 11,880,059. This figure is 7,73,335 more than what according to him should have been the normal population of Assam in 1961. And he infers from this that "the reason for this unaccounted population can only be attributed to heavy infiltration of Pak nationals to this State and to no other source".

But while Sarma asserts that "we have not yet got the community-wise break-up of 1961 census figures", he has completely ignored the figures of Muslim and non-Muslim population disclosed by the Chief Minister Chaliha in the State Assembly on June 12, 1962. One may reasonably take it that the Chief Minister of a State did not lie and he must have quoted figures on the basis of facts supplied

to him by such official quarters as are likely to have them.

If, however, Sarma thinks that a Chief Minister belonging to his party is capable of even telling a lie on the floor of the Assembly, it is a different matter and he, being a Congress leader of long standing, can certainly claim a better knowledge of the affairs of his party than an outsider possibly can. If he thinks so, he is yet to say that publicly so that people might judge better the party that Sarma serves.

Muslim Population

However, according to the break-up of population given by the Chief Minister, the Muslim population of Assam in 1951 was 19,95,933 and that in 1961 was 27,56,592. This is an increase of 7,60,659. Non-Muslim population in 1951 was, according to the Chief Minister, 68,30,000, and that in 1961 was 90,95,000. This is an increase of 22,65,000.

If the rate of growth is taken at 21 per cent in a decade as "normal", it should be so for both the majority and the minority communities.

At that rate the Muslim population in the State in 1961 should have been 24,15,092, which is, however, 3,50,420 less than the actual as disclosed by the Chief Minister. But, this "excess" over what should have been the figure at the rate of 21 per cent growth for 10 years, it is to be noted, is nearer the number of Pakistani infiltrants given by both the Union Home Minister and the State Chief Minister than the number given by Deveswar Sarma.

Again, the actual increase of non-Muslim population, as pointed out above is not at

★ From Madhusudan Bhattacharya

the rate of 21 per cent, but 33 per cent approximately. If the rate of growth has been 33 per cent for the non-Muslims, there seems to be little justification why it should not be so for the Muslim population as well. If the growth of Muslim population is taken at the rate of 33 per cent for 10 years (as in the case of the non-Muslims), the actual number of Muslims in Assam in 1961 should have been 26,54,594 which is also 1,10,908 less than what the Chief Minister disclosed to be the actual number found by the census enumeration.

Thus, if one is to determine the "actual" number of Pak Nationals infiltrating into Assam by working out the "surplus" over the general rate of growth of population, only 1,10,908 persons can be said to have infiltrated. But the Chief Minister has given a figure which is about 1½ lakhs more than what works out as "excess" over the general rate of growth of population.

But unless Sarma would contend that the Chief Minister was giving wrong information, there is nothing to warrant agreement with Sarma. If, however, one was to accept the argument of Sarma, that the "excess" over 21 per cent growth "can only be attributed to heavy infiltration of Pak Nationals to this State and to no other source," one has to admit that even among the non-Muslims, at least 12 per cent of the increased population of 1961 over that of 1951 are "Pak Nationals". That is the irresistible conclusion. Will Sarma agree to accept this?

While Sarma would have one to believe that the entire "excess" over 21 per cent increase of population consists of Pak Nationals and thus arrive at the conclusion that 7½ lakhs of Pak Nationals have infiltrated into Assam, one Karimgunj weekly has put the figure of infiltrants into Assam, in one of its recent issues, at about 18 lakhs which is nearly equal to the total Muslim population of Assam in 1951.

No patriotic Indian can feel assured even if the actual number of Pakistani infiltrants into Assam is 110,000

or about 3 lakhs or so. Every infiltrant has to be found out and deported. There will be no two opinions about this. But if wild guesses and untenable hypotheses about the number of infiltrants are allowed to gain currency among our people, this will only create a panic among the people and will vitiate the atmosphere with communal tension.

Real Facts Needed

It is, therefore, urgently necessary that all misconception about the number of infiltrants should be dispelled by irrefutable facts. That is what neither the Chief Minister, nor the Union Home Minister has done so far. One would agree with Sarma that the Chief Minister, or the Union Home Minister for that matter "is required to explain the bases of this estimate if it is to be accepted".

A close examination of Sarma's statement leaves no room for doubt that this is the product of factional interest. No other explanation of his digs at the State Finance Minister—there are not a few digs in his statement against the State Finance Minister—can be reasonably found. Perhaps, one can understand this when one remembers that Sarma was squeezed out of the Chaliha cabinet to make room for the present Finance Minister.

Likewise his remarks about the "two all powerful top men in the Government" in his statement (the one is the Finance Minister and the other is the Chief Minister himself) also have been taken as an expression of the same factional fight in the ruling party of Assam.

One may not feel much interested in the factional fight in the ruling party and the weapons that the contending factions use against each other. But when that threatens the communal harmony of the State one cannot but feel worried. But that is what the current phase of the factional fight of the ruling party threatens.

DR. RANGEYA RAGHAVA

WE record our deep sense of grief over the sad demise of Dr. Rangeya Raghava, eminent Hindi writer, who suffered from blood cancer for the last several months. He passed away on September 12, in a hospital at Bombay.

One of the pioneers of the progressive writers' movement in the Hindi speaking region and an active friend and sympathiser of the Party, Dr. Rangeya Raghava championed the cause of the toiling millions of the country and mercilessly exposed and fought all the manifestations of imperialist-feudal vestiges in our social and political life. Born in a Tamil-speaking family and educated at Agra, he enriched the treasurehouse of Hindi literature with his hundred and odd works.

Among his most famous novels are Murdon Ka

Teela, Seedha-Sada Rasta, Bolte Khandhar and Kab Tak Pukarun. His short story Gadai is unmatched for its crispness and deep human touch. He compiled several short-story collections viz. Frachin Yunani, Kahaniyan, Frachin Teutan Kahaniyan, Frachin Brahma Kahaniyan etc.

He translated almost all the important plays of Shakespeare into Hindi including Othello, Merchant of Venice, Macbeth, Julius Caesar, Hamlet, King Lear, and Tempest. From Sanskrit he translated Dandi's Dashkumarcharit, Shudrak's Mrichhakatik and Vishakhadatta's Mudra Rakshasa. In the field of literary criticism some of his important contributions are Mahakavya Vivechana, Aadhunik Hindi Kavita Men Prem Aur Sringar, Kavya, Yatharth aur Pragati and Samiksha Aur Aadarsh.

His unique accomplishments in the field of literature, both in volume and quality in such a short span of time—he had not yet reached forty years—inspired innumerable young writers and drew them closer to the cause of peace and socialism, the cause which was so dear to his heart.

A few months ago several Hindi writers and journalists, headed by Dr. Ram-bilas Sharma and Shrivandan Singh Chauhan had drawn the attention of the Government towards the falling health of Dr. Rangeya Raghava through the columns of Hindi press and expressed deep apprehension at the consequences if nothing was done immediately. However, all this was to no avail. And, now the irreparable loss is done.

India has lost a brave fighter for the cause of peace and socialism.

FRANCO-GERMAN RECONCILIATION

From P.K. Kunhanandan Nair

The hundred-year-old traditional mistrust, enmity and belligerence between the French and German bourgeois has come to an end—at least at the governmental level.

FRENCH President de Gaulle paid a state visit to West Germany in the first week of September. The entire world bourgeois press acclaimed it as a "triumphal tour". The visiting President said he was very satisfied with the rousing reception from the German population.

When emotion ran high de Gaulle even revealed a secret to a German audience that he was one fourth of German blood. French Foreign Minister Maurice Coues de Mureille who accompanied the President declared that there was a Franco-German reconciliation and that was a necessary basis for European unification.

The age-old enmity between France and Germany was described to have ended when French President mounted a shrine in Munich, once haunted by Nazis and cried out in fluent German "Long live Munich, Long live Germany, Long live friendship between France and Germany".

President de Gaulle declared in Munich: "The future, of our two countries, the cornerstone on which the unity of Europe can and will be erected, depends upon the mutual respect, trust and friendship of the French and German peoples".

De Gaulle, Adenauer's partner in the drive for Franco-German reconciliation, has even paid homage to thousands of Bavarians who died fighting the French army in Franco-Prussian war and the Germans who died in the first world war. This is the first time a French leader has paid homage to the German dead who fought the French in many European wars.

A new era was thus heralded in the relations between Europe's two imperialist powers.

The joint communique issued by de Gaulle and Adenauer contained little of what happened in the secret talks between them. But it is a well-known fact that these two old imperialist leaders have discussed a blueprint for action to realise their dream of integration of Europe, described by de Gaulle in his policy statement in May as stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals, which would suggest conquering the Soviet Union and other socialist countries of Europe.

The plan frame discussed as the basis for Bonn-Paris axis contains these dangerous policy points:

- Intensification of German-French cooperation behind Adenauer-de Gaulle diehard cold war line.
- Work together to speed up nuclear arms for new West German forces and to build up France's own nuclear force.
- Push ahead with Common Market political union without further delay, with or without British joining.
- No trade concessions for Commonwealth countries, no departure from the Rome Treaty.

have now agreed that negotiations for getting the whole of Western Europe into a political union dominated by them should be concluded as swiftly as possible. They also agreed on the demand for "self-determination of the German people as a whole". This is Adenauer's way of demanding the absorption of the German Democratic Republic.

There is widespread rumour in West European press that de Gaulle is seeking in the immediate future a formal Franco-German organisation, a kind of Europe of the Two to replace the Europe of the Six, if the negotiations for Britain's entry into European Common Market failed and the Belgians and the Dutch continued their opposition to de Gaulle's plans.

With the liberation of Algeria French imperialism having lost all its colonial domains, de Gaulle is working out new schemes for neo-colonialism where he can dominate.

The triumph of de Gaulle in West Germany is not to the liking of British imperialists. Chief organs of British monopolists and the ruling class were not pleased with it. They have their own apprehensions and fears rooted in inter-imperialist rivalries.

Times of London wrote for example on September 12: "French-German rapprochement demonstrated by President de



Now, please, remember, Excellence, no references to:

- Frederick the Great
- Louis XIV
- Napoleon
- Jena
- Waterloo
- Bismarck
- Ansterlitz
- The Marne
- Foch
- Clemenceau
- Normandy,
- etc., etc.

Lancaster in the London Daily Express

Gaulle's reception in West Germany is very much more than a gambit in the Common Market negotiations, or a by-product of the Berlin crisis, or even a key move in France's new attitude towards Europe. It is the first strategic disposition in a reshaping

of French foreign policy as a whole... France augmented by West German industrial and financial strength and developing her own nuclear weapons, is much better equipped to assert her independence within the Six or even against the United States".

And the Economist bitterly complained, "Not for the first time Britain's agonising efforts to come to terms with Europe seem to be matched, not by a helping hand from across the Channel, but by a demonstration that Europe is getting on quite happily without it".

A section of the French bourgeois press also showed less satisfaction and more concern about the possible political effect of de Gaulle's tour. The influential *Le Monde* asked if de Gaulle had paid enough attention "to the old German debts... in short to a certain militarism and put in an interrogation: 'What would happen if Adenauer pass away too soon and Germany throw off the tender links that she has forged with de Gaulle?'"

The Rightwing *Aurore* said it was not hostile to French-German reconciliation but condemned a "Europe dominated by Paris-Bonn axis".

While the British Tory Government of Macmillan is this week facing powerful onslaughts on Common Market terms from big guns of the Commonwealth, in the current London conference, the conditions laid down by Chancellor Adenauer and President de Gaulle are most damaging. There is little doubt Macmillan is determined, to drag Britain into this Adenauer-de Gaulle trap and India's economic interests and England's sovereignty are bound to suffer.

U. N. O. — Hopes And Fears

The Seventeenth Session of the U.N. General Assembly began yesterday (September 18). Zafrullah Khan, the U.S.-sponsored candidate from Pakistan, has been elected defeating the candidate from Ceylon, who was strongly supported by all the Socialist countries and by several non-aligned countries.

IS this the way things will continue this session? Will the USA and the Western Powers continue to have their own way during the rest of the session?

One can quite definitely say "No" to both questions. But one cannot say more than that. For the UNO, despite the great increase in its membership and the growing influence of Afro-Asian countries, is still prevented from moving forward, as the forum for peace it was intended to be.

There were 104 member countries on the eve of the 17th session. The African States of Ruanda and Burundi and the newly independent Jamaica and Trinidad-Tobago are new members, who will join during this session—with Uganda probably coming in shortly after it is declared independent in October.

The entry of new countries in the UNO, following the disintegration of the colonial system, is a feature of profound significance in the work of the UNO. Those who continue to think of the UNO as it was in the past—when the imperialist powers could carry everything before them using their brute majority—are living in a dogmatic world of their own, blind to the changes which have taken place.

Today the imperialists do NOT have all their own way in the UNO. As a matter of fact, on several vital issues, the UNO has been able to take decisions which correspond to the needs of the people, to the needs of the struggle for peace and national independence.

One needs only to mention the U.N. resolution on preparations for a treaty on General and Complete Disarmament and the U.N. Declaration on Granting of Independence to colonial countries and peoples. The old imperialist-dominated U.N. could never have adopted those decisions.

Take again the recent decision on the conversion of Africa into a nuclear-free zone. Here too the decision was taken in the teeth of the opposition (expressed through abstentions) of the Western powers.

When this question of failure to translate decisions into reality is examined, the entire defective structure of the UNO looms up before us.

First and foremost, as always, the flouting of the right of the People's Republic of China to its place in UNO is a major cause of shortcoming in it: you cannot decide the destinies of the world in the absence of the representatives of over six hundred and fifty million people.

Again, and here sometimes we are forgetful of the significance of this fact, the U.N. executive agencies and organisations com-

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

CUBA — Kennedy And The Rest

pletely fail to reflect its new composition. The staff is completely dominated by the West. A study made just a year ago (and the situation has not changed much for the better since) revealed the following:

- Twenty of the 33 senior posts in the Secretariat (under Secretaries and officials of similar status) were held by representatives of Western military bloc countries—seven by the U.S. and only one by the Socialist countries.

- Of the 48 directorial posts, 37 were held by Westerners and only three by representatives of the Socialist countries.

- Out of a total of 1,309 Secretarial posts, 1,006 were held by citizens of Western military bloc countries (357 Americans), while the nonaligned countries had only 219 and the Socialist countries 84.

A U.N. Committee recommended certain changes but even when they are fully implemented, the Socialist countries would have only 14 executive posts in the Secretariat, compared with 24 held by the USA and Canada! All this in the name of "equitable" geographical division.

There is need to make a drastic change in the U.N. structure. This can be done by a frank recognition of the real state of affairs: three groups of states exist—nonaligned, Socialist and imperialist; and the three must be properly represented in U.N. bodies and in the Secretariat—to prevent domination by any single group.

The Seventeenth Session of the General Assembly has to take note of this failure to implement its own resolutions, while grappling with the supreme tasks which are of greater moment to humanity than those faced by any previous session.

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This is obviously a fool-proof system, for any country which would refuse to permit the experts to visit a suspected spot, would automatically declare itself guilty.

But the USA refused to accept this proposal and sought to divert attention from it in all sorts of other ways—by proposing to "legalise" underground tests, by suggesting a ban on all other tests and not on underground tests; and by putting out rebashed versions of its old plans.

The nonaligned proposal, however, stands. The Soviet Union has accepted it as a real basis for agreement. It is for the peoples of the world not to be misled but to give their full support to it.

Meanwhile, eminent scientists meeting at the Pugwash Conference in London have proposed an additional device, which would provide absolutely definite scientific information on any underground explosions, without the necessity for so-called international inspection teams on the soil of the nuclear Powers, which may be used for espionage purposes.

What does the USA say now? The nonaligned proposal was more than sufficient to meet any genuine objectives. The black boxes of the Pugwash scientists are still further proof that the U.S. insistence on stationing their teams on Soviet soil arises not from a real fear of "espionages," but from a desire to carry out espionage activities in the USSR.

The campaign for a ban on nuclear tests can be successful if it points its finger unerringly at those responsible for the failure to sign a treaty on ending all nuclear tests.

The mask of refugees is wearing thin, and Uncle Sam's whiskers are visible to all.

The solidarity of the peoples of the world with Cuba is our answer to the U.S. imperialism.

—Romesh Chandra (September 19)

U. N. HOUSING SEMINAR

★ From Our Correspondent

The United Nations Seminar on Essential Services in Relation to Urban and Rural Housing organised by the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East is currently being held in Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi.

THE Vice-President of India, Dr. Zakir Husain, inaugurating the Seminar said that people who have come into their own recently and look forward with a degree of legitimate impatience to emergence of a better life for themselves and their children want better houses, better places of work and better services etc. They cannot have these, if each one is left to himself. Organized society has to undertake to provide these and it cannot do this unless it wisely and meticulously and comprehensively plans to do so.

The Executive Secretary of ECAFE, U Nyun, quoting the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations said that over 1,000 million people in Africa, Asia and Latin America—about half of the total population of these countries—are homeless or live in housing which is a health hazard and an affront to human dignity.

During the discussion, K. B. Panikkar, Permanent Representative of the World Federation of Trade Unions to ECAFE, drew attention to the growing deterioration of the housing condition of the lower income groups in the countries of the region.

He said that unless effective steps are taken by governmental authorities, the situation will continue to worsen. The resour-

ces being limited, the cost of essential services in relation to housing cannot be viewed in isolation from the economy of the housing projects as a whole.

One of the greatest impediments in the progress of housing construction is the question of the value of the land itself. In most of the countries of the region due to the firm grip of speculators the land prices are sky-rocketing. Very little is being done to arrest these anti-social manipulations.

Even where some legislative or other actions are taken, they have proved to be quite ineffective. Similarly the price of materials needed for housing and essential services such as cement, steel, sanitary wares, etc., are shooting up with unfavourable impact on the development of housing.

Unless effective steps are taken to arrest these tendencies and enforce them strictly, the discussion will prove of little value in terms of practical benefits in the expansion of housing and essential service facilities for the low income groups in urban and rural areas. Without the governments recognising the responsibility of providing housing facilities and taking active steps on a national scale the situation cannot be improved.

Problems Before Sindhi Community

The great woeful calamity wrought by the partition and subsequent uprooting of entire communities leaving their homes and hearths on either side of the border has few parallels in history. Even to recall that grim and ghastly phase in our history is to live through a shocking nightmare.

IN the grip of this calamity was caught an entire community. It is now scattered all over this vast sub-continent; to-day that community is everywhere and nowhere. Today a Sindhi is recognized as a businessman, ease-loving and mammon-worshipping.

Few, however, realize how this gallant Sindhi is fighting for his survival as Sindhi, for the survival of his language, literature and culture, the only means, the only link, in the absence of any particular region or patch of land to call his own, which ensures his survival as Sindhi. Owing to rather peculiar geographical position, Sind was isolated from India and many in India even today know nothing about Sindhi language, literature and culture.

After the partition led by their leaders when Sindhis reached this country, the leaders thought their duty had been accomplished and left the masses to themselves to solve their problems of food and shelter. They hastened to reap the harvest of freedom, getting appointments of all sorts. Occasionally, from their ivory towers they counselled the Sindhis to forget everything of the past as a mere dream—forget yourself and lose yourself in this vast stream of local masses. They did not refrain from often

pointing to dangers of retaining their identity, and, thus save for occasional flashes of their appearance, Sindhis were left to themselves.

This was a crucial period in the entire history of the community—of grim struggle for mere existence—absence of anything to cling to—and deserted by their beloved leaders Sindhis stood in danger of losing themselves, giving themselves up as lost, as people without past and future. The entire community would have been plunged inevitably in pessimism or cynicism.

At this time some young intellectuals took up the challenge of the times and with their vision could understand that Sindhis needed hope and some ideals to pursue. Only was essential for this purpose—but it was physically an impossible task; it was only through literature that the masses could be reached and one could make oneself heard.

Our leaders had left our language as a discarded boat but young writers refused to think along those lines. "If Sindhis could survive, it was only by holding fast to their language" they thought. It would have been graver blunder than partition itself, had Sindhis given up their lan-

guage also. It would have logically resulted in their suicide as a community. Today this movement has assumed such vast proportions, that even the 'old guard' are forced to voice the demand for inclusion of the Sindhi language in the Eighth Schedule, and now on this issue all the people belonging to different ideologies are united and a common platform has been evolved to pursue this aim.

So far five all-India Sindhi Sahitya Sammelans have been held, each with greater success and an all-India organisation known as Akhil Bharat Sindhi Boli & Sahitya Sabha has come into existence, which is doing a fine job.

Today the main problems facing the Sindhi community relate to their language, literature and education.

Sindhi language, in spite of possessing all the requisite qualities needed for inclusion in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution, has not been recognized as one of the Indian languages. Thus apart from wounding the feelings of Sindhis, there are many practical difficulties arising out of it. Sindhi has not been recognized as one of the languages for the Sangit Natak Akademi and other Government and semi-Government organisations.

Thus Sindhi has been deprived of the equal opportunity of growth along with other languages.

It must not be forgotten that especially after the re-organisation of Indian Union on the basis of language, the

role of language has been legitimately recognized, but Sindhi language being the language of a minority in all the States, is not guaranteed any future as is the case with other Indian languages.

All our languages are the manifestation of our great cultural heritage and diversity in the midst of unity. Sindhi language forms a part of the great cultural heritage and extinction of Sindhi language would be dealing a

ghastly blow to the great culture of India itself.

Further, rehabilitation of Sindhis would be incomplete without the recognition of Sindhi language.

The demand for inclusion of Sindhi language has been voiced always in a peaceful manner, the characteristic of "Sindhias"—a word coined after independence, denoting the entire Sindhi way of life and philosophy of universal brotherhood, inspired by two different yet identical springs of Sufism and Vedantism.

No doubt, the incessant struggle waged in the beginning by inspired young intellectuals and now joined in by all has achieved some tangible 'concessions'. Sindhi has been recognized as one of the languages for the purpose of Sahitya Aka-

* ON PAGE 14

PROBLEMS FACING SINDHI COMMUNITY

demi, by Ministries of Education, Scientific Research & Cultural Affairs—by National Book Trust and some other agencies. Sindhi voice is heard weekly for half an hour from All-India Radio Bombay and for 15 minutes from Jaipur also.

These are the achievements for which the credit goes to Sindhi masses, who rallied round young writers, intellectuals and a few 'old guards'.

Looking to the present fissiparous, communal and separatist tendencies, it may be asked why Sindhis are pressing their demand at this inopportune time. But it may be made clear that we do not want to accentuate the fissiparous and separatist tendencies—the nature of our demand is quite different and this brooks no delay.

Sindhi literature has made great strides in the post-partition era. It has been observed that the number of books published in the last decade far exceeds the number of books published in the last five decades; and for this the credit goes again to some enthusiastic young writers and intellectuals who with their unparalleled zeal and selfless service have contributed to the growth of Sindhi literature.

The post-partition period saw the emergence of many new progressive writers. Owing to conditions prevailing immediately after partition, writings were more propagandistic than artistic. With the passage of time and experience, these writers have matured and are now producing good creative literature. Though in the process many who had come out of sheer enthusiasm and had affixed the 'progressive' label to themselves have either retired into oblivion or impotently turned against everything progressive.

Yet save some isolated attempts, it is the progressive trend that dominates in Sindhi literature and the impact of the post-independence renaissance is felt even on a language and literature so hampered as Sindhi.

But there are many problems confronting Sindhi literature today. There is not even a single writer who could be called professional. It is due to very low sales for which the purchasing power of Sindhis, an absence of centralised sales agency and the peculiar position of Sindhis being spread all over India are responsible. A big factor responsible for this situation is that there can be no exchange of Sindhi literature produced in India and that produced in Sind.

Exchange Of Literature

If any such agreement could be arrived at whereby there could be exchange of literature between the two countries, India and Pakistan, it would afford great encouragement to literature on either side. This problem we share commonly with other languages such as Urdu, Punjabi and Bengali and any step in this direction can jointly be contemplated.

It is Sindhi education that has suffered the most at the hands of thoughtless, unsympathetic bureaucrats. In some states such as U.P., Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh, even the constitutional provisions for teaching through mother-tongue at the primary level have been flouted. Sindhi medium schools have been forcibly changed to Hindi medium schools, especially in Rajasthan and till recently Sindhi was not recognized even as an optional subject by the Rajasthan Government. To add insult to the injury, in U.P. Sindhi was classified as a foreign language.

Utter discrimination against Sindhi schools and teachers is rampant and all the protests in the direction have fallen on deaf ears and have been met rather with reprisals. The sympathetic approach of the Commissioner of minority communities has also been of no avail, as the things guaranteed on paper are never intended to be put into practice.

Even in the three language formula, Sindhi is conspicuous by its omission. The Chief Ministers' Conference and the National Integration Conference conveniently forgot 'Sindhi' as a language of people existing in India and only those languages as are included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution are referred to for medium of instruction at the secondary stage.

Equal Recognition Needed

Until, and unless Sindhi is recognized on par with other languages, the future of Sindhi could be predicted to be bleak and uninspiring. Though in Maharashtra and Gujarat, where 50 per cent Sindhi population lives, Sindhi children are being educated in their mother-tongue up to SSC stage in schools run by Sindhis themselves, yet in Hindi speaking regions, the Hindi zealots do not relish the presence of any other language than their own.

Owing to the official attitude, even the Sindhis have started having doubts about the future of their language and in face of uninspiring circumstances are tempted to send their children to English or non-Sindhi schools, although the facilities to teach Sindhi are available.

Here the question of script needs to be mentioned. Strangely enough and unfortunately, controversy has been able to artificially divide the Sindhi community. Sindhi language has its own script which has been standardised since 1853 and practically all the literature published (about 60,000 books) is in that traditional script. The only fault in that script is that it owes its origin to Arabic and Persian script and is thus unacceptable to communalists.

It is quite painful to see that even the leaders brought up under 'Gandhian tradition', are in the forefront of the campaign to 'Hinduise' the Sindhi language. Owing to their influence in upper circles in some cases they have been able to foist, much to

the irritation and annoyance of Sindhi parents, Devnagari script on Sindhi students without being able to transliterate any adequate text books for them. Today after 13 years, not even ten books worth the name have been published in Devnagari script save some small pamphlets numbering about 30 ranging in price from 20 p to 50 p.

Sindhi masses oppose this move because it is based on communal consideration and communalism is alien to their culture, the culture which stresses the unity of many in spite of exterior manifestation of difference. To accept the move based only on communal consideration would be destroying

with one stroke the essence of 'Sindhia' that is secularism.

Further, Sindhi schools oppose it because Sindhi is a language with a script of 52 letters and Devnagari is quite incapable of recording the subtle phonetic variation on paper which our language demands. It has moreover been carried to its logical conclusion wherever it has been accepted by replacing Sindhi by Hindi.

We have also to consider that by adopting Devnagari with one stroke we shall be scrapping our linguistic ties with the masses on the other side of the border without any substantial gain.

SPOTLIGHT

COMMUNALISM FLINGS THE GAGE

By GARUDA

DEFINITION of 'communalism' is proving elusive, we are informed, as elusive, I suppose, as the definition of 'aggression'—and for identical reasons.

In the Council at the UNO which seeks to define 'aggression' sit the very aggressors, the imperialists, colonialists and the neo-colonialists, who have been responsible for each and every act of aggression committed in the world, and who are ever eyed up by their very nature and constitution, to launch a fresh one. Only a more awakened people in the world, and a solid new alignment of forces with the socialist world as the lynch-pin in it, bars the way of their onslaught.

The same about 'communalism' in our land. In the committee which sits in session taking upon itself the definition of this most familiar evil, one can see the most familiar faces of Hindu communal reaction.

They are to be seen in the respected witness box, on the bar and even on the bench.

The entire ragtag and bobtail is there—the whole of 'Sivaji's Barat', as the homely Hindi saying runs—mixing freely with the secular assemblage, raising a cacophony, creating confusion and causing derailment that suits them to the last detail.

No wonder their cheek is limitless, their effrontery boundless! The Jamaat-e-Islami, we are told, demands religion to be interwoven with the polity. And Hindu Mahasabha's V. G. Deshpande is reported to have very solemnly asked for the division of Indians into three grades—nationals, citizens and aliens (Times of India, September 10), which means, without equivocation, the creation of citizens of first class, second class and no class at all—the last a variation of the ancient 'Chandals' who lived as pariahs outside the village.

To say the least, it is not surprising, since we know that the Hindu Mahasabha has sworn never to be satisfied until it has dug up and tied the skeletons of the iniquitous Varna society round the neck of a democratically progressing India.

Well might the Hindu Mahasabha exclaim to them, in the words of the English essayist Charles Lamb:

Friend of my bosom, thou more than a brother, Why wert thou not born in my father's dwelling? Unfortunately, the two parties of Hindu communalism regard each other as co-wives, an institution abjured by modern India but likely to be restored in its pristine glory if Deendayal Upadhyaya redeems his pledge: "We want to carry India back thousands of years" (Organiser, Republic Day Special).

The Mahasabha believes and says that the Jan Sangh has betrayed the Hindu cause for which it was born and exists by donning the cloak of 'secularism' and declaring for reasons of subterfuge that its membership is open to non-Hindus too.

And the amusing thing is reported that, Hindu Mahasabha's Deshpande tore the veil off Jan Sangh's face by declaring in a memorandum to the National Integration Council that the Sangh's 'Indian loyalty' plea really meant 'Hindu loyalty'.

Thus goes on the grand show. Secularism is an ideal which was well outlined by our national movement and clearly knit into the Constitution. Open attacks, however, are being mounted on it, the attacks using a mask or doing without it, as it suits them to be crafty or bold.

While Indian democracy has to act as the dictatorship of the tolling masses over exploitation and rapacity, they wish to convert it into the dictatorship of the majority religious community over the minorities.

A clear call for disruption, an age-old game of religious-communal reactionaries! These dark forces seem to say: We shall bog you down in your attempt to define 'communalism'.

Here I throw the gage. To prove it on thee to the extremest point of mortal breathing.

The Sindhi movement is assuming vast proportions. The only platform for Sindhis is the literary platform. Realizing the vast potentialities of this movement, which is till now non-political in its nature and a platform for people of all ideologies, Jan Sanghis and some Congressmen tried to give it a political colour by raising the bogey of communism. They tried to capture the platform but they met with dismal failure. Thus the broad character of this purely literary and educational movement has been maintained. It is heartening that the opposition parties have conceded the demand but the ruling party remains still unmoved.

★ AMBASSADOR I. A. BENEDIKTOV OUTLINES SOVIET ASSISTANCE FOR INDIA'S INDUSTRIALISATION

Today the Soviet Union is taking part and rendering assistance to India in the construction of thirty big and significant industrial enterprises.

THIS was pointed out by Soviet Ambassador to India, I. A. Benediktov, while speaking to pressmen on the occasion of the signing at Patna on September 6 of the Indo-Soviet Agreement for the construction of the 400,000 kv Patratu Thermal Power Station.

The following statement of the Soviet Ambassador reviewing the entire range of Soviet assistance to India in the field of industrialisation as it stands today will be read with interest:

Allow me, first and foremost, to express my profound satisfaction over the signing today of five agreements on the construction of a thermal power station in Patratu, near Ranchi; by the Soviet Machineexport foreign trade organization and the Bihar State Electricity Board.

In accordance with these agreements the Soviet Union will design the thermal power station and supply the equipment for it; 24 Indian specialists will undergo training in the USSR, and 54 Soviet specialists will come to India to render technical assistance in the construction and starting of the power station.

The Patratu station will have the highest capacity among all thermal power projects built in India. First, two units of 50,000 kw each, then, another two units of the same capacity, and, finally, two more units of 100,000 kw each will be installed there. The aggregate capacity of the Patratu station will become, thereby, 400,000 kw.

The Third Five-Year Plan of India's economic development is known to envisage an increase in power station capacities from 5,700,000 kw to 12,700,000 kw.

The Soviet Union renders technical and economic assistance to India in the construction of three more thermal power stations and one hydro-power station.

The aggregate capacity of these stations—including the Patratu—will comprise, 1,500,000 kw, or nearly a quarter of the entire power capacities, envisaged by the Plan.

The Neyveli station in Madras, whose first 50,000-kw turbogenerator has already started operating, is the most prominent of the thermal power stations. Almost a month ago the Neyveli was officially commissioned by President Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan. The agreement, signed on February 12, 1960, envisaged a 400,000-kw total capacity of this station by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan period.

The Soviet Union helps India to build the 250,000-kw Obrha thermal power station in Uttar Pradesh, and to raise the capacity of the Korba thermal power station in Madhya Pradesh from 90,000 kw to 290,000 kw.

Last but not least, the Soviet Union supplies four hydrogenerators of 120,000-kw capacity each for the biggest hydropower station in India under construction on the right bank of the Bhakra River in Punjab.

It is in place to note that Soviet-Indian co-operation is not confined solely to this. Today, the Soviet Union takes part and renders assistance to India in the construction of 30 big industrial enterprises for such significant branches of economy as iron and steel, heavy engineering, coal, oil, power and pharmaceutical industries.

To make payments for the delivery of machinery and equipment

★ AMBASSADOR I. A. BENEDIKTOV OUTLINES SOVIET ASSISTANCE FOR INDIA'S INDUSTRIALISATION

The production even at the first stage will be sufficient to equip in one year one iron and steel plant similar to that in Bhilai.

The most important thing about this plant is that Soviet specialists designed it, jointly with Indian specialists, and a part of the plant's shops and structures was entirely projected by Indian organisations.

The production capacity of the coal industry equipment plant in Durgapur will be 45,000 tons, which is sufficient to mechanise approximately 8 million tons of coal. Independent designing work by Indian specialists will be a specific feature of this plant as well.

Approximately 300 Indian specialists will undergo training at Soviet industrial establishments so as to be able to man their work at Ranchi and Durgapur.

It should be pointed out that the Soviet Union helps India out to build several coal-mining establishments. They include two coal mines in the Korba area with the aggregate annual capacity of 1,700,000 tons; a quarry with the initial capacity of one million tons and with the increased capacity of two million tons; and a coal concentration factory with 3,500,000 ton capacity, in the Katkhar area.

The Soviet specialists, who came to India at the invitation of the Indian Government at the end of 1955, came to the conclu-

| Product | Output in August (tons) | Percentage to rated capacity |
|-------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| Coke | 102,307 | 106 |
| Pig iron | 101,852 | 107.5 |
| Ingot steel | 91,700 | 107.8 |

| Bloomsming: | Output in August (tons) | Percentage to rated capacity |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| a) ingots as charged | 84,772 | 100.7 |
| b) blooms | 76,127 | 105.3 |
| Billet mill | 44,539 | 124.1 |
| Rail and structural mill | 30,981 | 109 |
| Merchant mill "350" | 22,494 | 104.8 |

Nehru cannot play any effective role in preventing the European Economic Community lines against which he in his speech at the London Conference warned his colleagues. His criticism of the European Economic Community that it will perpetrate, rather than ease tension; that it is 'inward looking' etc. stands in sharp contrast to his Government's praise for the Community's role in 'expanding international trade' accelerating economic growth and social progress in developing economies, etc.

It is of course, true that, almost alone among those who participated in the London Conference, Prime Minister Nehru in his speech challenged the very idea underlying the formation of a restricted economic grouping in Western Europe and developing it into a political grouping. That is in perfect harmony with the general policy pursued by India—the policy of nonalignment, lessening of tension, fostering trade relations among all the countries of the world regardless of the socio-economic system, etc.

But, even while noting this with satisfaction, we cannot but express concern that far from basing itself on this approach to the Common Market, Prime

Minister Nehru's own government negates it in its memorandum mentioned above. The actual policy pursued by the Government as a whole does not go further than other Commonwealth countries which are members of the imperialist military blocs (like the white dominions and Pakistan)—bargaining for better terms from the Common Market Six.

We are, of course, anxious that our representatives should try to secure the best possible terms for our own products in the United Kingdom and other markets when Britain enters the Common Market. But is this all that we, as a peace-loving nation pledged to fight the restrictive policies of the imperialist powers, should set before ourselves as our objective in relation to the Common Market and other economic groupings?

Is it not necessary for us to do our utmost to bring the various countries belonging to the capitalist and socialist systems together in a common effort to stabilise international trade? Can this be done if our government adheres to the line laid down in its memorandum to the Common Market countries, or has it not got to base

Cooperation Will Grow

Within the forthcoming years the co-operation between India and the Soviet Union will extend more and more. The Programme of our Party, adopted at the 22nd Congress, envisages a new intensive development of Soviet economy within the next 20 years.

As a result, our industrial output will increase 2.5 times within the period from 1960 to 1970, and by 1980 not less than 6 times as compared to 1960. Within the first decade agricultural output will grow 2.5 times, while within 20 years it will grow 3.5 times.

Such rapid development of our economy will give the Soviet Union an opportunity not only to meet all the requirements of its national economy within a comparatively short historical period but also to extend assistance to the formerly underdeveloped and now developing countries, including India.

The other field where the Soviet Union renders assistance to India is the growing pharmaceutical industry of India.

In the contract signed in 1959, the Soviet Union pledges to render assistance to India in the construction of an antibiotics plant in Rishikesh, Uttar Pradesh, with annual 300 ton production of various antibiotics, which will give annual production of 850 tons of ready-made drugs

Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference

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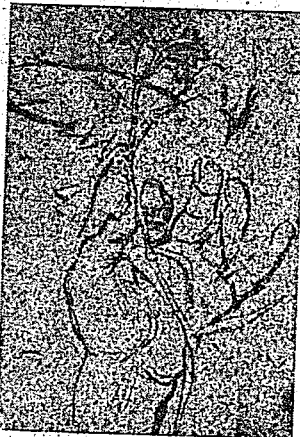
UNITED AGITATION FOR DISARMAMENT

For the first time in the history of the Indian Peace Movement, a united co-ordinating committee for peace action, including the major political parties, peace organisations, trade unions and numerous mass, social and other organisations, has been formed.

DELHI has taken the lead and set this remarkable example by forming this week, the Delhi Citizens' Committee for Disarmament and Against Nuclear Arms. The Committee is headed by the Mayor of Delhi and includes the representatives and leaders of the Delhi Committees of the Congress, Communist and Praja Socialist Parties, the Gandhi Peace Foundation, the All-India Peace Council, the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity, the Committee of Indian Parliamentarians for Peace, the Bharat Sevak Samaj, as well as the different trade unions, women's, youth, student, cultural and social organisations of

the city.

The Delhi Citizens' Committee is planning to organise a joint procession and public rally on October 2—Gandhiji's birthday—which is being observed as a Day for Disarmament and against Nuclear Arms. Meanwhile, the work for collecting signatures for disarmament is being intensified: the Gandhi Peace Foundation is closing its campaign for signatures to its Peace Pledge on October 2, while the campaign of the Indian Committee for Disarmament and Peace for signatures to the Appeal for Disarmament will be launched on a mass basis from October 2.



A drawing by Renato Guttuso (Italy)

He has prepared a fine exhibition from the photographs he himself took in the USSR. There are 80 photographs in the exhibition. All the other delegates are also doing very useful work."

MOSCOW DELEGATES WORK FOR DISARMAMENT

THE months of August and September have seen a large number of meetings all over the country addressed by Indian delegates to the World Disarmament Congress at Moscow, on the decisions of the Congress and in support of its appeal to the peoples of the world.

the Moscow Conference, I have been almost daily speaking before large gatherings about what we saw there and explaining to them the urgent necessity for united action for the establishment of world peace."

★ From Rajnandgaon (Madhya Pradesh), Sharad Kothari writes:

"We have held several meetings at Raipur, Drug, Bhillai and Rajnandgaon to report the Moscow Congress... A daily paper of Raipur is serialising my articles."

★ The Secretary of Gujarat Peace Council reports: "The delegates have been addressing meetings since their return to Gujarat. They are being invited to speak at different places in the State. Very effective work is being done by Chandravadan Lashkari (the Bhoodan leader).

A glance at some of the many letters at the office of the All India Peace Council from individual delegates, as well as from State Peace Councils gives a glimpse of the widespread activity for peace. Here are a few extracts from these enthusiastic letters.

★ From West Bengal, B. K. Banerjee, MLA and ex-Mayor of Calcutta writes:

"Ever since my return from

PARLIAMENT MEMBERS SIGN APPEAL FOR DISARMAMENT

OVER 50 Members of Parliament are among the first signatories to the Appeal for Disarmament, launched by the Indian Committee for Disarmament and Peace. Signatures of a large number of Members of the Rajya Sabha were collected by Akbar Ali Khan, MP (Andhra Pradesh), who was one of the leading Indian delegates to the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace in Moscow. The signatories belong to various parties, the majority to the Congress, while others include Communists, Praja

Socialists and independents. These MPs, together with several others from the Lok Sabha, also addressed a letter to Bertrand Russel, congratulating him on his work for disarmament. The letter stated, inter alia, "We fully support the Government of India's efforts for disarmament and the banning of nuclear weapons and their tests, and are confident that the joint action of all peoples who stand for peace will bear fruit and open the way to a world from which war weapons have been banished for all time."

★ From Uttar Pradesh, Dr. K. P. Mehrotra writes: "All Kanpur delegates have addressed a large number of meetings, singly or jointly, and invariably read out the appeal of the Conference to the audience.

"Among the organisations, under whose auspices meetings have been addressed, are

the Rotary Club, the Indian Council of World Affairs, the Indian Medical Association, the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society, the cultural organisation of the Kanpur Municipal Corporation under the chairmanship of the Mayor of Kanpur, and various local organisations in different mohallas of the city."

West Bengal

ISCUS CONFERENCE

● From Jnan Bikash Moitra

CALCUTTA, September 17:

The Seventh Annual Conference of the West Bengal State Branch of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society (ISCUS) concluded on September 16 with a mass rally, which was attended by several thousand people.

THE two-day conference, which was held at Bijoygarh, Calcutta was attended by about 300 delegates from 20 branches of the ISCUS in different parts of the State. The programme on September 15 included an interesting debate on "Alignment and Non-Alignment", a lecture on space flight and a Soviet film show.

Exhibition of Friendship

In the morning on the second day, an exhibition of photographs and books, showing the growing friendship between India and the USSR, was opened by Dr. H. C. Guha of Jadavpur University. The delegates' session was presided over by Prof. Nirmal Bhat-tacharya, MLC.

In his welcome address, Dr. H. L. Roy, Professor Emeritus of Jadavpur University and Chairman of the Reception Committee, dealt with the long cultural contacts between India and the USSR.

Maitreyee Devi presided over the open session, which was held in the evening, and Mrs. V. V. Lyobomudrova, Head of the Cultural Department of the Soviet Embassy in India, was the chief guest.

Debram Goswami, Secretary of the State ISCUS, briefly explained the resolutions adopted at the delegates' session.

The Conference greeted the Soviet cosmonauts, Nikolayev and Popovich, and extended a warm invitation to them to come here on a tour of this country.

Resolution On World Peace

The resolution on World Peace fully supported the Declaration and the decisions of the World Disarmament Conference, held in Moscow last July, and said that as a result of the ceaseless and vigilant work of the World Peace Council the dreadful prospect of a global war would steadily recede and the foundations would be laid of a higher form of society, which would translate into reality humanity's age-old dream of a free, prosperous and peaceful life.

By another resolution, the Conference expressed its sense of gratification at the Indo-Soviet Cultural Pact signed in February last, and offered the cooperation of the ISCUS in strengthening cultural ties between the two countries.

Messages of greetings were received among others, from Dr. Zakir Hussain, Vice-President of India, Dr. Suniti Chatterjee, President of the West Bengal ISCUS, who is now on a lecture tour in the USA, Prof. Humayun Kabir, Union Minister for Scientific and Cultural Affairs, Dr. A. V. Baliga, President of the All-India ISCUS, and I. A. Benediktov, Soviet Ambassador in India.

Dr. Suniti Chatterjee and Prof. Niren Roy were re-elected President and General Secretary respectively of the State ISCUS. A State Council of 112 members was elected.

DISARMAMENT WEEK OCTOBER 2-8

OCTOBER 2 to 8 is Disarmament Week. Brisk preparations are afoot in several States:

• West Bengal: Calcutta is planning a united public meeting on October 2 and the launching of a mass signature campaign on the Appeal for Disarmament.

• Bihar: A very representative Committee is holding a District Peace Conference in Begusarai on October 2. In preparation for this, several thousand signatures are being collected. A series of meetings in different districts has been arranged for the week, which will be inaugurated by C. N. Malaviya, General Secretary of the All-India Peace Council.

• U. P.: Brisk preparations for the signature

campaign have begun in Kanpur.

• Madhya Pradesh: Jabalpur is planning mass signature campaign, public meetings, processions and seminars.

• Tamilnad: Bertha Braganza, Secretary of All-India Peace Council, will inaugurate the week at Madras.

• Delhi: The Delhi Peace Council has arranged meetings in different parts of the city on each day of the week—with the signature campaign as the chief aim.

• Mysore: A mass demonstration is planned for Bangalore on October 2. Bertha Braganza will tour various districts during the week. 1,000 copies of Prof. Bernal's pamphlet on Disarmament are being printed.