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THE MAIN DISCUSSION IN THE ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE WAS ON THE QUESTION OF NATIONAL INTEGRATION—THE FIGHT AGAINST COMMUNALISM AND OTHER FISSIPAROUS TRENDS. HOW HAS THE RULING PARTY DECIDED TO CONDUCT THIS FIGHT?

From Our Special Correspondent

On the way to Durgapur, as one read the report of the National Integration Committee, one could realise the importance of the deliberations that were to be expected at the AICC Session. Perhaps in recent years no issue coming up before the AICC had assumed such urgency nor meant such a serious threat to the future of the nation as the one posed lately by the forces that are challenging the nation's integrity.

In her introductory remarks, Smt. Indira Gandhi, as Chairman of the National Integration Committee, observed that separatist tendencies "have been gaining strength in every election." While, on the one hand, "communalism has not merely a religious label but takes many insidious forms," on the other, "the reorganisation of States, the boundary disputes and the concern over language have played up local pride to limits which verge on the dangerous from the point of view of national unity."

MEETING under the shadow of the Silchar firing, the Durgapur session of the AICC was naturally dominated by the bitter anger of the Bengali people as well as by the worried questioning of AICC members from other States as to the way out of the linguistic tangle.

Equally serious was the worry over the rise of communal forces. The Jabalpur riots had shaken many Con-

While the nine-page report of the Committee has many useful suggestions to make, it does not at all touch the question of social and economic change except for making the almost platitudinous observation: "Only through social and economic change can we achieve secularism and persuade the different communities to cease thinking of themselves as separate com-

as the only defenders of Bengali interests.

Contributions from other States gave an idea of how piecemeal has been the thinking on this vital issue of linguistic rights. Sri Prakash Sethi wanted the whole of India to turn unilingual, with Hindi as the only official language. Sri S. N. Misra mainly blamed the lack of organisational strength of the Congress. Sri V. B. Raju

Muslim League in Kerala in the struggle to overthrow the Communist-led Ministry.

Very sharp was the criticism of Sri K. K. Shah of Bombay, who held that the Muslim League's revival could be traced to the Kerala alliance to defeat the Communist Party at the polls. He pointed out how the Kerala Leaguers helped directly in reviving the League in Bombay and as a rebound to it, the Jan Sangh has been strengthening there. If one had to choose between communalism and Communism, Sri Shah said he would choose to fight communalism.

Fight The Right

West Bengal's Sri Kail Mukherji held that as the leading political organisation in the country, the Congress had a special responsibility; the time had come to weigh which force should be fou-

vention would help in strengthening secularism among the Muslims, Sri S. N. Misra urged the AICC to ponder over the important question why these Muslim Congressmen found it necessary to hold such a Convention and it certainly pointed to some lag in the Congress functioning itself.

The most powerful speech warning against the danger of communal revival came from the young President of the Delhi PCC, Sri Brij Mohan, who disclosed that in Delhi there had been a spate of RSS activity and appearance of communal literature denouncing Pandit Nehru as the killer of Hinduism and recalled the similar flooding of communal literature on the eve of Gandhiji's murder. He urged that the RSS should be declared a political organisation because now in the garb of a social body it could openly enlist even Government employees for its various activities.

As the architect of the Ke-

DURGAPUR A.I.C.C.

gressmen out of complacency while the Jan Sangh victories in the successive Delhi by-elections had come as a shock and setback in the context of next year's General Elections.

Right from the day the Working Committee met till the very last sitting of the AICC, it was these two challenges—of linguism and of communalism—that every speaker had to face. What is revealing is the variety of explanations that came up during the important discussions, some of which provided the most outspoken criticism of the leadership that AICC has heard since independence.

Obvious-But Ignored

The National Integration Committee report contained Smt. Indira Gandhi's analysis that with the advent of freedom, "the fact that a bright new world could be glimpsed but not grasped in the near future, churned up long-suppressed frustration and resentment."

In plain words, this should mean that the promise of a new India which the Congress leadership had held before the Indian people not having materialised, the restlessness of the people had become the breeding ground of fissiparous forces. But, instead of drawing this obvious conclusion, her note draws the rather extraordinary conclusion that "progress has sharpened the sense of group exclusiveness of every kind."

munities and to subscribe to a larger loyalty." In the field of practical recommendations, this is reduced to a question of certain minority protections in the matter of jobs and allocation of funds.

In the AICC discussions, West Bengal members, as was expected, confined themselves almost solely to the Assam happenings. Even Dr. B. C. Roy's speech, apart from repeating some catch phrases about emotional integration, dealt only with the language controversy in Assam and the Silchar shooting.

Smt. Renuka Ray correctly stated that the Jabalpur riots followed the pattern of last year's Assam riots could not go into the root of the matter. The burden of the West Bengal speeches was that the Central leadership had been lacking a clear policy, that it did not show firmness, that West Bengal was being treated as the Cinderella. Sri Bijoy Singh Nahar almost made it into a personal attack on Pandit Nehru.

Election Year Tactics

The impression was inescapable that while no doubt they were upset over the Assam events, there was also an anxiety to secure the election year alibi before the West Bengal public lest, in the prevailing highly-surcharged temper, the Opposition parties run away with the electorate

held the Congress Parliamentary Board responsible for not asserting itself to enforce discipline on State Governments. Smt. Savitri Nigam wanted a National Discipline Scheme for ten years.

A significant speech was that of Sri M. P. Misra who felt that revivalism has come up in various forms since independence, undermining our nationalist outlook, while hardly any effort has been made to instil the principles of Socialism into our people. He also pointed out that since independence, no common outlook was enforced for membership of the Congress.

Fire On Kerala Alliance

Undoubtedly more effective was the discussion on the rise of communalism, perhaps because of the direct and long-standing experience of the Congress in having to tackle the problem.

Referring to the current demand for a ban on communal parties, the Integration Committee Report had said: "While it may be open to question whether a ban is an adequate remedy for communalism, the danger of communal parties cannot be minimised."

A number of speakers demanded this ban on communal parties. What is, however, significant was the frank and outspoken criticism of the Congress entente with the

ght—the reactionary camp led by communalists, the Swatantra, the princes, all tied to the vested interests, domestic and foreign, or the forces of the Left including the Communists. He thought that the Left was no threat to the Congress today but the Right was, and therefore had to be fought

Sri Prakash Sethi reminded that Gandhiji had been murdered by communal forces. Sri Tulsiadas Jadhav and B. K. P. Sinha also blamed the Kerala Congress understanding with the Muslim League as being responsible for the growth of the League. Smt. Savitri Nigam suggested that Congressmen must not belong to caste or communal organisations. Sri Jagat Narain Lal was for debarring Congressmen guilty of communalism from holding offices.

The only voice in support of the League was raised by Sri M. Rajagopal from Kerala, who found nothing wrong in the Muslim minority organising itself in the Muslim League.

Muslim Convention

Controversy over the wisdom of holding the coming Muslim Convention was raised. Sri Krishna Kumar Chatterji of West Bengal criticised the Working Committee for having permitted it. Sri Hafiz Khan of Bombay also disapproved it, while Sri Ahmed Baksh Sindhi from Rajasthan thought that the Muslim Cou-

erala alliance, Sri Dhebar's views on the entente with the Muslim League was interesting. He began with a defensive note, admitting that the Kerala experience had "a lesson". He admitted that "the local Congress was swept into the field and the party line was not clearly observed". He tried to rationalise it by saying, "we were obliged to take a certain position and as a result, the Muslim League got recognition creating difficulties in Kerala and elsewhere."

Taking recourse to sophistry, he said there was a "polarisation" in Kerala and during the mass upsurge against the Communist Party, all distinction of political parties was lost, quietly forgetting his own role in backing the Kerala Congress to force the alliance with the League.

Dhebar's Formula

Sri Dhebar objected to the proposition that between Communism and communalism, it was communalism that had to be regarded as enemy number one. "The position in India is that we have to fight both forces simultaneously." For Sri Dhebar, this was no doubt an advance since in Kerala he preferred to fight Communists by joining hands with communalists.

As it is but natural in the AICC Pandit Nehru's was the most important contribution. On the question of communa-

* SEE PAGE 4

"AIDERS" WILL START NEW ROUND OF DEMANDS

★ by ZIAUL HAQ

THE so-called Aid-India Club is currently re-assembled in Washington after a five-week adjournment. The importance attached to this resumed session is apparent from the unprecedented step taken by Prime Minister Nehru in addressing personal communications to each of the five heads of the Governments that are members of the Club.

The uncertainty about firm commitments regarding aid from the Western countries for India's Third Five-Year Plan has persisted for too long and the Government of India feels that it must be removed without further delay so that it knows where it stands.

The last meeting of the Aid-India Club, a consortium of the United States, West Germany, Britain, Japan and Canada sponsored by the World Bank which is itself a U.S.-dominated institution, was held on April 25-26 in Washington. That meeting itself had taken place after long delays.

India had planned great hopes on it and although the meeting had been scheduled to last three days, it had ended abruptly after a two-day session without coming to any decisions. Despite all attempts to preserve equanimity, New Delhi could hardly conceal its disappointment.

The Washington Post reported that the other members of the Club were "furious" with West Germany. It said: "To help India progress towards a self-generating economy is clearly one of the most important tasks before the developed nations."

"Because this task is so important, the disagreement in the Aid-India Club is dismaying. The response of (West) Germany is disappointing. (West) Germany has offered 200 million dollars over two years (and a total of 310 million dollars over five years), but at 5½ per cent interest and repayable in only 15 years or less."

The explanation for this curious behaviour which soon appeared in the U.S. Press sought to put all the blame on West Germany and her unwillingness to increase the quantum of promised aid to India.

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ment of May 7 laying open vast new fields for private foreign investments in India, the voluntary withdrawal of Rajeshwar Dayal from the Congo post as specifically demanded by Dean Rusk in course of his last visit to New Delhi are but two such examples.

Nevertheless, the members of the Aid-India Club are still far from satisfied and there is no likelihood of their ever being so. Their appetite grows with every concession and they insist ever more on the pound of flesh. One example of this is the West German policy on economic aid to developing countries that has emerged in this period.

Of the 5,000 million D-Marks (1,250 million dollars) allotted for foreign aid from public funds, the bulk—4,250 million D-marks—will go on bilateral basis to individual Governments which express a clear desire for "development partnership" with West Germany.

It is said that, "Aid will not be tied to political conditions, but all projects will be carefully examined from an economic point of view... Although there will be no political conditions attached to loans, it is fairly obvious that the question whether any individual 'partnership' is entered into at all will largely be decided on political considerations." And it is made clear that "West Germany has a greater interest in aiding friends, than ill-wishers or unfriendly neutrals." (The UAR, for example, has been classified as an unfriendly neutral).

Major Concessions

In the intervening period between the last meeting of the Club and the present one, India has made several major concessions to the West to entitle herself to their generosity. The new policy state-

at the matter exactly like his father before him. It's a drop in the ocean. Motilal used to say. Such casual treatment of morality, the basic principle of all civilisation, was intensely resented by the electorate which rejected his Swarajist Party in 1926(1)....

"Muslims keep up their aggressiveness. It is for the P. M. to tell them to behave themselves, and not to dismiss the molestation of our Usha Bhargavas as 'minor incidents'—if for nothing else than to spare the Congress the fate his father brought on the Swarajist Party."

I present the above piece to those who are so solemnly engaging themselves in discussing the ethics of banning communalism. The piece has all the ingredients of a Goebbelsian performance—white lies, distortion of history and exhortation of crime. And yet this is typical of the text taught to Jan Sangh and RSS boys.

They are fed on precisely this kind of filth which is then disseminated through them, in the unthinking and irresponsible sections of society. The result: communal holocausts at the slightest provocation.

Incidentally, the piece of historical falsification that the Swaraj Party failed to carry the electorate with it as it took a secular stand is added as a political morale-booster for the coming General Elections.

TAIL-PIECE

More headlines from the Jan Sangh Press: Nehru's 'Uncle Khwaja' in Revolt. Muslims want Geopara for Pakistan! A Jan Sanghite description of Indian Muslims: "Living Pakistanis walking on two legs."

—GARUDA

Aid To Private Enterprise

The emphasis will continue on assistance being given by and to private enterprise. "Private initiative," says the West German Government, "connected with the passing over of technical knowledge and the establishment of human contacts to the inhabitants of developing countries is expected to produce the best possible results in each individual case where development aid is needed and given."

Specifically in regard to the pressure campaign to raise its aid promise to India, according to the Times of India Correspondent M. V. Kamath's Bonn report of May 29, "There was, however, no indication today whether that pressure has borne any fruit to date...."

"In some circles, it is believed that the (West) German attitude towards India has greatly hardened... At best it is said, Bonn may agree to better repayment terms, but informed circles do not encourage optimism."

With the prevalent uncertainty about the U.S. Congress's approval and with West Germany's hardening attitude towards all uncertain neutrals, it is difficult to see how the current meeting of the Aid-India Club could be more fruitful than the last one from India's point of view. It is more likely to start another round of demands from the "aiders" and of concessions from the increasingly more compliant Government of India.

(May 30)

PROTEST AGAINST SILCHAR FIRING

Black Flags At Durgapur

ECHOES of the brutal police firing at Silchar were heard in the steel town of Durgapur, about 115 miles from Calcutta, on May 27, when the Communist Party, Forward Bloc, RSP, Marxist F.B., and four other Left parties organised a black flag demonstration on the occasion of the AICC meeting to protest against the Silchar firing, repressive policy of the Assam Government and the Congress leadership's callous attitude towards the Cachar movement.

had been kept ready inside to "deal with any emergency."

After the perfectly peaceful and disciplined demonstration was over, a big mass meeting was held. When Prof. Hiren Mukerjee was addressing it, two truckloads of people, obviously organised by the Congress organisation, suddenly arrived and tried to attack the meeting from behind.

The PSP and the Jan Sangh organised another black flag demonstration of about 400 people.

Carrying black flags and wearing black badges, a demonstration of over seven thousand men and women marched towards the AICC pandal. Leading it were Promode Das Gupta, Prof. Hiren Mukerjee, Ranen Sen, Indrajit Gupta, Abdul Halim and Benoy Chowdhury, Communist leaders, Jatin Chakravarty (RSP), Hemanta Basu (F.B.) and other Leftist leaders.

Among the demonstrators were Bengalis and non-Bengalis, workers, peasants, middle class people, refugees, over 500 women including women miners, students and others, who had come from industrial and rural areas within a radius of fifty miles.

The demonstration was stopped by a massive police cordon about 200 yards from the AICC pandal. And while the police stood outside the pandal, the report was that about 2,500 lathi-

The police then charged the workers and battered one of the buses. The news of the lathi-charge spread fast and more workers collected on the spot. When the police were making the lathi-charge, Congress volunteers were seen throwing stones and bricks at the workers.

Many workers sustained injuries as a result of the combined attack by the police and the Seva Dal. The police have made fifty arrests so far. The angry people set fire to the main arch on the road leading to the AICC pandal. It was completely burnt down.

The steel workers struck work from the night of May 27 in protest against the unprovoked lathi-charge by the police on them, resulting in injuries to many workers.

They returned to work the next night only after the General Manager of the steel plant had given assurance to consider their demands which include withdrawal of cases, no victimisation and payment of wages for the strike day.

The Communist Party and BPTUC issued statements condemning the stupid police action. Public resentment was such that only about 10,000 people attended the meeting addressed by Pandit Nehru.

Atulya Ghose, Vice-President of the State Congress Committee has contradicted as totally baseless the news published in the Hindustan Times of May 29 that 300 Leftist demonstrators had obstructed Nehru's car.

Police Attack On Steel Workers

THE police attacked workers of the Durgapur Steel Project in the evening of May 27, when about 500 workers were returning home after the day's work in the buses of the steel project.

This clash had nothing to do with the black flag demonstrations held elsewhere about the same time.

When the buses were held up by a huge police cordon on a road near its crossing with another that leads to the venue of the AICC, the workers resented it as they were very much tired after eight hours' work. They insisted on the buses being allowed to proceed.

Assam Communist Leader On Language Movement

Phani Bora, Secretary of Assam State Council of the Communist Party of India, has issued the following statement to the Press:

The decisions of the Assam State Council of the Communist Party of India, adopted at its Jorhat session held from May 16 to 20 last, were released to the Press in a Press Conference called for the purpose at Jorhat in the morning of the 20th. Different reports have appeared in different newspapers, thereby giving rise to misunderstanding and confusion amongst the people and, therefore, I have felt the need for issuing a statement.

The Communist Party unequivocally condemned in the strongest terms the police firing at Silchar on the 19th on unarmed and peaceful satyagrahis when 11 persons were killed and several others injured. The Party held the firing to be brutal and unwarranted and demanded an open enquiry into it and punish-

ment to those guilty officers responsible.

It is well-known to all that our Party is vehemently opposed to the suppression of democratic movements of the people by repressive measures and more so by firing and killing. The movement of the people of Cachar is not for the violent overthrow of the Government and police did not have to resort to such inhuman repression. This is for the first time in the history of Assam's popular movement that such an incident of mass killing of 11 persons has taken place. The Communist Party hopes that all democratic and peace-loving people through meetings, demonstrations and hartals all over the State will express indignation at and protest against this ghastly killing.

Our Party has been demanding and will continue to do so until the demand is conceded that Bengal should be the official language in Cachar up to and including the district level.

It recognises the right of the people of Cachar to move on this demand. The Party has been championing the right of the Bengal people of Assam as a whole to have all important laws, decrees, orders, etc., in Bengali. The Party inside and outside the State Legislature has been fighting for these rights and any movement launched for the realisation of these demands is considered just by our Party.

The demands of the Sangram Parishad led by some leaders of Cachar are different. The line of action and programme adopted by them to make Assam a multi-lingual State through a non-co-operation movement has no support from the Communist Party nor does our Party think that such a movement can ever achieve for the people of Cachar the fulfilment of their just and legitimate dues, nor can it carry forward the unity and harmonious relations amongst the majority and minority communities. Our Party has no

relation with the Cachar Sangram Parishad. Our demands and movement are separate. We expect that the people of Cachar will support the programme of the Communist Party and will spare no effort to enlist the support and co-operation of all sections of the people of Assam in their movement for the realisation of the just demands and will dissociate from those demands and programme of action can only undermine the unity and fraternity of the people of the State.

Our Party appeals to all democratic and peace-loving people of Assam to come forward to take up the responsibility of maintaining peace and unity amongst the communities in the State at all cost, not to be moved by rumours spread by interested elements and to defeat the forces of reaction that are bent upon confusing and disrupting the democratic movement of the people.

Big Welcome For Ajoy Ghosh in Cachar

AJOY GHOSH, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, who left Calcutta by air for Silchar on May 27, accompanied by Renu Chakravarty and Md. Ilyas, Communist MPs, was on arrival at Silchar airport, welcomed by a large number of people and volunteers of the Sangram Parishad, wearing black badges in memory of the martyrs.

At the Party office at Udarband, hundreds of men and women came to receive the leaders. Renu Chakravarty and Md. Ilyas addressed them.

At the approaches to Silchar town, thousands of people welcomed Ajoy Ghosh and the Communist MPs. In the town, they

went to the municipal office (where ashes of the martyrs have been kept), visited the wounded satyagrahis in the hospital and the scene of the police firing on May 19. Earlier, about a thousand people met the leaders at the railway station area.

Ajoy Ghosh and the Communist MPs will visit the main centres of the language movement and will meet the leaders of all parties to obtain first-hand information about the situation in Cachar.

The people of the district have welcomed the visit of the General Secretary of the Communist Party and the Communist MPs for studying the situation on the spot.

Attack On Congress President

WAS IT PROVOCATION?

DULAL PAL, a young man brandished a knife at the Congress President, Sanjeeva Reddy, when he alighted at Durgapur railway station in the morning of May 27 to attend the AICC session, and was immediately apprehended by the police.

According to reports, he has told the police that he recently went to Assam and had seen the brutalities committed on Bengalis there. For three days

he had been waiting at the railway station "to kill the Congress President."

The West Bengal State Council of the Communist Party of India, immediately on learning about the attempted attack, issued a statement, strongly condemning any such action, whatever the alleged assailant's motives. Such actions, the Council pointed out, would only prejudice the cause of the Cachar people's heroic movement against the repressive policies of the Assam Government.

It further said: "It is a strange coincidence that just on the eve of the demonstration (which was scheduled to be held in the afternoon of May 27) today's regrettable incident involving the Congress President has taken place in circumstances, many of which sound rather suspicious. The public would not be altogether unjustified in suspecting that the incident may even have been engineered by certain interested quarters in order to provide the authorities with a convenient handle to take steps against the proposed demonstration."

The statement appealed to the people to remain on guard against any provocation and to hold the demonstration in a dignified and disciplined manner.

Detailed information that later became available in Calcutta regarding Dulal Pal shows that he is an active member of the Mandal Congress Committee in Ward No. 36 in the Bellaghata area of Calcutta. He used to live in one of the quarters of the Calcutta Improvement Trust's buildings in Bellaghata and was an active member of two Congress-sponsored organisations in these buildings.

The questions that are being widely asked here are: how could Dulal escape the notice of the police and plainclothes-men when so many thousands of them have been combing all Durgapur.

EMBARRASSING COMPLIMENTS

I DO not know whether Morarjibhai is embarrassed or not by the eulogies showered on him by that notoriously anti-Indian tabloid from Bombay—the Current.

The tabloid has devoted its "A-column" to the Finance Minister and so gushingly that the "half-column" overflowed into two-and-a-half!

The writer has claimed to be a close friend of the would-be Deputy Leader. If he is to be believed, Morarji sought enlightenment from him on a programme of which-hunt which the writer of the "A-column" duly gave him.

"I was shocked to see that the Ministry of Finance—his own Ministry—advertises in the official organ of the Communist Party, New Age. Mr. Morarji did not know this himself, did not believe it when told, but later I sent for the files of New Age and listed week by week the advertisements...."

Current has also offered the following friendly advice to the Finance Minister:

"If Krishna Menon and Malaviya and their supporters want a fight, Morarji Desai should not shrink if. He has a first-class record as Finance Minister. He is directly responsible for restoring international confidence in our country's wobbling economic structure. No Congressman would ignore this record when casting his vote for Deputy Leader."

I hold that this is extremely compromising for the Finance Minister. He owes it to himself to make his position clear.

SPOTLIGHT

GORWALA CONCURS

FROM the Current, mouthpiece of a mercenary, to the respectable Janata, organ of the Praja Socialist Party, would seem to be a qualitative leap. But, evidently, it is not so, at least where Morarjibhai is concerned.

Janata is as anxious as the Current for Morarji's installation in Deputy leadership. Its columnist A. D. Gorwala has minced no words to indicate his preference for the Finance Minister.

"The better choice for Deputy leadership would be Mr. Morarji Desai," he stated. He has repeated Current's plea that election for the post should not be shirked and has shed copious tears on Morarjibhai not being elected.

"The Congress Party has erred seriously in not settling this matter," he says. "May providence, without whose watchful eye and guiding care, this country would have foundered on the rocks several times during the last 13 years, avoid worse happening."

PHILOSOPHY OF COMMUNALISM

I HAVE already indicated in these columns how the "Bharatiya" Jan Sangh has developed a veritable philosophy of communal rotting.

The essence of this philosophy is that every heinous

crime involving the Hindu and Muslim communities, for instance the rape of a Hindu girl or the murder of a Hindu businessman, is a "sociological fact" (1) as it involves communities which are "not even on speaking terms" (1) and it is, therefore, meet and proper that such a crime should be answered by one community rising in wrath against the other, i.e., a Jabalpur or Moradabad being enacted.

The Jan Sangh mouth-piece, Organiser, has again expounded this philosophy in its issue of May 8. It writes:

"Defence of one's own community against assault by another community is not communalism. It is simple common sense. Muslim's rape of Hindu girls is nothing very new. We are yet to hear of a Hindu rape of a Muslim girl." (This, suggesting, as it does, that rapists belonging to Gurukul's glorious community satisfy their lust at the cost of victims from their own community, clearly constitutes a slur on the Hindus. The Jan Sanghites themselves should protest against this Jan Sanghite insinuation.—GARUDA)

"This raping business was rampant in the nineteen twenties. But the Number One Muslim leader of the time, Maulana Mohammad Ali, was not at all sorry. His reply was: 'Muslims are made that way: It can't be helped.'... Muslim opinion has not travelled very far from Mohammed Ali during these thirty years and more. Nor has secular opinion. Pt. Nehru is looking

ANTI-COMMUNISM AT DURGAPUR

Editorial

THE CENTRAL THEME OF the discussions at the Durgapur AICC and a crucial issue for Indian democracy was the

problem of national integration. Assam had exploded again. Jabalpur and Moradabad were too near in their horror to be mere memories. The forces of militant chauvinism were on the offensive in all the vast stretches of our dear land.

It was only reasonable then for the people to expect that the AICC and, above all, Nehru would give a new lead and fresh inspiration at Durgapur. It is sad that neither has happened. Instead, a whole Niagara of platitudes cascaded from Nehru.

He was obviously in no mood for introspection or self-criticism. Otherwise he could have scarcely avoided, as he did avoid, any mention of the communal and caste chauvinism which is playing havoc with his own party. He could have scarcely refrained from mentioning the role of Congress faction-fights in the Assam tragedy of 1960, to say nothing of the sorry story—with all its heinous consequences—of the alliance with the Muslim League to have slipped his mind, to say nothing of his own indictment of the Congress in Madhya Pradesh.

Above all, a little more serious thought to the problem would have prompted Pandit Nehru to tell us how it is that after fourteen free years, with uninterrupted Congress rule, Indian nationalism remains so weak as he himself says it is. Why does atavism survive and why do frustration and rage all too often grip the common man? Clearly the fault basically lies with the failure of the Congress to lead our people forward to the completion of the democratic revolution.

Failing to be sufficiently serious, Pandit Nehru indulged in regrettable anti-Communist demagoguery. It may pass muster as electioneering but it is a sad day for India when its Prime Minister indulges in cheap gibes with scant regard for facts.

The Communist Party's record and role in the struggle against communalism is unparalleled in India. Pride and sorrow grip our hearts when we recall those of our comrades who laid down their lives to prevent and stamp out fratricidal strife. Once again in Assam, West Bengal and Jabalpur the Communist Party proved its mettle and the militant fraternity of its members and friends from all communities and linguistic groups was the envy of all other parties and the shining hope of our people.

As for our stand on the India-China border dispute, it has been made clear beyond doubt. We are for the retention in India of all territory in the Northeast upto the MacMohan Line and the Northwest upto the traditional boundary. We are for the settlement of this dispute—as also the conflict with Pakistan—through negotiations, which we believe is also the policy of Pandit Nehru.

If there are any doubts in the minds of the Prime Minister and other Congress democrats about our stand on these two issues of national integrity we would ask them to test us by taking up our two offers.

Let Pandit Nehru and the Congress accept our support in Kerala to ensure that the Muslim League candidate neither sits in the Speaker's chair nor wins the late Speaker's seat.

Let Pandit Nehru and the Congress join with us in the Round Table Conference on the India-China dispute as Jaya Prakash has suggested.

It is surprising to say the least that in all his orations on the Communist Party, the Prime Minister ignored these two offers which have been made by the Communist Party publicly and quite recently.

It is by a positive approach to the problem of unity of all secular and democratic forces in the struggle against reaction and disruption that Pandit Nehru can be true to his reputation and to the cause of India that he has espoused all these years.

Shameful Episode

THE WAY RAJESHWAR-DAYAL HAS BEEN FORCED TO quit the Congo has once again shown up in a flash the whole character of the so-called U.N. operation there. It was not India which had sought this appointment for one of its nationals.

It was to clothe the sanguine and dastardly Western operation under the U.N. flag with the prestige of India by placing an Indian at its head that Hammarskjöld had asked for Dayal's services. The idea was only to make India pull the USA's chestnuts out of the fire.

This became clearer as time passed. All Dayal's efforts to secure the implementation of U.N. resolutions regarding withdrawal of Belgians and other mercenaries, all his efforts to control the hoodlums of Mobutu and so on were systematically frustrated and sabotaged, and the Imperialists managed to get Lumumba assassinated and removed from their path.

A.I.C.C. Session Reviewed

★ From Front Page

ism, he did not say much except stating that he was "entirely and absolutely opposed to communalism." He said that it was all very well to talk of ending communalism but everyone knew that in times of tension, Congressmen were swept away by it and repeated his complaint about Congressmen's lapse in not combating communal riots in Jabalpur. He warned, "You cannot maintain the integrity of India by communal approach."

With the Cachar events agitating the entire atmosphere in Durgapur, the main burden of Pandit Nehru's speech was the danger of linguistic conflicts.

He condemned the Silchar firing and while pleading for "wisdom on both sides", Pandit Nehru said that he had not realised before that the linguistic conflict could be as dangerous to India's integrity as anything else. Not suppression but encouragement to languages to grow—that was the solution, and yet the ominous tendency was to shun other languages except one's own.

Failure Of Congress

What, however, one felt like asking, listening to him was: Why did the Congress as the premier political organisation in the country, cultivate this spirit within its own ranks?

To build and not to break:

Simultaneously a campaign of slander was launched against India and Dayal by U.S. and British diplomats and by the USA's stooge Kasavubu.

Again, it was to rescue the "operation" from its difficult straits when the non-aligned African countries withdrew their forces that all sorts of assurances were given to secure the indispensable support of 5,000 Indian troops. Once again India was made to pull the USA's chestnuts out of the fire.

Having thus fully utilised Dayal and India for their dastardly purposes, the USA started putting pressure on India through diplomatic channels to make Dayal withdraw "voluntarily" from the scene. Rusk on his visit to New Delhi at the beginning of April demanded it directly from Nehru. With scant respect for Article 100 of the U.N. Charter which guarantees the Secretary-General freedom to control all the appointments, Hammarskjöld became the willing tool of the U.S. State Department and carried out the same pressure operation personally on Dayal by recalling him to New York and keeping him a "prisoner" at U.N. headquarters. He even offered Dayal a sinecure job at the Headquarters as Adviser to him on the Congo affairs.

The whole episode has shown how correct the Soviet Union's denunciation of Hammarskjöld as U.S. imperialism's agent was and how necessary it is that the structure of the U.N. be changed on the lines demanded by the Soviet Union.

As for the ultimate acquiescence of the Government of India and their surrender to U.S. pressure it is an episode which makes every self-respecting Indian hang his head in shame. Still worse are the alibis that the Prime Minister has sought to provide for the Secretary-General's action. Over and above is the attempt to go back on the categorical statement made in Parliament that the stationing of our troops in the Congo is linked up with Dayal's continuance as U.N. representative. The Prime Minister now tells the country that the link is no longer there. Even a child can see that with Dayal's removal it will be far easier than before for the imperialists to misuse Indian troops.

The Prime Minister's attempts to hush up the affair which has brought such humiliation to our country and his efforts to go back on his earlier assurances regarding Indian troops in the Congo without even so much as consulting Parliament need to be strongly condemned. The prestige of India in the eyes of Africa and the whole non-aligned and anti-imperialist world should not be allowed to be played with like this, even by the Prime Minister himself.

(May 31)

that was the slogan Pandit Nehru set before the AICC. And yet, in dealing with the Communist Party, he ignored the Communist offer of full cooperation to him and to the Congress to fight communal reactionary forces. Instead, he quite unnecessarily, charged the Communists with attaching no importance to the integrity of India, distorting the Communist stand on the India-China dispute as amounting to a readiness to part with a portion of Indian territory to a foreign Power.

Narrow And Partisan

Further, Pandit Nehru picked on the Leftists' demonstrations on Cachar—which, even by police accounts, were absolutely peaceful and had nothing to do with the spontaneous clash between Durgapur's steel workers with the police—as proof of encouragement to violence and warned Congressmen that the real danger of events like Silchar was that the Communists would try to cash in on them.

He also blamed the Leftists for having started the slogan "murderer Nehru, go back". Actually, the slogan was heard in the demonstration led jointly by the Jan Sangh and PSP.

One could understand the compulsions of an election year requiring the scoring of propaganda points against a political opponent. But one cannot get away from the feeling that it

was precisely such an approach of narrow party interest that stands in the way of an all-India crusade to tackle the growing threats to national integration. As one listened to Pandit Nehru's analysis, one could hardly escape feeling how much more effective he could be, even at this stage, in rousing the entire country against disruptive forces threatening the nation's unity if only he himself could rise above the narrow interest of the Congress Party's petty politicians.

It was not that Pandit Nehru cannot give such a call. At Durgapur itself, such a call came from him in strident protest against Portuguese barbarities in Angola. In the strongest condemnation of Britain since the Suez war, he warned the great Powers to realise that "all the talk of anti-colonialism falls to ground when the most blatant colonialism is tolerated and sometimes encouraged."

Threats From Pakistan

Although foreign affairs did not become a major issue in the AICC—apart from the categorical denunciation of Portuguese genocide in Angola—a significant thing was the focus laid on the new threats from Pakistan. The sabre-rattlings in Azad Kashmir and the Pak Government's move to declare Azad Kashmir independent were interpreted by Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri as ominous, maybe as a prelude to some adventurist action from across the cease-fire line.

While the question of defending territorial integrity provided the usual fare of attacks on the Communist Party—not unexpected in the election year—it was interesting to find Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri paying a tribute to Khrushchov's faith in peaceful co-existence and the possibility of realising Socialism peacefully.

This strange cocktail of anti-Communism with appreciation of Soviet policies is but a reflection of the lack of a clear-cut political stand of the Congress leadership to rally all democratic forces inside the country for a fight against reactionary forces. Determination to fight communal and separatist tendencies—as embodied in the National Integration Committee Report—was combined with broadsides against Indian Communists, which can only help the very same fascist-ous elements.

Resolution -And Practice

The persistent paradox in Congress politics was also provided in another way. While the AICC adopted a non-official resolution sponsored by Sri S. N. Mishra and his Ginger Group, enjoining criteria for selection of candidates for Congress tickets according to their adherence to the Socialist ideology, in the lobby of the session itself one could see West Bengal Congress leaders trying to persuade the Maharaniadhiran of Burdwan to accept Congress ticket for the General Elections to fight a sitting Communist MLA.

Burdwan happens to be the biggest zamindari estate in West Bengal—no bastion of the Socialist pattern.

(May 30)

RENU CHAKRAVARTY, M. P., Recounts Reaction's Resistance At Every Stage

At the very time when Parliament was debating the Dowry Bill, disagreeing over its clauses and worrying over harassment which may not be caused to some by unscrupulous litigants—in the very heart of the capital of Delhi, the father of a young girl who could not provide the dowry demanded by the parents of young men, had to give his daughter to a thrice-married old man, whose last wife had been divorced by him and was still living.

BEING the mover of an unofficial Bill on dowry, scores of letters have come to me from unknown people recounting the heart-rending sufferings of women.

Take the case of a young Ludhiana girl—Kamla Dhand. Kamla had no mother. Her father is a poor teacher at Nabha with a few acres of land. Kamla was a matriculate and held a diploma in sewing. After her marriage, her mother-in-law was said to have continuously ill-treated her because she did not bring a satisfactory dowry. Every one in the mohalla knew about her unhappy lot and on March 2, 1961, she died with tell-tale wounds on her body.

It is reported there is a letter of Kamla's with the police which says, "Please, if you want to see me happy in this home, you must send a share of the land you promised to give at my marriage." The entire town was shocked at this death. Women brought out protest demonstrations fearing the police would hush up the case. It is now being fought by the most eminent barristers free of charge.

The cry of anguish of Snehalata, the Bengali girl, who several decades ago could not provide the dowry demanded by rapacious young men, the cry of Kamla Dhand—is echoed by so many thousands of unfortunate young girls. The need for stamping out this evil custom cannot be denied by anyone.

No Frontal Opposition

That is why, when the Dowry Bill was brought forward no one dared oppose it frontally. Rather it was through the ingenious argument of likely harassment of the innocent that the effectiveness of the Bill was watered down.

No one answered the question I had put to the Joint Session: "Is the harassment which goes on every day in almost every middle-class and lower-middle-class family, the harassment of father, mother and family, not to speak of the daughter to be given in marriage—is the harassment they are subjected to for dowry, more, or the harassment some unscrupulous people may or may not commit on a few innocent people more harmful? We have laws to prevent vexatious law suits. But the two kinds of harassment are being put on a par." No satisfactory answer was forthcoming and this argument of harassment was again and again used to water down the Bill.

JUNE 4, 1961

After the long-drawn out procedure of waiting for the chance luck of getting the ballot, my Bill came up for discussion. The then Law Minister, Sri C. C. Biswas, promised that Government would itself sponsor an official Bill and hence requested me to withdraw my Bill. Notwithstanding this assurance it has taken seven long years for the official Bill to be passed into law.

Women's Campaign

Behind this enactment is a long history of effort and campaign led by women's organisations in the country. The example of only one organisation, the National Federation of Indian Women, will suffice as a case in point. The Federation waited till the Second Parliament was constituted before taking up the campaign on a national scale. In the autumn of 1958, seventy-five members of various women's organisations met the Law Minister and present-

This has been seen in long-drawn out measure during the long struggle for the Hindu Code Bill. Once the right of daughters to succession in father's property was accepted it was but the logical next step that the evils of the dowry system should be eliminated. The Succession Act yet denies to daughters an equal share with the brother in the property of the father as determined by the Mitakshara law of inheritance by which the majority of Indians are ruled. Nevertheless it is a step in the right direction. Hence with abolition of dowry, women continue to ask for an equal share in their own right to the father's property.

This would protect both the interest of daughters whose fathers have property and wealth and at the same time save the daughters of the poorer sections of our society from the humiliations and sufferings caused by extortion of dowry.

But orthodox opinion under various excuses is already saying that the daughter should not ask for a share in the father's property but should ask for as a part of the father-in-law's property. This idea has already been expressed in the Punjab and Madhya Pradesh Legislatures. A direct right in her own capacity as the child of her father invests the daughter with far more dignity and strength than on indirect right through her husband to her father-in-law's property. It is in such devious ways that social reform laws are sought to be constantly attacked.

In The Select Committee

But the campaign outside the legislature had to be stepped up because past experience had taught women that without rousing public opinion neither could the social evil be eradicated nor the law brought to a successful conclusion.

Letters, postcards to Members of Parliament, pledges by parents not to take dowry for their sons or to give dowry for daughters were organised. Articles and letters to the Press and a large number of meetings were organised. In West Bengal alone twentyfive thousand signatures were collected and five thousand postcards were sent to the Law Minister to request that the Bill be passed. Fourteen thousand signatures were collected in Pun-

The history of the long and stormy course the Dowry Bill had to go through is more than ample evidence of this.

In 1954, the first efforts at legislation to ban the giving of dowry was made by the introduction of an unofficial Bill in my name. Smt. Uma Nehru also moved a similar Bill.

NEW AGE

jab and similar campaigns took place in Delhi, Bihar, Tripura, U. P., Andhra, Tamilnad, Pondicherry and Kerala. Everywhere, among the middle classes and especially the lower middle classes, intense interest was aroused among the women over this Bill.

The Bill went to the Select Committee over which I presided. The original Bill as introduced had made presents up to a limit of Rs. 2000 permissible as not falling within the definition of dowry. It was deleted after sharp debate because, in fact, this would have meant legalising dowry up to a limit of Rs. 2000. The Select Committee laid stress on the need to prove whether anything had been given "in consideration of marriage" or not. The implications of this "consideration" was simply covered by the Contracts Act and the law courts were fully equipped to deal with it.

It also added that dowry given both directly and indirectly should be punishable by both imprisonment and fine. Even one day's jail would become a greater deterrent against infringements of social laws than any amount of fine.

To tighten the Bill against frivolous use, it was stipulated that no court except that of a First Class Magistrate could try cases under this Act.

Many social reformers had held the opinion that the

ments, clothes or other articles would not be deemed to be dowry "unless they are made in consideration of marriage."

This was a highly dangerous explanation because, it created a loophole for passing off extortion as presents. For in what form is dowry widely demanded if not as cash, ornaments, clothes, utensils, etc? Further if avoidance of vexatious law suits was the reason for the insistence on this Explanation, the difficulties of proving or disproving whether or not it was given "in consideration of marriage" remained just the same as in the original definitions.

Rajya Sabha Amendments

Almost all women Members of Parliament and several women's organisations objected to this Explanation, being added, as they felt this would be opening wide the door to legalise dowry under the garb of presents.

When the Bill was sent to the Rajya Sabha, it reinserted the clause making indirect giving of dowry a penal offence. It deleted the Explanation.

But it gave another fatal blow to the only clause which could have been used somewhat effectively in the Bill. It deleted the clause making

Historic Battle For A Social Reform

ed him with 18,000 signatures collected from various parts of India for introducing the Bill.

It was at this time that similar Bills were introduced in the State Legislatures of Andhra, West Bengal, Rajasthan and Kerala. States like Bihar already had enactments and the Andhra Legislature also had passed this law. In 1959, the Bill was introduced in the Lok Sabha and as such the dowry Bills still outstanding in the State Assemblies were not proceeded with.

Joint Session

It was only on May 5, 1961, that the Joint Session was finally convened. Twentyeight women's organisations including the All-India Women's Conference and the National Federation of Indian Women jointly demanded deletion of the Explanation and asked that the demand for dowry be made penal. "Vigil" was kept by women standing before the gates of Parliament with these demands written on posters held in their hands.

It was made known just on the eve of the Joint Session that the Executive Committee of the Congress Parliamentary Party, contrary to usual practice, had decided to issue a whip to vote for deletion of

The biggest debate centred round the need to differentiate between bona fide gifts given willingly out of love and affection and those extorted from the bride's family or in some exceptional cases from the bridegroom or his relations. In spite of the repeated assurance by the Law Minister that anything which was not given "in consideration of" i.e. as a contract of marriage, was fully permissible under this law, the Lok Sabha raising again the argument of harassment, added as Explanation, whereby it was explicitly stated that, presents in form of cash, orna-

offence should be made cognisable, for experience has shown that without this, social reform laws remain dead letters. The argument of police harassment was brought forward with impassioned eloquence, even by some Congress members to oppose the demand. Although most women M.P.s, irrespective of parties, were strongly in favour of this demand for making the offence cognizable, it was not accepted by the Select Committee.

The demanding of dowry was, however, kept as a penalisable offence without any debate. The recommendations of the Select Committee were quite clearly moderate. But as soon as it came before the Lok Sabha it faced rough weather. The Lok Sabha would not allow the indirect giving of dowry to be penalised.

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PAGE FIVE

A PROGRAMME FOR INDIA'S YOUTH

The Second National Conference of the All-India Youth Federation, held in Hyderabad between May 19 and 21, was an event of great significance for the organisation and has made an important contribution to the youth movement of our country.

THE 306 delegates and observers from 12 States who attended the conference actively participated in free and frank discussions on the most burning issues affecting the life and activity of our youth and analysed the work of the organisation since its foundation, two years ago.

Achievements & Weaknesses

In the light of these discussions, the conference was able to correctly assess the achievements, as well as the weaknesses, of the movement and to formulate the main immediate tasks facing the organisation in the coming period.

The presence of a number of fraternal delegates at the conference, as well as the large number of messages of greetings received from various organisations in our country and abroad, was a sign of the fraternal links that the organisation has already established with progressive and democratic movements inside our country and outside.

Attending the conference were fraternal delegates from the World Federation of Democratic Youth, Czechoslovak Youth Union, Sri Lanka Freedom Party Youth League of Ceylon and from several Indian organisations—Youth Hostels Association, Socialist Youth League, All-India Students' Federation, All-India Trade Union Congress and the All-India Kisan Sabha.

These deliberations were organised at the conference in four plenary sessions and two separate sessions of its two commissions.

The results of these deliberations are contained in three main documents and 12 resolutions, all of which were adopted unanimously with the incorporation of the accepted amendments. These documents are: the General Secretary's report; (2) the report of the Commission for Peace, Disarmament and Fight Against Colonialism; and (3) the report of the Commission for Youth and National Reconstruction.

Problems Of The Nation

The problems tackled by the conference, through these documents, were:

Taking note of the major developments in the world which are shaping the future of the whole of mankind and the impact of these developments on the life of our youth, the main report stressed the need for mobilising the youth of our country in the worldwide struggle for peace, for disarmament and against colonialism.

To make every effort to build broad cooperation and

unity among the Indian youth organisations and among our different sections of youth for voicing our united opinion in support of the above tasks is the call given by the conference in this connection.

In the above international context the report dealt with the existing situation at home.

Noting the achievements of the country in the way of industrialisation, abolition of princely States, zamindari, etc., the report stressed the fact that it has been through constant struggle against powerful opposing forces inside as well as outside our country, that we have registered whatever advance that is there in our national development.

These opposing forces, the report said, are imperialism with its persistent efforts to change our policies, powerful sections in our country

who want to grab all the fruits of freedom and the forces of disunity—communism, casteism, regionalism, etc.

Effectively combating the argument that youth should not indulge in all these affairs, the conference has declared in the report that it is particularly incumbent upon the youth of our country to play its due role in our present struggles, just as it did for the liberation of our motherland.

In the above-mentioned conditions are seen the problems of our youth and their role in our society.

Criticism Of Govt. Measures

In demanding the creation of necessary conditions for the youth to live and work, the report has made a scathing criticism of existing inadequacy of the Government measures to meet satisfactorily even the most essential present-day requirements of the Indian youth.

(a) Even after 14 years of independence, about 76 per cent of our population which means about 304 million of our people can neither read nor write. And among those who are fortunate enough to get into the educational institutions, there is a good section who find that either they have to abandon their education, thanks to the rising costs, or if they

complete their education, their training and talents are left to rust without being absorbed in national reconstructions.

(b) Unemployment has already become a chronic disease in our country, with the swelling army of educated unemployed youth.

(c) Cultural and sports facilities are still far beyond the reach of the vast masses of our youth.

Sectional Problems

Apart from these common problems, which the youth of all sections of our society are facing today, the report dealt with other urgent problems for each section of our youth—young workers, rural youth, young intellectuals and so on—arising out of the conditions in which they have to live and work.

There is no wonder, therefore, that it is often said that the youth of today are not inspired by

SARADA MITRA
General Secretary, AIYF, reports on the Second Conference of the All-India Youth Federation.

The report then dealt in detail with the work of the All-India Youth Federation (AIYF). An article on the activity of the AIYF since its constituent conference of 1959 has already appeared in New Age on the eve of our conference.

In view of the above picture of the life of our youth today and of the activity of the AIYF during the past two years, the conference pinned down three major shortcomings in the movement and made some concrete proposals for overcoming them in the coming period. They are:

FIRST, our activities are restricted among the middle-class youth in most of the States. The task now is to unite large number of young workers and peasants in our organisation.

The conference appealed to trade unions and peasants and agricultural workers' organisations for their cooperation.

And to study the problems of these sections of the youth, the conference has proposed to organise a conference of

and implementing the youth welfare schemes.

Actually, the AIYF in its memorandum to the Planning Commission has already made a similar proposal for setting up a consultative body for the same purpose.

THIRDLY, now that we have our units in most of the States, we must take initiative for bigger all-India activities—activities which will attract and mobilise all sections of the youth.

All-India Festival

The conference has, therefore, decided to hold an All-India Youth Festival in honour of the Eighth World Youth Festival to be held in Helsinki in 1962.

FOURTHLY, as the lofty cause for which we are working is the common aspiration of our youth, irrespective of political or religious differences and as there are other youth organisations in India with whose programme we have a number of points in common, the conference has appealed to these organisations: "Let us cooperate and work together on common issues so as to unite the vast masses of our youth in the great cause of advancement of our country, for building a happy future for our youth in a world of peace."

For further thorough discussion on the problems of peace and colonialism and on the question of participation of youth in national reconstruction, the conference broke into two commissions on the second day.

In the commission for discussing the problem of peace, disarmament and struggle against colonialism, the co-report was presented by K. Govinda Pillai. The report analysed particularly the dangers of the armament race, the burdens imposed on the peoples of the world due to it and the vast possibilities for development of the newly liberated countries in general and our country in particular if the resources of the world that go down the drain of the armament race were to be diverted to peaceful purpose.

Among the recommendations of this commission were resolutions on Goa, Algeria, West Irian, the Congo, World Youth Forum, World Youth Festival and the proposal for urging upon the WFDY to take the initiative to convene an Asian Youth Seminar.

Department For Youth

The conference was of the view that while such efforts should always be encouraged we, at the same time, must use all possibilities offered by the Government in order to see that the public money that is spent on such schemes is used for the benefit of our young people.

The conference has in this connection welcomed the proposals made by the Youth Department of the AICC that either a separate ministry or a separate department for youth welfare should be set up at the Centre and in the States and all genuine national youth organisations should be given consultative status so as to ensure the cooperation of vast sections of the organised youth in making

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JOHNSON VISIT

The great white Vice-Chief has returned to his lair. In two Press Conferences he has made his summing-up of the Southeast Asian tour. This is of value not so much for telling us what he was able to achieve—which was precious little—as for giving away what U.S. imperialism's plans for this region are.

Before proceeding to an analysis of his Washington outpourings, one may be forgiven for summing up the buffoonery of Lyndon Johnson in the words of a member of his entourage—Kennedy's brother-in-law to be exact: "I must say he is a combination of Groucho Marx, Bob Hope and Cecil B. De Mille!" (Time, May 26)

Cowboy Whoop

And as for his general sense of decorum and respect for 'hospitality,' the following description in Time of the same date is difficult to beat: "After warmly kissing Lady Bird for the photographers, Johnson entered the Taj to hear a guide explain that sounds echo for 15 seconds around the domed mausoleum before dying out. Johnson promptly smashed the solemn silence with a rousing cowboy whoop that seemed to clatter forever around the dome while Indian officials stared at one another."

So much for the man whom the U.S. has the fortune to have as its second highest executive. Now for the results of his tour as he sees them.

His first achievement seems to have been the gingering up of the U.S. satellites in Asia. On May 25, Associated Press reported: "Mr. Johnson also said that he had made it clear to the leaders of Asia that the U.S. would make any sacrifice and risk any danger that might be necessary in the defence of free nations against Communism... Asian leaders to whom he had talked had been reassured that we shall honour our commitments."

Future Aims

This is a clear enough statement about one of the important future aims of U.S. policy in Southeast Asia. There is no spirit of "new frontiers" here but the same old rank smell of death and war. If any in India had any hopes that Kennedy's friendlier attitude to neutralism would mean an abandonment of imperialist aggressive groupings, there is no room left for illusions on this score.

Nor is it a question of a precarious coexistence in U.S. policy of friendship to neutral nations and alliance with aggressive puppets. Through Lyndon Johnson the U.S. has served notice that it is not going to allow any of its present satellite States to get out of its clutches.

As a matter of fact for some, at least, of the Asian countries under U.S. yoke, the first assertion of independence could well be to break from the military alli-

ances and to unfurl the banner of neutralism. This the U.S. imperialists will resist tooth and nail. The nations who now pursue a neutralist foreign policy must take note of this.

A Report Uncontradicted

Lyndon Johnson told Thailand's dictator Sarit Thanarat that the U.S. would 'intervene in Thailand... even if the Seato machinery collapsed completely and the U.S. gave us full guarantees,' said Sarit. "We are a virgin. No one is to touch us." (Time, May 26)

The less said about Sarit's virginity the better, but it is evident that the U.S. has committed itself to keep him in power come what may.

The second theme of the U.S. Vice-President's summing-up concerns India. He reports that Pandit Nehru passed on to him an old Indian proverb: "When danger is near, salvation is near also." But this cultural exchange was not all.

Mr. Lyndon Johnson said that Prime Minister Nehru had expressed an interest in contributing to the defence of Southeast Asia. Mr. Johnson said that this was reflected in the joint communique issued following his talks in India.

THE LESSON FOR US

By ROHIT SEN

Mr. Johnson said that he was 'very appreciative' of the contribution Mr. Nehru had made in their talks." (The Hindu, May 26)

Four full days have passed after this outrageous utterance has been uttered against the foreign policy of our country and, indeed, the Prime Minister personally. It is a matter of regret and shame that the Government of India has not yet issued any contradiction nor even a clarification.

It is scandalous that it was left to U.S. Ambassador Galbraith to state to the Hindu's Delhi Correspondent on May 25: "That it would be incorrect to say that the word 'defence' in the military context was ever used in the course of the recent talks between Mr. Nehru and Mr. Johnson."

Ominous Silence

One can well imagine what an uproar there would have been if after a talk between, say, Kosygin and Pandit Nehru, the Soviet statesman had declared that the Indian Prime Minister had expressed interest in, say, the defence preparations of the Warsaw Pact. A thousand denials would have immediately followed and a hundred editorials would have screamed anti-Soviet hate.

By contrast the present silence is rather ominous. Time and again, Nehru has hit out against Seato, Cento and all forms of military alignments. Time and again, he has warned of the dangers that "defence pacts" represent to the freedom of Asian

countries and the peace of the continent.

One wonders why he did not so forcefully express these views to the U.S. Vice-President. Why did he allow the visitor to gather the impression about India's so-called "interest" in U.S. plans for Southeast Asia's "defence". Or if he did make his views perfectly clear then he must brand Lyndon Johnson for the liar that he is. Silence in this case would not be golden.

Need For Reputiation

The need for emphatic reputiation is all the greater in view of the plan that the U.S. Vice-President has unveiled for Southeast Asia. He said that "he hoped there might be a meeting of American officials with representatives of all the nations of Southeast Asia with a view to broad region-wide assault on the problems of the Asian people." (The Hindu, May 26)

This would mean that he intends to convene a conference under U.S. tutelage where India would discuss together with Chiang Kai-shek, Sarit Thanarat, Ngo Dinh Diem and Garcia. And they would discuss how to "assault" the problems of the Asian people.

WHO WILL BELL THE CAT?

SOME Punjab Ministers deserve to be blacklisted," that is the un-official and personal verdict of the Chairman of the non-official Vigilance Committee, Sri Ram Sharma.

Last year Punjab Chief Minister Pratap Singh Kauron had appointed the non-official Vigilance Committee under Sri Ram Sharma's chairmanship. He resigned the chairmanship on April 12 but had agreed to continue at the request of the Chief Minister till the expiry of the committee's term.

SULTANPUR POST-MORTEM

As a result of its ever-growing isolation from the people, the Congress is today faced with a series of debacles. Congressmen are naturally getting perturbed over it. The heart-searching that has started among Congressmen has provided some interesting confessions.

The People is an old Congressite weekly from Lucknow. Its links are with Mohanlal Gantam's group in U. P. Writing under the headline "Sultanpur Rout", it discloses:

"For the first time during the last 14 years, the Congress is facing a most serious challenge from opposition parties. It

SCRAP-BOOK

FAR, FAR FROM THE PEOPLE

THE proceedings of the AICC session hardly stir the overwhelming majority of our people any longer. Messages galore from the Congress leaders do not inspire confidence in the people, they are empty words which fall on deaf ears.

The gap between the thinking of the Congress leaders and the rank and file itself is amazing. An instance is provided by the current AICC session's discussion on the report of the National Integration Committee.

The line of the Congress leadership was given by former Congress President U. N. Dhebar. Here is what Times of India reported on May 29:

"Presenting the report of the National Integration Committee to the AICC Mr. Dhebar justified the alliance of the Congress with Muslim League in Kerala. He said a peculiar polarisation of Communist and non-Communist forces had developed in Kerala and the Congress had to identify itself with the latter."

Against this is the voice of the rank and file: "Mr. Kall Mukherjee (West Bengal) accused the Central leadership of the Congress for its policy of drift in tackling the problem of language, linguistic provinces and communalism. Mr. Mukherjee said that the policy to align with communal organisations to retain political power and check Leftist and Leftist forces would be suicidal to the Congress and the country... He condemned the Congress alliance with the Muslim League in Kerala to oust the Communists and with Ganatantra Parishad in Orissa to retain political power in the past." (Times of India, May 29)

And this was not the only voice. There were other members also who criticised this aspect of the policy. Even on the question of the Muslim convention Mr. Dhebar "avoided any reference" but the rank-and-file criticised it. How close are the Congress leaders to their own ranks not to speak of the people!

WHO WILL BELL THE CAT?

Some Punjab Ministers deserve to be blacklisted," that is the un-official and personal verdict of the Chairman of the non-official Vigilance Committee, Sri Ram Sharma.

Last year Punjab Chief Minister Pratap Singh Kauron had appointed the non-official Vigilance Committee under Sri Ram Sharma's chairmanship. He resigned the chairmanship on April 12 but had agreed to continue at the request of the Chief Minister till the expiry of the committee's term.

On May 23, Sharma told newsmen the reasons that led to the non-extension of the committee's one-year term by the Government. He said that "Congress President Sanjiva Reddy never relinquished the vigilance body. Rather he was firmly opposed to it."

The disclosure by him of "the prima facie case which the committee had found against one Minister" has spotlighted once again the need for a thorough probe into allegations of misuse of power by Congressmen in high places.

But which Congressman in high place can order another Congressman in high place?

—AGRADOOT

CONGO : NEO-COLONIALISM IN ACTION

The destiny of all Africa is closely tied up with that of the former Belgian Congo, where the tidal wave of national-liberation struggle sweeping the continent has encountered formidable barriers raised by the colonialists. The crucial thing here is not only the importance imperialist Belgium attaches to preservation of its colonial rule; the entire future of neo-colonialism in Africa, of which the United States is the principal proponent, is at stake. The reasons for the whirlwind of events which have proved so tragic for the Congo are both of an internal and an external order. Hence, the international significance of the Congo's struggle for independence and its lessons for the national-liberation movement generally.

Belgian Colonialism

THE relations between Belgium and the Congo do not conform to the classical patterns. Belgian colonialism has its own features. For one thing, it appeared on the international arena later than French and British colonialism, at a time when Belgian capitalism had already reached its monopoly stage. Because of this, only a very small number of the big industrial and financial concerns took part in exploiting the African colonies. For example, the Societe Generale de Belgique controls and runs three-quarters of all the Belgian enterprises in the Congo, including the Union Miniere du Katanga.

Further, for decades most of the profits extracted from the Congo have not been exported to the home country. Instead they have been either reinvested on the spot, or exported to other countries, Canada, for instance. This diminishes the direct effect of colonial profits on the economic situation in the metropolises.

In contrast to other countries, Belgian colonial stock is concentrated in the hands of a few big financial groups. Because of this the colonial disintegration, while dealing a blow at the financial omnipotence of the monopolies, has not affected the small stockholder so much.

Another feature of the colonial exploitation in the Congo was the extensive participation of the Government in the various sectors of the economy. Mixed companies dominated public works and transport, and exercised a large measure of control over the granting of concessions to private firms. Examples of this were the special committees for Katanga, Kivu and Kasai, where Government and monopoly interests were intertwined.

Effect in Belgium

The monopolies entered into partnership with the Government in those spheres where initial outlays were heavy and immediate returns uncertain or insufficient. In this way most of the risk, and the losses, if these were incurred, was borne by the State, in other words, the taxpayer.

These features throw light on the significance of the Congo problem for Belgium. It

a venture prove unprofitable. The advantages of co-operation between the Government and the private companies would be lost. This is another reason for the aggressiveness of Belgian colonialism and its resistance to genuine independence for the Congo.

Junior Partner

The collapse of her colonial power has greatly weakened Belgium's position in the world arena. Since the second half of the nineteenth century her influence in the capitalist world has been disproportionately great thanks to her colonial empire. The wealth of the Congo enabled the Belgian capitalists to compete successfully with the stronger imperialist Powers.

And since the Second World War the Congo's uranium, cobalt, copper and rare metals have occupied an important place on the capitalist world market, bringing millions in profits to the Societe Generale stockholders. For years it was the Congo that

would be hard, if not impossible, to secure the support of public opinion for armed intervention. The working people do not feel that their interests suffer in any way from Congolese independence. In their view the struggle to perpetuate colonial rule is solely the concern of the trusts, against which they themselves are fighting at home. The colonial element has no great influence on the public opinion, which explains the weakness, if not the complete absence, of an ultra-colonialist movement. Indeed, active colonialism of the chauvinist type is all but non-existent among the people.

The popular sentiment was reflected in the recent parliamentary elections, when the parties backing the colonial interests (Social Christian and Liberal) were defeated, while those opposed to colonialism, and above all the Communist Party, registered substantial gains.

This, however, does not mean that there is a strong anti-colonialist sentiment or a mass movement supporting genuine independence for the Congo. The monopoly pressure on the Government, on Parliament and the Press, as well as the hue and cry about the alleged peril in which Europeans have been placed in the Congo, have caused many Belgians to regard the Congolese independence movement with suspicion and distrust.

The attitude of the Socialist Party, which took up the Congo issue only to embarrass the Government while being strongly opposed to Lumumba, has but added to the confusion.

Heavy Blow

But for all that there is no hostility to the Congolese liberation struggle among the people generally.

The monopolies are another matter. For them the collapse of colonialism is a heavy blow. One of their main sources of profits is slipping out of their hands—a source that made them equal partners, or successful competitors, of the monopolies of other countries. The loss of the Congo would for all practical purposes deprive the Belgian companies of the possibility of using the Government as an ally to further their own colonial interests, as a supplier of capital for major outlays and as a partner ready to foot the bill should

be remembered that one of the aims of the Common Market is to preserve the economic, financial and military control of the West over the former French colonies, Sahara and the former Belgian Congo.

But now the situation is changing. At best Belgian capitalism can look forward to playing second fiddle in the neo-colonialist exploitation (if this should prove possible) of the Congo by other Western Powers, including the Common Market countries.

This helps to explain the desperation with which the Belgian colonialists are trying to retain their grip, if not on the whole of the Congo, then at least on its part, Katanga.

When the Congo first gained independence, the people there thought that Belgium would render the newly-born country the aid and support it needed.

This was because Belgian imperialism, when faced with a mounting struggle for independence, sought a neo-colonialist solution to the problem. The use of crude force

Old Policy, New Results

An attempt to instal a puppet Government also failed. Having enlisted the support of Kasavubu, one of the most influential nationalist leaders, the Belgians did their best to instal the Kasavubu man Ileo as head of the Government. But Lumumba's prestige was so great, and so strong was the support for him among the patriotic forces, that the Belgians had to agree to the post going to him. Lumumba, however, had to pay for this victory by agreeing to Kasavubu as head of State. The set-up seemed the right one under the circumstances, but it contained the seed of the subsequent tragedy which

plunged the country into chaos and led to Lumumba's murder.

At the same time the Belgians carried out a parallel operation designed to secure, in case they could not hold on to the whole of the Congo, their domination over its richest province—Katanga, Kasai and part of Bakongo. With this in view, the Union Miniere bribed a group of Congolese leaders at whose head they placed Tshombe and Munongo, both leaders of the Congolese Party. Lavish subsidies enabled Tshombe to seize power in Katanga and announce its secession.

The Foraminere Company, which owns diamond mines in South Kasai, did likewise. It bought Lumumba's mortal enemy Albert Kalonji and proclaimed him the head of the Government of the so-called mining State.

Nor did the Belgian colonialists renounce force as a possible solution, of the problem. Using as a pretext the disturbances in the Congolese army (engineered, incidentally, by the Belgians themselves) they sent in troops, ostensibly to protect Europeans. The real object was to establish a military dictatorship and crush the patriotic parties. The dictatorship in turn was to pave the way for a puppet Government prepared to sign any treaty or agreement the colonialists wished.

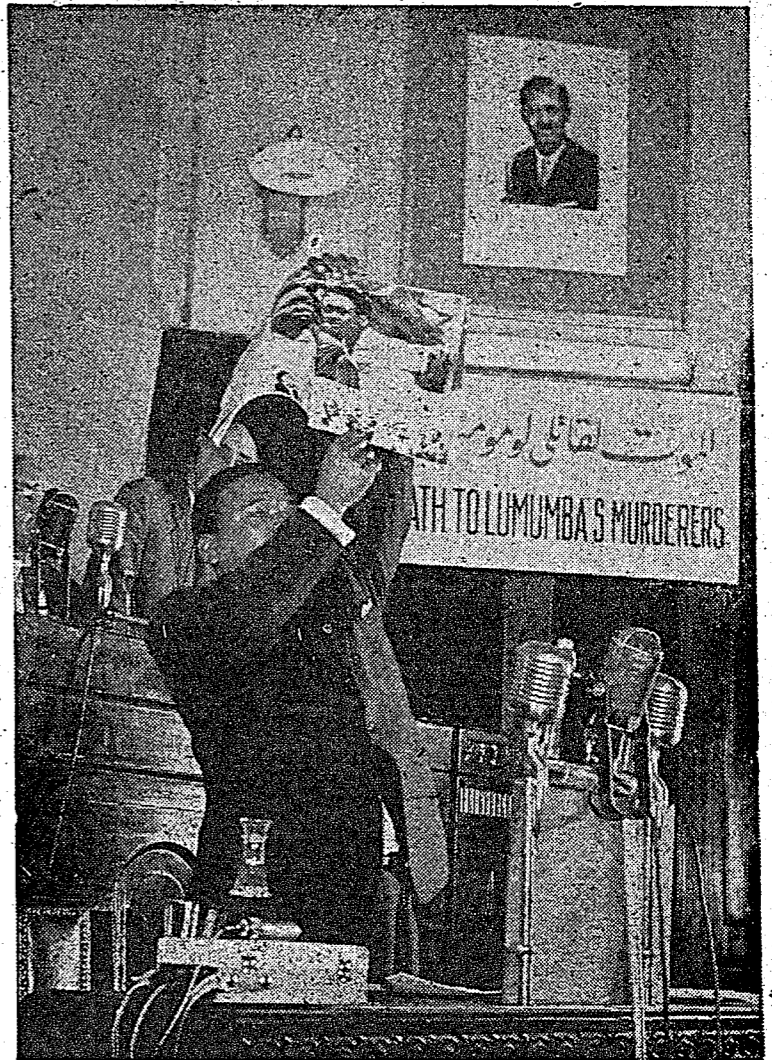
It soon became clear, however, that the Belgian politicians had underestimated world public opinion as well as the opposition of their own

people to the policy of intervention, that they had failed to discern the new African solidarity and relied too much on their imperialist partners in NATO. The Western Powers, headed by the United States, opposed the Belgian colonialists' single-handed attempt to subjugate the Congo because they themselves wanted to get a foothold there. These factors led to the question coming up in the United Nations and the doors to the Congo being opened to the United Nations forces.

A temporary united front of colonialists was formed in the struggle against Lumumba. To gain their ends the colonialists used the United Nations and its Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld. It is no exaggeration to say that

by
JEAN TERFVE

Antoine Kiwewa, head of the delegation of the Congolese National Movement Party, addressing the Third African People's Conference in Cairo, holds up a photograph of Patrice Lumumba under arrest, demands trial of Kasavubu, Tshombe, Mobutu and other traitors and condemns U.S. and Belgian imperialist intervention in the Congo.



Independence Struggle Has World Significance, Decisive For All Africa's Destiny

gave the Belgian capitalists their privileged position. Small wonder, then, that they should cling to it so tenaciously. The loss of the riches of the Congo automatically reduces Belgium to a second-rate Power.

The Belgian monopolies are not willing to accept this, all the more so since they are not prepared for such a change in status. Accustomed to the flow of easy money, and satisfied with seeing their production facilities operating to capacity, they gave little thought to the future.

Nothing was done to prepare for reconversion of the basic sectors of the Belgian economy to meet the new circumstances. Modernisation of plant was neglected, and only the old industries, such as engineering and iron and steel, in which fortunes were made in the course of previous decades, were developed. The monopolies were not ready to go over to specialised production requiring skilled labour or to establish new industries (chemical and plastics) using the local raw materials. Because of this the Belgian firms found their more powerful French and West German neighbours holding the advantage over them in the Common Market.

Flagrant Interference

But this was merely outward show. Actually, the Belgians were as determined as ever to retain their hold on the Congo's economy and finance. The drafts of the agreements on Belgian "aid" to the newly-emerging State were so obviously imperialist in spirit that even the inexperienced Congolese leaders saw through them at once. The economic round-table conference came to nothing. The conference and its outcome greatly influenced the position of Lumumba, who realised that Belgian neo-colonialism was no less a threat to his country than the "classical" colonialism, and that there was no alternative but to fight it.

So long as she was in possession of the Congo, Belgium could comfort herself with the hope that she could make up for this by capitalising on the desire of her Common Market partners to share in the plunder of Congolese wealth. It will

the leader of the Congolese national-liberation movement was murdered by a "collective colonialism".

But, we repeat, the unity of the colonialists was only relative. The moment the Belgians tried to cash in on the successes scored in combating Lumumba and the national movement and to arrange for the wholesale return of Belgian "advisers" and technicians, they found themselves up against the U.N. command, which acted in the interests of the United States and paved the way for the penetration of U.S. monopolies.

International Imperialism

The Belgian colonialists thus found themselves in a blind alley. All their efforts had failed to yield the desired result—preservation of their monopoly control over the Congo. Moreover, they had virtually isolated themselves from their influential allies.

Belgium's senior partners in the Atlantic bloc are hastening to take her place in the Congo, the wealth of which is coveted by the monopolies who shape the policies of the Western Government. And the principal role in this rush to reconquer the Congo is played by the United States.

The U.S. imperialists, playing for high stakes in the Congo, are going about the job cautiously, in no hurry to show their hand. Donning the mask of bene-

volence and generosity, the new aspirers to the Congo are posing as zealous opponents of colonialism in order to persuade the Congolese that U.S. policy differs fundamentally from that of Belgium or such big colonial Powers as France and Britain. The show is staged with the assistance of the U.N. representatives in the Congo, who are acting as the tools of United States policy. The aims the U.S. imperialists are pursuing are strategic as well as political and economic.

They have their eyes on the Congo's strategic raw materials (diamonds, cobalt, uranium, rare metals), materials which they lack at home. The Congo also looms large in the plans of the Pentagon. Situated as it is half-way between America and Asia, bases there would be relatively less vulnerable. From the standpoint of military strategy, it occupies a key position in Africa.

Last but not least, it is essential from the standpoint of U.S. global political strategy that the Congo should remain within the sphere of imperialist domination even after becoming independent. Its joining the neutralist camp would have a powerful impact on the policy of most of the African countries and would be fraught with exceedingly grave political consequences for the imperialist bloc headed by the USA.

France, at least in Black Africa, is trying its hand at neo-colonialism. The West German monopolies, eager to share in the spoils, are lavish-

ly contributing capital to the venture. At the same time they are anxious to avoid making their political responsibility too obvious, for Western Germany, like the United States, prefers to pose as an opponent of colonialism, a "third party" motivated by altruism and concerned only with the welfare of the underdeveloped countries.

Cautious Tactics

Considerations connected with the Atlantic bloc likewise prompt the USA not to be too precipitate in the Congo. The point is that its rivals here are also its allies in NATO. And since the Atlantic Pact is the principal instrument of U.S. policy, there can be no question of giving it up just now.

If it were only a question of the Belgians, who now have been relegated to one of the last places among the United States' junior partners, there would be no need to stand on ceremony. But France and Western Germany are a different matter. The United States cannot risk any worsening of relations with them.

Not only U.S. neo-colonialism is out to supplant Belgium in the Congo. France and Western Germany are displaying a joint interest in it—joint in the sense that, judging by everything, the French and West German monopolies have coordinated their colonial policies.

Even before the proclamation of the Congo's independence, Franco-German bankers displayed a sympathetic interest in Kasavubu, the leader of the Abako Party, who already then evinced separa-

France's main aim is to preserve her economic and financial domination in former French Africa. Nor are the French averse to linking the Congo with the Common Market and thereby keeping it within the Atlantic bloc orbit. Such a political line naturally, presupposes opposition to the establishment of a genuinely national Congolese Government that would resist neo-colonialist penetration. This explains the hostility of the French Government and its representatives in the United Nations first to Lumumba and now to Antoine Gizenga.

French Africa

Bakongo, rich in resources, is notable also for its comparatively developed agriculture. Here, too, is the Inga, the narrow part of the Congo River, an ideal site for a big hydro-electric plant. Preparatory work for the construction of a power station is in full swing, and major international capitalist trusts have been vying for the contract to build the dam. In the vicinity of the power site are rich deposits of bauxite where an aluminium industry can be started.

There is another feature of French policy: since she is not uninterested in getting a slice of the Congolese pie, France is unwilling to associate herself with some of the Belgian gambles and risk being discredited together with them. For instance, she has not officially recognised the secession of Katanga or the "mining State" of Kasai. At the same time, however, she has given enough support to the Belgians to be able to demand, in the event of success, a share of the profits.

On the other hand, France is extremely interested in sup-

* SEE OVERLEAF

pressing or at any rate in regarding the national-liberation movement in Africa. She knows that the genuine liberation of the Congo would almost automatically bring with it the collapse of the entire system of neo-colonialism which she has gone to so much trouble to build in a number of her former colonies.

West German Interest

Lastly, it should be noted that Western Germany, even though fairly closely associated with French policy in the Congo, has reserved for itself considerable freedom of action. In order to play safe, some major West German financial groups are inclined to make overtures to the Congolese nationalist elements as well. As a matter of fact, they even tried to establish contact with the followers of Lumumba. The Bonn politicians are closely following developments in Stanleyville and are prepared to seek agreement even with the Gizenga Government should this be possible and, what is most important, should it be profitable.

Britain's role in the Congo is much more modest than that of the other colonial Powers. It can broadly be described as following in the wake of the U. S. policy. No doubt there are British monopolies that have hatched or are hatching schemes of their own for Katanga, because the British imperialists have long cherished the idea of bringing the mineral resources of Rhodesia, Tanganyika and Katanga under their undivided control. However, the present attitude in London suggests that it does not intend to press the matter with any particular vigour.

The plans to include the Congo in the Common Market find little support in Britain. Still, the British colonialists are definitely for suppressing any truly national movement in the Congo since the success of such a movement would have repercussions throughout East Africa, where the British are finding it increasingly difficult to maintain their domination. This makes the British colonialists, too, enemies of the Congolese patriots.

The Black Shadow

Besides the big imperialist countries, there is yet another power that plays quite a big role in the Congo. That power is the Vatican, whose interest in Africa is common knowledge.

The Congo is one of those African territories where Catholic missionaries have been most active. Under an agreement concluded with the Vatican, Leopold II granted each new Catholic mission a tract of the best land. Thus the Church in the Congo became a powerful force, a big landowner and a partner in the colonial exploitation. As in most places, the Catholic Church developed into a capitalist concern with its own material interests in the Congo.

Moreover, the Church monopolised education. And this monopoly remained unchallenged until 1955 when the

Belgian Government opened a few secular schools.

The missionaries faithfully served the colonialists. Their educational work was confined almost entirely to teaching people to read and write; only in rare cases were Congolese given elementary vocational training. The Church, which thus deliberately kept the people in darkness, bears a good share of the responsibility for the low cultural level of the population.

Until recent years the ideas and interests of the missionaries and the secular agents of colonialism coincided. But already before 1959 some churchmen with direct connection with the Vatican drew attention to the changed situation and foresaw the inevitable rise of the African liberation movement. They anticipated its scale and character, and realised that, unless they adapted themselves in time to the new situation and found a place for themselves in the incipient movement they would be swept away together with colonialism.

For this reason, the more far-sighted churchmen took steps to save the situation. The Church was the first to revise the old attitude. It founded a university in the Congo open to Negro students, and announced it would curtail its secular activities and devote itself mainly to charity and spreading the gospel. It

VATICAN

- An Instrument Of Neo-Colonialism

also began to train more African priests and allowed them to enter the higher hierarchy. A number of African bishops were appointed.

New Policy Of The Church

At the same time some churchmen supported the independence movement. They were the first to do what the Belgians could no longer evade doing, some months later.

Having recognised the Congo's right to independence, the Church set about advancing the Africans under its influence to leading posts; today it is reaping the fruits of these efforts.

Kasavubu, for instance, was once a novice preparing for priesthood and has remained closely connected with the Church. Ileo, whom Kasavubu and the imperialists have made the head of the puppet Government in Leopoldville, is also a protégé of the missionaries. So is Albert Kalonji, the head of the Kasai "State". As early as 1956 the missionaries exploited Kalonji's inflated vanity to split the Congolese liberation movement and defeat Lumumba, whose firm patriotic convictions they feared.

These are only three examples of the many that could be cited.

The aim of the Church, which, with its skill at adapting itself to the circumstances, is turning a faithful servitor of the old

colonialism into an instrument of neo-colonialism is to keep the Congolese within the bounds of the latter.

Neo-Colonialists In Cassocks

In view of the situation in the Congo the activities of the Catholic missionaries are a grave danger. The Church, which has kept its cadres intact, is perhaps the only organised force in the country. The clergy, ordered by the Vatican to remain at their posts, did so, with rare exceptions. The priests have stayed with their parishes and are continuing to teach at the mission schools; they visit their parishioners, publish local newspapers and bulletins and generally maintain close contact with the population which is very much under their influence.

It should be borne in mind that the population of the Congo is hardly in a position to resist the propaganda of the Vatican agents. The priests appeal primarily to emotion, capitalising on the generally low cultural level. For instance, in order to whip up anti-Communist hysteria, they whisper that Communism means nationalisation of women, robbing parents of their children, abolishing all forms of property, and so on. The favourite method is to depict Communism as a sort

of hell and the Communists as the devil's disciples. However ludicrous this may seem, illiterate masses the effectiveness of this kind of propaganda should not be underestimated.

It would be wrong to think, however, that the Church and its agents have an absolutely free hand in the Congo and can direct developments at will. The national-liberation movement has seriously undermined its prestige and influence.

At the moment it is hard to say which way things will take. Hence, instead of drawing conclusions, it will be useful to analyse both the strengths of the Congolese liberation movement and its enemies.

The penetration of neo-colonialism into the Congo is facilitated by the colonial structure of its economy. The key sectors are in the hands of the monopolies, whose domination can be abolished only by nationalisation. And

this even a genuinely national Congolese Government can hardly do within the foreseeable future. Neo-colonialism has strong internal allies also in the managerial personnel of the large industrial, mercantile and financial undertakings. These allies include also the missionaries, whose influence and role has been discussed above.

The weak point of these reserves is that they are Europeans—or, to be more precise, non-Africans—which gives rise to distrust on the part of the Congolese. Hence the neo-colonialists are anxious to have at least a few local people as partners who could act as a screen for them and to whom they could, should the need arise, allot small shares of the profits.

No Local Bourgeoisie

Neo-colonialist penetration presupposes the existence of a local bourgeoisie. But there is no bourgeoisie in the Congo, nor can it be said that it is in the process of formation.

Maybe a local bourgeoisie will spring up and establish itself? Hardly. The birth of a class, a long and gradual process, is possible only when the conditions are favourable. In the Congo there is practically no soil from which a native bourgeoisie could spring. The Congolese are denied access to trade, which is in the hands of either the Belgian companies or Portuguese, Greek, Italian, Lebanese and Syrian merchants. The emergence of a Congolese

bourgeoisie was prevented or at least retarded by Belgian colonial policy. Today this policy has boomeranged.

It has been said above that neo-colonialism has been brought to the Congo by the rival imperialist groups, each of which has its own particular ends. Hence, it is more than doubtful that the imperialists will be able to create a united bloc capable of pursuing a clear-cut long-range policy in their fight against the national-liberation movement.

Is this discordance, the result of imperialist contradictions, an inevitable corollary of neo-colonialist policy? One should be cautious in replying to this question. It would be foolish to jump to the conclusion that the imperialist Powers cannot find grounds for temporary agreements, all the more so since the Congo has already provided instances of tactical alliance on separate issues.

Congo Horizons

History has still to say the last word on the Congo question. Which way will the scales go? If we approach the question historically, there is no doubt that in the long run the just cause of its people will triumph. But it is not excluded that in the immediate future there may be temporary setbacks in the struggle for genuine independence.

At the moment it is hard to say which way things will take. Hence, instead of drawing conclusions, it will be useful to analyse both the strengths of the Congolese liberation movement and its enemies.

International Support

The success of the Congolese liberation movement depends largely on the scale and efficacy of international support, International solidarity,

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NEW AGE

FACTION FIGHT IN INTUC UNION

Police Intervention With Sec. 144 & Armed Pickets

version was that the meeting was convened and held in an irregular manner.

Both the leaders have since then taken their "differences" to the workers through public meetings. In one of the public meetings held by Verma a no-confidence motion against John was adopted.

The resolution is a veritable charge-sheet—it was alleged that John had not submitted accounts for the lakhs of rupees collected for the Abdul Bari Memorial Fund, the building fund of the TWU, etc., that he had transferred union cars to his own name, that he had refused to submit any account for the thousands of rupees received from the Iron & Steel Section of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to organise the iron and steel federation in this country, that he was acting like a despot and a dictator, etc.

At a meeting held on May 21 by Verma, four workers were nominated to go to the office of the TWU next evening and take charge of it from John.

Apprehending a serious breach of peace, orders under Section 144 were passed the same night prohibiting meetings, etc., in the city and on Verma prohibiting him from entering the union office. Proceedings were also begun under Section 107 Cr. P.C. against 20 persons (ten from each of the rival groups) directing them to submit bonds to maintain peace in the city for one year.

Following the prohibitory orders, the entrance to the "K" Road, lying on the main thoroughfare of Bistapur, is heavily guarded by a detachment of the Bihar Military Police. Armed police squads are guarding the union office and the residence of Michael John.

As a result of these activities of the rival leaders of the TWU, the day-to-day work of the union has been paralysed.

All Amjad, General Secretary of the AITUC-affiliated Jamshepur Mazdoor Union, which led the heroic struggle of the workers in the steel city three years ago, referred to this controversy in the TWU while addressing a Martyrs' Day meeting held to commemorate the heroes of the 1958 strike.

All Amjad said that the workers of Jamshepur had no illusion about the policies of the INTUC, but the JMU was interested in seeing that honest people, representatives of workers who upheld their interests, came up in the INTUC also so that the working class was able to put up united struggles.

The JMU, however, regretted the fact that in the present controversy both sides were trying to rouse provincial feelings. If Verma or anybody else in the INTUC carried on a consistent struggle for a healthy and united trade union movement, said All Amjad, workers' sympathies would be with them. Otherwise, they were not interested in the power politics of the INTUC leaders.

THE fight for the control of an INTUC-affiliated union has led to imposition of prohibitory orders under Section 144 banning public meetings, shouting of slogans, use of loudspeakers, processions and carrying of weapons.

The union concerned is the Tata Workers' Union (TWU) in Jamshepur, the contestants for control—Michael John, President of the INTUC and of the TWU, and his erstwhile deputy B. L. Verma.

So because two INTUC leaders are fighting, the whole town of Jamshepur has to suffer all sorts of prohibitory orders for a month from May 22.

Resignation Letter

The differences between John and Verma came to a head when in March last Verma sent in his letter resigning from the Deputy Presidency of the TWU, giving as one of his reasons that he intended to look forward for a changed mode of life and that wholetime trade unionism was not mentally or temperamentally suited to him.

John seized the opportunity to get rid of his critic. In his reply to Verma, he is stated to have said that "trade unionism should not become a jumping ground for probable aspirants for a comfortable mode of living" and if Verma so wished, "his letter of resignation stood accepted."

Verma was caught unprepared by this manoeuvre and

sought intervention by State Congress leaders including the Chief Minister. The political groupings in the State Congress had their effect in Jamshepur also. While Chief Minister Binodanand Jha is a supporter of Michael John, Krishna Ballabh Sahay and Mahesh Prasad Sinha who have come together against the Chief Minister are backing Verma.

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the TWU was held on April 29 with the question of Verma's resignation also on the agenda. A week prior to the date of the meeting both the leaders had begun mobilising their factions including elements whose only vocation was wielding lathis and indulging in violence. What was really deplorable was that workers were sought to be divided on the basis of provincialism—Hindustani-speaking people versus the rest.

Corruption Charges

With this the situation, the authorities also made elaborate arrangements to meet any situation. Armed and tear-gas police squads were kept ready in trucks and high police officials were on duty near the "K" Road Junction in Bistapur where the TWU office is situated.

What happened at the meeting can only be guessed from the conflicting versions spread by the rival leaders. John circulated the report that an overwhelming majority had voted for no-confidence in Verma, while Verma's

DISMISSAL OF EMPLOYEE HELD ILLEGAL

IN his judgment delivered last week in a Title Suit against the Tata Iron & Steel Company Ltd., the Additional Munsif has held the dismissal of Dr. U. Misra, a former Assistant Medical Officer of the Company to be illegal and wrongful.

The suit was filed by Dr. Misra, who is also a Vice-President of the AITUC-affiliated Jamshepur Mazdoor Union, following his dismissal in June 1958 from TISCO's services on charges in connection with the 1958 strike. The company had charged him with acts of insubordination and activities subversive of discipline in regard to Press interviews and hand-outs given to the news Press by him between May 20 and 25, 1958, challenging the company's standpoint in respect of the strike.

Dealing elaborately with the alleged charges of misconduct, the Additional Munsif in his 40-page judgment observed that Dr. Misra did not incite the workers to go on strike on May 12, 1958, and he did not also promote it.

The judgment said, "thus I find that some of the charges levelled against Dr. Misra

were not actually acts of misconduct so as to make him liable to be punished and some have not been proved against him and I find also that Dr. Misra did not commit the acts of misconduct which were levelled against him."

What Is Insubordination?

On the point of insubordination in connection with Dr. Misra's Press interviews contradicting the statement of Mr. Choksi, a Director of the Tisco, the Additional Munsif observed that statements made by Dr. Misra did not amount to insubordination.

The Munsif said in the judgment that "the relationship of the superior and the inferior does not travel beyond the course of duty and everywhere" and that "Dr. Misra made the contradictory statement not with a view to contradict Mr. Choksi but to express his opinion in the matter which unfortunately contradicted the statement of Mr. Choksi" and also that "the statement was made in the interest of the general people."

The controversy in the Press was occasioned when

Mr. Choksi in a statement stated that the strike inside the TISCO works from May 15 onwards would incapacitate the technical hands of the steel company from restarting production of steel for at least four months. This statement to the Press was contradicted by Dr. U. Misra, who, in a Press interview, stated that the experience of 1942 showed that the works could be restarted within one month.

Company's Motives

Making a severe stricture on the company for its apparent motives to dismiss Dr. Misra, the Munsif observed: "I cannot refrain from mentioning here that the acts of the defendant company was not bona fide in the matter. The defendant company did not like that Dr. Misra should have any relation with the Jamshepur Mazdoor Union. The evidence on record also discloses that the Utkal Association was an eyesore to the company."

Extreme Haste

Another important point on which the Additional Munsif gave his findings was on the enquiry which the company held after the charge-sheets were issued against Dr. Misra on May 28, 1958. Holding the entire procedure of the enquiry as improper and incorrect and carried out in extreme haste, the Munsif observed:

"Notice of 48 hours to submit the reply to the charge-sheet was a very short one. Why was such short notice given? Where was the urgency and why? The notice to submit explanation was served on 28. 5. 1958 and Dr. Misra was required to

submit his explanation by 30. 5. 1958 and the enquiry was fixed for the following day.

"I find that extreme urgency had been shown in the matter. Is it that Dr. Misra was spreading some infectious disease? Was it not meant to disable Dr. Misra from producing evidences and defending himself properly? The company could not have suffered in any way had some more time been given to him to defend himself properly."

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"From the evidence on record it also appears that an election of the local branch of the Indian Medical Association was held in 1958-59. Dr. Misra defeated Dr. Sharma who was a candidate of the defendant No. 2 (General K. S. Master)."

Summing up the motive, the Munsif said, in conclusion, "So I find that everywhere the fury against Dr. Misra was raging high. And it subsided with the dismissal of Dr. Misra, which I find to be illegal and wrongful."

The case evoked wide interest in the town as it was the first one against the TISCO on the issue of dismissal in connection with the one-day token strike of May 12, 1958, called by the Jamshepur Mazdoor Union, in which a court of law has given its clear verdict against the company.

New Possibilities

In a statement today, Dr. U. Misra said that the judgment has opened up new possibilities for the 360 discharged or dismissed employees of the TISCO, who are yet to be reinstated. Dr. Misra also said in his statement that he was contemplating a compensatory suit of Rupees one lakh against the TISCO for the illegal and wrongful manner in which he was dismissed from the services of the company.

JUNE 4, 1961

NEW AGE

PAGE ELEVEN

BATTLE FOR THE DOWRY BILL

making the demanding of dowry punishable.

At the eleventh hour, women Members of Parliament met the Prime Minister with several other members of the Congress Executive. We pleaded that it was hardly expected that after dowry had been paid and the marriage had taken place, anyone would go to court, if they wanted the daughter's safety. Further we argued that if giving dowry was a penal offence why should the attempt at the same crime not be made penal? Were not the haggling the highest bidder, the threat to take away the bridegroom from the marriage without getting their demands fulfilled the most degrading humiliations the bride and her parents were subjected to so often?

Watering Down Of Provisions

Nevertheless, the argument of harassment was again pressed into service. We pleaded that all laws could be used for harassment by unscrupulous people. The laws to check blackmarket and corruption were also open to such misuse. The law taking cognisance of such human weaknesses had provided penal checks for vexatious law suits and mala fide cases. But these arguments were not fully acceptable to those who wanted to avoid making the demanding of dowry penal.

It was against this background that the Law Minister brought forward his amendment, making the de-

manding of dowry punishable but with a proviso that "no court shall take cognisance of any offence under this section except with the previous sanction of the State Government or of such officer as the State Government may by general or special order specify in this behalf." It was in short, taking away with the right hand what was given by the left. As I stated in my speech on the floor of the Parliament: "Think of our country, think of our villages, think of the difficulties of litigation. If you think of this amendment in that background, you might as well have sought total deletion of the clause for the demand for dowry will never be penalised if, this amendment is there". Although the Prime Minister in his speech supported the need to make the law benefit to weaker sections of our people—those who live in villages, the lower middle classes in towns—he argued that this amendment would be helpful for those very sections. But though the sentiments were good, the wording of the proviso gave no ground for such belief.

To many of us, this proviso is almost akin to going through two judicial trials—one for getting the sanction and the other proving the case itself. It will mean delay, expense, not to speak of discrimination according to the status and financial position of those seeking the sanction of the officer concerned. In fact by giving the whip for voting on this clause, the Congress party killed the heart of the Bill. The main opposition parties voted for the deletion of

this proviso but were overwhelmingly defeated by the Congress whip. For the voting on the Explanation the vote was narrow one—192 voting for the deletion and 232 for its retention. Never before had there been such close voting.

The taking and giving of dowry both directly or indirectly has however been made punishable in the Bill in its final form.

The Dowry Bill has at long last been passed. Although its provisions have been watered

down yet the demand for the taking or giving of dowry has for the first time been made a crime in India. That is as it should be, in keeping with the concepts of the dignity endowed on women in the Constitution of free India.

Neo-Colonialism Cannot Win Decisive Victory

From Page 10

primary support for the national-liberation movement by the world proletariat, is a powerful factor with which the enemies of the Congo have to reckon. This solidarity found expression in the reaction to the murder of Lumumba.

Congo's Supporters

The people of the Congo have on their side the Socialist countries and most of the neutral States. Thanks to the existence of the Socialist camp and its economic and political strength, the leaders of the Congo national-liberation movement have been able to tackle the main task facing their country—to consolidate independence and develop economy. The Socialist countries are an inexhaustible source of effective aid and support, for they consider it their duty to help the oppressed peoples who are seeking to free themselves from colonial slavery.

The solidarity of the African countries, especially those pursuing a consistent policy of independent development, is another source of strength. The struggle waged by the Congo is inseparably connected with the common struggle against colonialism.

The independent countries of Africa are vitally interested in supporting the Congolese patriots, for should they be defeated and the Congo become a bastion of imperialism in the heart of the continent, the national-liberation movement throughout Africa would be confronted with a grave threat.

So far, however, the aid to the Congo by the other African countries has not been decisive. In the first place, their material and economic resources are too limited. Nearly all of them are fighting their own battle for independent economic development and are themselves in need of assistance. Second, many of them are entering into compromise with the imperialist countries and undertaking commitments detrimental to their sovereignty. For one thing, they are an-

xious to avoid any conflict with those imperialist Powers that are the sworn enemies of the Congolese people, to spoil relations with countries from which they hope to receive economic aid.

Hence, their vacillation and inconsistency and their support for U. N. measures obviously dictated by the imperialists. It will be some time before the majority of the African States will be able to take a truly independent stand in the world arena.

In the long run the destiny of the Congolese liberation movement depends on developments within the country itself. That it is a mature and growing movement is beyond all doubt. The struggle that has been going on for nearly a year has helped in this respect: alignments have become clearer and attitudes more definite, experience has been gained and personnel trained and tempered. National consciousness is crystallising slowly perhaps, but surely. Tribal strife has not yet been overcome and will probably continue to make itself felt for some time, though it is ceasing to be the paramount problem.

Lumumba's Role

Lumumba's role in this respect was tremendous. He was the first to see, even before the proclamation of independence, the need for unity. Hence, the course so firmly pursued by his party, the Congo National Movement, as well as his own fervent dedication to a united Congo. He became the symbol of a Congo battling for genuine independence and complete eradication of colonialism. Preservation and defence of the Congo's independence—this is what Lumumbism signifies today.

Even its enemies do not deny the vast scope of this movement. A sizable part of the country has rallied to Lumumba. The exceptions are Bakongo, South Kasal and South Katanga, i.e. area where the colonialists have been able to find collaborators. And even in these districts the followers of Lumumba

are numerous. The fact that Antoine Gizenga, the leader of the African Solidarity Party, who was born in Kwilu in Leopoldville Province, has been recognised as Lumumba's successor and has his headquarters in Stanleyville, Orientale Province, is proof of growing national consciousness symbolised by Lumumbism.

Today we can safely affirm that the foundations of the Congo liberation movement are too strong to be undermined. But while the potential strength of the movement is steadily growing, its organisation lags far behind the needs of the day. In many places Lumumbism, purely emotional, is marked by passivity. It is neither an inspiration to struggle nor an organised force. Therefore, the task confronting the leaders of the liberation movement is to transform it, reinvigorate it, and give it organisational form.

Neo-colonialism cannot win the decisive victory in the Congo. It has no future. Vigorous action by the people, a people united and assured of powerful international solidarity—this is the force that can and will solve the Congo problem.

NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY, WEEDS

EDITOR: P. C. Joshi

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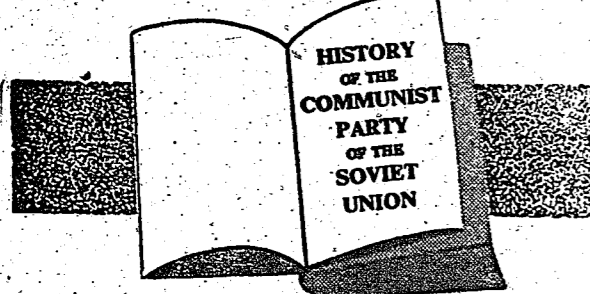
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CEYLON

of the Federal Party's satyagraha campaign.

Communist Proposal

The Communist Members of Parliament proposed that the Bill should be suitably amended to permit Tamil to be used as a language of record in the District Magistrates' and rural courts in the north and east. Communist Members actively lobbied for support to the Party's proposal. Although there was considerable support both inside Government and the opposition for a suitable amendment along these lines, intransigent elements inside the Cabinet utilised the Federal Party's ultimatum to prevent such an amendment.

The hartal of January 2, 1961, was a partial success. Following this, the Federal Party organised mass satyagraha from February 20 1961. It consisted of picketing of Government offices in the northern Provinces and preventing both Government officers and public from attending them. It is remarkable that though the immediate cause of the struggle was given as the Language of Courts Bill, no picketing of courts was organised and the lawyer members of the Federal Party attended courts regularly. The satyagraha, which was started in Jaffna, was on the first day confined to members of the Federal Party, the mass of people were not yet drawn in.

Joint Report

The meeting took place on April 5.

At the end of the meeting, a report was drafted and signed by both the Minister and Sri Chelvanayagam, leader of the Federal Party, testifying to the correctness of the report of what took place in the meeting. This report along with the letter of Sri Chelvanayagam of April 14 agreeing to it were released to the Press and published in Ceylon on April 18. It is, however, remarkable that no newspaper in India had given even an inkling of either these talks on April 5 or of this authenticated report of the talks.

What does the report show? The Minister at the outset asked the Federal Party leaders to formulate their minimum demands in order to enable him to place them before the Cabinet for its con-

sideration. This was necessitated because the Federal Party leaders had not formulated, as noted earlier, their demands before launching the struggle.

Five demands were raised by the Tamil leaders: (1) LANGUAGE OF ADMINISTRATION IN THE NORTH AND EAST: a) Government was willing to have all its dealing with the people in Tamil but wanted to have all official records in Sinhala.

b) The Federal Party leaders would not agree to this. The Tamil leaders wanted all laws to be passed in Parliament in Tamil also after they were passed in Sinhala. Government said it would provide translations. The Tamil leaders would not agree to this. c) As regards the draft regulations tabled by the Government for approval by Parliament, the Minister said that he would accept any draft framed by the Tamil leaders under the Tamil Language Act and invited them to do so. This was also not agreed to by the Tamil leaders.

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Only Difference

It will be seen from the report of the talks of April 5 that the Tamil leaders did not raise any question regarding medium of education and examination or Parliamentary business. All these had been satisfactorily settled.

(2) LANGUAGE OF COURTS:

Instead of insisting on its former position that these records should be kept in Sinhala alone, the Government proposed that they should be kept in both Sinhala and Tamil. The Federal Party leaders rejected this. They demanded that the records in the north and east should be kept exclusively in Tamil and that the Supreme and Appellate courts should have separate panels of Judges who could hear appeals in Tamil.

(3) THE RIGHT OF TAMILS OUTSIDE THE NORTH AND EASTERN PROVINCES:

The Minister stated that already in December 1960, the Government had ordered that letters received from Tamil people should be replied with a Tamil translation. He also stated that orders had been issued directing all documents, forms, etc., such as money-orders, stamps, postal covers, income-tax and customs forms, should be printed both in Sinhala and Tamil in all parts of the island. The Federal Party leaders had nothing to say on this.

(4) THE RIGHT OF TAMIL-SPEAKING PUBLIC SERVANTS WHO HAD JOINED PUBLIC SERVICE PRIOR TO THE ACT MAKING SINHALA THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE, I.E. PRIOR TO 1956, TO RETIRE FROM SERVICE WITH COMPENSATION FOR LOSS OF SERVICES IF THEY COULD NOT LEARN SINHALA WITHIN THREE YEARS AFTER JANUARY 1, 1961:

The Minister stated that the Government had decided that public servants who had more than ten years of service could retire with an additional five years of service added to their actual period of service. The Federal Party leaders had no comments to make on this.

(5) REGIONAL COUNCILS: The Minister asked if consideration of this could not be postponed for some time. The

Federal Party leaders would not agree to postponement.

Strangely enough, the leaders of the Federal Party within six days of these talks, on April 11, publicly declared that the Government's position was untenable and they decided to intensify the struggle by organising a parallel Government with its own postal service, police force, machinery for distribution of Government land, etc., and actually started with organising a separate postal service on April 14.

The Government came down with the declaration of a state of emergency. The military was sent to the area. Curfew was clamped from dusk to dawn. About sixty leaders of the struggle were arrested and detained in bungalows in Colombo. Within two days the satyagraha collapsed.

Only Difference

It will be seen from the report of the talks of April 5 that the Tamil leaders did not raise any question regarding medium of education and examination or Parliamentary business. All these had been satisfactorily settled.

As regards demands Nos. (3) and (4) above, i.e., rights of Tamils interspersed in the Sinhalese areas and of Tamil public servants, the Government's position obviously satisfied the leaders.

As regards item (4) and (2), viz., language of administration and language of courts, there was no difference as regards the proceedings vis-a-vis the people. The only difference was on the question of the records. Even on this, the Government had modified its earlier position and was willing to keep records in both Sinhala and Tamil. The difference between the Government and the Tamil leaders boils down to just this, whether the records should be kept exclusively in Tamil or both Sinhala and Tamil.

One has only to compare the position of non-Hindi languages vis-a-vis the Central Government or that of the languages other than the official language of the various States in India and the vast difference.

In India, the President's Order on the Official Language

Commission refused even to consider the possibility of allowing those who had received their education in a non-Hindi, non-English medium to offer their examination in the medium in which they received their education.

In Parliament, non-Hindi speakers can speak in their own mother-tongue only under surferance and that, too, without any translation being provided for.

Every citizen cannot correspond with the Government in his own language if it is not the official language.

Even today Central Government forms are available either in Hindi or English but not in other languages.

If the Assam Government had conceded similar rights of the Bengalis as were guaranteed by the Ceylon Government to the Tamils, the recent sad story of linguistic riots would perhaps have not taken place. Or take the large Tamil and Kannada speaking population in Kerala. Do they have the same rights of the Tamils in Ceylon?

No reasonable person can deny that there was a clear and firm basis for a final settlement of the problem of language rights, by further negotiations. It should also be remembered that there was no question of immediately replacing English which still continues to be used in administration and in Courts.

If in such a situation the leaders of the Federal Party chose to launch an intensified struggle in the manner described above and that, too, against the very Government which had fought Sinhala chauvinism and come forward to solve by negotiations all aspects of the language problem, step by step, one cannot but suspect that their aims are not the guaranteeing of the language rights of the Tamils but something else.

This suspicion will get confirmed if one looks at the political developments in Ceylon in the recent period and the part of the leadership of the Federal Party in these developments, including their timing for conducting the struggle.

[These aspects will be dealt with in the concluding part of the article to be published next week.]

FOR ATTENTION OF NATIONAL COUNCIL MEMBERS

- Boarding and lodging arrangements have been made in Bangalore for members attending the National Council Session from June 17 to 24, both days inclusive. Only vegetarian food will be provided. Every member has to pay Rs. six towards boarding and lodging for the entire period.
 - Cots will not be provided. Members are requested to bring their beddings. The climate here would be rather cold with chill wind during nights and also occasional monsoon showers. Hence comrades are requested to bring their blankets also with them.
 - Those desiring to have separate arrangements for staying at their own expense may kindly intimate us about the same.
 - Volunteers would be posted at the BANGALORE CITY Railway Station on June 17 and 18 to receive members and escort them to the place of residence. All members are requested to inform us in advance by which train they would be arriving.
 - All communications should be addressed to the following address: Secretary, Karnataka State Council, Communist Party of India, K. V. Temple Street, BANGALORE-2.
- Telegrams can be sent to the following address: Communist Party, Sultantpet, BANGALORE CITY.

Freedom-riders beaten to pulp in the heart of the "free world"

Negroes Assert Right To Live As Human Beings In U. S.

The worldwide liberation movement of the oppressed coloured people now sweeps across the United States. And as in other lands, it meets the frenzied resistance of the imperialists and those whom they have made crazy with chauvinism.

It is a part of the madness that the demand of the Negroes is so elementary and basic that one is amazed that they have to make it at all. All they want is the right to travel in the same bus and eat at the same counters during stops as their white compatriots. Nothing more, nothing less than to be regarded as part of the human race.

Five years ago the U.S. Supreme Court had outlawed segregation in inter-State travel but discriminatory practice remains the rule in bus seating and in eating, waiting and rest room facilities, especially in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana.

The Negro bus traveller in these States confronts indignities at every turn, and often abuse. In most cases he has to choose between hunger and having food poked to him through a cubby hole as he sits in a narrow and filthy passageway adjacent to an un-

clear toilet. But the over-riding question for the Negro bus traveller in the South is safety. If he exercises his rights under Federal Law, he may at any moment be attacked by a racist and be maimed or even lose his life.

Gone are the days when the Negro people would tamely submit to these insults to their humanity. They decided to celebrate the Civil War Centenary by launching a crusade to assert their rights. Hiring Greyhound buses they decided to travel across the South—together with a band of courageous and clean white Americans—and break up segregation at all stops and cities. The campaign is led by a broad-based committee of Negroes and whites named the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

They set out on May 4 from Washington after U.S. Attorney-General Robert Kennedy gave an assurance that he would do his utmost to enforce Federal Law.

Things went fairly smoothly till they reached Anniston in the State of Alabama, whose Democratic Party Governor Patterson had openly declared that he was not going to permit the ending of segregation.

One of the Freedom Riders, Albert Bigelow, a white artist, said that at Anniston a violent mob of over 400 forcibly tried to enter the bus. "They had stones and clubs and lead pipes and were screaming and yelling and trying to cave in the windows. For ten minutes there was no police. Then a State trooper came up. While the trooper was talking to the driver, the bomb came through the rear window. The bus was on fire."

Another Freedom bus was held up at Birmingham, also in Alabama. An eyewitness of the attack was Howard K. Smith, a T.V. commentator. He reported: "When the bus arrived the toughs grabbed the passengers into the aisles and corridors, pounding them with pipes key rings and with fists. One passenger was knocked down at my feet by 12 of the hoodlums and his face was beaten

and kicked until it was a bloody pulp."

The Time (May 28) reported, "In Alabama mobs were permitted to run free and wild by top State and local officials.... The result by week's end was a brutal, bloody outbreak of violence... the cops were conspicuously absent when the blood began to flow."

Worse was to come at Montgomery, Alabama, where the Rev. Martin Luther King had led a successful Negro boycott against bus segregation in 1957. Time says: "When the integrationist bus stopped in Montgomery last week, there was senselessness. An idiot, club-swinging mob of about 100 surged towards the riders."

"Trying to save a Negro girl from serious injury, John Selgenthaler got clouted from behind.... A group of young whites poured an inflammable liquid on a Negro's clothes and set him on fire. One Montgomery woman held up her child so that he could reach out and beat on a Negro with his fists."

The daily Press in India has printed pictures of these ruffians with Swastika arm-bands of the Nazi Party.

On May 24 a brick-throwing white mob of more than 1,500 attempted to break into the First Baptist Church at Montgomery, scene of an anti-segregationist rally attended by 18 Freedom Riders.

What is, perhaps, more amazing is the attitude of the

Federal authorities. To begin with, they tried to "reason" with the local officials. The Alabama Governor just refused to talk to the U.S. President who calmly swallowed the insult. Later some Federal Marshals were sent in as "reinforcements" and not reinforcements, the U.S. Attorney-General stated. Within three days even these were withdrawn. And the U.S. President contented himself expressing his "deepest concern." Even Eisenhower sent in troops to enforce integration in schools in the South in 1957.

Neither mob madness nor Federal connivance with the Southern chauvinists has deterred the Freedom Riders. Their leader, Rev. Martin Luther King has called for mass freedom rides to smash segregated bus travel and to end Jim Crow.

What is heartening is that the Negro struggle has been backed by influential forces in the U.S., in the first place by the labour movement. Typical of the reactions of many is the statement of George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO who declared after the Alabama attacks that "every true American, no matter what his race or where he lives is outraged... They (the attacks) are a disgrace to the nation and they must be stopped."

In the forefront of this great democratic struggle stands the valiant Communist Party of the U.S.A. In a powerful statement (May 28), the Party has declared:

"All the democratic-minded and justice-loving people of our nation owe a special debt of gratitude to these glorious young crusaders for our Government's lost principles for dramatising the savage horror of the Southern way of life that is the commonplace daily reality of millions of Negro citizens...."

"Not alone the rights of Negro people, but the general welfare and interests of the nation demand that the battle at long last be joined and fought out to the end, that the insolent insurrectionary blackmalters of the nation, chieftains of white supremacy, mobsters and perpetrators of the criminal segregation system are totally crushed. The Kennedy administration must know that nothing less than unconditional surrender of the segregation system is acceptable. There can be no compromise of this struggle."

We shall come back another time to the question of the Southern crisis. What mattered to us this time was to point out the elements of crisis in the present Government coalition, which have ripened in recent months, thanks above all, to the constant mass struggles of peasants and workers. Despite Fanfani's claim that he will continue in power till the next General Elections, i.e., September 1963, and Saragat's sophistries the crisis can scarcely be averted.

What Brings Kennedy To Vienna

IN a very few days Khrushchov and Kennedy will have met and parted and the world will have changed for their meeting. It is futile anticipating the concrete results of the Summit encounter. One can, however, outline the approach of the two participants to the conference and assess the balance of strength between them.

No one can dispute that the Soviet Union has been consistently and strenuously calling for negotiations at the highest level to settle the many outstanding international questions. There was a time—and there are some people in the West still—when this used to be savagely denounced, even ridiculed.

It was the compulsion of changing reality—the growth in Socialist strength and anti-imperialist forces to the point of superiority and of the mass movement for peace—that brought Western acceptance of Summits. Now the wrecking could be only by direct sabotage as the U-2 infamy proved.

Where Eisenhower backslided at the very end of his term with disastrous results for his party in the U.S. Presidential elections, Kennedy no doubt hopes to retrieve himself from the disaster of his 100 days by making a somewhat unexpected dash to the Summit.

Decline in U.S. Prestige

The first fact that strikes any observer is this precipitous decline in U.S. strength and prestige since the Kennedy Administration arrived on the scene. As a matter of fact never before had it been so forcibly demonstrated that the U.S. was in no position to assert its supremacy anywhere. The space race, Cuba, Laos—the U.S. had come off second best to put it mildly. The events in Iran and South Korea also seriously harmed its reputation.

What has not been sufficiently stressed is that this series of defeats has had the most serious repercussions among the allies of the U.S. They are seriously considering whether the U.S. can for long be kept as their leader.

It was not for pleasure that Kennedy rushed to Canada and tried his best to woo Diefenbaker into agreeing to join the organisation of American States (OAS) to break trade relations with Cuba and to increase its contribution to Nato. Time (May 28) puts as one of the President's ambitions—"He also hoped to make sure that the Canadian Government was sympathetic to the U.S. Administration."

Scarcely, however, had he returned that the Canadian Premier told a Press Conference (May 26) that the U.S. took Canada too much for granted.

He said, "I am amazed about the greater degree of attention which is attached in the U.S. to a banana or

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

Chancellor was unable to convince the French President and has left the job to Kennedy.

As The Economist (May 27) noted: "Clearly no one but President Kennedy has the slightest chance of persuading General de Gaulle to come to terms with his allies over the differences within the Western community."

Neither Mr. Gavin, the American Ambassador in Paris, nor Mr. Dean Rusk, the Secretary of State, has managed to discover through the conventional methods of diplomacy whether the General is willing to allow Britain to enter the Common Market or whether he will compromise on his demands for nuclear sovereignty and an inner committee to run worldwide policy for the North Atlantic alliance."

It seems, then, that one of the crucial considerations on Kennedy's part to go to the Summit—and go it alone—is to keep together the Western alliance under U.S. leadership. The menacing part of it is that the means he has chosen is to come closer to revanchist West Germany and to espouse its cause against the Soviet insistence on the need for a German peace treaty and for the demilitarisation of West Berlin.

It has been noted by political commentators of the most varied views that Kennedy intends to make it clear to Khrushchov that he is not prepared for any agreement or concessions on this issue.

Aggressive Aims

Nor is this the only evidence for the continuing aggressive aims of the U.S. In his statement to the U.S. Congress on May 25, the U.S. President declared: "I am directing the Secretary of Defence to expand rapidly and substantially the orientation of existing forces for the conduct of non-nuclear war, para-military operations and sub-limited wars."

In addition he said that U.S. special forces and "unconventional warfare units" would be increased and "our whole intelligence effort must be reviewed." New emphasis, he said, is to be placed on "special skills and other efforts that are short of open conflict."

What exactly this means was brought out in a 3,000 word editorial page feature in The Wall Street Journal of May 18. Its Washington correspondent wrote that "undercover para-military technique of warfare... now appears more firmly established as national policy than it was before the recent resounding failure of the para-military invasion of Cuba."

The writer outlines what this new technique of warfare is. It "runs to specific forms of sabotage, terror, organised mob action and corruption in specific target nations—as a form of active warfare. The tactics would vary with opportunity and necessity, and would be employed both offensively against nations of the

Red bloc and defensively within selected allied and neutralist lands...

"... a U.S. still nominally at peace would become committed to constant undeclared acts involving more or less violence upon both hostile and friendly territory until the unforeseeable end of the cold war."

Dim, indeed, would be the prospects of the Vienna Summit if it depended on Kennedy alone. But there is another participant and, as it happens, a more powerful and successful one, Khrushchov comes to the conference quite literally in a blaze of glory. Not only has there been remarkable evidence of the stupendous strength of the Soviet Union but its Socialist diplomacy has repeatedly cornered the imperialists.

It is no exaggeration to say that in the recent months not even the worst enemies of the Soviet Union can point to a single setback on its part. It is the very good fortune of

humanity that it is a Socialist country that is placed in this advantageous position. From its position of strength the Soviet Union insists only on negotiations, a reasonable stand and a settlement of mutual advantage.

A Pravda article (May 28) points out that "the road to an enduring peace cannot be traversed in two days or in a month. But one must take this, the only right road." The article points out that one cannot endlessly pigeonhole the solution of the pressing problems of our time.

It goes on to state, "The point at issue, is above all, general and complete disarmament. It is also important to eliminate the dangerous remnants of World War II in the heart of Europe, to conclude a peace treaty with Germany and to settle on this basis the issue of West Berlin... if all participants in the forthcoming Soviet-American talks take a reasonable stand, something good can be done in Vienna to promote world peace."

ANGOLA... SOUTH AFRICA ... NEW ACTIONS

AS May draws to a close the African peoples prepare for two big offensives against the subhuman and despicable racist policies of the desperate white rulers of parts of their country. The scene of these two actions will be in Angola and South Africa.

As the rainy season ends in Angola the Portuguese intend to go on the rampage. A Portuguese officer declared recently that they had killed over 35,000 of these "animals" and that they would go on killing them till Angola had been "pacified". Their old and trusted ally Great Britain has rushed to offer them an all-but-Lord Home stated in Lisbon that Portuguese colonialism had been particularly humane.

The leaders of the Angolan people have declared that they, too, are stepping up their operations. They state that a good portion of North Angola is already liberated and that this process would continue until Portugal found that Angola had become an Algeria. They are confident that the advanced African States, in the first place, would render them all the aid they could.

After a long time Pandit Nehru spoke (May 29) with passion and strength on the atrocities of the Portuguese in their attempt at genocide. This welcome outburst is of great significance and will greatly aid the isolation of the racists.

It is not, however, the Afro-Asian nations alone that seek to aid the Angolan liberation war. On May 26, the Soviet Government issued a statement in which it declared that Portugal's actions in Angola created a serious threat to the peace and security of the peoples of Africa and beyond Africa.

It is imperative, the statement emphasises, to hold an authoritative international

enquiry into the situation in Angola with the participation, above all, of representatives of the African countries.

One manner in which the Government of India could demonstrate its practical sympathy for Angola would be to press the United Nations Security Council to immediately implement this Soviet proposal.

Another militant sector of the African freedom struggle moved into action with the commencement of the three-day sit-in strike against the Vervoerd Government's decision to celebrate the inauguration of the South African Republic. First reports, despite ferocious censorship, indicate that the action was particularly successful in Johannesburg.

The preparations for the strike completely overshadowed the official "celebration" programme. Despite the massive show of force by the Government—official estimates put the number of arrests at between eight to 10,000 non-whites—the campaign gathered strength daily.

Five thousand white troops have been called to arms and are being kept on permanent standby. Saracen tanks are being paraded through county towns and African Reserves; helicopters have daily swooped over some African townships and further units have been told to stand by in case still more force is needed.

This military alert, the most extensive any South African Government has ordered in peace time, coupled with the indiscriminate arrests has created panic among the supporters of Vervoerd, who are in no mood to celebrate the birth of the Republic "in an atmosphere of reverence" as their Fuehrer had ordered.

—MOHIT SEN (May 30)

ITALY: GOVT. CRISIS INEVITABLE

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT ROME (by air mail) Mr. Fanfani's "Centre" formula is getting more and more shaky and a wind of crisis is blowing in the corridors of Chegi Palace, former headquarters of the Foreign Minister and now of the Cabinet. Less than a year has elapsed since the Christian Democratic Party was compelled by mass action to give up the clericofascist Tambroni and to find a way out in the formation of Fanfani's Government.

It was said, then, that it was an emergency Government charged with restoring republican legality and democracy and preparing a more lasting solution to the political crisis.

Owing to the differences existing among the members of this new coalition, particularly between Liberals, on the Right, and Republicans and Social-Democrats, Left of the Centre, a new term was invented, contradictory from the point of view of geometry—parallel convergences.

They let it be understood that such a solution was an intermediate stage leading to a turn to the Left, but the Liberals did not seem to mind, and it is easy to see why. The Nenni Socialists went as far as to abstain, wanting to "encourage" thus the Christian Democratic overture to the Left.

The Communists, of course, voted against, stating in the first place that, far from being a temporary measure, the Government had every intention to last; secondly that the Government was not in the least bent towards the Left, but represented only a new camouflage for the Christian Democratic conservative policy. Facts bear witness to that evaluation.

But things have now come to a head. After ten months, it is easy for everyone to see that the Communists were right. On all the vital issues the Liberals and Right-wing Christian Democrats have held it their way up to now, whilst the Republicans and Social-Democrats only received formal concessions. As for the temporary character of the Government, there is no longer any talk about it.

But here geometry is taking its revenge on politics, proving how precarious was the formula of "parallel convergence". The fact is that the Centre-Left members of the coalition have to reckon with the section of public opinion they influence. As time goes by and the temporary Government becomes a permanent one, that public opinion is getting increasingly critical.

The Republicans and Saragat Social-Democrats were compelled to realise this, after the recent local elections in Aosta, where their parties suffered heavy losses.

In the recent local elections in the Aosta Valley, a sweeping victory was won by the Communists, in the towns where the proportional system had been adopted and each party presented its own list of candidates, and by the Left-wing lists in the remainder

of the Valley, where these lists have wrested seventeen municipalities from the control of the Christian Democrats. The total number of municipalities won by these forces was 41 out of 74.

In the capital of the region, the Christian Democrats advanced, too, but at the expense of the fascists and monarchists, whilst the members of the Centre-Left coalition, the Social-Democrats and Republicans, suffered heavy losses, as we mentioned before. The Communists, Socialists and regionalists polled in Aosta 56 per cent of the total number of votes (of which 40 per cent was won by the Communists). They ensured, thus, the continuation of a Communist administration in the town.

As for Sicily, after a crisis

lasting over two months, the Regional Assembly once again defeated the Christian Democratic candidate and elected as President of the Sicilian Government the dissident Christian Democrat Milazzo, who had already governed the island together with Communists and Socialists.

We shall come back another time to the question of the Sicilian crisis. What mattered to us this time was to point out the elements of crisis in the present Government coalition, which have ripened in recent months, thanks above all, to the constant mass struggles of peasants and workers. Despite Fanfani's claim that he will continue in power till the next General Elections, i.e., September 1963, and Saragat's sophistries the crisis can scarcely be averted.

On the closing day a colourful demonstration marched through the streets of Hyderabad and ended in a mass rally which was addressed by foreign delegates, Sri Ratin-dra Singh Bedi and new office-bearers of the AIYF.

YOUTH CONFERENCE from page 6

organisations, to forge the broadest unity of all parties and organisations opposed to the forces of communalism.

The conference unanimously elected a Council of 121 members which has elected an Executive Committee of 37 including the President, six Vice-Presidents, General Secretary, five Secretaries and Treasurer. P. K. Vasudevam Nair, MP was elected President of the AIYF.

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Liby of Ceylon

CEYLON

P. RAMAMURTY, M. P., just back from a visit to Ceylon to study first-hand the movement of the Federal Party, analyzes the issues involved in the present struggle.

Ceylon has been very much in the news recently. The struggle launched under the leadership of the Federal Party, which is the party of the Ceylon Tamils, has attracted wide attention and sympathy in this country, particularly in Tamilnad, primarily because the struggle is believed to be waged for securing the linguistic rights of the Tamil population.

IN order to understand the significance and the forces behind the struggle, it is necessary to understand the composition of the population, as well as developments during the last few years on the question of the status of the two languages prevalent in Ceylon — Sinhala and Tamil.

Out of a total population of ten millions, about nine lakhs are Tamils, who form a national minority. These Tamils have been citizens of Ceylon for at least a thousand years and should not be confused with the plantation labour population, who went to Ceylon from about the end of the last century. The problem of the latter is one of citizenship and that is not the issue in the present struggle.

The northern and eastern Provinces of Ceylon have been the traditional homelands of Ceylon Tamils. About seven-and-a-half lakhs out of the nine lakh Ceylon Tamils live in these two Provinces. The remaining one-and-a-half lakh Ceylon Tamils are dispersed in the rest of the island in Sinhalese-speaking areas and are engaged in Government service, trade and other professions such as those of medical practitioners, lawyers and teachers.

During British rule, just as in other British colonies, English was the language of administration and medium of education. And as in India, with the rise of the national movement, the demand for removing English from its dominant position gained momentum.

Controversy In 1955

In 1955, when the question of replacing English as the State language became a reality, a sharp controversy arose over what should replace it. Chauvinist sections among the Sinhalese people, particularly under the leadership of the UNP, the party of reaction, representing native feudal interests and the comprador bourgeoisie, claimed that Sinhala should be the official language and that no recognition should be given to the Tamil language. In fact, they sought to arouse among the Sinhalese people bitter hatred against the Tamils.

The Tamil bourgeois parties, on the other hand, demanded that both Sinhala and Tamil should be recognised as official languages with parity of status.

The late Sri Bandaranaike fought and won the 1956 elections on the slogan that Sinhala should be the official

language, but that "reasonable use" of Tamil should be guaranteed by law.

After he assumed power in 1956, an Official Language Act was passed by the Parliament. This Act declared Sinhala to be the "one official language of Ceylon" and fixed January 1, 1961, as the date on which it would come fully into force. The Act did not make any mention of the position of Tamil. But the Prime Minister, Sri Bandaranaike, declared during the course of the debate in Parliament that a special legislation would be introduced later for the purpose of ensuring the reasonable use of Tamil.

Subsequently, he had prolonged discussions with the leader of the Federal Party, Sri Chelvanayagam. These resulted in what is known as the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayagam Pact.

In addition to provisions defining the position of Tamil language, the pact also contained a provision for the establishment of regional councils throughout Ceylon. The Pact was to be given effect to later on by means of suitable legislation.

The Prime Minister had to face bitter attacks from the Sinhalese Chauvinists, who even engineered communal riots.

The leader of the Federal Party, instead of strengthening the hands of the Prime Minister, actually helped in the sabotage of the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayagam Pact. After the Official Language Act was passed, the Government used the letter "Shri" in Sinhala in the number plates of the buses, trucks, lorries and cars. The Federal Party leaders at once started a campaign in the Tamil areas of smearing with coal-tar the letter "Shri" on the number plates of the State transport buses a la E. V. Ramaswami Naicker, who once carried on a campaign of smearing with tar the Hindi names of railway stations in Tamilnad.

The Sinhalese chauvinists retaliated by similarly smearing the indications in Tamil on the signboards in the Sinhalese areas. This was followed by communal rioting necessitating the declaration of a state of emergency for a prolonged period.

Sri Bandaranaike, who was already under pressure from the chauvinists declared that since the Tamil leaders had

unilaterally taken to direct action against the Sinhala language after the Pact, it stood abrogated.

Rights Guaranteed

However, in August 1958, he introduced the Tamil language (Special Provisions) Act and had it passed by Parliament. This Act guaranteed the following rights for the Tamil language.

1 Tamil would be the medium of instruction for Tamil pupils all over the island and throughout the education system from the primary to the highest university standard.

2 Persons educated in Tamil medium would be entitled to be examined in that medium at any examination for entrance to the public service, provided that regulations might be made requiring them to acquire a sufficient knowledge of Sinhala within a specified period after entering the public service.

3 With the exception of officials in official capacity, correspondence between

as expressed in the electoral agreement between the SLFP and the Communist Party and the Lanka Sama Samaj Party.

Whereas the victory of Sri Bandaranaike's party in 1956 was tainted to some extent with chauvinism and anti-Communism, the election victory of July 1960 was won in struggle against chauvinism and anti-Communism, which were the main weapons on which the UNP and the combined forces of reaction relied. One of the main slogans which Sinhalese reaction raised was that the SLFP had come to a secret deal with the Tamil Federal Party and if voted to power it would barter away Sinhalese interests to the Tamils.

The middle forces and the Left fought back unitedly the race-hate and anti-Soviet and anti-Left provocation of the UNP and the foreign reactionaries who supported it. The SLFP declared that it would carry forward the policy of the late Sri Bandaranaike in regard to the language of the Tamil national minority.

Following the victory of July 1960, a new Government headed by Sirimavo Bandara-

November 1960 when the Schools Bill was tabled. The Federal Party suddenly and unilaterally broke off its talks with the Government. It held a meeting of its Working Committee on November 5, and passed resolutions condemning the Government's language policy and the schools-take-over Bill.

No action was taken, however, at this stage on the resolution condemning the Government's language policy. But the Federal Party entered into the direct action against the Schools Bill.

After this, the Government also contributed to the worsening of the situation. It re-introduced the "Language of the Courts Bill" which had lapsed in 1959 due to the dissolution of Parliament. It empowered the Government by order to replace English by Sinhala as the language of record of any court, when administratively possible, but made no mention of Tamil. The Bill was reintroduced without any change.

Further, it tabled a number of regulations under the Tamil Language (Special Provisions) Act, 1958, which were ambiguous with regard to the

Govt. Was Ready To Negotiate And Solve All Aspects Of Tamil Language Problem, The Federal Party Refused—WHY?

nayagam Pact. In addition to provisions defining the position of Tamil language, the pact also contained a provision for the establishment of regional councils throughout Ceylon. The Pact was to be given effect to later on by means of suitable legislation.

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Tamils and the Government would be in Tamil.

4 Local bodies in the northern and eastern Provinces could conduct their affairs in Tamil and also correspond with any Government official in Tamil.

Apart from the rights which the Act guaranteed immediately after it became law, it also empowered the Government to prescribe, by regulations, other administrative purposes for which Tamil could be used in the Northern and Eastern Provinces when the English language was finally replaced.

Within a year of passing this Act, Sri Bandaranaike was foully assassinated in September 1959 and Ceylon passed through an intense and prolonged political crisis, which was finally resolved by the victory of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party of the late Bandaranaike in the elections in July 1960.

Victory Of 1960

This victory was qualitatively different from that of the 1956 elections. The latter was won not only against the UNP, but also in a sense against the Left as well, as seen in the clashes in a number of constituencies between Sri Lanka Freedom Party and the parties of the Left. The election victory of July 1960 however, was won on the basis of the unity of the middle forces with the Left,

the widow of the late Prime Minister, was formed. Tamil-Sinhalese relations began to improve as a result of these developments.

The Government decided that its policy statement in August 1960 was to be read both in Sinhala and Tamil, which was done accordingly. It entered into negotiations with the leaders of the Federal Party and came to a satisfactory settlement about the language of discussion in Parliament. The rules of procedure of Parliament were amended accordingly and allowed the use of both Sinhala and Tamil in Parliamentary debates and also provided for simultaneous translation of speeches into Tamil or Sinhala as the case may be.

The Government appointed Sri S. Thondaman, President of the Ceylon Workers' Congress, an organisation of the Tamil-speaking estate workers of Indian origin, who do not yet have Ceylon citizenship or the right to vote, as a Member of Parliament to represent their rights and induced him in its Parliamentary group.

The Federal Party itself began discussions with the Government for a settlement of the remaining issues of the language problem, viz., its administrative use in the northern and eastern Provinces when English would be given up.

These encouraging developments were disrupted in

rights of Tamils outside the northern and eastern Provinces, i.e., of those living in the Sinhalese areas. For example, it declared that an official receiving a communication in Tamil, may reply in Tamil.

Some chauvinist officials in key positions also worked up provocations by deliberately sending to the northern and eastern Provinces income-tax return forms in English and Sinhala and not in English and Tamil, as had been the practice before.

Solution Was Possible

These difficulties could certainly have been resolved by mutual discussions as was done in regard to the language of proceedings in Parliament. The Court Language Bill and Regulations under the Tamil Language Act were only drafts. They had not yet been debated in Parliament. But the Federal Party chose to make these mistakes of the Government a reason to declare on December 18, 1960 a hartal in the north and east on January 2 and a satyagraha thereafter.

The Language of the Courts Bill was debated in Parliament under conditions when the reactionary campaign against the Schools Bill (in which the leadership of the Federal Party played a leading part) was at its height and in the face of the threat

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