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NO SURRENDER TO COMMON MARKET

NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

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25 nP.

FROM OUR POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Operation softsell has begun. Peter Thorneycroft has started his wear-out campaign against the Government of India's opposition to the U.K. crossing the channel and enlarging the European Common Market. But it is scarcely likely to make much of an impression considering the crippling consequences to India's export earning and hence to her efforts to achieve the take-off.

THE main argument that the Tory Minister is reported to be using is that joining the Common Market will give a spurt to British productivity and prosperity. And what is good for Britain is good for the Commonwealth — in the long run. As for short-term ill-effects, there are always possibilities of adjustments and guarantees.

Another line of attack is the excess of surplus capital becoming available. Joining the Common Market, the argument runs, would mean the cutting out of unnecessary duplication of production expansions in the different countries through a strict adherence to the quota system. This surplus capital could then become available for export to under-developed countries like India.

The final sop is the really

far-fetched statement that joining the Common Market, Britain would seek to make it an expanding arena for the sale of the products of all the Commonwealth countries.

None of these fairy tales can stand the slightest scrutiny. As a matter of fact they have been curtly and unceremoniously dismissed in Australia, New Zealand and even in Pakistan. The hard realities are quite over-

powering in this case.

It can scarcely be disputed that the U.K.'s participation in the Common Market is nothing less than imperialism's body blow at India's attempt to rapidly achieve economic independence.

Of India's Rs. 650 crores export earnings in 1960, as much as Rs. 198.9 crores came from Britain. Tea was by far the largest earner netting as much as Rs. 85.2 crores in the U.K. market. Other important exports were: cotton yarns and woven fabrics (Rs. 19.3 crores); leather, leather manufactures and dressed furs (Rs. 17.1 crores); miscellaneous textile manufactures (Rs.

* SEE PAGE 4

***** UNITE TO DEFEAT U. S.-PAK CONSPIRACIES *****

Editorial

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU has very appropriately and justifiably—and none too soon—drawn the nation's and

the world's attention to Pakistan dictator Ayub's currently heightened campaign of calumny against India. After carrying on this campaign for months before his own people, the dictator has now carried it overseas and is currently busy spreading it in the United States.

Whether it is an attempt to revive the issue of Kashmir or raise the bogey of a threat arising to Pakistan from India getting increased economic aid from the U.S.A., or the postures of going neutral and walking over to the other side, Pakistani propaganda is based through and through on lies and seeks to delude and deceive both Pakistani and world opinion. The peak in this lying campaign was reached when Ayub charged India with surreptitiously receiving U.S. arms aid. Giving a clear and categorical reply, Prime Minister Nehru said at Jabalpur: "We neither asked for military aid from anyone, nor anyone gave it to us."

It is not merely a question of words—threats and slanders—that are pouring forth from the ruling junta of Pakistan against India. The heightened campaign of sabotage and the threat of violating the cease-fire line in Kashmir in one form or another are portents still more ominous. It is a clear exercise in brinkmanship; whether the brink will be actually crossed is yet to be seen.

In face of this dangerous situation facing our country, the line advocated by the monopoly press seems to be one of mainly relying on the goodwill and good intentions of the Kennedy administration. It is difficult to believe how one can be so naive as to seriously nurse such illusions. For one thing, the militarists and die-hards of the U.S. ruling class have shown through all their recent actions that far from having been weakened they desperately continue to wield decisive influence over U.S. policy. Pushed by them continuously, the Kennedy administration is either a willing tool in their machinations or, at best, a helpless on-looker.

And on these die-hard reactionaries and militarists in the U.S. ruling class, the Pakistan military dictator can always rely for active, wholehearted support in any adventure that he might undertake.

If the Kennedy administration had been earnest and effective in its proclaimed new approach to non-aligned countries, the first thing they should have done was to dissolve the U.S.-Pak military alliance, the CENTO and SEATO. That would have created the real prerequisite for an all-round relaxation of tension in South Asia and scotched the possibility of any adventure from Pakistan. Far from giving any indication of doing any such thing, the Kennedy administration is bent upon preserving and strengthening those alliances.

To entertain any illusions about the U.S. restraining Pakistan adventurers from their bellicose course will only be playing with the fate of the nation at this stage.

A ringing call for all-in national unity to streamline and strengthen India's firm policy of non-alignment, all-round strengthening of friendly ties with the Soviet Union and mobilisation of our entire people to meet any possible threat—such is the course to meet the new dangers.

GAGARIN LOOKS FORWARD TO INDIA VISIT

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW, July 10.

YURI GAGARIN, the famous Soviet space hero and world's first cosmonaut declared here that he was looking forward to visiting India.

"I would like to visit many countries, as many as possible, and of course among them India which specially fascinates me and about which I have read such a lot. I think India is one of the most interesting countries of the world with which our people have the friendliest relations", Gagarin said talking to Khwaja Ahmad Abbas, the Indian writer.



Message To Indian Youth

The space pilot, now a legendary figure symbolising the hopes and future aspirations of the daring youth of the world gave a moving message for the young men and women of India:

"I greet the Indian youth with great joy. I would like to participate in the flight of a spaceship manned by a

crew of young cosmonauts of different countries including Russians, Indians and Americans". This spaceship would be for the peaceful purposes of scientific research he added.

Continuing his message to India's youth Gagarin said "You, of course, understand that for the time being this is only a dream. So let us try together to make this dream a reality. After all, isn't our earth itself a spaceship flying

through limitless cosmos? This spaceship belongs to all of us, the peoples of the world, and its crew should live and work in peace and friendship".

Gagarin was his usual modest self but in high spirits. He was thrilled to receive the marble replica of our exquisite Taj Mahal that Abbas had brought for him and wanted to know how far Agra

* ON BACK PAGE

PROTEST AGAINST DELAYING TACTICS

PUNJAB BETTERMENT LEVY ISSUE

The Punjab Kisan Sabha has charged Sardar Darbara Singh, Chairman of the Government-appointed Betterment Levy Committee of deliberately delaying the presentation of the Committee's report. Meanwhile Government "has started once again the collection of the full amount of the levy" from the cultivators, while the Committee had requested Government to postpone any realisation of the levy till the final decision on the Committee's report. Following is the text of the letter:

DEAR Sardar Darbara Singh,
We have received no reply to our letters, the last one dated June 13, 1961, in which we protested against the indefinite postponement of the meeting of the Betterment Levy Committee which was fixed to be held on June 12, 1961, nor have we received any intimation regarding the date of the next meeting of the Committee. Therefore, we are forced to write this open letter to you.

This is not for the first time that we have to write to you objecting to the manner in which you conduct the meetings of the Committee, and thus unnecessarily delay the submission of the Report of the Committee to the Government. Such an attitude has been visible on your part from the very beginning.

The appointment of the Committee was announced in the first week of January, 1960, but you failed to call even the first meeting of this Committee, upto March 17, 1960 and for the first meeting also we had to write to you repeatedly. Subsequent to that as the dates of the meetings

held would show, the intervals between the meetings were too long without any reason. The interval between the first and the second meetings was more than three months, and although the third, fourth and fifth meetings were held within a period of 1½ months, the sixth meeting was again delayed for nearly four months. You will find from our correspondence to you that during this period as well, we were forced to write to you everytime demanding the holding of the meetings of the Committee.

And finally, although in our previous meeting held on May 4, 1961, most of the members expressed their concern over this unnecessary delay in the preparation of the Report, and as a result of that a firm decision was taken to hold a meeting definitely on June 12, 1961, with a written draft Report circulated to the members before this meeting well in advance, you took the liberty of indefinitely postponing the meeting at the eleventh hour, on the plea that members have not submitted their propo-

sals and without intimating the members regarding the next date of the meeting even upto this day.

As the proceedings of our meetings would reveal, the matter has been delayed without any reason. The Committee, almost completed its work in the three meetings held on 7-10-1960, 18-10-1960 and 20-11-1960, and unanimously came to many conclusions regarding the quantum of the levy. In this connection it is sufficient to remind you regarding the press communiques briefed on your own behalf in which you indicated the unanimous agreement of the Committee on many points connected with the quantum of the levy. As these press releases indicate, the Committee has come to the conclusion, that

a) the allocation of cost of the Project between the Irrigation and Power Production part is unjust and against the Irrigation part. The Committee has found that a few crores of rupees, which should have been allocated towards the power production part, are added up towards the cost of the Irrigation part.

b) In calculating the productivity of the project, the Punjab Government has not taken into account the following factors:

1) Income from Abiana and Water Advantage Rate alone has been accounted for, and the additional income by way of Local Rate, Surcharge and Special Surcharge on Land

Revenue have been excluded, without any justification.

ii) Savings to the Government exchequer as a result of control of floods in the catchment area of the River Sutlej, extending in the districts of Ambala, Jullundur, Ludhiana, Ferozpur, etc. have not been taken into account. The foremost Engineering experts like H. L. Sully have also opined that such types of multi-purpose projects are a major flood control measure as well.

iii) There is a scheme to utilise Gobind Sagar as a big fishery lake. The income that is liable to accrue to the State as a result of that should also be taken into account for calculating the productivity.

iv) The water to be supplied to the fertilizer factory at Nangal for production of heavy waters should be charged, as it would be possible for the factory to produce heavy water worth about crore of rupees every year.

c) The Committee is also of the opinion that the interest rate charged by the Government at a compound rate of more than 4 per cent, is extortionate and unjustified.

If some individual capitalist firms like the Tatas and others can receive interest free loans worth crores of rupees, the claim of such multi-purpose projects, which are to benefit lakhs of peasant families, and small consumers of power, is all the more strong. In any case the Committee is of the opinion that the Central Government is on no grounds justified in charging a compound interest and more than three per cent in rate.

These are some of the major conclusions of the Committee, which are happily all unanimous. On the basis of these conclusions there is general agreement in the Committee that there is no justification at all for charging any betterment levy in Punjab.

As the proceedings of the Committee meetings would show, that after thoroughly examining all the materials supplied by the Departments, and after having detailed discussions with the officials of the Irrigation and Electricity Department, the Committee came to detailed final conclusions long ago at its meeting held on November 20, 1960, and it was decided at this meeting itself that a draft Report should now be prepared by the Chairman with the help of the Secretariat of the Committee.

But to our surprise, you postponed the meeting till 17.3.61 and in that meeting also no report was submitted. Once again the Committee took the decision to meet on 4.5.1961, and you promised to submit a written report in that meeting.

In this meeting although a report was prepared by an official who participated in our meetings throughout, and was entrusted with this job, you wanted another postponement of the meeting, because of reasons best known to you. On our insistence, you undertook personal responsibility to look into the report, finalise the draft, and circulate it by May 15, 1961, to all members and on the basis of that the next and the final meeting was fixed on June 12, 1961.

As the account of the deliberations of the meetings

shows, the Committee has examined the question of Betterment Levy, it holds unanimous opinion on all the issues regarding the reduction of the quantum of the levy, and now there is absolutely no hitch in preparation of the Report. As a matter of fact the various component parts of the Report have also been settled by the Committee.

Under the circumstances we are forced to write this letter. We are also of the opinion, that when the Committee has so finalised its deliberations, you as Chairman should not have postponed the matter and thus unnecessarily delayed the preparation of the Report for submission to the Government.

Full Realisation Resumed

We take a serious note of it, because whereas on the one hand, you are deliberately delaying the submission of the Report to the Government, the Government on the other hand, has started once again the collection of a full amount of the Betterment Levy, from the peasants. Perhaps you remember, that in your presence, some times ago, the Committee had requested the Government to postpone any realisation of the Levy till the final decision on the Report of the Committee.

We have always pressed for a negotiated settlement of the issue of Betterment Levy in Punjab. The great anti-betterment levy struggle of the peasant was forced when the Government refused to consider the matter. After the withdrawal of the movement, in spite of the intransigent attitude of the Government, we carried on a campaign for a negotiated settlement and demanded the setting up of an all-Parties Committee. And when ultimately the Government appointed the Committee, we have cooperated and worked in this Committee whole-heartedly.

But you know, the strong opposition of the peasantry to the imposition of Betterment Levy. It was revealed in the anti-Betterment Levy struggle itself. The justness of the cause of peasants is now endorsed by a Committee appointed by the Government itself, in which a vast majority of the members belong to the Congress, the ruling party in Punjab.

Therefore, as representatives of the peasants, we can neither keep silent nor acquiesce in your attitude of deliberate postponement of the submission of the Report of the Committee to the Government.

We have therefore, decided to address this letter to you, and forward the copies of this letter to all members, as well as the Governor of the Punjab.

We demand the convening of the meeting of the Committee immediately, and in case you refuse to accede to our demand even now, we will be forced to resort to some other course of action in order to seek justice for the peasants.

Yours truly,
Ed/- Harkishen Singh
Surjeet

Jagjit Singh
Lyallpur.

ALL TO FIGHT THE FLOODS!

EMS PRESS CONFERENCE

At a press conference held at Trivandrum on July 8, Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad who returned to the State Capital after a 2-day visit of some of the worst affected areas of Trichur and Ernakulam Districts stated that he was suggesting to the Chief Minister to convene a meeting of representatives of political parties, social service organisations, organisations of traders, industrialists, workers, youth, women, etc., and set up a Relief Committee, open a Kerala Flood Relief Fund and organise a drive for collection inside and outside the State of Kerala.

He had also suggested that the problem of rehabilitation of thousands of families rendered homeless by floods which has to be taken up now on was of such magnitude that the Government and the people of the State should urge on the Central Government not to be satisfied with a contribution from the Prime Minister's Relief Fund but to make a substantial contribution from making special provision if necessary or by diversion from other sources. In both these, he has assured the Chief Minister, the fullest co-operation of the Communist Party.

Namboodiripad gave a detailed picture of some of the areas he visited during July 6 and 7. In Chalakudi he said the floods were receding when he went but in a school were accommodated over 60 families who had been rendered homeless; out of these at least a dozen told him that their houses had already collapsed and many more houses are likely to come down as the floods recede. These families had lost all their utensils and furniture and they have to begin life anew. Thus the problem of constructing and repairing houses, and meeting other needs will present itself as an immediate problem.

At Kandassankadavu-Manalur area which E. M. S. visited on the 6th morning, the floods were still rising rather than receding. Here, till the 6th morning no relief work had been started and neither the village officials nor the panchayats had instruction regarding distribution of rice or other forms of relief. This was an area where unemployment was acute.

The worst affected areas in Ernakulam District and perhaps the whole State were Paravoor, Vadakkakkara, Elavanakkad, Cherai, Narakkal and Nayarambalam. The town of Paravoor was full of refugee families who might number as many as 20,000 according to the local M.L.A. Schools, courts, temples, churches and mosques, offices of public organisations and even a few private houses were occupied by these refugee families.

Relief work had just then started getting organised. The unprecedentedly high number of families who had to be issued permits for receiving the relief offered by the Government and the paucity of personnel to issue them created confusion. The work of relief by official as well as non-official organisations needed to be coordinated. A Relief Committee for each such shelter or camp whose job is to collect relief and supplement Government's relief and organise a common kitchen for some time to come would help solve the difficulties to a great extent.

In Narakkal, Edavanakkad and Cherai, not only the huts of the people have been washed off but also the sites where the huts stood. In Cherai and other places, the number of refugees who had to be given free rations was so high that the normal stocks of

rice had got exhausted and ordinary card-holders could not get rice.

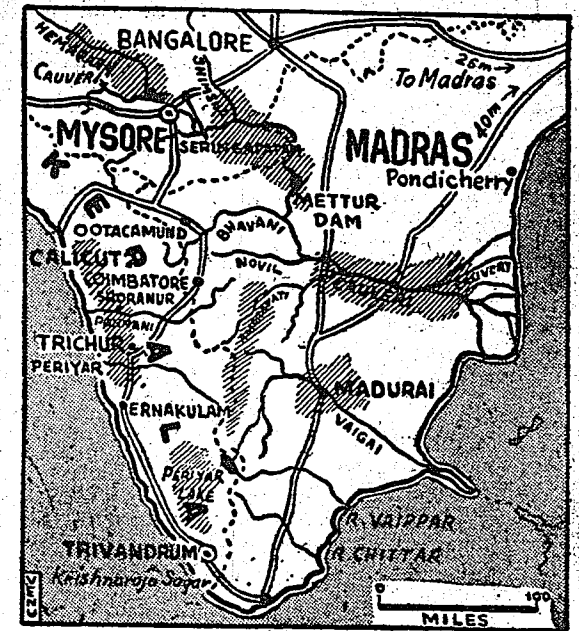
The relief work organised at Ernakulam City was most satisfactory and efficient. Here, political parties, Churches, Social service organisations, Rotary Club and Chamber of Commerce were pooling their resources and organising the relief in an efficient way. In the City which itself was flooded owing to the absence of drainage, there were 6 camps in Schools or Churches which E. M. S. visited. Here each camp had a Relief Committee which not only collected provision, firewood, clothing, but also organised common kitchen. What was sanctioned by the Government such as rice and salt was being supplemented by them—in the form of provision of firewood, etc. The common kitchen obviated the need for each family to hunt for its firewood and avoided lot of waste and prevention of abuses in relief. Namboodiripad commended the work in Ernakulam as worthy to be emulated for it combined and coordinated official and non-official sources.

E. M. S. concluded by saying that the problem of relief and rehabilitation of housing and putting people back on their feet on a permanent basis was a gigantic one and needed the combined resources of the official and non-official agencies of not only the State but the sympathetic grant from the Central Government of a sizeable contribution. Once these were tackled, the problem of how to prevent similar floods by examining the reasons and causes in a scientific and objective way could be taken up by the Government, the Engineers and the Central Water & Power Commission.

Namboodiripad also revealed to pressmen that he was addressing letters to the Chief Minister and meeting him also and writing to the Prime Minister.

Earlier he had called on Sri E. P. Eapen, Mayor of Trivandrum and appraised him of the situation and made a suggestion that as the Mayor of the premier Corporation of the State he should take initiative in setting up a Relief Committee in Trivandrum and organise collections for relief to be handed over to the Government.

But the fruits of advanced Soviet medical science are not being kept within the borders of the Soviet Union. Some time back when polio epidemic threatened Andhra, the Soviet Union offered her helping hand. The first con-



Floods in the South. Affected areas are shaded. (Courtesy Free Press Journal)

KERALA CPI COUNCIL'S CALL

FOLLOWING is the full text of the resolution adopted by the Kerala State Council of the Communist Party of India on July 5 on the Flood situation in the State.

"The uninterrupted rains of the last few weeks have caused unprecedented floods in Central Travancore and other areas where people are experiencing untold hardship and suffering. Many areas are under water for days together. Communication and transport have stopped. People in thousands have had to leave their homes and go abegging for shelter. Tens of thousands of acres of paddy fields are under water and the crops have been damaged. Hundreds of families are thus out of their normal moorings, rendered jobless, foodless and shelterless. In these circumstances no ordinary, normal steps are adequate.

"In the opinion of the Council, the State Government should treat the situation as an emergency and issue instructions to Collectors and officers to act accordingly and provide necessary funds also. The Council appeals to the Government that free ration and other aid should be made available to all rendered homeless and in every village relief committees with officials and non-officials should be formed to meet the needs of the situation.

"The State Government should lose no time to secure all assistance from Prime Minister's Relief Fund and the Centre to meet the emergency.

"All Party branches in the affected areas should treat as the paramount duty the work of organising relief to the people. Collection of funds, clothes and medicine for the affected people, removal of people from flood affected areas to safe places of shelter, reaching food and clothing to them through Government and other agencies—in all these activities Party workers should cooperate with the Government and others."

SOVIET HELP TO FIGHT POLIO

MEDICAL Science in the Soviet Union has made phenomenal progress, Soviet doctors have achieved wonderful results on many fronts—diseases which till the other day were dreadful no more defy the Soviet medicines. Polio is such a disease.

But the fruits of advanced Soviet medical science are not being kept within the borders of the Soviet Union.

Some time back when polio epidemic threatened Andhra, the Soviet Union offered her helping hand. The first con-

signment of 100,000 units of "live" polio vaccine was presented on behalf of the Government of USSR to India in April this year.

The polio epidemic in Andhra attacked more than 400 children, crippling and killing a number of them. Dr. Ivan Boudnik, Chairman of the panel of Soviet doctors now working in Kalavati Saran Hospital, New Delhi, told pressmen on July 7 that the disease is now completely under control.

Dr. Boudnik also informed the press that a second consignment of 100,000 units

of new oral polio vaccine was presented to the Government of India on July 5. This vaccine has many advantages over the earlier type. Children feel no difficulty in swallowing the sweet candy in which the vaccine is put. It is harmless and produces no bad after-effects.

In addition to this consignment of 100,000 units of vaccine to the Government another of 5,000 units of vaccine has been given to the Indian Red Cross Society.

* SEE ALSO PAGE 10

towards
new
horizons...

SOVIET UNION



The epochal event of April 12, 1961—the event of Man's first successful flight into outer space—will go down in history forever, forever mark the beginning of the new period in the development of mankind. The outstanding achievement demonstrated to the world the superiority of Soviet science and technology, the heroism of Soviet Man.

Exhaustive accounts of this staggering feat of Soviet science, the significance of this achievement to humanity, the events that led to this successful flight, the experience and life of YURY GAGARIN, the hero of this feat will form the major part of the June issue of

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RED RAG TO THE BULL

SPOTLIGHT

THE exposure in these columns of Jan Sangh's vicious communalist propaganda has evoked a very interesting reaction. Organiser the RSS-Jan Sangh mouthpiece, informs us in its issue of July 3 that they have been passing sleepless days since we turned the spotlight on their anti-national role. To use its own words, "Jan Sangh has been waking up many mornings for the last some months" due to the New Age.

It tells us that the New Age has veritably become a "red rag" to it. The very title of its four column long essay is: "The Red Rag of New Age". So fretful and furious has it become that, losing all balance, it has threatened to do to us "what the dog does to the post."

I have no idea how exactly it proposes to realise its above-mentioned ambition, but it is a fact that only a few days ago, about thirty RSS boys were sent to the pavement in front of New Age press for a demonstration.

Strangely enough, while blowing hot in a most unseemly though characteristic manner, the Jan Sanghites have also tried supplication. The plaintive pleading about having lost their morning sleep is only a part of it. The Organiser has implored us to put our column "to a better use."

In this connection, it has quoted our description of Jan Sangh as a party no bigger than a man's palm. Organiser says: "Why, if the Jan Sangh is no bigger than a man's palm, must the New Age write about it week in and week out? The question, I am constrained to say, betrays a singular lack of intelligence. It hardly needs replying to. All that I can do is to quote here my full sentence, for its behoof—"Not bigger than a man's palm, the Jan Sangh has soaring ambitions and its steps need to be watched." Organiser's angry and abusive reaction is proof that New Age has played its watchful role well."

Keen To Hide Their Parentage

We learn from the Organiser that one piece of exposure in these columns has particularly touched the Jan Sanghites to the quick. But I was only stating a fairly well-known fact when I said that all Jan Sangh leaders are seasoned RSS cadres. Organiser calls this statement a "charge". But it does not refute the "charge".

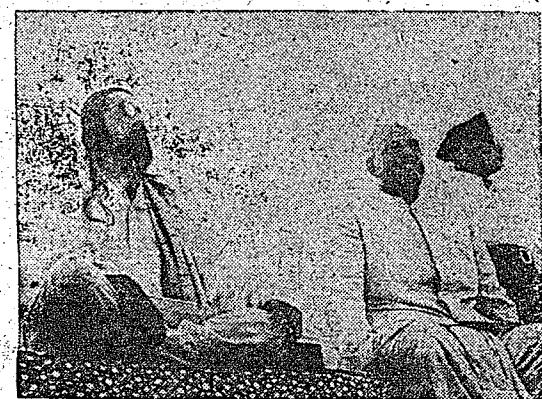
Jan Sanghite perturbation in this matter can easily be understood. While the Jan Sangh poses to be a democratic, non-communal political body, RSS's character as a fascist communal body is too well known. That is why the Jan Sangh is always

over-anxious to hide its RSS parentage.

Moreover, the RSS had, in order to save its skin after Mahatma Gandhi's murder, given the undertaking to be a non-political party. Following that it had to resort to the subterfuge of making an appearance on the political scene under the signboard of Jan Sangh.

The masquerade had some initial success. But the veneer has been wearing thin. It has been increasingly becoming clear that the Jan Sangh is only the other face of Dr. Jehyll.

How undistinguishable the two are is revealed once again in the following photo which we reproduce from a recent issue of the Organiser:



Appearing on the front page of a recent issue of the "Organiser" picture shows H. S. Gowalkar, the late Syamaprasad Mookerjee and Eknath Ranade watching an RSS rally.

The real master and leader of the schizophrenic person bearing the twin names of RSS and the BJS looms largest in the picture.

RSS EXHORTATION

WHY did the RSS celebrate Mahatma Gandhi's assassination as a happy event?

New light is thrown on the subject by the recent speech delivered by RSS General Secretary Eknath Ranade, on June 25 at the closing ceremony of the RSS officers' one-month training camp in Delhi.

Mahatma Gandhi's assassination, we learn, was a joyful event because he was one of those "sinful" persons who roused the Indian people to rise above communal and other parochial feelings and to learn real nationalism, nationalism which successfully fought British rule.

This nationalism, we are told, was the product of the "fallacious thought of some spineless people during the last 50-60 years." Listen to the words of Ranade himself which have been duly reproduced in the Jan Sangh weekly Organiser. Says he:

"In Hindustan Hindu is

not a communal but national term... But as a result of the fallacious thoughts of some spineless people during the last 50-60 years this Hindu society, living here as a nation, has come to be considered only a community. This effort to turn a nation into a community is nothing but sinful."

This is how RSS, Jan Sangh want us to learn history. The patriots who fought the British to free the country were false nationalists and "spineless people".

And the RSS which only played imperialism's agent in the latter's game of divide et impera and which is engaged today in sabotaging the nation's efforts to consolidate its freedom

—by opposing every serious effort at national reconstruction—and is engineering communal rioting everywhere is to be regarded as genuine patriots. Could perversion be carried to a farther limit?

What is more sinister is that the RSS General Secretary tried to rouse fanatical anger in the hearts of his young and immature listeners against those who might still stand for true patriotism. After Mahatma Gandhi, he had a fling at Nehru. He told his listeners that the "sinful" act was still being committed; that an "unforgivable insult" was still being heaped by repeating the "historical falsehood" "Why do these people do it," he asked. "Are they not intelligent enough or do they not know history? They are intelligent and they know history. Some of them have even written books on history."

Avenge the unforgivable insult. That, very clearly, is the substance of this communalist exhortation!

No, Messrs. RSS-Jan Sangh, New Age will not oblige you; it will continue inexorably to expose your rabid speeches, writings, and doings. Be you as pajama se bahar with us as you can.

—GARUDA

(July 10)

'NO' TO THE COMMON MARKET

* FROM FRONT PAGE

15.7 crores); oilseeds cake and meal (Rs. 13.5 crores); tobacco and tobacco manufactures (Rs. 12.1 crores).

Now many of these items enter the U.K. market under special agreements on a reciprocal basis. All these agreements would go by the board once the U.K. joined the Common Market, which aims at the gradual formation of a customs union and a free trade area and which already has certain common import duties and quotas.

For instance, cotton textiles from the Commonwealth countries are allowed to enter the U.K. duty free as against an ad valorem duty of 7½ per cent for other countries. The Common Market rates for textiles are fixed as high as 17 to 19 per cent. India's textiles would thus cost 19 per cent more in the U.K. and would consequently face severe competition particularly from Japan.

Or take tea. In the U.K. India enjoys duty free treatment as against a standard rate of duty of two pence per pound. The Common Market rate is likely to be fixed at 18 per cent ad valorem for loose package tea.

The same is the case with jute manufactures. At present jute fabrics, sacks and bags from the Commonwealth countries are allowed into the U.K. duty-free whereas other countries have to pay a 20 per cent duty. The Common Market tariff for this item is expected to be about 23 per cent.

Nor is it a matter of competing on equal terms for the British market where once preferential treatment was accorded. The Common Market agreement stipulates that the dependent territories of each of the participating countries would be treated as part of the metropolitan State.

This would give Hongkong and British East Africa the right to import on a duty free basis cotton textiles and tea to the U.K. and other Common Market countries, while the corresponding Indian products would have huge import duties slapped on them. The Hindu correctly comments that in this eventuality "India's exports of tea, besides cotton and jute textiles would be completely crippled."

It goes on to add—"At the moment India is hoping to export light engineering goods and even sewing machines to the United Kingdom. This prospect will, of course, disappear should the United Kingdom join the Common Market as European countries would not allow the import of any engineering goods."

As for the so-called expansion of the market for Indian products by the U.K. joining the Common Market offering compensation, this is sheer ballyhoo. India's exports to the Common Market countries is roughly about one-tenth of her exports to Britain. Imports from these countries, particularly West Germany, are very considerable.

A Government of India Finance Ministry official ex-

plained recently that while the trade gap between India and the U.K. is negligible for all practical purposes, the gap in the case of the Common Market countries is very great, being of the order of Rs. 140 crores annually.

He added that there was an additional fear that the U.K.'s joining the Common Market will strengthen monopolistic tendencies. Exporters of capital goods, as these countries are, are likely to join up their prices and further turn the terms of trade against the developing countries.

It is a perfect case of collective imperialism. And Nehru almost said as much in his press conference on June 30 that the Government would have to consider "how far the European Common Market will lead to closer political co-operation between countries of that Common Market even for dealing with underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa. This might become a much more powerful way of controlling underdeveloped countries than any single country in the past."

Although stated in rather couched terms, the Prime Minister's statement is the clearest recognition to date by the Government of India of the new forms of colonial exploitation that the imperialist countries adopt after the forced surrender of direct rule.

Even more encouraging is the statement of the Commerce and Industry Ministry's spokesman (Hindu July 3) that "interruption in the trade with the United Kingdom may make India turn to the United States in the first instance. But trade with the United States is too expensive and the scope for even maintaining the present volume of exports is extremely limited."

"What effect Britain's entry into the Common Market will have on the trade between other Commonwealth countries is not clear. It is felt that in the ultimate analysis India would be driven to examine her trade prospects with the East European countries."

It is widely rumoured in the capital that the powerful delegation from the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry which met the Government to express their grave apprehensions about the U.K.'s reported move, also discussed the prospects for increased trade with the Socialist countries, along the lines of Birla's articles on his Soviet tour. They, however, pressed for the Government doing its utmost to get suitable guarantees against the impending dangers. The separate delegation from the Associated Chambers of Commerce is reported to have taken the same line.

All the indications are that Mr. Thorneycroft will get a pretty rough reception from his Indian hosts. Whether this will effect any modification in Britain's attitude remains to be seen.

(July 12)

THE P.S.P. APPROACH TO GENERAL ELECTIONS

"Unfortunately, during the last twelve years of the Congress rule, our people have seen democracy equated with drift, socialism with the number of new cement factories or steel mills and non-alignment with humiliating toleration of injustice at the hands of aggressive neighbours.... The need of the hour is to provide them with an alternative focus of social purpose and national striving."

WITH this flamboyant declaration the National Executive of the Praja Socialist Party opens its "Statement on the Approach to the General Elections" (adopted at the Madras meeting of the Executive last June). This statement is no doubt an essay at political virtuosity with which the PSP leadership wants to cover up its miserable, disruptive role since the last general elections but it offers nothing of any positive substance.

One wonders if the PSP National Executive is conscious that after reading its statement, the people might well like to ask: What did you do to strengthen democracy and to stop the drift, to advance the cause of socialism or to uphold the policy of non-alignment? And the people, as we all know, judge political parties and their leaderships not by their glittering words but by their deeds. How would the PSP stand this test?

Defence Of Democracy

Everyone is worried about the future of our democracy. But to suggest that the essential problem of democracy is only one of "drift" is to miss the crux of the matter. Not that there is no drift; in fact, there is plenty of it. But where does that drift stem from? It is the failure of the Government to so fashion the affairs of the State and our economic and social life that the masses are increasingly drawn into the governance of the country as an active force.

What the people have, however, really witnessed is a calculated denial of this role and opportunity to them, while bureaucracy has been pampered lavishly and strengthened beyond all proportions. Democratic norms and values have been disregarded and democratic institutions sought to be perverted and undermined.

This has been accompanied by vicious attacks on the rights and liberties of the working people and even on the Constitution itself. If the PSP Executive has chosen to pass by these sombre facts of our political life, there is reason for it. For, the PSP's own hands are far from clean and its record, one of systematic betrayal of the cause of democracy. Examples are legion.

The blakest assault on India's nascent system of Parliamentary democracy in the recent period was made in Kerala when, by recourse to a violent unconstitutional movement within that State and to a plot in New Delhi, an elected Government was ousted simply because it happened to be led by the Communist Party and refused to do the bidding of the anti-democratic vested interests.

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● The PSP has defected from the massive Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti which, uniting the broad democratic forces around it, unsettled what, with the support of Sri Asoka Mehta, was thought to be a settled fact, that is, the bi-lingual Bombay.

● In West Bengal, after having secured a number of Assembly seats in the last general elections through its participation in the united Left Front with the Communists and others, the PSP broke from the front and returned to its anti-Communist anti-unity, disruptive role. In this period, West Bengal has seen many mass movements and mass struggles and the PSP has betrayed almost every one of them. Today the PSP there is in "focus"—but here again this is a focus of shame and public revulsion. The Communists and other Left Parties have decided to offer a joint front against the Congress in the elections and the PSP stands alone—discredited and despised.

● The record of the PSP leadership in Assam, Orissa, Bihar, U.P., Mysore and other States would present essentially the same spectacle of anti-Communism and disruption. It is not hard to realise that such a role objectively cannot but serve the interests of reaction and hinder the growth of de-

reactionary, upper strata of the Lamas in Tibet, again backed by imperialists and directly abetted by their agents like N. George Patterson, started their rebellion, the PSP became the noisy spokesman of that rebellion. But when it came to Fidel Castro and Cuba, the PSP did not have a word of support. And when the US-organised invasion of Cuba took place, the vociferous PSP remained completely silent!

If the cement factories and steel mills are no Socialism, neither have the PSP policies and practices anything to do with Socialism. On the contrary, these obstruct the spread of the true ideas of Socialism and the growth of a socialist consciousness among the masses. Wallowing in utter ideological confusion and anti-Communist hysteria, what exactly the PSP leaders now mean by their concept of Socialism is difficult to understand. But at least this is clear, that they are working against the cause of Socialism and are giving comfort to forces of reaction.

The PSP leadership's feigned affection for non-alignment would deceive no one.

moeracy. Whatever political influence the PSP still enjoys is more often than not weighted against the forces of democracy, sometimes even openly in favour of reaction.

A party whose guiding line is blind anti-Communism and disruption of the democratic movement can never be expected to advance the cause of Socialism. The cause of Socialism demands exactly an opposite approach and, above all, loyalty to the well-tested, scientific ideas of Socialism—ideas that have brought about the triumph of Socialism in one-third of the world embracing 1,000 million people. Socialism is no longer a theory only; it is a living reality today and the force of the example of the breath-taking achievements of the Socialist system, notably of the Soviet Union, are a tremendously powerful factor for the advance of the cause of Socialism.

But the PSP is at war with all these and the successes of the Socialist system cause this Party the greatest annoyance. One has only to listen to the Voice of America to note the family resemblance between what this instrument of U.S. imperialism and the PSP highpriests say about the Socialist countries.

When the Hungarian counter-revolution, instigated and backed by imperialists, broke out over four years ago, the PSP lost no time to rally to the support of counter-revolution. Against Hungary's socialism. Likewise, when the

if such an alternative were to be accepted it would be as Prime Minister Nehru has more than once rightly said in reply to the PSP antics, an end of India's independence. Non-alignment of the lips, of the PSP leadership remains one of devil quoting the scriptures.

In its statement, the pundits of the PSP National Executive bracket the communal, feudal and reactionary parties and the Communist Party together and go on to declare: "With these forces even for the urgent task of defeating the Congress at the polls or for the vital need of providing effective opposition, the PSP cannot align itself." If the PSP takes a firm stand against communal parties and communal forces, it will be at least some change for the better. But then the first thing for them to do would be to get out of the unholy alliance with the Muslim League in Kerala.

Is it the contention of the PSP that by pursuing its present policy of anti-Communism and disruption, it can defeat the Congress at the polls or build up an effective opposition? Where its attitude and policy lands, the PSP has been demonstrated in Kerala. After this, if the PSP leaders still think that the people will be taken in by their demagoguery, all one can say is that these leaders should develop a little more respect for the robust commonsense of our people. The political line of the PSP rules out any effective Parliamentary role in the interests of people and democracy.

Worse still, the present line of the PSP has led at least some of its leaders into a liaison with the Rightists within the Congress and with similar elements outside the ruling party like the Swatantraites. When the PSP leader in Parliament, Sri Asoka Mehta rises to throw bouquets to the Finance Minister Sri Morarji Desai even for his universally condemned budget proposals, one must discern in it something more than flattery. When the PSP leaders and the Swatantra spokesman, Sri M. R. Masani, exchange pleasantries and supplement each other in their Rightist speeches, one must see something more than personal friendship in it.

These simple but significant episodes point to the growing understanding between the leadership of the PSP on the one hand and the Swatantraites and the Rightists in the Government and the Congress Party on the other.

One need not be surprised that with all its venom poured out against the Communist Party, the Statement does not have a word to say against the organised independent platform of the extreme Right. Right reaction is no matter of concern for the PSP democrats, for they are allies in anti-Communism and political diversion.

The worldwide struggle for peace and the movement for Afro-Asian solidarity have always roused deepest sympathies of our people and many, including Congressmen and Congress supporters, have made their contribution to actively upholding these noble causes. But what about the PSP? It has not only kept aloof; it has pursued a positively hostile line. The alternative focus in this sphere is blatantly reactionary and

the Fight Against Communalism

the PSP National Executive's pretended aversion to

Lip-Service To Non-Alignment

BY BHUPESH GUPTA

SEE OVERLEAF

hostile line. The alternative focus in this sphere is blatantly reactionary and

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SEE OVERLEAF

EFFORTS TO FORGE UNITED ELECTION FRONT IN W. BENGAL

—From JNANBIKASH MOITRA

Leaders of the Communist Party, Forward Bloc, RSP, Marxist Forward Bloc, Socialist Unity Centre, RCPI, Bolshevik Party and Workers' Party met in Calcutta on July 1 to exchange views on the question of forging a broad-based united front to fight the Congress in the next general elections.

They were of the opinion that it was urgently necessary to dislodge the Congress Government from power in the interests of the people of West Bengal.

It was, therefore, decided to form a united front of the above-mentioned Left parties and democratic-minded individuals on the basis of a common minimum programme to defeat the Congress at the polls.

These eight parties were further of the view that communal and other disruptive forces, which create divisions in the ranks of the people and in their movements, had no place in this front.

About a fortnight ago, the West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee announced the name of its candidates from almost all the 252 seats to the State Assembly.

The West Bengal State Council of the Communist Party of India also met from July 3 to 6 to discuss in detail some important issues connected with the forthcoming general elections.

The Council heard reports about the influence, strength and prospects of the Party in various constituencies in different districts and also about the steps that were being taken to gear up the Party's activities to fight the elections as the biggest political battle in the coming months.

The Council further heard a report on the talks which had been held with other Left parties by the Negotiating Committee, appointed at the

last extended meeting of the State Executive Committee of the Party, for the purpose of forging a broad united front on the basis of a common minimum programme.

The Council also discussed at length the approach and the tactics that should be adopted by the Party in this State in the coming elections.

Communists To Contest 170 Seats

On the basis of reports from the districts and after having taken different factors into consideration, the Council decided to contest about 170 seats to the Assembly and about 20 to the Lok Sabha. The State Executive Committee was entrusted with the responsibility of finally fixing the total number of seats to be contested by the Party after negotiations and adjustments with other constituent units of the proposed united front, and also to finalise the names of the Party's candidates in different seats.

It should be noted in this connection that in the 1957 elections the Party had put up its own candidates and nominees supported by it from 110 Assembly and 15 Lok Sabha seats.

The Council also approved the broad principles which the State Executive should generally keep in view in selecting the Party's nominees.

The Council decided to take steps to gear up the entire activities of the Party to fight

the elections and directed all Party units to intensify the three-pronged drive for collecting Rs. 8 lakhs, doubling party membership and pushing up the sale of the daily Swadhinata and other party journals as part of a mass election campaign.

As regards the Party's attitude towards other parties and groups in this State vis-a-vis the elections, the State Council adopted the following resolution:

"The State Council had discussed the question of the concrete application in West Bengal of the broad principles laid down by the Vijayawada Party Congress and the decisions of the State-Party Conference at Burdwan regarding the policy and tactics that should be adopted by the Party in the coming elections. In accordance with the decision of the April meeting of the State Council, a reply has been already sent to the letter addressed by five non-party individuals on the question of forging a united front in the elections."

"At the above-mentioned meeting, the State Council, in course of discussions on the contents of this reply and on the procedure to be adopted in holding talks with other Left parties had taken certain decisions regarding the Party's election tactics. "This meeting of the State Council endorses the negotiations carried on with the Left parties and other steps taken by the State Executive Committee, the State Secretariat and the Negotiating Subcommittee in the light of the above decisions.

"The State Council has taken the following decisions regarding the Party's objective and tactics to serve as the directive principles for future guidance:

Objectives And Tactics

1. The central slogan that should be put forward before the people as the main objective in the coming elections is the replacement of the Congress Government in West Bengal by an alternative Democratic Government, which will implement progressive policies.

2. The elections should be fought as a sharp and broad mass political battle. As against the policies of the Congress, the entire policy of the Party, including the key slogan of the National Democratic Front, as also the programme of the united front should be placed before the people.

3. The Party will not countenance any sort of unity or electoral understanding with reactionary and communal organisations like the Hindu Mahasabha, Jan Sangh, Swatantra Party, Muslim League etc. While opposing the anti-people policies of the Congress, the reactionary character of these organisations will be thoroughly exposed.

4. (a) It is urgently necessary to forge a united front of those Left parties which, despite differences of opinion on certain issues,

worked jointly with the Communist Party in the democratic movement of West Bengal in the past and want to do so in the future, and are willing to fight the elections unitedly to defeat the Congress, together with progressive individuals. The Communist Party will spare no efforts to form such a united front on the basis of a common programme. Some progress has been already made in the matter of forming such a front with the Left parties, except the PSP, and progressive individuals. The Communist Party will take effective steps to expedite it and to bring it to a successful conclusion.

(b) Apart from a common programme, the question of the allotment of seats is also involved in the matter of forging electoral alliance. The Communist Party is of the opinion that the relative strength of different parties in different constituencies, the prospects of defeating the Congress in them, and the need for mutual understanding should be borne in mind while allotting seats to different parties. The Communist Party hopes that other parties also will adopt an attitude, conducive to unity.

(c) It is necessary to review the role of the PSP in relation to the question of electoral alliance. The Communist Party has always been desirous of forming a broad front with different Left and progressive parties and individuals, and has consistently striven for it in the interests of the people. Electoral alliance with the PSP and other Left parties was forged in the last general elections.

In the subsequent period, the Communist Party tried its utmost to maintain this unity inside the State Assembly and in the democratic movement outside the Legislature. But the PSP systematically sabotaged this unity, brazenly supported the Coalition Government with Congress in Kerala, increasingly stepped up the slander campaign against the Communist Party and, in particular opposed and tried to create disruption in every united, democratic movement in West Bengal, beginning with the food movement in 1958.

All this has revealed that the PSP leaders have been pursuing a reactionary disruptive policy and have thus placed themselves outside the pale of left unity. They have taken the help of the Congress in the elections to the Rajya Sabha, Legislative Council, etc. As a result, this policy has aroused suspicion in the minds of a large section of the people, who want the Congress to be defeated to the effect that the role of the PSP is detrimental to the interests of the people and to democratic unity.

There is as yet no indication whatsoever of any change in their disruptive, despicable policy; on the contrary, they are now pursuing it with a vengeance. This is evident from the decisions taken at their recent State Conference.

They have also declared that they are against any kind of unity with the Communist Party. In these circumstances, there is no objective basis for electoral alliance with the PSP.

The question of unity with the PSP can be considered only when the PSP leadership realises that its policy is anti-people and disruptive, admits it publicly and gives an assurance that the PSP will work jointly and will maintain the unity even after the elections; otherwise, the people will view unity with PSP as sheer opportunism.

5. Our main task in the elections will be to defeat the Congress in as many seats as possible. The Party will, therefore, strive earnestly to ensure the victory of its own nominees as also of all other candidates of the constituent units of the united front. The efforts to defeat the Congress in the maximum number of seats assumes added importance in the context of the central slogan of forming an alternative democratic government by replacing the Congress Government.

6. No pains in the coming elections to defeat and weaken the Communist Party in particular. The Congress will not take any risk after its experience in Kerala. Naturally, therefore, the Congress authorities in this State and the All-India leadership of the Congress will make the Communist Party in West Bengal the special target of their attack. Slander campaign against the Party will be increasingly stepped up and will reach its peak on the eve of the elections.

Attempts will be made to adopt, as far as possible, repressive measures against mass movements. Much more money will be lavishly spent, the State machinery will be utilised in the interests of the ruling Party, recourse will be taken to goadism and chicanery, a long rope will be given to communal and other forms of disruption, and attempts will be made to create a sense of terror—all this in a far greater measure than in the last general elections.

Moreover, the election machinery of the Congress has been made more streamlined, and it has already started its election work. Hence an attitude of self-complacency inside the Party will be very dangerous. Members and sympathisers of the Party in every constituency should be mobilised without any delay. Meetings of General Bodies should be held, and they should be made to realise the responsibilities facing the Party.

Enthusiasm and an attitude of firm determination should be created in them. Utmost efforts should be made to increase the sale of daily Swadhinata and raise election funds in every constituency. Steps should be taken for the distribution of cadres after taking into consideration, at the district level, the position in different constituencies in the district concerned.

AMARAVATHI STRUGGLE MUST GO ON

OUSTED PEASANTS STILL LIVING IN HORRIBLE CONDITIONS

After A. K. Gopalan's fast, Amaravathi, a small village near Kumily town, and the Thekkady Lake, a famous tourist centre in the Kottayam district of Kerala State, has been receiving wide attention.

CATHOLIC leaders like Father Vadakkan, Kerala Pradesh Congress President C. K. Govindan Nair and the Sarodaya chief of the State, Sri K. Kelappan, have been frequently visiting this place. The Bharat Sewak Samaj, a semi-official organisation, has also set up its camp at Amaravathi, and I was informed by its chief working there that the B. S. S. was holding a camp of 50 workers for one month at the place.

I visited all the six camps set up by the Government for "housing" the families of the peasants ousted from the forest lands. I met Father Vadakkan, who happened to be at Amaravathi on the day I visited this place. I met the B. S. S. chief, and the Amaravathi Refugee Committee leaders as well. I was told by every one that conditions had improved very much at present. The plight of the ousted peasants was really horrible and that had induced Gopalan to go on fast as a protest against the inhuman and callous attitude of the Government.

Though the situation may have improved as everyone is saying, even today the ousted refugee peasants are living in really horrible and inhuman conditions.

The six so-called camps set up by the Government are in reality bamboo and straw sheds, 60 x 18 feet in measurement. These sheds are open from all sides, and not fit for habitation even for cattle. Amaravathi is situated on the hills and constant rain and strong wind are regular there during the monsoon.

Three Thousand Families Affected

According to the Government version, 1,700 families to peasants who had occupied forest land in an unauthorised manner had been ousted. But, according to the Refugee Committee, 3,000 families had been uprooted from nearly eight to ten thousand acres of land.

Most of the ousted peasants did not come to the Amaravathi camp set up by the Government. Barring a few families they had no homes to go to. They just dispersed into various parts of the State. Some have even migrated into areas in Tamilnad. According to the Refugee Committee leaders, a very large number of these families are just roaming about in search of livelihood and many families have turned into beggars, too.

Nearly 1,200 families, about 7,000 people, were brought to the Amaravathi camp. The total area of the six sheds constructed by the Government is less than 6,500 sq. feet, and it was meant to accommodate 7,000 people with all their belongings! Many of the families had to get shelter in peasant houses in the neighbouring areas. But that kind of accommodation was also not adequately available because in the hilly region, the dwelling houses

are very few and those peasants, being poor, are themselves putting up in small huts. Even then, I was told that quite a large number of the refugee families have been accommodated by the neighbouring population.

Originally the State Government sanctioned a house-building aid of just Rs. ten per family and a few bamboos. Even this aid was not readily forthcoming. Everybody at Amaravathi complains about the callous attitude of the R.D.O., the Government official who organised this "operation uprooting" of 3,000 peasant families, and has later on been appointed by the Government as the officer in charge of their resettlement!

Nearly 1,500 acres of land have been set apart in the Amaravathi reserve forest for the settlement of these peasants. According to the Refugee Committee leaders, not more than 650 acres of this land is fit for cultivation. The rest is rocky land. I myself went around to see this land and found that really most of it cannot be used for cultivation by the peasants.

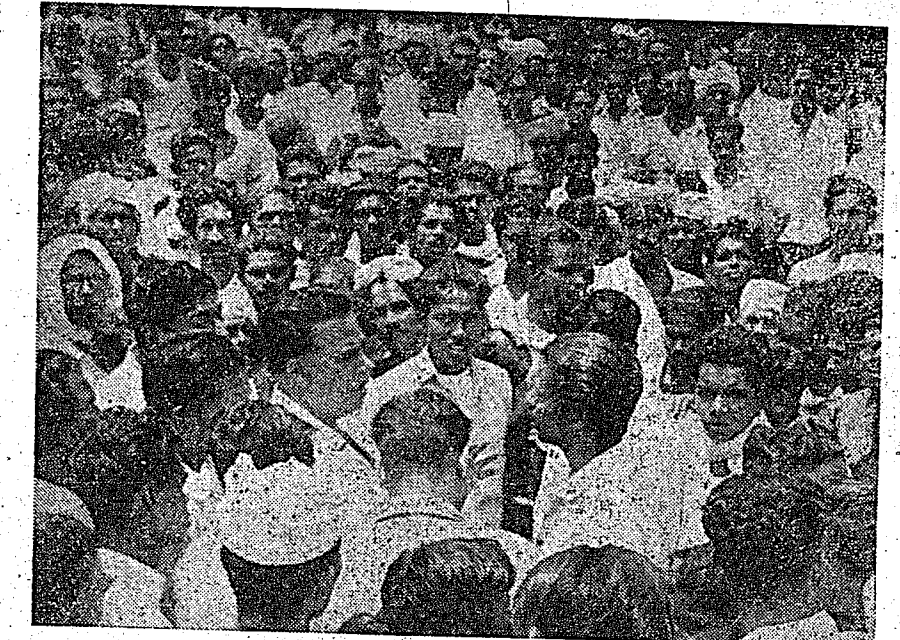
As a result of A. K. Gopalan's fast and State-wide agitation by the Kisan Sabha, which has also moved all other parties and organisations in the State, the housebuilding aid has been increased to Rs. 25 per family and the supply of bamboos, etc., and allotment of land has also been speeded up. The peasants who have been allotted land are hurrying up the construction of their own huts, in spite of the heavy rainfall.

But as I have already pointed out the cultivable land is limited in this area, and in spite of the fact that after Gopalan's fast, the Government has agreed to provide every deserving family with at least one acre of cultivable land, it has not so far selected any new area for settlement of the peasants. Besides that, the house-building aid of Rs. 25 is still quite insufficient, and many of the families are too poor to supplement it from their own pockets. As a result of all this, quite a large number of families are still putting up in the Government-built sheds, or in the houses of neighbouring peasants.

According to the Refugee Committee, 200 families are still putting up in these sheds. In one, shed 53 families are staying. When I visited this shed many of the occupants were out. Still, it was difficult to visualise how, with all their belongings, they could crowd into such a tiny shed and live day and night, for months together. It is difficult even to sit comfortably inside the shed. It looked like a crowded third class railway compartment. In various sheds, I was told a number of babies were born in such conditions.

The State Government has opened an outpost of its dispensary at Kumily and the Government doctor visits the outpost once in the evening. Immediately after the arrest of A. K. Gopalan, the Kisan Sabha opened a dispensary in the same hut in which he was on fast. Dr. A. Subba Rao, MP, member of the All-India Kisan Council, is working there with the assistance of a dispenser who is also a Communist worker. The BSS has also now opened a dispensary.

But I found that all the patients came to visit Dr. Subba Rao's dispensary. He is very much overworked. He told me that the trouble was that even the local population had stopped going to the Government dispensary and were coming to him for treatment. His work here is appreciated by everybody.



A. K. Gopalan, President of the All-India Kisan Sabha, amidst evicted peasants at Amaravathi. A picture taken on the eve of the hunger strike.

They should remember that public money was spent on after-care homes to cater to the needs of even murderers after their life imprisonment.

"It is not with an acre of grassy land, Rs. 15 and a mazli (one-third of a litre) of rice for a few days that these refugees can be rehabilitated."

Even Father Vadakkan, the well-known Catholic leader of the Anti-Communist Front in Kerala, has expressed gratitude to A. K. Gopalan for his extreme step of self-sacrifice in the cause of these peasants. When he met me at Amaravathi on the day of my visit, he once again expressed his appreciation of the step taken by Gopalan and the Kisan Sabha.

Gopalan's fast achieved a great victory for the refugee peasants. He is the most popular and respected leader.

He is carrying on with great difficulty. Due to heavy and continuous rains, and congested conditions, influenza is spreading. I found the doctor himself was suffering from slight influenza. Still he goes to work at 9 a.m. and comes back at 9 p.m. with a two-hour break for his mid-day meals.

Immediately after his return from Manal, Pandit Nehru rushed in with a statement where he is stated to have said that "Gopalan's fast was unnecessary and unjustified and the State Government is doing everything possible for these people." But no amount of certificates, even from Pandit Nehru himself, can absolve the State Government of its inhuman and callous treatment of these peasants. The indictment of the Kerala Pradesh Congress itself is sufficient to refute Pandit Nehru! The latest issue of the Pradesh Congress Bulletin (perhaps after Nehru's statement as well) writes:

"Though it was trespassers who were evicted they were also human beings... In a welfare State nobody could be thrown into the streets.

But there is as yet no reason to be complacent. The problem is still very acute and has yet to be solved to a great extent.

Immediately, more effective relief measures are needed. More nourishing foodstuffs, clothing and, above all, medicines and medical facilities are needed.

The peasants need more assistance to build their houses and they have to be provided with ration and relief works till they are able to raise and harvest the crops on the newly allotted lands. So far, the Government has only started construction of a branch road in the forest. But it provides work for very few. Above all the peasants have to be provided with cultivable land.

Allotment of land is not a temporary relief measure. It is a permanent step for their resettlement. There-

fore, each family of a married adult should be allotted land. The one acre of land that is being allotted is totally inadequate for their permanent settlement. In the hilly region, these peasants cannot find any other source of income. Therefore, each family should be allotted at least two acres of land.

The Kerala State Kisan Sabha has to continue its activities as before for the resettlement of the refugee peasants. There is no reason to relax its efforts. Only the strong movement launched by the Kisan Sabha forced the Government to concede the demands of the refugee peasants, and only under the pressure of a continued movement and permanent vigilance can we force the Government to implement what it has conceded so far.

JAGJIT SINGH LYALLPURI

Gen. Secretary, All-India Kisan Sabha

His fast created a great stir in the public. It moved all sections of the people and if the Government had not yielded when it did, it would have faced a very broad-based mass struggle throughout the State.

The struggle has succeeded to the extent that it has forced the Government to undertake the responsibility of resettlement on cultivable land of all the evicted peasants, continue its relief measures for all for the time being, and not to evict any so-called unauthorised occupants of forest land without prior consultations with all the parties in the future. It has succeeded in the sense that it has awakened all the parties in the State, and many other agencies, besides the Kisan Sabha, are opening their relief centres at Amaravathi.

PSP ELECTION APPROACH

* FROM OVERLEAF

communal and feudal parties is again a hoax. What sort of a party is the Muslim League with whom the PSP has allied in Kerala and with whose support Sri Pattom Thanu Pillai now adorns the State Ministry? How is it that the PSP leaders often appear on the same platform with communal leaders? Why did the PSP join with the Jan Sangh to hold demonstrations at Durgapur at the time of the AICC Session? As for feudal elements, did not the Kerala PSP join hands with the big landed interests and are these feudal elements not among the staunchest patrons of the Government of which the Kerala PSP chief happens to be the titular head?

Having been largely isolated from the organised Left, the PSP National Executive's attention now is riveted on the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes with whom, the Statement says, "The PSP would like to forge relations".

So, the PSP will now try its art of deception with these humbled and oppressed sections of the humanity whose votes they now desperately solicit but whose just cause they had no

time to take up and fight for in the period between the two general elections.

The general elections offer a great opportunity to expose and isolate forces of communalism and right reaction, to raise important policy issues in the interests of the country and its masses and bring about nationwide political upsurge of all progressive democratic forces. All this has evidently no meaning for the PSP leadership. Sticking to its anti-Communist, disruptive line, all that the PSP really wants to do is to escape the popular verdict against its discredited policies, grab as many seats as possible, and thus save its face.

Apart from anti-Communism which, of course, is their first article of faith, there will be empty demagoguery, opportunistic and unprincipled manoeuvres and perhaps the soliciting of secret favours from the ruling party to achieve this end.

All this may conform to the purpose and striving of the PSP leadership but any attempt to pass this off as "an alternative focus of social purpose and national striving" is bound to misfire and will be rebuffed by the people.

(July 10)

AN INDIAN WORKER VISITS NEW GERMANY

The iron curtain that imperialism once erected between India and the Socialist world has crumbled long ago. Thousands of Indians from various walks of life have during the last ten years or so visited the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It is no longer a novelty as it used to be before independence and it is not always that a visitor returning home nowadays from that part of the world has something very new to tell.

NEVERTHELESS, even now there are people in whose impressions of the lands of socialism one does feel interested. One such person who has just returned after a two month's stay in the socialist part of the world is Sheo Narayan Srivastava, a textile worker of Indore, a worker-writer whose novel on working class life "Aag, Dhaun aur Insaan" in Hindi attracted considerable attention some time ago. He is a class conscious worker who has been through many struggles, has suffered imprisonment and faced police lathis. The All-India Trade Union Congress decided this time to send him in one of the delegations going abroad to participate in May Day celebrations in the Socialist countries.

Sheo Narayan Srivastava along with another trade unionist Ghanashyan Sinha of Kanpur went to the German Democratic Republic (GDR). He stayed there for seven weeks. On his way back, on the invitation of the respective textile workers' organisations, Srivastava spent about a week each in Czechoslovakia and the USSR also. He was back in Delhi on July 3 having left it on April 29.

Language Barriers Over Come

Srivastava, an Indian worker who originally hails from U. P., does not know any foreign language. With difficulty he can utter a few words in English. And it was not always that he had a Hindi interpreter by his side. His companion Ghanashyan returned to India after a fortnight's stay in the GDR. Still, Srivastava was never deterred by the barriers of language. His intense curiosity and his great zest for life led him always to inquire and find out about things that he saw around him and more especially about the people he met.

Due to the last minute hitches which the police authorities had created about his getting a passport Srivastava had not been able to reach Berlin in time to participate in the great four-hour long May Day Parade that takes place there in the eastern part (Democratic Sector) of Berlin that is the capital of the GDR. He had reached there in the afternoon and participated in the great international get-together that took place in the evening on board a steamer on the river Spree.

Workers and trade unionists of fifty countries numbering over 500 had come together on the occasion. They had come to the GDR on the invitation of the FDGB, the Free Trade Union Organisation of Germany. Srivastava was particularly happy to see so many Africans in the gathering. They had come from all parts of Africa and

the warmth and affection with which they were surrounded was a heart-warming experience for Srivastava.

President of the FDGB, Herbert Warnke, spoke on the occasion, welcoming all the foreign guests. He spoke of the great desire of the German working class for peace and for unification of their country in conditions that would guarantee peace. The working class in the eastern part of the country had succeeded in establishing a just socialist order of society and it was determined not only to preserve its social gains but also to see that the German people were not plunged once again by the magnates and monopolists who dominated West Germany into a national catastrophe like on two previous occasions.

He spoke of the new Labour Code that the country had adopted after thorough discussion in all factories and offices. He also spoke of the difficulties they faced.

The festivities went on till late in the night. The next day Srivastava and his colleague went sight-seeing in Berlin. It was an amazing spectacle. He had heard so much about the border between East Berlin and West Berlin. He did not see any barbed wires. People moved about freely from one side to the other. Only sometimes sentries would stop a vehicle coming from the other side and check the papers.

They went outside Berlin, to nearby Potsdam, where the Big Three meeting was held in July-August 1945. Chairs in the conference hall were kept exactly as they were at the time of the conference. Various U. S. plans for the dismemberment of Germany that Truman and his advisers presented at the conference were displayed outside.

At The Site Of A Death Camp

They visited the site of the Nazi concentration camp at Sachsenhausen, also near Berlin, and the memorial the people of GDR have built to its victims there. Sachsenhausen played a special role in the ghastly machinery of Hitler's extermination camps. It was the organisational centre of the large network of similar establishments run by the fascists. Roughly 100,000 anti-Nazi fighters from various countries met their death in Sachsenhausen or at one of its 73 branch posts in the years from 1936 to the end of the war in 1945.

On May 8 every year the people of GDR celebrate the day of liberation from fascism. On that day 16 years ago the Nazis had been completely smashed in the war had signed the document of unconditional surrender. Srivastava felt happy and honoured for

having the opportunity to participate in these celebrations that went on till 2 in the morning.

That was in the People's Park in the city of Halle. In that park, before Hitler's advent, the working class of Halle used to hold its meetings and rallies. Srivastava was told. There was a strike in 1925 and Thaelmann, the most beloved leader of the German working class was addressing a meeting in that same park, when police attacked it and fired upon it. One worker who acted as a bugler in the movement was killed. His memory has now been commemorated by erecting a statue of his, showing him blowing his bugle at the spot where he was killed.

Highly exciting was Srivastava's visit to the Leuna Chemical Works, a latest and most up-to-date establishment. It employs 30,000 workers. Its workers as long back as 1923 had participated in the revolutionary struggle with arms.

leave them while they are working. The one which Srivastava visited had 75 children being looked after by 29 nurses and matrons.

There are a great number of clubs and recreation groups of various sorts and the workers run their own daily paper which is called 'Beginning of the New Song'.

Our friend, Sheo Narayan Srivastava was immensely surprised at the huge quantity of food that a German worker is able to consume. A good meal he found costs them only one-and-a-half marks.

He also visited the fully mechanised shoe factory at Halle which turns out 70,000 pairs a day. Most workers were women. He enquired from one of them and found that she earned 450 marks per month. Her father had been killed in the war and she lived with her mother, who received a monthly pension of 350 marks.

Here too at the kindergarten he saw a lot of

was here that Faust was written," he told me, "and the 6,000 books of the poet's personal library are well preserved."

From Weimar to nearby Buchenwald is transition literally from humanity's Olympian heights to its lowest depth of degradation.

At the Buchenwald concentration camp which lasted from 1937 to April 11, 1945 when a prisoners revolt put an end to it, 56,000 people belonging to twenty nations of Europe were sent to their deaths—burnt in gas chambers, shot, beaten and tortured or just starved and starved to death. There were 21,000 survivors. Here some of the worst Nazi butchers operated, collecting trophies of lampshades of human skin and mummified, shrunken heads of murdered prisoners. Some of the best sons of Germany were murdered here—among them the beloved Communist leader Ernst Thaelmann, Social Democrat Ernst Heilmann who was leader of his party's group in the Prussian parliament, and Evangelical Pastor Paul Schneider who was an impassioned fighter against the Nazis.

Buchenwald Memorial

Now an impressive well laid-out memorial stands at the site of the death camp. Indian worker Sheo Narayan Srivastava accompanied by a former inmate of the camp went round the place and laid wreaths on the sanctified spots where humanity's martyrs had laid down their lives. It was the tribute from his country and his class to the heroes and martyrs of 20 nations.

Returning to Halle, Srivastava visited some more factories—a sugar mill, a chocolate factory. Wages in the sugar factory range between 400 and 800 marks. The packing girls for instance receive 450 marks. A sixty year old worker who had been a trade unionist since 1920 gets 700 marks. He has to pay only 6 marks per month as house rent. He has quite a substantial bank balance. His son is a volunteer in the People's Army.

Eighty per cent workers in the chocolate factory which is fully mechanised are women. "I did not see a single face which would show signs of under-nourishment," said Srivastava. "Their canteen was like a Raja's palace".

One of the workers to whom he talked told him that she received 470 marks monthly as wages. Her brother was a lorry driver in the same factory, getting 760 marks a month. Their parents live with them and the father received a pension of 186 marks. They had to pay only 31 marks as rent for their house.

Visiting a hospital, Srivastava called on a patient, a 53-year-old Leuna worker. He had been in hospital for about nine months and while everything in the hospital was free he was getting 90 per cent of his salary too, the salary being 570 marks per month. On retirement after two years he would get a pension of 150 marks per month.

A 25-year old nurse who had been working in that hospital since 1957 received 550 marks a month. Her father had been killed in the war. She was not married and lived with her mother who received 150 marks as pension in a flat provided by the hospital.

Attending a trade union meeting in Halle, Srivastava found that the trade unions were very powerful. Except for the manager who was appointed from above by the State authorities—that too in consultation with the trade union and with the entire management was in the trade union's hands. No new legislation is adopted without full discussion and approval of the unions. They make thousands of suggestions and these are given full weight.

There were still quite a number of private employers but they worked according to plan.

Visiting Leipzig and Karl-Marxstadt Srivastava could see some textile mills also. How different it was from the mill in which he had worked! So many processes had been mechanised and combined. When he lent a helping hand to one of the workers, the whole shop gathered round him. They were overjoyed to meet one from their own trade. Here too eighty per cent workers were women. It is only in the heavier trades that men predominate.

Two Victims Of A-Bomb

Having finished his tour, Srivastava along with a Ceylonese printing press worker, Hanwella by name, came to a workers rest home near Berlin. It is named after Brecht. He stayed there for a week. At this time he had no Hindi interpreter with him and Hanwella who knows English and no Hindi at all was his only companion. They pulled up very well together.

One evening when the two of them, the Indian and the Ceylonese, were having their dinner together as usual in the dining hall they noticed that on

the table next to theirs sat two very strange looking people. Their faces seemed burnt and disfigured. Srivastava nudged his friend and asked him who these might be. Hanwella also could throw no light. The Indian worker would not let things go like this. He mustered his knowledge of English and shouted across: "What country?" The other two also knew that much of English and shouted back: "Japan, Hiroshima."

"A shiver ran down my spine as I heard those words", Srivastava said narrating the story. "I realised that I was face to face with two victims of the atom bomb." The Indian and the Ceylonese workers then moved over to the other table and the following conversation passed between Srivastava and the Japanese: Srivastava: (Advancing his notebook) "Your history, write my book." Japanese: "No English" Srivastava: "Your language".

The matter was clinched. The two of them took the notebook and wrote out their "history". It was there now, safe in Srivastava's notebook. But what could he do? How to decipher it? Two or three days later the two Japanese youth left for another rest home in the interior.

The Ceylonese and the Indian came out to see them off and as the car carrying the two Japanese started these two other Asians raised slogans in their own languages: "No more Hiroshimas!" "Down with the murderers!" "Long live peace!"

The mystery remained, while the two had gone. Two days passed. Then, as luck would have it a cultural delegation of 21 artists from Japan who had been invited by the GDR authorities came to the rest home for rest. A Japanese student studying in the GDR was accompanying them and this Japanese student knew English. Our friend Srivastava carried his notebook with the two Japanese inscriptions to this student and asked him: "Translate English". This is how the two pieces as translated into English by the Japanese student read in Srivastava's



May Day Parade in East Berlin.

notebook. I have added in brackets the sense as far as I can make it.

I

"I suffered in Hiroshima 1945 from the first atomic bomb. On the friendly invitation of the DDR (i.e. GDR) I have had the opportunity of being investigated (i.e. being examined and treated) by the doctors in the Charite, what (i.e. the treatment) has made it clear that I can work again and I need have no anxiety."

"When I was injured in Hiroshima on the 6th August, 1945, I was a middle school boy of 13 years old. I am working now in a telephone office in Hiroshima. As a Japanese worker I send you, my dear friend from the Asian continent, our heartfelt greetings of friendship."

"No More Hiroshimas!
"Muki Hiura
Hiroshimashi,
Ujinamamachi 443
JAPAN."

Down below was noted in Japanese the population of Hiroshima as it stood before August 1945—4,50,000; killed by the bomb—250,000; and population now 4,20,000.

II

"I met 6th (?) August 1945 the explosion of A-bomb in Nagasaki. It was about 1800 metres from the explosion centre. I have been working from that time as worker of telegraph office. Our German friends invited me for curing of my atomic disease to GDR. Thanks to our friends' help I enjoy happy tour in this land. I will work at home as an active trade unionist and work for peace."

"Sumiteru Tainguchi
Nagasakishi
Hirasogoyamachi 198
JAPAN."

Here a sketch of his own body showed the burns and wounds all over.

On his return to Berlin when Srivastava showed these two inscriptions to his hosts, the comrades of the FDGB, they were absolutely overwhelmed. They were full of admiration for his resourcefulness and perseverance.

His stay in the GDR was now coming to end. He was in love with the country and the people. He had seen how the socialist system had taken root among the vast masses of

people in factories and farms. The working class was leading a happy and full life, striving to further improve it and to overcome the difficulties. It was the leading force in society.

He had seen the affectionate care that is bestowed on the nation's cultural treasures—whether in Weimar or in Dresden where he had visited the Gallery ("What great art!" he said).

Above all he had seen the determination to overcome the bestiality of the past—as represented by Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen—and the determination never to allow it to return. He realised how crucial this struggle was for the whole of mankind.

He was touched by the hand of friendship this new, resurrected, Socialist Germany was extending to the peoples of Africa and Asia, both at the May Day gathering and in the episode of the two Japanese victims of radiation who had been cured of the fell disease. He had vowed with them on behalf of his country and his class: No more Hiroshimas!

The most memorable impression from his short stay in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union that Sheo Narayan Srivastava has brought are connected with his visit to Lidice and his meeting with Zoya's mother.

Lidice Lives Again

Lidice was the little Czechoslovak village all whose 192 male inhabitants were shot by the Nazi occupiers most of them in one morning—June 10, 1942—all whose 203 women and 106 children were sent to concentration camps and the overwhelming majority of them killed, and all its buildings including 103 dwellings were razed to the ground, because one man, Heydrich, the chief of Nazi secret police forces in the occupied territories was killed by a Czech patriot.

Despite the Nazis' verdict to erase the name of the place "from the records" a new lovely village, a new Lidice has arisen and a beautiful rose-garden, with roses from all over the world, has come up. Some of the survivors from among the women and children of the old Lidice have return-

ed. Srivastava met one of these—Marie Pincakova—who had been twelve when the calamity befell Lidice. He also visited Julius Fuchik's house near Pilsen where Czechoslovakia's national hero, who was hanged by the Nazis, lived between 1919 and 1937.

Liubov Timofeyevna Kosmodemyanskaya received Sheo Narayan Srivastava in her Moscow flat on June 28 evening. She is a very lively person in spite of her age. Both of her two children Zoya and Shura, died heroes' deaths fighting the Nazi invaders during the last war. Both of them, awarded posthumously the title of the Hero of the Soviet Union, have become idols of the Soviet Youth.

Meeting Zoya's Mother

Zoya a guerilla heroine who withstood brutal torture poured scorn and contempt at the Nazis from the gallows. She told them even while they were advancing on Moscow that utter ruin and defeat was in store for them. Her name became a legend all over the world and so many people in every country gave their new born daughters the name of Zoya.

Recounting the story to Srivastava, Zoya's mother told him that in honour of her children's memory she continued to serve the cause of peace. Wishing happiness to Indian mothers she hoped the world will see no more of war if people all over the world worked determinedly to banish it.

Liubov Timofeyevna mentioned Gagarin as the embodiment of the spirit of Soviet youth, the spirit which moved Zoya.

Boarding the Air India Plane at the Moscow airport for his return home Sheo Narayan Srivastava felt overjoyed to notice that the plane was called "Rani of Jhansi". "It is good that we commemorate her memory and spread her name over the world," he said.

One of his companions, a businessman from Patna who was returning via Moscow after a trip to London and Western Europe said "Iron Curtain! What rubbish the British taught us all these years!"

—ZIAUL HAQ



Viewers from 43 countries watching the May Day Parade.

SOVIET WONDER VACCINE ERADICATES POLIO

★ FROM OUR MOSCOW CORRESPONDENT

POLIOMYELITIS or Infantile Paralysis as it is commonly called is the dread disease which still kills or cripples thousands of young people in many parts of the world.

But here in the Soviet Union, this scourge has been completely defeated and brought under control. A major battle for the welfare and health of children has been decisively won and today its benefits are being felt not only here but in many other countries, including India.

The Man Who Did It

The man whose untiring effort, self-sacrifice and heroism is saving hundreds of thousands of lives in many lands is luckily our neighbour and lives just three floors below us in our building. He is Prof. Mikhail Chumakov, Member of the Academy of Medical Sciences of the USSR and Head of its Institute of Poliomyelitis.

He has not only done a lot of research work to prepare the live vaccine which is given to children in the convenient form of sweets and has proved to be hundred per cent effective but he was also the first who heroically tried it out on himself to make sure it was harmless. He gave himself a large dose to finally prove that it was absolutely safe and mothers had nothing to worry about as there will be no harmful after-effects on their children.

Prof. Chumakov was too modest to mention all this to me and even when asked remarked that there was nothing extraordinary in it and only newspapermen could make a sensation out of him. But he told me, with great enthusiasm the story of the development of this vaccine and the vast work that has been accomplished by his Institute in a short period. It is a story which once again proves the far greater effectiveness of the Socialist system wherever human welfare is involved. And the results which the Soviet medicine has shown in fighting polio epidemics are really astounding.

It was actually Dr. Albert Sabin of Cincinnati, USA, who had separated the virus for this vaccine and did a lot for its preparation. But people in America were afraid of his "live" vaccine and millions had been already invested in another type of less effective and less convenient vaccine. So Sabin had to face competition and could not find financial support at the stage to develop the production of his vaccine on a big scale.

He brought it over to the Soviet Union and a period of fruitful cooperation between him and the Soviet scientists began. Further research was carried on at the Poliomyelitis Institute under the supervision of Prof. Chumakov and the technology of large scale

production was worked out only here. In USA they had produced the vaccine in litres; here the production was taken up in tons.

And only when the Soviet scientists provided their colossal data of the effectiveness of the vaccine the resistance and fears in the USA were removed and large-scale production taken up. But even now the private enterprise of America cannot develop it on anything like the Soviet scale.

Although work was started in 1956 in the Soviet Union, 15 million people were immunised in 1959 and last year 77,478,000 were vaccinated. Not only that, the Soviet Union helped to vaccinate another 13,150,000 young people in the Socialist countries so that last year's total is more than 90 million. This year's target here is 100 million of which 76 million have already been vaccinated in the first half and the aim is that nobody should be left out. Besides this, the Soviet Union will supply another 100 million vaccines to other countries this year. In the USA, Sabin inoculated 300 thousand last year with his vaccine and got good results.

Now a number of Socialist countries are producing their own vaccine with Soviet help. In Czechoslovakia last year they vaccinated three and half million with Soviet vaccine and another one-and-a-half million with their own. Hungary vaccinated more than 3 million last year. The German Democratic Republic has also taken it up on a big scale.

Prof. Chumakov showed me dozens of charts which record the number of polio cases, in different parts of the country, before mass vaccination was taken up (there one sees the usual rise in summer months) and practically no cases after vaccinations. All charts—those made for whole Republics or districts—show the same effectiveness of this wonderful vaccine.

And it is the same in other countries wherever work has been taken up on a mass scale. For example, there were about 4,800 cases in GDR per year formerly but last year even before the vaccination campaign was over they registered only 70 and later in September none at all whereas there were 800 cases in West Germany in the same month.

GDR'S Offer To W. Germany

Now on the June 30 it was reported from Berlin that an epidemic of Poliomyelitis has again broken out in West Germany especially in the densely populated Ruhr region. 650 cases have already been registered 42 of which proved fatal. Health services of the country are afraid that the epidemic might spread throughout the country if effective steps are not taken immediately. To help out the people in West Germany the Government of GDR has

offered to deliver immediately three million units of anti-polio vaccine and a telegram to Adenauer has been sent. Let us hope the help will be accepted. It has been made possible by the untiring labour of Chumakov and his Soviet colleagues.

Japan is also facing a polio epidemic and has decided to import vaccine for ten million peoples from the Soviet Union, it was reported last week.

This live vaccine is much cheaper and about hundred times more economical, Chumakov told me. It is more convenient, as only a sweet has to be swallowed and it also immunises the stomach and intestines. No doctor is required to inject this vaccine, so for poor countries it is the ideal remedy.

Placed At India's Disposal

We naturally talked of India (a hundred thousand units of the vaccine were sent to India sometime ago when polio cases were reported from Andhra). "I am sure its production could be started in India and cheap vaccine could

be obtained. We are ready to help and as you know, we need no profits", Professor Chumakov said.

"It is not sensible to import it all the time. And what is a hundred thousand units compared to the huge population of India! You have seen the figures for other smaller countries. The climate of your country is hot and vaccine has to be produced and stored on the spot. Of course, there are technical preparations necessary and we are ready to train your people if your Government or institutions send them. GDR had vaccinated seven million this year and they have a very small population compared to India".

Chumakov said that he was grateful to India for having supplied the monkeys essential for the initial production of the polio vaccine. Now a lesser and lesser number was required. The professor talked of his contacts with India. Recently Dr. Veera Raghavan, Director of the Pasteur Institute at Coonoor, Nilgiri, India, came to study the work of Soviet scientists in this field.

Then there is interest in his work in other fields too. There is that dreadful disease of the forests of the Far East called

tick-borne Russian encephalitis which is spread by the insect tick. It acts on the brain and nerve cells and has very bad after-effects. And the Professor told me how he got his right hand paralysed and spoiled his hearing when he went to the Khabarovsk region on an expedition in the thirties to fight this epidemic.

Chumakov had to pay a high price in the service of his people as his hand and hearing are still affected. But now they have evolved a new vaccine which is very effective and is injected in three doses. Large-scale work is being done to root out the disease and even aircraft is being used in the forests to sprinkle insecticides to kill the carrier tick.

This work is of direct interest to India too. In Mysore there is a similar disease called Kyasanur forest disease which is also carried by insects or birds. Dr. P. P. N. Bhatt of Poona and others have been in correspondence with Professor Chumakov on this question.

"Indo-Soviet cooperation in medicine can develop in a big way and there are many fields in which we can help. We are ready to do whatever we can for our friends in India", said this brave and modest scientist as I rose to leave. I had already taken a lot of his precious time.

LEFT MAINTAINS ITS POSITION IN ITALY

ROME, June 26.

THE recent administrative elections of the spring as well as the elections for the regional assembly of Sardinia, have confirmed a general trend which already on the occasion of the previous elections had showed itself so clearly—consolidation of the Left's positions, first of all the Communists—and defeat of the "third forces" of the so-called centre-Left, i.e., Republicans and Social Democrats. But at the same time they point in a rather disconcerting way to a third trend, i.e. the consolidation of Christian Democracy at the expense of the extreme Right, above all Monarchists, who in Sardinia had suffered a real defeat.

It is only Christian Democracy which benefited by this defeat as it succeeded in obtaining an absolute majority in the Regional Assembly. In fact, the "neo-centrism" of Mr. Fanfani, to which the Republicans and Social Democrats submit themselves benevolently, shows its role very clearly, i.e. to protect the ranks of the Christian Democratic Party and by Liberals on the Right so as to enable it to maintain its force of attraction in both these directions.

But that is why the three small allies remain small allies and do not earn anything

from this play and Christian Democracy becomes the big reservoir absorbing all the votes of electors from the other political movements, particularly from the Monarchist party.

This situation, which leads to the danger of the re-establishment of Christian Democratic political monopoly which the united Left forces succeeded in defeating, places serious responsibilities on all democrats, but first of all, on the allies of the centre-Left of Christian Democracy. It is just their support which is now decisive.

School Question

Meanwhile, a great Parliamentary battle has opened on the theme which is among the latest of the political struggle, i.e. the school question. The Government has presented a "plan" on behalf of Mr. Fanfani which aims at continuing to finance the private clerical schools. First of all the Government "plan" does not foresee sufficient financing of the school, above all as far as the reform of the present school structure is concerned. Moreover, it is not an instrument of development but, on the contrary an instrument of crystallisation of the present system. Lastly, as we have already stated, it is an anti-constitutional tool as it proposes to widely finance the confessional schools, while the constitution while certainly recognising private teaching, however, points out that it should be made "without financial charges on the State". On this issue a wide debate and movement is going on all over the country.

—S. BENSASSON

JULY 16, 1961

GERMANY—detente or showdown?

KHRUSHCHOV made an exceedingly important speech on July 8 at a reception in the Kremlin for the graduates of the Soviet military academies. It is a regrettable fact that only a truncated and distorted version has reached most Indian readers.

It has been sought to be made out that the Soviet Premier was threatening the peace of the world, that some sort of unilateral rearmament was being attempted. The entire background and main contents of the speech were conveniently missed. It is to these that any impartial observer must turn.

U. S. Steps Up Armament Race

The U.S. had responded to the Soviet peace initiative for a German peace treaty and for according West Berlin the status of a free city by a series of bellicose speeches and by a steep step-up of its war drive. Dean Rusk had immediately come out with a statement that on no account would there be any "surrender" over Berlin. From the New York Times down to the pettiest paper of the smallest U.S. town a shrill chorus of editorial comments had emphasised that the West would "stand firm" and resort to force to effect a "break through" to West Berlin should the Soviet Union sign a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic.

President Kennedy, while talking of so-called "sensible proposals", announced an increase in military allocations for 1961 as well as an intensified programme aimed at the creation of rocket nuclear weapons and an increase in the combat readiness of all kinds of armed forces.

Even more ominous was the U.S. President's appointment of Dean Acheson as the brain-trust to work out a "Berlin line" for the U.S. Acheson as one of Truman's Secretaries of State was and remains a Dulles in Democratic Party garb. He has made a secret report to the U.S. National Security Council, the essence of which has been summed up in Time (July 7):

"Acheson is convinced that a surrender in Berlin means the surrender of Europe, believes that Khrushchov really does doubt the U.S. will use its nuclear deterrent. Thus, the U.S. must go to the very edge of war, and be willing to go beyond to convince the Soviet Premier that U.S. will live up to its commitments."

It needs to be noted that "surrender" in the vocabulary of the Time means acceptance of any modification whatsoever of the status quo. The phrase "edge of war" and "beyond" is ominously reminiscent of the ill-fated brinkmanship of Dulles which so very nearly brought the world to disaster.

Nor is the U.S. alone in its mad drive to war. General de Gaulle has only very recently declared that one French division would be shipped from Algeria to Europe this autumn to reinforce the Nato forces. The Federal Republic

of Germany has increased its military expenditure by as much as 18 per cent in a single year. On July 2 Chancellor Adenauer outright called the Soviet Union the "potential" enemy, called for an increase in the quantity and quality of Bundeswehr and (be it noted in Delhi's official circles) savagely denounced all those who advocate a neutral foreign policy.

In the light of these moves it would have been sheer madness on the part of the Soviet Union not to have reacted sharply and in a manner which would bring pause even to the hottest headed brasshats in the Pentagon. It has announced a suspension of its unilateral reduction of armed forces for 1961 and announced a quite considerable increase in its budget allocations for defence.

Simultaneously it held a display of its air force might which has left the Western military experts gasping. The Statesman of July 10 remarked that U.S. military personnel present at the air display quite openly stated that the West had nothing comparable with the heavy supersonic bombers and the delta-shaped fighter aircraft. It was a clear demonstration that it is not only in the field of rockets but in other decisive spheres as well that Soviet armed might was far ahead of the imperialists. This is an useful reminder to the "edge of war" talkers in Washington.

Khrushchov's speech and the air display underline the serious situation confronting the world. The intransigent Western attitudes to the problems of the German peace treaty and West Berlin are once again creating a world crisis of the most serious magnitude. Any complacency, any feeling that "it will all blow over somehow" would be worse than criminal. World peace is gravely threatened and all possible efforts must be made to preserve it.

This, however, is only one side of the story. In the same speech where these grave decisions were announced, the Soviet Premier returned again and again to the theme of peace and the concrete policies necessary for its consolidation.

He stated that it "would be a good thing to revert to some proposals which various countries have made in recent years." Specifically he mentioned "the Polish proposal for a nuclear free zone in the centre of Europe; the proposals for the withdrawal of foreign troops from alien territories to within their national boundaries, the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the Nato countries and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation; on averting surprise attacks and the establishment in Europe of a zone of reciprocal inspection and aerial survey on both sides of the line dividing the armed forces of the Nato and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation."

Apart from these concrete proposals the discussion and adoption of which would go a long way in taking the chill out of the cold war, Khrushchov reiterated the fundamentals of Soviet foreign policy: "The Soviet Govern-

ment stands on positions of peace and peaceful coexistence, on positions of respect of sovereignty and non-interference in the domestic affairs of other States. We have stood and we will stand firmly on this. Our firmness thus, has a definite peaceful trend... One must not call for war but for peace, one must not worsen the atmosphere, must not carry matters to a conflict. Let us sit down at a table and calmly discuss all questions without resorting to threats."

He reaffirmed the basic thesis of the Soviet Government: "We say that a new world war is not inevitable. However, one cannot consider that the possibility of an outbreak of war had already been fully excluded, inasmuch as imperialist powers exist. Therefore, we must be prepared for any eventualities and must be well prepared."

Apart from restating the Soviet position on the question of a German peace treaty and fully accepting President Kennedy's point regarding the rights of the people of West Berlin, the Soviet leader emphasised the point that he was most anxious to provide all possible guarantees for the proposed free city status for West Berlin.

He said, "Is it possible to find such a solution that would satisfy all countries that fought against Germany and would not disturb the way of life in West Berlin? Yes, it is possible and we propose such a solution—to grant West Berlin the status of a free city, to give it a guarantee either by the Four Great Powers (the U.S., U.K., USSR and France) or by the neutral nations or by the United Nations". A remarkably wide range of choice for guarantors, indeed.

Peace Plan Proposed

Nor is it the Soviet Union alone which is going out of its way to propose an acceptable settlement of this thorny problem. The German Democratic Republic has on July 6 adopted a German peace plan and an appeal to the people in West and East Germany.

Walter Ulbricht stated in Berlin on July 7 that the German peace plan stipulated the establishment of a German peace commission, comprised of representatives from the parliaments and governments of the two German States. The commission was to work out proposals for a peace treaty through which another war launched by Germany could be prevented forever to guarantee the enjoyment by the German people always of peace and complete equality in the international community; to find means for a peaceful settlement of the West Berlin question on the basis of the peace treaty.

Ulbricht stated that the peace treaty would also open the way to the reunification of the two German States through the establishment of a confederation.

He reaffirmed that the German Democratic Republic would not interfere in the internal affairs of West Berlin as a demilitarised free city. It would ensure that West Berlin would maintain its

communications with all sides. But if the Western Powers refused to respect the rights of the German Democratic Republic, then they could not expect it to consider their rights and interests, either.

Thus, while not backing down an inch despite all the sabre-rattling from the West the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries have made proposals which, to say the least, merit serious consideration and which open the door to negotiations at different levels. It must be the strenuous endeavour of all peace-lovers and peaceable governments to ensure that these negotiations do begin. A detente and not a showdown is the imperative need of the hour.

KOREA—two paths

THE Soviet Union and the Korean People's Democratic Republic signed in Moscow a treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance on July 6. This event has not attracted the attention that it deserves, while banner headlines have been given to the petty quarrels and conflicts among the U.S. puppets in South Korea.

The treaty provides for mutual military assistance and support in the event of armed attack against either side. Speaking at a Moscow meeting where the signing of the treaty was announced, Khrushchov stated, "We are not in favour of signing military agreements, and we have been obliged to sign this treaty of a defensive nature because the Governments of the USA, Japan and other Powers have turned down all our proposals for the relaxation of tension and the ensuring of security in the Far East."

He emphasised that the Soviet-Korean treaty has no aggressive aims and that the sincere desire of both signatories was that the military articles in the treaty would never have to be invoked in practice. At the same time the Soviet Premier warned the would-be aggressors that "if an attack is made on the Korean Democratic People's Republic, the Soviet Union will regard it as an attack against itself and will support the Korean Democratic People's Republic with all forces and by every means."

He pointed out in this connection that the events in South Korea occupied by foreign troops, show that "the establishment there of an open fascist military dictatorship can further aggravate the situation in the Korean peninsula."

Speaking on the same occasion the Prime Minister of the Korean Democratic People's Republic stressed that the present defensive treaty would further the prospects of the peaceful reunification of the whole of Korea. He reiterated the proposals made sometime ago by his Government that the first prerequisite for such reunification was "Koreans negotiating with Koreans".

This required the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea, just as the Chinese People's Republic had required that at these negotiations the representatives of the Korean Democratic People's Republic would urge the acceptance of the idea of a Confederation of the two Korean States as the first step to complete unity.

The dogfight between the South Korean fascist leaders has only underlined the grave menace building up in that area. The 31 member military junta had long been splintered into rival factions, of which the one led by General Pak has ousted the one led by General Chang. Arrests have duly taken place and the ex-leader has been duly denounced as having been too "soft".

What adds a macabre touch to this sordid affair is the charge levelled by General Pak that General Chang wanted to hamper "Korean initiative" and was planning to hand over full powers to the U.S. troops led by General Magruder. It is quite obvious that if the U.S. authorities had wanted, in the least, to prevent this second coup they had only "to say the word."

The reason for their so-called passivity is simple. They wish to escape the odium attaching to frequent coups and the establishment of military dictatorships as a result of such coups. Moreover, as the London Economist (July 8) notes: "There is no doubt that the planner of the May coup was Colonel Kim Chong-nil, a young, able and ambitious officer who, as undisputed head of the secret police and intelligence operations in the new regime, is probably now the most powerful individual in South Korea."

What this august Tory organ "forgot" to add was that Colonel Kim has long been in the pay of the Central Intelligence Agency of Allen Dulles. Whatever the Generals may do, it is this man and his masters who handle the destiny of South Korea.

The U.S. protestations of innocence have another aspect to them which needs emphasising. Under the garb of being unable to "control" the Korean "rebel" coup leaders, the agents of Allen Dulles may well be urging them on to nefarious adventures. Having cast off the fig-leaf of democracy, having resorted to the most savage repression, the U.S.-backed South Korean fascists will certainly have not the least compunction in attempting to repeat Syngman Rhee's ill-fated "March to the North".

The very fact that the Soviet Union and the Korean People's Democratic Republic have signed a mutual defence treaty at this time indicates that some new danger looms in the Korean peninsula. The signing of the treaty and the alerting of world public opinion will, of course, go a long way in nipping this danger in the bud.

—MOHIT SEN

(July 11)

TAGORE CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS

GREAT ENTHUSIASM ALL OVER EASTERN EUROPE —SAYS GOPAL HALDAR



An East Berlin admirer of Rabindranath has sent us the above photograph along with a number of others. He writes: "I would like to present the photos attached to this letter, to your paper. On the occasion of the birthday of your great scholar and philosopher, Rabindranath Tagore, many events were organised here in the GDR—German Democratic Republic—to honour this outstanding Indian. One of these events was the renaming of a street in the Berlin borough of Gruenau where I am living, as 'Rabindranath Tagore Street'. This is a street where many well-known GDR artists live, among them writers and actors."

We are grateful to Mr. Horst-Guenther Nissel of Berlin—Gruenau, Buxensteinallee 18, GDR, for this loving present he sent us all this way—Editor.

I HAD the opportunity to participate in the centenary celebration of the poet in certain Eastern European countries—viz., Bulgaria, Hungary, East Germany on invitation from them and visit some others—Britain, U.S.S.R. on my way back about that time in May and June. I feel it a duty to share with my countrymen my experiences there, as that will enable us to realise a few facts viz., how Rabindranath Tagore is loved and admired by broad masses of people in those countries; what aspect in particular of his genius has appealed to them naturally and inevitably in the circumstances; and lastly, how this makes them feel a keener interest in India and the Indian celebrations of Tagore's birth centenary. This was stated by Sri Gopal Haldar, who along with Smt. Maitreyee Devi, is General Secretary of the All-India Committee of the Tagore Centenary Festival.

I was bound for Sofia on invitation from the Bulgarian celebration committee when the plane was delayed, I was received in Budapest by the Hungarian celebrations committee and had to participate in their celebrations in Budapest, Lake Balaton (May 5-6).

In Bulgaria, where I was a guest for 13 days, a most crowded programme confirmed my same experience:

1) These people had carefully preserved the memory of Tagore's visit to them about 35 years ago. Everyone could recall it with love and pride.

2) Tagore's life and genius have come to acquire a new significance in their eyes since the war and the woeful sufferings that men and women have in these countries directly undergone. The poet and the humanist are inalienably one in their eyes.

3) In translations in their own languages they recited poems and long passages from Tagore which I saw deeply moved them because of their noble appeal.

4) Recitations of the poems in original Bengali, I found, in which the poetical value of Tagore's language could be directly apprehended, were everywhere demanded and received by the audience with enthusiasm. Tagore's creative works were not unknown to them; and "Gora", I found, was highly appreciated.

As in Bulgaria and Hungary, so in East Berlin, which I visited later, I found that the Tagore celebrations were organised by the people of the country and their intelligentsia. It was otherwise, I

FESTIVAL AT BHAGALPUR

"OUR successes have by far surpassed our expectations", was the frank admission made by Prof. Amal Bose, Secretary of the 'Bhagalpur Rabindra Shatvarsiki Samaroh Samiti'.

The eleven days, from May 23 to June 3, during which the celebrations were held, will remain as red letter days in the cultural life of Bhagalpur town. All together 10 dramas of Tagore were staged, every day a veritable feast of Rabindra Sangit and dance was held; various symposia drew together many learned persons who delivered 24 lectures touching on almost all the aspects of Tagore's life and work. In the last piece of the festival a grand Kavi Sammelan-cum-Mushaira was held in which Hindi, Urdu and Bengali poets vied with each other in paying tributes to the memory of the great son of the motherland. The

activities in this connection in USSR.

I am not sure about UK and USA but I found a new interest in Indian life and letters, and Indian affairs in the countries I visited—a keenness to share with us the message of our poet and an eagerness, if possible to participate in the Indian centenary celebrations that are to take place here early this winter.

common chord that ran through every item of the grand celebration was the stress on the upliftingly progressive and humanitarian message of the poet. Altogether 250 amateur, boy and girl artists participated in the dance-drama-song programme and 25 thousand people sat through hours to witness them.

There is an interesting story behind this sudden spurt in the cultural activities of the citizens of Bhagalpur. As elsewhere, the district magistrate of Bhagalpur constituted a Centenary committee consisting of the big game Marwari black marketers, Congressite seth, of the town, one "pracharya" who has several cultural rackets to his credit and a few chhotas sahebs of the education department. The D. M. refused to hear any suggestion contrary to his own choice of those cultural gems.

This bureaucratic obstinacy was more than the people could bear. As a mark of protest the above-named Samity was formed. It consisted of such literary figures as Banaphool, cultural and public activists like Prof. Amal Bose, Dr. Samy, Dr. A. K. Mitra, Rabindra Ghose and others. In no time the Samity won the active support and sympathy of almost all the poets, writers and other sections of the intelligentsia of the town, irrespective of their language.

DANGER OF COMMUNAL FLARE-UP IN ASSAM

* FROM BACK PAGE

Delhi: He tried to induce Sri Shastri to invite the Communists, but failed in his attempt. His purpose, according to these sources, was to get the Communists committed in the compromise as one of the parties so that the Communists might not score an advantage over them.

Likewise, some of the Sangram Parishad leaders, it is learnt, requested the Communist leaders of Karimganj to accompany them to New Delhi even though they were not invited and even offered to bear the cost of the journey. The Communist leaders are reported to have declined the offer saying that it is only their all-India leaders that were competent to negotiate.

Embarrassing Questions

It is learnt that already some people have started putting embarrassing questions to the Sangram Parishad leaders who, finding it difficult to face them squarely, have been reportedly trying to divert the public anger against the Muslims. It is apprehended that as the situation in Cachar becomes rather hot for the Sangram Parishad leaders, they would try more and more to point their accusing fingers at the Muslims as responsible for the collapse of the movement and for thrusting the compromise on them.

The Congress leaders, too might not yield in this regard to the Sangram Parishad. If the present open attack of a section of Calcutta Press against the Muslims continues—there is little indication that it will not—another round of communal flare-up may not be very far though it may not assume the nature of the Hallakandi incident of June 19.

In this connection, it is also pointed out that the Assamese Hindus so far did not side with the Bengal Hindus against the Muslims. But once the current estrangement between the Assamese Hindus

and the Bengal Hindus eases a little, the Assamese Hindus might not lag behind their Bengal co-religionists in the crusade against the Muslims.

That is why observers fear that the much-desired peace that is likely to come to Assam now may eventually turn out to be short-lived, unless the situation is now tackled with extreme caution by both the official and non-official agencies. This is stressed all the more because it is alleged that even very highly placed persons have not hesitated to utilise the communal feelings of the people for political advantage.

An intriguing disclosure was made by no less a person than the Chief Minister, followed by the State Food Minister, that Sri Abdur Rahman Choudhury, the President of the Sangram Parishad of Cachar had written a letter to the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar intimating him that he himself had resigned the Presidency of the Sangram Parishad following the directive of the Assam Pradesh Congress Committee to Congressmen of Cachar to dissociate from the Sangram Parishad. This letter was written to the Deputy Commissioner three days before the Satyagraha started on May 19. This disclosure remains yet to be contradicted and hence it has intrigued observers here. Sri Abdur Rahman Choudhury led the Sangram Parishad delegation to New Delhi for the negotiation with the Union Home Minister.

Though perhaps aimed at pacifying the seemingly agitated mind of a section of the Assamese-speaking people, Assam Pradesh Congress President's recent statement that the deletion of the Mahakuma Parishad clause from the Language Act would only make the job of the supporters of Assamese language in Cachar easier has been characterised by many sober observers here as another "incitement" and "provocation".

The APCC Chief said that after the deletion of the Mahakuma Parishad section, it would be at the discretion of the village Panchayats to opt for Assamese language by "simple majority" and as there would not be town people in the Panchayat meetings, the rural people—whom he considered supporters of Assamese language—could easily decide in favour of Assamese language. It is held by observers that under the Panchayat Act a Panchayat is not vested with the power of determining the language question.

Secondly, the statement of the APCC Chief is regarded by many as a direct encouragement to the supporters of Assamese language in Cachar to have a trial of strength with the supporters of Bengali and this would vitiate the atmosphere, in that district. Thirdly, this statement would create distrust among

the Bengalis about the purpose of the Assam Congress leadership and the State Government. It is in this context that his statement has come in for serious criticism.

Assam's Chief Minister has at last admitted that the reason behind the Hallakandi tragedy was not language. He did not believe that it was because of any love of the Bengali-speaking Muslims for the Assamese language that they opposed the language movement for the recognition of Bengali language as an additional official language of the State. The Chief Minister is reported to have told this to the Convenor of the All India Youth Convention, in course of a talk with the latter.

Among Hill Leaders

It is learnt that the decision of the Tura session of the All Parties Hill Leaders Conference (APHLC) to reject the proposal for Scottish pattern of Autonomy was arrived at after a bitter fight between the moderates and the extremists in the Conference. It is said that in the debate which was marked with "more emotion than logic", the Secretary of the Council of Action of the APHLC threatened at least twice to resign if the extremists would not see reason.

So heated was the debate, one of the moderate said, that the Secretary once actually threw away his file and was about to walk out. Quite a few of the other office-bearers of the Council of Action also wanted to resign and agreed to continue "just for the time being" after much persuasion. The above source further disclosed that it was because they would not get another political platform immediately that many of the leaders of the moderate group had to ultimately agree to continue in the APHLC, though reluctantly.

The said moderate leader further stated that if the Hill Congress had joined the session, instead of taking their unilateral decision, "we might have defeated the extremists". Abandonment of the Congress "reduced our strength considerably" and "we could not carry the day."

Meanwhile the resignation of the Chairman of the Action Council and his disclosure that he would convene another All Parties Conference later on, is considered a significant indication that the decision of the Tura session might lead to the disintegration of the APHLC. Incidentally, the Chairman who has resigned is a Mizo.

The Khasi Hills District Congress has embarked on a serious campaign in favour of the Scottish pattern proposal and against the Tura decision of the APHLC. This, it is believed, will make it harder for the extremists to push on with their stand.—(IPA)

SCRAP-BOOK

DANGEROUS PORTENT

MURDERERS of the tribe who killed Mahatma Gandhi are active again. The man who is most respected and loved in this country, the man whose life is regarded very valuable by the Indian people and who is wished many many happy years of life every November 14 by people of all shades and belonging to different countries, is their target now.

These lines may appear as a fantastic description of the situation in our country and yet, I say, I have not put it so crudely. The report on the basis of which I have written these lines is much more blunt and shocking. Not to bring it to the notice of the people would be a serious lapse on my part. So I give you the relevant facts first:

"If you can do anything—Kill Nehru," that is the reported banner line of a weekly from Madhya Pradesh whose copies were confiscated before distribution. The name of the weekly, as per report before me, is Devdoot. Its editor and special correspondent have already been arrested by the police.

These facts are reported in the Bhopal edition of a Hindi daily, Nav Prabhat, of Wednesday July 5. (This daily is printed, as its front page declares, simultaneously from Bhopal, Indore, Gwalior, Ujjain and Agra.) The three-column headline of this story on the front page of the daily announced: Sri Nehru's Jabalpur Tour, Police Extra Cautious.

Besides this sensational disclosure the Nav Prabhat said that Jan Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha leaders had made every possible effort to make Sri Nehru's Jabalpur visit on July 11 a complete fiasco. These elements have been criticising Nehru's stand on Jabalpur riots ever since he made a public statement condemning riots in Madhya Pradesh.

Nav Prabhat has described the situation in these words: Unfortunately the poisonous propaganda directed against Sri Nehru in the recent past has not been replied publicly from any quarters except by some newspapers.

I do not know for whom the daily Nav Prabhat speaks but this much is certain that the Organiser's editor Malkani (last week wrongly referred as D. R. Malkani) or its scribes will not be able to call it "Red". As far as the attitude of the Jan Sangh towards Nehru is concerned I do not wish to repeat what I have said so many times. Every week Organiser devotes full two to three pages to tirade against Nehru.

What is obvious from the above is that Jan Sangh, RSS and other communal forces are out to create

trouble. A situation has developed in which they are prepared to go to any extent to fulfil their aims. The dangerous portent is too ominous to be ignored any more.

"ALOOOF FROM POLITICS"

OUR criticism of an RSS camp in Lucknow in these columns (New Age, June 25) coincided with the defence of RSS by its General Secretary, Eknath Ranade, in Delhi. Addressing the closing ceremony of the RSS officer's training camp in Delhi, on June 25, Ranade tried to remove some "fallacies" from the minds of his critics. Here is one gem from his speech. Eknathji enlightens us in these words: "The Sangh is aloof from politics even though it has given freedom to its workers to participate in politics in their capacity as citizens of a democratic country."

Having said so, in the next breath he talks worst communal politics: "Sangh is work of pure organisation. Sangh wants to organise the whole Hindu society."

But that is not all. He declares: "The five year plans, Bhakra, Hirakud, the steel mills of Durgapur and Bhilai and the oil refineries of Ganhati and Barauni are of 'no use in unity of the country. In fact they may actually encourage quarrels."

And finally comes the real political slogan of the Sangh: "the slogan of a socialist pattern of society can also never lead to the progress of the country."

And how can the country progress then? Organiser has given "the substance of Sri Eknath Ranade's speech". It says "Neither pseudo-secularism nor socialism can unite our country, which can be held together only on the basis of nationalism rooted in Hindutva..."

Is it not the way the fascists talk? Is it not politics? And yet the RSS leader claims that RSS is aloof from politics!

A MINISTER'S INFLUENCE

S ANJEEVA Reddi by this time should have received in his office a letter written by a citizen of Bharatpur, a copy of which has reached me recently.

According to this communication "an elder brother", "a twice or thrice failed matric son" "a close relation" of the Minister concerned are all employed in various concerns of a Marwari industrialist. Then there are instances of this minister's "men" who are also paid by the Marwari firms for services, the value of which the Marwari must be knowing fully well.

What shall the Congress President do in this case? I do not know. Influence of a Central Minister is indeed great.

—AGRADOOT

RACIAL ARROGANCE IN WEST GERMANY

From Our Berlin Correspondent

"THE native problem here is in good hands. The experience gained here could be applied in the whole of Africa". This disgusting statement was not made by a British imperialist of the last century or by a Tory supporter of Verwoerd. It was made by a German not in the Third Reich, but in the Reich of Herr Adenauer.

And it was no ordinary German. At that time he was Minister of Agriculture on an official visit to South Africa. Today he is the head of the West German State. Yes, it was none other than Dr. Heinrich Luebke. The rich experience of Verwoerd has not been applied to the whole of Africa, much to the disappointment of Luebke. But it is applied in his own country. It would be wrong to say that racism is raising its head in West Germany for it had never lowered it.

The 'theories' of racial supremacy as propagated in the days of Hitler are common knowledge. In those days Germans were supposed to be 'Herrenvolk' (master race) and the Slavs, Jews and coloured people were regarded as 'Untermenschen' (sub-human).

After the war it was hoped that the Herrenmenschen would come to their senses and the Untermenschen would be regarded as also human. These hopes have proved to be false, so far as West Ger-

many and West Berlin are concerned. Just a year ago, the West German Press characterised Sekou Toure as "wild" and "half-cannibal".

Going through West German newspapers one is shocked to find how alive and kicking racism is. There are thousand of foreign students in West Germany and West Berlin. Many young people in India dream of studying in West Germany. They think they can learn a lot there. What they do not know is that they also have to face humiliation.

Recently an Indian student Philip Vallaparampil said during a talk in a Youth Club in West Berlin that it was difficult for coloured students to get a room. While he was working in ASTA (allgemeiner studentenausschuss—General Students Committee), in one day the organisation received 27 subtle offers with the remark that coloured students were not desired. He stated that in Munich, the situation was even worse. It is very difficult for an African to get a room. When he is lucky enough to get one, he has to pay up to 200 marks per month, twice as much as a white student pays.

Katta, a student from Cameroon, searched for a room in Hamburg for one month before he got one for seven marks per day. "I had to pay for my colour" was his remark.

Some one might say that racism is just a remnant of the past and cannot have any place among the educated. It is a mistake. It exists even in the universities. Last year a Ghanaian medical student was kept out of a delivery room in the hospital of West Berlin's "Free University". How could a black man dare see how a white woman gives birth to a white baby!

There have been many cases of coloured students (including Indians) not being admitted into bars. Recently twelve members of a Sudanese students' delegation, who were in West Germany on an official visit, were refused admission into a bar in Fulda with the remark, "we do not want any blacks". The protests of their German hosts and the fact that the delegation had been officially welcomed in the municipality, produced no positive result.

One hears so much about "freedom" from the mouths of West German dignitaries. What does it look like in case of foreign students? DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service, an organisation financed by the West German Foreign Ministry) has framed new rules under which the students have to promise to remain neutral on political issues, "specially in political matters concerning the Federal Republic" as an official put it. Any contravention of these rules will be punished by cancellation of the scholarship or even expulsion from West Germany or West Berlin.

As one can see, these rules will hit specially the coloured students who often demonstrate in support of people fighting against colonialism. The Algerians, and Africans as a whole, have been very active in the past. Their mouths had to be shut. It means Indian students cannot demonstrate or publicly denounce Portuguese atrocities in Angola or support their brethren in Goa, Daman and Diu, because it is a matter concerning the Federal Republic. The Minister for Economic Miracle, Erhard expressed his deep confidence in the Salazar regime while on an official visit to Portugal. It is no secret now that West Germany has supplied arms to Portugal, which are being used in massacring the Angoleses and perhaps our own brethren in Goa, Daman and Diu. I think Philip Vallaparampil spoke for many when he said, "Even when we run the risk of being punished, we shall resist and, if necessary, organise protest demonstrations."

Many foreign students, disillusioned by their experiences in "Free" West give up their studies there and cross over. Recently a large group of Arab and African students came over to GDR, where, as Hamed Mahmed (Sudan) put it, "the doors and the hearts were open for us". Al-Hakim, Mohmoud (Iraq) added: "It is difficult to live in a country where there is no freedom."

NEW AGE

EDITOR: P. C. Joshi

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RENEWED CAMPAIGN OF SLANDER AGAINST INDIA IN W. GERMAN PRESS

The notorious Peter Schmidt whose anti-Indian book *India With and Without Miracles* published in West Germany and displayed all over the country in an exhibition officially organised by the West German Embassy here led to a furore in the last session of Parliament continues to carry on his anti-India campaign.

It will be recalled that following protests in Parliament and press last March, the West German Embassy which first tried to deny official sponsorship of the book that suggested building gas chambers instead of steel plants for India's 400 millions, announced that it was withdrawing the book from the exhibition it had organised. After it had been caught red-handed parading the book which was correctly described as a new version of Miss Mayo's *Mother India* (which appeared in the 'thirties and was denounced by Mahatma Gandhi as a gutter inspector's report) the West German Embassy had even issued a public apology.

But that apology never saw the light of day in West Germany. It was meant only to silence Indian criticism, not to stop the

anti-Indian campaign in West Germany itself.

Not only the book *India With and Without Miracles* continues to circulate there but Peter Schmidt seems actually to have stepped up his anti-Indian campaign and the West German press has opened wide its hospitable columns for a veritable Niagara of slander against India.

"Kashmir Should Belong To Pakistan"

Peter Schmidt's latest is an article in *"Solingen Tageblatt"* on conditions in Kashmir. Full of lies and slanders against India, this article is based on Peter Schmidt's visit to Kashmir that was undertaken with the knowledge and consent of the

Government of India even while that Government, according to replies given in Parliament, knew full well that Peter Schmidt was already busy slandering India and was interested only in getting more ammunition for his slander campaign.

Pakistan Times, controlled and run by Ayub's military dictatorship, has now gleefully published (July 4) Schmidt's *Solingen Tageblatt* article in full with the headline: "Seamy Side of Life in India-held Kashmir: German journalist exposes Nehru's popularity claim." Full of characteristic West German contempt for the people of any former colonial country, Schmidt depicts Kashmiris as a greedy lot who pounce upon "helpless" foreign tourists to deprive them of their cash by all sorts of subterfuges.

As for the political conditions in Kashmir Schmidt "found to his horror the fragrant air of the otherwise flower-bedecked valley mixed with the stink of spies and intelligence men

from India who serve to stuff torture cells and prison camps in the State with 'political opponents' (of the puppet regime headed by Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed) who are detained 'without even a trial'."

According to this illiterate but thoroughly concited West German scribe, "it was clear from the beginning that this State, not only for its Islamic tradition and religion, but also for its geographical position — the source region of the Indus basin — should belong to Pakistan.

"What really happened," according to this know-all from Hitler's tribe, "in those October days in 1947 was that the people disturbed by rumours caused by the negotiations of their Maharaja in New Delhi rose to a revolt and were crushed down by his troops. The Kashmiris tried to counteract the Indian plans. The Maharaja's men meanwhile asked for the help of the Indian troops. The 'saviours', however, settled down and although Nehru

had pledged before the UNO to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir, until now he has escaped the realisation and fulfilment of the promise."

According to this strictly "factual narration" ("What Really Happened"), there was no Pakistan-instigated, British-organised 'tribals' invasion of Kashmir, no atrocities by the raiders, no resistance by the people, and those who asked for India's help were Maharaja's men, and so on.

The whole thing is a pack of lies from beginning to end as anyone with the slightest knowledge of Kashmir would know. It is timed deliberately to supplement Pakistan's current campaign of calumny against India.

And yet it is circulated through respectable mass circulation journals in West Germany, thanks to India Government's misplaced hospitality — and, so far as we know, there is as yet not a word of protest from our side to Bonn!

GAGARIN, FILM FESTIVAL & AIR DISPLAY

* FROM FRONT PAGE

was from Delhi so that he should not miss seeing India's architectural masterpiece. He was amused when told that the journey will take less than ten minutes on his spaceship Vostok. He regretted that his space flight did not take him over India and took an orange from the table to explain the route of his cosmic journey round the earth. He good humouredly signed the orange after tracing his orbit over it.

The international film festival on Sunday also opened with a colour documentary devoted to Gagarin's breathtaking feat of April 12 this year. The film for the first time shows the spaceship Vostok taken out to be fixed to the nose of the rocket and the thrilling sight of the take-off as the huge rocket blasts its way vertically upwards in clouds of smoke. There are many inside shots of the spaceship and Gagarin's face is shown as it was televised to earth and filmed and watched on many screens.

The film also shows the rigorous training Gagarin and other candidates had to go through in preparation for the flight. There are excellent shots of a flier floating about in a special plane in a state of complete weightlessness and of Gagarin during his epoch-making flight performing his duties and taking specially prepared space food out of toothpaste like tubes.

The film called "First Journey to the Stars" wonderfully brings out the great outburst of joy and merriment that followed the great space adventure and was a fitting film to open the Moscow festival, greeted repeatedly by thunder-

ous applause during and after the showing.

Earlier during the day Moscow was witness to another thrilling spectacle as Aviation Day was celebrated here at the Tushino airfield. The air display was opened by 44 planes spelling out "LENIN" in the sky. The breathtaking and exciting spectacle lasting two hours included whirlwind flying acrobatics on jet and supersonic planes, mass parachute jumps and display by countless helicopters one of which carried the model of spaceship Vostok and one even carried under it a prefabricated house with doors and windows.

At least ten new and latest types of jet aircraft were shown, some flying twice the speed of sound disappeared vertically in the sky within seconds. Huge jet bombers carrying air to ground rockets and jet fighters carrying air to air missiles crossed the sky like lightning before foreign military attaches could lift their binoculars.

But even this fleeting glimpse impressed foreign aviation experts tremendously as it was enough to show the invincible might of Soviet air fleet and its great technical superiority in all fields. The American air attache summed up after the display "It was a very impressive spectacle. It is obvious that Russians continue to develop all classes of aeroplanes. They do not stand in one place."

Indeed they don't and let that be a good lesson and a warning to him and others. Very soon many more surprises await them: on July 30 the new Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will be published.

INTROSPECTION IN ASSAM

Was it all worth the price — the police firing, the curfew, the riot, and all the bitterness that accompanied these? — This is the question that is uppermost in the minds of many in Assam today.

In a mood of introspection quite a few are asking whether the solution of the language tangle as found in the Shastri Formula was not very near to what was originally enjoined by the Pant Formula, which the Congress in Assam went back upon — by introducing the amendment permitting Mahakuma Parishads to alter Cachar's official language from Bengali to Assamese — and for which, strangely enough, the Communists alone fought in the Assam Assembly.

THE Cachar Congressmen, who have brought back the Shastri Formula today from New Delhi, could very well be reminded that they did not fight for even this in the old Assembly but had stuck to the demand for making Bengali the additional State language for entire Assam. When they failed to get that they merely abstained from the Session and did not join hands with the Communists to defeat the Mahakuma Parishad amendment.

Notwithstanding these questions that have been agitating the minds of certain sections, the statement of the Cachar Sangram Parishad leaders that they have not returned from New Delhi disappointed is taken as an indication that there will be no immediate revival of the language agitation in the district of Cachar by either the Congress which, left to itself, might not have at all entered the fray, or the Sangram Parishad which, it is felt here, has already lost its face with the people of Cachar. The discomfiture that the Sangram Parishad has suffered is further indicated by the reported request of the Sangram Parishad leaders to the Deputy Commissioner, Cachar, to provide them with

protection as they are said to be afraid of physical assault.

If the movement is not revived — and there is little chance of its revival in the immediate future — it is hoped that peace would return to Cachar, and along with that, the tension in the Brahmaputra Valley would also cool down. But competent observers, however, hold the view that the peace that is coming would be rather an uneasy peace.

Because the Sangram Parishad had pegged their demand very high — their demand was the recognition of Bengali as the second official language for the whole State — and now they had to perforce accept very much short of their demand on which they had roused the feelings and emotions of the people of Cachar and an also excited some expectation in the mind of a section of the Bengali-speaking people of Brahmaputra Valley, the leaders of the Sangram Parishad feel a little embarrassed when they have to face the people.

No better is the position of the Congress leadership of Cachar, their stock is reported to have gone down among the people for accepting a solu-

tion that falls far short of their demand. The Communists were earlier dubbed by the Sangram Parishad leaders as their "unstable ally" for the latter's refusal to identify themselves with the Sangram Parishad or the Congress on the main demand of the recognition of Bengali at the district level in Cachar, with minority safeguards for the Brahmaputra Valley Bengalis. But now the compromise that has been arrived at is considered to have vindicated their position.

The leaders of both the Sangram Parishad and the Congress knew well that they were left with no alternative to accepting the Shastri Formula — and in fact, many observers here think that they would have accepted this right at the time of Shastriji's visit to Assam only if the leaders of the Sangram Parishad had been consulted — and they also knew well that acceptance of the Shastri Formula would cost their popularity.

That is why, it is said by people in the know of the inside story of the Sangram Parishad and the Congress, that no less a person than the President of the Karimganj Congress District Committee, Sri Ranendra Mohan Das tried to get the Communists also associated with the negotiation with the Union Home Minister. Though it is known that there is no love lost between Sri Das and the Communists, yet it was Sri Das who tried to get the Communists also invited to New