

# GREAT RALLY FOR DISARMAMENT

# NEW AGE

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## NEHRU'S CALL TO NATIONS

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

As the Prime Minister raised his hand, together with the thousands of Delhi citizens, in support of the resolution at the Delhi Disarmament Day public meeting, it seemed that the Indian movement for peace had taken a new turn, which is bound to carry the movement to new heights.

THE vote came at the end of a glorious day of activity of a kind we had never been able to undertake before—a united procession and meeting, jointly organised by the Delhi Citizens' Committee for Disarmament and Peace (which had been set up just a fortnight earlier by the major political parties, peace organisations and mass organisations in the Capital.

The very fact that Prime Minister Nehru participated in and addressed the Disarmament Day rally, just one day after his return to India, was proof of the success achieved by the Citizens' Committee. And the Prime Minister's clear and unmistakable call for popular action for peace and disarmament in his speech, will provide an impetus to those who may still be hesitating in coming out wholeheartedly for the work of the broad peace movement.

President Radhakrishnan himself in his message to the Committee described the popular expression of opinion on Disarmament Day as "a contribution, however small, to the efforts of far-seeing statesmen, philosophers and scientists to prevent a catastrophe."

### Greetings From World Leaders

The significance attached to the Disarmament Day meetings by the international peace movement was evidenced by the messages received from Earl Bertrand Russell, Professor J. D. Bernal, the Soviet Peace Committee and other na-

tional peace movements (extracts given elsewhere). These messages in a way gave a greater sense of responsibility to the participants, for they all stressed the vital importance of the role of non-aligned countries and particularly of India.

The rally began with the address by Nuruddin Ahmad, Mayor of Delhi, who presided and called for popular action for disarmament and peace.

Prime Minister Nehru in his address, over half of which was exclusively devoted to the question of disarmament (he also spoke of national integration and other questions, as reported in the daily press), also emphasised the role of non-aligned countries. He said that their efforts had kept the Geneva negotiations going; and even if these negotiations had not succeeded and had made no signi-

ficant progress, the very fact that the Powers continued to talk was important.

Painstakingly, the Prime Minister drew for the audience a picture of the growing danger of nuclear war. He described the possibility of the accidental outbreak of war and quoted the well-known instance of the mistake made by a wrong reading on the radar screen by a U.S. officer, who mistook a flock of birds for an invading air force, and alerted U.S. bombers to attack the Soviet Union.

Pandit Nehru quoted Einstein and other American and British scientists to describe the awful consequences of nuclear war, the devastation which would follow—

the crores dead, the radioactivity, etc.

The present impasse, he felt, was due to the fear which existed on both sides. And he approvingly quoted the Charter of the UNESCO to show that war must be fought out of the "minds of men."

### Ban The Tests

The main resolution (full text given in last week's New Age), which was unanimously adopted by the huge rally, called for agreement for complete and general disarmament and the banning of nuclear weapons. On nuclear tests, the resolution called for agreement

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## NEUTRALS' PLAN AS BASIS

### Soviet P. M. Receives Indian Delegation

FROM MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW, October 2:

Nikita Khrushchov, the Soviet Premier received a delegation of the Gandhi Peace Foundation in Ashkhabad on Monday.

U.N. Dhebar and G. Ramachandran presented to Khrushchov an appeal of their Conference adopted in June calling upon the nuclear powers to renounce nuclear weapons, to liquidate their stock-piles and to put an end to the manufacture and testing of these devices.

Dhebar and Ramachandran had flown to Ashkhabad accompanied by the Indian Ambassador S. Dutt because the Soviet Premier is at present touring the Central Asian Republics of the Soviet Union. They arrived back in Moscow today.

After receiving the Appeal Khrushchov explained the Soviet viewpoint on this question in detail and the talk took place in an atmosphere of cordiality, mutual

understanding and friendship. Dhebar declared that the Indian people were fully aware of the fact that the Soviet Union stood for peace and appreciated the efforts of the Soviet Government aimed at the maintenance of peace and an early solution of the disarmament problem.

Khrushchov said that the Appeal brought by the delegation expressed the striving for peace

of the broad sections of the Indian people. He assured them that the Soviet Union will continue to wage a tireless struggle to reach an agreement on general and complete disarmament. The Soviet proposals envisaged the prohibition and complete liquidation of nuclear weapons and also included such steps for disarmament which could ensure

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A view of the Delhi Rally for Disarmament

# IMPLICATION OF AN IMPORATANT DECISION

**Editorial**

HOW IS IT to be decided whether a particular caste or

Community should be considered backward or advanced, is it by their caste, or by considerations like economic conditions, level of cultural development, etc?

This question has, for some time, been under discussion in governmental and political circles.

A view has been held in official circles—and endorsed by the Chief Ministers' Conference held in July 1961—that the test of backwardness should not be caste but economic and cultural level. Those who hold this view are also of opinion that considering a social group backward or forward only because of their caste would perpetuate caste as an institution, rather than helping to liquidate it.

On the other hand, it is argued that, whatever one's own subjective feelings and desires may be, the fact remains that there are some castes which, for centuries, have remained socially, culturally and economically backward. This backwardness should be traced to the caste inequalities which have continued for centuries. It cannot, therefore, be removed unless conscious efforts are made to raise such castes to a higher level. Only in this way can caste inequalities be removed and a casteless society built up.

Both these points of view are apparently agreed that the system of caste distinctions and the inequalities that arise from them should be liquidated as quickly as possible. The difference between them is which will help this process better—ending the system of special provisions to enable the backward castes to catch up with the forward or to continue these provisions for as long as these castes have not been able to overcome all traces of caste oppression.

This debate, going on for some time in governmental and non-official political circles, has now been joined by the highest judicial organ of the country. Justice Gajendragadker of the Supreme Court has given his ruling on a writ petition filed by 24 students in Mysore. The writ had challenged the order of the Government of Mysore on making a list of backward classes in the State, all on the basis of caste.

The ruling is a judicial act performed by the highest Court in the land. It concerns itself with interpreting whether the particular order issued by the Government of Mysore is in conformity with the intentions of the Parliament. The conclusion arrived at in the ruling is that the order has transgressed the limits intended by

Parliament. It has, therefore, held the order invalid.

This is not, and need not be, the final word on the subject. The question of policy involved in the writ petition and, therefore, decided by the Court is ultimately within the purview of the legislature, i.e., the Central Parliament. What the ruling given by the Court means is only that, if the intention of Parliament is different from the interpretation given to it by the Court, the Parliament should state clearly what it means and, to that end, pass appropriate amendments to the Constitution.

The ruling itself gives an inkling of the difficulties of the issue involved. It states, for instance, that there are certain sections of the people, other than scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, who are entitled to the benefits envisaged in the constitutional provision for helping the backward classes. Some of these sections of people may well be certain castes. But, if caste is the sole criterion of backwardness, then whole communities like the Muslims, Christians and Jains will remain out of the purview of these special provisions. Is it not likely, the learned judge asks, that there are certain groups among these communities who are "socially and educationally" as "backward" as some sections among the Hindus?

The ruling given by the Court is thus not a denial of the need for special assistance to backward classes other than scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Its point is that caste cannot be the sole criterion for fixing backwardness. It makes a strong and well-argued case for laying down and applying certain scientific tests on the basis of which the social and educational level of a particular section of the people is to be judged. It is the lack of such scientific criteria that, in the view of the Court, makes the Mysore order vulnerable.

While agreeing with the need for laying down clear tests of backwardness, we cannot but raise our voice against the tendency to look upon caste as irrelevant in considering backwardness. For, this tendency is bound to lead to measures which will block the path of advance for the hitherto oppressed castes. That would be against the spirit of the Constitution, against the traditions of the national movement—the spirit of consciously raising the level of life and culture of those masses of the people who have, unfortunately, been subjected to centuries of social oppression. It is not by denying special considerations and concessions to them, but by accelerating the process of their advancement, that the institution of caste and caste consciousness can be liquidated.

## SPOTLIGHT GARUDA

The degree of thought integration among the parties and groups of Hindu communalism appears paradoxical when seen against their lack of organisational cohesion. They speak a common language but organisationally remain apart.

THE Hindu Mahasabha, once the doyen of the Hindu communalists suffered eclipse when the RSS storm-troopers opened their political front—the Jan Sangh. And there was also born the Ram Rajya Parishad (RRP), a chip of the old block, sans loyalty to the block. Besides these, there is the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, a religious-political body, deeply infected with the political virus.

The Hindu Sabha, the RRP and the RSS-Jan Sangh, each claims superiority over the other and thus they remain perpetually torn by dissension. But in this they render a distinct service inasmuch as they prove, once again, that nothing can be more surely fruitful of disruption than an assertion of superiority over others.

On the national plane, these parties sow, sedulously, the seed of disruption and disintegration by forwarding the claim that the "Hindu way of life" in India was superior to any and all others. Their assertion is that Hindus alone are Indians and all others must perforce swim with the "main stream of the national way of life, which is Hindu way of life."

There is patent fallacy in the logic (majority being claimed as the entirety) but it is pressed with the same brutal insistence that the Nazis—claiming supremacy of the "Aryans" over all others—exhibited under Hitler.

One needs no dwelling on the practical complications of that stand: the same complications can be noted in India, too. It leads to the minorities being baited, disruption of the people's struggle for a better life, and ultimately the rise of a dictatorship of the fascist type under the banner of a false kind of "nationalism" that is based on suppression at home and expansion abroad.

In regard to the latter, M. S. Golwalkar has already declared: "Today's Bharat is not the Bharat which our ancestors described.... The picture of Bharat they handed down to us was a grand one. Trivishatp, which cravenly pronounced the conversion of Tibet, comprised a province of Bharat. So also Kandahar, in Afghanistan." (ORGANISER, March 28, 1950)

ALL the above-mentioned parties and groups appeared before the National Integration Committee and it is not surprising to learn, as we do from newspaper reports, that each of these demanded that the supremacy of the "Hindu" must, at all costs, be recognised and established in India. National integration must only mean "Hindu" integration (or the annihilation of all that was non-"Hindu").

The Ram Rajya Parishad is reported to have submitted that India's "ancient heritage" had to be the sole basis of national integration. It sought to negate the fact of history that India had today a conglomerate culture. It averred that a culture in which "Hindus, Muslims and Christian cultures" participated could not have any roots. (Corollary: The Taj must cease to be national glory).

The Sarvadeshik Arya Pratinidhi

Sabha said, it is learnt, that the Rigveda should be the basis for education of the Indians. No minorities should talk of having any grievances; and were any measures taken to remove any handicaps felt by such groups, that would be tantamount to "granting" political concession.

The Hindu Mahasabha suggested the creation of three grades among the Indian people—national, citizen and alien (there was no question of the minorities being a part of the nation, said B. C. Sethi); characterised all Muslims as traitors and demanded the territorial dispersal of all sizeable minority groups of the population.

The theory of Muslims being extra-territorial was also propounded by the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha by saying that it was the duty of the Mussalman in India to exert pressure on the Government of Pakistan when the Hindus were ill-treated there.

NEVER to be outdone, the RSS, father and philosopher of the Jan Sangh, declared categorically that Hindu was the nation in Bharat and that there was a Hindu stream of life which was the national stream of life, and no one residing in India had the right to keep aloof from it.

By "nation" was meant a country with a people, having common traditions and common history, who treated their country as motherland.

But this common history did not comprise the common struggle for freedom against the British rule in which both Hindus and Muslims took part (It has been claimed that community-wise, ninety per cent of the casualties in the great freedom battle of 1857 was Muslim) and in which the RSS played an inconspicuous, nay an inglorious role.

What exactly do they mean by "loyalty" to the motherland? "Loyalty" meant loyalty to the "traditions" of the country and its "Dharma", the latter comprising the theory of Karma as an essential ingredient. A Mussalman or a Christian who did not subscribe to this theory, would, in accordance with this logic of the RSS, be disloyal!

The strangest thing is that the RSS has refused to do its "social work" among the Muslims or the Christians. It does not regard it as its urgent and imperative duty to inculcate "loyalty" among these sections.

It works only to "consolidate" Hindu society and this, work, as everybody knows, is like a fierce rapier. "Consolidation of Hindus" is the hilt, while the blade is thrust at the throats of the Muslims and Christians. The latter are actively baited to the point even of physical extermination at places!

Such is the real creed of RSS-Jan Sangh—not "unbending nationalism" as Babu Sampurnanand once said, but rank Hindu communalism!

The meanest intelligence can see that these parties and groups of communal disruption have no relevance at all in the context of national integration. Jan Sangh, Hindu Sabha and their ilk are only instruments of reaction for disuniting the people of the country.

It is not the least surprising that these parties do not use only the "Hindu dharma" slogan to subvert their nefarious ends. As was seen recently during the Karimganj (Assam) disturbances, the Jan Sangh is not averse to utilising Bengalee-"Hindutani" chauvinism to create division among the working people. Herofochos dressed in lace, that is what they are.

(October 1)

## West Bengal Newsletter

The West Bengal State Council of the Communist Party of India met from September 24 to 27.

BHUPESH GUPTA, member of the Central Secretariat of the Party, explained the significance of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its impact on the struggle for democracy and socialism in India.

The State Council then took up the main issue before it—the Draft Report on the Party Organisation in West Bengal. The report noted that while the influence of the Party in this State had been growing, certain weaknesses and shortcomings persisted in our Party organisation.

It further noted that this was the state of affairs at a time when the prestige, influence and strength of the international Communist movement and of the Communist Party of India had grown tremendously, when the world balance of forces was changing rapidly in favour of the Socialist camp and the attraction for socialist ideas was growing.

The report emphasised that although there were differences inside the Party on certain issues, the most important thing that was to be always borne in mind was the basic unity of the Party because without such fundamental unity the prestige and influence of the Party could not have grown at such a pace.

### Solution Of Differences

The report further stressed that these differences can and must be solved and the Party further strengthened by actively participating in the movements of the people and by strictly observing the party forms and rules, the most important of which was the principle of democratic centralism.

Frank discussion of the political differences in Party units, participation in movements, observance of the Party forms, especially of democratic centralism—these were the main tasks underlined in the report.

Discussions on the report were very lively and continued for three days. Over 40 members took part in it. It was finally adopted by the Council.

The Council characterised the West Bengal Government's "Zillah Parishad Bill, 1962," which is proposed to be introduced in the ensuing session of the State Assembly, as utterly reactionary.

The Council pointed out that the measure sought to abolish democratic procedure of elections and to turn these self-governing institutions into virtually Government-nominated bodies.

Noting that this measure was a sinister attempt to monopolise power in the hands of the ruling party, the Council called upon all Party units to build up a broad-based, united movement for the immediate withdrawal of the proposed measure.

The Council also decided to launch a broad-based mass campaign to force the Government to introduce adult franchise in municipal elections, which are due to take place in February, 1963.

The Council reviewed the campaign conducted during the past two months for increasing the circulation of the Party organ, Swadhinata, and adopted a programme for further stepping up its sale.

The Council further decided to implement a six-month programme, outlined in the Organisational Report, including collection of 2-lakh Party fund, membership recruitment drive and movement against high prices and taxes.

The Council called upon all Party units, members and sup-

porters to collect mass signatures on the Appeal for Disarmament in the week commencing from October 2.

The Council decided to bring out a monthly theoretical journal in Bengali.

The Council nominated Janab M. A. Sayeed as its candidate to contest the bye-election from the Chowringhee constituency in Calcutta.

**EXPLAINING the significance of the Report on the Party Organisation in West Bengal,** Promode Das Gupta, Secretary of the Council, stated in an interview on September 28 that the main thing in the report was the call given to the entire party in this State to observe strictly all Party forms and rules.

Dealing with the context in which the State Council discussed the organisational Report, he said that certain differences of opinion had no doubt arisen in the international Communist movement and in Communist Parties in different countries. But despite this, nobody could deny that the Communist movement the world over, as well as in our country, was marching ahead from strength to strength.

Learning from the experience of their own growing impoverishment and sufferings due to the sharpening of the crisis of capitalism, masses of people all over the world were being irresistibly drawn towards the Communist ideology.

As a result, the influence and strength of the Communist Parties in all parts of the globe—in Asia, in Africa, in Latin American countries, etc.—had grown tremendously.

Promode Das Gupta said that during the Second World War, there were 42 Communist Parties with a total membership of 33 lakhs. But, now, there were as many as 90 Parties with a total membership of four crores.

This breath-taking advance, he emphasised, proved it beyond any shadow of doubt that the forces of unity in the Communist movement were decisively stronger than the forces of disunity.

Pointing out that we were not also immune from the impact of international developments, he said that unfortunately political differences had arisen in our Party too. But even then, more and more people were being drawn towards our Party because of the utter bankruptcy and failure of the policies of the Congress Government.

### Party Of The Future

The people looked upon the CPI as the Party of the future. They had expressed their firm confidence in the Party's policy and plans of action by responding again and again to its call and participating in different movements.

In this situation, Promode Das Gupta emphasised, the only way to resolve the political differences was to maintain the Party forms and to start, within the framework of these forms, political discussions.

The Party's policy about movements, which would be discussed in the context of these discus-

# Party Organisation To Be Geared-Up

FROM JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

sions, would have to be taken to the people; and they would have to be drawn into movements and organisation.

The Party's policy and tactical line would have to be reviewed and reconsidered on the basis of the results achieved. It was only in this way that the unity of the Party would be safeguarded and further strengthened. Promode Das Gupta added.

He drew attention to two essential things which all Party members at all levels should bear in mind while carrying on political discussions. The first was a free and frank expression of one's views; the second was an attitude

of respect and tolerance towards others' views.

Promode Das Gupta further said that the State Council had discussed several other organisational questions, and had decided to launch a campaign against certain bourgeois trends, such as individualism, disregard of collective decisions, a tendency to use the Party for personal gains, etc., which were trying to creep into the Party.

It was for this reason that the organisational Report had laid down that every Party member, from the highest to the lowest level, would be assigned specific jobs, and that there would be a check-up of his or her work. The

selection and the building of Party Cadres would be done on the basis of this check-up.

Referring in this connection to the areas where the influence of the Party was rapidly growing, Promode Das Gupta underlined the importance of a stabilised Party fund to meet the needs of cadres for building the Party organisation in these areas.

Asked whether any new path had been indicated in the Organisational Report, he said: "Apparently, there is perhaps nothing new in it. Yet there is something new, and that is this—we have decided that we will observe the organisational principles of the Party with sincerity and sympathy and with firmness."

# SF's Resounding Victory In Elections

The Students' Federation candidates have won thumping victories in the elections, held so far, to the unions in different Colleges all over West Bengal.

IN the elections in 37 Colleges, the S.F. has secured an absolute majority in 24 Colleges. In two other colleges, progressive-minded students have won the elections. S.F. candidates have been elected to the post of the General Secretary in one College and to that of the Vice-President in another.

The proportion of seats obtained by the S.F. in the unions of the 24 colleges referred to above is generally speaking, three to one. For instance, the S.F. captured 27 out of 32 seats in Kharaspur College. The Congress-controlled Chatra

Parishad could secure only four seats. There will be re-election in one seat, because the rival candidates polled an equal number of votes. It should be noted in this connection that the S.F. won in all the eight seats reserved for women students.

In Raja Peary Mohan College, Uttarpara, S.F. nominees were elected from 36 out of 51 seats. Independent candidates secured eight seats and the rest went to the Chatra Parishad. In Gobardanga College, the S.F. captured 29 out of 38 seats, and nine were

secured by the Chatra Parishad.

These successes of the S.F. are particularly significant, because a campaign of lies and slanders was launched against the S.F. and no efforts were spared to create confusion and division in the ranks of the students.

The main credit for indulging in these nefarious activities goes to the Chatra Parishad. But it did not rest content at that. In at least ten colleges, where it suffered crushing defeats, it resorted to open goondaism.

The student community, however, gave the Chatra Parishad the rebuff it rightly deserved.

## JUTE WORKERS LATHI-CHARGED

OVER 100 workers, including several women workers, of Jute Mills at Kamarnatta, a few miles from Calcutta, sustained injuries when the police lathicharged and teargassed them in the afternoon of September 29.

Thirty-five workers were arrested. About 153 workers of two nearby industrial establishments, who were on strike

demanding bonus, were also taken into custody by the police.

The trouble in Agarpara jute mills started when the management tried to force every spinner in the spinning department of the mills to handle 200 spindles instead of 100 spindles. (See earlier report on page 7).

On September 29, some

workers went to the Manager of the Mills to request him to lift the lock-out. They were waiting in front of the mill gate when the police suddenly attacked them with lathis and tear-gas shells.

The BCMU in a statement strongly protested against the high-handed police action and demanded immediate and unconditional release of the arrested workers.

## BIRLA PLANETARIUM OPENS

The Rs. 25 lakh Birla Planetarium in Calcutta, which has been opened to the public on September 29, is the first of its kind in India and the largest in Asia.

THE projector in the planetarium, which costs rupees seven lakhs, represents the latest attempt by man to reproduce accurately and in detail the part of the universe that is visible to the naked eye of man on the earth. It has been built specially for the Birla Planetarium by the famous Carl Zeiss of the German Democratic Republic.

The instrument is a complicated and delicate, yet heavy

work cylinder like the twin projectors for the sun, the moon and the five "naked-eye" planets, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn.

The Birla Planetarium has been set up with the help of experts from the German Democratic Republic. The GDR, incidentally, has the distinction of having helped to set up all the other five existing planetariums in Asia—at Osaka, Tokyo, Akashi and Nagoya in Japan and the fifth at Peking in China. A seventh planetarium is going to be set up soon at Hanoi in North Vietnam, also with the help of the GDR.

In all, the globes can reproduce a total of approximately nine thousand stars. Within the lattice-

## PICKETING— AGAINST WHOM?

**P**ICKETING of Chinese Embassy in New Delhi on October 1 organised by some political groups in the national capital was not only contrary to the normal standards of international behaviour. It was also part of the move to bring about a reversal of the nation's foreign policy in a reactionary direction.

It is true that the relations between our country and China are strained. It is also true that Chinese armed personnel have crossed into what we consider is our territory. This has led to clashes between the armed personnel of our country and China. It is, however, equally true that our Government is making the utmost efforts to improve these relations. The Prime Minister himself on October 1 told pressmen: "I shall always be prepared for talks whatever may happen provided the other party is decent and is self-respecting to us. I never refuse to talk to anybody."

It is in pursuance of such an approach that under instructions from the Prime Minister, the Defence Minister met and had

talks with the Chinese Foreign Minister, Chen Yi, at Geneva sometime ago.

Explaining why this was done at the very time when clashes were taking place between armed personnel of the two countries, the Prime Minister said that it was necessary to use every opportunity to keep in contact with and talk to those with whom our relations happen to be strained.

Only in this way, he said, can we pursue our policy of trying to bring about a peaceful settlement of the dispute even while defending our borders.

If this is the spirit which guides and should guide the activities of our people, none of us can take a stand that we should boycott celebrations of China's National Day. Those who protested against the "feasting" on China's National Day also protested against Krishna Menon's social contacts with Chen Yi. When neither Krishna Menon nor Nehru behaved as they were asked to, non-official public was asked on October 1 to do the same in a non-official manner. The picketing was, therefore, directed as much against the Nehru Government's policy of negotiations and settlement as against the Government of China itself.

## CONTROVERSY OVER KASHMIR

**T**HE future of Kashmir has once again become a matter of controversy in our country. The Jan Sangh and similar political groups are carrying on a persistent propaganda that the special position which that state occupies in the country's constitutional set-up should be abolished. Kashmir according to them can in no way be different from other states.

The origin of the controversy was a reported statement of Kashmir Prime Minister Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad in which he is alleged to have said that Kashmir is an international problem. This was interpreted to mean that that state's accession to India was, in Bakshi Sahab's view, not final.

Bakshi Sahab has however since made it clear that this was not true. He himself and his government are firmly of the opinion that Kashmir is as much a part of India as any other state. What he had stated was that some people are still attempting to make it appear that it is an international problem.

Leaders of the Kashmir National Conference and of the Government of Kashmir are in full agreement with leaders of the Union Government that the special position occupied by Kashmir cannot continue indefinitely. As a matter of fact, important modifications have already been made, such as extension of the authority of the Election Commissioner to Kashmir etc., etc. Other modifications are under contemplation such as direct elections to the Lok Sabha. The effort is thus to bring about the gradual reduction in the number of points of divergence between Kashmir and other states.

However, for historical reasons known to everybody, Kashmir had to be dealt with in a different way from the other states at the time when the Constitution was being framed. Although some of the reasons have since then disappeared, others still remain. Rushing the process of removing the points of divergence will therefore defeat the very purpose of attempting to

remove them. This is a position which meets with full understanding on the part of the Union Government. Prime Minister Nehru and Home Minister Shastri have authoritatively declared that the process should be carried out with the consent of the people and Government of Kashmir.

The question, therefore, is not whether the difference between Kashmir and other states should be ended, but how and at what pace it should be ended. Should it be ended right now or gradually? Should it be done regardless of the views held by leaders of Kashmir itself?

Connected with this is the question whether we have faith in the common sense of the people of Kashmir. Do we fear that, if we propose to carry out the process gradually and with the consent of the people of Kashmir, they will not agree to end the special positions at any time? Or, do we have enough faith in them to be confident that this can be done with their full consent?

It appears that those who want to force the pace are afraid of the natural process that has already started and towards which several steps have already been taken.

## PLAN TROUBLES

**T**HE Planning Commission is reported to be rather seriously concerned over unsatisfactory results achieved so far in the implementation of the Third Plan.

Its administration advisers are shortly to visit state capitals to prepare for discussions between the Commission and the State Governments on annual plans of the States for the year 1963-64. Shortfalls in respect of three sectors are reported to be pretty serious. They are agricultural production, development of the co-

## NOTES OF THE WEEK

The very mention of the three sectors in which there are shortfalls—agricultural production, co-operation and employment—should be enough to convince any thinking person that the main problem is neither financial nor administrative.

**ROOT OF TROUBLE**  
Even the most balanced allocation of financial resources combined with the most efficient administrative machinery will not raise the level of agricultural production or develop the co-operative movement unless mass of the rural poor are rallied in their millions and brought in the field of conscious and organised activity. Employment programmes also require utmost possible utilisation of the resourcefulness and organised activity of the masses.

It may be that in certain respects reallocation of financial resources is necessary. As for the administrative machinery it certainly needs gearing up. These however are certain partial measures. They do not touch the core of the problem—how to unleash and harness the vast human energy lying untapped in our common people, particularly the rural masses.

This is, in principle, accepted by the planning authorities themselves; hence their emphasis on village production plans, "people's contribution," "Shramdan," etc., etc. It is, however, known and also admitted that all these have remained on paper. The community development which was expected to inspire rural people, rouse them into action and organise them for productive activity has miserably failed in this respect.

The reason for this state of affairs cannot be found out nor the remedy for it discovered by financial and administrative measures now proposed to be taken by the planning authorities. The problem is essentially political. And it is for the political leadership of the country to solve it.

—E.M.S. Namboodiripad

October 3, 1962.

## Hold Fresh Elections In Kerala

★ From Our Correspondent

**TRIVANDRUM, October 3:** THAT the appointment of Pattom Thanu Pillai amounted to nothing short of political corruption and if the Congress decides to cling to power by such foul means it was time that the verdict of the people should be obtained once again—this was the crux of the resolution adopted at the State Council meeting of the Communist Party at Ernakulam on October 1 and 2.

Elaborating the resolution, E.M.S. Namboodiripad told pressmen that

the office of speakership was used to appease the Muslim League once, now the august office of governorship itself had been misused to buy off the reluctant chief minister of a minority party. Such a step violated all norms of political morality and constitutional propriety and deserved condemnation squarely.

If the present government had to be carried on on the basis of such acts of political corruption, a fresh mandate of the people should be sought. Constitution-

ally also resignation of Pattom Thanu Pillai meant resignation of the council of ministers. R. Sankar's swearing in alone would not be proper.

The Council, therefore, called upon the present ministry to resign and fresh elections to be conducted. C. Achutha Menon has given notice of a no-confidence resolution against the ministry headed by R. Sankar for above reasons in the current session of the Legislative Assembly meeting from today.

## Soviet Proposals For Partial Test Ban

FROM FRONT PAGE

even in the first stage of the process the practical elimination of the threat of war.

The Soviet Premier declared that now all the necessary conditions for an immediate solution of this problem were at hand. Strict and reliable control over the prohibition of tests can be effected by the present day scientific means through national facilities.

If the Western powers are not ready at this stage to sign an agreement banning all nuclear tests, the Soviet Union is prepared to conclude an agreement banning tests in atmosphere, in outer space and under water, provided negotiations continue for ending the underground tests as well and all nuclear powers refrain from holding tests while the talks go on.

The Soviet Premier said that his Government was ready to accept as a basis for the solution of the nuclear tests, the proposals put forward by India and other neutral States in the Geneva meeting of the 18 Nations Disarmament Committee.

Khrushchov declared that the claim of certain Western leaders that the Soviet Union had broken

some agreement on a nuclear moratorium was utterly without foundation. Actually there had never been any international agreement on a moratorium on nuclear testing, he said. All nuclear tests in the Soviet Union had been held in reply to the tests conducted by USA and other Western powers.

Khrushchov was asked if he would not agree to end nuclear weapons tests unilaterally and he pointed out that even as early as 1958 the Soviet Union had ended tests of all kinds unilaterally and had called upon the West to do the same. But the Western powers had answered by a new series of tests of unprecedented intensity.

The Soviet leader said that the Soviet Union would continue to press for the solution on the disarmament problem and for the ending of all nuclear tests. Despite the difficulties in the way, he said, the will and efforts of millions of the people of the world who were interested in preventing a nuclear war, like the people of India and the Soviet Union, would prevail in the end. Peaceful conditions for the development and prosperity of all people would be ensured.

Dhebar and Ramachandran warmly thanked the Soviet

leader for meeting them and declared that the Gandhi Peace Foundation would continue to do everything for the success of the forces of peace.

Nikita Khrushchov also bade goodbye to the Indian Ambassador S. Dutt who is leaving his post due to personal reasons.

## INDIAN MPs' DELEGATION

**T**HE Indian Parliamentary delegation which is at present touring the Soviet Union was entertained at a reception in their honour given by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Earlier, the Indian MPs headed by the Leader of the delegation, Sardar Hukam Singh, Speaker, Lok Sabha, met representatives of the Society for Soviet-Indian Cultural Relations at the House of Friendship and paid a visit to the Lumumba Friendship University where they met students from Asia and Africa, the teaching staff and spent some time seeing the vast premises and the well-equipped laboratories.

Dhebar and Ramachandran warmly thanked the Soviet

When they were told that the Hyderabad meeting of the National Council will discuss, among other questions, the question of Organisation, some friends asked me: "What is there for you to discuss on organisation?"

**Y**OU are not like the Congress in which there is perpetual scramble for power and groupism has become a permanent factor.

The problem of organisation, according to these friends, is synonymous with the problem of groupism and inner-Party rivalries. The organisation should be considered hale and hearty if there is no trouble among its leaders and rank and file.

Such a conception of organisation may be all right for a party like the Congress which happens to be the ruling Party. It may also be all right for those parties which are in opposition in the conventional, parliamentary sense of the term—in the sense that they are not in office.

But it is totally inadequate for a revolutionary party dedicated to the cause of bringing about fundamental transformations in the socio-economic set-up. The Communist Party is such a revolutionary party.

The basic political task of the Congress is to maintain itself in power. As for opposition parties in the conventional sense of the term, their political task is to replace the Congress as the ruling party. They are all therefore concerned only with winning elections—on their own if possible and in alliance with certain parties and groups if and where necessary. They require organisation only for winning elections, and after winning them, to maintain their majorities in the legislatures.

For the Communist Party, on the other hand, this is totally inadequate. Its major political task, as laid down in the preamble to its Constitution, is to "develop a powerful mass movement, win majority in Parliament, and back it with mass actions", so that "the working class and its allies can overcome the resistance of the forces of Reaction and ensure that Parliament becomes an instrument of people's will for effecting fundamental changes in the economic, social and State structure".

Only by doing patient and persevering work to this end can the Party successfully "strive to achieve full democracy and socialism by peaceful means".

The major problem of organisation which the Congress has to solve, therefore, is that of groupism. It is because of the existence of this evil that, in several States, the Congress has been unable to win a majority.

It is again due to this that, even in those States where it has been able to win a majority, it has not been able to provide a stable Government. Groupism is thus the major organisational weakness which prevents it from discharging its central political task—that of maintaining itself in power.

## Danger Of Groupism

For the Communist Party too, the emergence of groupism (if, when and where it takes place) will become a serious danger. That is why the International Communist movement has firmly set its face against all forms of groupism or factionalism.

But, as a party which is striving to bring about fundamental transformations in the socio-economic system, the Party requires something much more than absence of groupism or factionalism.

OCTOBER 7, 1962

## Organisational Resolution of CPI

# WHAT IT STRIVES FOR

E. M. S. Namboodiripad

at removing the weaknesses and shortcomings in our work, it will be incorrect to think that weaknesses and shortcomings can be overcome solely by bringing about clarity and unified understanding on ideological and political problems.

This has to be supplemented by conscious efforts to strengthen the Party as an organisation. As Lenin pointed out in his classical polemics against the Mensheviks, the Party does not spontaneously get built up out of economic and political struggles only. Conscious activity by way of building the Party alone can enable it to become the vanguard of the working class and to lead revolutionary mass struggles.

## Two Aspects Intertwined

The Council, therefore, rejected the idea that, since there are political differences and so long as these differences continue, no strong well-knit organisation can be built. On the other hand, the very task of bringing about political unity and understanding requires that the entire Party carries on its work (including the work of striving to resolve ideological differences) in a proper Party way.

It is necessary in this connection to bear in mind that ideological and political differences are bound to arise in the future also. It is natural that, when major changes take place in the world or in our own country, different members and units of the Party look at these developments in different ways.

It is also inevitable that Party members and units working in different areas in the country and in different sections of the people have different experiences, as a result of which they approach several problems from different angles.

Unity of will cannot be brought about, the Party cannot be kept united, by glossing over these differences. They have to be properly thrashed out. In doing this, however, it is necessary to bear in mind that

1. the process of thrashing out these differences should be so carried out that unity of will and action is forged. While making no compromises on essentials, efforts should be made to accommodate one another in non-essentials;

2. even while this process of thrashing out differences continues and when differences have not been resolved, the basic principles of democratic centralism should be strictly observed: Those who have held the point of view which was rejected by the majority, and who have not yet been convinced of the correctness of the viewpoint of the majority, should unhesitatingly submit to the majority decision. This submission of the minority, however, should not remain a

formal act; real and sincere efforts should be made to carry out the majority decision. These are not just a few rules of formal procedure. They are basic principles which flow out of the very process of social development and social thinking which goes birth to classes, ideologies and revolutionary practices.

OCTOBER 7, 1962

formal act; real and sincere efforts should be made to carry out the majority decision.

These are not just a few rules of formal procedure. They are basic principles which flow out of the very process of social development and social thinking which goes birth to classes, ideologies and revolutionary practices.

It is not abstract thinking, abstract formulations made in the process of academic discussions, that enable the Party of the working class to come to correct conclusions. Only the collective experience of the entire Party will enable it to see what is right and what is wrong in the various points of view that emerge in society and therefore get reflected inside the Party too.

Such collective experience can be gathered only if the process of discussion is combined with action, followed by the drawing of lessons from action.

Hence it is necessary to strictly observe the principles of free and frank discussion; to make sincere efforts to come to unanimous decisions on non-essentials; to show no hesitation in taking majority decision on essentials if and when necessary; to carry out these majority decisions; to review the experience of the work of carrying them out and, if necessary, to modify them if and when experience of actual work shows this to be necessary.

Taking the stand that this is the only way in which the Party can overcome its weaknesses and shortcomings, the National Council took two major decisions.

## Need For Discussion

It is necessary, in the first place, to undertake a serious discussion on the ideological and political problems which have been posed before it with a view to framing the new Programme of the Indian Party. The resolution on the 22nd Congress of the CPSU is the first step in this direction.

The second decision is that, without waiting for the completion of these discussions, it is necessary to undertake, as an immediate task, the restoration of Party forms and enforcement of Party discipline.

From the members of the Central Party leadership down to an ordinary member of the Party branch, everyone should be made to examine his own work, see whether he or she is discharging the responsibility which is enjoined on him or her. It is obvious that failure to discharge one's responsibility has become a serious weakness of Party members at all levels.

This weakness cannot be removed, by just discussing the ideological-political problems. Enforcement of Party discipline should be taken as an independent task which has to be fulfilled right now.

This task cannot obviously be fulfilled unless the Party Centre—the Central Secretariat, the Central Executive Committee and the National Council—takes certain definite steps to help the entire Party in its political and organisational work.

Some of these steps were resolved upon by the National Council—such as: Writing a monthly political letter to all Party members; writing an organisational letter on the campaigns conducted by the Party in various States and on the current organisational problems; restoring the system of regular reporting; more frequent visits of Central leaders to States; the establishment of a permanent Central Party School; periodical meetings of Party members working in the mass organisations in order to review their work and make recommendations to National Council, etc.

The Central Secretariat which met in the middle of Sept. has further concretised these decisions of the National Council and are taking steps to carry them out.

The steps which have been decided upon by the National Council and the Central Secretariat to strengthen the organisational work of the Party are closely linked with extensive mass activity on the burning problems affecting the life of the people.

Some of these mass campaigns have been decided upon by the National Council itself, such as on tax increases and prices, peace and disarmament, etc. There are a large number of other questions on which the State and District leaderships of the Party are working out campaigns.

Restoration of Party forms and enforcement of discipline should be seen in relation to what Party members do to develop these mass campaigns under the leadership of their units. Improvement of the work of the Party should be seen reflected in the extent to which the Party in a collective manner, and each party member individually, participates in these campaigns.

## Ajoy Ghosh Memorial Fund

Among the campaigns that have been resolved upon by the National Council is the drive for mass collections to the Ajoy Ghosh Memorial Fund. The aim of this fund drive is to enable the Party Centre to construct a building which will not only house its offices, but also to run the permanent Party School and to undertake other forms of educational and organisational activity.

It is to be hoped that the entire Party will take to this campaign. Let them approach all non-party democrats who have regard for the patriotic services rendered by our departed leader in whose memory we propose to construct the building to house the office of the Party in whose development he played an outstanding role.

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# GOA KISANS' DEMONSTRATION

★ From Our Correspondent

Three thousand kisans and agricultural labourers staged a demonstration on September 20 before the Administrative Office at Pernem in Goa.

They were demanding action on the part of the Government to stop the eviction offensive of the feudal landlords of the area and urgent land reforms to relieve the lot of the peasantry.

Organised by the Goa Kisan Sangh, the demonstration came as the culmination of growing discontent among the peasantry against Government's policy of inaction in face of the landlords' eviction offensive and other manipulations, which are leading to a worsening of the lot of the peasantry.

Following liberation from the Portuguese imperialist rule, the peasants of Goa had high hopes that the oppression of landlords under which they had been groaning for centuries due to the Portuguese constantly propping up feudal oppressors, would end.

Far from being fulfilled, these hopes have been dashed by the recent trend of developments on the agrarian front in Goa.

The memorandum submitted to the Administration of Pernem on September 20 on behalf of the kisan sangh demonstrators for being forwarded to the Lt. Governor of Goa, Daman and Diu asserts that the landlords' right to evict the tenants is contributing to uncertainty in the agrarian sector.

It has demanded that all evictions that have taken place since December 19, 1961 and are taking place now on a big scale should be cancelled and prohibited by a special order of the Lt. Governor.

The memorandum has called upon the administration to introduce immediate agrarian reforms and reduce, for the interim period till a final decision is taken on the issue, the rent on paddy fields to one-fourth of the produce.

Other demands voiced through the memorandum are—

● Establish a land tribunal to settle disputes between landlords and tenants;

● Constitute a Land Reform and Agricultural Development Commission to examine the whole question of agrarian reforms and reorganisation of agriculture in Goa, with a special sub-committee to examine the question of *comunidades*;

● Create a co-operative department for agriculture and organise co-operative credit and service societies for supply of manure, improved seeds, machinery, etc.

Following are some extracts of the Memorandum addressed to the Lieutenant Governor of Goa, Daman and Diu.

"We would at the outset draw your attention to the growing discontent among the peasantry of Goa, particularly in the parts where there is large-scale concentration of landholdings or landlordism, as in the district of Pernem, and the uncertainty and apprehension felt by the peasants owing to the apparent indifference and delay of the new administration to enquire into their problems or redress their grievances."

"For centuries long the peasantry of Goa has borne the brunt of exploitation under foreign rule; its worst manifestation being in the case of the peasants of Daman who were reduced to conditions of serfdom under Portuguese rule."

"With this background in view, you will appreciate the keen sense of disappointment felt by the peasants of Goa when so many months after the liberation the new administration has shown little concern for their welfare or taken any measures to alleviate the acute injustice and hardships under which they live and labour."

"It is suspected that this indifference and inaction has been the result of the influence wielded by the feudal vested interests over the administration, as during the former times."

"The inexplicable silence on the need for Agrarian Reforms in Goa, and the efforts made by vested interests to delay such measures, as evident in their reaction to the bold action taken by the Government of India in Daman with the promulgation of the President's Regulation abolishing the proprietorship of villages and granting of occupancy rights to the cultivators—has created serious misgivings in the minds of the peasants about the application of such progressive land reforms in Goa."

"(Instead of such measures being applied in Goa) they witness today large scale evictions by the landlords by way of arbitrary evictions while the Administration looks on complacently. It is this which has further embittered the feelings of the peasants and they are beginning to lose the earlier confidence in the new administration doing justice to their cause. The evictions have also sharpened the antagonism towards the landlords and given cause for agitation."

"The evictions of tenants—attested by the landlords has lent conviction to the apprehension and fears about the future rights and interests of the tenants and peasants."

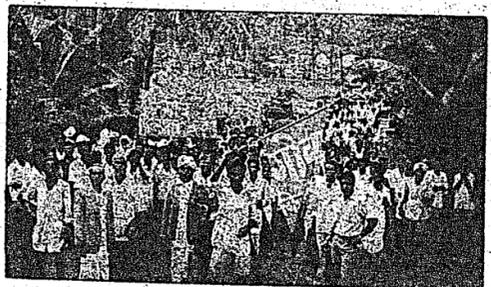
"Further, in view of the long overdue reforms in the agrarian structure and relationship in Goa, especially in the unequal distribution of land which has been the basic source of social strife and agricultural stagnation, the Goa Kisan Sangh suggests to the Government to consider immediately the imposition of land ceiling in Goa, and distribute the surplus lands to the landless and the poor peasants."

"Such a measure, no doubt, would be entirely in conformity with the national objectives laid down for agriculture under the Five Year Plans. This would also provide proper conditions and a psychological fillip for the promotion and development of co-operative farming in Goa."

"An inquiry should be accordingly instituted immediately into the extent of the land holdings in Goa as a preliminary step to fixing of Land Ceiling. It is understood that this should be done swiftly and thoroughly without

modern methods of farming etc. which should be taken jointly in a Land Reform and Agricultural Development Commission constituted of Government experts, officials and representatives of peasant organisations."

"The problem of *Comunidades* should be also treated under this Commission, but under a separate sub-committee. The Goa Kisan Sangh would recommend that the *Comunidades* should be transformed into collective or co-operative farming societies as originally intended by the founding fathers, doing away with the hateful system of 'bidding' and the appropriation of the major proceeds of the major pro-



A view of the peasants' demonstration

duce of the cultivators by the leisure members or shareholders making the *comunidade* into a corporate landlord."

"Further, we feel it urgent and expedient that some immediate relief be given to the hardpressed peasants by way of provisional reduction in rent, at least to one-fourth of the produce or 'rendimento bruto' as recorded in the *zatis* of Pernem, who owe their existence at the hands of the 'Viscount' de Pernem Kaka-sahab Pernekar and other lesser

● To constitute a Land Reform and Agricultural Development Commission with a sub-committee on *Comunidades*, with due representation to the peasants or cultivators, to examine the whole question of agrarian reforms and reorganisation of agriculture in Goa.

● To form a co-operative department for agriculture and organise credit and service societies for supply of manure improved seeds, machinery, etc.

## RAJASTHAN CONGRESS

# A TEMPORARY TRUCE

★ From Our Correspondent

For the last two months the internal strife in the State Congress had come to a head and many times it appeared that there would be open rift between the two groups.

In the first round the main question was of disciplinary action against Kumbharam Arya and after days of representations by both sides, a way out was found in asking Arya to resign his two elective posts just for the sake of propriety; he could recontest for them in the next round of organisational elections. At Pandit Nehru's suggestion Arya agreed to this and for the time being it looked as if the matter would rest there.

But that was not to be. The group led by Sukhadia felt very much disappointed by this very mild treatment of Arya. This led to the declaration by Chief Minister Sukhadia that he would seek a vote of confidence in the Party and if he secures such a vote he would reorganise his Cabinet.

The meeting for this was fixed on September 4. The move for confidence too proved a matter of routine. The other group refused to be drawn into a fight at this stage and on this issue.

On the contrary they wrote to the high command that nobody challenged the leadership of Sukhadia and the latter's move for obtaining confidence is only the first step to act factionally and oust their group from the Cabinet. On September 4 every group voted for Sukhadia; he secured about 85 votes out of the strength of 89. The rest either purposely did not vote like Sukhadia himself or the Speaker, or Hanuman Singh a newly admitted member or were ill.

Following this vote the question of reorganisation of the Cabinet came to the fore. The High Command under these circumstances was not very willing to permit a factional 'squeezing out' of the Arya group. They naturally indicated to Sukhadia what they thought.

Nathuram Miradha who happens to be a leading light of the Arya group sent in his resignation stating that in case that would help restoration of unity in the Party he would willingly keep out. The indication of the mind of the High Command together with the cooperative gestures of the Arya group changed the direction of Sukhadia's original moves.

lords, very much like the peasants did earlier in Daman under the big proprietorship there.

To recapitulate the demands and suggestions embodied in this memorandum:

● Demand to stop immediately the evictions of tenants by a special order or decree to that effect and to come into force as of 19th December, 1962.

● Pending legislation on Land Reforms in Goa, to fix provisionally the rent to 1/4 of the produce.

● To establish a Land Tribunal to settle disputes between landlords and tenants.

## TRADE UNION ROUND-UP

One of the important features of the recent bonus struggle of the cotton textile workers at Bombay, which is now in the process of solution, was the part played by the women workers.

A PART from taking part in the intensive campaign for bonus, the women workers had to forge unity among themselves to meet their own peculiar problems. One of such problems is the question of employment.

### Bombay Women Workers On The March

It may be noted that the number of women workers in the cotton textile industry in Bombay has been on the downward move

Hundreds of women marched from the mills in a procession and assembled at the meeting point.

Among the speakers who addressed the women workers at various mill gates was Ushabai Dange who has been associated with the textile workers movement since 1928. She took active part in this movement after a long absence because she has not been keeping good health.

The new upsurge among the women workers in the textile industry in Bombay for defence of their rights is a significant feature in the trade union movement. It is learnt that the Bombay Ginni Kamgar Union has taken up the demands of the women workers and further steps for realisation of their demands are being considered.



Ushabai Dange addressing a gate meeting of women workers

for a considerably long time. More and more women workers are being progressively thrown out of jobs by the millowners on one plea or the other, the chief among them being rationalisation.

Ever since the end of second World War, the millowners have step by step reduced the working force while increasing the workload. Fight against increase in workload was a main point in the textile workers' struggle along with the demand for a wage rise.

The employment figure in the cotton textile mills in Bombay has gone down from 2,25,000 in 1949 to 1,85,000 in 1961. A major chunk of these retrenched workers was composed of the women workers. Their number fell from 25,000 to 8,000 during this period.

The drive for retrenchment was specially marked following the recommendations of the Textile Wage Board. The benefits which the women workers were legally entitled to receive, such as facilities for crèche, maternity benefits etc., were not to the liking of the millowners and the most convenient way-out for them was to get rid of the women workers themselves.

The bonus campaign provided opportunity to the women workers for rallying once again on their specific demand of security of employment apart from giving solid support to the bonus campaign. They have demanded that there should be no more retrenchments; all the existing women workers should be made permanent and that some form of employment should be provided for the women workers whose services have already been dispensed with.

There were a number of gate meetings and area meetings and on September 22, a mass rally of the women workers was held at Lalbagh mill area of Bombay.



## Plantation Workers Token Strike

MORE than 30,000 workers in the tea-plantation area of Duars stopped work on September 24 on a token strike demanding employment of unemployed workers and on other demands.

The call for strike was given by Zila Chabagan Workers Union and the day was observed as "Anti-Unemployment Day". There were a number of meetings and demonstrations following the strike in various tea gardens.

The strike at Mall, Nagrakata and Banarhat tea gardens was a complete success. In Silliguri, the workers demonstrated in front of the office of the DBIT and demanded speedy solution of their problems.

It is to be noted in this con-

nection that on August 26, the executive committee of the union had decided that from September 10, the workers would go on a three-day token strike and accordingly notice was given to all the tea garden managements.

It was made clear in the notice that the union has decided upon this course of action only because of the adamant attitude of the employers to consider their demands. The said strike was postponed in view of discussions with other tea garden unions and finally a joint decision was taken to resort to a token strike on September 24.

The demands of the workers, *inter alia*, include questions of employment, contracts, welfare, standing orders, leave and restriction in employment of contractor labourer.

But since the Accountant General was determined to send him away from the Headquarters with a view to curbing his activities in the staff Association, turned down his representation and started disciplinary proceedings placing him under suspension in April, 1960.

Two charges were framed against Pillai, viz., (1) insubordination and (2) absence without leave. An inquiry was held and in spite of the facts on record against the charges, the Inquiry Officer submitted his report holding Pillai guilty of both the charges.

Based on the report of the Inquiry Officer, a show cause memo was given to Pillai for removal from service and he was removed from service on November 2, 1960.



A view of the Women's Rally in Bombay on September 22

# Govt. Employee Reinstated

## Accountant General's Order Quashed

NEW DELHI

K. G. PILLAI, a former Clerk in the office of the Accountant General, Madhya Pradesh, at Gwalior and the Additional Secretary-General of the All-India Audit and Accounts Association who was twice removed from service on two charges on two different dates has now been ordered

to be taken back in service by Justice P. D. Sharma of the Delhi Circuit of the Punjab High Court.

The Judge allowed his writ petition on September 26 with costs and quashed both the orders of removal passed against him by the Accountant General, Madhya Pradesh on November 2, 1960 and December 6, 1960 respectively, which were later confirmed by the Comptroller and Auditor General of India in September 1961.

K. G. Pillai while working in one of the Departmental audit sections of the Gwalior office of the Accountant General was transferred to some hundreds of miles away from the Headquarters on January 9, 1960 for a duty which by its very nature was to tour from one place to another, with halt at a place for a maximum period of 7 days or so.

The procedure adopted to post men for O.A.D. (Outside Audit Department) work till the transfer of Pillai was to prepare a list of eligible volunteers and to post them in different touring parties, after giving them sufficient notice.

On receipt of the unexpected orders of transfer to O.A.D., Pillai represented to the Accountant General stating that his transfer might be cancelled or postponed as firstly he was never a volunteer; secondly as he had genuine difficulties at home owing to the illness of his family members supported by medical certificates; and thirdly as he was the convener of an important committee of the Civil Accounts Association.

But since the Accountant General was determined to send him away from the Headquarters with a view to curbing his activities in the staff Association, turned down his representation and started disciplinary proceedings placing him under suspension in April, 1960.

Two charges were framed against Pillai, viz., (1) insubordination and (2) absence without leave. An inquiry was held and in spite of the facts on record against the charges, the Inquiry Officer submitted his report holding Pillai guilty of both the charges.

Based on the report of the Inquiry Officer, a show cause memo was given to Pillai for removal from service and he was removed from service on November 2, 1960.

Even when the first inquiry was pending another charge-sheet was given to Pillai under Rule 4-A of the Central Civil Services (Conduct) Rules 1955, for participating in strikes and exhorting other Central Government employees to resort to strike from July 12, 1960. Pillai pleaded that he being an employee under suspension, could not have participated in the strike and as regards his participation in meeting etc., they were quite within his rights, as he was a chosen spokesman of the staff Association.

The representations made by Pillai again met with the same fate and at the conclusion of an inquiry, a notice was given to him calling upon him to show cause as to why he should not be dismissed from service.

The reply to the notice was to be given on November 7, 1960. But as he was in the meantime removed from service on November 2, 1960, he did not submit his reply to the show-cause memo; yet the Accountant General passed the orders of removal again on December 6, 1960.

Allowing the writ petition, his Lordship observed that no reasonable opportunity was granted in the first case: as is guaranteed under Art. 311(2) of the Constitution.

According to Rule 15(10) of the Central Civil Service (Classification Control and Appeal) Rules, a copy of the statement of findings of the Disciplinary Authority shall have to be given to the delinquent official along with a copy of the report of the Inquiry Officer.

The non-supply of the copy of the statement of the findings of the Disciplinary Authority in the first case had vitiated the entire proceedings which had resulted in the denial of reasonable opportunity.

Quashing the second removal order his Lordship observed that the rule 4-A of the C.C.S. (Conduct) Rules insofar as it restricted the rights on demonstration was ultra vires of the Constitution.

The charge of addressing meetings and exhorting employees to resort to strike etc., can be sustained only as an act of demonstration and as demonstration of such kind falls under the fundamental right, any disciplinary action taken under such a rule was illegal and therefore has to be quashed.

[Punjab in the grip of floods presents a harrowing picture of misery and helplessness. Large tracts of land have been submerged, a number of lives have been lost, thousands have been rendered homeless, crops and communications have been destroyed, thus reducing the Land of the Five Rivers to a land of tears and sorrow. Loss of crops alone is estimated at Rs. 40 crores. Union Minister of Agriculture, Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, who made an aerial survey of the flooded areas in the Punjab last week rightly remarked: "It is a picture of widespread misery and devastation". Here, Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri, veteran Kisan leader of the Punjab and General Secretary of the All-India Kisan Sabha makes a survey of the flooded areas and draws attention to the natural and man-made causes behind the disaster and the need for urgent remedial measures.]

LARGE parts of the Punjab have been seriously affected by the current floods. Among the districts worst affected are Karnal, Patiala, Sangrur, Ambala, Bhatinda, Ferozpur, Ludhiana, Jullundur, Curdaspur and Amritsar. Parts of Hissar, Rohtak and Curgaon have also been seriously affected.

The worst affected area in Karnal district is around the famous holy place of Kurukshetra. The Saraswati river and the Bibi Lake have been breached at many places around Kurukshetra. In Ambala, the worst affected area is in Jagadhri Tehsil. The industrial town of Jannagar and the villages around it are submerged. Rupar and Khara Tehsils are also affected. The Ghaghar river has flooded many parts of Patiala district. The city of Patiala itself faced a serious threat and its many low-lying areas have been flooded.

Sangur district has been a victim of annual floods during the last seven or eight years. Sunam, Dhuri, Dhanoula and many other towns are surrounded by water. The entire Tehsils of Dhuri, Malerkotla Baruala and a big part of Sanguru Tehsil are water-logged. In Ludhiana, the entire Tehsil of Jagraon, large areas of Ludhiana Tehsil and the low-lying areas along the river Sutlej are affected. Jagraon town and nearly 300 villages are under water. In Ferozpur district, Moga and Zeana and Ferozpur Tehsils are the worst affected Tehsils. In Bhatinda, many villages in Rampur Phul, Mansa Bhatinda and Faridkot are affected. Village Nainwala in Bhatinda district was completely washed away.

In Jullundur district, the entire area around Kartarpur and Kapurthala is under water. Many parts of Nakodav Tehsil are also flooded. Amritsar is the worst affected. The bund along river Ravi, known as Dhussi Bund has been breached, and as a result, a large number of villages in Ajnala Tehsil have been flooded. There are nearly seven large drains cutting across all through the district. All these drains are overflowing, as a result of which many villages have been flooded. Water rushed into some parts of Amritsar city itself. The next big town of Tarn Taran is also under water. It is estimated that nearly 800 villages in this district have been flooded.

### Links Breached

Road and rail links in various parts of the State have been breached and traffic is suspended. Many canals have also been breached and two biggest canals in the country, the Pucca Bhakra canal and Rajasthan canal, have been damaged at a number of places. Besides damage and dislocation to communications, thousands of houses have been destroyed by the floods. Crops have been damaged everywhere. Along with the heavy rainfall on September 20th and 21st there was a very severe wind storm which destroyed maize and cotton crops.

There is no doubt that heavy rainfall was the main and im-

mediate cause for this large scale calamity. But there is no denying the fact that had the Punjab Government listened to its own experts and carried out the flood control measures chalked out by them in the previous years, the ravages of this year's floods could have been prevented to a large extent. This is all the more felt today, because for the last many years floods have continuously visited many parts of the State and every year it brings enormous sufferings to the people.

The Punjab Government appointed a Flood Control Board at the time of the last serious floods in 1955. According to Sri G. S. Sandhu, Chief Engineer (Irrigation), the engineers had become aware of the causes as well as the remedial steps as early as 1955 itself. But the Punjab Government appointed an Action Committee in 1957 and most of its recommendations for drainage etc., have not been carried out even now.

### Factors Mainly Responsible

Heavy rainfall is no doubt the main cause for these annual floods. Rainfall after 1947 has been abnormally high in the Punjab. Punjab State can be divided into four Zones according to its rainfall, and the rainfall recorded during monsoon in each of these regions upto 1961 is as follows:—

Region	Pre-1947	Post-1947 (average)	Maximum
1. Upper Bari Doab area	23 Inches	34 Inches	54 Inches
2. Sirhind area	21 Inches	22 Inches	40 Inches
3. Ghaggar area	15 Inches	20 Inches	39 Inches
4. Juma Canal Tract	23 Inches	31 Inches	56 Inches

The monsoon rainfall in 1962 has once again touched the maximum for the post-1947 period. In most of the Sirhind area it has even exceeded the previous maximum. The cause of this heavier rainfall in the post-1947 period has yet to be established. Meanwhile, as most of the districts have almost a level area of land, unless proper drainage is arranged the floods are natural in many parts even in the year of a normal rainfall.

Secondly, during the post-1947 period the natural and traditional drainage system itself has been seriously blocked. The State being a border State, a much larger net-work of road system has been established after 1947. The new roads cut across almost every natural drainage and because at the time of road construction no proper bridges or culverts are constructed, the rain water is blocked. It is a pity that every year the roads block the rain water, flooding the villages and towns, and sometimes the flood water is able to break the Pucca roads at various places and still the Public Works Department refuses to provide siphons at such spots.

The canal system also has a very wide network in the State. It covers hundreds of miles in almost every district affected by the floods. Canal embankments are much higher and as such the blockade caused by the canal system is much more than any other. In certain areas the large canals stand like walls against

the flood streams and cause serious floods in the areas.

Yet another factor which has caused destruction to natural drainage is the consolidation of holdings. Consolidation of holdings was undertaken in every district simultaneously in 1951 and since then more than two-third area of land has been consolidated all over the State. At the time of the consolidation, the entire land area of the village, including the village roads and paths are put in a common pool.

## HARROWING TALE OF FLOOD HAVOC IN PUNJAB

JAGJIT SINGH LYALLPURI, General Secretary, A.I.K.S.

The holdings are redistributed among the landowners and new roads and paths are laid.

Generally the old paths and roads also serve as local drainages as well. After being included in the newly demarcated holdings, this drainage system is destroyed. The new paths and roads do not replace it, because their level is raised.

At the time of consolidation of holdings, the replacement of old drains was not at all thought of. The combined effect of all this has been that first the rainwater flows towards the low-lying areas of the village and then the combined flood water of various villages flows into the low-lying villages and submerge them.

The floods as well as the open canal system is causing permanent damage to land by way of water-logging. It is estimated that more than 4 million acres of good fertile land are already water-logged where sub-soil water table is less than five feet. Another 4 to 5 million acres are threatened with this danger where water table is between five and ten feet. The accumulation of flood waters in various regions is the one major cause of water logging. And a wide network of unlined canal system is the other cause.

It is estimated by experts that at least 20 per cent of the canal water seeps into the ground and this continuous addition of huge quantities of water to the sub-soil has already water-logged large areas of land. The sub-soil water table is rising very fast.

The technical experts of the Flood Control Board in Punjab have suggested the following measures for the control of floods and water-logging in the State:

● Minimisation, if not total prevention of floods in rivers, big streams and creeks. For this purpose an extensive dam and bund construction work has to be undertaken.

● Improvement of surface drainage system. This is the most important aspect of flood control. The total expenditure estimated for this is Rs. 28.44 crores. It provides for 290 miles of embankment in addition to the reconstruction of the old ones along the rivers, almost 4390 miles of drains and about 590 miles of canalising and training of chos.

The work on these flood control measures was started during the Second Plan. The Central Government provided a loan of Rs. 4.14 crores and this was

the drains in other areas are also incomplete.

To make these flood control measures a success the State should undertake them as an emergent task and carry out that task in the shortest possible period. It would be a tragedy if the State Government postpones the execution of flood control measures till the Fourth and Fifth Plans. According to the State Chief Minister's own estimate, the loss due to floods during the post-1947 period is not less than Rs. 100 crores. Not only the people, but the State's treasury also suffers a heavy loss due to these floods.

Shortage of funds cannot be an excuse for delaying these urgent needed measures to control the floods. The State Government's budget has increased from Rs. 35 crores in 1956 to nearly Rs. 87 crores in 1962. Considerable savings are possible by effecting economy in administration. For instance, the Retrenchment Com-

mittee appointed by the State Government had recommended a reduction of Rupees one crore in the expenditure on general administration and Rs. 20 lakhs in Police expenditure every year. The Committee had recommended a cut of Rs. five crores in the Rs. 25 crores estimated expenditure on Chandigarh. But the Government has failed to implement any of the recommendation of this Committee till now, though its report was submitted in 1958-59.

The apathy of the officialdom, its failure to rouse and seek public co-operation are factors which have to be strenuously combated and overcome. Punjab should not be left a prey to yearly calamities like the floods and it is the duty of the Government to do everything to alleviate the sufferings of the people. It is high time the Punjab Government shook itself out of its lethargy and tackled the problem of flood control in all its aspects and with due seriousness.

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## KARNATAK NEWSLETTER \* From Our Correspondent

# OPPOSITION AGAINST TAXATION MEASURES

BANGALORE, September 29:

The Mysore Legislature which had been meeting to consider various taxation measures ended dramatically with a discussion on a motion of no-confidence against the Congress Ministry headed by Sri S. Nijalingappa. The motion was inevitably defeated. But it helped to highlight some of the important issues agitating the minds of the people in the State.

PEARHEADED by the Communist Party, the agitation against the new taxation measures has succeeded in getting some concessions. One important gain has been the dropping of food grains, fuel and one or two other items from the proposed Sales Tax. This is really significant since the main attack has been directed at this particular levy. Similarly, the levy on some other items has been reduced to some extent.

### INCREASE IN LICENCE FEE

At the same time, the Government has increased the licence fee for foodgrain dealers from Rs. 2/- to Rs. 5/-. One of the proposed taxes, namely, the Immovable Property Tax, has been dropped as a result of stiff opposition from the local bodies. The rest of the measures have been passed in spite of opposition both inside and outside the Legislature. Reports are coming from more centres like Shimoga, Karwar, Belgaum etc. of agitation against these tax burdens.

In the course of the discussion on these Bills, many Members raised the demand for scrapping of prohibition in the State. Even a number of Congressmen pleaded that it was a thorough failure and there was no meaning in continuing the same. The Chief Minister and also the Finance Minister declared that they are prepared to review the policy of prohibition and if a majority of the members in the Legislature felt that it was necessary to revise the prohibition policy the Government would consider the same.

The Chief Minister had also declared earlier in a Press interview that the Prohibition policy was a failure. The issue got highlighted because of the report from Kolar Gold Fields that about 65 persons died by drinking illicit liquor in the course of one week. The Government puts the figure of death

bring down prices, failure to enforce Land Returns Bill etc. Sharavathy Project is the most vital hydro-electric Project in our State. Its original estimate was about 30 Crores of Rupees and was expected to generate 891,000 kw of power when completed. But due to continuous delay the estimate has been going up and now it is estimated to cost Rs. 80 Crores or even Rs. 100 crores as the Chief Minister said.

The first stage of the Project was to have been completed by the end of 1961 with two generating units. This was subsequently postponed to the middle of 1962. It is now stated that it will not be completed till the end of 1963. This delay has seriously affected the industrial development of the State. Even the existing industries are starved of power and are not able to utilise their full capacity. The PWD Minister had estimated that we are losing nearly Rs. 12 Crores Work of production in Bangalore because of power shortage. When the power position is so bad, the progress of Sharavathy, which is the only hope for getting power, has disappointed the people.

Due to constant changes in the plans of the Project, bureaucratic handling and various other reasons

### SAVING FOR CONSTRUCTION

He has argued that if this is done the Government would be saving nearly 25 crores of Rupees out of nearly 100 crores which has been set apart for major construction works in the Third Plan. This will make many of the proposed new taxes redundant, argues Dr. Panth. He has also pointed out that the State Industries can be made to yield more revenues to the State if they are managed better. But his suggestions were not accepted by the Committee and he had to explain his views in detail in a separate note.

It was against this background that the PSP, Communists and others of the Opposition gave notice of a motion of no-confidence in the Ministry for its bungling in the execution of the Sharavathy Project, failure to reduce the enhanced College fees, failure to

even the sanctioned estimates are not being utilised and the work is progressing very slowly. Due to change in the construction work from masonry dam to earthen dam in one area the Government had to pay lakhs of rupees to the contractors as compensation. The rates paid here are higher than those paid in Nagarjunasagar in Andhra. It is estimated that the Government had to incur nearly Rs. 70 lakhs loss by paying compensation to contractors. This was sharply exposed by the opposition in the Assembly. Many other instances of corruption and favouritism were also brought to light in the discussion. The Government

spokesman as usual tried to evade all these issues.

The state of the administration was again exposed some days back when the Central Government police swooped down upon the residence of a local business magnate, who is also a Congressman and an ex-Mayor. The police is reported to have seized from him nearly Rs. 70 lakhs in currency notes and about Rs. 30 lakhs worth of gold bars. This gentleman who is a millionaire is stated to have paid an income-tax of Rs. 500/- or so in 1960. What will happen to this hidden wealth is still a conjecture.

## DEATH ANNIVERSARY OF LUCA CARAGIALE

New Delhi

On the initiative of the All-India Peace Council, a meeting of writers and cultural workers was held on September 26, under the Chairmanship of Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, to chalk out a programme of celebrations in India of the 50th death anniversary of the great Rumanian writer Ion Luca Caragiale. S. S. Chauhan, Sajjad Zaheer and the Counsellor of the Rumanian Republic spoke on the occasion.

FOLLOWING a lively discussion, the Preparatory Committee for the Caragiale Indo-Rumanian Cultural Festival, under the Chairmanship of Gyani Gurmukh Singh Musafir, M.P., was set up.

Many leading literary figures who were present agreed to serve on the Preparatory Committee, and it was suggested to approach a number of leading personalities in various parts of the country to take part in the Committee.

A broad outline of the proposed celebrations was evolved out of the discussions in the above meeting. Through the observance of the great Rumanian writer Caragiale's anniversary mainly centred around the staging of one of his plays, translations of his works etc., the celebrations in India will assume a much wider character in which exhibitions, film shows, lectures etc. on Rumanian literature and culture as a whole will be prominently featured.

## WEST BENGAL WORKERS' BONUS MOVEMENT

By MANORANJAN ROY General Secretary, West Bengal Committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress

The State Transport workers of Calcutta by determining and united movement have been able this year to register significant advance towards improvement of their working conditions and establish their right to Bonus.

THIS is for the first time that demand for bonus of the employees of a statutory Corporation in West Bengal has been given cognizance of by the Government and the issue has been referred to a Tribunal.

The strike notice and the militant movement of 11,000 State Transport workers gave a fillip to this year's bonus movement. As a result even 3,000 rice mill workers too got their bonus demand fulfilled and even a section of the Biri workers for the first time got Pujia bonus.

Yearly bonus movement before the Jujahs in West Bengal is now by and large confined to Engineering industry, miscellaneous industries and to a small extent mercantile offices.

In one of the largest employing industries in West Bengal viz., the jute industry, Bonus is still an anathema. Tea plantation workers in course of long struggle have established their right to have bonus and by virtue of an industry-wise tripartite agreement bonus paid to the workers is equivalent to 15% of the gross profit.

Bonus for colliery workers is statutorily fixed. The Cot-

ton Textile workers are being deprived of their legitimate quantum of bonus by one of the most retrograde tribunals which is in force since 1958 whereby bonus has been linked with net dividend (dividend exclusive of tax) calculated on the basis of one week's bonus against every 2% net dividend.

The Engineering industry in general is going through rapid expansion and profits of engineering concerns are also increasing rapidly. Workers have also been able to wrest a larger quantum of bonus or advance, pending final settlement, compared to last year, for example in Jessop, Burn, Texmaco, Jay Engineering, etc.

In many other concerns too the workers have been able to secure larger bonus than last year, e.g., in Saxy & Farmer, Grand Hotel, Spencer Hotel, Bharat Wool, Dalmia Iron & Steel, etc.

More than 700 bonus disputes were referred to the State Labour Directorate this year which shows the extension of the movement to larger number of concerns than in previous years. One significant fea-

ture is that there has been more bipartite settlement this year than through the Labour Department.

Already in a number of industrial units lock-outs have been declared by the employers as a result of workers' claim for bonus. In view of the Bonus Commission, the employers' attitude was particularly stiff this year. But the workers in general were also far more determined compared to previous years.

The only big concern of Birla House, the Hind Motors Company is still refusing to pay any bonus for the year 1961, although it has earned a profit of 3 crores 85 lakhs on only 10 months' work.

It may be remembered that the workers of Hind Motors went on strike last year for two months on demand of bonus. The profit of the year in question, i.e., 1960 was 2 crores 49 lakhs. This year the Company in spite of such a huge profit earned in only 10 months, has refused to pay even any advance against 1961 bonus, the issue of which is to be decided by a Tribunal.

With only about a week in hand before the Pujia, the final position is yet to emerge because still there are disputes awaiting settlement.

(October 1)

# NO JOBS IN STEEL FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

Under pressure of President Kennedy and Labour Secretary Goldberg, the United Steel Workers Union recently signed a new contract which failed to provide the job protection originally demanded by the USW. The following are excerpts from an article in the June 1962 issue of "New Horizons" a monthly for youth. It deals with the problem of jobs for youth in the steel industry in the United States.

THE United Steel Workers Union (USW) in its study on automation, found that in 1961, 461,000 workers turned out as much steel as did 540,000 in 1960; in 1959, 418,000 steel workers could produce 65 per cent more steel than could 512,000 workers in 1957. Had the amount of steel produced each year continued to rise proportionately over this period, these workers might still be employed, but it is important to note that steel reached its production peak in 1955 at 106 million metric tons and has hovered at a point from ten to fifteen

million tons less than that since. Ordinarily, the steel trusts can use the layoff, the speed-up and the lock-out, to name just a few tactics, while the unions have little more than the weapon of the strike. Yet injunctions are issued only to striking workers, never to companies laying off thousands.

The key demands of the USW involved jobs. They included demands for a 30 to 32 hour work week for 40 hours pay, supplementary unemployment benefits (SUB), increased pensions, and employer-financed retraining of workers displaced by automation. In many collective bargaining negotiations both labour and management bring into play whatever pressures they can muster to force a favourable settlement of their demands.

## In The United States Of America

The "inflationary" argument is totally irrelevant in the light of the fact that thousands in the industry, many with ten years and more seniority, are out of work or are facing the almost certain prospect of a layoff.

The new contract is to run for a period of two years, beginning on July 1. Wages may be opened for discussion in May, 1963. This fact is of little real value to the steel workers, since wages are not the prime issue in the contract, nor is there any reason to believe that they will be an important issue next year.

Moreover, there is little reason to be optimistic about the prospects for an increase then, since the union will be bound by contract not to strike for another year. Let's not forget that in 1959, half a million steel workers had to strike for 116 days to maintain existing conditions.

The largest gain won by the union was a 4% cent increase per hour in the money paid by the companies into the Supplementary Unemployment Fund. This brings the total per hour to 9 1/2 cents. SUB payments



"You say this medicine will have me back on the job in no time?... That's marvellous. Doc, 'cause I'm unemployed!"

(from the Australian weekly TRIBUNE)

were changed from \$25 per week and \$2 per week for each dependent to \$37.50 and \$1.50.

There were also some fringe benefits affecting vacations.

\* ON PAGE 12

Far and wide throughout the continent of Africa the National Liberation movement is rallying the people to put an end to all forms of colonialism.

IN the first of two Marxist studies, Africa — The Roots of Revolt, Jack Woddis brings together the available material forming the background to the present upheavals in Africa, south of the Sahara. He shows the appalling results of imperialist rule and exploitation which have produced the national liberation movement.

In the second study, Africa: The Lion Awakes, Jack Woddis analyses the forces which have come together in this movement, their aims and methods of struggle. The two volumes are not only a treasure-house of economic, social and political information about the African situation, but are also of immense value for their Marxist approach to the problems of liberation and what comes after.

The author opens his work with the sentence: "The history of Africa's relations with the West has been a history of robbery — robbery of African manpower, its mineral and agricultural resources, and its land." The following chapters establish, largely from official material, the absolute truth of this statement.

### COLONIAL STATE

On the basis of this exploitation, and in order to maintain it, colonial state machines were set up, without the slightest trace of democracy for the Africans, legislating by decree and enforcing their decrees by means of armed police and soldiers, courts and prisons, banishment and forfeiture of land and stock.

### AFRICAN MANPOWER

Capitalist production requires workers, "freed" from any possibility of living other than working for wages. The growth of capitalist production in Britain was speeded up by the Enclosure Acts, which drove independent peasants off the land and compelled them to seek work for wages in the towns.

But the growth of capitalist production in the mines of the Americas, and later in the fields, required such large numbers of workers that they had to be brought in from elsewhere.

Hence what Marx described as "the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins" — the slave trade, which in the course of some three centuries deprived Africa of some fifty to sixty million of her population, while bringing immense profits to the slave traders, especially of Britain.

In time the slave trade was prohibited, and that particular form of finding African labour for capitalist production outside Africa was stopped. But before long the expansion of European capitalism, with its growing need of raw materials, led to the seizure of colonies in Africa and the robbery of African resources. Where was the labour to come from?

Forms of slavery and forced labour continued to exist; but the African labour needed has been found in the main by methods similar to those of the Enclosure Acts in Britain — by robbing the land from the Africans — "by direct seizure, conquest, pressure on chiefs, trickery, swindling, the repudiation of pledges and promises, by every means open to them, the representatives of the European powers took land."

In many parts of Africa they took the best land, driving the Africans into overcrowded "reserves" of poor land on which it was difficult to live. And if that was not enough to force them to come out of the Reserves and work for the European capitalists in the mines or plantations, the colonial State machine imposed hut and poll taxes which had to be paid in cash, and cash had to be earned in wages outside the Reserve.

Pass Laws, and penalties for breaking them, with the handing over of the resultant "convict

It has prevented the emergence of a permanent, stabilised proletariat, and thus made trade union organisation more difficult on the other hand, the widely different areas from which the African workers are drawn helps to develop the feeling of all-African solidarity which is such a powerful force in present-day African politics.

### POST-WAR DEVELOPMENTS

The African struggle against imperialism is not new, and some areas have seen recurrent revolts since they were invaded and conquered. But it was after the Second World War that it developed all over Africa and that movements for reform became movements of revolt for independence.

The experiences of the war, the role of the Soviet Union in the defeat of fascism, the victory of the Chinese people, of the peo-

## BOOK REVIEW

But even when these problems have been solved, there remains the problem of continuing economic exploitation by the imperialist monopolies, and their efforts to give it new forms — "neo-colonialism" — making use particularly of an ex-colony's need for development to increase their investments and put new shackles on the country's economy.

Through such "aid" they hope to maintain and strengthen their exploitation of the people, and to impose control of policy by indirect means. This is dealt with by Jack Woddis, with detailed evidence of the process, in a chapter headed "Going in order to stay".

The problem which all underdeveloped countries have to face when they win their political independence is the development of their economies, the basis for which must be the building up of a national industry.

They are hampered by government "supervision" and interference, arrests of militant leaders, and constant police intimidation, but they are growing and compelling employers and go-

Immediate nationalisation of all foreign enterprises in the country is seldom possible, but steps can be taken to weaken their grip and to build up new nationally-owned enterprises. The steps taken by the governments of Ghana, Guinea and Mali are noted by Jack Woddis, showing the difficulties that have to be overcome.

He shows that reliance on foreign capitalist investments as the key to individual development is no solution; and while stressing the value of help from the socialist countries, he argues that it is necessary for each independent country to mobilise its own resources.

### FINAL QUESTION

The final question dealt with in Africa — The Lion Awakes is "Who is to lead?" Stressing the need for national unity of all patriotic classes in the struggle against imperialism and for economic development, Jack Woddis also shows that

"The interests of the most thorough-going anti-imperialist struggle, the necessity for a rapid and clear-cut reconstruction of the colonial economy, without hesitation or backsliding, demand that the working class increasingly take the leadership of the national movement into its own firm hands."

It is hardly possible to overstate the importance of these two books by Jack Woddis. It is not only the massive material he has collected and presented in a sharp and interesting way, above all it is the thoughtful and carefully worked out political analysis and conclusions that give the books their special significance today.

### By EMILE BURNS

# AFRICA ON THE MARCH

Alongside all this came the racial discrimination. Jack Woddis writes:

"The root and fruit of racial discrimination is profit. Racial discrimination serves the interests of those who live by profit because it helps to maintain a system of exceptionally cheap labour which is the basis of exceptionally high rates of profit."

Because labour power is cheap, and the supply can easily be stepped up by the colonial state, social security measures are practically non-existent. Most of the adults are illiterate, and in many territories only a small proportion of African children get even the rudiments of education.

All this is, of course, the usual working out of imperialism. But what makes Africa — The Roots of Revolt not only specially valuable as a Marxist study, but also of absorbing interest, is the detailed evidence which the author has collected to support his statements; showing the special features of imperialist exploitation in Africa.

### MIGRANT LABOUR

Thus the chapter "The Wandering African" brings out the peculiar effects of the poll tax, limited land supply, and other measures designed to force Africans to seek employment for wages away from their peasant homesteads.

Labour migration is on a mass scale, mostly of adult males; it is for a short period; the migrants travel enormous distances, often on foot, returning to their reserves when they have earned the most urgently needed money, and setting out again when the need again becomes urgent.

The social consequences of this migrant labour system are the shanty towns and shum conditions of African workers in the industrial areas, and on the other hand the deterioration of the land in the Reserves because of the recurring absences of the adult males of the family.

governments to make concessions on wages and conditions.

The growth of trade unions and the national liberation movement have gone hand in hand, and imperialism has been forced to make concessions. Nevertheless, experience has shown that the winning of political independence is not the end of imperialist economic exploitation, so long as the imperialists are able to ensure that power remains in the hands of a class or section of a class which is against fundamental change.

### WIND OF CHANGE

But the wind of change has to blow very strongly indeed before any concessions at all are made as is shown in South Africa and the Rhodesias, in the Belgian Congo and Portuguese Angola. Demands for democracy are met by intensified imperialist dictatorship.

In some territories the imperialists hope that an "African middle class" can be developed, which will be "responsible" (to the imperialists) and "reasonable" (ready to compromise with the imperialists). This is the real content of the propaganda that the imperialists are "training the Africans for self-government."

All the imperialist efforts (examined in detail by Jack Woddis, this material explains the issues in current political struggles) can only delay, but cannot stop, the winning of political independence. And with this emerge new problems for the Africans, as for all former colonial peoples.

The first problem is to make independence real; particularly to defeat the efforts of the imperialists to draw the country into political and military alliance with the Western Powers in the Cold War. A similar problem is to get rid of foreign high officials, civil, police and military, and to replace them with Africans loyal to their country, so that the State machine serves the people and not the imperialists.

## NORTHERN RAILWAY

### NOTICE

There will be a general revision of the Time Table from 1st Oct., 1962. The following are the important changes:-

#### 1. NEW CONNECTIONS PROVIDED:

- 48 Dn. Varanasi Express with 9 Up Doon Express at Varanasi.
- 131 Up Asansol-Bareilly Fast Passenger with 2 BC Balamau-Kanpur passenger at Balamau.
- 351 Up Allahabad-Ambala Passenger with 56 Dn. Moradabad Express at Moradabad.
- 14 Dn. Upper India Express with 6 KM Khurja-Meerut Passenger at Khurja.
- 54 Dn. Nangal Dam Express with 349 Up Amritsar-Dehra Dun Passenger at Sirhind.

#### 2. NEW HALTS PROVIDED:-

- No. 1 PL Panipat-Ludhiana passenger at Kohand Halt.
- No. 363 Up Agra-Delhi passenger at Tilak Bridge.
- No. 373 Up Palwal-Delhi passenger at Tughlakabad.
- No. 3 LJH Ludhiana-Jekhal-Hissar passenger at Kup.
- No. 1 LJH and 4 LJH Ludhiana-Jekhal-Hissar passengers at Gajuwala halt.
- No. 4 JMP Jullundur-Pathankot passenger at Chelang.
- No. 40 Dn. Delhi-Howrah Janata Express at Sirathu.
- No. 39 Up Howrah-Delhi Janata Express at Shujaatpur.
- No. 10 Dn. Doon Express at Anji Shahabad.
- No. 1 BC and 4 BC Balamau-Kanpur passengers at Fatehpur Chaurasi.
- No. 1 BRB Rewari-Bhatinda passenger at Ratanagar-Kanakwal and Patuwa Mehra.
- No. 3 BBB/4 BBB Bikaner-Bhatinda passenger at Fatehgarh (Jodhpur).
- No. 3 BSB/4 BSB Suratgarh-Hanumangarh passenger at Fatehgarh (Jodhpur).
- No. 332 Dn. Ambala-Allahabad passenger at Nigohan.
- No. 353 Up Lucknow-Amritsar Fast Pass at Jhinjak.

#### 3. NEW TRAINS INTRODUCED:-

- 1 JLK/2 JLK P/CARS between Jullundur City and Lohian Khas.

#### 4. TRAINS EXTENDED:-

- 1 UR/2 UR to and from Nangal dam.
- 1 BRB/2 BRB to and from Churu.
- 3 DKS is extended to Shakurbasti and 2 DKS will originate from Rohtak.

#### 5. TRAINS CANCELLED:-

- No. 1 MLC/2 MLC will not run between Varanasi and Mughalsarai.

#### 6. IMPORTANT CHANGES IN TRAIN TIMINGS:-

- No. 16 Up GT Express will leave New Delhi at 16/50 hrs. instead of 18/40 hrs.
- No. 18 Up Madras Janata will leave Delhi at 11/45 hrs. instead of 11/00 hrs.

The following are the important changes:-

- No. 81 Up Deluxe will arrive New Delhi at 11/- hrs. instead of 10/5 hrs.
- No. 64 Up/8 Dn. Toofan Express will leave Delhi at 10/- hrs. instead of 10/35 hrs. and will run via Agra City instead of Agra Fort. Similarly 7 Up/63 Dn. will also run via Agra City.
- No. 40 Dn. Janata Express will leave Delhi at 16/55 hrs. instead of 18/- hrs.
- No. 51 Up Sealdah-Pathankot Express will arrive Pathankot at 8/35 hrs. instead of 6/25 hrs.
- No. 5 Up Howrah-Amritsar Mail will arrive Amritsar at 9/25 hrs. instead of 9/5 hrs.
- No. 1 Up Howrah-Kalka Mail will arrive Kalka at 7/- hrs. instead of 6/35 hrs.
- No. 22 Up Madras A.C.C. Express will leave New Delhi at 16/10 hrs. instead of 17/- hrs.
- No. 42 Dn. Mussoorie Express will leave Dehra Dun at 19/20 hrs. instead of 19/45 hrs.
- No. 62 Dn. Dehra Dun-Howrah Express weekly will leave Dehra Dun at 20/10 hrs. instead of 19/20 hrs.
- No. 66 Dn. Dehra Dun-Varanasi Express weekly will leave Dehra Dun at 20/10 hrs. instead of 19/20 hrs.
- No. 44 Up Jhansi Mail will leave Lucknow at 7/15 hrs. instead of 7/35 hrs.
- No. 201 Up Delhi-Ahmedabad Mail will leave Delhi at 22/5 hrs. instead of 22/35 hrs.
- No. 9 Up Doon Express will arrive Dehra Dun at 10/10 hrs. instead of 9/15 hrs.
- No. 61 Up Howrah-Dehra Dun Express weekly will arrive Dehra Dun at 12/5 hrs. instead of 10/40 hrs.
- No. 65 Up Varanasi-Dehra Dun Express weekly will arrive Dehra Dun at 12/5 hrs. instead of 10/40 hrs.
- No. 91 Up Bikaner Mail will leave Delhi at 21/30 hrs. instead of 21/35 hrs.
- No. 231 Up Delhi-Ahmedabad Janata Express will leave Delhi at 17/10 instead of 17/15 hrs.
- No. 213 Up Delhi-Ajmer Passenger will leave Delhi at 20/10 hrs. instead of 20/00 hrs.
- No. 96 Dn. Marwar Mail will arrive Bikaner at 8/5 hrs. instead of 8/10 hrs.
- No. 92 Dn. Bikaner-Delhi Mail will leave Bikaner at 19/00 hrs. instead of 19/5 hrs.
- No. 91 Up Bikaner Mail will arrive Bikaner at 9/30 hrs. instead of 9/20 hrs.
- No. 94 Dn. Jodhpur-Delhi Mail will leave Jodhpur at 13/05 hrs. instead of 13/10 hrs.
- No. 93 Up Jodhpur Mail will arrive Jodhpur at 12/30 hrs. instead of 12/22 hrs.
- No. 204 Dn. Delhi Express will arrive Delhi at 19/00 hrs. instead of 18/55 hrs.
- No. 47 Up Varanasi Express will leave Varanasi at 11/50 hrs. instead of 13/10 hrs.
- No. 209 Up Rewari-Marwar passenger will leave Rewari at 23/28 hrs. instead of 0/10 hrs.

- (i) Air conditioned accommodation from 93 Up and 94 Dn. Jodhpur Malls between Delhi and Jodhpur (from 16th November, 1962).
- (ii) Air conditioned accommodation from 41 Up and 42 Dn. Mussoorie Express between Delhi and Dehra Dun (from 16th October, 1962).

#### (b) INTRODUCTION OF THROUGH/SECTIONAL CARRIAGES:-

Station between	Train No.	Class of accom-odation	No. of bogies
(i) Lucknow-Pathankot.	51 Up and 52 Dn.	III	One
(ii) Howrah & Hardwar.	9 Up and 10 Dn.	III	One
(iii) Jodhpur & Khandwal (MG)	1 JJM/221/219/71 and 72/215/220/2 JJM.	III	One

#### (c) CANCELLATION OF THROUGH/SECTIONAL CARRIAGES:-

Station between	Train No.	Class of accom-odation	No. of bogies
Lucknow & Agra Cantt.	3 LC/1 AGA & 2 AGA/2 LC.	III	One

#### (d) THROUGH CARRIAGES ARRANGED BY ALTERNATE TRAINS

Station between	Train No.	Class of accom-odation	No. of bogies
(i) Meerut City 6 KM/14 in- & Allahabad stead of KM/12.	I, II & 6 III composite		One
(ii) Lucknow & 9 Up/372 Dn. Saharanpur.	I & II Up/1 SH. III		One
(iii) Sealdah & ER Delhi	17/51/5- MD instead of ER17/51/55. III		One

For detailed information pertaining to train timings introduction and cancellations of through coaches, adjustment in classes of accommodation in trains reference should be made to October 1962 Time Table available at Railway Booking Windows, Reservation and Enquiry Offices and Bookstalls at the important stations.

#### (a) WITHDRAWAL OF AIR-CONDITIONED ACCOMMODATION FROM TRAINS:-

- (i) Air conditioned accommodation from 91 Up and

Chief Operating Supdt.

### NEW AGE

EDITOR:  
E. M. S. Nambodiripad

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# FACTS THAT WEST GERMANS DON'T LIKE

From P. Kunhanandan Nair

BERLIN, September 29

Prime Minister Nehru's declaration in London and Paris favouring speediest solution of German question has infuriated the Bonn politicians.

The press and propaganda organs controlled by the Government of West German monopolists have launched once again a slanderous campaign against India, her Prime Minister and his non-aligned foreign policy.

Nehru in his London press conference on September 20 had reiterated his Belgrade stand stressing the necessity of recognising the existence of two German States. This time he further added that sooner or later a German Peace Treaty would have to be concluded.

Later in Paris, interviewed by the French News Agency, AFP, he reaffirmed his position and further expressed his view that it would be easier to solve the German question if the two German States would talk to each other and prevent unhappy incidents.

Soon after this unequivocal statement, which is diametrically opposed to the West German policy, came the acid reaction of the West German papers loyal to the Adenauer Government.

In an insulting editorial, the Mittag wrote: "We hold the opinion that the Federal Republic should bring it home to Nehru to keep quiet in this matter. No one expects him to defend our cause although we could be hopeful of that regarding development aid. But what we can demand of is that he at least shuts his mouth".

## SHEER AUDACITY

Another West German paper, Rheinzeitung expressed the fear: "Nehru's frank statement indicates that the policy pursued by West German Government concerning German question will not be easily implemented. This is especially valid with reference to the U.N. General Assembly in session in New York at present in which Nehru's words are extraordinarily weighty".

German politicians have already started pressing Federal Government to implement quickly the Shroeder Doctrine. The Chairman of the Fascist "All-German People's Party" in West Germany Hermann Ahrens in his fury against Nehru demanded that an end be put to West Germany's development aid to India.

He said, "West Germany should not afford to remunerate the Indian Head of Gov-

ernment for his policy with the German taxpayers' money any more". He then insulted Nehru saying that he was touring the world, making propaganda for Khrushchov's theory of two German States and pursuing a policy directed against what he called "German Rights".

Such insulting tirades against our country resulted from the Bonn Foreign Minister's policy statement that in August "a third State which takes part in bringing about a peace treaty" with the German Democratic Republic will be "committing an unfriendly act towards the Federal Republic which will be

treated accordingly". (This threat against countries with independent foreign policies is known as the Shroeder Doctrine).

Meanwhile, West German Government has cut by half their aid for under-developed countries. In the budget for next year, the West German Government envisages to spend only one thousand million marks while in the current year 2,100 million marks have been spent.

Bonn Minister for Economic Co-operation, Scheel, making this statement last week also laid down a condition for aid-receiving countries' Governments that with these credits only products from West Germany be purchased.

All leading newspapers in GDR this week strongly condemned the West German insult to India and her Prime Minister.

## Joke Of Defection Story Of The Other Side

LIKE vultures feasting for days together with a carcass, the imperialist controlled press last week feasted with appetite on the story of one Loeffler, an East German military officer who escaped to the West.

The New York Times and London Times, West German Die Welt, and Aurore and all other West-inspired papers in Europe, Asia and American continent with screaming headlines reported the news of defection and a sensational press conference in Bonn of this renegade, Martin Loeffler, who was a lieutenant colonel in the GDR army.

When he crossed over to West Berlin a few days ago, he was immediately flown to Bonn, capital of the Federal Republic of Germany, in a special US military aircraft. There he was extensively questioned by U.S. and West German intelligence authorities, purposefully and excellently briefed by his political branch and was presented before a Government-sponsored news conference.

## ETERNAL VIGILANCE

Utilising the strategic position of West Berlin, a NATO base in the heart of socialist Europe, which is the main centre of international espionage and sabotage, the imperialists have been tirelessly working to send their agents into the ranks

of the people's army in the GDR.

But the eternal vigilance of the socialist security organs have caught many such espionage agents and provocateurs and recently a whole gang of them were arrested and tried. Having reached a high position, this renegade managed to get away.

When for days together the Western papers repeated the Loeffler defection from its various angles, political, military and strategic, I was tempted to look into the GDR records to find out if there were any such defections from West to East Germany.

Then I found that imperialist propagandists have made so much hubbub about this officer's escape, conveniently hiding the fact that many times more officers and men of the West German Army have defected to socialist Germany and this process is still going on.

Almost every day army personnel cross to the GDR from West Germany and West Berlin. Since the bulk of the world press is still controlled by monopolists, these escapes from West never hit the headlines. Such news hardly creep into their columns.

Going through the bulky volumes of official records of persons who escaped from West Germany, I found the names of many outstanding men like scientists, doctors, professors and leading army officers having sought political asylum in the GDR. Let me list

## ROSA THELMANN

Death has claimed one of the oldest German revolutionaries. Rosa Thelmann, brave and faithful widow of Ernst Thelmann, outstanding leader of the German working class and one of the founders of the German Communist Party murdered by fascists, passed away on September 21. She was 73.

Party with the imprisoned Party Chairman from 1933 till the time of the world war.

Thelmann was murdered by the fascists in Buchenwald concentration camp, on August 18, 1944. Rosa was at that time imprisoned in Ravensbruck concentration camp. Thelmann's murder was a heavy blow to her. The fascists wanted to kill her, too, but her loving companions were able to hide her till the liberation by the Red Army.

Leaders of the Socialist Unity Party and the Communist Party of Germany headed by Walter Ulbricht attended the funeral.

Rosa from her very childhood took part in the German revolutionary movement and became a member of the German Communist Party in 1920. During the fascist period she defied terror and did everything possible to ease the life of Thelmann in fascist jails.

The two fascists who murdered Thelmann, S.S. troop leader Otto Hans and S.S. Officer Berger are now living in West Germany where they are in cushy Government jobs provided by the Adenauer administration.

Thanks to her efforts, a permanent contact was maintained by the underground leadership of the

It was the fulfilment of her life's struggle that she lived to see the triumph of Socialism in East Europe and in a part of her own soil for which she fought arm in arms with her husband.

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some of these persons who are now working enthusiastically for a Socialist Germany, persons who once served in high positions in Federal Germany.

talion came over to the GDR in June 1961. Sergeant Otto Zatloukal of the army also escaped with him.

## DEFIANCE OF REGIMENTATION

Moreover, thousands of Bundeswehr soldiers unable to bear the brute regimentation under former Nazi Generals have fled to freedom. These innocent recruits of gun-fodder for a third world war have witnessed the horrors of the Second World War.

They know that German militarism was responsible for two world wars. Since they do not want to be a party to a third world war carefully under preparation by the renegade generals, they have bade good bye to arms of aggression.

Now, the PSP Chief Minister has been given a Rs. 5,500 per month job plus a lot more in allowances, etc., and persuaded to clear out.

So far Governorships have mostly gone to the defeated Congress candidates in elections and to superannuated politicians belonging to that Party. Now a new precedent is created by giving the post to a leader of another party for purely opportunistic reasons and for the sake of political expediency of the discredited Kerala coalition.

To utilise appointments of Governorship for such political bargains is no good either for the Constitution or for this office itself. I strongly protest against this Constitutional impropriety on the part of the Central Government.

The PSP Chairman, Asoka Mehta seems to be surprised and hurt at the conduct of his colleague Pattom Thani Pillai. But he should realise that all this is in the bargain and is the natural outcome of opportunism and anti-communism of the Praja Socialist leadership.

With all respect, may I remind the PSP Chairman what the vivacious wife of a British Peer once told a leader of the Labour Party in England when the Labour leader was saying big things to the British press about the labour brand of socialism (akin to the PSP brand):

This lady remarked: "Train up

TRIVANDRUM, September 29: Hectic consultations and discussions among Congress leaders belonging to various walks—Ministers, Members of Parliament etc., are going on as to how best the Congress should reorganise the administration and the Government. Pattom having promptly accepted the offer of Governorship and tendered his resignation to the Governor.

CONGRESS reaction, from the new Chief Minister R. Shankar down to the DCC leaders, in the Capital is that they feel relieved that a burden has been taken off their shoulders and they have come to their own.

The presence of K. K. Shah, the Secretary of the AICC and the specific direction of Shastriji that nothing precipitate should be done from the Congress side to upset the Coalition is leading to a situation where the State PSP is being driven to the corner to take a decision either way.

There is anger and chagrin among the PSP circles that their beloved leader had not had even the elementary courtesy to inform them at least of his accepting the offer of Governorship, leaving them all in the lurch and reducing them virtually to be the tail of the Coalition.

No PSP leader was present at the swearing in ceremony of R. Sankar, neither did the State, District or City units of the

PSP arrange a send-off function to the new Governor-designate. In informal discussions with the new Chief Minister, PSP leader P. M. Kunhiraman Nambiar is reported to have explained their position vis-a-vis the Coalition in the new set-up. He told pressmen that the PSP should get their due i.e., three post in the Coalition.

## Hold Of Situation

He contradicted the press reports which said that the PSP has demanded three Ministers and the post of the Deputy Chief Minister which according to Congress circles has got itself abolished. The PSP State Executive is meeting today at Alwaye and their decision will be finalised at the National Executive meeting at Madras in the first week of October.

The Congress having got the hold of the entire situation, wants

## BHUPESH GUPTA'S STATEMENT

Bhupesh Gupta, Leader of the Communist Group in the Rajya Sabha has issued the following statement in connection with Pattom Thani Pillai's appointment as Governor of Punjab.

THE surprise appointment of the PSP leader Pattom Thani Pillai as the Governor of the Punjab is yet another example of Constitutional improprieties on the part of the Congress Government. Politically this deal amounts to selling a highly remunerative post for resolving the troubles within the Congress-PSP coalition ministry in Kerala.

It will be recalled that some time back the Union Home Minister visited Kerala to set that house of political ill-fame in order and made certain arrangement to keep the business going. But that led nowhere and solved nothing.

Now, the PSP Chief Minister has been given a Rs. 5,500 per month job plus a lot more in allowances, etc., and persuaded to clear out.

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# Kerala Following Pattom's Departure

★ From Our Correspondent

to handle it delicately and carefully so that the onus of responsibility for upsetting the Coalition will not be theirs, but that of the PSP. That has been the crux of the entire strategy of the Congress High Command in tackling the problems of the Congress-PSP Coalition ever since strains and stresses came up.

In the situation created by the virtual beheading of PSP of any leadership, political as well as administrative, the Congress High Command knows very well that there are only two alternatives before the PSP. The PSP will either have to continue in the Coalition on the terms the Congress decides and as its junior partner, or quit and go over to the Opposition.

The first alternative where they will have to agree to two Ministerial posts, and even change at least one of the Ministers (Potti will have to go in

any case) would discredit them further among their own dwindling following and will weaken their all-India opposition to the Congress. The second alternative is also not easy since their ablest politician-leader Pattom has been successfully removed from the scene by Shastriji's master stroke. The PSP thus is on the horns of a dilemma.

Mannom, the leader of the NSS, was one of the first to bless the new set up (though it is well known that he has no love for R. Sankar, an Ezhava becoming the head of the Kerala Government) and to insist on the early filling up of the vacancy caused by the death of Velappan, the nominee of the NSS. He has appealed to the PSP to join the Congress and ensure the removal of frictions that exist in the Kerala Government.



"ASHOKA MEHTA IS SHOCKED, BECAUSE THANU PILLAI HAS AGREED TO BECOME THE GOVERNOR OF THE PUNJAB."—Courtesy: 'Swadhinata'

## BHUPESH GUPTA'S STATEMENT Ganganagar Kisans On The March

★ FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

The Kisan demonstration on the 27th of September at Sriganganagar, addressed by E. M. S. Namboodiripad, General Secretary of the CPI, marked the culmination of a month-old agitation of the kisans of Ganganagar district in Rajasthan for redressal of their grievances like scarcity of irrigation water, permanent allotment of lands etc.

THE demonstration was a big success and further proof of the determination of the kisan fighters of Ganganagar to win their demands. During the last one month, the agitation of the Kisans of Ganganagar district has been slowly gathering momentum. A series of conferences had been held by the District Kisan Sabha, where the average attendance was from three to five thousand. Held in various parts of the district, these conferences attracted peasants from nearby villages and in all about 80,000 people have been covered by these conferences.

When it was known that E. M. S. Namboodiripad was addressing their rally at Sriganganagar on the afternoon of 27th September, the enthusiasm of the kisans broke all records. Despite rains for two days continuously, thousands of kisans marched into Sriganganagar town on the early morning of 27th. The visiting leaders, E. M. S. Namboodiripad and S. V. Ghatge were given a rousing welcome at the Railway Station and slogans of EMS Zindabad, Ghatge Zindabad, Kisan Sabha Zindabad, rent the air as the leaders were taken out in a procession.

## Memorandum On Demands

In the afternoon, the demonstrators marched to the Collector's office where a memorandum of demands was presented to the Collector. Returning from the Collector's office the demonstration culminated in a public rally which was addressed by E. M. S. Namboodiripad, H. K. Vyas, Secretary of the State Council of the CPI, Sheopat Singh, MLA and President of the District Kisan Sabha, Y. N. Handa, MLA and other leaders.

Com. EMS outlined before the kisans the perspective of a broad unity to fight for the vital problems of the people. In these matters no barrier of caste creed or political orientation should be permitted to stand in the way of united action, he urged. His speech was greeted with thunderous applause. A purse of Rs. 1100/- collected from the kisans of the district for the Ajoy Ghosh Memorial Fund was presented to EMS at the Rally.

Behind this agitation of Ganganagar Kisans is a history of unredressed grievances which have been outlined in the memorandum presented to the authorities. One of the biggest problems is the scarcity of irrigation water. When this area known as the Gang Canal Area, which covers about three Tehsils of the Ganganagar District, started developing, an award was given distributing the waters of this Canal system between the various provinces of India at that time. In 1935 according to Anderson Committee, 2700 cusecs were allotted for the Gang Canal area.

However, some years later, especially after Partition, conditions became different. Pakistan often did not draw their full quota of water and there were always disputes about water supply. The result was that the supply in the Gang Canal area increased and sometimes the discharge at Sheopur head, which is the main head supplying the Gang Canal system, used to be as much as 4200 cusecs. The result of all this was that new Chaks were formed. The Chakels which were non-perennial became perennial; the tail ends too used to get plenty of water and the number of outlets also increased. The number of stoppages in an year decreased.

The Indo-Pak Canal Waters Treaty changed the whole picture. The Gang Canal system has now been allotted only the same old 2700 cusecs and that too only after Pakistan has got its stipulated supply every day. The result is that the number of stoppages in this system has gone up very much and the total supply on many occasions remains as low as 2000 cusecs or even 2000 cusecs. This is resulting in great damage

# Mighty March For Peace, All-In Unity

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT)

Never in the history of Delhi's political life has the city seen such a mighty procession for peace, participated in jointly by the major political parties and mass organisations of the people, as the one that wended its way through the main streets of the City from Delhi's Red Fort to Connaught Circus, on Disarmament Day—October 2.

TEN to fifteen thousand citizens marched behind the banners of over a hundred organisations, led by the banners of the Delhi Citizens' Committee for Disarmament and Against Nuclear Weapons, followed by those of the Congress, the Communist Party, the PSP, the Peace Council, the Afro-Asian Solidarity Association, the AITUC, the Youth Federation, the Women's Organisations, and all the major trade unions. Lakhs of Delhi's citizens watched the procession march through the famous Chandni Chowk and other crowded streets.

## People's Answer

Here was the people's answer to the grim and frustrated gentlemen in high places, who keep on moaning that "the people do not take interest in the questions of peace", or that "disarmament is too remote" from the people's experience for them to be agitated by it.

Listen to the slogan-shouting, read the slogans which are carried high in hundreds by the demonstrators and are plastered by the thousand right through the city. How persistent is the demand for complete and general disarmament, for the banning of all nuclear weapons, all nuclear tests, for the liquidation of military pacts and foreign military bases.

Immensely popular, too, are the slogans which link disarmament with the economic problems of the people: "Not Bombs—But Food for the Hungry," "Not Bombs—But Clothes for the Naked," "Not Bombs—But Homes for the Homeless."

And again and again would come the slogans—"Long Live World Peace," "Long Live India's Peace Policy," "Strengthen Nehru's Peace Policy."

At the head of the procession marched the State leaders of the Congress and Communist Parties—Shivcharan Gupta, M.P., and M. Farooqi and the Convenors of the Delhi Citizens' Committee For Disarmament, Om Prakash Gupta (Assistant Secretary of the Gandhi Peace Foundation), Romesh Chandra (General Secretary, All-India Peace Council) and Chakradhari Agarwal (Secretary of the Bharat Sevak Samaj).

A look at the mile long procession was enough to convince anyone that the call for a national united movement for disarmament corresponded to today's reality. And here in practice, it was being realised.

How was this procession prepared for? It was all done in a matter of one week—for the Delhi Citizens' Committee was born only on September 16 and it took a week for the programme to be prepared and approved. It was only from September 23 that the campaign began in right earnest.

And what was remarkable about the huge turnout was the fact that the date clashed with the Ramlila celebrations, which always claim the exclusive attention of the whole of Delhi at this time, and are a virtual ban on all public, political activities. But here, des-

pite the Ramlila, were the thousands marching for disarmament.

A whole series of meetings, street corner meetings, and prabhat pheries, general body meetings in all parts of the city, called by parties and other organisations preceded the Disarmament Day.

Special tributes were paid by all for the success of the procession and of the entire day, to the Delhi Committee of the Communist Party, which had through its own district committees as well as with the help of its members working in various trade unions and other organisations, mobilised a very large part of the professionists.

The entire Executive Committee of the Communist Party in Delhi, led by the Secretariat members, personally participated in the preparations. Every member of the Party was asked to participate actively in the campaign. Ramchandra Sharma, veteran Communist and a leader of the trade union and peace movements in Delhi, was in overall charge of the procession, assisted by Communist Municipal Corporator Prem Sagar Gupta, trade union leaders B. D. Joshi and A. C. Nanda, and others.

The success of the procession will be judged in the future also by the measure in which the participants continue their activity for disarmament and in particular, in the collection of signatures for the Appeal for Disarmament, launched from October 2, by the Indian Committee for Disarmament and Peace.

## MESSAGES

### from President Radhakrishnan

THE Delhi Citizens' Committee is observing Disarmament Day on the 2nd October, 1962.

In spite of two world wars, the most devastating in history, and each of them having its objective as the end of war between nations, the world is still swaying perilously on the

edge of a disaster which may be even more terrible than in the previous years.

Vast sums are being spent in a race of increasing armaments, while hunger and malnutrition stalk the world. While tension has shown signs of mounting rather than subsiding, the Conference on Disarm-

ament seems to take a leisurely course.

The expression of public opinion by the observance of 'Disarmament Day' will be a contribution, however small, to the efforts of far-seeing statesmen, philosophers and scientists to prevent a catastrophe.

### from Earl Russell

THE movement of resistance to nuclear war in India is of first importance. It is to the neutral countries that we all look for decisive action.

I appeal to the people of India to urge upon their Government that degree of direct action which may forestall the disaster being prepared for mankind. I am convinced that neutral Governments have the resources and the power to sustain an international movement against nuclear war, which could be decisive. (extract from longer message).

### J. D. Bernal

Chairman, Presidential Committee, World Peace Council

THE growing strength and unity of the worldwide movement for disarmament and peace, together with the action of uncommitted countries—in which India has played a leading role—has already achieved much. It has narrowed the gap between the positions of the chief negotiating powers, at least

on principles of disarmament, and it has won the admission of the uncommitted countries to the negotiating table.

But we cannot and must not rest content with this. We must exert such a great and continuing pressure as will compel the Governments to cease raising unreal obstacles and putting forward one-sided proposals. Only the unremitting action of the peoples can make it a practical reality.

I, therefore, warmly welcome the formation of the Delhi Citizens' Committee for Disarmament and Against Nuclear Arms, and the mass campaigns for disarmament, which it heralds in India. I hope the example will be followed in many other countries.

### Soviet Peace Committee

Nikolai Tikhonov, Chairman and Mikhail Kotov, Secretary

ON behalf of Soviet peace workers, send you, millions of peace friends in

India, our sincerest friendly wishes. New great successes will follow our joint efforts aimed at the prevention of the catastrophe of all-out nuclear war.

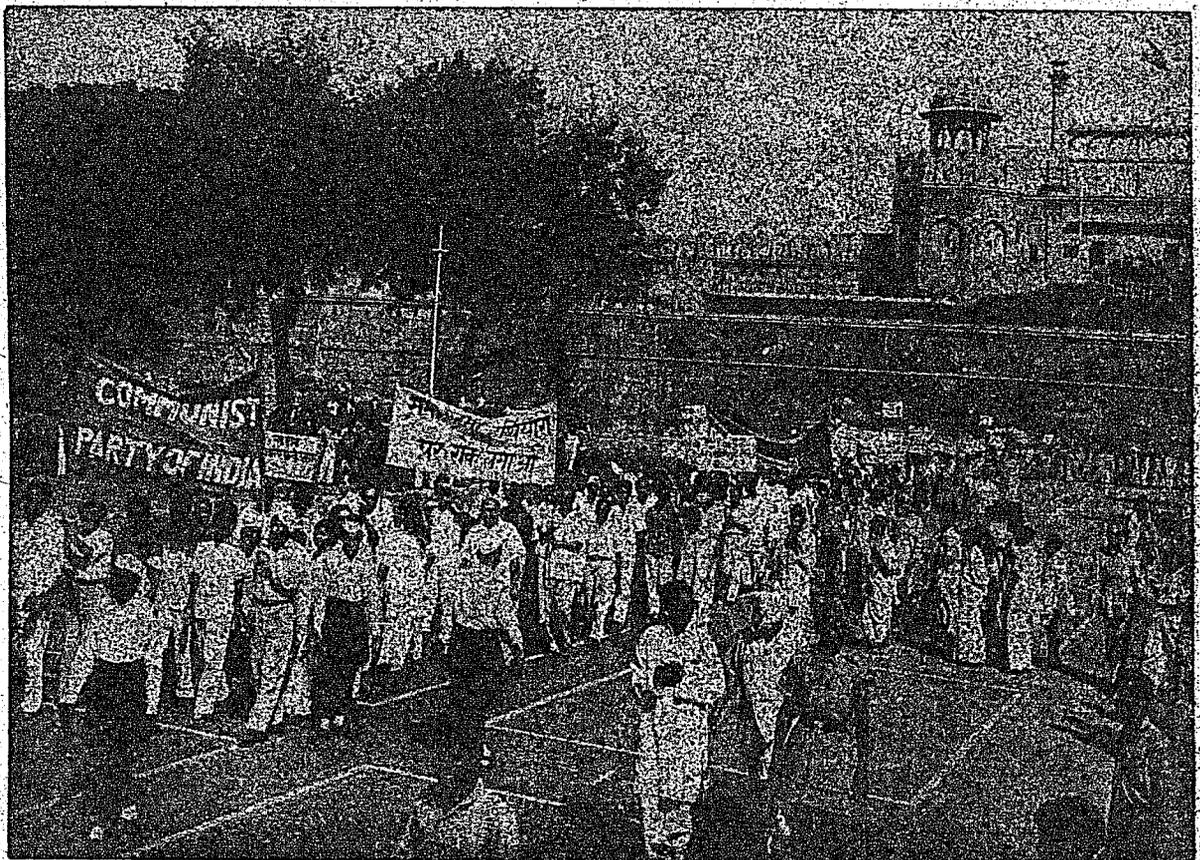
Now-a-days, any honest and sensible man cannot be indifferent to the grave danger which the arms race and international tension present to mankind. That is why the action of peace-loving forces to remove this threat assumes such a broad scope involving in it whole continents and countries.

Together all peace-loving nations and the great Indian people are making an invaluable contribution to the cause of preservation of peace on earth.

### Lebanon

Antoine Tabet, President, Lebanon Peace Committee

WARM greetings on your initiative. The mighty united action of all peace forces shall impose disarmament for the strengthening of the independence, security and well being of the peoples.



Communist Party contingent in the disarmament procession from Red Fort.

Photos by Virendra Kumar