

### THE RAIPUR A. I. C. C.

THE original agenda for the AICC was one resolution on the Third Plan as moralebooster to rally the electorate in the coming General Elections and the blg problem of streamlining the Congress organisation, especially at the level of State leadership, where it was bursting at the seams in more places than

Nehru's intervention put the international situation on the agenda and the resolution that followed endorsed the foreign policy stand the Prime Minister had formulated for the U. N. General Assembly and for the days ahead. The resolution endorsed by

the highest organ of the ruling party of our country is a humane and wise call to world Powers to end the testing, manufacture and use of nuclear weapons in order to eliminate the dominant fear of path of our own and we will disastrous nuclear war.

In the same line as Khrutotal and general shchov's disarmament,' the AICC resolution urged 'complete disarmament' to put an end to war as a method of settling world conflicts. After defining the final aim unambiguously it called for a "suitably phased programme" and added that "progressive disarmament must be accompanied by pro- makes it impossible for the gressive controls and inspection and the two processes must go together."

This is a sharp demarcation from the Western position which in the name of controls seeks to inspect the armaments of others and carry on with their own armament plans virtually unhindered. On the contrary this stand is very near Soviet stand on the subject.

### Colonialism Denounced

Another significant feature of the resolution is the clear- having a go at China just to cut recognition of the correla- prove that he was the real tion between the danger of war and retention of colonia- gress leaders. lism, between achieving disarmament and the ending of olonialism.

Colonialism is denounced as "entirely opposed to the spirit of the times" and it is stressed that "the existence of colonial domination is itself a cause of conflict."

India's national solidarity is expressed with the nations fighting for their liberation. "The AICC welcomes the growth of freedom in Africa, and the achievement of independence by many countries. It sends to all these countries and their peoples its greetings and assurances of cooperation in their development and in the work for peace."

About Congo, the resolution stated that U. N. assistance "must be exercised in the interest of the people of the Congo only." Nehru in his speech declared that the supre of the elected Congolese Parliament must be fully restored. Rajeshwar Dayal's tougher line with the imperialist henchman, Mobutu and his band of hoodlums in uniform indicates that the official policy is improving and moving to it. There are, however, gressive Congressmen them-more in line with African as-some important features of selves handle the crying pro-

the resolution that Algeria attention. Unity to implement the popu-would "soon join the ranks of The resolution contains the lar aspects of the Plan, a new free nations."

therefore, seized upon the omission of all references to India's relations with Pakistan and China to divert the whole debate and tell their old tales. Nehru, however, stood firm. "He said in impassioned tones, amidst cheers that the problems with China and Pakistan were not going to be solved through fiery speeches nor by challenging each other nor by harsh words". (Hindustan Times, October 30)

### Pakistan And China

Refusing to utter words of fire against Ayub's bellicose declarations on Kashmir, Pt. Nehru said, "This was no way of indicating one's strength or ideas. We are following a do so firmly in the future also." He reminded the AICC that these two countries were one country for centuries and that "these old bonds between the two cannot be forgotten and should not be forgotten .... We followed one path and they pursued another path. But it is possible that somees the two paths may meet. So if we do anything which two paths to meet it will not

be a proper thing to do." Again, while Nehru did not "hold out any hope of a solution of the border dispute with China," he did state that the two teams were talking to each other. He, however, stressed, "nothing should be done in anger or emotion which might make our entire future, a future of conflict." Nehru was standing up to his own rowdy Rightists instead

of playing up to them. Pant who had moved the resolution followed its spirit n his own speech but outside the AICC pandal, he could not resist the temptation of strong one among the Con-

It is a good and wise resolution and we welcome it. Its main weakness, however, consists in this that it has no operative part so far as the Indian people are concerned. There is no call for taking the resolution to the mass of the people, no appeal to other political par-ties and elements for a united national campaign in defence of India's independent foreign policy, its living expression on current problems of the day and to demonstrate India's united national stand in the good cause of ridding the world of all arms, helping each nation to achieve its independence and enjoy the fruits of its own labour and make its own contribution to the cause of human hap-

### ON THE PLAN\_CRYING WEAKNESSES

pirations and reality. the resolution and the debate blem and seek ways and Earnest hope is expressed by that call for urgent national means of achieving national e nations." ominous words, "a certain break in our national life can The Right dared not op- amount of restraint on con- be made. The Right dared not op- amount of restraint on con- be made. Der 29, as "Congress to be rid, pose the resolution frontally sumption is inevitable," to Nehru intervened in the of all evils before next elec-preven seek to amend it. It, raise national savings from Plan debate as well. He rightly tions." At the end of the ses-

# NOTES

eight to ten per cent, to see the Plan through. This without any practical proposals to private sector had neither the The Congress is perhaps the control profits, or to hold the capacity nor the mental ap- only popular, organisation in price line or to guarantee a lists will be free to reap their harvest of profits but the common people will be called upon to make sacrifices in the Wehru's name of the Plan.

There was a call to avoid "concentration of economic

power and of monopolistic tendencies." It is only a sign of the hold that the Indian monopolists have acquired over the Congress leadership and the AICC members themselves that not one asked how Jain's criticism that more it was that this was just the dangerous 'development that had taken place during the course of the First and the Second Plans? What are the guarantees to disrupt and defeat this evil process during the Third?

Fate Of Land Reforms

The resolution also considered it "important to remember that land reforms are the foundation of agricultural Nehru, however, revealed growth." Again, so far as his own pragmatic weakness Press reports reveal, not one and ideological confusion AICC member asked how it was that in the State legislations both the spirit and the lism, not based on any rigid

tion demanded "the extension can learn from Marx. You can and development of Panchayat Raj and of cooperatives." Again, not one AICC member asked, how implementation To oppose it I consider to be would figure better with the vested interests dominating the panchayats and the cooperatives and the bureaucrat aiding them, on the direct personal prodding of the Congress representatives, its MLAs and M.P.s themselves? its The resolution declares, "the Plan is for the nation. and for the benefit of all sections. It demands the full enthusiastic support and coope-ration of all the people of India." This is unalloyed demogogy. The biggest tragedy of Indian planning is that the ruling party monopolises all strategic places meant to bring the people into the Plan and misuses the facilities of the Plan in its own partisan or sectional interests.

This constitutes the big-gest national scandal and if honest Congressmen at various levels cannot realistically face up to this problem and decide to break with the evil past and seek the cooperation of all progressive popular political ele-ments for the success of the Plan, the future of Indian planning is uncertain if not

dark. When we of the Communist Party fight this evil, it is characterised as our partisan The resolution on the Plan political struggle against the was one of ritualistic support Congress. If honest and pro-

# OF THE WEEK

played up the role of the public sector by stating that "the stands just where it was. sector.'

### Intervention

He also emphasised that time was of the essence and that the pace of development had to be quickened.

He rightly dismissed discredited ex-Food Minister A. P. ing elected hereafter. Gandhian arguments in defence of the World Bank and should bother more

sation. Nehru, however, revealed when he stated that India was evolving her own Sociaion on land reforms had been Marxist doctrines which seem. violated, unhindered and un- to be out of date in the seem. To ensure the implementa- tific age." He called Marx a tion of the Plan, the resolu- Mahatma and added, "You respect him but to accept The Hindustan Times, Octo-everything blindly that Marx ber 29, in its editorial on Ral-said or wrote would be wrong. pur has anxiously pleaded for more wrong."

It will be worthwhile for Nehru to recall that the loyal disciples of Marx are also the rulers of one-third of the present-day world and they have whose achievements Nehru and other honest non-Comticians readily admire.

Marxism out-dated? The success and prosperity of the Socialist world is the living refutation! Again, if there was no Karl Marz, no Lenin, no Socialist world led Communist Parties, by Nehru himself would not be talking of the public sector and getting the wherewithal to build it up in our own country. To repeat ad nauseam the age-old bourgeois criticism of Marxism is itself being traditional and dog. matic and not new, alert and vigorous in thought, truly creative thought that will help India strengthe its economy and lead it on towards Socialism, defeating step by step its sworn ene s, instead of appeasing them more and more as i is happening right under Nehru's very nose.

### THE CONGRESS ORGANISATION

The main purpose of this. AICC session was headlined by the Times of India, October 29, as "Congress to be rid

sion however proach to undertake the in- the world, with historic tradidecent wage and essentials of dustrialisation of India, a task tions, where the President life to the working people only that can be achieved by plan- appoints the Executive. In the betokens that the big capita- ned activity in the public last AICC, Nehru had supported the younger elements who demanded that the elective principle be introduced. Even Nehru's support proved ineffective to make a dent in the minds of die-hard elements of the traditional leadership, popularly called the High Command. Popular discontent compelled the leadership to accept the principle of one-third of the Executive be-

The main interest of the money had not been allocated. delegates centred round the for "development of agricul-ture." This is also the demand- the Central Election Commitof S. K. Patil, supported from tes who together with the inside the Planning Commission Central Parliamentary Board sion by Sriman Narayan who will choose the Congress canspecialises in manufacturing didates for the coming General Elections. Hectic canvass ing, feverish lobbying and Ford Foundation specialists' shameless horse-trading took recommendations that India place. Four were elected on shout the basis of winning a fwoagricultural production than thirds majority. Those who about the big projects to failed are left free to try speed up Indian industrialiaining vacant.

Informal consultations took place over the crisis of the Congress organisation in U.P., Punjab, Orissa and above all These can be called the problem States but it is there in all the States. No isions could be reached. concl

### Progressives Must Act

'some means" to be devised "of holding the organi together at least until the General Elections are over".

Its last remedy is "greater discipline" The Times of India, October triumphantly built Socialist 28, plaintively asks, "Is there economies in their countries, really no way of ending the really no way of ending the sordid factionalism which disfigures and cripples the party munist intellectuals and poli- in almost every State of the Union?.... Somewhere along the way, the Congress lost its We cannot believe that it is already too late. But it would be foolish to pretend that time is not running out very rapidly."

The above two are the leading organs of the Indian monopolists and even their faith in the traditional leadership and the political organisation it built up stands rudely shaken. The leadership of the ruling party is losing grip over its own organisation and this itself creates an acute polltical problem. This for the time being hinders the normal democratic solution of major problems that face our people.

This situation gives direct encouragement to all types of ruptive and reactionary elements to fish in troubled waters. This situation urgent-ly calls for serious thought and effective action by progressive Congressmen who made such showing in Raipur but who exist in large numbers, scattered and disorganised but who are passive and frustrated for the time being.

### -P. C. JOSHI November L

### NOVEMBER 6, 1980

On October 15, 47 Congress MLAs of Kerala issued who want to go against the charges became so seriou a joint statement denying the existence of differences will of the people expressed in that the All-India Congress In the Congress Legislature Party and asserting that the unity that was built at Committee had to send a reevery member of the party was sincerely desirous that the present Coalition Government in the State should the time of the midterm elec. Rajagopalan went to the continue for its full term.

tain circles.

appeared.

HE statement, however added that behind the rereports which had appeared in the Press about the differences. "the narrow self-interests of somebody are working". It sured the people that the selfish desire of those who try to create such differences within the party would not be fulfilled.

### Press Reports.

That such a joint statement had to be issued by the Congress MLAs was itself significant. For, reports of serious dissensions within the Congress Legislature Party had appeared continuously for nearly a week. Such a report appeared for the first time in the organ of the Catholic Church, Deepika.

The Political Correspondent of that paper wrote on Octoper 11: "This Correspond can report with certainty that a discontented section in the Congress has raised its hand against the Congress-PSP-League unity. Certain consultations have taken place at Ernakulam and Kottayam. The plan of this discontented section is to break the unity and create a situation in which Kerala may have a general election in February 1962 along with the other States ....

"There is no doubt," he continued "that something is wrong in the Congress. The estion is whether the narrow self-interests of some people should disrupt the political calm that has been prevailing in the State."

Simultaneously with this Deepika report appeared a report in the Times of India more or less to the same effect.

Some newspapers and

READ

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Movement

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share. Who are the people in-terested in spreading such stories and what do they gain To know about the imby giving currency to such repact of Lenin and the ports? Great October Revolution on Indian National

controversy.

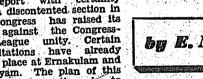
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One of two things: Either there is a section of Congressmen who are conspir-ing against the present Coalition and for a general election in 1962; or there are no such Congressmen but there are others who are interested in ascribing to some of their colleagues such "base motive."

Matters did not rest here. Even after the joint statement of the 47 Congress MLAs, in. dividual Congressmen and groups are carrying on the controversy.

Some of them say that the timely exposure by a vigilant Press had roused the wrath of the people against those who were trying to disrupt the united Ministry. Let this be a warning, they say, to all those

P. B. 206 NEW DELHI



**KERALA CONGRESS** Battle for power comes out in open

and the second second

politicians representing the viewpoints of the Congress first tried to make out that this was propaganda unleashed by the Communists. The people could, however, see that it was not the Communist Press but some of the most rabid anti-Communist papers that not only gave circulation to this re-

Details began to appear as to the persons interested in this game who were denounced as enemies of unity. One of the Ministers (Industries Minister Damodara Menon) was alleged to be in this socalled "conspiracy to break the unity and to force a general election in 1962". It against this background that the above-mentioned Joint statement of Congress MLAs

Others say that the story of some Congressmen trying to force a general election in 1962 is itself a conspiracy of a particular group in the Con- misunderstandings have been gress which wants to get con- removed. He did, of course. trol over the Congress organisation and to that end is trying to discredit the other honest Congressmen.

# ting its correctness when it began to be denied in cer-

Among those who express the former view are the Home Minister of Kerala, P. T. Chacko, and several other MLAs. Among the latter are the President and the Secretary of the KPCC, Industries Minister Damodara Menon and several other leading Congressmen including former Chief Minister Panampilly Govinda Menon, former AICC General Secretary K. P. Madhavan Nair. etc.

Which of these two versions The joint statement, how- is true, it is difficult to say ever, did not put an end to for certain. The fact, how-

by E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD

of fact, the reference in the statement to the narrow selfinterest of somebody which was alleged to be behind the persistent reports of differ-ences in the Congress became the starting point of further

Controversy

For, it means that there is somebody who is giving currency to a story which is not true, a story which ascribes a section of Congressmen the desire which they do not

the controversy. As a matter ever, remains that while no Congressman has come out with the view that it is necessary to put an end to the pre-sent Coalition Ministry and to have general elections in Kerala in 1962, acute differences have come out in the open between two sections of Congressmen with regard to the enrolment of Congress members.

> Two District Congress Committees-those of Quilon and Kottayam (which are known to be under the con-trol of Home Minister Chacko and his group) complained to the AICC that the President and Secretary of the KPCC were acting improperly and irregularly in the matter of Issuin membership books, while the DCCs were sometime finding it difficult to get th books, the KPCC was issuing books direct to the Manda Committees over the heads of the DCCs.

### A.I.C.C. Raguiry

On the other hand, spokesmen of the KPCC charge some of the DCCs with refusing to give books to certain Mand Committees with a view to denying the rival groups the opportunity to enrolling members; they also assert that, according to the Constitution of the Congress, the PCC is entitled to distribute books to the Mandal Committees in bers; they case the latter do not get books from the DCCs.

These charges and counte

NEW AGE

State for a couple of days and issued a statement on leaving the State that there "misunderstandings" in the matter of distribution of membership books and that these add that he could not see any Congressman who wanted to end the present Coalition Government and to force a general election in 1962.

It became thus clear that, whatever the truth of the allegations against some Congressmen being against the Coalition or for a general election in 1962, the Con. gress in Kerala is having serious group rivalries. The "misunderstanding" that that arose on the question of the distribution of membership books is the precursor of "misunderstanding" about the election of the KPCC, election of members to the Election Committee and the latter's selection of candidates for at least the Parliamentary - constituencies for the 1962 general elec-

There is no doubt that in this struggle for power, two groups are arrayed against each other-one which looks up to the present Home Minister of the State to be the saviour of the State and the other that has in its ranks such powerful personalities as the former Chief Minister Panampilly Govinda Menor Smaller groups and indivi-duals in the various parts of the State are pushed and pulled into the arms of this or that group, neither of which has any scruples when it comes to the selection of methods to beat rivals.

### C. P. I. SECRETARIAT MEETS

THE Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India held a meeting in New Delhi on October 31 at which the work in the various States regarding preparation for the Party Congress was reviewed.

Programmes were also fixed for the work of the Secretariat members in the matter of preparing the documents for the National Council which is meeting in Sombay in December.

Comrade Bhupesh Gupta ho had visited Assam in the middle of October gave a report to the Secretariat on the developments in that State.

The Secretariat also discussed the developments in the Assam legislature subsequent to Comrade Gupta's return from Assam. The Secretariat expressed its oncern at the fact that the efforts made by the Central Rome Minister Pandit Pant during his visit to Assam did not lead to any improvement in the relations between the Assamese and the minorities in the State.

The Secretariat, there fore, decided to have this juestion further reviewed at the next meeting of the Central Executive mittee and, meanwhile, to set fuller reports from the ssam State Council.

### DELEGATION TO MOSCOW

Comrades E. M. S. Namboodiripad, S. A. Dange, Bhupesh Gupta and P. Ramamurti left for Moscow on November 2. With Comrade Ajoy Ghosh who is already in Moscow, they will form the Indian delegation to the Fortythird nniversary celebrations of the Great October Revolution.

### PRITAM SINGH PRABHAKAR

leading District, Comrade Pritam struggles against British Singh Prabhakar, was brutally murdered while returning from Shamli to his the Communist Party, for village Kirthal. Through all the oppressors life long struggle against people, the blackmarketeers oppression of his fellow and hoarders had flocked Harijans and the other into the Congress after in-rural poor he had won in dependence. abundance the hatred of In both the post-indethe class enemy.

Repeatedly they had tried to kill him. Once they set fire to his hut thinking that he was inside asleep. But he was not there. Onc they set upon him with lathis and spears, but he survived their blows. Again and again, they threatened him. But he always stood steadfast.

him off, particularly after they appealed to him in the name of the organisation he has served all his life before our country won its independence.

gress till then and had worker of the Meerut been in the forefront of all imperialism. But his experience soon led him to join of the

dence General Elections he gave a memorable fight to the Congress, in the first one it was against Chowdhury Charan Singh, the notorious ideologue of the kplaks. He rallied the poor in his support and brought the Congress to the verge of defeat.

In the forefront of the kisan movement in his district, he was President of They tried even to buy the District Kisan Sabha, and member of the Executhe 1957 elections when tive of the State Kisan In shee joined his funeral procession and have since in several meetings vowed to carry forward, the struggle He had stuck to the Con. in which he gave his life.

PAGE THREE



### Editorial

ON NOVEMBER 7, WHEN fortythree years ago the Socialist Revolution trium-

phed in Russia, we greet our good friend, loyal allies and comrades-in-arm of the Soviet Union. We admire the majestic all-round progress these years of successful building up of Socialism and tirelessly laying the foundations for Communist construction embody. These have made Moscow the Mecca of the new world, rid of the scourge of war and of the bloody scars of colonialism.

Top national leaders of nations fighting for their freedom go to Moscow for aid against colonialism and no one returns empty-handed. Guinea's Sekou Toure and Algeria's Abbas are the latest examples.

Eminent intellectuals and statesmen of the West who have a clean conscience within and a thinking head on their shoulders rush to Moscow to frankly discuss how to check the headlong imperialist drive to war and secure peace and they come back convinced that the leaders of the USSR despite their acknowledged strategic superiority are all for peace and disarmament and any honest realistic solutions that will achieve the much desired end

The policies that emanate from official Washington repel honest men and provoke growing resistance in greater or lesser degree all over the world. The policies that emanate from Moscow attract and command the respect of growing numbers of the leaders of nations and masters of science, arts and culture, despite ideological and other differences.

We rejoice and get greater confidence from this welcome development. Indo-Soviet friendship was forged during our struggle for liberation and it has continued to grow, become all-sided and stronger, after the achievement of Indian independence.

Together with the Soviets we have a vested interest in world peace. We need peace like man needs air for existence, to go ahead with our national reconstruction plans just as the USSR needs it for forging ahead with its gigantic plans for the construction of Communism.

he whole world has noted how near to each other are Khrushchov's and Nehru's standpoints on disarmament. We are for all that India can do to strengthen Khrushchov-Nehru joint endeavours to rid the world of the menace of arms, nuclear weapons. Working shoulder to shoulder with the USSR, India

helped win the unanimous vote of the U.N. General Assembly for a discussion of the Declaration for ending colonialism. The very consideration of the problem is a great moral victory for the cause of freedom. We are pledged to strengthen Indo-Soviet cooperation in the cause of anti-colonial solidarity and do all we can to speed the cause of liberation of nations hitherto held captive.

We heartily hail the giant strides Soviet economy is taking which have made it the first industrial Power in Europe and the second in the world. The monthly output of steel and extraction of oil exceeds today the gross annual output of these products in 1913. Electric energy produced in three days now equals the total output of electric power in any pre-revolutionannual ary year.

The latest 1959 report of U.N. Economic and Social Council gives abundant factual material that goes to prove that the economy of leading capitalist countries of the West has become sluggish and stagnant while the Soviet economy is yearly advancing at a rate of growth which the capitalist West can never dream of acquiring and hence it is doomed to lose the economic race be tween the two social systems. Down on our earth, the future belongs to Socialism and in our own time!

We express our fraternal gratitude for the selfless and growing economic aid USSR has given for strengthening our national economy. We wish record-break-ing success for the Seven-Year Plan of the USSR, for we know that the greater the successes of Soviet economy, the more aid will be forthcoming for our Third Plan.

We express anew India's national pride in Indo-Soviet friendship, a shining example of peaceful co-existence, a living model of principled and useful mutual relations, a good pattern for future world relations in a world of peace, freedom and creative labour.

ALL FOR INDO-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP! TO EVER NEW TRIUMPHS WITH INDO-SOVIET UNITY! لحجا أنشق بجدرته والمراجع والمعاد والمراجع والمعالي والمعا

# Happy Birthday, Land Of Socialism ?

### by cable from MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW is in a holiday mood this week. This nighty land of the Soviets is getting ready to celebrate her fortythird birthday. mighty land of the Soviets is getting ready to celebrate her fortythird birthday. Like all the birthdays there Like all the birthdays there is excitement, there are pre-before the day arrives and the guests to be looked after who have arms to the integration to the store and new integration to the store and store a who have come to share this happiness with their lucky hosts.

But there is a difference: when we ordinary mortals reach our forties every birthday is a reminder that youth is slipping away, the inevitable old age is approaching and time is limited for us to accomplish in life all that we

### Time Passes In Reverse

But for this young and youthful lady who celebrates her birthday on the Seventh, as they say, life really begins at forty; everyday that passes, brings colour and freshness to her cheeks, confidence and self-assurance to her intelli-gent eyes and time gent eyes and time for her passes but in reverse. Maya-kovsky was right when he called Communism "youth of the world and springtime of

humanity." Snow came early this year and Moscow has already the look of the proverbial Christdonned her white winter robes, her onion domes and spires, the red walls and turrets of the Kremlin, housetops, streets and gardens all are under this delicate soft and milk-white blanket. It gives some strange serenity and poise and a quiet soothing quality to the surroundin

The falling snowflakes dance like millions of stars under neon lights and the city acquires a fairy-land appearacquires a fairy-land appear- because Papa and Mama have ance in the evenings. Strange plenty of cash. It is a measure happiness fills the heart as of the intrinsic health and

But the quiet is only ap-idlers has brought public parent and the Moscow attention to bear on these treets are full of bustle and matters and this problem parent and the Moscow streets are full of bustle and activity as people rush from stands high on the Party's shop to shop buying pre- programme. The good old sents, fruit and wine for the slogan has been revived—he holiday.

### Shop Windows Are Full

The shop windows are full, new and better goods fill the stores and there is a lot of money in the pockets, so of course, it is not always easy to reach the counter or to catch the eye of the shop assistant. life that lies ahead. The wise ones do their shop- And there are real good ping early; those who take times ahead for Soviet citi-long to make up their minds zens. Production is constantly get the worst of the milling rising, newspapers are full of rowds.

nurchasing umps and no recessions. This recreation. Theatres are pre-

and the market

to this store and soon young girls dressed in the latest snow-white nylon furcoats ap-

peared. Early snow came to

the rescue of these impatient fashion worshippers and they came out prompt in their latest warm outfits.

Prosperity brings fashions and good living and pre-occupation with the latest

lines in dress, furniture and

indoor decorations. There is a

rary design and good taste and sharp criticism of the archaic

and old-fashioned. Youth, al-

ways eager for the new, goes for tape-recorders, cine-came-ras, colour television and poc-

tion sometimes complain of superficial interests of some

on contemp

new emphasis

Prosperitu

### MOSCOW, November 1

### big department store "Synthe- Support To

And in their prosperity and plentiful living Soviet people do not forget the un-fortunate ones of the world who still have to bring their blood to the altar of freedom. A meeting was held yesterday in Moscow's House of Friendship to commemo-rate the sixth anniversary of the Algerian war of independence and a resolution was passed calling upon the U.N. to take effective measures and find a just solution to the Algerian question on the basis of self-determi-nation.

Newspapers also publish a special interview of Krim Bel-kasim, Deputy Prime Minister of the Algerian Provisional Government, which he gave to the Tass Correspondent in Cairo and the declaration of Ferhat Abbas, Prime Minister, that Algerians will not give up arms till they win a fully inde-Let us wish them luck and as guests and leaders of the -New Problems world Communist and working **EXAMPLE 1** Substantial transformer of the second and the second second

### USSR & INDIA

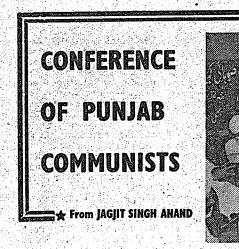
holds out bright new prospects of building a national oil and one looks at all this loveliness and even a warmth-loving Indian can understand why the Russians love their winter so. But the quiet is only ap-idlers have been noticed by the guiet is only ap-idlers have been noticed by the warmth down and the solution of building a national oil and gas industry to meet all our needs. The rate-war started by the Western oil companies only reveals the panic of the solution of the solution of the solution of the solution only reveals the panic of the solution of the solu only reveals the panic of the greedy whose unjust monopoly we will now be able to break. And so on.

In short, Soviet economic aid strengthens India's eco-nomic independence and enables us to modernise our economy. The USSR was with us in our struggle for national liberation. The USSR is again with us in our endeavour for mational reconstruction. Selfless Soviet aid is the living expression aid is the living expression of solidarity against im-perialism and enabling an underdeveloped country like India to rise to its full height and develop their economies along lines of

their cherished aspiration From whatever aspect one looks at friendly Indo-Soviet relations and our growing cooperation, the only truthful conclusion that can be drawn conclusion that can be drawn is that it is good for India, good for the USSR, good for the fighters against colonialism and good for the peace-

LONG LIVE INDO-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERA-TION.

NOVEMBER 6, 1960



On the banks of the Sutlej, just eleven miles large areas and fall in per-On the banks of the Sutlej, just eleven miles above the spot from where a great Punjabi, Guru Gobind Singh, led his followers against feudal princedom and Aurangzebi zoolum, and five miles below the famous Bhakra Dam, 241 of the 250 elected representatives of Punjab's twelve thousand Communists met for five days beginning created a potentially danger-October 12.

Singh's heroes of Punjab's great struggles of the last six decades. Among them were the 88-Among them were the 88-year-old Founder-President of the Ghaddar Party, Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna, and his valued colleagues Baba Gurmukh Singh, Baba Karam Singh Cheema and Baba Bhag Singh Canadian, famed fighters of the Akali and Babar Akali, Congress and Praja Mandal movements, Bhagat Singh's comrade-in-arms Pan-dit Rishori Lal, colleagues of the Goa martyr Karnail Singh, and leaders of many working class and agrarian struggles.

### Background To **Deliberations**

They had gathered after 21 months of intense activity, marked by great battles agamarked by great battles aga-test the unjust Betterment Levy and for cheaper food, and campaigns on the Com-munist-led Ministry of Kerala, India-China relations, Gurd-warse and Kerala cheations munist-led Ministry of Actan, India-China relations, Gurd-waras and Kerala elections, in order to pool their expe-rience and map out their rience and map out their course for the coming two Vears.

They were meeting at a time when the Punjab was passing through grave mo-ments. The mounting dispassing through grave mo-ments. The mounting dis-content against Congress rule for its failure to solve the real problems of the people on the one hand, and the disruption and disunity engendered by the reactionengenucreu by the reaction-ary, communal forces on the other, called for a critical re-appraisal of the economic and political situation in our State

The Conference met in the happy surroundings of the friendly Rampura Bustee colony, inhabited by our old friends of the tenant across the river, who had to give up their homes and give up hearths to make place for the Nangal Fertiliser Factory. Every house of the colony was ced at the disposal of the placed at the disposal of the Reception Committee, led by its energetic President, Ram Kishen Bharolian, MLA, for

NOVEMBER 6, 1960

State

ggles, our Party has faith-fully stood by the people and defended their interests and because of this the its energetic President, Ram Kishen Bharolian, MIA, for lodging the delegates and a good number of the inhabi-tants served as volunteers, too. Arrangements from the view-point of comfortable lodging, punctual service and proper democratic movement

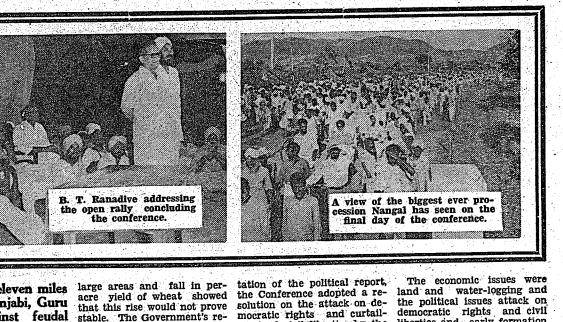
### of the youth. \* FROM BACK PAGE who tend to live on family The continuing and grow-prosperity and nobody minds ing Soviet aid to our Oil because Papa and Mama have and Natural Gas Commission plenty of cash. It is a measure of the intrinsic beauth and the intrinsic beauth and the second secon Then there are the lazybones

programme. The good old slogan has been revived—he who does not work neither shall he eat. The Komsomol organisation and youth papers are in the vanguard of this campaign to remove these blots from the fair Socialist face of Soviet

society. The ideological stand-ards of youth and the moral tone of society in general are to be raised still higher in anticipation of an even better

reports of over-fulfilment of If you need a lesson in the plan from factories and farms. economics of Socialism just the harvest has been good, watch the cash-counters in shorter working hours are the shops and see money pour- being introduced and taxes the shops and see money pour-being introduced and taxes ing in. This is money which are being cut (they are to be full employment and Socialist abolished altogether by 1965). prosperity fill the pockets There is more leisure and more with, there is no shortage of opportunities to spend it in power here, no self-education and cultured

November 2



Constant of the second

ous situation. In the industrial field, Com-

The proceedings of the Con-scale and medium industries as ference started in the after-noon of October 12 with the singing of the National An-the election of a Nangal Fertiliser Plant had Presidium of five persons con-sisting of Comrades Sohan Punjab continued to be an in-Singh Josh, Avtar Singh Mal-dustrially backward State. Un-beten Dalin Singh Tanjala employment, specially among hotra, Dalip Singh Tapiala, employment, specially among Kishori Lal and Vimla Dang. the educated youth had as-

national Communist movetyrs of the Betterment Levy and Food struggles and the Mohangarh and Faridabad

Union, Kisan and Agricultural Labour fronts had been circulated to all delegates as Conference documents a week before their arrival at the

Conference.

Political

Report

While presenting the 30,000-word Draft Political Report, Comrade Harkishen Singh

Surjeet, Secretary of the State Council of the Communist Party, said, "We are meeting after 21 months of intense activity examplified by the great struggles of Bettrement Levy and food and numerous working class and peasant actions and our task is to generalise the experience of these struggles and draw proper lessons. In these stru-

The Conference condoled sumed serious proportions, the deaths of Comrades Wil-heim Pieck and Harry Pollitt, eminent leaders of the interemployees and workers had been severely cut by the ab-normal rise in prices.

### ment, and Comrades Ram Kishen of Karnal and Beant Attack On

### Singh Biran of Hoshiarpur. It paid its homage to the mar- **Democracy**

tyrs of the Betterment Levy and Food struggles and the Mohangarh and Faridabad firings. The Draft Political and Or-ganisational Reports, a report on the Third Five-Year Plan, and reports of the Trade Unice Kiesen and Attacks on civil acclaim. Besides, communal in-fluences prevail in the State Wood Struggles and the Conon a vast scale and the Congress policy of compromising with one communal grouping or another in turn, only helps to perpetuate communal divi-

He emphasised. "the question of language and a lin-guistic State is of vital sig-nificance for the future of the democratic movement

ment of civil liberties by the Kairon regime. The resolution held Chief Minister Kairon responsible for imposing a despotic rule and deliberately keeping the State under con-tinuous tension. It held that the use of Sections 107[150of the river of holy memo-ries of immortal Bhagat were really praiseworthy. Singh's martyrdom came The proceedings of the Con-scale and medium industries as from those arrested under demand of heavy sureties from those arrested under these sections, launching of false cases against political false cases against political workers, action against the Press without consulting the Press Emergency Committee, closing down of opposition newspapers, denial of rights of propaganda to opposition parties by imposing Section 144 while using Government machinery to promote Conmachinery to promote Congress activities, repeated postponement of panchayat elec-tions and restrictions of municipal powers were all proofs of attacks on civil iberties Banning dramatic perform-

ances and use of loudspeaker. in violation of High Court de cisions was also decried by the resolution which characterised the latest statement of the Chief Minister 'as incitement to the police to resort to brutal violence even after the Bhawhich called for united mobi-lisation to end the Kairon regime was adopted with great

### Four Main Issues

During the 17-hour debate report was comprehensive no real advance in the field of and a large number of minor agriculture is possible without amendments were moved to solving the water-logging pro-various sections, the real at- blem.

The economic issues were land and water-logging and the political issues attack on democratic rights and civil liberties and early formation of a unilingual State.

The Conference came to the following conclusions on these issues:

ON THE QUESTION OF LAND: The pro-landlord poli-cies of the Government had led to the eviction of lakhs of tenants in the 13 years of Congress rule while not one acre of surplus land had been taken from the landlords and hand-ed over to the dispossessed tillers of the soil. Even according to Government's own figures whereas there were 131,000 landholders possessing more than thirty acres of land in 1952, their number has been reduced to a mere 28,000 through mala fide transfers and sales of land undertaken to circumvent the law.

### Aararian Reforms

The Conference was of the opinion that it was impossible to unleash the productive initiative of the peasants and to check growing rural unemployment and poverty with-out radical reorganisation of agrarian relations.

ON THE QUESTION OF WATER-LOGGING: The proh-lem has assumed serious pro-portions since 1955 and about one crore acres have been affected out of which 34 lakh acre have been turned into thur land. Even if the Governon the political report that ment's claim of bringing 12 followed, 44 delegates partici-pated and 63 amendments cultivation is accepted at its were taken up. Though the face value, it is obvious that 63 amendments cultivation is accepted at its p. Though the face value, it is obvious that comprehensive no real advance in the field of

TO OVERCOME PROBLEM WATERLOGGING OF

in the Panjab. Only with the solution of this question can communalism be defeated and the people of the Pun-jab united. Therefore, immediate steps are required for solving this problem on a democratic basis."

Speaking on other urgent problems, he highlighted the problem of water-logging which had assumed grave proportions and called for its speedy liquidation. After his two-hour presen-

NEW AGE

major campaigns in the State Council meetings (which met six times in the course of 21 months) had led horation of practical ex-

tention of the Conference was focussed on four issues: Two economic and two political. This was due to the fact building up havy industries, that timely reviews of all to measures for fighting water-logging, and proposed the launching of a Rs. 55-crore launching of a Rs. 55-crore project to overcome the same within two years. The issue to a unified understanding could no longer be shelved as on most other problems, even according to Government which had been trifther estimates annual losses in which had been further estimates annual losses in strengthened by the corro- crop yields due to thur and

> \* SEE PAGE 6 PAGE FIVE

### PUNJAB CONFERENCE ----

Rs. 34 crores

ON THE QUESTION OF ON THE QUESTION OF ATTACK ON DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES AND CIVIL LIBERTIES AND CIVIL RIGHTS: The Conference was of the opinion that the Kairon regime had surpassed all re-cords in brutal suppression of people's movement and the Chief Minister was deliberately creating one crisis after another in the State in order to perpetuate his own rule. The growing restrictions on the rights of the institutions self-government and attacks on democratic liberties only underlined the dangers of authoritarianism and strongman rule.

The Conference decided to fight back this offensive and rid the State of the night-marish regime by broad mobilisation of all democratic orces against it.

ON THE QUESTION OF LANGUAGE AND A UNI-LINGUAL STATE: The Con-

in the world

1949 11 Years GDR 1960

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC the

country that is leading in production of Lignite (Soft Coal) in the World.

THE COUNTRY THAT takes the 5th place

in industrial production of Europe, the 7th

THE COUNTRY THAT stands second in

the world's chemical production per capita of population and has the 7th place in total chemical production, in the world.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC the

country that makes fast progress towards Socialism.

6

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

stands for trade with all nations on the basis of mutual benefit and equality.

FOR economic and technical cooperation.

Further information can be obtained from the Trade Representation of the GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC in India:

HEAD OFFICE: 23, Curzon Road, New

BRANCH OFFICE: Mistry Bhavan, 122,

BRANCH OFFICE: Faraday House, P-17,

BRANCH OFFICE: 4, Valliamal Road,

Dinshaw Wacha Road, Bombay.

Mission Row Extension, Calcutta.

Delhi.

Vepery, Madras.

FOR peaceful coexistence.

PAGE SIX

ater-logging amounted to s. 34 crores. ON THE QUESTION OF TTACK ON DEMOCRATIC BERTIES AND CIVIL IBERTIES The Conference was Guilant the state coun-cil which upheld the principle of unilingual States and sharply came out against the Kairon Ministry for its policy of deliberate provocation and repression, while strongly at-tacking the Akalis for their communal disruptive slogans and methods.

it was imperative for the democratic forces to seize the initiative from the communalists and to unite all Punjabis on a secular demo-cratic platform. It came to was adopted unanimously. cratic platform. It came to the firm conclusion that in order to initiate a united struggle it was necessary to convince the Sikh masses of the great harm that Akali the great harm that Akali outlook and approach had caused to the unity of the workers, agricultural labour-ers, peasants and other democrats and drove a sec-tion of them into the fold of the Hindu communalists. While coming to this con-

### clusion, the Conference decisi-vely rejected two wrong views, which, despite the narrow maire circulated earlier had among themselves, spent 543 arrow and four months in jails support they found among the delegates were distinct as well years and four months in jails as dangerous. While one of and 442 years and 11 months them advocated a tactical line in underground struggles. that would obliterate our Among the delegates were differentiation from the com-the other manifested an utter ers (including one Municipal lack of realisation of the ers (including one Municipal President and 45 panchayat members (including 19 sarpan-ches). The oldest among the The Conference held that lack of realisation of the urgency of the problem.

These were the conclusions that were highlighted in Comrade Surjeet's reply speech, after which the report

### Third

ouncil of the Party. The Report gave a searching presented by Comrade Surject

analysis of the Plan Draft in relation to the Punjab, criti-cised its shortcomings and advanced concrete proposals to strengthen it. The twentyone delegates that participated in the discussion made con-crete proposals to further

crete proposals to further strengthen this Report. The two main points that stood out from the delegates' contribution were first, the necessity of special measures for the development of back-ward hilly regions and, secondly, the need for a big like schools, hospitals and roads in the Hariana region which continues to be comwhich continues to be com-paratively neglected.

The Report of the Credentials Cor tials Committee presented on October 15 showed that the 225

=== BATTLE FOR PEACE × FROM PAGE 7

Hoshiarpur, Hissar and the Provincial Party head-

one on behalf of the USA, Universal peace and har-vernment bases itself on real Britain and Italy laying down mony will be established when political, economic and moral "principles" and the other by Britain suggesting "expert where, said Khrushchov. But proposal for general and com-study" on control arrange-Britain suggesting "expert where, said Khrushchov. But study" on control arrange-ments) presented to the Poli-not be achieved by unleashing tical Committee of the Gene-ral Assembly, Khrushchov has shown in his report to the citiwars. ral Assembly, Khrushchov has shown in his report to the citi-zens of Moscow how they again lack in seriousness when they a pot say "a word shout the const in ternational problems as would take into account the condition por lack in seriousness when they do not say "a word about the abolition of military bases on foreign territories", "about conditions now existing—the simultaneous existence of during what time this or that disarmament measure should be carried out." "In essence it is a proposal envisaging control over armaments, which was urged by President Elsenhower at the General Assembly, and not disarmament under control which the Soviet Union has been insisting upon for many years," said Khrushchov.

Speaking of the prospects and perspectives of the strug-le for peace Khrushchov in the same report said: "We Marxist-Leninists are

ment.

fully aware of the complexity of the questions of war and peace .... The danger of wars and their breeding ground will be eliminated finally and will be eliminated inally and irrevocably with the abolition of the division of society into the rich and the poor, into the haves and the have-nots, exploiters and the exploited ....

"The preservation of peace under conditions of undivided domination of imperialism would be impossible. But the emergence of a new social system—Socialism—which system—Socialism—which is taking the place of capitalism has changed the situation."

### ∽ × FROM PAGE 5

Party units at the bas the Party branches, fighting alien trends \like subjecti-vism, liberalism and indivi-dualism by initiating a rectification campaign from above, planned education for Party building and cadretraining for carrying out the organisational and agi-tational tasks ahead.

The report was unanimously accepted after incorporation of

elected delegates was 75-year old Baba Dulla Singh Jalaldi-wal of the Ghaddar move-ment while the youngest were three delegates from Hoshiarpur, Hissar and cil, 25-member State Execu-tive and five-member State

uarters aged 24 years each. A whole session on the Third Day of the Conference was devoted to the Report on the Third Five-Year Plan, which was presented by Master Hari Singh, member of the State Secretariat and the National Council of the Party.

weaknesses of the Party and was highly acclaimed. The Delegates' Session ended presented by Comrade Surjeet noted the improvement re-gistered by the State organs of the Party in their function-ing and the steps taken to build the youth and women's movement and to activise the cultural front. It sharply underlined the failure to build e steps procession ever wit-nessed by Nangal township. come from adjoining districts also to join the processions which ended in a grand rally addressed, among others by Comrade Ranadive and Com-

rade Surject. Open sessions of the Con-ference had been held on the last three days in a well-The debate was of a high decrated pandal where, apart level and reflected the urge from speeches by Comrades decorated pandal where, apart for unity in the Party to Bhupesh Gupta, face the great tasks ahad. Sukhan, Vimla Tika Ram Dang and The delegates advanced others, songs and dramas were valuable suggestions regard-ing the activisation of the Theatre.

> proposal for general and com-plete disarmament. World war can be averted if all the peoples fight perseveringly for peace, for general and com-plete disarmament, for the destruction of the means of warfare under the strictest international control.

conditions now existing—the simultaneous existence of opposed social systems in different States—in order to create even in such a situa-tion conditions that would rule out the possibility of another war .... "It would be naive to think that the capitalist countries if they were stronger than international control. "Is all this possible? It is. No one denies that this is a diffi-cult thing but war, should it break out, will be even harder for the peoples. Therefore, the question stands as follows: Should we, Communists, re-treat in the face of these diffi-culties and consequently fol-low in the footsteps of those imperialist forces which stand culties and consequently fol-low in the footsteps of those imperialist forces which stand would agree to disarmament low in the toolsteps of most if they were stronger than Socialism ... Now the Socia-list countries possess hitherto unseen means of acting on the capitalist countries, and if you will, even compelling them to an agreement on disarma-"We are" against fotalism

"We are" against fatalism, "Considering the national against inactivity on questions liberation movement of the of war and peace. We should peoples, the force of the popu-lar movement for disarmament rate the possibilities of those

lar movement for disarmanent rate the possibilities of those and peace in all countries, and imperialist forces which stand also the existence in the pre-sent conditions of peaceable "As long as imperialist sentiments of a certain section States exist, as long as they of the bourgeoisie, disarma- are dominated by monopoly ment is favoured not only by capital with its inherent strivour material capabilities for ing for aggression, for im-retailating with a shattering perialist wars, the danger of a blow in case of any attack on new war will exist. But it is the Socialist countries, but against this force that we can also by the support, given to and must counter a still our struggle for peace and the greater force—the readiness termination of the arms race of the peoples to avert war, by the peoples of the entire and their determination to world. curb "That is why the Soviet Go- sion." curb any imperialist aggres



All the forty-three years of its existence, the pedoeing of the meeting, the Soviet State, the first Socialist country in the world, has fought for peace not for itself alone but for the efforts to stir up the cold war, has fought for peace not for itself alone but for the whole world.

In the very latest period this fight for making peace real and firm on earth through securing com-In the very latest period this fight for making peace real and firm on earth through securing com-plete and general disarmament and eradicating colo-nialism, a root cause of wars, has become more deter-mined and persistent than ever. So much so that this fight today has become a real terror for the im-perialists.

This manifested itself at the any State to be put in the posi-

time of Khrushchov's anno- tion in which this Govern-uncement that he would be ment put the Soviet Union last personally leading the Soviet month ... it is difficult to delegation to the 15th General see how anyone could have Assembly of the United Nations. This was carrying the fight right into the heart-land of imperialist warmongers. And quite understandably they reacted to the very announcement with the most unseemly frenzy.

They were however, powerless to stop it. Khrushchov did visit the United States, leading the Soviet delegation to the U.N. For twenty-five days he carried on a remark-able fight, in the forum of the UN. General Assembly and outside it, to hammer home Soviet the message of peace to the people of the United States and to representative of about Policy a hundred nations gathered there. His words found power-

ful support in the pronounce-ments and initiatives of the leaders of many nations-Socialist and non-Socialistat the United Nations.

### Was Torpedoed

This latest phase of the struggle for peace began with the torpedoeing by the United States of the projected Sum-mit Conference in Paris.

Doubts on the U.S. Govern-Doubts on the U.S. Govern-ment's tactics on the U.2. affair were caused in the U.S. tiself. Witness the verdict of the Foreign Relations Com-mittee of the U.S. Senator whose Chairman, Senator Ful-whose Chairman, Senator Ful-whose Chairman, Senator Ful-whose Chairman, Senator Ful-the re-"No", he said in reply to his bright, in presenting the report on June 28, 1960, said, "Historically, the deliberate and intentional assertion by a head of State of the right to violate the territorial integrity f another nation has been imperialists .... This would onsidered an unfriendly act have met their wishes .... I the utmost seriousness. "... if today some people are intoxicated by the torof another nation has been considered an unfriendly act of the utmost seriousness.

NOVEMBER 6. 1960

reignty. This determination of

similar mission.

After Summit

ment put the Soviet Union last month .... it is difficult to see how anyone could have been expected to act substantially differently from the way Chairman Khrushchov acted under the circumstances which confronted him in Paris." The Soviet Union knew full well that the U.S. Government's behaviour over theU-2 affair was not acci-dental. "These are the tac-tics of imperialism," Khrushchov said in his speech at the. Rumanian Workers'

the Rumanian Workers' Party Congress. "Another convulsion of imperialism", he called it.

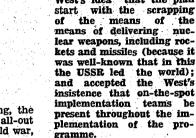
How did the Soviet Union propose to meet these tactics of imperialism? By stern punishment, in the first instance, of any violation or threat of violation of its soveproclaimed the Soviet Union was fully demonstrated two months after the U-2 incident when Soviet forces brought down another Ameriman plane, an RB-47, on a

"What line must we pursue in these conditions?" asked Khrushchov at the Rumanian Workers' Party Congress. "Should we accept this 'chal-"No", he said in reply to his own question, "such a policy would be incorrect.

Had we embarked on this road it would have meant that we had taken the cue from the

this is a temporary circums tance which sooner or late

ern objections to Khrushchov's proposals placed before the General Assembly nine months



### Western

### Stand

positions seeking not disarma-They incorporated the positions seeking not disarma-Western Powers' idea of ment but the control of arma-simultaneous disarmament ment programmes.

N. S. Khrushchov, leader of the Soviet Delegation, addressing the Fifteenth Session of the U. N. General

ing the Fifteenth Session of the U. N. Assembly during the general debate

The New Statesman, July 2,

simultaneous disarmament and control, accepted the West's idea that the plan start with the scrapping of the means of the neans of delivering nuc-lear weapons, including roc-kets and missiles (because it was well-known that in this the USSR led the world); and accepted the West's insistence that on-the-spot panied by 'radical disarma-ment; the Western Powers, on the other hand, were determined to see an inspection system working properly be-fore they were willing to consider disarmament. The Russians made several concessions to the West since the confer-ence resumed after the Sum-mit. The West was slow in

**DISARMANEN** AND FREEDOM

complete and general dis-armament as directed by the General Assembly in specified stages and within four years strict and effective international control," said the proposals.



N. S. Khrushchov talking to Cuba's Fidel Castro in New York during the

U. N. General Assembly Session

NEW AGE

The object was to attain all withheld the Soviet proposals from the American public. And the response of the U.S.

stages and within four years or some other agreed span of them. "All disarmament mea-sures from beginning to end shall be carried out under matter became an international scandal. And then the U.S. proposal of June 26 reite-rated all the old American

other side's defence arrange-ments—that is, a machinery for espionage. Moreover, it can hardly claim to be a plan for simultaneous dis-armament and control thereof. Seriousness

of common sense it means

installation of machinery to

collect information of the

### Lacking

From the Disarmament Commission, the Soviet Union logically took the fight to the Nations General As-raising the whole United sembly, raising the whole issue of stabilising peace in a far more fundamental and comprehensive way, demandcomprehensive way, demand-ing that the full weight of all nations of the world be brought to bear on the solution of the issue that is pre-vented by the intransigence of the U.S. and other Western Powers.

This involves the reorganisation of the United Nations, its Security Council and its Executive authority so as to reflect the real state of affairs in the world of today, rather than of 15 years ago. It also involves the immediate disbandment of colonial regimes wherever they still remain in the World.

Commenting in the Testern roposals (1973) and the mailes a faith and the set

SAGE MINT

these proposals? While the whole world including the Bri-tish Press hailed the Soviet proposals as making possible real headway in the area of disarmament, the U.S. first of To any person met

INSIDE THE KHRUSHCHOV ERA by G. Boffa. George Allen and Unwin, London. Price: 25 sh. FACE TO FACE WITH KHRUSHCHOV by K. A. Abbas. Rajpal & Sons, Delhi. Price: Rs. 12

A NNUAL often enough degene-rate into rituals where the celebrations body acts but the heart and mind are not involved. Yet each year when November each year when November 7 comes again there is an onrush of the blood and all the fresh excitement of new 7 displays the potential of the world, of all lands and the fresh excitement of new 7 displays the potential of the the potential of the the blood and all the fresh excitement of new reach the level of creativity. 7 displays the potential of the world, of all lands and -when it has made the break-through to the modern epoch of Socialism.

This year as all of us turn again to salute the pioneers of human advance—Lenin's lads —we shall as always add to we shall as always deeper r greetings the deeper rust of understanding. And in this we can all take the help of two quite remarkable books\_gifts to all who wish to know the modern world.

G. Boffa is at present the Foreign Editor of Unita, the daily of the Communist Party of Italy. He spent five years in Moscow as that paper's Correspondent—the years of the Twentieth Congress, as he calls them.

Khwaja Ahmad Abbas needs no introduction but only a fresh acknowledgement of all he has done and does for making / India aware of itself and of the world which is its setting. His book is a swift and fluent narration of the life of Nikita Khrushchov and all that this has to tell of the Soviet saga.

### Interview With Khrushchov

And there is an interview And there is an interval in which the Soviet leader speaks of peaceful coexist-ence, the nature of modern capitalism—and of lyrical capits etry. It stirs the men poetry. It stirs the memory and one remembers Stalin talking to Wells, both the similarity of aim and the striking difference in permality.

Abbas' book is more drama-ADDAS DOOK IS MORE draina-tic than that of Boffa's, but less contemplative. It fires the brain while the Italian author concentrates more on analysis and explanation. In many ways they form excellent counter-points to one aner. Despite Comparis sone reader, being 0 being outous one ready, any rate, felt that Boffa's seriousness and contemplative intelligence has worked harder and given us more than the onickfire of Abbas.

As a matter of fact, Inside Khrushchov Era is one of the most important books ever to have been written on the Soviet Union, which have been available in English. In many ways its importance will rank with the seminal work of Edgar Snow, Red Star over China, with stits or presenta-tion of a new life in all its wonders. It is a sign of the times that it has been written by a convinced and passion Communist and yet will surely appeal to all, friends and foes, who wish to know the Soviet Union.

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Abbas tells the story of the the thought strikes one that he has risen not from but with his class and his people. The humanism and the vigour that seem such personal attri-butes of Khrushchov spring so clearly from his origin and his life that one must admit that they are representative.

### Part Of The Main

If any criticism has to be made of Abbas' book it is precisely on this point. It is not that the author has neticely on this point. It is not that the author has overdone the praise of the Soviet Premier but that he has tended to make him stand out alone and pre-sented him as more of an individual and less the pro-duct of his time and place. But Khrushchov, if anybody, is not an island but a part of the main.

this ap Perhaps, because this ap-roach is at times lacking one feels that the author has been far too sweeping in his con-demnation of what the Soviet Union was till the Twentieth Congress. This is an old con-troversy and friendly differ-ences in evaluation will do doubt continue. But one has o say that to welcome all the big changes goes ill with a slap at the past. Khrushchov himself, after all, came from that past and the people he leads today created it no less than what they accomplish today.

This is why, perhaps, Abbas is not able to appreciate Khrushchov's comments on lyrical poetry (a. weapon in the class struggle, the Soviet Premier calls (b) nor his re-marks on India: "India is a state which has only recently State which has only recently national independence and freed itself of the rule of the colonialists. In India, there are not, of course, such forms social relations as exist in the United State of America, but its social relations are of the same nature.

"Whether a capitalist is big surprised if the rebabilitated'

U.S.S.R. TODAY BOOK REVIEW

Abbas opines after hearing all this that Khrushcho "himself is not entirely free from dogmatic opinions and expressions". And here is where any Marxist would have to part company with have to part company with a good friend and emphasise that the Soviet Union after the Twentieth Congress has not become a bourgeois libe-ral's paradise but a more perfected form of Socialist democracy democracy.

This is precisely the point of departure of Boffa's book. (Actually the English title is rather misleading—the origi-nal was "La Grande Svolta", which means the Great Change or something skin to Change, or something akin to that.) He puts it thus:

"In 40 years of tenacious, bitter battles, the Soviet peo-ple have accumulated a wealth of ideas and of experience which are unique in quality and quantity. This precious patrimony offers invaluable guidance. The last five years have added something decisive to this patrimony be-cause they have brought to maturity problems which we used to consider insoluble." brought to

### Mistakes Of The Past

It is with this approach that he writes of his experithat he writes of his experi-ences in the Soviet Union, where as a Communist he had where as a Communist he had special advantages—of under-standing, sympathy and mu-tual confidence. He describes the varied and, at the same time, uniformly excited rea-ction to the revelations of the mistakes and orimes that had ction to the revelations of the mistakes and crimes that had been committed under Stalin's leadership. He tells of the in-terview he has had with those who were wrongly punished and are now rehabilitated.

He writes with great emo He writes with great end-tion of their physical suffer-ing and moral torture. "The anguish caused by a baseless suspicion of treason is a test which the heart and mind can barely stand, but to be thus condemned by your own know....

"No one would have been



NEW AGE

directing organs, such as the Central Control Commission." Boffa vividly describes how the ordinary Soviet people reacted to the disclosures that were being made. There was some shock, some anger, enormous questioning but no

enormous questioning but no cynicism nor paralysis. There was the grasping of tragedy, a catharsis which further ennobled the people. Why?

### Why The Errors?

The author himself states: "There was then no crisis after the Twentieth Con-gress. What were, the re-sources which acted as dykes against a flood of di gement, and protected the country from a possible dis-orientation that might have jeopardised its basic values? The answer lies in the highest ideals of the country, its great principles and its great achievements: in a vord, Socialism."

But he does not rest conten with just a simple generalised statement. He goes into quite a detailed and subtle analysis of how it was that these errors and crimes came to be and how it was that the people and their leaders did so little about them for so long.

He mentions many factors but the crucial one he correctly assigns to a failure to recognise the new contradic-tions that were being engendered by the very sweeping triumph of Socialism itself. Struggle of opposites the heart of dialectics went on in struggie of opposites the heart of dialectics went on in Soviet society but they were either not recognised or taken to be the same old antagonis-tic contradictions of class society soclety. 1 Troise : 12.

This manifested itself in a tendency after 1934 to place exclusive reliance on organi-sation and later on authoritarianism. As Boffa states: "Cerwhich the heart and mind rianism. As Bona states, det can barely stand, but to be tainly, organisation, matters thus condemned by your own comrades, in the name of But detached from the conti-major tragedies a man can know. dency to consider the political line as definitely achieved and correct manifested itself in

Solie

. asri

And it is in this that the outhor sees the difference be-Twentieth Congress periods. "The split between the democratic development of the country and the Stalinist me-thods of governing was erased by the Congress. During the Stalin period that, split had been filled by the foult of the individual, which basically meant an attitude of faith in Stalin ... What happened now was a wide diffusion of critical

It is to these new developments that Boffa. devotes the latter half of his book. He traces in detail but al-ways with great lucidity and verve all the changes that have taken place in practi-cally every sphere of Soviet life.

It may seem that topics like ollective farm reorganisation, the school reform, the new patterns of planning, the organisation of science, etc., are not of such absorbing political interest as discussion of, say, Stalin's theory of the development of class struggle under Socialism. But the author's presentation soon enough disproves this facile assumptio

### Socialism Mas Come To Stay

This is not a matter only of: Boffa's journalistic skill but much more a question of the new period that has opened. for the Soviet Union and the international working class movement. It is no longer a matter of controversy that Socialism has, come to stay, that all the forces of capitait. Survilism cannot remove val is no longer the key pro-blem. It is now a question of proving the historical superiority of Socialism as a form, of social organisation. And here, as Lenin long ago point-ed out, the crucial issue is productivity of labour with all the socio-economic problems that it connotes.

If there is any anitiolem If there is any critician that one has to make of Boffa it is that he has not always been consistent in detailing this theme of competition bethis them the two/ systems deadly till Socialism proved it could not be wiped out buit-continuing in a new form even after thirt, a net change

At times in the section dealing with the early period of his stay in the Soviet Union there is actendency at rather hanal balancing of positive and negative, without conveying a sense of the advantage of a superior social

system. AU main signature eThis is however, hand somely rectified in subsequent chapters of the book. Our Italian comrade has written a ok that will aid us all in our common struggle the civilisation that was born in October 1917." centre entit Ve

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### SOVIET THE

The November Revolution shattered for ever and Hitler's hordes were met and for the first time on one-sixth of the globe the State apparatus of the exploiting minority. If brought to birth a new type of State—the Soviet form of proletarian power. It simultaneously set in motion the forces that would end all forms of the State as a coercive apparatus. It blazoned on its banners the noble aim. Of Socialism Of Socialism f the conscious self-government of all the people.

**T**ODAY, after 43 years of of the syndicalists and launch-incredible difficulties, he-role efforts and stupendous idea of the State ownership of successes, the Communist the means of production and successes, the Communist the means of production and Party of the Soylet Union the State regulation of the (CPSU) has, at its Twenty-first Congress, proclaimed They allege that this is that this aim is in the process an "anti-Socialist tendency" of gradual realisation. Along which leads to the "degenera-with the call for construction of the economic base of Com-munism, the CPSU has set the source of all the bureaumunism, the CPSU has set the source of all the bureau-before itself the solution of cratic methods and errors that "problems of the political or- had impeded the fullest deve-ganisation of society, the lopment of Socialism at a cer-tain period in Soviet history. the period of the extensive When, however, Dillas carried the period of the extensive building of Communism."

### Lonin's Analysis

Quite some time ago, Lenin in his passionate defence and development of the teachings of Marx and Engels had made clear the dialectics of the development of the proletarian State. As against a worship of the idea of the State, he had insisted upon the smash-ing of the old State apparatus

ing of the old state apparatus and its replacement by the dictatorship of the proletariat. In these polemics he had also pointed to the future, to the day when Engels' beautiful phrase would be realised—the State would be realised—the State would be consigned to the museum of antiquities. Lenin had pointed to Engels' fertile idea that the State as the product of class society would wither away with the abolition of classes. He had made it clear that the pro-letarian dictatorship was it-self the first stage of the s since already it was the organ of rule of the not agree that the withering wast majority as against a away of the State would have

tiny minority. In his great work State and Revolution, Lenin had made a deep analysis of the Paris Commune as the first example of workers' Government and drawn from it the conclusion that the proletarian State would have to be constituted

in such a manner, its organ and officials function in such a way that would lead, over a period of time, to its own dis-

### Revisionist Stand

### Correct Approach

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This was the brilliantly This was the brinning dialectical approach of the founder of the Soviet Union to the problem of the State and its abolition. There were some liberals—and we have and its abolition. There were the State will wither away some liberals—and we have only with the complete them in India today—who triumph of Communism. To scoffed at the idea, threw up weaken the Socialist State their hands in horror at the under present condition iron discipline and openly their hands in horror at the iron discipline and openly partisan nature of the Soviet state. They raised a scare about the dictatorship of an in effect, to disarm, abolish the in the effect disarm, abolish the in the effect disarm, abolish the in the effect disarm, abolish the interval in the effect disarm, abolish the interval in the effect disarm, abolish the interval interv ly declared that Lenin had organs of State that ensure It was only natural that. forgotten his Marx-where the country's defence and after a complex industrial and and how could such a State : leave ourselves to the tender agrarian system had been

about simultaneously with economic and social growth of the Soviet Union he Soviet Union. In the report of the Cen-tral Committee to the Twentyfirst Congress of the CPSU, N. S. Khrushchov refuted both these views. He stated: "The Yugoslav

visionists criticise our Party for devoting so much attention to strengthening the Soviet State, alleging that this does away with the Marxist-Leninist proposition that the State will wither away.

### STATE

Tito's and Kardelii's ideas to their logical conclusion by preaching about "a new class" and asking for the disbanding

to be resisted by some dogma-tists, who believed that the Soviet State should go on increasing its powers and re-tain for ever its highly centralised structure and form.

Where would the working people of the Soviet Union and, indeed, the workers of the world, have been had the Soviet leaders given ear to re-visionist chatter and weakened the proletarian dictatorship? Quite a different State would have been established in place of the Soviet power—it would have been the withering away of the proletarian State with a

vengeance! Nor was it a matter of repulsing the external threat alone. It has to be emphasized alone. It has to be emphasised again and again that in the early years of Soviet existence, there was the flercest class struggle raging within the borders of the Soviet Union. of the Yugoslav State, he was promptly imprisoned—there was no "withering away" of the State in his case. At the same At the same time, Lenin's quent assassination of impor-tant State and Party leaders At the same time, Leanning a tant State and Fatty leansing ideas about the goal of a at different levels—all necessi-Stateless society were sought tated the use of State power tated the use of State power as the sword arm of Socialism

### Two

Aspects

No mercy was provided and none could be given to the enemies of the Soviet

attention needs to be drawn is the education in democracy through the Soviets. It was not a question of abolishing illite-rary nor of creating the conditions of minimum well-being cultural upbuilding." without which mass participa-tion in administration is quite **COMMENDATION** impossible. These were, course, important and necessary but not total nor suffi-cient. The most important point was the participation of the masses in the actual carrying on of the affairs of the State. Quite literally Lenin's words became true and every cook became a politician.

This was accomplished by the refusal to separate the processes of production from politics. The matters of economic import were also the most important matters of debate at the Soviets of different levels. And this was reinforced by the fact that there was no separation of the legislative and executive functions—no the intent dragging between and the implementation. And the overwhelming majority of the legislators and "officials" were not "professionals" but were not "professionals" but continued at their production posts.

It was the development of this aspect of the Soviet State that began to bring to the fore questions connected with its withering away. For this was part and parcel of the entire development of Soviet society in the direc-tion of Socialist and Com-

The other aspect to which of democracy, drawing the itention needs to be drawn is broadest sections of the popu-he education in democracy lation into the management of all national affairs, enlist ing all citizens to share in the supervision of economic and

### Self-Govt.

by MOHIT SEN

Leaving aside the problem of the defence services-how much and in how many ways disarmament would help the cause of Communism-in the spheres of law and order. as well as economic administra-tion, the first sprouts of Com-munist self-government have already begun to appear.

Mention can be made of the great extension of the powers of trade unions, of the introduction of the system of continuous produc-tion assemblies and of the tion assemblies and of the further democratisation of the collective farm management. But even more reveal ment. But even more reveal-ing is the establishment and growth of the Courts of Honour and the People's Squads. These are forms of the community itself taking over directly and fully the maintenance of its own law and order.

### Role Of The Party

And at the next higher level



suddenly dawning upon the world one fine day. They did to be worked for and brought

Union who could never accept that Socialism had come to stay. It was not a matter of preserving law and law and order against the interests of a powerful mino-rity who had only been recently disposse

Even in those days, however the Socialist State began the development of its most characteristic features\_democratic development actual mass participa through administration and the planned building of a new econo-mic and social system. The Soviets at the different levels functioned as the local organs of power, united by the opera-tion of the principles of demo-

cratic centralism. There were two aspects of the Soviet State from its ear-liest days which require to be mentioned. One was the planning of the economy. Without centralised guidance of the centralsed guidance of the meagre material and human resources, without assigning the strictest priorities and without bringing about tre-mendous discipline in the

agrarian system had been built, this aspect of the Soviet State would need to undergo changes. And they were duly as Bolshevik Russia wither mercy of our enemies." As is usual, the revisionists have taken up the stale ideas of the correctness of this approach. We have only to the courrectness of this approach. We have only to reguining the "amendment" of Marxism. The Yugoslav revisionists, in particular, have re- will. We have only to think surrected the long-buried ideas back a bare fifteen years when surrected the long-buried ideas

NEW AGE

munist self-consciousness. It marked the maturing of the Soviet citizen with new norms of behaviour and new attitudes to work and to society. The point had been reached when materially and ideologically the takeoff to Communism could and had to begin.

### Under Communism

The report to the Twentyfirst Congress of the CPSU made by Khrushchov boldly proclaimed this fact: teaches

"Marxism-Leninism us that under Communism the State will and that the wither away functions of public administration will no longer have a political cha racter, and will pass under the people's direct administration. But we should not take an oversimplified view of the gine that the withering away-of the State will resemble the in autumn falling of leaves when the trees are left bare.

"The withering away of the State, if we approach the question dialectically, implies question dialectically, implies the development of the Socialist State into Communist public self-administration. For public self-administration. For under Communism, too, there will remain certain public functions similar to those now performed by the State, but their nature, and the methods by which they will be exer-cised will differ from those the present stage. by which they will be exer-cised will differ from those of the building of Communism. obtaining in the present stage. It is a country turned to the "The chief trend in the de-velopment of the Socialist who is born free and soon will State is maximum promotion be no where in chains.

-there is the strengthening trend towards an increase in the powers of the various Commissions set up by the Soviets on which more than three million people serve annually. These Co are increasingly taking over the functions of the executive organs.

It is necessary to stress that each of these organisations of Communist self-government function side by side and function side by side and in the most friendly fashion the respective State organs, which are to be super-seded at some date.

Permeating this entire process and fashioning it is the ideological-political work of the Communist Party. As a matter of fact the importance of the Communist Party and its guiding function increase as the administration over persons begins to disappear.

In the recent period , the CPSU at its Congresses and Central Committee Plenums has laid increasing stress on its ideological work, inculcation of a Communis attitude to life, especially among the younger generation.

Thus, as the Soviet Union pioneers into the cosmos and presses ahead with its offensive for peace it, at the same time, works out the of the building of Cor problems mier

PAGE NINE

# FREE THE COLONIES!

U.S. Secretary of State Christian Herter, speaking for all imperialists, accused Soviet Premier N. S. Khru-shchov of inciting revolts when on behalf the Soviet Union's U.N. delegation he submitted to the Fifteenth Session of the U.N. General Assembly the Declaration of Independence for Colonial Countries and Peoples.

I T was a major victory when the U.N. unanimously decided to discuss this question in the plenary meetings of the General Assembly, for the historic Declaration embodies these words!

### Three Demands

"We all live on the same planet. On it we are born, on it we work, bring up children and pass on to them what we have achieved in life. And though the States existing on earth are different, all men are born equal in their dignity as

"The entire course of historical development now raises the issue of the full and final abolition of the colonial sys-tem in all its form and mani-festations. And this must come about immediately and un-conditionally and not at some later date.

"Accordingly, the U.N. member States solemnly proclaim the following demands:

"1. All the colonial countries, trust and other non-self governing territories must be immediately granted complete mediately granted complete independence and freedom to build up their own national States in keeping with the freely expressed will and desire of their peoples. The colonial system, and colonial adminis-tention in any form must he tration in any form, must be mietely abolished in orde that the peoples of such terri-tories may themselves be able to shape thier destinies decide the forms of State Gov ernn

2. All the bases of colonialism in the form of poss and leased areas on foreign ust likewise be abolish "3. The Governments of all countries are urged strictly and undeviatingly to observe in relations between States, the provisions of the United Nations Charter and of this declaration regarding equality and respect for the sovereign rights and territorial integrity of all States without excep tion, and to permit no man festations of colonialism, no exclusive rights or privileges for some States to the detriment of other States.'

### Evils Of **Colonialism**

Moving the Declaration Khrushchov made a profound analysis of the whole course of colonial regimes and their effects. It was in the colonies he said, that we saw the long-est working hours coupled with the lowest national income, the lowest wages, the nighest illiteracy rates, the owest life expectation, the highest death rate of the nonulation

Speaking of the sufferings of the peoples of Algeria, Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda Ruanda-Urundi, Angola, Mo. zambique, Northern Rhode-sia, Southern Rhodesia, Sierra Leone, South West sia, Southern Rhodesia, an American Governor. History Sierra Leone, South West remembers also how in 1915 Africa, Zanzibar West Asian {the United States monopolists

and Goa, he also asked: the best insu "Who will say that French theft was to mothers whose children are dying in the fields of Algeria suffer less than Algerian mothers who are burying their sons in their native **Role In** Soll?" soil?" Khrushchov thus The U. N.

brought into focus the struggle against colonialism. among those who heard him in the U.N. were the representatives of the U.S. and Belgium, Bri-tain, France and Portugal whose Governments were shedding blood in the Congo, in other parts of Africa, in Algeria and in Latin America. They were the ones who subs-cribed to Herter's sentiments.

### Voice Of Asia-Africa

But there were others who acclaimed the Declaration and spoke in the same strain as Khrushchov and they came from the independent coun. policy of the Indonesian Gov-tries of Asia, Africa and Latin ernment was endorsed and

One by one, the leaders of India, Indonesia, the United

of inciting revolts, Sekou Toure of Guinea asked: "Is it wrong to raise the alarm when there is fire raging all round?" And then he pointed out that the best insurance against theft was to unmask the thieves thoroughly and rout them where they breed.

Prime Minister Nehru has carried the lessons of New York to Raipur where he spoke about the African giant and the urgent need for disarma-ment. In the Congo, Raj-eshwar Dayal is tackling Belgian imperialism and its tools. It is a pity that the Indian Press did not do full justice to the fight of the uncommitted nations vis a vis imperialism. What is worse, some even cri-ticised the stand of India's Prime Minister in the U.N. But in Indonesia, all-party public meetings were held before and after President Sukarno's participation in the

before and after President of the U.N. General Assembly Sukarno's participation in the speaking on the structure of U.N. General Assembly. In the U.N. governing bodies. These meetings the foreign policy of the Indonesian Gov-ernment was endorsed and supported. The Chairman of United Nations Organisation supported. The Chairman of the Indonesian Communist

Over a lakh of people had

gathered and danced with joy in greeting Fidel Castro at Hayana on his return from the

U.N. General Assembly. It is important that our people also know what role the leaders of the non-aligned nations played in varying degrees

recently; this is Indonesia, a and the United Arab Republic. They have become independent countries and their population exceeds one billion. But the interests of these countries are not taken into consideration either in the Security Council or in the Secretariat of the United Nations'

### Structure Of U. N.

Khrushchov had made this remark at the Plenary Session of the U.N. General Assembly

golese people. But in deeds, however, they not only parti-cipate in this but bear the main responsibility for the latest events in the Congo. Wall Street Journal has frank-in admitted. "On the surface

ly admitted: "On the surface

America has been drawn into

and Cuba spoke passionately Session and he was introduced the United Nations and more the burning problems of the in defence of freedom. The president Eisenhower by countries coming in, that day were similar to, though Referring to Herter's charge President Sukarno. Structure today is still more not always the same as the stand of the Soviet Union to President Union Structure today is still more by stand of the Soviet Union Structure today is still more by stand of the Soviet Union Structure today is stand of t

### Now

But that is not all. The People's Republic of China is deprived of her legitimate right to sit in the U.N. The Mongolian People's Republic is enslaved nations have to be brought into the community of independent nations.

In this background of the U.N. structure, a good number of Presidents, Prime Ministers and a large number of Foreign Ministers and other Ministers participated in the Session.

Spirit. Sukarno, Nkrumah, Nasser, Sekou Toure and Nehru clearly indicated their firm opposition to all forms America. Supported. The Unairman of United Nations Organisation firm opposition to all forms One by one, the leaders of the Indonesian Communist when it started weighed in of imperialism, colonialism India, Indonesia, the United Party, D. N. Aidit, was one of favour of Europe and the and racialism. What they said Arab Republic, Ghana, Guinea the delegates to the U.N. Americas. "With the growth of showed that their positions on

unbalanced ...." stand of the Soviet Union Starting from 54 the mem. and other Socialist coun-bership of the U.N. in its Fif-teenth General Assembly Ses. question of disarmament, siin reached 99. In 1945, there the immediate abolition of sun reached 99. In 1920, there the immediate about100 of were only four African and the colonial system, changes nine Asian members whereas in the structure of the United today there are 26 African and Nations, the recognition of the 22 Asian members. It means congolese Parliament and nearly half the membership of the U.N. today is from the vernment of Lumumba, or the Afron Asian of the Dapha's Parlia admission of the People's Re-public of China and the Peo-ple's Republic of Mongolia.

Western

Tricks

In glaring contrast was the approach of the U.S.-led Western delegations and their not yet admitted and several military allies. The clumsy

aligned leaders rose to the occasion. Their dignified yet exciting and thrilling speeches these countries are almost cut roused millions of people all off from the outside world and over the globe.

nded tiger and declared:

even news is not allowed to Among them were the chief President. Sukarno set the reach us. Thirdly, there is the spokesmen of the Bandung tone when he compared question of some countries in Spirit. Sukarno, Nkrumah, dying imperialism with a Africa which are independent but where that freedom is confined to a minority and the "We are witnessing an era confined to a minority and the where nations are in making great majority have no share and empires are breaking... in it and indeed are suppress-Asia has won independence ed politically, socially and and the process is not yet racially in defiance of every-

# CONGO : MANOEUVRES TO PERPETUATE

O L. ZUBIN

Who does not remember the hero of Daniel Defoe's famous novel? With what sincere indignation Robinson Crusoe condemned the brutal extermination of millions of American inhabitants by the Spanish colonialists. How humanely he treated his slave Friday. It is not accidental that for more than two cen-turies the colonialists of all shades used his name as a cover. Posing as Robinsons they tried to conceal the truth shout the actual of the conceal the conceal the trippean and American countruth about the cruel exploitation of the peoples they subjugated. How many fine phrases the defenders of colonialism uttered about "rendering assistance to backward peoples," about "drawing them into high civilisation." But these Robinsons are exposing themselves by their own deeds.

THE United States mono- organised an armed interven-Lare that America does not Kru tribe that had risen participate in the colonial- against American rule.

ists' affairs and pose as "friends" of the colonial peo-The American monopo

The USA

In words the American "friends" "do not participate"

American

Facts, however, convincingly expose this "innocence." The ublishers of the Fortune magazine wrote correctly in 1935 that "as a result of direct military conquest the United States army seized more territory than any other army of the world since 1776 with the exception only of the British." The rulers of America assert

that their country "does not participate" in the colonisa-tion of Africa. But history has not forgotten the fact that as far back as in 1817 the United States colonialists set up the so-called American Colonisa-tion Society which seized the lands on the West African coast and founded the Libe-rian State that was ruled by polists in the exploitation of the Con-

as a power extremely interest-ed in the events in the Congo and deeply involved in them." The United States monopolists have for a long time had an eye on the wealth of that country. Having pene-trated into the Congo even before the Second World War,

American capital has launched an extensive offensive against the positions of its Belgian pose as "friends" of the Congolese people. But nei-ther has history forgotten partners during the war and particularly after it.

At the present time, the United States ruling circles are carefully concealing their "interests" in the Congo. I. F. the fact that it was preci-sely the United States that was the first to officially sanction the seizure of the Congo by the butcher Leoold II. with what cynicism the American Senate de-clared in this connection in 1884 to the effect that ". savages would do better to use the advantages of the Christian institutions and laws rather than continue to rule their country in ignorance, in their own way." **Real Face Of** 

in a number of Belgian to the Congo's territory in Formosa...For the fulfilment the American Committee for firms in the mining, textile, 1948 when the Rockefellers of this plan a Chiang Kai-wood-working and other in-dustries. Can one ignore the "British door", having an adventurist was found in fact that a considerable por-purchased several hundred the person of Tshombe." tion of the shares in Societe General de Belgique belongs to Morgan's financial group? Finally, can one prove United States' non-partici-in the Union Miniere firm. pation in the Congo events And today two Rockefeller if Nelson Rockefeller him-self has a share in the coun-firm. try's wealth?

### Rockfeller Interests

Coming out in words in defence of the Congolese peonerence of the Congolese peo-ple's interests the latter-day "Robinson" is connected so closely with the Congo's natural wealth that he, according to his own words, would sooner agree to a "new Korea" than deprive himself of the profits derived from the Stone's Weekly writes: "The exploits of the people and American Press regards pri-vate firms connected with the In one of his television inter-Congo problem in the same views Rockefeller openly de-way as writers of the Victorian clared that "America's inter-epoch questions of sex, i.e., as something decent people do not talk about. For us it is no

thousands of shares of the

lers." wrote the London Observer, "participation in Belgian the Rockefeller group would enterprises in Katanga is a not try to remove these splendid opportunity for pro\_ doubts." fitable speculations."

The Rockefellers were the first to react to the upsurge of the national-liberation struggle of the Congolese people. A month after the January uprising in 1959 David Rockefeller again flew to Leopoldville in the Congo. And if the Belgian colonialists intended to solve the Congo problem by force, roughness and interference, the Rockefellers on the other hand, decided to resort to the tried and tested method of the colonialsts on the principle of "divide and

Booty Fearing the destiny of their capital in Africa that in 1960 exceeded 2,000 million dollars, and striving to stop the peonle's liberation movement, the United States monop obviously decided to "give battle" in the Congo calculating thereby upon swallowing up their British, French and

Richest

not talk about. For us it is no longer the bedroom but the premises of the directors' papers that interfere in all shout "America's interests", and in deeds he charged one affairs stop before the carved. of the solonial state in the colonial state in the carved of the sout "America's interests", and in deeds he charged one affairs stop before the carved. of the solonial state in the colonial state in the carved of the interests in Africa. And the they are tabooed." But, as it is said, murder will out: American capital occupied a leading position feller had hardly stepped on

### The African

the United Nations."

Problem

President Nkrumah confronted the colonial Powers with the following words: "In my view the possession of colonies is now quite incompatible with membership of In simple but forceful words Prime Minister Nehru con-cretised the African problem

thus: "Firstly, full implementa-tion of the independence and mintary aines. The claimsy tion of the interplatence and tricks used to defeat the Five- freedom that have been Power resolution was the most achieved. Secondly, liberation shame-less part of it. of those countries in Africa But the Afro-Asian non- which are still under colonial

### IN THE U. N., SOCIALIST WORLD AND ASIA-AFRICA SERVE NOTICE ON THE WESTERN IMPERIALISTS

was not found to be a "harmless neutral" between freedom and slavery, he was Neo-Colonialists questioned later in a U.S. questioned later in a U.S. television interview as to his views on 'Soviet colonialism'. Prompt was the reply: "I think the use of the word 'colonialism' in the context of the Soviet Union is wrong. The word 'colonial' had a certain political and economic meaning."

### Forthright Denunciation

under the guise of economic agreements, these Powers are

Without mincing words, he warned all concerned that "the heads of the newly liberated African States will not submit to neo-colonialism nor will they oblige vesterday's oppresthey oblige yesterday's oppres-sors who tried to flatter the Governments of Africa and Asia in order to support re-trograde political philoso-phies... They cannot ac-cept the puppet role which is being offered to them in the UN Those who count on the U.N. Those who count on the A sharper and forthright denunciation of present-day tain their positions in Africans colonialism came from Sekou will be the first to bitterly Toure. Speaking in the U.N. General Assembly he said: "By subtle manoeuvres and Fourse. Speaking in the U.N. wake up. Others, who also deneral Assembly he said: foster their lost causes, can "By subtle manoeuvres and perhaps learn in advance the same lesson. There is no easy agreements, these Powers are road in achieving and safe-pooling their resources and co-guarding African liberation." ordinating their efforts for the President Nasser spoke with

complete .... yesterday Asia was voiceless... Africa was voiceless. Today no power can silence them." The Africama With to the dislike of the colonial Powers when Nehrn people of the Congo faced-a people whose struggle we up-hold and support—was to prove to imperialism that, if freedom with its arms and friends is able to defend itself, as was the case in Suez, free dom has also its thought, awakening and self-consciousness by which it is able to pierce the mask of imperialism and destroy the veils behind which it tries to hide."

### Front

He also pointed out a greater danger that "imperialism is trying to use the United Nations as a mask to conceal its designs". "Imperialism with its armies and armaments is still in part of the Congo... the legitimate national Govnent of Congo is unable to function, while the dissident ordinating their efforts for the President Nasser spoke with function, while the dissident building of military bases his own experience on im-which are indispensable for perialist strategy: perialism, alone has a free the exploitation of the im- "The real meaning of Suez hand in Katangek... all this happened while the flag of the United Nations was flying over the Congo."

# **COLONIALISM**

the person of Tshombe." nent was "the In those days when the in the world." shares of the Belgian firms "The United S In those days when the shares of the Belgian firms dropped on the stock ex-change, the Rockefeller group, bought them up despite the fact that the Congo received independence. The only thing the common the stock ex-bought them up despite the fact that the congo received independence. The only thing the fact that the evolution in Africa should not be hostile... Irm. "At the present time," writes I. F. Stone's Weekly, "the Rockefellers have a large and ever-increasing share in Union Miniere." "For the Rockefel-I. F. Stone's Weekly, write Rockefellers, added the news-paper, was the "political as-material of this continent, pect of this matter." But as I. F. Stone's Weekly wrote, "it way of life be excluded, that material of this continent, pect of this matter." But as that influences hostile to our Miniere." "For the Rockefel-Here" wrote the Londer Observice of the suppose that and the present the suppose that and the present the suppose that and the present the suppose the would be naive to suppose that particularly our strategic the Rocketeller group would needs be ensured; the United not try to remove these States is interested also in exercising its moral guidance

> It was on the basis of these principles that the United States imperialist circles acted lately in regard to the Congo.

delegation, N. S. Khrush-chov, had wrathfully and passionately exposed the disgraceful colonial system and

The idea of the complete and final liberation of all the colonial peoples has turned into a mighty force that will wipe off the face of the earth the colonialists of all about the colonialists of all shades no matter with what peaceloving speeches they cover up their shameful deeds

### Colonialism Doomed

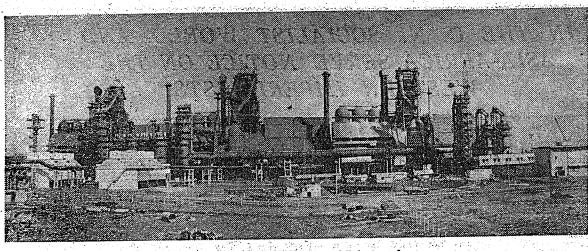
Speaking at a meeting of Moscow's working people on October 20 about the work of the Soviet delegation at the ism in words the colonial-ism in words the colonial-ists are striving, in secret demn colonialism and stand from the peoples, to per-petuate it in deeds. After mial peoples to vigorously the head of the Soviet strive for the convigorously delegation, N. S. Khrush-immediate

"There is no doubt," he said, "that the freedom-loving graceful colonial system and said, "that the freedom-loving are busy defending their inde-peoples will extend a helping pendence. They are benefiting from establishing friendly re-lations with Socialist coun-ral Assembly, the need is the stranglers of the freedom today clearer than ever of the peoples. Nothing can before for the complete and prevent the collapse of the final abolition of this dis-graceful system. This idea was expressed in the spee-ches at the session by Nkru-mah, President of Ghana, free!"

These are major foreign policy statements of the non-aligned Afro-Asian leaders. This trend of approach to world problems is sometimes Nenru, Prime Minister of India, Nasser, President of the United Aram Republic, gation, Krishna Manar Sukarno. President termed as neutrali the United Aram Republic, gation, Krishna Menon, objec-Sukarno, President of the ted to the word neutral Indonesian Republic; and nations on the ground that many other heads of State they were not neutral on the and heads of Government of issues of war and peace nor the Asian, African and can they be neutral between Latin American countries. term 'positive neutrality' is according to him all the more ridiculous. It is like saying a 'vegetarian tiger'.

> What is important is to recognise the broad anti-imperialist front in these countries. Under present historical processes more and more countries coming out of the clutches of imperialism are likely to join this front. Their opposition to military alliances, refusal to the installation of foreign itary bases on their soil and helping the national liberation interation movements in Asia, Africa •and Latim America are positive con-tributions to the struggle for world peace—for general and complete disarmament.

India, Indonesia, the UAR, Iraq, Guinea, Ghana; Cuba Burma are such countries who fought imperialism, succeeded in winning independence and are busy defending their inde-



The three blast furnaces at Bhilai at work.

WHAT tremendous leeway India has to make in steel production in order to become a really advanced strong and civilised country with its people enjoying minimum amenities of modern life!

Thanks to the civilising mission of British imperialism which it had the rare opporwhich it had the rare oppor-tunity of carrying out in In-dia without any interruption for such a long period—Mr. Macmillan spoke only the other day before the General Assembly of the United Na-tions of the benefits of British tions of the benefits of British rule over the colonies-during the Second World War years, India was producing only 1.04 million tons of steel annually. In the immediate post-independence years this could be raised to 1.15 million tons by 1952-5 and 1.26 million tons in 1955. This production wark-ed out to 11 lbs. per head of the population while the ed out to 11 lbs. per head of the population while the USA's stood at 125 million tons and 1180 lbs. per head, the USSR's at 50 million tons and 232 lbs per head and the U.K.'s at 20 million tons and 572 lbs. per head of the population.

Five years after, as we ap-Five years after, as we approach the end of the Second Five-Year Plan period, India's planners are hopeful of at-taining the six-million ton steel target. And for the Third Plan they are making a tar-get of ten million tons.

### Key Role

What has made it possible for this country to raise in five-six years its steel pro-duction to six million tons while in decades of British rule and even after almost rule and even after almost ten years of independence, it had remained around just one million tons per year? Surely it is the decision to have the job done the have the job done through the public sector and with Indo - Soviet cooperation playing a key role in that. Soviet participation in the building up of India's pub-licly-owned steel industry is a key factor in the accelarated development that the in-dustry has seen in recent and in the perspecopened tives that have now hefore it.

Bhilai, only a steel plant, albeit most modern and up-to-date, plays a key role be-cause it sets the pace and pattern making others either

conform or decisively fall be-hind and lose the battle. As the construction has pro-gressed all that has been said bout the plant and its signi ficance—"symbol of New In-dia," and so on—which sound-ed to some as mere platitudes at one stage has stood out in bolder relief as nothing more than truth itself.

up the plant, it will be recailed over hind and even to rotation ed, was signed on February 2, 1955. The terms were most favourable to India—the loan carrying a 2½ per cent rate of interest on deferred payment interest on deferred payment terms for 12 years, repayment to be made in supplies of tra-ditional Indian goods. Cons-truction began immediately after the project report was received at the close of 1956. By 1958, the speed of work picked up and the first iron was tapped on February 4, 1959. A year later, when Soviet Khrushchov Premier N. S.

The agreement for setting steadily to the foundries all up the plant, it will be recall- over India and even to foreign

the giant half-a-mile long rail and structural mill-the third of the four rolling mills there. It has an annual production capacity of 365,-000 tons for rails, compo-nents of railway sleepers, beams girders channels. beams, girders, channels, etc. By February next, that is four years after work on the plant started, all the units of the Bhilai steel works will be in operation

	A 11.0 PH 10.0 T.C.	177 - 17 - 17 - 17 - 17 - 17 - 17 - 17	
	Pig I Rourkela	ron Bhilai	 Rourke
pril 1960 Aay 1960	32,787	55,539 56,180	15,62 13,36
une 1960 uly 1960	. 30,596	46,507 49,095 50,712	14,36 15,36 16.39
ugust 1960 till 29th)	31,877		
			ures in n
The Minister	had found it	rolled.	There w

by ZIAUL BAQ

man financial assistance for the Rourkela expansion might be forthcoming has compelled its relegation to the last in the ule of expansion.

### **Big Changes**

Bhilai's expansion, according to reports, is going to be a far more marvellous job a far more marvelious job than its erection in record time and its high rate of per-formance. This is so not only because the ingot output to be stepped up is the largest there, "but there are going to be "but there are going some big changes in the nat. tern of the products to be

Pig Iron		Steel		
Rourkela	Bhilai	Rourkela	Bhilai	
32,787	55,539	15,625	23,761	
26,005	56,180	13,369	21,538	
26,191	46,507	14,360	22,034	
30,596	49,095	15,360	26,627	
31,877	50,712	16,392	23,914	

metric tons)

The Minister had found it necessary to point out in that statement that the compara-tively low production in Rour-kela had not been due to the industry. The rail and struc-

India Will Always Be BHLA Grateful To The USSIR

# visited the plant, General Manager N. C. Shrivastava was able to report:

"A few days ago our blast furnaces finished smelting the 400,000 tons of pig iron. Steel production was started on October 12, 1959. The roll-ing blooming and continuous ing, blooming and continuous billet mills were put in opera-tion in November and Decem-ber 1959. Since then we have produced more than 60,000 steel ingots and have already rolled more than 22,000 tons of billets."

17

Coke-oven plant of Bhilai in operation.

NEW AGE

on September 7 in his state-ment on how coal and iron ore shortage had been affecting For the last one-and a-half the steel plants' production For the last one-and-a-name the steer plants production of in Rouri ears now the products of are eloquent as to their res- hot metal. Bhilai have been moving out pective performances:

and one million tons of steel, the capacity for which the plant is at present designed, could be got out of it in 1961. Work on Rourkela had start-ed earlier than at Bhilai and the ceremonial tapping of pig show of German precedence. The following production figures of the two plants as given by the Steel, Mines and the low state in the Lok Sabha on September 7 in his statecining plant and to the in-ability of the pig casting ma-chine, of which only one exist-ed in Rourkela, to cast all the

### Expansion

The Indo-Soviet agreement signed on February 12, 1960, provides for the expan-sion of the capacity of the Bhilai Steel Plant to 2,500,-000 tons of steel per year. Preliminary estimates show 35 per cent lower than if its capacity had been left at one million tons.

While detailed planning on Bhilai's expansion is under-way an article in the Hindu (October 19) points out the (OCLOPET 19) points out the position in regard to Rourkela. Although all the work in rela-tion to attaining the one-mil-lion capacity is officially ex-pected to be over by middle of next vert for against Follow next year (as against Febru-ary in case of Bhilai) and although earlier it was expected that Rourkela's expansion would come before the other plants, "the prevailing un-certainly as to the precise manner in which West Ger-

Stocks, tural products to be produced dequate. will also be of a new range. on," he The 500-ton open hearth furnaces to be built will themselves constitute a job of vast dimensions." More than the steel-pro-

ducing capacity created, it is the technical personnel trained at Bhilai that is India's new wealth and notendia's new wealth and poten-tial. Not only much larger in number than in the case of any other steel plant that is being built with foreign assistance, these engineers of new India that are being-turned out at Bhilai, possess greater self-confidence, elan and a deeper sense of dignity and a deeper sense of dignity and national pride and res-ponsibility. They constitute a new technical intelligentsia which will leaven up the whole national milieu.

The sympathy and earnestness with which the Soviet authorities and technicians right from Premier Khrush-Preliminary estimates snow that when the plant is en-larged the production cost of a ton of steel will be 30 to process to build up Bhilai as well as other pro-jects of India's basic industry is traditional Indohave invested traditional Indo-Soviet friendship with a new. element of sincerity and depth. It has forged invisible bonds really as strong as Bhi-lai steel itself. The U. S. Business Week, as long ago as April 19, 1959, characterised the building of Bhilai as a "real Soviet" achievement in the field of economic competi-tion...effective in both tech-nical and human terms," hav-ing a tremendous impact". It nical and human terms, hav-ing a tremendous impact". It noted the fact as "most im-portant" that the Russians at Bhilai have managed to be-come an integral part of this new steel town.

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### SOVIET AID, INDIA WITH O.P. MEHBOTBA BASE INDUSTRIAL BUILDS

When India launched her programme of planned industrial development, she found that the Western Powers were not favourably inclined to her program-

Powers were not invourably inclined to ner program-me. Far from helping her, they contemptuously advis-ed India to give up her plans to build heavy industries or accept their terms. The industrial concerns of the U.S., Britain and West Germany demanded terms which would mean that they themselves would guide and entrol Indian industrialisation and control Indian industrialisation.

A T such a critical juncture, that after they are put into the Soviet Union offered her hand of friendship. An agreement was signed to build a giant steel plant at Bhilai.

The agreement on Bhilai, as the agreement on Bhua, as is well known, greatly speeded the process and India got into the position of being able to produce enough steel, the first and forement accounting attempts and foremost pre-condition of being able to produce machin ery for the needs of forging ahead with India's industrialisation.

The example of Bhilai was repeated in the year 1957, when in the month of November, another agreement was signed between the Govern-ments of the USSR and India on the granting of a second Soviet loan and on technical cooperation

Under this agreement the Soviet Government took the responsibility of erecting in a heavy machine building plant, a 250,000-kilo-watt thermal power station, an watt thermat power station, an optical glass works, a. mine-machinery plant and estab-lishments for mining and pro-cessing of 2.5 million tons of coal and maintenance of mine machinery.

Each of these projects is in itself a giant unit. Some of them are the first enter-prises of the kind in India. These projects will go a long way in helping India meet the demands of industrialiation of our economy.

### Increased Capacities.

Indo-Soviet cooperation has, however, increased further. The Soviet Union was the first country which i offered its credit for the Third Five-Year Plan.

Under the agreement for the utilisation of the Rs. 180 crores credit for the. Third Plan; it credit for the antihur ran, in has been decided to increase the capacity of the hitherto agreed heavy machine-build-ing plant, mine equipment plant, thermal power stations and the coal-mines equipment maintenance and the coal processing plants:

The new loan also provides for Soviet assistance for the setting up of a heavy electrical plant.

The various plants that are being set up with aid of credits from the USSR will be very useful for ensuring rapid industrialisation of our coun-try. Soviet ald is essentially being used to build and streng-then the industrial base of India ani setutori Pegi

A short description of some of these projects will show

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heavy machine-building plant, will be putting out 45,000 tons of mechanical items annually. Now that the enlargement of

HEAVY MACHINE-BUILD-

The object of the construction of the mine-equipment plant at Durgapur is to ensure the development of coal-mining in India. This plant will manu-facture coal-cutters and load-ing machines, electric mineing machines, electric nine-locomotives; mine - hoisting machines, hauling wenches, mine-pumps and various fans. Besides, it will be able to pro-duce cast iron, steel and nonferrous metal profile castings, various forgings and stamp-ING PLANT AT RANCHI: With the commissioning of its first section, the plant will be manufacturing equipment for of this plant was to be 30,000

expansion of the industrial base of the country. MINE EQUIPMENT PLANT: The object of the construction of the mine-equipment plant at Durgapur is to ensure the levelopment of coal-mining in India: This plant will manu-

Low-grade coal-mines Low-grade coal-mines in South Arcot will provide the coal for the power station at Neyvelli. The electric power produced with this variety of coal will be cheaper than with what can be shipped from Bihar and West Bengal.

The Neyveli power station will double the present sup-ply of electricity in Madras

MEAVY MACHINERY, MINING, POWER AND HEAVY CHEMICALS of the mine-equipment to be built in Durgapur med by Soviet specialists. mine-equipment plant to

cranes and other equipment for heavy industries. After the enlargement of the plant to its full capacity, it will also put out oil-drilling plants, ex-cavators, mine and forge press

equipment. The Ranchi Plant de au io

The first section of the

coke-chemical works, blast furnace, rolling mill, steel making, crushing and grinding indice steel but could equip twenty coal-mines each with a capacity of tons items in a year. This out-) put could equip twenty coal-mines each with a capacity of 300,000 tons, with midern min-ing machines. The capacity of this plant will be increased to 45,000 tons a year. tenn der

et and the the

The machines produced at this plant will help to supply the Indian coal-mines with modern equip-ment and mechanise the labour consuming process in mines to the extent of 75 to 

KORBA COALFIELDS: In II. The project has been 1957, the Soviet Union agreed designed by Indian engineers. to mine the Korba coalfields One turbo-generator (25,000 and produce 2.5 million tons of KW) for the station is being supplied by the Soviet Union. are In general terms, the of heavy machines to equip ducing machines to equip to ducing the basis of heavy matchine-building industry with cheap resource three year.

**POWER** STATIONS: The Soviet Union has agreed Soviet Union is helping India to erect a new thermal power to increase its power supply station at Singaraul (UP.) with cheap resources. Thus with a capacity of 250,000 kw. three years ago, it was decided Thus, the Soviet Union is help-

120-13 75 W 3

State. It will naturally have a beneficial effect on the economy of that State. With the help of this project, an artificial fertiliser plant, a coal briquetting factory, and an insulator manufacturing plant will start operating.

The first Neyveli turbine is expected to be put into opera-tion in the first half of 1961.

GENERATOR FOR HIRA-KUD II: Another major assignment that the USSR has accepted is related to Hirakud

A NEW POWER STATION:

ing India to increase its power supply in a big way.

by

HEAVY ELECTRICALS: The HEAVY ELECTRICALS: The Soviet Union is helping India not only by supplying electric generators and other goods but has decided to help India in building a plant for manu-facturing heavy electrical facturing equipment.

Under the latest agreement, it is provided that the plant manufacture a heavy elctrical quipment will also be financed from the s credit of Rs. 180 crores. the Soviet

This plant will help India to produce such heavy elec-trical equipment as huge transformers, motors and transformers, motors and other electrical machines. Thus in the subsequent period India will have no more to look to foreign countries for these.

TECHNICAL KNOW-HOW: viet technicians not only telp in designing, supplying and erecting plants for India but they also share their technical know-how with us.

The Soviet Union has train-ed hundreds of our engineers, technicians and workers during the construction of the Bhilai steel plant.

Indian specialists took part Indian specialists took part in designing the heavy machi-ne-building and mine-equip-ment plants. As Indo-Soviet cooperation extends itself more and more, Indian tech-nicians are being trained to men end manage our new inman and manage our new in-dustrial projects. This is in sharp contrast with the prac-tice followed by the Western, consortiums which are build, ing other plants in India.

TECHNOLOGICAL INSTI-TUTE: With the help of the Soviet Union, a technological institute is being set up in Bombay. It will be furnished with the Soviet-made equip-ment. A number of Soviet professors, now staying in Bombay, are training Indian students. Many Indians who will be on the teaching staff of the institute are at present receiving training in the So-viet Union.

### Indian

Appreciation

The friendly and fraternal character of Soviet aid is appreciated by all sections of the Indian people. The Government of India and Ministers of the Central Government who have to deal with their Soviet counterparts have all praise for Soviet aid.

Thus, Sardar Swaran Singh. Minister for Steel, Mines and Fuel is on record to have stat-KW) for the station is being ed. "Our experience in co-supplied by the Soviet Union. operating with the Soviet It is expected to arrive at Union is quite satisfactory to Hirakud II in the first half of us." Soviet specialists, he said, Y mail of us, guite satisfactory to satisfactory to satisfactory to satisfactory. The generator for the future power stations in Orissa and Madras are being constructed by the workers of the "Elec-trosla" plant in Leningrad.
 A NEW POWEP satisfactory to satisfactory to satisfactory to satisfactory. The generator for the future news with satisfactory to satisfactory to satisfactory. The generator for the future work generator for the future power stations in Orissa and Madras are being constructed by the workers of the "Elec-trosla" plant in Leningrad. spirit of mutual "inderstand-ing and goodwill. We hope that in the course of the successful completion of new projects inde-Soviet coopera-tion will fead to still more wonderful results."

PAGE THIRTEEN

# **\* TAX ABOLITION BEGINS \***

MARK October 1, 1960, on your calendar. It is an historical landmark. It is the day the Government of the USSR began the abo-lition of all taxes on the Soviet people. As of October 1, 1960, all

factory and office workers earning up to 500 rubles per month are exempted from taxation. In addition hachelors, single persons id people with sm all fami lies earning from 501 to 600 rubles per month received tax reduction averaging cent.

### RIGGER WAGE PACKET

Both measures deprive the State of 3.6 billion rubles. And since the workers will receive each month the sum that was deducted from their wages in taxes, the total income of all persons in these cate gories is being increased by 8.6 billion rubles.

Each year for the duration of the Seven-Year Plan another category of work-ers will become exempt, and a second category will enjoy sizable tax tions. By October 1965 when the abolition of taxes will be completed, 64 billion rubles per year will be going into the workers' pockets instead of into the State treasury.

the open-hearth furnace shop in the Serp i Molot Plant. His

monthly pay packet averages 1,620 rubles. His wife, Alexan-

dra Nikolavevna, manages the

se. They have three child-

Last year their boy Valentin

worked as an apprentice to a crane-operator in the same shop where his father works

and drew a monthly wage of

is a typist at the plant's cen-tral office with a monthly salary of 680 rubles and she

also studies at the evening de-

partment of the Metallurgical

Last year the Bochkovs' cash

(156.1 per cent of the 1953 in-come) comprised of wages-33,557 rubles (145.1 per cent of

1953), social insurance bene-

fits—865 rubles, from discount on sanatoria and holiday

home accommodation-2,350 rubles (1.4 times), other sour-

rubles (108.7 per cent of

Within six years, the cash

This year it will be

ince Valentin

incomes of the family have

risen by more than 50 per

is now working on his own

as a full-fiedged crane-

operator. But what has gone

up much more than the cash

es like loan winnings, etc.

totalled 37.734 rubles

The elder daughter, Galina,

A

ren.

500 rubles.

Income

income

1953).

still. more

This staged abolition of taxation is unique in his-tory, and is the kind of "propaganda" for Socialism which can influence masses of people everywhere. Consequently, it is not sur prising that many "experts on the USSR pooh-pooh this development and claim that it will mean nothing to the so-called "slaves of Communism."

The "experts" contend that these taxes on the So-viet people constitute less than ten per cent of the total revenues of the Soviet State; and the real tax burden on the Soviet people is in the form of turnover taxes, which the "experts say are nothing but indi-rect or sales-taxes, that is, additional charges added to the prices of goods.

Soviet economists denv this. They say turnover taxes are part of the normal profit of State-owned enterprises. The State purchases the enterprises' pro-ducts at a fixed price, and takes as revenue part of their profits (paid at a fixed rate on each ruble of product sold) above the five to six per cent which the enterprises are allowed to keep for wages, operating expenses and expansion. In this process, in which the State fixes both the prices paid for products and the amounts taken as

revenue, there is no addi-

tion of other charges to the a number of consumer price of goods. Soviet eco-nomists argue that under of more than 11 billion Socialist eco ic planning the sum total of all prices of goods does not exceed the expenditures on the social labour necessary for their production and realisation.

Moreover, they argue that instead of limiting the State's great construction program the exp ne or restricting expansion of industry the abolition of taxes will in fact provide more resources for industrial de-velopment. How? By increasing the growth of labour productivity, by speeding economies in production costs, and thereby enabling enterprises to in-crease their accumulations and the national income to continue its sensationally rapid growth.

### REDUCED PRICES

To look at the matter from another standpoint, the "experts" might have a case if, for prices were raised simultaneously with the abolition of taxes. But this is not the

case. Actually, the reduction of prices is a continuous phenomenon here. In 1959 and the first three months of 1960 price reductions on rub

Moreover. several other aspects of State economic policy conspicuously and systematically improve the people's well-being, to wit:

 Continuous increase of money wages, as indicated not only in contracts negotiated by the trade unions, but in the growth of bonuses and premiums for quota overfulfilment.

The steady raising of wage minimums. In 1956-58, the minimum was 270 to 350 rubles: in 1959 to 1962, it is 400 to 450; in 1963-65 it will become 500 to 600 rubles.

Shortening of the workweek without cuts in pay. By the end of this year, the maximum work week will be 41 hours, and 35 or even fewer in many industries.

Continuous improvements in the quality (and quantity) of consu-mer goods. The rapid growth of the chemical industry is speeding the output of plastics, for instance.

Continuous increase of the "social consump-tion funds" that is, the part of national income

distributed to the people regardless of the work they perform, such as free tulmedical services boarding schools, rest homes, sanatoria, pensions, boarding schools, scholarships, paid vaca-tions and holidays, houses for elderly people, youth camps, maternity benefits etc. These funds totalled 42 billion rubles in 1940, 230 billion in 1959 and will be 360 billion by 1965, or the equivalent of 3.800 rubles innually for employed per-800 rubles per employed person will be spent for the construction of houses, schools, cultural and medi-cal establishments.

### IMPROVED STANDARDS

In consequence of these and other aspects of the USSR economic policies, the budgets of Soviet people which increasingly appear in Soviet newsp reflect a rapid improve of material standards. though it is estimated that the Soviet standard of liv-ing is still only 60 to 70 per cent that of the United States, this rapid pace of improvement affords a realistic basis for the Soviet Government's avowed aim of achieving in a short time the highest living ards in the world. stand-

panies to lay bare their components. SUCH, however, was the mercial exploitation is on state of affairs till the the agenda. The most significant success has, howev been achieved at Ankelas land of advent of the first ialism into the international oil sphere. Now the tables are turned with the producer countries in West Asia, as well

as the consumer countries like our own, giving it hot to the monopolists, who have been forced to stage a retreat 300 tons of oil a day. everywhere.

oil fields in Assam being know-now. **ETOUHICLS** The Soviet entry into the oil worked in collaboration with the Burmah Oil Company, the Another field in oil in which The USSR offered to supply been by way of marketing its country which produced barely the Soviet Union has been India crude oil as well as products. In fact, a more spe-ctacular mode of this entry, has planned to raise produc- fining. It has agreed to put up much below the companies' and basically of a greater significance-especially to un derdeveloped countries like etting up independent oil in-

iustries

Time was when India with an insignificant, and that an insignment, and they too foreign-owned, oil field had to accept all the one-rous terms which the oil monopolists dictated to her in respect of the oil refineries. Now she is in a position not only to force these very monopolists to reduce their prices, but also to refuse heir request for expansion of their refinery capacities.

who enabled our country to her grit and determination in not allowing the monofoot polists to get any new foot-hold on our oil? Not the Western geologists surely, who had all along been pronouncing India relatively barren in oil resources, but the Soviet ex-perts, who as early as 1956, d recommended that the Government should prospect for oil in Cambay and Jwalaukhi since these areas, in their view, contained abundant oil.

### Prospecting Programme

In arriving at their concluon these experts were guided the geological structure of e Indian sub-continent and the "enlightening history of the geological development o countries and Central Arat Asia". According to the Soviet Ministry of Geology and Con-servation of Mineral Resour-ces, who visited India recently, the Russian experts believed that "from the oil and gas point of view India is an in-tegral part of a large basin of promising sedimentary rocks stretching throughout the the above-mentioned countries."

Guided by these recommendations, and with the help of equipment and technical personnel provided by the Soviet Union and Rumania, the State-owned Oil and Natural Gas Commission launched its prospecting Success came at Jwalamukhi where gas was struck in May 1958. Later, in quick succession, of utilisation of the Rs. 180 discoveries were made at crores credit which the USSR Vadser near Baroda, and at has given as its first instal-Cambay, till today, with ment to meet the foreign ex-eight wells at Cambay yield- change costs of the Third g good results, their com-

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collaboration in oil prospect-ing has thus resulted in almost cent per cent success. Contrast-it with the Standard Vacuum on company wild-goose chase stranglehold of foerign mono-in West Bengal, where it polists. abandoned oil exploration after sinking ten well you see the difference between fraternal Socialist assistance and the assistance rendered by capitalist oil interests.

nical Cooperation concl recently, the Soviets will help in production of oil at Cambay. A comprehensive geological prospecting for oil and gas at all stages in such areas, as are decided upon by the Government of India, will be conducted under this agreement by the Soviet Union, which will also train Indian workers and engineers in its own works.

### Lending Of Blue-Prints

for loaning to India by the Soviets of blue-prints and other technical documentation for the manufacture of spare parts, units and instruments necessary for the maintenance of the equipment supplied. All these facilities will be provided as part of the programm of utilisation of the Rs. 180 change costs of the Third

come is the family's real PAGE FOURTEEN

income and the purchasing power. Take this, for instance, Several years ago, the eldest daughter, Galina, joined the evening department of the Metallurgical Institute opened at the plant. In a year from 1953) forming 15.6 per cent of now she will be certified as the total (14.1 per cent in an engineer. Since education 1953). in the USSR is free, this naturally has a direct effect on the Bochkovs' budget.

The younger daughter, Olya, is in the sixth form of a secondary school. How did the family spend

On food, they spent 19,108 The family lives in a two-room flat in a house not far from the mills to which they moved in 1953. On food, they spend 19,300 rubles (59.6 per cent more than in 1953) forming 47.6 per cent of the total (as against 53.7 per cent in 1953)

The Bochkovs thus are spending more on food than in 1953, but the proportion of the income spent on food has come down by 6.1 per centenabling the family to have a higher material standard and spend more on various things like books, amusements, etc.

### **Better Food**

They have spent more on food because they eat more and better food. For instance, per food. For instance, per capita consumption of flour and bread and potatoes has come down, of all other items has increased com-pared to 1953, especially meat (169.0 per cent), butter (216.7 per cent), sugar (162.0 per cent), fruit and berries (148.5 per cent), etc. Thus an increasing swing towards more food of a better quality.

On textiles, clothes and footwear, the family spent 6,262 rubles (200 per cent of 1953) forming 15.6 per cent of Bochkovs do. But when the

### Clothes

The Bochkovs bought last year three suits (for the father, son and mother), two overcoats for the grown-ups, a rain coat, several dre and frocks, trousers and other small articles of apparel.

The family spent less on the cinema or theatre—the reason being they have bought for themselves a television set.

Last year's expenses have increased, not because of any price-rise—prices, in fact, keep on dropping in the Soviet Union, but because the Bochkovs are buying more and hence are having a better life.

There has not been much of a change as far as taxes are concerned, since in this in this period they remained stable. In the next few years, thanks to the new Soviet law to abolish income-tax on factory and . office-workers, quite a tidy sum—roughly 1,800 to 2,000 rubles a year— will be added to the income of the Buchkovs.

NEW AGE

food consumption is taking Serp i Molot Plant is livinga well-to-do life that is both interesting and that will grow better with every passing day.

> impressive tasks of the Seven-Year Plan are carried out, there will be less of a gap in the consumption of food, clothing and footwear between

### In The USA

picture-the budget of an American family as pictured by the so-called Heller Com-mittee of the California University.

This budget is published regularly and has been offi-cially recognised as "ideal" for the conditions in the USA. Not computed on the basis of the general working class income, its compilers themselves say that this is an attempt "to give a universally recognised living standard, that is the sum of commodities and services which the public now consider as necessary for the health and a reasonably com-fortable life. Here 'necessary' means all that people usually seek to have, really want to have and strive to have."

That is how a worker of the budget at all, but one which

statistics, more than 60 per cent of all American families draw an income lower than the amount specified by the Heller budget. According to this "must-be-striven-for" budget itself, an American working class family

buys one men's suit in three ears, one rubberised raincoat in five years, one springcoat in ten years, three women's frocks a year, one women's raincoat in three years and one women's suit in four years.

More or less the same is borne out by an article "Clo-thes Make the Man" in the magazine America (No. 43), official propaganda organ of the U.S. Government, which ed specially for the

If we include all the smalltime tailors in the USA and the entire garment import, even then the annual figures for the USA will be half a jacket and two pairs sers for every man or boy over ten years of age, one overcoat to every ten and one raincoat

capitalist country is computed, remember you have, on the one hand, the parasitic con-sumption of the capitalist class and the poverty of the toiling masses and that the toiling masses and that the "average" includes everything

### NOVEMBER 6, 1960

\* SEE PAGE 15

the higher-paid and lower-paid categories, because there will be less of a gap between their wages.

Let us now turn to another

# LEXANDER Andreyevich Bochkov is a bricklayer in onen-hearth furnace shop

people "seek to have" is illustrated by the fact that, according to official U.S.

to every seven.

And when the average in a



Oil, the quest for it, its refining and marketing— all these facets of the industry had woven round themselves a certain mystique, a fascination which only the monopolists could unravel. As for countries like ours even the most competent of our cost accountants could not dissect the price formulae of the com-

> war, where the horizon in which the "first lucky well" struck oil in May last can yield on an average about

Thus, with an assured supply from these new fields, and the oil fields in Assam being

magnetic expeditions en-to yield more. Could they gaged in field work in India are manned by Indians— poly had not been bread with Soviet specialists only through imports from occasionally acting as con-sultants—which would not have been possible if the latter had not imparted to them all their technical know-how.

A special feature of Indo-Soviet cooperation in oil prospecting and extraction has been the speed with which the Soviet experts train the Indian personnel to independently handle A special feature of Indo- through its entry into the which the Soviet experts companies into reducing ther train the Indian personnel prices. Already these compa-to independently handle nies have been made to yield even the most intricate jobs. about Rs. five crores annually At present, for instance, all and in their "war of rates" the thirty or so seismological prospecting and gravitation-magnetic expeditions en-to yield more. Could they be poly had not been breached through imports from the USSR?

### Petrolenm Products



concluded also

The Agreement also provides

the Oil and Natural Gas Com- medium-sized Cambay refinery

after sinking ten wells—and While helping to lay the circumstances being different, about 14 lakhs of rupees—all foundations of a national oil no such step has even been of which proved "dry", and industry in India the USSR, contemplated.

tion to six million tons in 1965. a 1.5 million ton refinery at rates. It also offered to accept The latter figure will not, Barauni in Bihar to refine the repayment in rupees to be however, be the limit to which Naharkatiya crude oil. The spent on purchase of Indian production can be taken. In other refinery to process this goods. While the offer regard-fact, according to the chief oil is being put up by Ruma- ing the products has been production can be taken. In other refinery to process this goods. While the offer regard-fact, according to the chief oil is being put up by Ruma- ing the products has been Soviet consultant attached to nia at Nunmati in Assam. The availed of, and the first consignment of 11,000 tons out of the oil and Natural Gas Com-mission, India can even at-tain self-sufficiency in oil by the end of the Third Plan. will also be presumably estab-lished by the Soviet Union, the import of crude oil has not be set up in the Soviet Union. The import of crude oil has not The Soviet and Rumanian All these refineries—the first been possible because of the collaboration in oil prospect- that India will be able to call foreign-owned refineries' re-ing has thus resulted in almost all her own—will be of im- fusal to process it. Fidel Cas-tent per cent success. Contrast mense importance in extricat- tro's Revolutionary Governing the country from the ment in Cuba solved this problem through the nationalisation of the recalcitrant re-fineries. Here, however, the

This brings us to the efforts that our own Government has been making in tapping the potentialities of development which the Soviet offers of assistance have unfolded. Need-less to say it has through all these years been serious about building an independent na-tional oil industry, primarily through Soviet and Rumanian assistance, and has also been aware of the great role which the USSE has been playing in this behalf. And yet, it has at times shown a certain ambivalence in policy which in-hibits its undertaking the task.

### Shortcomings In Policy

Thus, for example, while planning for independence in all through undertaking all future works in the pubau nuture works in the pub-lic sector, it has kept the door open to foreign. com-panies to come and prospect for oil on "suitable terms". The fact that among these companies are also those which have been ruling the roost in the country so long should have given it enough indication of the risks in-volved in letting them, or their kind, re-enter through the back-door. Again, while ming at self-sufficiency in oil by the end of the Third Plan, the Government has exhibited a certain diffidence in allocating to it enough funds. This reluctance, aris-ing mainly, it is said, from Morarji's resistance, gives a handle to the oil lobby at home and abroad to pre the case of the monop

While these have been the shortcomings at India's end, which it should be own ble to remove through public pressure and Govern ent's own experience, the Socialist Soviet Union has consistently gone about its task of helping India build an independent oil industry. The successes achieved so far give enour reason to believe that the ta enough will be accomplished before long.

-ESSEN

# Soviet assistance is not, however, confined merely to supplying of rigs and experts. Under an agreement on Tech-

### \* FROM PAGE 14.

-both the wallowing in luxury of the millionaires and the dire straits of the millions of ordinary Americans.

A comparison between the per capita food consumption of an American working class family in the Heller budget and the Bochkov family in the USSR shows that the Soviet family consumes per capita more meat, fish and buter (98.5, 24.8 and 13.0 kilogrames against 84.1, 7.2 and 4.4 kilograms), while consumption of milk and sugar is about the same, and of eggs, vegetable and fruit the Soviet family confruit the Soviet family con-sumes less than the "ideal" American level of the Hel-ler budget, though, it has to be noted, that official statis-tics put the average per capita consumption of fruit and vegetables in the USA at only half of that given in the Heller budget. in the Heller budget.

Take another item of expenditure. Should anyone of the

NEW AGE

Bochkovs fall ill, he does not have to pay anything for treatment. Last year, when the head of the family was down with 'flu for a fortnight, the several doctor came round times to see him.

### Housing.

In the USA the average doctor takes about eight do lars as fee if the patient calls on him and much more when he goes to see the patient. No wonder, even relatively young families where the head of the family is not over 40, sp of the nine to ten per cent income on medical expenses in the USA.

Rent and public utility rates take up only 2.5 per cent of the Bochkovs' bud-get, because in the USSR the State shoulders the lion's share of the expenses to build and service houses. In the USA, housing expenses the budget of the Soviet and. eat up 18 to 20 per cent of American working class family will sneek still more elegenet. working class family's budget.

The USSR is so far behind the USA in the production of such durables as household refrigerators, T. V. sets and furniture Demand for these goods is much higher than supply. But, on that count, too, the successful fulfilment of the Soviet Seven-Year Plan will greatly diminish the gap between the USSR and the USA.

### Future

October 28

In his speech to the Fifth Sesison of the USSR Supreme Soviet, N. S. Khrushchov said:

"I wish to stress once again that, with regard to all those consumer goods which are really needed by the people, we shall very soon reach the level of production and consumption of the United States of America....

will speak still more eloquent-ly in favour of Socialism. will speak still m

PAGE FIFTEEN

Sceptics predicted its failure, they scoffed at the Soviet machinery and the whole plan for a mechanised farm. But the 30,000-acre Central Mechanised Farm at Suratgarh, a symbol of Indo-Soviet cooperation, living and growing and making a place for itself in Indian agriculture, has falsified their prophecies.

One has to see the farm to be able to realise its immensity. As one passes in a jeep along or inside the farm, for miles on end, one sees nothing but the green stalks of the growing wheat and the yellow spotted sarson. To have a look at the farm, all its various features, means a drive as long, as roundabout as seeing a big city.

Impressive as it stands today, the Suratgarh farm had difficult beginning and even today it faces many problems crying for solution.

### 🗮 🛧 From II. K. VYAS

IT was in early 1956, when Khrushchov and Bulganin visited India, that they offered visited india, that they offered machinery and equipment for a huge mechanised farm, as a gift to symbolise Indo-Soviet cooperation in the field of dernising Indian agriculure. was a dearth of almost every-thing—no sheds to house the The first problem created machines, not enough accomturè.

by the offer was of finding a place to set up a huge farm of 30,000 acres. It was no easy job-getting so much land at job-getting so much land at one place and that, too, gene-rally level land. But States competed with each other because together with the location of the farm was the added attraction of getting all the Soviet equipme

Rajasthan finally got it. The site it suggested was ideal, almost made to order, located in the bed of the now extinct river Ghaggar, lying near Suratgarh in the Ganganagar District of the State.

The ground here is ideally level, the soil is clay loam and very rich, known as nalli land. The tract is a huge level stretch about 22 miles in length and two to four miles in width.

When the Rajasthan authorities suggested the site, they were calculating that red tape were calculating that red tape and delay to which they are accustomed, would operate in this case, too, and the set-ting up of the farm would take some years. And they were hoping to solve the problem of supplying water to the site in this neriod

### **Problem** Of Water

A major part of the farm lies in the command area of Bhakra Canal and the reportion in the commaini mand area of the Rajasthan Canal.

By 1956 supply of Bhakra water had only just commence ed and that, too, on a non-perennial basis. Supply from Bhakra will become perennial Th only from next year. The Bajasthan Canal will take at st another two years to make even non-perennial supply of water.

Thus there was no way of supplying water, even to some extent, to the farm site ear-lier than this year. But the Rajasthan authorities were rajastnan authorities were planning on the basis that the machinery would take some years to arrive and by then the problem would have been

Upsetting all their cal-culations, Soviet machinery began arriving within a few months of the offer and by almost all the March 1957.

PAGE SIXTEEN

for a power station. But the farm existed only in the maps and plans of the departments. Some lift irrigation from the Ganga canal was the only source of water supply. There was a dearth of almost every-

### Vears

One by one these problems were taken up. Drilling of tube wells was taken in hand. and quarters were The machinery that Sheds erected. had arrived was used to level the ground, dig channels, etc. In the earlier stages, the workers who handled the machines did not fully know their use. It short, the first two years were years of make-shift arrangements.

It was, however, during these difficult years that the Soviet technicians stayed at Suratgarh training the Indian workers in the use of the machines—the hundreds of tractors, harvester-combines, sowing equipment, etc. This was no ordinary problem. For example, the harves-ter combines could not be easily adapted to the harvest-ing of sarson. Many adjust-ments had to be made and even today, quite often, this harvesting is done by manual labour.

years were also disappointing. Crop production was abnorlow and many plots of the farm were let out to pri-vate parties on the basis of <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> to <sup>4</sup>/<sub>4</sub> sharecropping. It was a sad state of affairs when the biggest mechanised farm in the country gave the lowest yield and parcels of it had to be let out on sharecropping

### limprovement Since Then

Since then there has been equipment had arrived, in-, an improvement in the situa-cluding the generating set tion. Workers have got used

grow wheat, a rabi crop, even without irrigation.

The results were also encouraging. Last year, the rabi crop was very good. Despite the fact that the rabi wheat was grown only on the watering by the earlier inundation and no water lier inundation and no water was, or rather could be, given after that, the average production of wheat came to about 20 maunds per acre-on an area of about 4,500 acres. The sarson crop, too, was a bummer crop. was a humper crop.

### Plans For Expansion

The results of last year's rahi put the farm on its feet. Now the authorities are mak-ing further plans. Experi-mental sowing of the American variety of cotton, sugar cane and even rice has com-menced. A portion of the farm has been reserved for fruits and vegetables, another for grazing and other cattle-bree-ding purposes. The idea is to make the farm into a compo-The results of these first two site demonstrational producing seeds, acting as a nursery, as a research station and, above all, a sort of living demonstration of the superiority of the modern and mecha

ed method of cultivation. The Suratgarh farm from this year get water from the Bhakra Canal. Inundation has been very heavy this year also, making it possible to reap a humper rabi crop;

All this means that the Central Mechanised Farm has come of age now. The real work of making it a chanised farm has begun and the basis for its pro-gress has been laid. But all is not yet well with

NEW AGE

# Features

a major part of the farm was inundated, the shed in which tractors and other mechines were stored had five feet of water in it, causing a lot of ture.

duce to a very great extent its appeal as a model. Just as the first two years were years of make-shift and many prob-lems had to be tackled to e that situation, the next set of problems crying for urgent solution is the question of proper organisation me-thods in keeping with the farm's character as a big pro-duction and demonstration centre.

The Suratgarh farm can then become a glowing and inspiring example of the new direction of Indian agricul-

### NEW AGE

Political Monthly of Communist Party of India

### EDITOR: B. T. RANADIVE

November issue contains:

B. T. RANADIVE: November Revolution and **Underdeveloped** Countries

P. TOGLIATTI: Peace can be Saved

**RAM BILAS SHARMA: English and Linguistics** 

P. K. SHARMA: Comment on Third Plan

PLUS other articles.

\* Single Copy: Fifty Naye Paise

T. Madhavan (Manager) 7/4 Asaf Ali Road. NEW DELHI 1.

**NOVEMBER 6, 1960** 

Soviet aid for setting up the State drug industry in India is particularly significant. By collaborating with our Government to put up drug plants in the public sector they are directly helping our poor peo-ple as they would bring within their reach the bene-fits of modern life-giving medicines which the heavily this of modern inc-giving meantines which the heaving profit loaded prices of imported drugs at present deny them. It will also save the country annually some thing like Rs. 35 crores in much needed foreign ex-change, which, it is believed, is spent at present in importing those drugs.

the

**D** URING the last fifty years or so scientific medicine has made phenomenal advances in the discovery of medicines which can control and cure almost all the infectious diseases, nutritional deficien. cies and some metabolic diswhich exact a heavy orders, which exact a heavy toll of life, particularly dur-ing childhood, inflict tremen-dous ill-health and an untold amount of misery in our coun-

In advanced countries the death rate has been bro-ught down to seven pcr thousand and the expectathousand and the expecta-tion of life raised to 64 years. Because we lack the bene-fits of these life-saving drugs, among other things, our death rate is still 14 per thousand, infant mortality 108 per thousand of live births which is about five times the figure for deve-loped countries, and nearly 40 per cent of children die before they attain the age of ten. Thus our expectation of life is only 32 years and even this short span of life is made wretched by fre-quent ill-health.

Dependence

On Imports

in inadequate amounts

None of these modern drugs

011

are made in the country, ex-cept penicillin and that, too,

drug firms, even the larger

ones, are engaged mainly in processing, that is, prepara-tion of mixtures, tablets and solutions for injection from

imported drugs, and making finished drugs from imported penultimate products.

Even the foreign firms to

almost ready made drugs as raw chemical which are con-

verted by simple processes into finished drugs. The effect of this practice is that the prices

of drugs remain as high as in the advanced countries and

the Government is deprived of legitimate customs duty.

The prices of imported drugs are excessively high. An American Professor who had

American Professor who had worked in pharmaceutical firms said some time ago, "in the pharmaceutical industry of Europe and America it is customary to charge exact ten

times the actual cost of the drug." To the manufacturing costs are added lavish adver-

tising and salesman expenses

This was borne out by the

ts at the Haffkine Insti-

times the cost of manufacture, and another firm was retailing

a hormone at 116 times what it cost the firm. These are not isolated cases. The year before, the Federal Trade Commission alleged that five of the largest Amethat five of the largest Ame-rican antibiotic firms had obtained their patents for tetracyclines on false affida-vits and had conspired toge-ther to maintain high prices. These very high prices are almost doubled after the In-dian importers and retailers have added their profit. Even the foreign nirms to which we have given licences to make drugs in India, do not undertake manufacture from raw materials. They largely use their licences to import

### Beyond Reach Of People

these essential life-saving drugs beyond the reach of all our common people who need them most. Even most of the public hospitals cannot afford to use them unless the patient

to hospitals. to hospitals. The late Dr. J. C. Ghosh, Health Member of the Plan-ning Commission, said in one of his addresses: "... in public hospitals cases are not unknown where poor patients have died for lack of medicines which could have avred their lives"

of mentiones which is which is a solution of mentiones which is a solution of mention of mentions which is a soluting white the solution of mention of mention of mention o try in the real sense of the

tute who made after the war NOVEMBER 6 1960

and high profits.



# Central Mechanised Farm modation for the workers and<br/>technicians, not even adequateto the machines, though not<br/>fully. Nature has also come to<br/>fully. Nature has also come to<br/>the rescue of the bad planners.the farm. The organisation of<br/>the farm is more that of a<br/>bureaucratic office. The top<br/>to say, for a long time a major<br/>part of the machinery could<br/>not even be unpacked.to the machines, though not<br/>fully. Nature has also come to<br/>the rescue of the bad planners.the farm is more that of a<br/>bureaucratic office. The top<br/>brass thinks they have only to<br/>sign papers and submit re-<br/>ports. The use of agronomy is<br/>the farm as it should be. There<br/>is tremendous waste, due enti-damage te the machinery. To<br/>add to everything, the workers<br/>of the farm are treated call-<br/>ously.First TwoTo the secue of the bad planners.<br/>the farm for some months.the farm is more that of a<br/>bureaucratic office. The top<br/>brass thinks they have only to<br/>sign papers and submit re-<br/>the farm as it should be. There<br/>is tremendous waste, due enti-damage te the machinery. To<br/>add to everything, the workers<br/>ously. is tremendous waste, due enti-rely to utter planlessness.

SURATGARH

30,000 Acre Soviet-Equipped

Negative

Machinery and equipment are not being properly looked after. When, for instance, the nalli overflowed this year and

No more will the American monopolies and their agents be able to mint crores while our people die for want of life-saving drugs....

> the then new wonder drug, sulphathiazole, on a semi-commercial scale in 500 lb quantities at Rs. 14 a pound, when the normal import when the normal import price was Rs. 200 a pound and the drug was actually selling at Rs. 800 a lb. They found the same to be true of some other sulpha drugs and antimalarial drugs which they manufactured

Since then the appetite of American drug firms seems to have grown. The re-cent U. S. Senate Committee under Fulbright investigating

term, is to put up a fully in-tegrated drug industry, in the public sector, of five or six plants, with its own plants for basic and intermediate chemicals and reesarch labratories to produce all the anti-biotics, synthetic and other drugs needed.

This is possible only in the sector. Private industry lacks the resources and the know-how. If they sought the aid of Western firms ald or western nrms they would have to pay heavy royalties and keep the prices high. Further, as this is the one industry in which the private element should not operate at all, only the State can set up the industry; it has the resources and can issue drugs at or near the cost of production.

Delegations of Indian scien-tists who had visited Western Europe and the United States in 1946 and 1948 had found that drug technology there

India something like Rs. 32 crores and made India com-pletely independent of fore-ign countries including the viet Union. and would have saved the country Rs. 35 crores a year in foreign exchange. This wonderful offer of free

From A SPECIAL COBRESPONDENT

technical aid and know-how was made as early as May 1955 and was soon backed by an offer of a long-term credit of 80 million rubles (Rs. ten crores) at the usual favourable Soviet terms, to cover the foreign exchange component of the cost, yet the Commerce and Industry Ministry showed no eagerness to utilise the offer, and no action was taken at all till February 1958, in spite of our Prime Minister's repeated directives, and even then the Soviet project was witted down and an agree-ment signed with the Soviet Union only in June 1959.

### Their Own

### Admission

This valuable time during which the plants could have been built up and begun to save the country as much as Rs. 35 crores a year in foreign ing drugs to people at less than one-tenth the present prices, meant a grave loss to the country, but tot so to the private industry. They with their representatives in the Ministry had other

"Merck's efforts have helped in part to stall this Soviet offensive; however, Knoppers fully admits that eventually some products in this area will be produced using Russian knowledge and aid. But the original Soviet offer which was all-embracing (and somewhat obsolet technologically, some say). is shelved, and the Indian Pharmaceutical Industry will not be a Governmen monopoly." (Emphasis added).

The original Soviet project drawn up in May 1955 had provided for a fully integrated drug industry with its own plant for intermediate chemicals from which all drugs and dyes are made. But the Com-merce and Industry Ministry, for reasons known only to it, has disintegrated the Soviet has disintegrated the Soviet project by joining up with West German firms to put up the Intermediate Chemical Plant separate from the Soviet aided plants. What is still worse the German firms are being allotted equity shares through which they will control the plant and the prices of its products.

Thus they will have a on the throat of the drug industry and dictate the prices of the synthetic drugs ade in the Soviet-aided synthetic drug plant. Over and above this the Com-merce and Industry Minis-

SOVIET AID TO SET UP

The high prices of medi-cines, further aggravated by shortage of supplies due to lack of foreign exchange, put these constraints in the second

can pay for them which, of course, is beyond the capacity of most of our people who go

into the high prices of drugs disclosed that one leading firm was retailing a much-in-de-mand drug for arthritis at 25 was available on such onerous terms as to make it hardly worthwhile.

But on visiting the Soviet Union they were struck by the fact that Soviet drug plants observed no secrecy and were agreeable to place all their know-how at the disposal of India, if she de-

sired it, entirely free of cost. An informal Indian delegation, led by General Sokhey, went to the Soviet Union in 1954 and submitted a report to the Prime Minister showing what sort of facilities the So viet Union was offering and the cost involved in putting up a fully integrated drug in-dustry. This report was very well received and the Prime Minister under his personal directive asked the Commerce and Industry Ministry to in-vite Soviet experts to come to India to survey the position of the drug industry and make ndations

### Know-How From USSR

A team of six Soviet experts came to India early in 1955, made a thorough survey of the existing drug industry with Indian experts and sub-mitted a comprehensive report in two volumes indicating what India was doing, what India should do and why, and gave detailed proces the manufacture of for the manufacture of all the drugs needed by the country. A fully integrated drug industry with its own plant for making intermediate chemicals would, have cost

NEW AGE

# OUR DRUG INDUSTRY

designs because they were not willing to forego the profit of about Rs. 35 crores a year which accrued to them from sales of imported drugs. They used this time to conspire with American firms to sabo-tage the whole scheme. You do not have to take my word for it that this was so. You only have to see an American statement in the American journal, Chemical and Engineering News, dated November

14, 1958, page 73. We published some time ago a photograph of Mr. Morarji Desai in America with the representative of the American firm of MERCK, who issued this statement, which in part, reads as under:

"Drug officials started looking at India about two years ago, just as the Russians began a big push to have India freed from the dependence on West-ern chemicals and phar-maceuticals. Soviet enmaceuticals. Soviet en-gineers, loans, and all else eeded would be provided if the Indians would take USSR help and build the State-owned industry"

And then there are the following words: "Fortunately for the

Free World, Merck and other U.S. and Western drug and chemical firms have not been idle since." Then comes the most interesting paragraph:

try=has cut down 32 synthe tic drugs, which sell for large profit, from the Soviet list of 54 drugs, and reduced the recommended annual production synthetic drugs from 4,000 tons to 800

As things stand now, the Soviet Union will assist India in putting up the following four plants:

(1) Antibiotic Plant for all needed antibiotics, 295 tons annually; (2) Synthetic Drug Plant,

(2) Synthetic Drug Plant,
(0) tons annually;
(3) Vegetable Drugs Plant 80

100 tons annually; (4) Surgical Instruments Plant, 306 million pieces a year.

These plants will cost about Rs. 27 crores and save the country about Rs. 35 crores a year in foreign exchange at the present import prices. At the same time the Soviet Union will train about 600 Indian technicians in their own plants so that they can take complete charge of these plants from the word go.

Thus in spite of the whittlcommerce and Industry Min-istry, these plants will still be of great benefit to our people because the Soviets have insisted on going ahead with the Antibiotic Plant to pro-

> \* SEE OVERLEAF PAGE SEVENTEEN



### MORE RIIMOURS

O N reading the piece in this column last week about the ugly rumours clustering around Vijaya-lakshmi Pandit, I was rung up by an agitated official. I had here the hear the longhad hoped to hear the longawaited contradiction but s worthy was only anxious to correct certain "errors" as he called them. certain

He was thoroughly upset that I had mentioned only Rs. 50,000 as the sum said to have been paid out to our distinguished High Commissioner in London for a in the United States. He insisted that the amount was a little over one-and-a-half lakh of rupees! I was quite flabber-gasted but he was inistent. No sooner was this conversation over than an excited colleague rushed over with another amendment that one of his "sources" had told him. His information was that Pandit Nehru's sister had just not bothered to inform the External Affairs Ministry that she was going on this tour nor discussed with them at all the remunera discussed with tion she was to receive not the proportion of the amount she was to keep and what she was to surrender.

After listening to all this felt that the Externa Affairs Ministry is being far too slow with its explana-tions and thus helping the rumours to spread and grow. Let us have its denial

### CHILD MARRIAGE ?

followers and keep on the gaddi. Now he is facing legal proceedings. And the charge is abetment in a case of child marriage.

Kaneti Mohan Rao, an ex-Member of Parliament from the East Godavarl District, has filed a com-plaint against the Andhra Minister for Public Works under the Child Marriage estraint Act.

LONG LIVE LENINISM

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mistakes corrected

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PAGE EIGHTEEN

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now with all typographical and translation

His contention is that on Afril 20 this year, A. S. Raju's son—Subhas Chan-dra Bose Raju—was mark, ed to the daughter of Ramalingaraju, MLA, who head recently when a short-is said to have been only RLEVEN years old at the ELEVEN years old at the time. The complainant has cited the Chief Minister and

Masuma Begum, the only woman member in the Andhra Ministry as witnesses. Preliminary enquiries have already been held and the clerk of the Registrar of Births and Deaths at Palakole (the birth place of the bride) has been examined along with other witnesses. The Additional First Class Magistrate having heard the contending arguments has pronounced orders tak-ing the case on file against the Minister and the cas will commence on Novem. ber 8

interesting This is an affair and Hyderabad agog at it. It is certainly not going to help Congress prestige. 14 J.+.

### LOOTING IN BOMBAY

THE Office of the Re dinal Director, Food, (Western Region), Bombay, is reeking with scandals. The high officials of the office are said to be treating it as a comfortable place for looting and for satisfying all their corrupt desires. The general talk is that the Regional Director (Food) himself is involved the in much of all this. As a rule, a Regional Director is kept in one place only for three years. But the present Regional Director has been A LLURI Satyanarayana Raju has his cup of woes overflowing. He has to seven years. It is a mystery A Raju has his cup of capacity for more than woes overflowing. He has to intrigue and plot and act to keep off Sanjeeva Reddy's has good pull in Delhi. followers and keep on the raddi. Now he is facing twelve executive and super-

visory officials have given false certificates regarding their qualifications. De partmental proceeding De. were started against th years ago; but none have years ago; but none have been seriously punished and the whole matter is being hushed up. In the case of one supervisory official, in-crements were withheld for

out. Three non-gazetted officials were suspended from June 1959 and two of them have been given show- cause memos pro-posing dismissal from service a month ago. The sur-prising thing is that the matter has not been reported to the police or to the audit department for a complete enquiry. The rea-son is simple. If a complete enquiry is conducted, the responsibility of the high officials would be brought to light

### AMERICAN MAND

E VERYBODY has been L talking about the con-certed newspaper offensive against K. D. Malaviya since the Stanvac under cutting operation against the Indian State. Our "pat-triotic" papers were furious that the Central Minister had objected to the nefa-rious practice of the American oil company using the duty-protection funds for this purpose.

Why this display of affection for an American com-pany? Who briefed these leading newspapers, who talk day in and day out about the need for being Indian first, to support American mo American monopolists a inst the Indian State? S aga : people tell me that it is no use asking the Editors. They say that the real man be-hind the campaign is C. Burr Smith, who holds the post of the Economic Coun-sellor of the U.S. Embassy. K. D. Malaviya should ask for an investigation.

-ONLOOKRR

# DRUG INDUSTRY

**United Action To** 

TRADE UNION RALLY IN BHILAI

try.

other metal and engineer-

ing enterprises in the coun-

N L. PATHAR

Workers'

Rourkela

Gheraos In

October 10 will be long

remembered in Rourkela as a day of gheraos. The work-

ers were agitated over the issues of immediate pay-ment of arrears of overtime

dues and permanent ser-

vice. They were resentful over the nepotism and cor-

ruption in recruiting regu-

lar workers. And they de-

cided to act. The lightning

gheraos caught the officers unprepared. The Mazdoor Congress

led by the AITUC organis-

ed the gheraos. First, Deputy General Manager Amar Singh's car was stopped by 30 women porters, who had been as-sured in writing that they

would be re-employed after

having been unjustly re-

trenched. And now the promised date had lapsed. Being caught unawares the

Being caught unawates and Deputy General Manager had them re-employed. Gheraos were taking place at the same time in the Public Health Division

and the Railway Division. The Public Health Engl-

neer Garudachar was sur-rounded by about 300 work-

ers. Another engineer Ghosh of the Field Main-

tenance Division was sur-rounded by angry workers numbering 300. The admi-

numbering 300. The aum sistrative building was sur-rounded by the 500 workers of the Railway Division. As a result the manage-ment has agreed to expe-

dite absorption of these

temporary workers in per-manent posts.

It was a day of great emotion but the workers

allowed not a single un-

We must make full use and

learn from the facts that came out in the Parliamentary

debate on the death of Sri Tripathi, which showed the havoc which Sri Raja, a law-

yer by profession and dis-credited one at that during his

NITYANAND PANDA

seemly incident.

to grow in.

ed the gheraos

Win Demand

MITED action of the

workers of India is the only guarantee for achieving their legitimate demands.

The setting up of a Wage Board, fighting retrench-ment and in case of genuine

surplus securing alternative

employment and immediate

grant of interim relief-these are some of the com-mon problems of the work-ers engaged in the building

of the mighty steel mills so

vital to the life of our nation", observed Homi Daji, General Secretary of

the Madhya Pradesh Trade

Union Congress, while ad-dressing a 10,000-strong workers' rally in Bhilai

The meeting was the first held under the auspices of the National Federation of

Metal and Engineering Workers of India in the

Bhilai Steel Project. The response of the workers

was tremendous and all

biggest ever held in the

The meeting was presided

over by Sudhir Mukerjee Vice-President of the Madhya Pradesh Trade

Union Congress. Apart from Homi Daji, the other speaker was B. N. Muker-

jee, a respected leader of Berar who is well-known in

Homi Daji declared

amidst loud applause that the workers were proud of

their giant steel mills but were equally jealous in de-

fending their rights. They

would not allow these giant

enterprises to be sabotaged

by the devotees of the pri-

vate sector nor permit.

bureaucrats to undermine

them through their deeds

and misdeeds. He called

upon the workers to unite

and coordinate their strug-

gle in Bhilai with those

vices to the people.

region, too, for his ser-

ent acclaimed it as the

on October 10.

town.

Umetal and engineering

### \* FROM PAGE 17

November 1.

duce 295 tons of all the antiblotics needed by the country, which form about 75 per cent of the total drug consumption.

Antibiotics are sold at very high profits by the private industry. To give an example, the much needed which is selling for about Rs. 13 a gramme would be manufactured in the Soviet aided plant at

who own almost 100 per cent must also insist that these of the patents in essential technical plants are put under October 31.

NEW AGE

the management of technicaldrugs. They at present use this ly competent individuals who patent monopoly to maintain a protected market for their products in India and will use it without doubt to extract are devoted to the technology and take pride in it, and car create a congenial atmosphere for their scientific colleagues

valties from the Sovietaided plants. The new Patent Bill is under consideration and we should carry on a campaign in the public and through Parliament to see that the drugs-are made non-patentable hoth as me. There are still two grave dangers which must be warded off: Patents: Our Government quixotically, enough still maintains a Patent Law solely who warded for invention in the have got to put our mind to the problem and work hard to see that patents in drugs are no longer accepted. Maintains a factor for the benefit of foreign firms regards the product and the

credited one at that during his employment in the Food Min-istry, has created in the run-ning of the Hindustan Anti-blotics, Pimpri, and is atili allowed to continue to the grave disadvantage of this growing young technical in-dustry of India.

### NOVEMBER 6. 1980

### AFTACKS MORE NO ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS

### -NATIONAL FEDERATION COUNCIL MEETS

Dowry

Bill

T WENTY-NINE members industrial centres and coopeof the Council of the National Federation of Indian Women from nine States of India expressed themselves strongly in favlations tour of the recomme

our of the recommendations inade by the National Coun-cil of Women on Education the Federation has worked and against the proposal of hard for the passing of the the Education Minister to new marriage laws and the cut down the demand of Hindu Succession Act. made by the National Coun-cil of Women on Education cut down the demand of that committee for an allocation of a hundred crores of rupees for women's edu-

The National Council of Women's Education was the outcome of the recommendations of a Committe set up by the Government under the chairmanship of Durgabai Deshmukh to examine the sition regarding education girls and to suggest ways and means to remove the pre-sent disparity which exists between girls and boys regarding education.

### Demand For No Cut

It was expected that the recommendations made by this body would be acceptable to the Government and would be incorporated in the Third Five-Year Plan. To the great disappointment of all women who stand for equal opportu-nities for education and train-ing for girls, the draft Third res for girls' education and convened for a final discus-Minister of Education Srimali sion. during a recent speech even hinted that it might be reduted to Rs. 13 crores.

The Council of the National Federation not only de-manded no cut in the allo-cation but asked for the full implementation of a scheme of compulsory primary edu-cation for both boys and girls of the 6 to 11 years age group. Further, it stressed the need for provision of polytechnics and other tech-nical institutes nical institutes and hostels for secondary stage stu-

the heart of a working class

area; that it was the wives

### The Council was meeting in Chheharta, Amritsar, at the invitation of the Lok Istri Sabha unit of that locality. Huge Demonstration The very fact that for the first time all-India committee of women was being held in

Earlier, a procession had gone round the town with bands playing, and banners flying. According to the local Press such a large demonstra-tion of women had never bearea; that it was the work-and daughters of textile work-ers who had faced many an attack on workers' rights, who were the eager hosts; that the report of the Secretary gave instances from almost every State of the difficulties faced attack on workers' rights, who instances from almost every state of the difficulties faced attack on workers' rights, who instances from almost every state of the difficulties faced attack on workers' rights, who instances from almost every state of the difficulties faced attack on workers' rights, who instances from almost every state of the difficulties faced in di difficulties faced in difficulties faced in difficulti

Similarly, at the cultural rogramme which followed

State of the difficulties faced by social organisations in giv-ing training to women and providing them with jobs thro-ugh the organisation of handi-craft centres—all this gave force to the demand of the Council that industrial train-ing must be available both for the lesser educated women.

lesser educated women. More than fifty-two' such programme

NOVEMBER 6, 1960

ratives are being run by the Federation branches in the States of West Bengal, Tamilnad and Andhra and an equal number are organised by the Kerala Mahila Samal.

Both these Acts were passed after thousands of signatures, hundreds of petisignatures, hundreds of pel-tions, memoranda and telegrams had been sent to Parliament in their support. It was, therefore, with great and justifiable indignation that the Federation comdemand the efforts of some reactionary elements in the Punjab to circumvent the Punjab to circumvent the Succession Act by bringing in a Bill for exempting agricultural land from its purview on the plea that land is a State subject.

Thirteen thousand signa-tures had been collected by Punjab and a far greater number by other States in support of the Dowry Prohi-bition Bill. Yet in spite of dis-bition Bill. Yet in spite of disbition Bill. Yet in spite of dis-cussion in Parliament the Bill remained in cold storage, for the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha could not access to the storage Sabha could not agree to each other's amendments and, so

The Council decided upon observing November 14, the day of the convening of the Lok Sabha, as a day for demanding the calling of the joint session and a speedy passage of the Bill.

These and other resolutions of the Council were reported at a public meeting attended by about three thousand women and an equal number of men at the end of the session, where Aruna Asaf All, Renu Chakravarty, Sushila Gopa-lan and Hajrah Begum spoke.

GURUIPS MESSAGE

A LMOST at the same time ment of the American Gov-ernment was going on re-cord that American prestige is at the lowest ebb in cord that American presuge is at the lowest ebb in the world at the present moment, Guruji Golwalkar, father of the Jan Sangh, was penning a message of gushing culogies to the USA.

The message was carried ngh group in Parliament, i Atal Behari Vajpayee Sri Atal Benari Vajlayce and has been presented to the U.S. rulers in token of Jan Sangh loyalty to the patrons of Adnan Menderes and Synghman Rhee—the "leader of the free world" as Guruii has fawningly cribed it.

described it. There is a lot of cant about the "Gospel of Swami Vivekanand" and "universal religion based on Advaita", which, quite undertsand-ble more necessary to hide ably was necessary to hide the real purport of the Jan Sangh's message and its emissary's visit to the USA.

But even under the bushel of chaff the grain is the bushet of chair the grain is easily visible. Guruji ap-peals to the USA: "Join with Bharat in bonds of inviolable friendship, and victory of the force of dharma is assured," which in plain terms means: onarma is assured," which in plain terms, means: The Jan Sangh ditifully rallies to your anti-Com-munist crusade, now you come to the aid of the small, dark fry of Indian reaction.

reaction. The Jan Sanghites, real-ising as they do the hope-lessness of the job of pre-senting the USA as a cham-plon of democracy (with the American - proped Ayub dictatorship standing just across the border), have conveniently preferred to describe it as a struggle of dharma against Commudharma against Commu-nism. Thus Guruji declares

women and children to pay their homage to the qualities inherent in women.

A local poet reciting his A local poet reciting his verse in the beautiful Pun-jabi idiom said, "Could wish me to sing to you songs of love, of fair hands dyed with henna and lips as fresh as metals but when as rose petals, but where are these fair hands and the are these fair hands and the delicate lips? Not in my vil-lage where the maidens' fingers bear the stains of work and their lips are blanched with want and hunger. Come friend, let us sing of other things, of the ways of restoring the freshness and beauty of our mai-dens, and freeing them from the menace which robs them of their youth."

### **Receptions** To Delegates

The Council meeting was nised the fullest cooperation held at Chheharta five miles and response from men and from the city but the city women, from the Municipality and the people there, as well receptions and meetings for as the suburbs, the city and the members who had come

NEW AGE

with rib-ticking solemnity in his message: "The con-flict is not of democracy versus Communism as it flict is communism appears to superficial obser-vers. It is the age-old between dross struggle between drumaterialism and dharma

SPOTLIGHT

materialism and dharma." And Communism, we are told, stands for the former, while the U.S. leadership of the "free world" with little Jan Sangh dancing to the tunes of the leader's mar-tial band in the distinguish-ed company of other gaule-tiers and puppets who stand scattered all over the globe, right from Guatemala to Formosa, stands for dharma! One might split one's side laughing at this supremely sublime plece of buffoonery. supremely

So America is not the classic land of dross mate-rialism, it is the land of dharma. That is what Guruji tells the chelas.

### THE DOLLAR LAND

BUT in the same issue of bthe Jan Sangh tabloid, which dutifully displayed the RSS Guruji's "message" to america, there is another to America, there is another bit on the dollar land by a prominent chela of very prominent chela of Guruji, Sri Deen Dayal Upadhyaya.

Upadhyaya. The General Secretary of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh quotes in the course of a long rigmarole on "postula-tes of planning" the following words of the late President Roosevelt: "Out of a population of 124 mil-lions in the USA, American economic life was domi-nated by some 600 odd cor-porations, who controlled two-thirds and ten million small businessmen divided small businessn the other field."

Can the Guru be unaware of what the chela knows? In fact, the wise Guruji should know better than anyone else, how the purse

the public meeting, it was the from all four corners of the the public meeting, it was the from an four corners of the men singers and poets who country. They were specially came to the stage along with interested in meeting Saras-women and children to pay wati Subblah, MLA from Pondicherry, where the people freed themselves from the freed themselves from the French yoke but which is not yet fully integrated with the rest of India. They all knew of Kerala and its heroic peoof Kerala and its heroic pee-ple and affectionately greeted Sushila Gopalan, and of course the large delegation from Bengal consisting of teachers, legislators, and women of various professions was greet-ed and made welcome everyed and made welcome every-where they went. The Uttar Pradesh members as they hap-pened to come from the trade unions of Agra and Feroza-bad were completely at home in Chheharta and the Hyderabad representative Was welcomed as rep Telengana area. as representing the

> The Council meeting at The Council meeting at Chheharta was a most heart-ening example of the coope-ration and unity of men and women. For, our local Secre-tary, Vimila Dang, had orga-nised the fullest cooperation and regionse from men and

strings are controlled and dispensed by the priests of manimon in America.

and the second second second

Yet preum rica is to be the flag-u-of "Guruji's crusade of a "dharma". How can this be the same dharma which the Indian people which the Indian people "SS are im-Yet precisely this Ame-ica is to be the flag-bearer sangh and the RSS are im-pudently selling the great names of Vivekanand and Advalta philosophy for a mess of pottage.

### NEHRU IN THEIR EYES

THE Bharatiya Jan. Sangh seems unable to hide its glee at the success of the crude Ameri-can manoeuvres at the U.N. to defeat the neutral Five-Power resolution. And it seems it will never forgive the Prime Minister of India seems it will the prime Minister of India for what it termed as his "slighting" remarks against

America. Its weekly mouthpiece has again charged full tilt at the five Afro-Asian sponsors of the neutral-ists resolution. It writes:

"They mounted the high moral horse and with no other accoutrements of other accoutrements of knights-errant, entered the Inists at full tilt-only to come a cropper, all the Panch Murtis at once and in a heap! In the realms of bathos no one has been bathos no one has been able to reach down to a lower level of the ludicrous and absurd than these fer-vid Five."

And about Sri Nehrn it writes: "It is also appro-priate that in the mock-heroic show, the role of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza-in-one should have been one should nave mer-amed by our peer-paladin and assumed by our peer-less paragon, paladin and what not, Pandit Nehru. He went, he spoke, he lunched and dined so many times that he must have suffered terrible indigestion and has returned, empty as he went, but deflated into the bar-

These are indeed words that should help swell Jan Sangh's coffers for the com-ing elections. These would ing elections. These would indeed still more warmly endear Sri Atal Behari Vajpayee with his "generous" (his own words) American hosts. But patriotic Indian ears will burn with shame at such gushing effusion.

### TELL-TALE WORDS

THE Swatantraites are probing for festering spots in Indian polity so they might breed. Its sly leader has sent the following message to the Jan Sangh's mouthpiece, the Organiser

Organiser. "Our job-first priority job-is to replace the pre-sent regime. All those who are fairly well agreed on the economic and political issues of this day should put their united shoulders to the wheel. This is my message if we are earnest about our aims."-C. Raja-gopalachari. Thus Rajaji finds in the

Thus Rajaji finds in the party of Hindu communal-ism a bird of his own fea-ther. Isn't that tell-tale?

October 31.

-GARUDA

**REGD. NO. D597** 



The popular slogan Hindi-Russi Bhai-Bhai did not fall from the sky. These are very different days, when satellites are sent from earth to outer space and even the moon is not out of bounds.

HIS slogan which causes dismay and consternation T in the camp of the colonialists but wins spontaneous response from the hearts of Indian and Soviet citizens, grew from the good earth on both sides, out of the rich exportion sides, out of the fich ex-perience of the struggle of the Indian and Russian peoples themselves. The more we fought the common imperialfought the common imperial-ist enemy, the more we inevit-ably realised that we were natural allies of each other and had to make good friends. This is just what has hap-

pened during our generation and we see it grow and grow, and rejoice. As August 15 is celebrated in the USSR so we celebrate November 7 in India to renew our pledge of solidarity, feel stronger and become wiser for the common strug-gles ahead.

November 7, the victory of the first Socialist Revolu-tion in Russia and all that flowed out of it made the deepest impact upon the Indian national movement, despite all the differences.

### Gandhiji And Nehra Wrote

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in his Young India, November 15, 1928, "There is no questioning the fact that the Bolshevik - 15, ideal has behind it the purest sacrifice of countless men and sacrince of countiess men and women, who have given up their all for its sake; an ideal that is sanctified by sacrifices of such master spirits as Lenin

of such master spirits as Lenin cannot go in vain." Very much later the Mahat-ma's heir, Jawaharlal Nehru, as the Frime Minister of India, speaking in Moscow stated: "Nearly simultaneously with the October Revolution guided by the great Lenin we in India

by the great Lenin we in India entered a new stage in our

by the great Lenin we in India entered a new stage in our struggle for freedom. "Although under the leader-ship of Mahatma Gandhi we waged our struggle along a different path, we admired Lonin and we were influenced Lenin and we were influenced by his example." The Mahatma did not know

Lenin. He however, admired him and his great work from the long distance which the

the long distance which the British usurpers fully exploited to keep us apart. Nehru and Khrushchov not only know each other but are good friends and proclaim good friends and proclaim their friendship. More, they take counsel together on the affairs of the world and how to advance the common noble

and righteous cause further. As time marches and the Indian and Soviet peoples struggle to fulfil their destiny,

struggle to full their destiny, they get ever closer together. The Russian Revolution also made the deepest im-pact upon the Left of the Indian national movement, eagerly seeking an effective strategy and tactics to make our own revolution success-ful after the failure of the cooperation movement of the 'twenties.

The British imperialists The British imperialists promptly smelt the danger to their rule in the wide Indian patriotic interest in the ex-perience of the Russian Re-volution and the teaching of its successful leaders. In the famous Meerut conspiracy case the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and books on the Russian Revolution were seriously and solemnly cited seriously and solemnly cited as evidence to prove the charge of conspiracy to over-throw the British Government then ruling over us.

Luly

### FRIENDS, TRUE ALLIES GOOD

The big lesson that we dian Communists learnt Indian Indian Communists learnt from the Russian example was that the Revolution leads to success only through the effec-tive and foremost participa-tion of the working class of the country concerned in alliance with the peasantry and other nonular strata popular strata.

We were deeply impressed by Lenin's prophetic words, written after the 1908 protest of Bombay workers against the barbarburg, contract on Lak of Bombay workers against the barbarous sentence on Lok-manya Tilak: "In India, too, the proletariat has already developed to conscious poli-tical mass struggle and that being the case, the Russian style British regime in India is doomed " doomed."

### Valuable Gift

We Indian Communists We Indian Communists spent, our early youth in organising our own working class. The great day came when in solidarity with the revolt of the ratings of the Indian Navy the same Bomhoman Navy the same Bom-bay working class solidly went on total general strike and set in motion a whole chain of countrywide strikes and hartals. That sealed the doom of British rule in India doom of British rule in India and in record quick time the British Cabinet Mission agreed to discuss terms of the transfer of power. The weapon of the political

The weapon of the political general strike was the gift of the Russian Revolution for the victory of the Indian revolu-tion and it proved really effec-tive and very helpful. After the achievement of

Indian independence, we find ourselves working shoulder to shoulder with the USSR, other countries of the Socialist camp and the newly liberated Afro-Asian countries.

This is so because the basic principle of the foreign poll-cies of our countries is the same. Lenin th efounder of the same. Lemin th erounder of the Soviet State proclaimed co-existence as the unalterable policy of the USSR on its very birth. We too from our own birth. We too from our own historic tradition and world role proclaim Panchsheel 'as the foundation principle of our

foreign policy. The two words are different: they mean the same thing and their loyal pursuit leads to honest and useful cooperation. It is no accident that India

supports the USSR's move for total and general disarmament and also the proposal for endcolonialism here and now

ing colonialism here and now so that each nation may carve its own future according to its own desire and genius. Khrushchov in his report back to the Soviet citizens warmly acknowledged the "big contribution to the struggle, for peace, for the abolition of the acloud system detected the colonial system detested by the peoples" by the Indian delegation headed by the Prime Minister along with Ghana's Nkrumah, Guinea's Sekou Toure, Indonesia's Sukarno, UAR's Nasser, Cambodia's Sihanouk.

It is no bourgeois diplomatic trick that Khrushchov has placed on the agenda of the U.N. the whole problem of its reorganisation in terms of existing and growing realities and demanded equal status and representation for the unand representation for the un-committed but peace\_loving and anti-colonial Afro-Asian nations along with the coun-tries of capitalism and Socialism.

### Cooperation For Peace

There is no answer to Khrushchov's simple poser: how are India and Indonesia not great Powers if U.K. and France are so considered for the seats of permanent mem-bers of the Security Council.

During the year Indo-Doviet cooperation in the international sphere has visibly grown. The imperial-ists, and above all the die-hard rulers of the U.S., are using all their resources. hard rulers of the U.S., are using all their resources, wiles and dollars to weaken and disrupt it. To strengthen Indo-Soviet cooperation still further is to be true to India's national policy and deminicipathe the most offen administer the most effec-tive rebuff to the bakrupt organisers of the cold war and the conscienceless and brutal colonialists.

The Russian Revolution a useful and healthy influence not only over our freedom struggle and foreign policy but over Indian planning as well.

### **Ideas** Of Planning

The very idea of having an Indian plan for changing the old colonial economy, building the economic foundations of the economic foundations of Indian independence and guaranteeing the growing wel-fare of the common people came to India from the ex-ample of the successful achievements of the early Soviet plans. Wiser and far-seeing elements in the very leadership of the National Congress were moved to appoint a National Planning Committee on the initiative of Committee on the initiative of Pandit Nehru. When its report was published the imperialist Press denounced it as a plan Press denounced it as a plan to virtually Bolshevise India.

All the progressive ideas, which have become common currency today and about which the popular complaint is that they are not being hones-tly implemented in practice, more implemented by the Soviat were inspired by the Soviet example, of successfully build-ing Socialism inside the USSR. These concepts are building up the economy according to a pre-determined plan, primacy nd urgency of heavy and asic industries to make possiand ble all-round modernisation of the economy through indus-trialisation, liquidating feuda-lism through land to the tiller and thus boosting agricultural production, a step-by-step change in the direction of the economy through the organi-sation of cooperatives, elimi-nation of the enslaving role of foreign private capital, nation-alisation and the role of the public sector.

public sector. Even while engaged in fight-ing British imperialism, the patriotic and progressive intel-ligentsia of our country assi-milated new and useful ideas from the USSR for building up the national economy with the dawn of liberation.

After the achievement of independence, the Congress leaders with their tradi-

tional capitalist prejudices and predilections looked to the countries of the capitalist West, and above all the USA, for aid in Indian ecoosa, for an in minal eco-momic development. The res-ponse was negative or Shy-lock-like. It is only after this bitter experience that the Indian Government ap-proached the USSR. The Soviet response was warm and fraternal.

"It is our sincere wish that India should become just as great and strong a State economically, as she is a great State today in her spirit, in her culture, in the whole of her moral grandeur

"We want her to have a highly developed industry, an advanced agriculture and high living standards of the people. On our side, we are prepared to assist you in this good and wonderful cause."

The above words of Khrushchov, full of deep under-standing and sympathy, were soon translated into practice.

The Soviet\_aided Bhilai steel giant speeded up the whole process for producing enough Indian steel demanded by the growing needs of Indian in-dustrialisation.

A bird's eye-view of the major Soviet-aided projects for the Third Plan is enough to visualise how new and big projects will be built which will strengthen and uplift our economy.

The Ranchi heavy machi-nery plant will be able to produce enough equipment to build one Bhilai every year.

The Soviet-aided heavy electricals project has already activised the British who were going slow with the Bhopal plant and creating difficulties

The coalmine - machine manufacturing unit at Durgapur will give us as much equipment as we need to boost coal production in the public sector.

The five Soviet-aided drug projects will give us cheap and good medicines for the ailing and the sick of our country.

> \* SEE PAGE 4 فيورد والمجارين