nov. 7 in moscow

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

In the colourfully decorated streets and squares of Moscow today a grand holiday of human happiness is in full swing. The first land of Socialism cele-brates its fortyfourth birthday. There is music in every heart and a song on every lip as young and old rejoice.

Aster

T HERE is a new patriotic upsurge, a new uplift and a fresh feeling of elation as the Soviet Land and its heroic citizens set out on their 20-year march to the culmination of the human ideals.

The New Programme and the 22nd Congress have given new mighty wings to this advance; which is to be the greatest organised effort of human beings for human happiness since the beginning of time.

At 10 o'clock this morning began the traditional parade and demonstration on the and demonstration of the Red Square, the centre of the vast Soviet Union where on top of the Lenin Mausoleum, Khrushchov and other Soviet leaders and foreign guests took the salute of the marching millions.

Here in 1919 Lenin had taken the salute of the young Red Army at parade. From here in 1941 the Soviet soldiers marched straight to the front to defend their socialist motherland and tore the guts out of Hitler's hordes.

But the Soviet Army, which displayed its might. In the Soviet capital, today is a hundred times more powerful and a hundred times better equipped—an invincible, awe-inspiring and unique force in inspiring and unique force in the world, a dependable gua-rantee for the defence of the Socialist camp, and world peace with weapons that send a chill down the spines of all warmongers, big and small.

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TREMENDOUS MIGHT

The tanks, heavy artillery, rockets of short, medium and long range striking power, the anti-aircraft, slender and sli-very weapons that made the flights of U-2 impossible; the mighty guns and cannons that rumbled and thundered past over the ancient stones of the Red Square a few hours ago, warmed the heart of every peace-lover who wat-ched this breath-taking review of the peace forces that guard the whole world.

The rockets became bigand bigger and bigger ger and bigger and bigger and all of them were num-bered in six digits for all the arms rattlers and re-venge seekers of the dark world of human depravity and degradation to see. worn of numeric depravity and degradation to see. 395379 I read and on ano-ther giant the number glittered on clear paint, 676668.

These are thweapons, the Soviet people would never like to use but they are there till the forces of peace finally win. all over the world.

The military parade was over by 10.45 a.m. as the thousand strong military band smartly marched past the tribune....

Then began a colourful sports demonstration in which

young men and women on motorcycles and sports cars, carrying small flags and flowers took part.

Then from both ends of the Square marched in seven thousand healthy sportsmen and women and intermingled Square in beautiful natterns, mobile in their breath-taking beauty.

The number 22 appeared formed by hundreds of living-beings and then: eth word Lenin which lit up as fire-works in every hand became thousands of dancing points of light.

Then come the working people from the nine regions of Moscow with flags and flowers (some of them flown Georgia and Azerbaijan) with banners and working models of machines and aeroplanes. or machines and aeropiates, moving,conveyers and rockets, cars and locomotives, with children on their shoulders and galety in their eyes they came to report their successes came to report their successes to the Party and Government and to one another, for the glorious future that is to-morrow begins for them today.

"Not our children OT. "Not our children or grand-children hut we are going to live in Communist sosiety," the banners proud-ly declared. "We need peace" they said and the word was writ large in all languages of the world. "The Party is our strength, 'the Party is our strength, Party is our honour", they proclaimed. "True to the behest of Lenin forward to the victory of Communism," they said. And again countless placards over the un-ending human flood filling the Red Square declared: "Peace to the World".

KHRUSHCHOY SPEAKS

Today's demonstration in Moscow celebrating 44 years of the Great Revolution was an unforgettable spectacle of. unity, power and elegance and, above all, of the nobility of the human soul.

alone

dom".

maintain peace and free-

dom". According to the American sources, the talks got off to a "fiying start". After the se-cond round Pandit Nehru, told the reporters: thathey had "very good talks". Pre-sident Kennedy confirmed that their conference was "a

One has to wait for the final

official communique to see where and how far they two agreed or disagreed.

Pandit Nehru's first televi-sion interview and subsequent press reports do indicate the points he stressed, and the

very fine meeting"....

Later in the afternoon a grand reception was held in the New Kremlin Palace to mark the entry of the USSR into its 45th year of glorious existence.

Making a speech in front of the two thousand guests Khrushchov appealed to "all States and peoples to pursue a policy of peace and friend-ship".

Referring to the atomic tests he said that the Soviet Union was aware they were harmful to health but the

weapons[•] were a million times more dangerous if used in war. The way out was complete disarmament and the abolition of atomic arms together.

The way to stop tests is to stop threats against the So-vict Union, sign a German peace treaty, clear the atmosohere of inflammatory material and sign an agreement

complete disarmament for under international , control. He concluded by proposing a toast to friendship among peoples. Later, talking to corres

Later, talking to corres-pondents, Khrushchov said that Berlin was a difficult question. The most important thing was that it should be settled reasonably "we still have patience but we shall not wait indefinitely". The date of signing the treaty was not the most important thing, he said.

The Soviet Union will-ontinue atomic tests if the West did, he said. Asked if there will be more 50-megaton will be more 50-megaton tests, he shook his head in the negative.

Khrushchov said that no rocket was launched at the time of the Party Congress "because the Congress itself was a rocket and we did not want to distract attention from it". There was never a hundred per cent guarantee that everything will be alright and it would not be proper to go to funerals at the time of the Congress. The cosmic research will be resumed when considered necessary.

Asked about Molotov and Asked about Molotov and others of the anti-Party group, Khrushchov said their expulsion had not been dis-cussed and was not of prac-tical importance. It was a matter for the local Party organisation and the Control Committee of the Party, he said.

A gala concert was given at the reception and outside in the streets of Moscow gay crowds thronged lit-up streets and danced in squares.



Prime Minister Nehru's visit to the USA is more than half way through, as we go to press. The joint communique is not yet out. However, there is enough in the press to indicate a change in the atmosphere that greeted the Indian leader.

THE Washington Correspondent of the Times of Inc. wasnington correspondent of the Inmes of India, November 7, wrote that the august Indian visitor will taste a "mixed fare of respect, hope, and annoyance during his stay". There has, however, been a big shift from the earlier hostile and unprin-cipled howling to fulsome hypocritical flattery.

U.S. reaction to most of The Indian Prime Minister, on arrival was accorded the red-carpet welcome, com-plete with a 21-gun salute and military honours, reser-ved for the heads of States them.

The first inevitable ques-The first inevitable ques-tion was about the speeches of the Indian U. N. repre-sentative, Krishna, Menon. The Prime Minister politely but firmly reiterated that his own impression and estimate of the Traine

Pandit Nehru, however, was more critical of Soviet



tests than before. It does not enhance Indian self-respect when India's Prime Minister makes new and more critical statements about the Soviet Union on U.S. soll.

Pandit Nehru may claim to be formally right but he knows it as well as anybody else that if the whole chain of events is objectively considered, the real culprits are the rulers of the U.S.

And the Soviet Union had And the Soviet Union had to resort to tests, with pain and regret, out of sheer necessity for its own secu-rity and in the interests of world peace.

To equate the U.S. that has talked of peace only to hide its hectic and aggressive war preparations with the USSR which was born with peace on its State banner and has long made innumerable selfless sacrifices in the cause of peace, is neither true history nor does it lead to principled

diplomacy. Pandit Nehru, it needs noting, did not accept the U.S. viewpoint on the tests. He reitrated his firm belief it needs belief against nuclear tests by any power and thus warned the USA against its planned tests. USA against its planned tests. He also suggested that the U.S. did not really require more tests for its security and that there were other methods of ensuring it.

Again to the typically American imperialist query, whether "Khrushchov real-ly believes eventually there will be a major war", Pan-dit Nehrn answered "T am sure, I have been sure for some time, that Mr. Khru-shchov does not want war". On West Berlin and Germany, Kennedy demanded support for the Western de-





HUMANITY'S HOLIDAY

ANTI-INDIAN POISON

Everybody, from the highest to the lowest, from the extreme right to the extreme left, knows that the Communists are a national political force in West Bengal. There is no group in the revolutionary past of Bengal whose representatives are not presently inside the Communist Party.

T HE old names that won national renown during armed demonstrations the and actions against the British colonialists are now card-holding Party members, MLAs, MLCs or MPs on the Communist ticket.

In such circumstances one would have imagined that no sane and honest opponents of mist Party of Ind would dare attack the patriotic bona fides of the Indian Communists on the soil of engal itself.

Unfortunately the Congress leaders of today lack such realism and political-moral integrity. The lust for votes in the coming General Elections has made the ton nost among them lose their

Speaking before 3,000 delegates, inaugurating the poli-tical conference of the West Bengal Pradesh Congres Committee, the Congress Pre-sident Sanjeeva Reddi stated on October 28, "It would be dangerous for the country if the Communists came

The Congress President's objection to the Communist Party was that it was "not an dependent Party as it had to agree and obey the deci-sions made outside".

The Congress President urged the Congress workers to broadcast his fake "discovery" among the people. "We have just thrown away one foreign power and if we allow again some other power to come to India, it will take us not two centuries but a much longer period to throw them out, as this foreign power for whom the Com-munists are working does not care for public opinion (Rindustan Times, Oct. 30).

There was a time, in the not so remote past, when nationalists and Communists, inder the same Congress flag, fought together to overthrow the British rule. After independence the Rightist Con-gress leaders like Sanjeeva gress leaders like Sanjeeva Reddi split the Congress and threw out the Communist first, Forward Bloc next, and Socialists last, individuals and smaller groups followed. The Congress became the ruling party and the Com-munists emerged despite munists emerged despite, the Sanjeeva Reddis, as the main opposition party.

Denying the common heri-tage of the national movement, the chief of the ruling party slandering and ruling party standering and smearing the opposition party may be "national" and "democratic" for the Sanjeeva Reddis of, today but it will be considered as constituting their very opposite by honest and thinking elements, and a violation of the decenci of our public life.

Such anti-Communism is Indian nation thought. It was recognised as

PAGE TWO TATE

being pro-Nazism in the old days, it operates as pro-Americanism today. The Sanjeeva Reddis are no out-moded reactionaries. They are playing, with their anti-Communism, the sinister role of hiding US imperialist penetration in the various spheres of Indian life, above all, economic.

> Actual Foreign Penetration

This year alone the Congress-led Union Government has approved 304 industries with foreign collaboration. Of them 107 are engineering industries, 55 electrical engineering, 37 chemical, 12 textiles, 12 paper, 25 auto-mobile ancillaries, five glass, three cement, one sugar machinery, one non-ferrous metals industry, the range covered is wide indeed.

The fighting slogan the Swarjya movement was Swadeshi. The compromising and selfish practice of th Congress rulers is to encour-age and sanction Videshi capi-tal collaboration and partnership with Indian national capital.

Foreign' private capital has The Screws always been recognised as a danger to Indian independ-ence. After the achievement of independence by the Asian-African countries economic penetration has become the primary weapon of neo-colo-nialism. We could pay San-jeeva Reddi in his own coin by denouncing his party for selling the country to foreign monopoly capitalists of the West. We are neither so reckess nor unprincipled.

We only argue that welcoming foreign capital on such a vast scale corrodes and disrupts the foundations of India's independent economic development and create consequential dangers.

Hoisting and hurling the banner of anti-Communism will not help Sanjeeva Reddi to hide such sin

It is no accident that the latest US imperialist offensive against India pursuing its independent foreign policy and applying it to the concrete issues of the day is also organised under the antibanner.

The latest example of US bad manners and foul politics are contained in the editorials supposed to welcome the Prime Minister in India.

US statesmen and their press boys have learnt that it does not pay to attack the policy of non-alignment directly. They, therefore, try to attack the spokesman of that policy. The Herald Tribune writes: "Mr. Menon is regarded (not only by Americans, many Indians believe the same) as the Soviet apologist". 2 Windt te stelation includes

"Mr. Nehru supports his to combat this anti-Commu-friend and Minister—but uses nism all along the line, ex-somewhat different words." ternally and internally both.

What does this paper expect out of the Indian Prime Minister's visit to his coun-try? It is that "face to face with President Kennedy", Frime Minister Nehru will "come closer to an under-standing of that of the US." In other words, it wants India's Prime Minister to give, up the Indian standpoint and adopt that of the US!

The New York Times welcomes Mr. Nehru "as the esteemed leader of a great and friendly nation." And it goes League in Kerala is now being-used by the Jana Sangh to don the garb of nationalism on to add. "Americans re an Indian neutrality that is genuinely neutral and indeand hurl itself against the Communist and the Congress pendent but are resentful when neutralism becomes so distorted"

US would respect Indian neutrality if it concentrated the fire against the Soviet nuclear tests. They, however, become "resentful" if Indian spokesman refer to and are critical of the US underground nuclear tests as well.

USA. the leader of the imperialists camp, is out to teach the leading power among the uncommitted nations how to implement the tactic of non-The Jana Sangh spokesman formulated the main issue thus: "the real fight today is

It is a case of the devil trying to teach the way heaven.

Applying

does not include the Congress among the forces of national-.....The US really wants us to ism but claims its virtual monopoly for itself. operate from the position of non-alignment in such a manner as to act and become US partisans, and do their dirty job for them.

This is no far-fetched inference. The moment the Prime Minister of India landed at the US airport, he was asked by an American Radio "The Jana Sangh has decid-ed to unite the people and polarise all national demonewsman "to comment on the belief of some Americans that he was a 'Communist' rather than a 'true neutralist' " (Times of India, Nov. 6).

The Times of India writes:

"Possibly reluctant to condemn non-alignment for fear of being mistaken for Mr. Dulles, the American critic fastens evasively either on Mr. Menon or on the supposed reluctance by India to denounce Moscow for its duplicity....

It differentiates between Con-gressmen and Congressmen. It makes no secret of whom it ..."Ultimately what the Kennedy Administration ap-parently expects is precisely what its predecessor exenemies inside the Congress High Command Itself. The pected: a closer identifica-tion with the West to the discretion point where New Delhi would not be able to escape the entanglements of the at the Centre. How differently they think and act is clear from the recent speeches of war" (Times of India, Nov. 6).

The imperialist reaction headed by US uses anti-Communism as its ideological weapon to soften, weaken, and weapon to soften, weaken, and distort India's foreign policy of non-alignment working for peace and against coloniali

The most effective way to defend India's independent foreign policy on which rests Indian independence itself, is BEL DED NEW AGE

NOTES OF THE

Unholy

Company

Far seeing observers of the

Indian political scene had earlier noted that the injec-

tion of anti-Communism into Indian national controversies

gave respectability and a new

Indian reaction.

Secretary

gressmen".

and Communism".

cover to the darkest forces of

Anti-Communism that was

On the Vijaya Dashami day the Jana Sangh formal-ly inaugurated its election campaign. The key-note address of the General

Dayal Upadhyaya is report-

ed in its weekly organ, the Organiser, Oct. 30, under

"Defeat the Unholy Combi-

men and Communist Con-

etween forces of nationalism

The Jana Sangh leadership

democracy are to survive.

munists in the Congress.

round to achieve this objec-tive".

seek to achieve its objective;

regards as its friends and

Jana Sangh spokesman felt bold enough to cast aside all

He said: "There are groups

not only in the States but also

the Prime Minister and the

Finance Minister with regard

"The fact is that the Prime

Minister has talked of mili-

tary measures not because he really intends to translate his

words into action, but simply

because he desires to oblige Comrade Krishna Menon and

others of his brand who have

revived the Goa issue to divert

harmful in hunitle but the

to the liberation of Goa.

How does the Jana Sangh

nation of Commu

Pandit Deen

Party-

used to sanctify the Muslim

public attention from un-friendly deeds of Communist China

"They don't feel concern-ed about the liberation of Goa, but are anxious about impressing North Bombay voters in favour of Krishna Menon. The Finance Minister has spoken the plain truth, as he does not seem interested in creating false hopes only to help the Com-

Anti-Communism, thus serves as the ideological link of the Jana Sangh with reactionary Hindu-minded Congressmen and leaders. The Jana Sangh General Secretary has only publicly revealed the tac-tical alignment they are out to achieve.

Swatantra Too

The Swatantra Party Manifesto is out this week, Its key slogan, too, is anti-Commun ism. It attacks the Congress in terms of anti-Communism. It regards the Communist Party as Enemy No. 1.

In a press conference the Swatantra Party General Secretary, M. R. Masani said that "in eight States the party was entering the General Election 'on a broad front'. He was confident that in at least two of these the Congress Party would be 'toppled' and it would have to seek coali-tions" (Statesman, Nov. 3).

Masani, of course, has very exaggerated notions of the worth and prospects of his own party. It would, however, Stated the Jana Sangh spokesman: "The present-day Congress is not that of Sardar Patel and Babu Purshottam be unwise to summarily dismiss his estimates and as the day dreams of an anti-Das Tandon but it is of Menon quated reactionary. and Malaviya. Such Congress cannot be allowed to continue in power if nationalism and

There is enough evidence in the daily press and more will come on the surface as the election campaign gathers

The Rightwing inside the cratic forces to fight the un-holy combination of the Com-munists and the pseudo-Com-Congress is very much like a Swatantra lobby and the two function in unison. Masani's hopes of a coalition are based the Kerala experience of "The Jana Sangh appeals to the Triple Alliance! all patriotic forces to rally

Before and during the General Elections, the Com-munist Party will appeal to all patriotic Congres smen to recognise the true colour/ of the anti-Communists inside their own ranks and note their links with those outside and cast anti-Communism in to the dustbin, if they seek to defend the best in Congress tradition and progressive policies.

The Communist Party will rouse every voter against anti-Communism, whether inside or outside the Congress, as being anti-Indian in terms of national tradition, constituting an ideological lever of US imperialism a gainst our national foreign policy, as being the political mask of all the forces of Indian reaction against a better and happier life for the common people and greater and growing unity of all the secular and democratic forces in Indian life.

- P. C. JOSHI

NOVEMBER 12, 1961

ON TRADE WITH SOCIALIST COUNTRIES false arguments of indian tycoons

A series of trade talks between the Government of India and the socialist countries of East Europe, or what are called in the official and business circles as "rupee payment countries," have begun in New Delhi with the arrival of a trade delegation from Poland on October 27.

 \mathbf{T} HE other delegations trade with the Socialist coun-which are scheduled to tries has resulted only in a arrive are: from German ocratic Republic on Nov. 4, from Czechoslovakia on Nov. 20, from Rumania on Dec. 15 and from Bulgaria on Jan 4

Jan. 4. The official circles charac-terise these talks as annual review of trade with the socialist world. Special importance is attached to this re-view because of the situation confronting India due to the impending entry of the United Kingdom into the European Common Market. These trade talks are expected to result in a further expansion of trade

with these countries. It is hoped that additions will be possible to the traditional items which have so far figured in the trade with these countries, thus, stimu-lating both expansion and diversification of this country's trade.

Export of goods manufac-tured by the Indian light in-dustry, in the context of the rapidly rising living stan-dards in East Europe, for instance, is under examina-tion. Poland is stated to have indicated its willingness to take diesel engines and the GDR has already started mak-ing purchases of electric motors.

The western monopoly of tea export has already been considerably undermined by Soviet purchases of this key

ness has summing come out in brazen opposition to the growing trade relations, with the socialist world. Its stand is set out in a memorandum submitted recently v the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry to the Import and Export Policy Committee.

The FICCI memorandu makes the startling assertion that trade with the rupeepayment countries has not been "instrumental in giving either a boost to exports or in saving foreign exchange." Few will be taken in by such

a specious assertion which has no foundation in fact and which even the conservative official opinion in the Ministry of Commerce is unwillin accept the assumptions on which it is based.

Big Increase

The share of exports to East European countries in the overall export turn-over of this country has increa ed from four per cent in 1952-53 to over eight per cent in 1960-61. During the same period exports t a the same period exports to the rest of the world have been Eighty per cent of the total shrinking, with the total medium and small enterprises stagnating around Rs. 600 and 90 per cent of the mines crores per year. in South Korea h Instead of facing the facts been at a standstill.

opinion by contending that with that of last year.

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per cent. An increasing number of factories suspended operation. in South Korea had long

diversion rather than an expansion of India's trade, i.e.,

what is exported to

Non

Market

where.

SOUTH

KOBEA

ped by 11.5 per cent.

in the recent period."

countries could as well be ex-ported to the traditional markets in the West. There could be no grosser instance of fly-ing in the face of facts. Firstly, there is no bar to exporting whatever India can to the traditional markets execent the limiting factor of the Western countries accepting what we offer.

Secondly, a study of the five principal commodities of ex-port-manganese ore, tobacco, mica, spices and lac-shows that our exports have increased at a lower rate than pro-duction, which indicates that, after allowing far increases in domestic consumption, ex-portable surplus in these com-modities has grown.

It is precisely the increase in exportable surplus which is absorbed by the socialist world and which would not have found a market else-

In case of tea - the volume of export has in-creased faster than produc-tion and internal consumption in the case of this commodity-the Soviet Union, which is already the second largest buyer of Indian tea, entered the Indian market to lift the costly Darjeeling tea which is not exported to any of the so-called tra-ditional markets.

Thus, a new market has been found for a variety of tea which earlier had no foreign market. It is true that trade with

the socialist world has not resulted in commodity-wise diversification and over 90 per cent of the Indian exports to these countries are in traditional · items. But what stands in the way of increas-ing exports of non-traditional items to these countries is the poor quality and prohibitive price of the Indian products. For instance, some of the East European countries showed interest in Indian refrigerators, but the prices quoted were twice as high as in the

Western countries. The most astounding argument put forward in the FICCI memorandum, how-FICCI memorandum, how-ever, is that trade with these countries does not earn for-

eign exchange. It would appear that, ac-cording to the big business tycoons, only the dollar and the sterling, to buy goods in the Western world-even if those goods are luxury items -represent foreign exchange. But import of capital goods for setting up a steel plant, or developing the oil industry or setting up heavy engineering complexes which are paid for by exporting tea, tobacco or shoes does not represent for-eign exchange.

After all, foreign exchange has value only in so far as it helps us to import capital helps us to import cr goods and this is pregoods and this is precisely what growing economic rela-tions with socialist world signifies

This is apparent from the fact that the share of imports of capital goods in total imports from East European countries is about 75 per cent as against the corresponding overall figure. even after deducting import of foodgrains, of only 50 per cent.

Enlightened opinion, including official opinion, by now realises the significance of the emergence of a new buyer, which is growing prosperous. Its impact on the Indian economy is visible. It is no coin-cidence that after 1955-56, the year when the East European countries made their debut in India's foreign trade. traditional export items have not experienced such fluctuations in prices as in previous vears.

Cashew Exports

A case in point is tea where two or three houses in London used to dictate prices in the past. That is no longer so easy or simple. A very recent example is that of cashew kernel. Pri-Merne. modity su. n. The ces of this commodity fered serious slump. Kerala Government, which certainly is not very friend-ly towards the socialist countries, requested the

Centre to persuade the latter to enter the market for this product. The Soviet Union was persuaded and its entry introduced some stability in the cashew kernel market.

It should also not be for-gotten that these countries have an average rate of develonment of ten per cent annually as against hardly four per cent of our traditional trade partners. The overall foreign trade of East European countries registered an increase of 180 per cent as against 78 per cent for the rest of the world between 1950-59.

The grand plans of devewhich are being indertaken in the East European countries will further accelerate the rate of develonment and expansion of foreign trade, offering vast possibilities of economic ex-change between India and the socialist world.

However, big business does not appear to relish this pros-pect too much. Trade with the socialist countries strengthens our economy and provides foreign exchange prima-rily for the public sector.

What big business wants is what is called the "free for-eign exchange" from which they can always claim a major share for themselves

The latest cry against the trade with the socialist countries is nothing but a demand greater share of foreign exchange for the private sec-tor at the cost of the public sector.

-K. V. SHARMA

commonity and further possi-billity of exporting tea to Cze-choslovakia is to be explored. However, Indian big busi-ness has suddenly come

T HE crisis of the South Korean economy has deepened since the "military

coup". According to radio Seoul, the total industrial output in South Korea by the end of 8.3 per cent September was 8.3 per cent less than on May 15, and the production of manufacturing industry, which represented the biggest production, drop-

Dongyang Tongshin report-ed that in August the output of cotton yarn and cotton fabrics, the leading South Korean manufacturing industry, showed the "lowest figure

According to a Handong Tongshin report from Pu-san, the operation rate of the machine factories in the

city in August this year was 10 per cent, canning indus-try 20 per cent and knit-ting industry less than 30

Bowever the ILS. imnerialists and the South Ko-rean military rulers are issuing inconvertible notes at random for the military and "national construc-tion" expenses which have nothing to do with pro-duction.

The volume of South Korean currency had shown an in-crease of 52,400 million hwan in the four months since May, totalling 276,900 million hwan by September 15. The South Korean press described this as a "record figure in our history."

Consequently commodity prices are soaring in South Korea.

The wholesale price indices in Seoul jumped to 173.1 in May this year and to 184.1 in September, taking September, 1955. as 100.

Such steady economic decline is inevitable as long as US imperialists and their colonial rule remain in South Korea and the military rulers nursue the reactionary antinomic policy in the service of their masters.

LATIN AMERICA

Instead of facing the facts been at a standstill. guarely, the Indian big busi- Commodity sales shrank to hess is trying to mislead public one-third or a half compared pointon by contending that with that of last year. A NUMBER of the Latin American coffee producing countries expressed their dis-

NEW AGE

content over the continued drop in coffee prices in the international market under the control of the US monopolists.

According to a report from the Costa Rican capital of San Jose, coffee prices dropped five cents per pound be-tween October 8 and 22, which resulted in a drop of 250 mil-lion dollars in the incomes of 14 coffee producing countries in Latin America.

In a press conference held early this month, Roberto early Elejos, President of the Guate-malan National Coffee Asso-ciation, vehemently condemned the middlemen in the coffee markets—the US mono-poly groups. He said that "the drop in coffee price is caused by speculation and seizure of too much profits" by a handful of US merchants

He also pointed out that without fair and reasonable prices for purchasing the basic products of Latin America, there could be no improvement in the Latin Ameican people's living standards.

In a recent commentary, the Salvadorian paper Diario Latine said that con-trary to the "guarantee" for the raising of the prices of the Latin American pro-ducts, which was included in the programme of the "Alliance for Progress" put forward by the US at the Punta Del Este Conference in August this year, the Latin American coffee planters had suffered heavy

The paper stressed that miserable prospects would be brought about in Salvador by erable he successive talks in coffee prices.

At the Twentysecond Na tional Congress of Colombian Coffee Merchants held on October 22, Colombian Minister of Finance, Pastrana Borrero, pointed out that since 1957, Colombia had lost 500 million dollars owing to the drop in coffee prices

A leader of the Confederation of Coffee Merchants of Colombia said at the Congress that in the past seven years. Colombia's coffee exports had dronned 45.2 per cent and its income in foreign exchange had heen greatly reduced.

It was reported that an emergency conference would be held on October 30 and 31 by Latin American coffee lucing cointries such as Mexico, Guatemala, Salvador, Costa Rica, Brazil and Colombia to discuss the question of , the fall in coffee prices in the capitalist markets.

PAGE THREE



NATIONAL UNITY

OUESTION:

India is a vast country, in-habited by many nationalities and characterised by uneven development. This is the basis of a serious threat to national unity unless a proper nationalities' policy is evolved. Will not the slogan for the change of the present state structure from an union to a federation help to solve the problem? (Sampat, Linghi Shetty Street, Madras). ANSWER:

T HE danger of the disrup-tion of India's unity is not essentially due either to its vast size or the number of its nationalities. The latter are mplicating factors, but not the chief es Basically it is a question of rapid social change, of a wick march to modern life and Indian unity based on a resurgent democracy. With-out radical democratic transformations — the programme for which was advanced by our mational movement - it is difficult to maintain, far less to strengthen national

nity. Fourteen years of independence rubs home this lesson. The Congress, which led our freedom struggle, is securely in power. There are no impe-rialists to foment discord. Some kind of centralised planning is being attempted and yet it is a fact that the danger of national disruption is greater today than during days of imperialist rule Then also the distances were as vast and the nationallties as numerous and yet the danger was not so great. the danger Why?

Part of the explanation lies undoubtedly in the fact that there has been a big churning up of Indian humanity. The masses have e decisively to the stage of historical action than at any other period. Their demands and desires are more urgent and insis-tent. But awakened people should help national unity. Why is this not so in India today?

Without an inspiring naal goal, with diminishing faith in the Congress leadership and without an all-India democratic alternative, there can be no doubt that prenational, disruptive ideo gain ground and move' into logical vacuum

It is a significant fact that where the Communist Party, and consequently the democratic movement. is strong the disruptionist es are much weaker. Contrast West Bengal. Andhra, Kerala with Assar Uttar Pradesh, Punjab. The Congress rules all India bùt in the first three States the munist Party is strong and national disruption veak. The reverse is true in the other three States,

Simply to stress the need for general democratic he' vance, however, is not enough. It is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for Indian. unity. The Communist Party

PAGE FOITR

advances four main demands in this sphere, apart from its general programme

and to subvert democracy for

this purpose, has never been disputed by any Marxist, least of all by the CPI. ...What the world Communist.

movement, noted, following the historic 20th CPSH CC

gress in 1956, was that new possibilities had arisen in

many countries for the demo-

cratic movement to effect a transition to power through revolution but not necessarily

today. First, the complete change

in the new epoch, when the socialist camp and anti-im-perialist forces determine the

main trend of world develop-

ment. Imperialist export of counter-revolution can now be halted—which was not pos-

Second, with the growing

the further growth of mono-

polist concentration in the

capitalist countries, the al-

liance of classes for a radi-

cal social change is far

broader than previously, the

isolation of the class enemy

in each country far greater and its influence on other

and its influence on other social strata far weaker. Both these basic trends

continue to operate in the

world and in India after the fateful July 31, 1959 when the

Centre intervened in Kerala.

As a matter of fact the un-

precedented mass demonstra-tions and the almost univer-

sal indignation against this shameless action revealed the

depth and sweep of Indian democracy. The plan to in-tervene had been drawn up a

long time ago but the Con

gress leaders were held at bay

by resurgent democracy for more than 50 days. Indian

democracy awaits mobilisa-

has demonstrated that it can-

not be cowed down but will

sweep ahead. It is essentially this under-

standing that formed the basis for the reiteration of

the CPI's stand both on the possibility of peaceful transi-tion at the Vijayawada Party

Congress (April 1961) and th

need to forge a national de-mocratic front for national

democratic tasks. It is with

this understanding that the CPI will go into the coming election battle.

Peaceful transition.

fact is, something that is imposed on the ruling ex-ploiters, who will certain-

ly endeavour to make their

Since then in a hundred attles—and many victorious

movement

in

tion and leadershir

-the democratic

n and

attraction of sociali

sible earlier.

in the balance of world force

through a civil war.

Complete the linguistic reorganisation of States and where the situation so demands grant regional autonomy.

B Revise the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution so as to enlarge the powers of the State and abridge those of the Central Governabridge ment: Grant wider power and authority to the States, particularly in financial and economic matters.

Beorient the Plan in The direction of diminishing regional disparities in the degree of economic growth. especially as far as industria-lisation and employment opportunities are concerned

Protect the legitimate interests of the minoritie religious and linguistic, in each State and throughout India, Launch a nation-wide campaign for the defence of the Muslims against Hindu communalists as an urgent nriority. Whether the structure of

the state should be a Union or a Federation is not a matter of principle and can sed and decided he discu

upon later. The three multi-national States which have advanced furtherest in the direction of the solution of the nationalities question—the Soviet Union, People's China and Yugoslavia have three quite different patterns of State structure. The first is a Union of Republics, the second is an unitary, Republic and the third is a Federal Republic We can learn from the experience of all three and make up our minds.

PEACEFUL TRANSITION

QUESTION:

After the unconstitutional overthrow of the Communistled Ministry in Kerala by Central intervention, how can one still talk of a peaceful transition to socialism in India? (Bhoipur, Allahabad).

ANSWER:

T HE Central intervention in Kerala was a grave blow at India's democratic structure with serious consejuences for our future deve-opment. The support to the liberation struggle" by the highest Congress leaders, including Pandit Nehru, overthrow and the sub alliance with the Muslim League (with all the horrid consequences) were all done with one purpose—to main-tain the Congress monopoly of power.

It was also proof of a far older theory advanced by the "outmoded" Marx that the ruling class would never relinquish power voluntarily or "democratically". Here was the "moral" "Gan-dhian" ruling class in India behaving just as Marx had predicted over "a century ago.

ago. This inherent tendency of the exploiters to cling to power, to hold nothing sacred in the defence of its po

table.

NO PROGRESS THE DHEBAR sion's Report on Scheduled Areas and Tribes was duly Bellionfiel signed on October 13 an submitted to

the Vice-Presi lent but held back from publication till it is presented to the Parliament. Enough, however, has leaked in the daily press to dis-

COMMIS

This possibility had not existed previously and, thus, the Soviet and Chinese returb Indian public opinion about the conditions of life and the soviet and connese re-volutions had necessarily to pass through the storms of armed insurrection and pro-longed civil war. This possibility now exists because of two new basic trends shaping the world of today

turb Indian public opinion about the conditions of life and the state of affairs of our Advast brethren, living and work-ing in the most backward regions of our country. A Commission that excluded the Communists and the leftists, headed by the ex-President of the Congress, would not have easily adopted a critical attitude if it did not find the prevailing conditions scandalous and indefensible. So dismal has been the practical record of the Con-gress Rai that the Dhebar Commission has been compelled to express the unbannings over the officiel partements.

o express its unhappiness over the official performance in

improving the lot of the unfortunate Scheduled Tribes; The Commission is reported to have roundly criticised the State Governments for their failure to discharge even their obligations under the Constitution, towards million tribal neone of India

their obligations under the constitution, towards the 20 million tribal people of India. The senior services are barred to them on the ground-of lack of qualifications but they are not even being recruit-ed as Forest Rangers for which they are eminently suited and gifted.

I gifted. The Commission has found that lack of funds is no The commission has found that face of the sad state of affairs. Justification for the continuance of the sad state of affairs. In fact the alloted funds have been either not spent at all or misspent. It is the Commission's damaging finding that the bulk of the tribal people have remained unaffected by developmental activity. The Commission recognises that the State Govern

ments, as they are, pay no particular attention to the tribal problems, but it fails to recommend the obvious course advocated by the Communist Party, to grant them regional autonomy within each State

The bulk of the 20 million tribal people live in a contiguous area of 200,000 sq. miles, divided into five different States, Andhra, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa and

Tribal autonomous areas within each State can easily carved out, leading to the much needed decentry and strengthening of democracy for those who need it most. The Commission, however, has not gone beyond suggesting reorganisation of districts.

The Commission of districts. The Commission has also recommended having a Minis-ter or a Deputy Minister to look after tribal interests. It is obvious that without basic land reforms and the creation of appropriate forms of democratic self-government for the Adivasis, an Adivasi Minister will only be another lecorative high office, a political prize of Congress patron

RACIALIST BILL

I T is fairly clear by now that the British Government has no intention of relenting in its resolve to legalise racial discrimination and the colour bar in Britain by pushing

discrimination and the colour bar in Britain by pushing through the Commonwealth Immigrants Bill. Neither the Government of India's aide memoire nor Prime Minister Nehru's personal representation and appeals to Macmillan seem to have had any effect. The bill under the guise of controlling immigration from Commonwealth countries into Britain, seeks to restrict the entry, stay and employment mainly of non-whites.

It is aimed at coloured workers from the West Indies, also at Indians and Pakistanis. The bill provides powers

both to refuse Commonwealth citizens permission to land in Britain and to deport them. The Tories are planning to rush the bill through and make it law by March next. There is an unashamed and open class bias in the bill. It allows the rich immigrant to land in Britain without

much formality. All that the rich man has to do is to prove his weath, while those entering in search of jobs are re-quired to possess a British Ministry of Labour voucher. These vouchers will be given to those who already have

a job arranged or who can show they have some skill, training or educational qualifications without much diffi-

These provisions amply demonstrate, this Commu wealth Immigrants' Bill on which the British Tory Govern-ment is so intent, is a harsh racialist measure directed against ordinary workers from the non-white countries of the Commonwealth. In fact, it is not only the new entrar but those who have been in Britain for years, who will be sought to be ejected through this Bill.

We have heard a lot about the Government of India contemplating retaliatory action and reciprocal measures. As yet there are no signs of practical steps. On the con-As yes there are no signs or practical steps. On the con-trary, for a number of years the Government of India on its own has been taking all possible measures to restrict Indians immigrating to Britain. The unpropitiated Tory Governments are nevertheless bent upon striking this death blow at the livelihood and prospects of 70,000 Indians already in Britein

death blow at the invention and prospects of 10,000 indians already in Britain. If the Government of India fails to take effective re-taliatory action in defence of these our blood-brothers, it will stand condenned before the bar of Indian opinion along with the chief of the valued Commonwealth.

NOVEMBER 12 1961



From H. K. VYAS

Recent political developments in Rajasthan clearly indicate the mounting of an offensive by the Right. This is a matter of concern for all democratic and progressive sections of the State.

HE victory of the Jana opposition to the Congress Sangh in the Jaipur Municipal elections was not only a clear indication of this a clear indication of this phenomenon. This victory gave added confidence to the reactionary forces to make a bigger bid in the coming general elections.

It is necessary to note some ominous develor which have recently taken place, and the Jana Sangh consta-Soon after her return from tute a serious danger to the England Maharani Gayatri, political development and Devi, who had announced her membership of the Swatentr Party at the beginning of this year, commenced a hectic public campaign, holding meetings at various places Tt way was obvious that the aign of the Swatantra

Party had commenced. Soon after took place the meeting of the Executive Committee of the State Swatantra Party at which Masani was present and at the end of the meeting he formally unced that the Jaipur Ma-Congress also. harani was going to contest he Jaipur Parliamentary seat as the Swatantra Party

Behind Gayatri Devi

sembly

seats.

dent of the Swatantra Party

organising a meeting of all the jagirdars at his place

where similar plans

party, these forces have suc-

ceeded in securing the open or covert support of some

Congress leaders in the State

who, moved by their factional

NOVEMBER 12, 1961.

in Rajasthan, succeeded in

Behind this move is a concerted bid to organise the former rulers and the jagirdars to secure the largest number of seats in the coming elections. Masani announced in the Press Conference that they have as such. come to an electoral adjustment with the Jana Sangh and there would be no mutual contests between them.

This move of the Jaipur Maharani is being followed by similar moves in other re-

In Bikaner the State Con has been freely sold by him and he has minted lakhs. In the Atish he has construcleaders were trying to gress leaders were trying to come to an agreement with the Maharaja as a result of ted an enormous market-with shops and show rooms. which the Congress would not contest his seat, in return for which the Maharaja was Utilising not to "interfere" in the Assembly seats. Reports from Bikaner indicate that the chief lieutenants of the Bika-Discontent

have

The same process was rener Maharaja are already in peated in the case of the jagirdars, who were given crores in terms of compensathe field in the various As-In. Jodhpur, too, similar reports are current, and it seems that the Maharwal of Dungarpur, the Presi-

tion and left with huge lands as khudkasht. Reactionary opolists from Bombay Calcutta were given and heavy concessions, even loans, in the name of industrial do velopment, and at their bid-ding the working class was brutally suppressed.

sures facilitated, the

been evolved. Rajaji is pro-grammed to tour Rajasthan in the middle of November when more details of these In addition they were given Congress ticket for Parlia-mentary seats. This gave them a position of vantage in framing the basic policies of the State and the country. It is, of course, true that plans are likely to be made Apart from the coordination between the openly reactionary parties like the Jana Sangh, the Rama Rajya Parishad and the Swatantrathese reactionary forces are utilising the dis

the people against the policies of the Government and the hardships that these pol entail for the population. Continuously rising prices,

NEW AGE

and costly as possible for the people. So far they have succeeded in forcing a civil war on the people in the Soviet Union of 1917, and China of the 1920s. Such success is no longer inevi-Lack of faith in the nossi-

bility of peaceful transition, often enough, is a lack of faith in. the possibility of organising the masses to de fend and extend dem fend and extend democracy. The use of ultra-revolutionary phrases frequently masks a weird combination of passivity and sectarian adventu-

-MOHIT SEN



Government, are not averse to such adjustment and covert coordination. The name of Pandit Heeralal Shastri is he-

ing freely mentioned in this connection. There can be no doubt that these moves, these machina-tions of reactionary feudal forces, the Swatantra Party and the Jana Sangh constipolitical development and progress of this State. If these forces succeed in gaining the upper hand it will mean the

dominance of reactionary feudal forces and former rulers. Not that the machinations of these reactionary forces are all attempted outside the Congress. They have success-fully taken advantage of the compromising policies of the

Congress Government to en-trench themselves in quite some numbers, inside the It is necessary to recall the responsibility the Congress leadership bears for having permitted and to some ex-

tent by their moves and meaice of the present situation. When the States were inte-grated these rulers were left with fat privy purses. What is more they were permitted to draw exaggerated and al-most fantastic lists of their

so-called personal properties, and those lists were approved Take the instance of the Jaipur Maharaja alone. Any number of palaces have been thus made his personal pronow he runs modern hotels. In terms of land almost

one-fourth of the land in the then Jaipur city was cornered by him. That land

nt among

and corruption in adminis-tration, and the repressive measures against the com people who try to pro their interests — a mon neon these measures create dis-content which these reactionary forces are seeking to utilise.

But the fact that these exploiting classes were left with huge resources, and that they continued to enjoy positions of social prestige, too, has facilitated their open emer-gence in the political life of the State under the Swatantra or the Jana Sangh cloak. The leadership of the State Congress not only gave them these economic but even "negotiated" with them to bring them inside the Congress. The first large batch of big jagirdars ic the Congress in 1954. They have continued to function as a group, utilising the factional groupings inside the Con-gress to secure positions of vantage and more concessions.

The policy of the State Congress leadership even in the recent past has followed the same course.

Reaction

Strengthened

Immediately following the announcement about Gaya-tri Devis joining the Swa-tantra Party, the leaders of the State Congress "con-tacted" many of the former Rajas and jagirdars and promised them Congress ticket. The nephew of the Jaisalmer Ruler, Hukum Singh and Maharajkumars of Kotah and Karanli haw during this period been given Congress tickets.

All this has strengthened the position of the reaction-ary forces inside the Congress also. The State Congress lea-gress leadership which re-presses the democratic forces in the State and which takes a most arrogant and insolent attitude towards these demoattitude towards these demo-cratic forces, at the same time placates the Mahdraja of Bikaner, by offering to leave his Parliamentary seat un-contested.

This policy has come home to roost. Instead of weakening the reactionary forces, they have been able to secure vantage positions both inside the Congress and outside. Now the ving outside, under the Swatantra and Jana Sangh label utilising all the political utilising all the backward traditions, religious feelings, and, above all, dis-content against the Congress Government, are making a bid to secure a large number of seats in the legislature.

Keeping the experience of 1952 in mind, it would be very wrong to underesti-mate the threat that these forces are posing to national progress and to democracy in the State.

Such a threat can be met mly on the basis of the unity of, all democratic forces, who realise that these reaction forces both inside and outside the Congress represent a most immediate menace to growing indirect taxes, the most immediate menace widely, prevalent nepotism the progress of the State.

NEW AGE

Whimpering Jana Sangh Rejoinder WHAT began with a bang has ended in a

SPOTLIGHT

whimper. The unconscion-ably long series of supposed exposure material on the progressivism of Nehru ran nto nineteen instalments The nineteenth or the last however, is such a pitiably pricked bubble that one feels amused at the initial aplomb of the puny Jana Sanghist publicist who penned it.

The tone of downright abusive tirade is replaced by a profusely apologetic babble.

The euphemistic title "In Defence of Comrade Menon"—ends as a defence of himself by the misera-ble scribe; it is sub-titled "A rejoinder to Communist attack".

What started as an attack, commended by the editor of the Jana Sanghite mouthpiece as "a powerful presentation", thus, has ended verily in a long and confused rigmarole of a defence.

What is the rejoinder about? It is in regard to the brief notice I took in these columns of the ele-phantine essays, sprawling over nineteen issues of the Jana Sangh tabloid the Organiser.

And what, pray, is the rejoinder?

Is it a disavowal by the Jana Sangh of its idolatory of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco who were in the series as praised "proud in the series as "proud patriots" and valiant fighters against Commu-nism? No such thing is done

Indian Nazia

The Jana Sanch deny its parentage, but how can it deny its fascist credo? If it does it loses its raison d'etre. This party was begotten by Guruji Golwalkar and his R.S.S. precisely to preserve the Hitlerite heritage of anti-Commun

It is an integral part of the new world axis which is being forged in place of the old. "Aryanism" and the "Swastika" are repla-ed by description to be ced by deceitful talk of "Hindu Swastika and Marvada".

In place of Jew-baiting there is Muslim-baiting. And there is the same tirade against every think-ing person who will not conform to Jan Sanghite fascist thinking. The rejoinder tells us:

"All important places in the capitalist press are either controlled by Com-munists and their fellowtravellers or by career and courtler journalists who

care more for cash and cocktail parties than for such 'silly' things as their country or a cause".

One knows what "coun One knows what "coun-try and cause" mean in the dictionary of the fascists. Only one thing to be a camp follower of the Jana Sanghites, "the incompara-bly patriotic party". Thus, we are told by we are told by the scribe

"I know from my direct contact with our politically conscious intelligentsia that almost all of them except those concentrated in the Jana Sangh and around it, are highly sloganised" and they have "closed or cowardly or empty minds".

Very clear marching orders these-bring your thinking in line with the Jana Sangh! The alterna-tive too has been stated without mincing words. Receive the "whip on the bare back".

Nauseating Plea

So there is no disavowa of the fascist credo: In fact, it is reaffirmed. We are, however, told that "Hindu" fascism will be different Listen to the following:

"The only issue in dis-pute is whether one can remain a gentleman after one has employed the me-thods of a scoundrel against a scoundrel. Clearly the fascists could not do it without darkening their own minds and characters and defiling their whole movement.

"But, I believe, that a Hindu can do that in case of need because Sanatana Dharma provides the scope as well as the practical possibility of a psychology of detached action".

Is it not nauseating to hear such a plea from an apologist of the engineers of communal rioting, from set who, as the recent P. riots most horrify. ingly revealed, have s cessfully revealed, have suc-cessfully taught boys com-ing from families, which traditionally shudder at the very sight of blood, to wield the assassins' knife? One might pat our Indian fascists for such a magnicent display of brazenness.

They remain fascists of the familiar brand despite their protestations of "Hindu" values.

Any doubt caused by the professions is belied by their practice. The whim pering "rejoinder" simply provides a reaffirmation of a faith which is patho logical.

⁻GARUDA

ghatshila-cry murder!

From Jnan Bikash Moltra

Following the Ghatshila disaster the S. E. Railway authority are sparing no efforts to make out a case for sabotage—the usual tampering with the track. They were in such an unseemly hurry that even be-fore the Government Inspector of Railways had begun an enquiry on the morning of October 21, they "unreservedly described it as a case of sabotage" (Statesman, October 21) the Forensic Laboratory of

the West Bengal Governm

has come to the conclusion.

after a thorough investiga tion, that the disaster wa

due to the negligence on the

nart of the Railway authori-

in a proper condition. The real cause of the acci-

dent to the 83 UP Howrah-

Ranchi Express was the de-fective engine, which was hauling the train on the

The engine, bearing the number 7354 WP, belonged to the "73" type: Its maxi-

mum life time had expired

seven years ago. It used to break down so often that the workers of the Kharag-

pur railway workshop gave it the apt epithet of "the mad engine". Yet it was in

Narayan Choubey, Commu-

nist MLA from Kharagpur, said in a statement on Octo-

ber 22 and also in an inter-

view three days later that

only a few days before the accident this engine had been joined to the 3-UP Madras

Mail in open violation of the

regulations framed by the

Railway Board and without the least consideration for the safety of the passengers.

The plan was abandoned only when the driver firmly re-fused to take the engine. But then, the engine was

used to bring the Puri Ex-press from Howrah to Kha-ragpur on the night of Octo-

ber 18. It was removed to the

Next day, it was again cou

nled to the ill-fated train.

The driver, A. V. Rao, refused to take charge of the "mad

engine". But when he was threatened with dismissal

from service, he had no other alternative but to proceed. It is, however, reliably

reported that he wrote down in the Repair Book, which is maintained sepa-rately for each engine, and

also in his Blue Book, which every engine driver carries with him, that the

brake of the engine was no

in order and that its

wheels were loose. Signifi-cantly enough, these tell-

tale documents are report-

ed to have mysteriously disappeared after the acci-

A. V. Rao died a martyr's

death. A few minutes befor

the accident he told a fire-

man of the engine, who esca-ped with some injuries by jumping out, that the engine

had completely got out of his

was imminent.

ment. he told

control and that an accident

So while applying the brake

with all the strength he could

muster at the supreme mo-ment. he told the fireman

that he would surely die, but

Puri.

active service.

engine, bearing the

fatal night

ties to maintain the track

ent

HE following facts, howknock the bottom out of the theory of saboto ons ...

About 200 yards of the About 200 yards of the point of the accident was ripped up. Could an act of sabotage responsible for the virtual disappearance of such a long stretch of track?

The Down Ranchi-How rah Express had pas over the point only 15 minutes before the accident. The driver of the train made no re-port of the track, which ant that it was in order 15 minutes earlier. How could then 200 yards of the track be tampered with within just 15 minutes?

The track at the point of ccident was laid in accordance with the antisabotage measures specified the Railway Board: Ten rails each 30 feet in length, are welded together to make one rail of 300 feet in length. ese 300-feet rails are joined together with a special type of fishplates. The sleepers used in this section of the track are also a different type. So it is rather difficult to understand how such sabotage-proof rails could be tampered with within 15 minutes.

If it was a case of sabowhat was the motive of the miscreants? Was it political, or did they just want to loot the train?

The authorities do not say that there was any Loco Shed when the driver political motive, because refused to proceed with it to there could be none. As regards the other alternative, all evidence goes to show that there was no attempt at looting at any time after the accident.

All the eye-witnesses bre the injured passengers, who removed to hospitals, testimony to this fact. Mail bags were lying on the ground, but RMS employees said that nobody had come near them

Roberts, Earl and N. V. Rao, who went to Ghatshila station shortly after the accident, did not find anybody on the way who could be even remotely suspected to be the

All these facts clearly show that the S. E. Railway autho-ritles have put out the cock-and-bull story of sabotage in order to cover up their own afficiency, negligence and eliousness, about the safety ilousness about the trayelling public.

It should be ren in this connection that immediately after the North Bank Express had been involved in serious disaster in North Bengal on April 19 this year, the Railway authorities lared it to be a case of sabotage. The enquiry into the accident, however, has not

yet, been completed. that he (the fireman) should Meanwhile, it is learnt on save himself by immediately the highest authority, that jumping out.

have saved himself in the same way. But he refused leave his post, because tried his utmost till the last moment to minimise casualties among the pas-sengers. When his dead body, flattened under the impact of the boiler, was recovered from the wrecked engine, his hand was till on the brake. A. V. Rao was one of the

most experienced and skilled engine drivers At the time of his death, he had already served in that capacity for 30 vears. He was awarded a certificate of merit for efficiency and for having never been responsible for any accident: Failure of the brakes and

the falling out of the wheels of the engines were, it is learnt, the causes of the disaster. It was not, however, an isolated incident. During the past two months, there were ight accidents on the S. F. Railway, all due to defective

a wheel of the UP Bombay Mail dropped off at Kalai-kunda station! The workers of the S. E. Railway therefore, rightly pointed out that "accidents are be-coming incidents" on this

railway. The facts given by Nara-yan Choubey in his state-ment and interview, referred to earlier, reveal a shocking state of affairs at the Kharaghpur workshop of the S. E. Railway and constitute a severe indictment of the poli cies and methods of the Railway bosses.

Most of the engines on the S. E. Rallway are defective. All the UP engines belong to the "73" type. They are the oldest engines in India, They have already outlived their usefulness by over, seven years. Yet, they are still on active service.

Moreover, 16 AWD and CWD About three months ago, and the second secon The Railway, Board's Maintenance Circular, lay-ing down strict regulations regarding the repair. overhauling and check-up of all engines are violated with impunity at Kharagpur workshop.

Essential materials, spare parts and other equipments for proper maintenance of engines are always in short supply. Even grease for lubri-cating different parts of the supply. Ev engine is not available and drivers have to buy it with their own money!

If any driver or supervise makes any complaint about lack of materials or reports about defects in an engine, he is promptly charge-sheet-

Narayan Choupey demanding a full-scale, judicial enquiry, emphasised that in the present situation only the unity of the workers and employees of the S. E. Railway. backed by public could ensure safety oninior could ensure safety and secu-rity to passengers on this railway.

CALLOUS & CRIMINAL

left Howrah station at 8-15 P.M. on October 19 and plunged to its doom at Ghatshila (132 miles away) at 2 a.m. It was a major disaster and one of the worst in recent years. The train had 12 bogies. The engine and 8 bogies adjacent to it, which were packed with holiday makers, jumped off the rails and hurtled down 20 feet to 30 feet below, the railway embankment slope. Six of the bogies were smashed to smithereens and the remaining two. were seriously damaged.

The final casualty figures given by the S. E. Railway authorities nut the num bers of the killed and wounded at 49 and 180 respectively.

Nobody here, however. believes these figures be-cause all the reports, gathered so far from eyewitnesses, survivors of the accident and other reliable sources, clearly show that from the very morning of October 20 the S. E. Railway authorities have des-perately tried, first, to keep down the figure of the dead as low as possible and, secondly, to bolster up their pet theory of "sabotage" to cover up their own criminal responsibility for the accident.

According to reliable unofficial sources, however, at least 150 people were killed and over 200 injur-ed, many of them very seriously.

The Chairman of the Railway Board showered oraises on his underling for the "excellent" relief operations organised by them. But a few facts and

Statesman of October 28, make it abundantly clear that the attitude of the operations

S. E. Railway authorities was, to say the least, heartless and criminal. Roberts, Earl and N. V. Rao, guard, conductor-guard and brakesman res-pectively of the train, escaped with bruises but received severe nervous shocks, Yet, shortly after the accident they managed to reach Ghatshila station,

three miles away to give the first information. But the first "relief" train did not arrive till 6-30 a.m. It did not bring any water, milk or food. But it did carry a pretty large number of top railway and police officials. Instead of promptly orga-nising relief operations, they mostly spent their time in examining the

railway track and carrying ut measurements. Naturally, there are adequate grounds for the widespread belief here that at least some of the trap-ped and seriously injured passengers could have: passengers could have been saved, if they had received prompt medical attention

Bimalendubhusan Sinha, one of the survivors, told the reporter of the Com-munist daily, Swadhinata, that he and many others on the spot were of the opinion that the life of Dr. B. S. Guha, a noted an-thropologist and a former Director of the Anthropological Survey of India who was lying seriously wounded, could have been saved if he had been given

medical aid in time. The second "relief" train arrived at 8-45 a.m. But. this also carried no water or food! The search for the dead

the letters of two survivors and the injured in the of the accident, which wreckage was not begun

THE ill-fated train had were published in the till 4 p. m. on October 20. i.e., 14 hours after the ac cident had occured. But then the so-called "rescue were handled in the most inhuman man-

ner. The Special Correspondent of the Statesman (October 24) described the operations as follows:

"A glant crane had arrived from Kharagour. It lifted the wrecked bogies from the embankment shops and placed them on either side It was roughand-ready work, and could not, perhaps, be carried out with concern for the victims, who might still have

been in the wreckage.... "Rescue operations (or the search for the dead) were suspended at about 10 p. m. and were not re-sumed till late the following day.... In the first light of dawn next day (Saturday), operations were resumed but they were confined to reconstructing the lines". (Emphasis (habbe

The Statesman, mented editorially on October 24: "Since other traflic had meanwhile been diverted through Adra concern to restore norma service was understand

"Yet meanwhile corpses remained in the wreckage; and it would throw a shocking light on priorities if some of them were not then in fact corpses_or even might not

have been". The behaviour of the Rallway officials towards their subordinate employees entrusted with the relons was equally ble. On the first lief operations reprehensible. On the first day, that is, on October 20. no food was supplied to them. Next day, food was no doubt provided, but it was unfit for human consumption.

NOVEMBER 12 - 1961

EXPOSURES ★ by O. P. MEHROTRA 🛧 = **CORRUPT WASTERS**

e file 19J of news-cuttings in our office deals with Uttar Pradesh. The clippings in the particular Volume have been selected to begin from December 3. 1960-precisely the time when forecasts were being de from New Delhi of C. B. Gupta heading a new Government in U.P. The last clippings in the file are of August 5, 1961.

S I turn the pages of this land. The people are afraid of even lodging complaints mentary on the Congress Gov- against corrupt officers. ernment led by C. B. Gunta This, however, does not mean that Gupta's predecessors were any better.

First let us take the revelations made by the new Gov-ernment about the activities of the predecessor, i.e., Sam-purnanand Ministry.

In reply to a short notice question by an opposition member, Deputy Minister S. P. Sharma laid on the table of the U.P. Vidhan Sabha a cyclostyled list of general nature. Here are running into five pages, some allegations and con-According to it as many as crete charges: six members of the (Samurnanand) Ministry were Und t Meerut on one day and India five members at Muzaffar- report of the proceedings of nagar. Sometimes hardly a of Ministers were which stated that left at the State Bead-

quarters. Replying to supplementaries C. B. Gunta admitted that schools as burriedly as far as his Government was concerned, it thought that the concerned, it thought that the extensive touring was not

proper. These tours it should be rewere informed about the date nembered were almost inva-riably taken at the time of Pradesh Congress Committee lections

Let us now see how far corruption has been uprooted from the administration after Gupta Ministry was installed. Here is what the Tribune's Correspondent reported on March 24, 1961.

The people of the State, except, a few, find themselves in the grip of poverty and taxes. Corruption stalks the

habad High Court.

of May 16 1961 Justice

Dhavan of the Allahabad High Court held the order

Allahabad to Mahabir Pra-

This order was passed

cer of Allahabad, rejecting

application of the

wner for permission

MINISTER'S RECORD **HOW**. men of influence circumvent the law and to occupy it and subsequ-, ently allotting it to Shukla. "His lordship held, inter the ordinary men are un-able to get justice at the alia: that the order rejectlower rungs was highlight-ed by a judgment of Justice S. S. Dhavan of the Allaing the owner's request to occupy the house was pass-ed under the influence of est to Shukla, who wanted it for

The case arose out of a himself, and was also perverse, for tio reasonable person could have held that the request of a family of 14 members living in writ petition filed by Ranjit Kumar Mullick, a house owner of Allahabad. According to the Statesman four rented rooms was not bona fide. Allahahad "The court held that the of allotment of a house at Rent Control Officer had

made up his mind without

Allahabad to Mahabir Fra-sad Shukla, former Deputy holding any inquiry and Minister for Revenues, U.P. misdirected himself also on Government, illegal and other points. directed the authorities to eject Shukla from the his lordship observed that house in question as early after the landlord had obtained an order from the obtained an order from the Munsif for the ejectment by the court in quashing two orders of the Rent Control and Eviction Offiof Shukla for default in payment of rent, he (Shuk-la) made a collusive agree-ment with the secretary of the District Congress Com- the G mittee, who was under his State?"

as po

the



"The Ministers belonging

signed from the S

to the Gupta group who reampurnanand Cabinet, loudly condemned Dr. Sampurnanand for his failure to put down corruption. Corruption, how-ever, thrives under the new regime and Gunta has so far done nothing to re-move corruption but he has promised plenty of fresh taxation for the people..." But this is a statement only

"MUNDHRA TYPE SCANDAL" Under this heading Times of India of March 25 carried a the U.P. Assembly debate which stated that "a Selec-Selec tion Committee, of the Educa-tion Department has chosen 52 text-books for 3.600 basic colled meetings on January 21 and 24 last at Lucknow. "Officials of the Committee

of the meeting but non-offi-cials were given no notice. The meeting was called telegraphically. "Of the 52 text-books, 20 written by one person and published by one firm were selected. The wife of the Chairman of the Committee

was the author of another selected book". What has been done to stop this racket? No one knows. The Statesman, March 25, reported "Excess expendi-ture of Rs. 2.13 crores and

loss of Rs. 43 lakhs due, to ent. infructuous exenditure and other causes have been revealed in the audit report 1961, and appro-priation accounts 1959-60 of the U.P. Government". The report was laid on the table of the U.P. Vidhan Sabha on March 24. Sec. 1.

It further said, "Several breaches of the financial rules and a large number of irregularities have been mentioned in the report which also reveals that the executive did not furnish receipts and estimates for Rs. 3.44 crores and out of Rs. 43.44 crores, Rs. 2.13 crores remained unspent.

"There were major irregula rities in the accounts of re-ceipt and distribution of fertilisers through two coopera-tive federations involving Rs. 1.08 crores".

The Hindustan Times, April carried a despatch 29 carried a despatch from its special correspondent in Lucknow. on the Work Audit report presented on April 28, 1961 by the Chair-man of the Public Accounts Committee to the U.P. Vidhan Sabha. Sabha:

"The Mata Tila Dam project was selected for work-audit by the Committee because of the irregularities pointed out in the original report. Originally estimated to cost Rs. four. crores in 1951, the estimates went up to Rs. 7.99 crores in 1954, to Rs. 10.52 crores in 1957, and Rs. 11.39 crores in 1958. "It was reported to the Committee in March 1961 that a detailed final estimate of the project had been pre-pared by the Chief Engineer which came to about Rs. 11.9 crores. A power project had been added to the original project and the combined project was estimated to cost Rs. 18:43 crores".

None of the detailed estimates, the Committee point-ed out, had been sanctioned. The Committee recorded it some

was handicapped in examination of the cumstances which have re-sulted in crores of excess expenditure "becaus of the relevant files were stated to have been misplaced or lost".

influence, to circumvent and defeat the order of the

"The secretary applied for allotment of the house to the Congress Committee and Mr. Shukla persuaded the District Magistrate to make the allot-ment but continued to live in it with the 'permission of the District Congress mittee

la is a man of some emin-ance and respect is due to him as an elected member of the State legislature; but though the law count but though the law courts will treat the members of the legislature with courtesy, it will not tolerate any circumvention of law by any person, however,

ter of deep regret that the law should have been cir-cunvented by the secretary of the party which controls the Government of the

1

civil court:

"The Court added: 'Shuk-

eminent. "'It is, therefore, a mat-

heaping burdens

WHEN Gupta-led Ministry took charge of U.P. ministration (December they broadcasted that the new Government would take immediate steps for effecting economy and against the evils of favouritism, casteism and nepotism.

How far the people of Uttar Pradesh have "benefitted" from the new administration becomes clear by having a glance at the facts given below.

The Statesman, published on March 18, 1961 its special representative's re-port on the U.P. Budget:

Hargovind Singh's budget caused widespread sur-prise... not because it was spectacular in any way but because it fell so far short of expectations

"Judged against many recent appeals by Govern-ment spokesmen for sacri-fice and austerity... the routine budget proposals came as an anti-climax".

What did the new Congress Government offer to the people of Uttar Pradesh? In its very first budget it withdrew the rebate on irrigation rate, which amounted, to an additional burden of Rs. two crores on the peasantry.

The Hindustan Times.

correspondent: commented on this in these words: "This extra burden on the kisan who grows food for the people is an expedient of doubtful value and may cost Government dearly". These new measures were

even criticised by the Congress members. At a Con-gress Party meeting, according to the Statesman of April 5. "The U.P. Chief Minister, C. B. Gupta, gave a clear indication of the new taxes proposed to raise the res urces required for the Third Plan"

"According to reliable reports, Gupta said it would be necessary for U.P. citizens to bear even heavier burdens for the sake of planned development. "A decision to raise land

revenue had been postpon-ed but it was expected to raise about Rs. 50 crores from these sources in the Third Plan period.

"Another major source of revenue would be sales tax, from which over Rs 25 crores was expected

"Taken together with an excise increase and Rs. 10 crores from the withdrawal or irrigation rehate. Mr. Gupta is reported to have disclosed how over Rs. 100 crores was proposed to be raised in the five year period".



THOSE who are conversant with various factions in the U.P. Congress also know their links with the different big business houses of the State. A few weeks ago when Pandit Nehru visited Kanpur the methods of collecting donations for the Congress were questioned by many.

The U.P. Congress leaders tom-tomed (for public exhibition only) the idea of collecting money by selling coupons. How much money they have collected no one knows.

But there are targets and sources, too, from which money is collected by the U.P. Congress leaders every year and specially at the time of general elections. What are these sources from where money is collected? National Herald's columnist "Chronicler" some time back gave an interesting and revealing analysis of the Congress funds under the heading: Election Funds and Its Contributors' funde

"The biggest industry of U.P. is the sugar industry, and since it functions in a large measure under Government control it naturally tends to show considerations in return for considerations it expects or has already obtained."

After referring to the malpractices of the sugar manufacturers the columnist obesrves:

"It is stated by dispassionate observers that if the mill-owners did not belleve that they enjoyed a position of privi-lege and, therefore, a kind of immunity from prosecution, there would have been many cases against them."

The Herald's columnist further states "under the new dispensation, industrial development of the country is a direct concern of the Government.... This policy has brought the enterpreneur and the Government close to each other....

"The plans have put considerable funds at the disposal of the State Government and crores can be advanced as loans and grants in the name of industrialisation..., The Government have been accused in the past of showing undue consideration to industrial magnets.

"When heavy arrears in tax accumulate, it is alleged by opposition members in the legislature, the Government are soft to the defaulting industrialists." (One has only to re-member the answer to the question put by honourable memhers in Parliament and State Assembly about the huge tax arrears due from the millowners-Kanpur millowners have not paid taxes amounting to Rs. 2.7 crores).

About the textile tycoons the Chronicler says: "Tex-tile industry is the second biggest industry of the State. In sympathy with the mills in other parts of the country the U.P. mills had been raising prices until last year, after they had made enormous profits the Government of India came

nan made entrinous priority into Government on the cloth. "... Somehow the mills have developed a sense of immunity from law and Government orders, and perhaps rightly, because whether the price order is observed or not, nd whether the quality is ma intained or not, the mills are not taken to task

PAGE SEVEN

NEW AGE

Khrushchov On The Terrible Days Of The Cult

We print below extracts from the concluding everything they could to hamspeech of Khrushchov on the harm done by the per-sonality cult and the attempts made by the anti-Party group to take the CPSU back to the evils of that

C OMRADES, the Twenty-Second Congress may in all truth be called the Congress of the Party's monolithic unity, the congress of complete unanimity and cohesion. Our enemies fear the growing unity of our ranks. They are speculating on the fact of our Congress having paid considerable attention to the to the complete exposure of the personality cult and also to the complete exposure of the anti-Party faction-alist group. But the enemies of communism are mak-ing these efforts in vain, they have nothing to gain from all this.

The thing that distinguishes the Marxist-Leninist par-ties from all other political parties is that . Co uniste do not waver, they boldly the shortco faults in their work and eliminate them. This is a sign of the Communist Party's strength, it is evidence of its unbending faith in its cause.

Many of the comrades who ve spoken here have wrathfully condemned the subversive, anti-Party activities of the bunch of factionalists headed by Molotov, Kaganoof the vich and Malenkov, Our entire Party and the whole people have rejected these who opposed everything new, who strove to re-establish the harmful methods that were dominant at the time of the personality

Leninist **Standards**

They wanted to go back gress, to those difficult times for Mole our Party and our country, lenkov when nobody was guaran-raised teed against violence and repressions. Yes, that is precisely what Molotov and the others wanted.

We resolutely reject such ethods of so-called leadership. We stand for the solution of inner-Party affairs on the basis of Leninist standards, by methods of conviction and broad democracy, and we shall remain firm in this respect....

In the years that follow

standards of Party life were Kirov's brutally distorted under the conditions of the cult of Stalln's person.

Stalin elevated curtailment of inner-Party and Soviet de-mocracy to the level of norms of inner-Party life and the life of the state. He grossly violated the Leninist princi ples of leadership and per-mitted arbitrariness and abuse of power.

Stalin could look at a comrade sitting at the same table with him and say: "There's something shifty about your eyes today." After that you could rest assured that the comrade whose eyes had supposedly been shifty became a suspect.

Comrade Delegates! T wish to inform the Congress of the reaction of the anti-Party group to the proposal to place the question of the abuse of power in the period of the personality cult on the enda of the Twentieth Con-

Molotov, Kaganovich, Ma-lenkov, Voroshilov and others raised categorical objection In answer to their objections, they were told that if they opposed the raising of the question we would let the Congress delegates decide.

We did not doubt that the Congress would be in favour of discussing the question. Only then did they agree, and the question of the personal-ity cult was presented to the Twentieth Party Congress.

But the factionalists did not cease their struggle even after the Congress; they did

per an investigation of abuses of power, afraid that their role as accomplices in mass repressions would be revealed.

Mass repressions began after the assassination of Kirov. Considerable effort will be required to discover actu-ally under what circumstan-ces Kirov was killed and who was guilty of his death. The: more profoundly we study the material on Kirov's death, the greater the numb questions that crop up. the number of

Murder

There is the outstanding fact that Kirov's murderer had before that day been twice taken into custody by security people in the vicin of Smolny and a weapon had been found in his possession But someone ordered his re-lease on both occasions.

Then it turned out that this armed man was in Smolny and in the very corridor along which Kirov usually passed. And it somehow happened that at the moment of the assassination, the com of Kirov's bodyguard was far behind him although according to his instructions he had no right to be so far away from' the man he was protecting.

And there is another very strange fact. When the commander of Kiroy's bodyguard was taken for inter-rogation—he was to have en interrogated by Stalin, Molotov and Voroshilay an accident was deliberate. staged, as the driver of the car afterwards said, by the car afterwards said, by those who should have taken the guard command-er for interrogation. They then reported that the com-mander of the bodyguard had been killed in the acci-dent although he dent although he was actually killed by those escorting him.

That is how the man who guarded Kirov was killed. Afterwards the people who had killed him were shot. This was obviously not fortui-

tous; 'it was a planned crime.

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Ajoy Ghosh talks to Italian fraternal delegate;

We could have perpetrated it? A thorough study of this complicated case is now being mode

It turned out that the man who drove, the vehicle in. which the commander of S. M. Kirov's bodyguard was taken for interrogation i alive. He has said that when they drove to the interroga-tion, a Commissariat of the Interior officer sat in th with him. The vehicle used was a lorry.

(Of course, it is very stran-ge that the man was taken to be interrogated in a motor lorry, as though in that par-ticular case no other vehicle could be found. Apparently all the details had been foreseen).

Two other Commissariat of the Interior officers were in the back of the lorry with the commander of Kiroy's body. guard.

The driver further relates: as they were driving along the street the man sitting in the cab with him suddenly snatched the wheel out of his hands and turned the lorry straight into a house. The driver snatched the wheel back and turned the lorry so that only the side struck wall of the hous wall of the house. He was then told that the commander of Kirov's bodyguard had been killed in that accident.

How was it that he was killed and none of th velling with him were hurt? Why was it that these two Commissariat of the Interio offleers who were escorting the commander of Kirov's guard were themselves later shot? Obviously somebody guard were themselves late shot? Obviously somebod had to have them killed i order to cover up all traces.

There is still very, very much that has not been explained concerning the circumstances of this and other cases.

Truth Must Be Told

Comrades, it is our duty to make a thorough, all-round examination of cases of this sort that are due to abuse of power.

The time will come when we shall die, for we mortal, but as long as we continue working we can and must find out a great leal and tell the truth to the Party and the people. It is our duty to do all in our power to establish the truth now, because the longer the time that passes since these events the more difficult it ill be to re-establish the

You cannot bring back the dead now, but the true facts must be recorded in the his must be recorded in the his-tory of the Party. And it must done so that similar cases can never be repeated in the future.

You may imagine how diffienit it · vas to solve such proems when there were pe in the Presidium of the Ce tral Committee who had themselves been guilty of abusing power, of mass repressions. They stubbornly opposed all measures for the exposure of the personality cult and then developed a struggle against the Centrol mittee. They

change the composition of its leading body and change the Leninist policy of the Party, the course mapped out by the Twentieth Congress. In his speech to this Ore 1

Naturally, they did not want to examine such matwant to examine such mat-ters. You have heard Comrade Shelepin's speech. He spid a lot at the Congress but it stands to reason he did not tell you everything that has now been reveal-ed. Thousands of absolutely and, remember, every one of them is a whole Many leading Party, government and army people vere killed

Commanders' Massacre

Delegates have spoken here with pain in their hearts of many innocent victims amo prominent Party and govern-

army leaders as Tukhachevsky, Yakir, Uborevich, Kork, Yegorov, Eidemann and others were victims of the repressions. These were peorepressions. These were provided in the services ple who had great services Tukhachevsky, Yakir Uborevich, who were out-standing army leaders. Later Blucher and other prominent army leaders suffered from the repres-

A rather curious report once found its way into the press abroad to the effect that Hitler, when he was preparing his assault on our country, had fabricated a document showing that Comrades Yakir, Tukhachevsky and others were agents of the German General Staff. This "document", allegedly secret, fell into the hands of President Benes of Czecho-slovakia and he, presumably guided by good intentions passed it on to Stalin. Yakir. Tukhachevsky and other com-rades were arrested and were then killed.

Many splendid commanders and political officers of the Red Army were killed. Here among the delegates there are comrades—I do not wish to mention their names, in order not to cause them pain -who spent many years in prison.

They were "persuaded" by the use of certain methods by the use of certain methods, that they were either German, o British, or some other spies.

Some of them "confessed". There were even cases when some of these com-rades, on being told that the accusation of espion age had been withdrawr themselves insisted on thei previous depositions; they thought it better to stick to false deposition orde the more quickly to put an end to their torment, the more quickly to go to their

death. That is what the persona lity cult means! That was the meaning of the actions of Molotov and the others who wanted to restore the evil practices of the period of the personality cult. It was this wanted to bring the Party back to, and p

In his speech to this Congress Comrade She gress Comrade Shelepin has told you how these fine re-presentatives of the Commu-nist Party in the Red Army were killed the older of the Commuwere killed. He also quoted a letter from Comrade Yakir to Stalin, and read you the re-solutions on that letter. I should be said that at one time Stalin had a lot of respect-for Yakir.

I can add to that: at the moment Yakir was shot he shouted, "Long live the Party, long live Stalin!"

He had so much faith in the Party, in Stalin, that it never entered his mind that the awlessness was deliberate. He thought that enemies had infiltrated th organs of the Peoole's Commissariat of Internal Affairs.

When Stalin was told how Yakir had behayed before his death, he cursed Yakir.

Let us recall Sergo Ordzho-nikidze. I was present at Ordzhonikidze's funeral. I believed what I had been told at the time, that he had died suddenly, because we that he had a heart dis we knew

Criminal Actions

Much later, after the war, I learnt quite by accident that he had committed suicide. Sergo's brother had been arrested and shot. Co Ordzhonikidze realised that he could no longer work with Stalin, although he had formerly been one of his closest friende

Ordzhonikidze held leading post in the Party. Lenin had known and valued him, but a situation developed in which he could no longer work normally, and in order to avoid a clash with Stalin and not share responsibility for his abuse of power, he decided to commit suicide.

The fate of the brother of Stalin's first wife, Alyosha vanidze, who was less known to the rank and file of ou Party, was also a tragic one. He was a veteran Bolshevik, but Beria, by means of various machinations case to the effect that Sva-nidze had been placed near nidze had been placed near Stalin by the German secret service, although he was Stalin's very close friend. And Svanidze was shot.

Before he was shot he was told that Stalin had said that If he asked forgiveness he would be pardoned. / When Stalin's words were repeated to Svanidze he asked: "Why should I ask forgiveness? I have not \ committed | any crime." He was shot.

After Svanidze's death, Stalin said: "See how proud he is, he died but wouldn't ask forgiven occurred to Stalin that Svanidze was, aboye all, an honest man.

And that is how many innocent people died.

That is what the persona lity cult means we cannot tolerate even the slightest manifestations of buse of power



ment leaders. Such prominent



We print below the full text of the speech delivered by D. A. Lazurinka on October 30 at the Twenty-second CP-SU Congress. She has been a member of the Party since 1902, worked under Lenin and was illegally arrested in 1937 and spent 17 years in prison without losing her Bolshevik ideals and courage.

C OMRADES delegates, I give my full support to the proposal of Comrade Spiridonov and the other comrades who spoke here on the withdrawal of Stalin's body from Lenin Maus

From the days of my youth I began to work under the leadership of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, I learned from him and ca ried out his assignments. When I was departing from Geneva from Lenin it seemed to me as if. had grown a pair of wings.

The image of dear Vladimir Ilvich Lenin loved the Party so much, who was like a father to us revolutionaries, who reared each of us so care fully, will always remain in my heart. This cemented our will and inspired us in the struggle for the gr cause of the Party.

And then, comrades. 1937 I was to share the lot of many. I had an import-ant job in the Leningrad **Regional Party Committee** and, of course, I was also

When I was arrested and when the doors of my pri-son closed behind me (this was not my first experience, for I was imprisoned and exiled many times under Tsarism) I was ever so horrified, not for myself, could not understand what old Bolsheviks were being arrested for.

What for? Why? This was indeed a torture, some-thing beyond comprehen-sion. Something terrible, obviously a diversion had taken place in the Party-I explained to myself. And this gave me no rest

Not for a minute-when I was imprisoned for two



Cult Victim Speaks

in for this.

and a half years or when I was in camp after that, where I spent 17 years— did I blame Stalin for this I always fought for Stalin who was being attacked by the prisoners, the exiles the prisoners, the exiles and the inmates of the camp.

I would say: "It is im-possible that Stalin could ave permitted all that was happening in the Party. That is impossible!" They That is im would argue with me, they would become angry with me, but I stood firm. I had high esteem for Stalin, I knew that he had done great service before 1934, so I defended him.

Comrades! I returned and was completely reha-bilitated. I was released at the time when the 20th Party Congress proceedings were on. This was the first time I came to know horrible truth about Stalin.

And now, at the 22nd Congress when I have learned about the atroci-ties and crimes which were perpetrated in the Party with Stalin's knowledge fully endorse the proposal for the withdrawal of Stalin's body from the Mausol

The great evil caused by Stalin consisted not only in the fact that many our best neonle not only in the fact that arbitrary rule prevailed and innocent victims were shot and imprisoned with out trial

This evil was much greater. The entire atmos-phere which prevalled in the Party at that time totally contradicted very spirit of Lenin. It was in complete dissonance with the spirit of Lenin.

I shall recall only one case which was characte-ristic of that atmosphere. In May 1937 Comrad Zhdanov was Secretary o etary of the Leningrad Regional Committee.

He assembled us, the leading workers of the Committee and said to us: Two enemies Chudoy, and Kadatsky have been expo-sed in our ranks". They were arrested in Moscow.

We could not say a word. It appeared as if our ton gues were frozen to our palates

But when the meeting was over and Zhdanov was leaving the hall I said to him: "Comrade I do not know Chudov, because he is a newcomer in our Leningrad organisa-tion. But I vouch for Ka-datsky, he has been a Party member since 1913.

"I have known him for many years. He is a true member of the Party. He always fought the opposi-tionists. This is incredible! We must verify this."

Zhdanov looked at me with the cruel look in his eyes and said: "Lazurkin stop this talk, otherwise it will end in a bad way".

But I did not stop to think whether it would end well or badly for me when I stood up for the truth. I only thought whether it was good for the Party not.

Under Lenin an atmosphere of friendship, com-radeship, mutual faith, support and assistance pre-vailed in the Party.

I recall the years I spent the underground. When we were arrested we would accept the accusatio without thought in order safeguard the organisation, to divert the blow from the comrades who have not yet been arrest-ed, to save the underground literature and the printshops.

And what was the at-mosphere in 1937? Fear which was totally alien to us, Leninists, prevailed. People would slander one another, they would lose all faith and would slander even themselves. Lists of innocent people were drawn up for arrest.

They would beat us into slandering others. They gave us these lists and forced us to sign them. They would promise to re-lease us, they would threa-ten us: "If you' don't sign. these lists we'll torture you to death". But many remained undaunted and preserved their Bolshevik eserved their Bolshevik

hearts and never signed anything!

We fought to the end. We refused to believe that arbitrary rule could prevail in our Leninist Party. We would write write and write stop. If one were without to look up the files of my letters he would see that there were volumes of there were them.

I wrote to Stalin many, many times. I wrote to other people, I wrote to the Party control body. But, regrettably, our Party control body was not up to the standard at the time and yielded to the common feeling of fear and would not give consideration to

Such was the atmosphere that was created by the personality cult. And we must root it out to the end! It is good that the 20th Congress raised this ques-tion, it is good that the 22nd Congress is uprooting these remnants

And I maintain that our wonderful Vladimir Ilyich, the most human of humans should not lie next to that man, who had done good service in the past, before 1934, but nevertheless, he should not lie next to Tenin

N. S. Khrushchov: Right-Iv

Comrades! When we re turn we must honestly tell the truth to the workers, to the people, as Lenin taught us, tell them everything that occurred at th Congress and everything that was said here.

It would be beyond con prehension if, after all that has been said and revealed here, Stalin were to remain lying next to Lenin.

I have always cherished the memory of flyich in my heart, always, com-rades, in the most difficult of moments. That is why I have survived. I have survived because Lenin was in my heart. And I would ask him for advice.

Yesterday I asked him for advice as if he were alive. It was as if he said to me: "I do not like being next to Stalin who inflicted so much harm to the Party."

IN ASSAM Hill State Agitators Mass Action

From Madhusudan Bhattacharya

The All Parties Hill Leaders Conference (APHLC) obviously pressing ahead with its demand for a parate Hill State, comprising the autonomous Hill stricts of Assam. To back up their demand they served October 24 as Demand Day with a hartal, pro-ssions and meetings. 20RTS reaching Shillong dicate that the district source of all Hill Dis-being, the Sylem lost most of s (except that of the Hills) observed com-stills) observed com-Hills) observed The All Parties Hill Leaders Conference (APHLC) is obviously pressing ahead with its demand for a separate Hill State, comprising the autonomous Hill districts of Assam. To back up their demand they observed October 24 as Demand Day with a hartal, prossions and meetings.

EPORTS reaching Shillong indicate that the district headquarters of all Hill Dis-tricts (except that of the Mikir Hills) observed comhartal. Particularly spectacular was the hartal and procession at Tura, the headquarters of the Garo Hills. The latter was led by Captain W. Sangma, the former Minister who resigned on the issue of the Language Bill and is now the President of the APHLC.

Complete Hartal

In Shillong the hartal was complete. It is true, of course, that the State Government offices as well as schools and colleges were closed for the Pula holidays. But the un ned Central Government offices, the scanty attendance at the telegraph and tele phone offices and the absence of vehicular traffic on the roads, testified to the wide-spread response to the call. The shops and bazars were completely closed. 14.1

Young volunteers, both boys and girls, picketted road crossings and did not permit pedestrian traffic either. This is a peculiar feature of hartals in Shillong where hartal has come to mean "home internment" for the citizens. Even ment" for the citizens, Even Pressmen had to take a "pass" from the hartal organisers to be able to move about the city.

The police did not interfere with the hartal in any way. Many of the unfortunate incidents that occur throughthere is any form of mass pro-test, can be avoided if the police elsewhere behaved in'

October 24 was chosen as Demands Day as it marked the completion of a year since the passing of the Assam official Language Bill, when Assamese was declared the official language of the State. There was practically no opposition to the call by the APHLC. Even the Congress-led Hill People's Convention (HPC), which has accepted Nehru's proposal of the Scottish pattern of autonomy; dld not publicly come out against the hartal. But its "silent" opposition is said to have had some effect on the relatively rather small size of the procession and public meeting in Shillong.

Another force which oppos-ed the hartal in Shillong was the former Sylem of Mylliem, one of the 25 Khasi "states". power, which he has to exer-cise on the advice of his Darbar or Council, consisting of elected Myntries of Minis-

PAGE TEN

Mylliem was, moreover, depos-ed by the District Council of the United Khasia-Jaintia Hills, who appointed a new Sylem. A long legal battle ensued which ended with the Supreme Court giving its ver-dict in favour of the District Council.

Since then the former Sylem of Mylliem and his loyal Myntries have been opposed to the agitation for an independent Hill State, the protagonists of which control the United Khasi-Jaintia Hill District Coun-cil. He was elected to the Legislature in the last gene-ral elections by defeating the candidate of the Eastern India Tribal Union, the first platform of the agitation for a Hill State.

While this opposition did ot materially affect the harnot materially affect the har-tal, its very existence is significant as also its assertion of opposition to the APHLC, which was hitherto believed to be the undisputed leader of the tribal masses, especially in the Khasi Hills

The hartal was of impor-tance in the background of the coming General Elections. The APHLC which had earlier decided to boycott the elections will now contest it on the demand for independent state, while the HPC will seek sup-port for the Scottish pattern of autonomy.

No Democratic Alternative

It is noted here that neither the AP,HLC nor the HPC have so far put forward any posi-tive programme before the tribal masses for the solution of their various pressing eco-nomic and social problems which are very complicated and are of a diverse nature. The only programme that the APHLC put forward is the de-mand for a separate State which, it appears, they think will bring a solution of all will bring a solution of all the maladies that the tribal masses suffer from.

The Congress-led HPC, on the otherhand, relies mostly on their ability to utilise the State machinery and their other ties for mobilising the electorate behind them. They have accepted the Scottish pattern of autonomy proposal; but it is doubtful, how far they have been able to explain the difference between this proposal and the proposed Hill State to the masses. It seems, they fight shy of

(The Sylem is a peculiar any mass campaign. That is Khasi institution equivalent probably because of their to the position of an elected inability to put forward any chief vested with executive convincing, feasible programme as an understandable alternative to the Hill State demand. It may be mentioned here

that the APHLC since their.

frankly discussed the issue, session of the APHLC and the APHLC might have un-persuade others to accept the animously accepted the Scot-Scottish pattern proposal.



animously accepted the second Second state partial particular tish pattern proposal. But instead, when, pre-sumably, on the basis of a observers, this action of the report of the latest negotia-tions of the APHIC delegation which has been characterised which has been characterised to New Delhi early this year. by many as partisan, helped, the Hill Congress leaders felt harden the attitude of the that there was a possibility other constituents of the

maintain the tension in the Hill districts. Now that the elections is

tige and in the process of the election campaign more and more the appeal will be toemotion than to reason. There is, thus, a possibility that the major economic and social issues will not come up before the election, unless the democratic movement will immediately intervene.

The situation on the communal front in the towns and cross-examination of im-and cities of Madhya Pradesh, which were engulfed in portant witnesses was re-the communal disturbances in February 1961, remains sumed. These handleaps, not-citizens also voiced these the communal disturbances in February 1961, remains far from normal.

The parties participating in

zens Committee, consisting of

Congressmen, PSP and Com-

munist Party representatives and independent citizens and

journalists.

take place.

ed.

UNDUE

HASTE

the same time the Com

JABALPUR which became to reduce the enquiry into a sham to serve the sole purpose of justifying and vindicating the centre of unprecedented holocaust, arson and mur-ders in the post-independence the communal partisan beha-viour and connivance of the Administration in the riots. India, during February dis-turbances continues to be the hot-bed of communal activities on the part of Jana San-ghies and their patrons inside the enquiry are: Congress, Jana Sangh, Ram Rajya Pari-shad and the Secularist Citithe Congress and the admin-

istration. The one-man Judicial Enquiry Commission into the communal disturbances in the districts of Jabalpur, Saugor, Damoh and Narsinghour is continuing its enquiry into the causes and course of the riots and the adequacy or otherwise of the measures taken by the administration during riots, i.e., from February 3 to 15, 1961.

Justice Shiva Dayal Srivastava constituting the oneman Enquiry Commission has laid down the procedure of enquiry unilaterally and without consulting the parties participating in the The enquiry prodings are held in camera and the parties concerned are not allowed to attend it excepting through their counsels.

In the initial stages of the proceedings important docu-ments like Control Room Diary, post mortem reports of murdered men, medical ex-amination reports into the alleged rape of Usha Bhargava and of the accused, copies of internal riot scheme, reports on firing, registers and vouchers of issue of musketry and record of empties, etc., were neither supplied to the parties represented in the enquiry nor were they open for inspection by the coun-

Similarly the list of witauthorities were not given to the counsels nor were the statements on riots submitted by the parties to the Com-mission exchanged. Denying these vital docu-ments the Commission sought before: the evidence-in-chief

Jana Sangh Assaults Muslim Village Under Katju's Shield

gave

E VEN while the grim rounding up 25 Muslims and issuing warrants of carnage in February 1961 arrest against the remain-at Jabalpur, Saugor and a ing 25 who in panic fied the E memory of communal carnage in February 1961 ost of other towns had not faded from the memory of the people, another com-munal disturbance took place in village Chater of Udaipur Tehsil of Raisen District on Sept. 21, 1961. Chater has a total population of 800 including nearly 150 Muslims. On September 21 the Dol Gyaras (Ekadasi) proces moving round the village came across the mosque, where namaz was. going on, pelted stones on Muslims, it and injured a few Mus- There it lims. Some Muslim leaders now left tried to prevail upon the women a

now left in Chater; only women and children are left gripped in terror and but in return This was immediately inspite of the fact that followed by police action. the Deputy Home Minister The police completed the Shri Narsinghrau Dixit ads of the rioters by

the alleged atrocities com-

mitted by Muslims on Bin-

dus. This spread wide-spread panic and fear among the Muslim popula-

tion with the result that

NOVEMBER 12. 1981

ouri Narsinghrau Dixit ad-mitted in Madhya Pradesh . Nehru,



FROM MAHENDRA BAIPAT

withstanding, the Secularist demands and requested the Citizens Committee decided to Commission to extend the last Citizens Committee decided to Commission to extend the last the surrender of the sheets of continue its participation to date for submission of state-, the Boznamchas on pain of assist the Commission in ments by one month, i.e., from dismissal and dire consequarriving at the truth.

The authorities, the Con-gress, Jana Sangh, and Ram Rajya Parishad have submitted statements on the causes and course of riots' and on the adequacy or otherwise of administrative measures on almost identical lines and with the common purpose of holding the so-called "Pakistani" elements and the Muslim com-

April 14, 1961 to May 14. Prominent citizens and leaders of Sangor, Damoh and Narsinghpur also demanded the same but the Commission did not accede to the extension of dates, nor did it give any opporta-nity and facilities to the leaders of the Muslim com-munity, many of whom were in jail, to submit their

A few days after, i.e., in the last week of February he was suspended from service and the nolice officials demanded ences to his life. Completely unnerved he made representa-tions to the authorities again but instead of any response from them, the local high-ups subjected him to terrific pres-sure and threats. He then wrote to the Judicial Enquiry Commission narrating: the forgery of documents by Police and demanding protection for himself.

This completely the police officials unnerved immediately ordered his re-instatement. And with his

MADHYA PRADESH ENQUIRY reinstatement another None excepting the Secu-larist Citizens Committee raised any objection to the **—A CALCULATED FARCE**

unilateral procedure of enquiry nor took exception to the reprehensible manner in , which the proceedings munity responsible for orga-nising planned riots and attacks on Hindu community.

The Secularist Citizens Committee through its counsels Barrister Nooruddin of Delhi and Advocate Bhargava of Indore took serious excep-tion to the denial of vital documents and expressed its inability to assist the Commis-sion unless important records, registers and documents are at least allowed to be inspect-

It was only then that the Commission of Enquiry directed the authorities to submit some of important documents and allowed the parties to inspect the same, though at sion refused to secure such documents as the reports of Central and Local Intelligence Bureaus, Internal Riot Scheme, etc.

The documents finally allow-

mitted against the minority community. Till recently they were acting in unison before were acting in unison before the Enquiry Commission but the Congress party of late, probably under instructions from their high-ups, has be-come a mute observer in the proceedings, while the Jana Sangh has brought an advo-

These parties seek to justify

the connivance and complicity of the administrative officials

and their unprecedented ter-

Sangh has brought an advocate Munie from Nagpur, in addition to their local aides, and appears to be quite seri-ous about their evil intents.

When the Commission of Enquiry was appointed on March 6, 1961, the Muslim community in the circumstances prevailing then, i.e., continuing arrests, beatings, harassments and launching of riot cases on the Muslims, had boycotted the enquiry, demanding transfer of some police and ad officials and a administrative officials and a three-man enquiry commission instead of one-man commission.

Vidhan Sabha on September 26 that some of the processionists indulged in stone-throwing on the mosvillage. Next day the Jana Sangh que, not a single proces-sionist and miscreant beusing its old technique gave a call for hartal and demonstrations in the longing to the majority community has so far been neighbouring towns of Udaipur and Bareli against

arrested. Even while the Jana Sangh was organising har-tal and demonstrations against the minority community, the Government and the officials looked on with approving eyes.

Not content with its dubinone today is prepared to stand bail for the arrested ous role coupled with its complicity during the Jab-alpur riots, the M.P. Gov-There is no Muslim male ernment continues to shield the Jana Sangh. For this Government the decisions of the Conference on National Integration are only worthless pieces of papers or at best the idiosyncra-

This reprehensible behaviour of the Commission and the refusal of the Madhya Pradesh Government to act with any sense of impartia-lity, has resulted in the nonparticipation of the entire Muslim community enquiry proceedings. nity in the

From the districts of Sau-gor, Damoh and Narsinghpur, no party and no group or association of citizens has been given any opportunity to participate in the Enquiry. From these centres the Com mission, will examine the official witnesses in its own manner and give its findings.

Thus, taken as a whole the investigation of truth and facts regarding causes and course of riots is sought to be gerrymandered in favour of the communal forces and their patrons in the administration and Govern

DAMAGING CASE

It is common knowledge in Jabalpur—many officials brag about it—that the ori-ginal police Roznamchas (diary) have been burnt and for the purpose of the Enquiry new Roznamchas have been forged from beginning to end. The original Control Room Diary has also met the same fate alongside the hospital re-cords of injured persons, wherein the authorities have now inflated the num-ber of injured Hindus out of all proportion.

An interesting case with a very damaging evidence regarding the barning of roznamchas has recently come to light. A police havaldar, who was formerly in the Intelligence Branch in Lordganj Police Station, managed to take away two sheets of slightly burnt roznamchas, containing entries of rape and suicide reports on February 3 and of the students' procession. on February 4 which mark-ed the beginning of the communal disturbances in Jabalpur.

The havaldar sent written complaints about it to the Inspector General of Police, the DIG and the Collector, thinking, in his innocence. that by this he was bringing the corrupt practices of some police officials to the notice of the higher-ups and expected his reward from them.

of efforts was made to secur the possession of documents from him.

On August 14 the Commission summoned him and the Police officials handed him some papers and asked him to submit the same to the Commission instead of the original documents. He was also directed to submit to the Commission that these were the only evid-ence and documents with him and so he should no more be summoned for evid-

The havaldar did likewise. A few days after, some offi-cials raided his house and forcibly took away the documents. He then wrote again to the Commission narrating all these facts and himself volunteered to give evidence.

But the Commission now probably does not want to record his vital evidence, as is clear from the repeated re-presentation to the Commis-sion, which evokes no res-ponse. Presently, the havaidar concerned has proceeded on leave to his home town in West Bengal giving his address to the Commission.

Giving up important evidence as above. unmindful of the circumstances which ren-der it impossible for the Muslim community to partici-pate in the enquiry, not per-mitting the leaders of the parties represented in the enquiry to attend the proceedings and assist their counsels on the spot, withholding some vital documents and records from inspection, giving an un-imaginably short period for the inspection of available records the Commission of Enquiry has now fixed November 29 for the final arguments on

Jabalpur. And in case of Saugor, Damoh and Narsinghpur the Commission has started its proceedings sitting at Jabalpur, without associating any segment ' of public opinion and with no representation to any organisation of citizens. Obviously, the Commission has made up its mind to rely has made up its mind to rely solely on the police and governmental version of the riots its causes and the measures undertaken by it.

While this farce of an enquiry instituted by the Katju Government continues, the police also continues to dig up new cases eight months after the riots. Already, some arrests of Muslims have been effected in that latter half of October.

PAGE ELEVEN

KISANS READY FOR ACTION

TE KARNATAK

Kisan meetings all over Karnatak at all important village centres from November 1 to 18, formation of volunteer squads and approaching every house for signature, pad yatras in new areas where they have not been organised before, rallies and meetings in taluka and district headquarters on November 19this is the programme which the Executive Commit-tee of the Karnatak Raitha Sangha has chalked out in its campaign against the reactionary land reform legislation of the Mysore Government.

But the provision has been made much worse by the Government amend-

ment exempting, from the

purview of ceiling, also land cultivated with any

plantation crop (cardo-mom, coffee, pepper, rub-ber and tea) together with

ber and teal together with land used for the prepara-tion of such crop for the market, land contiguous to

or in the vicinity or within

the boundaries of the area

cultivated by any planta-tion crop to the extent of 100 acres and other agri-cultural land within the

boundaries of plantations.

Another retrograde amend-

ment relates to total exemp-

tion for land held by religi-

ous, charitable or educational institutions, when such land

is cultivated personally by such institutions, i.e., if it is cultivated by farm servants

under the personal supervi-

sion of an employee or agent of the institution.

There is quite a large num-ber of such wealthy institu-tions in the State and many more will make their appear-

SPECULATIONS about

the shifting of the venue of the 67th Congress

session from Patna and its

postponement were set at rest when Union Railway

Minister Jagjivan Ram el-

gress President Abdul

ayyum Ansari from the

But Jagiiyan Ram's "un-

animous" elections instead of easing the situation has widened the group rift in the

Bihar Congress and given rise

Reception Committee

chairmanship of the

the

bowed out Provincial Con-

A LONG with the signature The Raitha Sangha and some A campaign, members will also be enrolled to the Raitha Sangha. The membership at present is 25,200, the target for 1961-62 is set at 75,000three-fold increase. The ecutive Committee's decision is that during the sigcampaign at least tembers should be ennature campaign

One lakh signatures and half a lakh members before November 19—that is the call of the Executive Com-

The land reforms proposals were first published in Mysore September 1957 in State in the form of the report of the Jatti Committee. Later, the Mysore Land Reforms Bill was published and after discussion in the Assembly it was referred to a Joint Select Committee

The report of the Joint Select Committee and the Bill as amended by it were publi-shed in March 1961. And now the Assembly has passed it, making substantial changes.

The amendments moved by the Revenue Minister on behalf of the Government and adopted on the streng th of the Congress majority in the Assembly are, on the whole, retrograde and dangerous from the point of view of the tenants and poor peasants.

These amendments are against the principles of land reforms enunciated by the Congress itself and are not in conformity with the recon nendations of the Planning Commission

The Bill as presented by the Joint Select Committee had fixed the ceiling at 27 standard acres of land-which meant that every family of five members would be allowed to hold land varying from 27 to 216 acres and that every additional member every additional memory would be allowed six standard of twice the ceiling area.

Even the Planning Commission considered this celling too high and suggested 18 standard acres. The Raitha Sangha demande i a ceiling en 15 and 60 acres and several opposition members proposed amendments for a ceiling of 15, 18 or 20 stand-

The Government formally accepted the 18 standard acres proposed by the Plan-ning Commission, but by another amendment ceiling on holdings existing on the appointed day was fixed at 27 acres and only future ons were restricted acquisitions were restricted to 18 acres. The entire op-position staged a walk-out from the Assembly in pro-test against this doublefaced policy.

PAGE TWELVE

ance before the appointed day. The Raitha Sangha had

demanded that all transfers of land made after May 10, 1957, should be disrega for the purpose of determin-ing ceiling in respect of any persons or family. The Plan ning Commission had als made such a recommendation to the State Government. Amendments to this effect had opposition members had de-manded that no exemption should be given to grazing land, efficiently managed farms, etc. been moved by Opposition members. But the ruling party and the Government refused heed it.

Instead of the original pro-vision permitting only small-holders to create or continue tenancy after the appointed day, widows and un married women have also been enabled to create and continue tenanoriginally, the tenant who

held land continuously for not less than six years prior to a specified date (varying from specified date (varying 100. January 1, 1951 to July 1, 1958 in various regions of the in various regions of the State) and who, after that date and before the appoint-ed day, had been dispossessed either by eviction or by sur-render, could apply to the tribunal for restoration of possession of land under certain conditions

Now a common date for all regions has been fixed, Sep-tember 10, 1957, and no tenant dispossessed prior to that date can now apply for restoration OT.

The most dangerous amendment that has been adopted is in relation to rent. The original provision was: "where the rent payable by any tenant under any contract or under any law in force immediately before the appointed day was less than the ma-ximum rent specified in this Bill, such tenant shall not be liable to pay more than such rent".

The emphasised portion has now been dropped from the provision, which means that tenants who now joy the benefits of the Bom-bay and Hyderabad Ten-ancy Acts would be deprived of these benefits.

The Mysore Government has, thus, openly violated the recommendation of the Planning Commission that no existing rights or facilities should be nullified by new

legislations. The Bill gives unlimited power to the landlords to re-sume land from tenants for non-agricultural purposes, it gives wide scope for resump-tion for so-called personal cultivation. The Planning Commission

The Planning commission had recommended contribu-tion of labour as an ingre-dient of personal cultivation, but the Mysore Government has not thought it necessar to include such an ingredient it necessary it has now deleted even the condition that the la should reside within ten miles of the land.

Tenants can be evicted for so-called defaults like failure to pay rent on or before the date during two consecutive years, causing damage to the land, sub-dividing or subetting, etc. The Raitha Sangha has letting

been carrying on a sustained campaign with its demands for: 5 . • Ger

-15 to 60 acres celling;

-no exemption for expansion of plantations, grazing lands, efficiently managed farms and for land held by

From Our Kisan

Correspondent

religious, charitable and ed cational institutions; -restoration of the clause that where rent under any law in force immediately be-

fore the appointed day is less than the maximum rent, it should not be allowed to be increased under any circumstances;

-restoration of possession of land to displaced tenants to be made applicable from dates originally specified in the Bill;

-contribution of personal labour to be made a criterion of personal cultivation along with the condition of resi-dence within a specified dis-tance from the land;

-all transfers of land from May 10, 1957, be deemed null and void for the purpose of determining ceiling area;

-arrears of rent to be leemed cleared if actual amount or an amount equal to one year's rent is paid, by the tenant, no tenant to be allowed to be evicted for such arrears of decrees or so-call-ed defaults in future also;

-resumption of land by landlords for non-agricultu-ral purposes be restricted in scope and limited in extent with protection not only to protected tenants but also to landlords for n ordinary tenants who should be allowed at least one basic be allowed at least one basic holding each. It is on these demands that

the Raitha Sangha now launches the new phase of its campaign.

cation of the rule to eliminate



From Our Labour Correspondent

independ

ties" and rearranging

duce labour costs.

sation and automation to re-

Much emphasis is being laid on the question of productivity these days by the rulers of the land. This is so especially when the workers ask for a rise in wages. "Productivity is the key to plenty"—workers are told in the name of national reconstruction.

WHO is the gainer from the not mention the present low implementation of pro-level of wages in our country ductivity schemes? Workers and the need to increase the are assured that they would sharing reasonably the as of productivity with gains of productivity with their employers. Thus, it is assured, both would be benefitted and the national nomy would also make some advance.

At the Conference of the National Productivity Council held in Delhi last month S. Anantharamakrishnan, a leading spokesman of mono poly combines in South In-, presented a rosy picture before the workers.

He said: "The share workers in the benefits of benefits of higher productivity may take the form in part of higher wages, in part of lower prices for the goods produced, and in part of better working conditions, including shorter hours, .social services and workers' housing".

But this is not enough! According to him: "Produc-tivity provides a real and just opportunity for management and labour to cooperate in common endeavour of rais the living standards of the people, for expanding employment opportunities and for laying a sound basis for the country's economy".

The monopolists' spokesman, unwittingly perhaps, failed to conceal the real aims of the productivity movement of the employers when he characterised the "science of productivity" as "science of productive," as the "science of manage-ment". It is a problem "essentially" for the mana-gement, while the labour has to give "full cooperation

However, the working paper on sharing gains of the working productivity prepared by the National Productivity Council (NPC) tried to give some concrete shape to the concept of sharing the gains. The paper while explaining a hypothetical rise in produc-tion illustrated how the rise would affect the industry.

Number of pieces produce

Direct labour cost

Material cost

Overheads

Gains

lor of the Aligarh Muslim University on October 27 is of more than personal significance. As reported earlier in New Age, the Vice-Chancellor, Col. B. H. Zaidi, had asked for the resignation of the. Pro Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan, on October 21 on the ground that the latter had failed to cooperate with

During	During
Reference	Period Und
Period	Consideratio
d 10.000	15,000
Rs.	Rs.
20,000	20,000
40.000	50,000
30.000	40.000
10.000	15,000
	25,000
1.00.000	1 50 000

Now according to the work-ing paper of the NPC, work-ers, will benefit by getting Rs. Employers, however, will be entitled to take Rs. 15,000 out of the gains plus Rs. 5,000 as the rise in profits.

Thus, they will at the end earn Rs. 20,000 as a result of workers' efforts to increase production. will get only Rs. 10,000 by sed wages.

Actually Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan had made himself the leader of the Muslim communal group within the Uni-versity and had been leading a virulent communal camand again opposed the Vice-Chancellor quite openly in the various University bodies.

It is regretable that in this he has been consistently sup-ported by "Nationalist Mus-lim" leaders like Maulana Hifzur Rehman and A. M. Hifzur Rehman and A. M. The report, however, does Khwaja, who are both mem-

NOVEMBER 12, 1961

It accuses "one group of Congressmen of having non-cooperated" during Qayum Ansari's provisional chair-manship of the Reception Committee. "At each step the ministerialist group gave evidence of its non-cooperaevidence of its no operation. In fact, from the very beginning the ministerial-ists were trying to eliminate the (other) group from con-trol of the Congress session.

"Situations were created so that the session may not be

-from ALI ASHRAF

held at all. And later the ministerialists began making efforts to get Jagjivan Ram inivted for the chairmanship

to further complications. In the Reception Committee meeting itself, there was a loud "No" to Jagjivan Ram's chairmanship from a group of dissident following and one of them was even encouraged to formally oppose it.

Ansari's own paper, the Urdu Weekly Roshni carried three letters and an editorial protesting against the change-over. While the "readers letters" highlight the communal aspect, the injustice to the minority community in the elimination of a Muslim from the chairmanship of the Reception Committee, etc., the editorial deals with the issue There were already a num-ber of exemptions in the Bill group conflicts inside the which made celling a farce. Bihar Congress.

ed people, entered into man-ouvres was not benitting his position. He did not remain neutral in this struggle but openly took a partial stand. NEW AGE

He made every effort to hand over the control of the Reception Committee from the hands of one group to the other." In this background Sanjiya

Bihar Congress Rift Widens

Reddy's efforts to help evolve a common list of Congress candidates for the General Elections were bound to rouse suspicions.

At one stage the ministerialists and the dissidents had lists and the dissidents had agreed to differ and to send their own respective lists to the Central Parliamentary Board. The meeting of the Bihar Congress Election Com-mittet fixed for October 25, was postponed to November 1.

In the Committee, it should be remembered the dissidents are represented by a small majority of one.

of the Reception Committee But "in this whole drama", continued the Roshni, "the most objectionable role was that of Congress President Sanjiva Reddy.... The way he took up Jagiivan Ram's

cause, the way he, pressuris-ed people, entered into man-

cation of the rule to eliminate all those legislators who have served for more than ten years, Sanjiva Reddy has pub-licly "assured that the AICC would relax the principles laid down for selection of Congress candidates especially in the case of Bihar for the sake of achieving unanimity". This unanimity, however, con-tinues to be as elusive today

In the meantime a threeman committee consisting of Chief Minister Binodanand Chief Minister Binodanand Jha, BPCC President Qay-yum Ansari and K. B. Sahay was set up to explore possi-bilities of evolving a com-mon list. The Committee, so

ists are represented only by their Chief.

as ever it was. NAMAGE

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COMPUTIT PARTY SHEER

MARXBADI

and not to NEW AGE.

far, has failed to produce any miracles. On this Com-mittee, too, the ministerial-

While the two dissidents are insisting on a rigid appli-

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the workers when he pointed out the need for a sound wage policy while working out

He suggested the following

Where the wage is below

the minimum wage labou should take 100 per cent.

Where the wage is between

method of sharing the gains

productivity schemes.

wage level in proportion to the rise in productivity since Official statistics show

that the productivity rise between 1947 and 1958 has been as much as 53 per cent while the real wages appreciated only by 27 per cent.

In the name of rise in productivity employers' resort to increasing the workload, re-ducing the strain on the workers in the name of "eliminating unnecessary activibining "necessary" activities. They also resort to mechani-

further results in reducing employment opportunities. Even though it is said that as a rethough it is said that as a re-sult of productivity no worker should be thrown out of his job, during the period 1953 to 1958 it was seen that employ-ment in the organised industries went up by two per cent only, whereas produc-tivity rose by 36 per cent. the minimum and the fair-wage labour should take 80 ner cent

Where the wage is at or above the fair wage labour should take 50 per cent.

The minimum wages fixed at present are not based or the norms laid down by the 15th Indian Labour Conference. Unless that standard is reached, it would not be fair to call the present "minimum wage" as a real minimum.

Secondly, in all fairness full benefits should be given uld be given to the workers till they attain the fair wage standard. If this is done, then alone will the workers be interested in The productivity movement producing more.

> Anantharamakrishnan highly mistaken when he says: "Happily enough labour participatio in the drive for productivity can now be safely assumed as forthcom-ing and the resistance to ing and the resistance efforts at introducing protechniques is yielding place to cooperation".

Dr. P. S. Lokanathan has Workers know their em-at least done some justice to ployers better.

OUR GREETINGS, GHEORGHIU-DEJ!

G H. Gheorghiu-Dej was born on November 8, 1901 in

G H. Gheorghlu-Dej was born on November 8, 1901 in the town of Birlad in a working-class family. He started working at the age of eleven and since his early youth took an active part in the revolution movement. In 1930 he joined the Communist Party of Rumania which then worked underground, soon be-coming one of its most able cadres. In March 1932 he was elected secretary of the Central Action Com-mittee of the railway workers and in 1933 he was arrested as the organizer and leader of the greatest strike of the railway and oil workers in the history of Rumania.

In 1936 he was coopted, in his absence, as a member of the Central Committee of the Con of Rumania

Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej led, from prison, the preparation for the ending of the fascist regime. The political and military plan of armed insurrection aimed at overthrowing the military-fascist dictatorship was elaborated in 1943 under his leadership. In October 1945, Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej was elected

General Secretary of the Communist Party of Rumania. From 1946, after the victory won in the elections by the bloc of democratic parties he has headed the Ministry of National Economy, which was later transformed into the Ministry of Industry and

nmerce. On December 30, 1947 under the leadership of the Rumanian Communist Party, the Rumanian people abolished the monarchy and proclaimed Rumania a people's republic. In February 1948 at the Congress of Unification

In February 1948 at the congress of Unincation of the Communist Party with the Social Democratic-Party of Rumania, he was elected General Secretary of the Central Committee of the newly founded party —the Rumanian Workers' Party. At the second (December 1955) and the third

At the second (December 1955) and the Unita (June 1960) Congresses of the Rumanian Workers' Farty, Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej was again elected a mem-ber of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party, a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party. He has been a deputy to the Grand National Ascembly

of the Rumanian People's Republic since its inception. Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej was elected President of the State Council of the Rumanian People's Republic in March 1961. Our warmest greetings on his 60th

The Settlement In Aligarh

From Our Correspondent

THE "settlement of dif-ferences" reached be-tween the Vice-Chancellor and the Pro-Vice-Chancel-cellor demanded his resignation, Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan rushed to Delhi to mobilise support for himself among his patrons. Meanwhile within the University his support-ers began to incite Muslim students to go on strike. As the Vice-Chancellor

seemed to stand firm. A. M. Khwaja came into the open with a resolution for the Executive Council censuring the Vice-Chancellor fo "mismanagement" of affairs. His son Ravindr Khwaja, a man with no position or status in the University also issued a well-publicised statement attacking the Vice-Chancellor.

This furious campaign in-volving threats of students' strike and of paralysing the University administration was launched without any tho ght of the ght of the interests of the University, although the leaders of the campaign are never tired of posing them-selves as the guardians of the University and its traditions. Prof. Habib. Professor Emeritus of the University, was constrained to come out with a press statement describing Khwaja's move as "not only ultra vires, but also stupid and ridiculous".

Everything now depended Government; and so far it seems to have been committed to backing the Vice-Chancellor

Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan is his previous

NEW AGE

reported to have been saved chiefly by the intervention of his illustrious brother, Dr. Zakir Husain, who had come to Delhi for the Governors Conference. Both the Vice-Chancellor and Pro-Vice-Chancellor were summoned to Delhi

Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan not only apologised to the Vice-Chancellor and pledg-ed himself to work loyally as his subordinate, but also promised to suppress future public expressions ss in ons of his own communal ideology. He is said to have repeated s before the Lal Bahathese assurances be Vice-President, Lal Baha-dur Shastri and C. B. Gupta, who had also come to Delhi.

On receiving these assurances the Vice-Chancellor withdrew his demand for Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan's resignation, and later both of them issued a joint statement pledging themselves to work for secular ideals.

The news of the settlement had a mixed reception in the University. There was, on the one hand, a feeling of relief that the University had been spared an embarrassing situation posed by the threats of the Muslim communalists which some people thought would lead to drastic Government intervention not neces-sarily in the right direction.

On the other hand, there remains the anxiety that Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan's protestions have only been made to get him back into the saddle; and he may soon repeat

Pandit Nehru's speech at the University Youth Festi-val, in which he spoke at some length about Aligarh has been avidly read here. It was surprising that the Prime Minister should have seen the situation at All-garh in the light merely of a fight between two faction and should have ign0red the sinister role of Muslim and Hindu communalists within it.

It was, however, noted that he referred to the difficulties he referred to the difficulties faced by the Vice-Chancellor owing to his being opposed and over-ruled in the Execu-tive Council. It is thought that this reference augurs a change in the composition of the Executic Council on the lines recommended by the lines recommended by the Aligarh University Enquiry Committee.

This change is likely to be made through amendments in the University Act at the next session of Parliament.

Immediately after the news the and Nehru's speech, Hindu communalists made yet another attempt to engineer a strike in the University.

The Jan Sanghite attem-pt, however, failed misera-bly and all non-Muslim students attended their classes

But there is little room for complacency. Muslim communal ele ts are strong and as deeply entrenched in the University administration as before: and Hindu as before; and Hindu com-munalists are not going to let slip any opportunity for opening a fresh offensive.

PAGE THIRTEEN

Madhya Pradesh Communists **Plan Election Campaign**

From Our Correspondent

The Madhya Pradesh State Council of the Communist Party, which met recently in Bhopal, has appealed to all democratic parties and forces to wage a joint election battle against the anti-people policies. of the Congress, by effectively weakening its monopoly of power in the State, and against the communal and actionary parties.

participation in the forthcom-ing third general elections. third general elections. Council outlined the following three main objectives:

G To increase the percentage of Party's votes in order to secure the Election ission's recognition;

To weaken the monopoly of the Congress by streng-thening the democratic oppo-sition in the State Assembly;

 To defeat the communal and right-wing parties like the Jana Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Rama Raiva Parishad, the Muslim and the Swatantra League Party.

The Council decided to contest eight out of 36 Parliamentary and 60 out of 288 Assembly seats.

The three sitting MLAs____ Shakir Ali Khan, Sarwate and Homi Daii-will be candidates for the forthcoming elections. Mohini Srivastava will be the Farty's candidate for the Bhopal Parliamentary stituency.

It may be mentioned here for the first time that the Madhya Pradesh Party is going to contest more than one Parliamentary seat. In the last elections the Party set up only one candidate for Parliament. It is also for the

THE State Council, which first time that the Party is _____ In the field of educa-tion the down the d bes constituencies. The Party has decided to concentrate on the industrial and rural areas. The number of seats to be contested from the former Vindya Pradesh has also substantially been increased. This reflects the growing strength of the Party in the State.

The Council discussed the draft election manifesto of the State unit. The manifesto, which will be finalised soor points to the failure of the Congress administration during the last five years to satisfy the demand of the people.

has failed to safeguard the interests of the people while seeking central aid and while the state; it has neglected the industrial development of the State.

- The Government had been unable to implement the Nagpur resolution of the Congress. The Land Ceilings Act, with all its shortcomings, has not yet been implemented. The Government has failed to distribute the waste lands and during its five 'years of office has not made any creditable progress in increasing the food production. State trading in food has been virtually sabotaged.

- In the field of indus-trial development the Gov-ernment has been selling the State to the Birlas. It has failed to expand the public sector and to encourage the local industrialists. The Government's record in increasing employment opportunities is far from encouraging.

- In the field of educatapism and favouritism.

During the time the Katju Ministry has been in power Madhya Pradesh has had ten communal riots.

The way the administration and more particularly the police acted before, dur-ing and after the riots had proved beyond doubt that their approach has been discriminatory. In most cases they can be charged with complicity with com-munal elements. They signally failed to safeguard the interests of the minority community. The State has not yet completed the task of separating the judiciary from the executive.

- Due to the enti-labour policies of the State Govern-ment, the five years of the Katju Ministry's rule have been marked by many strug-gles of the working people. The Government has been unable to properly tackle the problem of the adivasis who form one-fifth of the total population of the State.

- In spite of the fact that the reorganised Madhya Pra-desh was formed in 1956, the work of administrative integration has not been as yet been completed. Moreover, the forces of national disintegration have been encouraged even by some Ministers.

-The recommendations of

the Balwant Rai Mehta Com-

For Democratic Unity!

Congress misrule in the State which has led to

growing unemployment, taxation, riots, high prices and has failed to protect the legitimate interest of the State and harness he resources for regeneration of the State and uplift of

At the same time; the super monopoly of power by the Congress stands as the greatest hindrance to advancement of people's cause and is stuitifying democracy.

The result is frustration amongst the people and the exploitation of this situa-tion by the communal and reactionary parties, like Mahasabha, etc., to side-track the growing discon-tent into disruptive channels and who represent not a positive alternative to ngress rule in the popu-interest but a danger to the furtherance of the people's fight for democracy and their rights.

In this situation the interest of the people of

PAGE FOURTEEN

A LL sections of the peo-ple of Madhya Pradesh and forces come together are bitterly dissatisfied with to fight the Congress with its record of failures and anti-people's policies

Only such a united fight of the democratic forces can effectively weaken the Congress monopoly of power and bring about th necessary popular mobili-sation to curb the antipeople policy of the Gov-ernment and force it to change it.

With this objective the Communist Party holds that the democratic parties in the State—more parti-cularly the SP, PSP, FB, Republican Party and Com-munist Party—should come together in the coming elections or at least effect elections or at least effect the necessary adjustments amongst themselves and progressive-minded inde-pendents to fulfil the hopes and the trust of the people of the State.

The Communist Party pledges itself to strive its utmost to bring about such understanding and adjustments and proclaims its readiness to make all necessary and just adjustinterest of the people of ments to further this objec-the State demands that tive:

mittee on decentralisation of power have been shelved. On the other hand, the policies laid down by the Central Government have been violated as is evident from the fact that the President refused to give his consent to the Madbya Pradesh Panchayat Act as it contained provision for nominated members. - Due to intrigues and

cliques inside the Ministry the bureaucracy had the oportunity to consolidate its position

The Party in its election manifesto, has demanded the setting up of a perma-nent enquiry committee consisting of eminent judges acceptable to all parties to investigate the charges of corruption against Ministers and high officials.

The Party has demanded t privy purses of about 10 lakhs, which annually that go into the pockets of princely parasites, should be abolished and the burden of in-direct taxs should be lessened.

The State Council elected R. L. Khandkar, B. K. Gupta, Homi Daji, Sudhir Mukherjee, Upadhyaya and Shakir Ali Khan to the Parliamentary Board, responsible for con-ducting the Party's election



Swatantra Idole

IF people were to read-the Swatantra Party's mouthpiece, Swarajya, alone and of course refused o see the signs of the time hey would certainly reach the conclusion that socia-

lism is under eclinse That is the contention of one K. Vadamurthy in Swarajya (Oct. 21, 1961). Says he: "Prime Minister Nehru thinks that the Swatantra Party's econo mic policies are outmoded and its leaders are out of tune with the spirit of the times. The truth is otherwise.

"Three times running, in both Britain and Germany, a socialist party and a conservative party had fought in national elections, and in both the countries, the in Belgium and the Netherlands, socialists are now out of the coalition Governments which normally rule them". Now how can you help

the proverbial blind touch-ing the tail of the elephant and telling every one that elephant is like a rope! The Swatantriates took for examples of "socialist"

parties in Britain and Germany, parties which not only openly support every measure of colonial loot, capitalist exploitation but vie with their conservative parties in slandering socia-list countries.

They, the Swatantrites, very comfortably forget the history of a century—the weakening of the capita-list-imperialist system and emergence of a powerful rival the socialist camp.

Without any regard for these facts the Swatantrite penpusher goes on to write: "Far from being a wave of the future, socialism in countries that were devas-tated by the last war seems

a relic of the past. /The drift away in Germany from the socialism of the (Indian) Congress brand is all too plain for those

who will see. "When Dr. Erhard, the Economics Minister, startd his experiment in a free economy, a policy advocat-ed by the Swatantra Party of India now, social-demo-cratic spokesmen thunder-ed against it as Congressnen in India do today.

alleging that it would make he rich richer and poor oorer... So now there should be no doubt on one count

at least — the Swatantra Party's policies are similar to that of that German Erhard, belonging to Christin Democratic Party, the party which believes in settlement of issues by var! The merchants of death

in West Germany duly abetted by imperialists of all hues (from whom the Swatantra also derives inspiration) represent some-thing else too-the spirit of Hitler fascism. Is it the same spirit that Swatantra Party symbo-lises in our country?

Halting R.S.S.

STUDENTS' Federation A worker, Promod Shar-The worker, Promod Shar-ma, from Saharanpur (a western U.P. town) has written to me drawing attention to the role of the RSS in fanning com-munal tension there, just after the Aligarh incidents and the promit atten that and the prompt action that other students took to counter the move of the storm troopers of Hindu

He writes, "RSS-led stu-dents tried to organise a procession from the College (S. V. Jain College) to create communal anarchy in the city. But thanks to sober and progressive thin-king of our college stud-ents and staff members the RSS conspiracy was

castigated". What did the Students Federation do? It showed prompt courage and initia-tives. With the permission of the college authorities a meeting was held in the college where communalism was "boldly and firmly". condemned.

This was immediately followed by an intensive immediatel campaign to counterblas the rumours of the RSS workers. And, thus, the town was saved from the communal holocaust which took place in other cities of U.P.

This is a commendable example by all means. The students have shown fine courage. The ugly designs of thè can be the communalists can be nipped in the bud if this example is followed wherever they raise their heads.

Good Example

CCORDING to a news A CCORDING to a news litem of October 28 the entry of novels, books and magazines portraying cri-me, violence, sex and gangsterism has been banned by Ceylon's custo ructions received from its Government.

According to the report, a customs' official said that the ban applied to the cheap American crime and sex books which in the opinion of the custom authorities were likely to corrupt the morals of the

young. What about our country? In the heart of the capital city, New Delhi, one can find such books glorifying sex crime, violence and war. And films, of course, are aplenty.

This despite the presence of patrons of puritanism (1) in the ruling party! -AGRADOOT

NOVEMBER 12 1041

P. S. P. Manifesto =

Analysed By Ziaul Hag

The PSP's Election Manifesto released in its final form a month ago, has been titled with characteristic flamboyance as the PSP's "Call for Gallant Adventure of Hope and Achievement." The hope and the spirit of adventure that this document. The nope and the spirit or adventure that this document was supposed to gene-rate in the country or at least in the ranks and the following of the party is hardly to be seen anywhere. On the contrary comments both in the press and other-

wise have been caustic.

calculated and deliberate. The

of the European Common Market, an embodiment of

collective imperialism, springs. As a result we find that the PSP election manifesto

studiously avoids any re-ference to nationalisation

of any sector of foreign capital in India. It is dis-creetly silent about the need for any curbs on for-eign private investments in

The dangers, of which even a good section of the Indian

bourgeoisie are: conscious as

dangers to our economic inde-pendence and to the interests of our economic growth are

passed over by the pundits of

the PSP in ominous silence.

our country.

F VEN so the magnitude of L the PSP's fraud on the people of India is far from being fully realised. Like the frog in Assop's fable the As pointed out earlier, the omission is not accidental but drafters' of the PSP manifesto seem to think that they can blow themselves up and framework of the Indian people's struggle to break through the shackles that hinder their economic addelude the people into considering them as really the bull which could deliver the goods. The manifesto declares:

Pompous Phrases

"The Praja Socialist Party is proud of the confidence i has consistently enjoyed of the people. The party greets the coming elections with hope and assurance, it is more united, its organisation more trim, its policies clearer and sharper than ever before. It is proud to welcome the nation's storm-tossed vessel seeking anchorage in democratic socialism, in expanding freedom, in economic equality, in

dom, in economic equality, in rapid social change." It is this party which claims to approach the people "in all humility" for their "blessings" in the third General Elec-

lism the ideology and under-standing of Western social-democracy which day by day becomes an open tool of the monopolies. It is from this that Asoka Menta's extolling of the European Common While every party is sup-posed to beat its drum on the eve of elections, the PSP's performance would certainly stand out as the most disgusting for the rea-son of its being so patently and palpably unrelated to reality by any stretch of imagination.

When one looks at the substance of the platform that the PSP holds out as a blue-print for "fundamental and urgent revival and renaissance", the colossal hoax sought to be played by Asoka Mehta and Company becomes

even more disgusting. The framework within which the PSP leaders' have delibe-rately confined the analysis of the problems that face this country completely leaves out the role of imperialism and foreign monopoly capital. For the framers of the PSP elec-tion manifesto the question



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Achievement" refuses to call for even the slightest expansion of the public sec-tor in industry-not to speak tor in industry-not to of making it the dom sector in our economy. In fact the manifesto uses all arguments that have been freely available in the arsenal of Indian big business and foreign r polists against the expan-sion of public sector.

Against The just not seen by the great Against The theorists of the Asoka Public Sector Mehta brand.

It advocates the splitting up of big enterprises-how a public sector steel plant would be split up by the PSP is not split out. It emphasizes utililic sector steel plant we - through the shackles that hinder their economic ad-vance and political and cul-their view the biggest hurdle and the real enemy. Asoka Mehta and his gang by re-sorting to this underhand technique serve the biggest

sorting to this underhand True, the big monopolists technique serve the biggest are also simultaneously direc-capitalist monopolies of the ted "to farm out considerable West, and seek to transform West, and seek to transform work to small producers the PSP into their instru- brought together in industrial. It is an attempt to artifi-cially impose on Indian socia-of the monopolies them

PSP or outside it will see how treacherous is the game being played by, the Asoka Mehta leadership. It is not for a better organisation of the present capitalist order that is developing in our country but developing in our country but million Indian peasants for an advance towards a PSP leaders have the fundamental reorganisation to claim that they fundamental reorganisation to claim that they want to of this order, something wage a war against poverty which would take it in the "by fully utilising the great direction of socialism, that asset of India—the labour of the Indian people have fought her people." and continue to fight. They Obviously the leadership of will reject with contempt the SSD leadership's attempt to and continue to fight. They will reject with contempt the PSP leadership's attempt to hoodwink and sidetrack them

from that path. The issue of land reforms also finds an equally tardy treatment in the PSP election manifesto. It is interesting to note that the original draft published in June failed to mention the question of land belonging to tillers and the fact that evictions had also taken place. The "landless poor" had also been forgotten. It, is only in the finalised manifesto issued six months later that the following generous insertion has been made.

"Tillers of the soil will be recognised as owners of the land and those unjustly evicted will be restored their lands." Only in characterising the

of land and decline in pro-

With such gross and blatant. refusal to fight for the ele-mentary demands of our basic masses, the multi-million Indian peasantry, the

adership's attempt to gress in wanting to direct the peasantry on to the road of capitalis capitalist farming which would condemn the great bulk of them to working for others on the basis of some tive", maybe wages or doles. It is on these doles in the

name of providing security that tion manifesto places inordinate emphasis. In fact it declares, "Democratic socia-lism's test lies in the security it offers to citizens", and goes on to promise (in rather ambiguous terms, for that promise is withdra the same manifesto) "work to all", besides university right to education universal "modest "modest age pension" and "crop and cattle insurance." Talk of social security today

Gallant "Democratic" Socialists And Their Rightist Adventure

distateful to, the authors of the PSP manifesto. They would have this country concentrate on developing "smaller yet economic uni Not industrial revolution

and development of an independent self - reliant economy but a reorganisation of economy at its pre-sent low level with monopo-lies functioning through lies functioning through smaller units as their agents — that is what the PSP's blueprint for Indian indus-try would amount to. This is what the PSP leaders would like to pass off as socialism All those who have been inspired by the ideas of socialism whether they are in the

selves. Perhaps it is not their break, up but more effective functioning that is desired. Big industry, "glant cor-porations", "modernist deve-lopment"----all these are highly generally disadvantageous to the poorer sections of the people. As for their own pro-posals now and what should be done, the PSP leaders have nothing more to suggest than a more even-handed distribu-tion of credits, work projects and so on.

> The issue of fixation of ceilings, the demand voiced all over the country by all parties except the self-proclaimed rightists, the de-mand which unites broadest sections of peasantry irres-pective of political creed, such a demand finds no place in the PSP's election manifesto. Maybe the PSP leaders also have begun to agree with the various farmers' forums that ceilings would mean fragmentation

(Courtesy: Shanker's Weekly)

as almost an alternative to basic reforms as the PSP manifesto poses the question, is really one of the biggest hoaxes sought to be perpetratbiggest ed.

The foreign policy advocated by the farmers of the PSP manifesto flows from their understanding of our national

U. S.

Advocates

The PSP claims that it is opposed to military blocs. To-day it can't do otherwise. Still it must somehow smuggle the "nolitical and idea. And the advanced for "political and defence collaboration among countries of the region " The "region" obviously includes Pakistan, Thailand, Malaya. India is invited once again to walk into the imperialist parlour via this regional arrange-

Incidentally, in all its talk of making Pakistan vacate aggression against India the PSP manifesto scrupulously avoids mention of the US. Reading the manifesto one would think that US was not in the picture at all.

The trump card the PSP leadership flaunts is the China issue and the manifesto understandably makes the most of it.

A sinister proposal made in this context is for a Defence Council which will give the military men voice in matters of policy. This is made under of policy. This is made under the garb of assuring "civilian control". It is actually a rationalisation of what was attempted in the Thimayya episode.

The PSP election manifesto is document which advocates essentially a rightist shift all along the line under cover of de cratic socialism.

CALCUTTA'S RABINDRA MELA

Labor of Congress

THE POET WITH HIS PEOPLE

From AJOY DASGUPTA

The Gurudev's big heart had place for everybody, so has the Mela organised by the Tagore Centenary Peace Festival, All India Committee, at the Park Circus Maidan from November 5. The Mela, preparations for which were going on for the last eighteen months, was inaugurated by Mira Devi, youngest daughter and only living child of Tagore. Over 30,000 people were present.

T HE huge dais, is decorated with pith works in tradi-tional Bengali style and flank-ed by two huge wings contain-ing the Poet's message: Thou hast brought

- the distant near and made a brother
- of the stranger.

The message being in his own handwriting was really a

true expression of the spirit of the Mela. On the platform was 90-years old Sangeet Nayak Gopiswar Bandopadhayaya, Gopiswar Bandopadhayaya, doyen of Bengal's musicians who had been connected with Rabindranath for many years. There were Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, and representatives from different States of India.

With them were representa-With them were representa-tives of foreign countries-Vera Novikova and S. Bala-sanyan of USSR, Dr. Dusan Zbavitel of Czechoslovakia, Prof. Clovis Maksoud of the League of Arab States, League of Arab States, Mohammad Isa of Indonesia, representing the Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement, Reve-rend Wipulasara Thero of Ceylon, Rial El Etr of Egypt, Prof. Tanaka of Japan, Mr Erendo of Mongolia and Nguen Van Sao of Viet Nam and many more. and many more.

TAGORE'S VOICE

A recording of Tagore's own voice calling humanity to congregate together (Bharattir-tha) was listened to in hushed respect. Mira Devi opened the Festival by lighting the hun-dredth candle placed in front of a life-size portrait of. Tagore.

"The poet of the world one day carried his golden message of peace and friendship from one end of the earth to the other. If this peace festival of ours can bring assurance in this scared world, then this festival will have done its part", Mira Devi said in her mess-She said that today are. the forces of violence and evil are rearing their heads again and it is necessary to defeat these forces.

It was moving to hear the Bengali speeches of Dr. Dusan Zbavitel (Czechoslovakia) and Novikova (USSR) on Tagore's significance for world peace.

TAGORE **IN PICTURES**

Dr. Suniti Chattopadhyaya said that this Mela has given us Tagore in his all-sidedness and proved that the Poet be-longs particularly to Bengal and at the same time to the world:

With Vedic hymns sung by Amiya Tagore and Suchitra Mitra's Tagore song the inau-gural session, both serene and joyous at the same time, set the tone of the Mela. The exhibition on the life

and labours of Rabindranath is one of the main features of the Mela and occupies the centre of the huge arena. As in all other items of the Mela, the theme of this exhibition is also Tagore's message of nationalism, internationalism and the grand union of huma-

nity. The multitudinous events of Tagore's eventful life are presented chronologi-cally, mainly through 100 big size photographs. There

32 other portraits revealing the intimate moods of the Poet.

Santiniketan was the Poet's abode for almost half his life and it was here that he built up the Visva-Bharati A sec-tion of the exhibition entitled "Tagore and Santiniketan" has been organised by the famous photographer Sambhu has been Saha, who has perhaps taken the largest number of photo-graphs of Tagore during diffe-rent phases of his life.

TAGORE'S MANUSCRIPT'S

There is another section exhibiting manuscripts and first editions of the Poet's **Dublications and letters writ**publications and letters writ-ten by him. Along with it are shown Tagore-books published in 14 Indian and 32 foreign languages. There are altoge-ther 150 books in this section.

Tagore's paintings also form nother section. The West another section. The West Bengal branch of the National Women's Federation has arranged a poster exhibition on "Tagore and Women", drawn mostly by women artists. "Tagore and Science"—a new angle on the poet—is exhi-bited in a neat manner.

Paintings by famous artists from India and abroad on the basis of the Poet's writings on the themes of nationalism, internationalism and peace constitute another attractive feature of the exhibition. Apart from this central ex-

hibition, exhibits from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Reof Vietnam, USA, League of Arab States, Indonesia, Gha-

* FROM FRONT PAGE

Mand that free access to West Berlin must be fully guaranteed. Pandit Nehru on the basis of his talks with Khrushchov assured that

Knrusnenov assured that there were no objections from the Soviet side but the de-tails and manner in which access rights were guaranteed, were matters of negotiation

between the East and the

West. The U.S. pressmen tried to trip Prime Minister Nehru with the suggestion that In-

dia observed double standards the observed double standards while advocating the princi-ple of self-determination. It supported the liberation movements in Angola and in

Algeria but denied self-deter-

Algeria but denied seit-deter-mination to the Germans. Pandit Nehru pointed out the obvious, that the strug-gle of countries held in colonial subjection could

access to

mand that free

na. Poland and, many other countries are being exhibited in other pavilions.

A very heautiful and fas-cinating pavilion is one where Nilima Barua's collection of handicrafts, dolls of earth and pith, hand woven fabrics, ornaments of pith, bamboo sticks and reeds are exhibited. All these are mostly the handiwork of the tribal peoples of Assam and West Bengal. Cultural functions are tak-

ing place simultaneously on two stages and in a cinema. There is a third platform where Putul Nach (puppet show) has been already shown, which, too, will be utilised mainly for folk forms of culture.

ture. Song and dance troupes from 11 States of India have already come to this Mela as also the Ceylonese dancers.

The Suk trio of Czechoslo-vakia and Cuban ballet dancers are expected any day. Calcutta's best artists and troupes are there. It is a veritable feast, one is apt to be at a loss at what to praise more.

TAGORE'S INSPIRATION

But of the items already staged, the jatra deserves special mention. This tradi-tional form of folk enter-tainment is still, perhaps, the biggest draw. There was a special whole night show a special whole night show of jatra, where a profes-sional jatra troupe, the Natta Company Jatra Party and IPTA staged two plays. Though a separate entrance fee was charged, the audi-ence became so huge that that simultaneous shows by

two troupes from two stages had to be organised. And despite the discomfi-ture of sitting in the open in the cold and the delay in arranging a non-scheduled show, people sat through the whole night up to 7 am. The same batch of people ran from one mauditorium to the other, to see the same play, staged for the second time in the same night,

TAGORE'S VERSATILITY

And all glory to the IPTA, Prakit branch, who performed twice in a night, without tak-ing a single minute's rest, to satisfy the people.

And it is not that people are coming only for entertain-ment. Seminars on Tagore's philosophy of life, and his views on educational prob-lems also drew huge audi-ences. The crowds sat for hours listening to Dr. Radha-kamal Mukherjee, Provat Mukherjee, Prof. Clovis Maksond Aniya Bhusan Chakravarty, Meera Dutta Gupta, Nalini Das, Amiya Sen and others.

In the science pavilion also large numbers of people lis-ten with rapt attention to dis-cussions on Tagore and the mind of man, initiated by Dr. Dhiren Ganguly.

So three days of the Mela have already achieved a great measure of success in presenting Rabindranath, not in a sectional way or to a select audience, but in presenting his all-sidedness to all people. Thousands upon thousands of visitors to the Mela have al-ready proved that Rabindra-nath lives in the hearts of millions of men in his own country and abroad.

Nehru In Washington

revolt of his own people. Pandit Nehru is reported to ave told the Americans that the Vietnamese were not friendless and had a common border with China, and that if the Americans sent in their armed forces a Korea, ion a worse scale for the Americans, Korea, on a

worse scale for the Americans, might be enacted in Vietnam. The U.S. military aide to the President, Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor has inadvertently reinforced Nehru's warn-ing with his opinion that sending the U.S. troops to remote South Vietnam was a citrateric struidity and sould remote South Vietnam was a strategic stupidity, and could be at best a political gesture. On next door Laos the Indian Prime Minister is

Indian Prime Minister is understood to have tried to persuade the U.S. President to accept the wisdom of supporting the neutralist Prince Souvanna Phouma Prince Souvanna Phouma even against the pro-American Prince Boun Oum on the ground that the pro-Western elements within Laos had no popular sup-port.

As against the above. the Washington Correspondent of the Statesman, November 9, the Statesman, November 9, reports, "The USA wants Mr. Nehru'to order India's representatives on the International Control Commissions in Laos and South Vietnam to exercise the authority of the Commissions to the limit in blocking the Communist subversion, particularly in South Vietnam".

Vletnam". It is not yet clear what was the final outcome of the talks

in the special session devoted to S. E. Asia. As regards China the Prime Minister made the usual critical remarks about India's border dispute and the like but stood firm in advocating China's admis-sion to the U.N., which the Americans are out to shelve

Americans are out to shelve for a year more at least. It is only after the joint communique is out and more press and official commenta-ries are available that an objective estimate of the results of the Nehru-Kennedy meeting can be fruitfully at-tempted.

From the news available so far, it is clear enough that the Indian Prime Minister has made some concessions. the Indian Prime Minister has made some concessions to U.S. prejudices and de-mands, while politely ex-plaining the Indian stand-point, holding firmly by the Joint, holding infinity by the Indian national policy of peace and non-alignment, seeking constructive practical solutions to the various ex-plosive problems facing the model world.

It is premature and still more difficult to forecast what dents in official U. S. under-standing the Indian Prime Minister has been able to Minister has been able to make in the interests of peace, for adopting, the method of honest and serious negotia-tion by the USA, instead of sabre-rattling, blackmalling, and the like and the like. The coming days and weeks will reveal how successful Nehru has been.

INTO BATTLE !

A S news comes in of the start of the election campaign of our Party in different States, New Age makes further preparations and greater effort to play its due role.

We have started and was maintain our Exposures and Questions and Ans-wers features. The com-rades writing these fea-tures have asked us to We have started and will . tures have asked us to make a particular appeal to all our readers-please rush in questions and all the exposures you can. The questions and the sugges-tions already received have only whetted their appetites.

The PSP Election Mani-festo you will find shown up for what it is, on page 15 of this issue. We are doing our best to present next week an analysis of the Swataata the Swatantra Party's essay in the same direc-tion.

MARCHIT VOLT

M. N. Govindan Nair, Nehru's U. S. visit.

Jyoti Basu and Rajsekhar Reddi will give us articles or interviews on the elec-toral map of their States, starting from the November 26 issue. We intend following this

up till our readers have a fairly detailed picture of the political position in all the States.

Ajoy Ghosh will give us an article, on which he is already working, on the General Elections and the tasks of the Communist Party. He will also be writing regularly on current developments every week, unless impossible. A request to our com-

rades who are going to be candidates. Please send us as soon as you can your life sketch and picture. The sooner you do it the more space we can give

Next week P. C. Joshi will analyse the results and the consequences of Pandit

contain shoperion could not be equated with German problem, which was a lega-cy of World War II and concerned a non-colonial territory. territory. The situation in West Ber-lin and around is at present less critical than in South Vietnam and Laos, where the U. S. is threatening the peace

All the press reports tend to confirm that Prime Minister Nehru gave a clear warn-ing to President Kennedy against surrendering to the Pentagon demand to send U.S. troops to South Vietnam. The U. S. puppet Diem can hold on no more against the