# GOA DOMINATES PATNA CONGRESS GATHERING

# Patna

## January 7

The 67th Session of the Indian National Congress held at the Srikrishnapuri, Patna from January 4 to 6 was unique in more than one way. The gathering was unprecedented. The dominant note at the session was against colonialism and imperialism in a way which has not been heard at Congress sessions for many years. Fire was concentrated against the foreign and home policies of Right reaction as presented by the Swatantra Party.

Certainly in the days since Independence no session of the Congress in any part of the country attracted so many people. It will be no exaggeration to say that at one time or other during the three days of the session, about 10 lakhs of people came to the Srikrishnapuri. It was a veritable Kumbh Mela.

**F** OR three days people all sides. Special trains ran for them. Buses carried them from all sides and they hung on the roofs to the last inch of space. People came by steamers across the Gangas. And they also trudged along for miles on foot.

What brought them there? Nehru spoke of the great power of attraction of the Congress. But there were many Congress sessions since Independence and the power of attraction of the Congress had not evinced itself on those occasions.

Was it that the Congress had a special attraction for the people of Bihar? Bihar, as the delegates reminded at the session, was considered Gandhiji's favourite province ever since, the Champaran Satyagraha.

But in the earlier general elections, the majority of the people in Bihar had shown their opposition to the Congress in the same proportion as in other States—about 57 per cent voting against the Congress.

The kind of enthusiasm demonstrated at this Session could not have been generated by the 14 years misrule of the Congress, by the economic misery heaped on the people, while the plans added to national wealth. Nor could it have been generated by the widespread corruption, and internecine war-fare among Congressmen, which was specially in evidence in Bihar.

## Enthusiasm For Freedom

### LUL ALCOUUM

An Indian Nation Commentator succinctly wrote that "by Congress leaders this was interpreted as love for the Congress and a number of leaders dwelt on this aspect. The inference may not be justified" (Indian Nation, January 7).

The real source of inspiration was the liberation of Goa. That was a single factor which had, so to say, electrified the atmosphere, caught the imagination of the people and touched their hearts. People in the remotest villages rejoiced over it, for as Nehru put it, it signified the completion of our independence.

It was this unprecedented enthusiasm generated over the liberation of Goa which brought people in dozens of lakhs to this session of the Congress. Goa dominated everything in the session, setting the tune to everything. Virtually it was a Goa session.

## Menon's Popularity

The most popular person in the session after Nehru was Krishna Menon. On January 6 when Menon spoke at the open session four lakhs people maintained almost pindrop silence, though most of them could not understand his English speech. One delegate, in his enthusiasm, actually described it as the Congress of the victors of Goa.

This was, however, crude electioncering of a type which did not impress. Even the Aryavarta while discussing the General Secretary's report ence? The charge was ridiculons, for India's policy was peace and not non-violence.

Nehru also referred to Salazar's refusal to recognise Goa's integration with the mother country and to the establishment in Lisbon of a provisional Government of Goa. The attitude of the Western powers to this, Nehru said, was the test of their sincerity towards us.

But the most forthright exposure of the attitude and motives of the Western powers came from Indira Gandhi. The British and US reaction on Goa, she said, was not accidental. The completion of our independence was not to their linking. Neither did they like it when we attained inde-

alone really solve and end the crisis".

### The resolution, further, welcomed the growth of world opinion in regard to colonial liberation and expressed the hope that "effect will be given to the United Nations decision on the immediate termination of colonialism".

Both the resolution on Goa and International affairs, were subject to intense controversy. Subramaniam, who moved the resolution on Goa, and Nehru himself indicated that a section of people "among us" were opposed to the steps taken to liberate Goa.

The delay in circulating the draft on Goa in the Subjects Committee was explained as the result of reThey, therefore, withdrew their amendment after an explanation from the mover Binodanand Jha that "colonlalism" was a broader term and admited of no qualifying phrase "of all types" in the Subjects Committee.

and admitted of no qualifying phrase "of all types" in the Subjects Committee. The resolution on international affairs was, stramgely enough, left to be piloted by a person like Binodanand Jha, the Bihar Chief Minister, who could do no more than render a bad paraphrasing and a worse translation of the resolution and could not even understand the implications of the amendments moved, for he remarked that none of the a mendments questioned the basic policy of the Government.

The other set of amend-

ATT ACK ON RIGHT, NO UNITY WITH LEFT

which had "made a special reference to Goa", had to admit that "the credit for this (liberation of Goa) cannot go to the Congress. The people of India could no more stand the subjection of Goa to foreign rule.

"In the words of Nehru a situation had arisen when if the Government had not taken steps to liberate Goa, the Indian Army would be forced to take action against the Indian people themselves" (Aryavarta, January 7).

While there was nothing new in the resolution on Goa, Nehru made it an occasion for a spirited defence of our country's policy against the US charge of the liberation of Goa being the beginning of the end of United Nations.

He quoted Hammarskjoeld to prove that India came forward to serve the UN by consenting to send its troops to Congo at a time when the big powers had allowed the prestige of the UN to go into the dust.

Nehrn ridiculed those who charged that India had given up non-violence at Goa. India maintained an army and even armed it with weapons — was this consistent with non-violpendence. Those who had been participating in international conferences knew that our presence there on equal footing was not liked by the imperialists.

The resolution on international affairs reiterated the principles of our foreign policy —"the respect of sovereignty of nations, the determination to maintain our national in-

# ALI ASHRAF

dependence, non-alignment in respect of power blocs and the military alliances, the end of colonialism and the settlement of international disputes by negotiations and peaceful methods".

The resolution indignantly rejected the Western allegation that action in Goa was "a departure from this basic policy".

The resolution declared "peace and human survival" to be the "main and compelling problem that faces nations and Governments". It said that "World disarmament with effective steps for control and inspection leading to the outlawry of war, can peadd corrections to improve the draft. In fact, as it transpired later on, efforts were being made to accommodate the pro-Western view, led by Morarji and others.

But the effort to give a pro-Western orientation to our entire foreign policy was made in a sly amendment moved by that American Lobby man Mathura Prasad Mishra. He proposed to add, "the three simple words—'of all types, after the term colonialism?"

In his speech he charly explained that the colonialism of the Western imperialist powers was already a thing of the past. Far more dangerous was what he termed as "colonialism" of the Socialist powers. He cited Tibet and Hungary. He made a strong plea that the Government of India's foreign policy should be based on a clear appreciation of this reality.

# Mischievous Amendment

It was obvious that Mathura Prasad Mishra and those who backed him had no intention of insisting on their amendment. Their aim was served at this stage by bringing their view point before the Subjects Committee. ments related to the last para of the resolution where it "support (ed) the Government in its policy in regard to our neighbouring States, Pakistan and China, who continue to be in illegal and forcible occupation of our territories. The Congress considers that consistent with India's basic policy and methods, the Government should seek all avenues of peaceful settlement, and approved of the policy of the Government, aimed at the vacation of all aggression".

# No Anti-China Firewo Mw

The amendment moved to this part of the resolution sought to force the Government to "take such effective steps that may lead to the vacation of the Chinese aggression within three months".

This amendment, too, was withdrawn after the statement, that the matter rests with the military and should be left to their discretion!

It was, obvious, however, that the leadership had no intention of carrying on with the fireworks against China at this session and



# CARRY FORWARD NOTES

The Patna Session of the Congress did something more than put the dots and crosses on the Congress Election Manifesto, as was generally presumed, on the basis of the slow-moving, compromising zig-zags of 14 years of Congress Rai-

> can never happen again' (Times of India, Jan. 5).

Referring to the communal

parties like the Jana Sangh and its Hindu Rashtra he said "if these communalists

had their way. there would

be an end to all that Indian

on a great pilgrimage to its destiny" (Hindustan Times.

A scion of the multi-mil-lionnaire Bajaj family, and blue-blooded Rightist, had

really help consolidate the forces of the Right reaction.

isolate the patriotic democra-tic elements within the Con-

gress, concentrate the main

fire against the forces of the

Left led by our Party, the reactionary backward-drag-ging political alignment that

all the Rightist forces ardent-

ly desire but few dare unfold

The Press reports that "in

a voice full of emotion" Pan-

dit Nehru said "This is a fan-tactic suggestion. There can be no compromise with com-

munal reactionary organisa

the Swatantra Party! He summarily called upon all Congressmen who thought of

such compromise to "pack up

their things immediately and leave the Congress".

It was a sharp and clear

enough warning so far as

the words are concerned.

but a serious study of the

Patna proceedings reveals that nothing was done in

terms of new policy adop-tion or an organisational

drive to smoother these voices of the Right within

In fact, the Congress Pre-

and faith on the part of Con

Nobody however believe

not even the most loyal and optimistic Congressmen, that the Patna Session has

restored such unity or faith

among Congressmen. In fact

everybody has noted that

mestions about the election

manifesto or the more un-

facing the

the Congress.

troubles"

and

events.

with

tions or any compromise

openly and consistently.

Sharp

Warning

Jan. 5).

NTERNALLY, the rise of the Swatantra and the communal parties had obviously shaken the complacence of the Congress and made its leaders realise that the main challenge to the country's future comes from the Right. Internationally, the Goan experience has torn through the sanctimonious veil that had no place in the India of to-day which had embarked was operating as a shroud over Indian foreign policy enabled the pro-Western Indian and ments within to plot mischief. Under Western pressure, India was soft-pedalling on the issue of colonial libera-tion. Over Goa, all the imperialist powers attacked pleaded for a compromise with these "other parties" in solving what he called the "nation's tasks", which would India while all the Afro-Asian nations supported India. This very experience was enough to stir and rouse the anti-colonial sentiment in India

Over Goa, all the imperialist powers denounced muse while all the Socialist coun-tries headed by the USSR ced India firmly and strongly supported India. This living experience made it impossible to turn ian foreign policy in the direction of anti-

The Patna Congress has registered, however dimly and inadequately, the ine-vitable impact of changing national and international realities on the biggest national political organisation f the country, which i lso the ruling party, th which is of th Congress

The Indian people are grow ing in maturity and want to march forward. On the world the forces of anti-ism are stronger than those of the colonial powers. Therefore, the cumulative impact as revealed at Patna has been along healthy direc-

This was effectively highharlal lighted by Pandit Jaw Nehru who, with all his limitetions, sensitively reacts to living experience, can smell the wind and use the right words to express popular mood and India's interest. We have no doubt that Congress men after the Patna Session will concede that many of the warning we Communists have been giving, have now been heeded a bit. The fore-casts we have been making are coming true.

### Swatantra Denounced

The newsmen who covered the Patna Session as well as the columnists who have commented upon it later are virtually unanimous that th Swatantra and the communal parties were made the main target of attack. The Commu-nist Party was of course cri-ticised but in a milder man-TOP

Nehrn denounced the Swatantra Party as utterly reactionary an fendal. This party, according to him, wanted to bring back the past and oppose every change. "I did not fight for freedom nor did every neople do so to accept sition of having d system thrus our throat once again. This alignment policy in action.

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of the

West driven home to our peo-ple. The Hindustan Times,

(Jan. 8), wrote editorially "it

is to be hoped that the last has been heard at Patna of

Similarly Morarii Desai in his New Year day Hyderabad speech stressed that there was no need to speak on Goa dur-ing the Congress election cam-

sharpen its anti-colonial

edge and nut the Right

correspondent duly noted

that "the resolution's tone

in regard to colonialism was evidently sharper than ever before".

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States

focus on disarr British-owned

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Th

has been heard at Patna the arguments over Go

Imporialist

"In any case the unanimity with which the resolutions have been passed at Patna does not lessen the gravity of the doubts which many party members entertain about the propriety of some of the declared policies and the manner in which they are implemented".

The star resolution, of issue". When asked to speak course, was on Goa. Goan liberation is not only being against China instead (Times on Goa, he began talking against China instead! (Times of India, Jan. 2). fully exploited, in a partisan manner, by the Congress for electoral purposes, but in the very fact of taking the credit for an act which the Congress leadership resisted to the last and our Party in Par-liament and outside pressed its utmost, they have to broadcast the lessons of this national experience among the people.

The Prime Minister, after the ceremonial expression of his pain, etc., over the West-ern attitude did admit that there were two diametrically opposite reactions from the Right two camps, the colonial and **Discomfifed** the anti-colonial.

He, however, virtually He, nowever, made the colonial camp with the He, nowever, virtually indira Gandon insteam of made the colonial camp mouthing anti-Communism, synonymous with the which she had done during Whites and the anti-colo- her term as the President, now nial camp with the coloured posed the issues clearly and Afro-Asians and "some succinctly, "fight for peace other" countries. Afro-Asian is first job to-day because other" countries, Arro-Asian is first job to-day because solidarity was, of 'course, nothing can come before fight magnificent and heart-warming but to under-play the equally significant but more effective solidarity of the Socialist countries is to be neither truthful nor our". Sanjeeya Reddy in his prestefiel grateful.

Raghunath Singh, MP. however stepped in to publi-cly pay the Congress tribute to the Soviet Union for its veto and over-all support.

The Prime Minister's answer to Western criticism was forthright and dignified. "I am not prepared to concede that we had no right to take up arms for winning our independence. I cannot understand that a country should accept slavery maintain to non-violence".

# West

Assailed

sident while recounting the "new unforeseen challenges He also stressed that the countries which had objected country opined that the chal-lenge from the inside was to India's action had been sleening all this time" and had "never moved even a little finger" to help settle the issue peacefully. They do not seem more serious than the one from without and emphasized the absolute need for unity to reconcile themselves to the fact that the world they had known has been changing".

He also stated that the ire in Western circles had been provoked by more and more Asian and African countries becoming free and going to the UN endangering the Western supremacy in that body.

Amidst thunderous applause he warned that if any of the Great Powers extended any help or sympathy to Portugal in restoring Portuguese colo-nialism in India, the whole world would be involved in great turmoil, "The present day world cannot tolerate any more this colonialism of one country over another. It cannot go on. You cannot stop the

The Right, of course, does not want the significance of the liberation of Goa and the

## NEW AGE

OF THE

mehine them from national life. The Communist demand that the only effective way to strengthen national in tegration is to strengthen both economically and politically the foundations of Indian democracy holds

The Patna Session of the Congress has not even made an appeal to all the secular and democratic elements of our country to come together to fight communalism, cast-ism and separatism and thus implement the call of the National Integration Conference. This lapse constitutes living evidence of Congress partisanship, of wanting to tomtom its long lost claim as the sole champion and guardian of India's national unity dur-ing the coming elections.

be the election campaign slogan of the Congress: litical revolution was won, now the social-economic revolution is being achieved.

# Confidence

On every issue of national conomy on which the life of the common people depends, the Congress has not budged one inch forward. There is no hope of a better life unless hope of a better life unless the false Congress claims are fought out during the coming elections and Congress demo-gogy burst at the seams. The realisation of the Right

being the main danger has made the Congress leadership tone down the vigour of its attack against our Party, but for political partisan motives. it remains and will be used in a big way during the election campaign.

Our Party will, of course, defend itself as it has always done, survive and continue to grow as in the past despite the Congress attacks.

patriotic people will see for themselves more clearly than ever before the difference be tween the Right critics of the Party, who are being now considered by the Congress leadership as the big menace and whose danger we were the first to highlight, and the considered by position and criticism from the Left represented by our Party, that Right seek to drag the country backward, while we seek to move it forward. Our criticism of national foreign policy as it was being

implemented by the Congress Government has been borne out over Goa and its aftermath We have no doubt that

our criticism of Congress policies and practice over plan will also be driven home during the coming elections and ever larger number of voters will vote for our Party, dissatisfied with the unprincipled com-promises that the Congress leadership makes to Rightist elements and the big cessions it gives to vest ed interests as against the

# **Ba MOHIT SEN**

CONGRESS FANTASIA

The lamentable level of Congress ideology is illustrated with rather disconcerting excellence by the six election pamphlets that the AICC has recently published. Confusion of thought, inelegance of expres-sion and distortion of facts vie with one another. And the total impression is of a mish-mash, of castrated thought.

THE six pamphlets seek to answer questions likely to properly controlled timing." Where in this pseudo scienti-fic jargon is the social (even be raised by the electorate when Congressmen make their when Congressmen make their five-yearly visitation. Fortu-nately for the Congress, its workers are scarcely likely to read these pamphlets. Their "methods" of "persuastor" are scarcely of the argumentative category. The topics treated are vital

enough—"Congress and Plan-ning" "Socialism"; "Employ-ment, Labour and Middle Classes"; "Kisans and Agri-cultural Labour"; "Adminisration, Organisation and Se-cularism": "Industries".

The form chosen is also appropriate – framing ques-tions and providing answers. Credit must also be given to only an economic issue but a moral issue as well." the authors that they have not chosen the path of least re-sistance but have chosen ques-tions which life itself poses. It is the character and record of the Congress regime itself which makes these questions

# Retreat Ideological

Leafing through the pam-phlets, the first thought that strikes one is that the authors have obviously felt that the ideological offensive from the Left has to be given primary importance Only a very few of the close on sixty questions take up the ideological criticism, such as it is, of the Swatantra and Jana Sangh.

This is rather significant n view of the thunder and lightening against the Right which was so marked a feature of Patna's proceedings. Certainly this slant of the been excused on the grounds of ignorance and the cult of pragmatism. But the Conelection propaganda Congress election propaganda has not fallen upon these namphlets

There is a defence of plan-ning, of the public sector, of the need for a controlled and of cooperative economy farming.

It is instructive to read that the Congress credo includes the following: "Liberty when it ignores the harsh realities list Congressman has been reprinting some of these ad-dresses—to say nothing of the spate of reprints of Nehru's of life, ceases to be liberty. It becomes the liberty of the libertine...." This should, if Antobiography. So there is no reason for Congressmen to be ignorant, even if they want to avoid "Communist propa-ganda". en were consistent Congressmen were consistent, put an end to the nauseating cant about the absolute value and uniform nature of liberty, indulged in as broadshot aga-inst the Communists.

However, even where the theses are assailed, it is with an air of apology and embarassment. For example, the public sector is upheld almost exclusively on the ground that these were projects beyond the capacity of the biggest of the entrepreneurs and ause the infra-structure of a modern economy is considerably more ramified than in the 19th century halcyon days of laissez faire.

It is stated that the selec-tion of industries in the public sector has been based on the desirability of ensuring a continued flow of capital in

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iples of non-alignment, the silence on the issue is more than usually eloquent. The second dominant impression left on any impar-tial reader is that nothing-

We are confident that our

"Democracy itself with its adult suffrage and multi-

gration are at large because the Congress Government has compromised with the vested interests and reac-

-P. C. JOSHI

The foreign policy reso-lation was expected to rel-trate the policy of peace and friendship. What the Goan experience had done was to

The Third Plan figures big in the resolution on the Election Manifesto. The Prime Minister indicated what is obviously going to be the election Under the Mahatma the po-

# Indira Gandhi instead of Communist

own country. Independence comes before life and hon-our". Sanjeeva Reddy in his Presidential address also con-

demned colonialism and predicted the early doom of this The Right tried its utmost to switch off national indig-nation against Portugal and

its allies towards China.

Instead of the usual fireworks against China, it was Ayub who was warned by the Prime Minister that it would not get Kashmir "on a plat-ter". While the Defence Minister warned that Goa could

not be used as a stick to beat India with over Kashnir. The monopoly-controlled Rightist press is annoyed over the absence of any belicose campaign against China, Observers have also noted the

the border problem, unlike the past sessions of the AICC. A series of major events last year revealed the threat to national integration as, perhaps, the biggest internal pro-

report of the AICC Secreta ries, which called for "some new and intensive thinking on the problem", but put the blame on Indian democracy!

party system releases forces which do not exactly make for unity and cohesion'

official resolution however linked China and Pakistan together and above all, put great stress on peaceful settlement.

absence of any reference to the Communists in the spee-ches referring to China and

blem facing the country. It was cursorily mentioned and wrongly formulated in the

The Communist criticism is that the forces of disinte-

tionary elements instead of

# the powerful Right within the Congress has only drawn. in its horns and let Pandit Nehrn thunder and gather the harvest of votes in the coming elections and thereafter they are out to see how to shape the course of

This has been fairly clearly indicated in the Times of India editorial, (Jan. 9), which clearly states that before the milling and enthusiastic crowds "no one was in the current of history". mood to raise any awkward

if not socialist) purpose and

aim of public sector growth?

What about the capture of the

commanding heights of the

Similarly, about planning. One can almost see Prof. Gal-

braith peering over the shoul-

der of the writer as he strug-gles to make planning palat-able—to the monopolists and landiords and foreign private

investors. The only "original

that planning in Inc

contribution is the half-hearted concluding sentence

The clearly enunciated ends

of planning are never clearly

stated. For, then not only

would the chasm be revealed between practice and profes-sion but many of the velled

Swatantraites within the Con-

Another fact that seems to

irk the Congress ideologues

is that any reference to plan-ning has, if it is to be in the least effective, has to mention

the countries which embark-

ed on this road quite some

The Soviet Union is the

hest argument for planning. But it requires guts and in-tellectual honesty to boldly state this outstanding fact

of contemporary history. Both these qualities being conspicuously absent, the

the socialist countries is the threadbare invective about

avoiding "regimentation" and the total lie that no

strikes are permitted there.

Some of this could have

gress, after all, does have a history. There was a time only slightly more than two deca-

does ago when ringing Presi-

dential addresses correctly spelled what socialism and

And H. D. Malaviya's Socia-

The present lack of cla-

rity can, therefore, he call-ed purposive. And it has its material basis—the down-

material basis—the down-fall in practice of the Con-gress has inevitably produc-ed a degeneration in theory.

Another example of the

retreat before rightwing pressure is the fact that there is not a single line written in all of these pam-phlets on foreign policy. In view of the enormous amount of din created by

the Swatantra and Jana Sangh against the basic

rightwing

retreat before

anning was.

writers' only reference

gress would be up in arms.

economy?

that has happened in the past 15 years necessitates even the smallest bit of self-criticism by the Congress. It is an astounding display of impudence.

literally not a single thing-

The most amazing performance is that of the fifth pamphlet, dealing with "Adminis-tration, Organisation and Secularism

It is blandly asserted that whatever corruption there might exist is due to the lack "moral fibre" by the average Indian. It is complacently asserted that there is hardly any factionalism and lust for power on the part of Con-gressmen. Finally, it is pro-claimed that there was no alliance with the League in Kerala and that in the matter of secularism the Congress has no black spots.

# Impudent Crudity

This crudity, however, soon enough becomes cruelty when the economic issues are dealt with

It is asserted that the "ac-cumulation of wealth has be-come virtually impossible."

It is stated that one of the It is stated that one of the major reasons for the non-attainment of the target of self-sufficiency in food is the "excessive cereal content of the Indian diet"--milk, meat, fowl, fish "will substantially helv is according that die help in correcting that dle-tary imbalance." Shades of Marie Antoniettei

It is declared that the in-creased backlog of unemploy-ed often is due to faulty statistics, the unexpected in-crease of population and the "selective employment" ap-proach of the job-seekers. And if these reasons still leave a guerulous reader dis-satisfied, there is the blanket answer that in an under-developed economy, there has It is declared that the indeveloped economy, there has to be "some" unemployment. With rare disregard for Government statistics, it is written that the conditions of the workers—their real earnings-and of the agricu workers have considerably improved, that of the worker by

as much as 60 per cent! And so it goes on with each and every issue-monopoly growth, foreign investment taxation, national integration et al.

Here again a significant omission has to be pointed out. There is absolute silence on the problem of democracy in our country and the threats it has faced faced in the past five years; The Central intervention in Kerala and the Thimayya episode are not tackled

Both the bland assertions and the silence have a single reason—the monopoly of power enjoyed for far too long by the Congress. This causes the impudence and is itself the biggest threat to our democracy.

This itself is the Central question of the coming ele tions-the desire of the people to break or at least, to weaken it. To this question, naturally, the Congress can give no answer-neither by its record nor by its apologias. But the people will. (January 9)

NEW AGE

# IN SALAZAR'S DEN THEY FIGHT

# D EAR Friends,

We are sending you here-with a translation of an article which has appeared in the central organ of the Communist Party of Franc L'Humanite, on the sub ject of a new crime of the political police of Salazar

(PIDE). We now know the identity of the assassinated patriot about which men-tion has been made in this article. He is the Portu-guese sculptor, Jose Antonio Dias Coelho, one of the leaders of the Portuguese opposition. We send you herewith a short biogra-phical note about him.

Considering the gravity of the event which brings out in relief the extent of repression in Portugal, we request you to assist with all the means at your disposal in the campaign for the defence of the life of patriots who have just been arrested (two members of the Secretariat and one member of the Central Committee of the Portu-guese Communist Party). and demand a general amnesty for hundreds of others who are to-day in Salazarist prisons. We re-quest you to protest strongly against the assassination of the patriot Dias Coelho. Please accept, dear fri-ends, our thanks and our warm salutations. 30-12-61 MARCÓ

# Noble

# Sculptor

Sculptor and painter, well-known in Portuguese artistic circles. Jose Anto nio Dias Coelho took part in several national exhibiplaced on the jury in these exhibitions.

exhibitions. Professor in the technical school, he organised exhi-bitions of children's drawings. He participated in the work of popularising art. Sculptor Dias Coelho orga-nised several popular clubs in the working class centres. Moreover, he wrote several articles for the journals of the youth, among others, in the jour-nals Vertice and Architectural Review.

Together with these art-istic activities, he also led a remarkable, active political life.

When very young, he was one of the leaders of the democratic youth move-ment, which was one of the strongest oppos organisations against the regime of Salazar. Because of such activities he was arrested in 1949.

In 1952, when the NATO council met at Lisbon Jose Antonio Dias Coelho acti-vely, participated in the campaign against the hold-ing of this meeting at Lis-. As a result he was expelled from the National School of Fine Arts where he was then finishing his studies

Again persecuted he was obliged to go underground. After seven years of persecution, the political po (PIDE) succeeded in arrestr him and he has been killed by pistol shots.

Sculptor Dias Coelho was 39 years of age. He was married to Madame Margarida Tengarrinha. He i the father of two little daughters.

## Communists Arrested

During the night of the 15th/16th December at Lis-bon, the political police of Salazar (PIDE) surrounded the house where Communist leaders Joaquim Jorge (Gomes), Octavio Jorge Rodrigues Pato, member of the Secretariat and Political Bureau of the Com munist Party of Portugal as well as Carlos Costo, member of the Central Committee, engineer Julio Martins, one lady and another gentleman, whose identity is not yet known, were hiding.

were hiding. At the time when the police attacked this house, one of the patriots was shot. After having taken him to the hospital CUF, the police refused to give any kind of information saying that "Con have no identity". "Communist

The Portuguese Press is silent, the Government having prohibited the pub-lication of information lication of information about the arrests and assassination of patriots by the agents of Salazarist

Poince. Pires Jorge and Octavius Pato were fighting in under ground conditions for the last 15 years, Carlos Costa who had been condemned who had been contemnen to life imprisonment, had succeeded in January 1960 in escaping from the for-tress of Peniche where he was detained for the last 8 years. Julio Martins has spent five years in Salazarist prisons. The life of these patriots.

is in danger. It seems that the police would do everything to assassinate them, if international public opi-nion and patriots and democrats do not act quickly to stop this new crime of Salazar Government.

Protest against the new n committed at assassinatio Lisbon and the new wave of arrests which have put in prison all the best com-batants amongst Portu-guese people for democracy and for liberty.

Send letters of protests to Portuguese Embassy and to Portuguese authorities. Make an urgent demand that the criminal action of the Salazarist police should be stopped!

# Qur

## Salute

New Age salutes our gal lant comrades in Portugal, who have braved fascist terror and by their sup-port of Goa's freedom struggle given an inspiring example of proletarian in ternationalism.

We protest with all our power against the latest dastardly deed of Salazar's hatchetmen. We bow in homage to the memory of Jose Antonio Dias Coelho and offer our decrest con-dolences to the bereaved family.

PAGE THREE



# CONGRESS POWER MONOPOLY-WHY?

### OUESTION:

The Communist Party has advocated the breaking . of the monopoly of power of the Congress in the previous two elections. It does so again. But it seems that the ongress can still maintain its monopoly of power through elections. How does it do this? What is the use f such a slogan? (Subbash Sarkar, Calcutta).

## ANSWER:

There are two different aspects of your question, which need to be taken separately. First, how is it that the Cor gress maintains its monopoly gress maintains its monopoly of political power. Second, what s the use of the Communist Party's call to break or, at least. ken the Congress poly of power, when this has not succeeded twice.

The Congress maintains its poly of power for a num-reasons, not all of them democratic or even reeither putable. There are, of course. ealthy reasons als

biggest and most important reason for the premier position of the Congress in na-tional-political life is its past. country won its freedom nearly 200 years of sla-Our very. Various forces contribu ted to the coming of the day when the national tricolour fluttered over the ramparts of the Red Fort.

t there can be no doubt that the leadership and the main force of the freedom-struggle was supplied by the Congress, particularly following the advent of Gan-dhiji in the 1920s. This is a tremendous heritage to draw

on. of only in the sense that this gives great prestige to the Congres -and an entire tion's gratitude. Of equal importance is the net-work of Congress organisations that spread to every town and through the final de villad des of the liberation movement. It can be asserted, in a sense, that it was the people them-selves who built up the Congress as their

## Nehru's **Popularity**

Then there is the immense pularity of Pandit Nehru, e unquestioned leader of the unquestioned leader of the Congress. This, too, is a popularity that has been earned by long years of de-voted service and by sheer length of holding the public

It is quite openly — and hamelessly — proclaimed by ongressmen of dubious virtue that the voter should not bother about the vices of the local candidates but should remembér Jawaharlal!

additi m there are certain proclaimed policies of the Congress that are in tune with the demands raised by the national movement and the present deep desires of the people. The policy of Panch Shila, of

m, of planning, of so-

PAGE FOUR

cialist society, of the public sector and industrial growth. So long as these policies remain, even on paper, the Con-gress can claim that one day it will lead the people to the Pro-mised Land by implementing these policies. These reasons for the con-

of the Congress can be sum-marised by stating that the national bourgeoisie, which leads the Congress, still has progressive possibilities in India and certainly had a

progressive past. These reasons for the continuing immense mass influence of the Congress are also the reasons why the Communist Party from its Palghat Congress (1956) onwards has, em-phasised that the building of democratic unity in India depends on the bridging the gulf etween democrats inside the Congress and the demog forces in opposition to the Con-

gress. These reasons, however, are not the only reasons for the retention of the Congress mono-poly of power. There are other,



and rather shady ones, to say

the least. An important place among these other reasons must be assigned to the system of voting instituted in our country. The Congress monopoly of power does not, by a long chalk, represent a monopoly of votes.

The Congress rule at the Centre and in the States is based on a minority of votes, because we do not have the system of proportional representation. In the Lok Sabha for example, the Congress over 75 per cent of the seats with just a little over 47 per cent of the votes.

The Communist Party has been consistently demanding that the system of proportional representation be introduced representation be introduced so that the people are given a feeling that the Congress monolith can be shattered.

Next: it should be remembered that the Congress monoof power was broken. 1952 in Travancore-Cochin, Madras and Pepsu the Congress did not gain a majo-rity of the seats in the legisla-ture. Discriminator Discriminatory attitudes by the Governors, Central intervention and open corruption

saved the Congress. In the 1954 mid-term elections in Travancore-Cochin the Congress was once again in a votes and seats. It then adopted the unheard of procedure of allowing the PSP (which had won 19 seats in a Legislature Party. 118-strong) to form the Gov-ernment and offered to support that the our Party won six million votes in 1952 and over twelve million votes in it. This strange position ended soon enough and eventually President's rule was impose

In 1957 the Communist-led Ministry was formed in Ke-rala and administered the rala and administered the State for 28 months. Readers of New Age do not need to be reminded of the outrage against democracy perpetra-

NEW AGE

now

which ahead.

Victory For Kerala Kisans

THE KERALA CONGRESS

Patronaid

Further, the Congress has

retained part, at any rate, of its mass base by taking re-course to caste, linguistic and communal appeals and by utilising to the maximum the

great amount of backward-ness that still engulfs far too many of our countrymen. It has allied with and epoused

the cause of the nested inte

rests—and received their financial and other support. It relies on the inertia of the

people. In addition the Congress has

not hesitated in the slightest t

nake full use of the coercive

and other arms of state powe

to intimidate and browheat

The Congress has not only

set up a record in police firings and repression but at

various levels has openly threatened voters with loss of jobs, discrimination and other dire measures should

they dare to vote against it.

Finally, the Congress mono

poly of power is maintained because of the weaknesses of the parties of the democratic

opposition, specially the Com-

munist Party. We have never concealed the

ánts

larly the workers and pe

To this task we now address ourselves with confidence.

To deal briefly with the se-cond aspect of the question. It should be quite evident

that we do not raise the slogan

of breaking or weakening the

We do so because the next step forward in India's pro-

gress in the direction of a de-

nocratic, prosperous and nodern life is precisely that

life. Not is this anything extra-

ordinary. The Congress itself raised the demand for full Independence for full 17

years before it was won. It did not give it up simply be-cause the goal was not at-tained in the 1930 struggle

or in the 1942 Quit India

Numerous examples can h

cited from other countries. But

that since 1947, when the U.S.

ordered the expulsion of the

Communists from the Govern-

ment, the Communist Party of

Italy has raised the slogan of

It is with this central, slogan

over twelve million votes in 1957, showing that where we

were able to reach the masses they appreciated our stand. It

is this same central slogan that

will pay us even richer divi-dends in the comming battle

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Use Of

Big Stick

A s a vote-catching stunt just because the leaders of the kisans were mostly the Committee The data of the as a vote-catching stunt just because the readers of the kisans were mostly the Communists. The 41-day long State-wide sweeping kisan satyagraha demonstrated that the demands of the kisans were just and urgent and brooked no delay.

The very fact that their Communist leaders succeeded in negotiating a settlement with the Congress-PSP Coali-tion Government showed how wrong and weak was the latter's anti-Communist stand. Again, the very fact that the Communist leadership recommended withdrawal of satyagraha, though all the demands had not been won, shows how non-partisan and non-selfish they really are.

After the result of the complicated and hard negotia tions was reported to it, the Action Council came to the conclusion that the State Government had conceded most of their demands.

One of the notable achievements of the agitation was that the Government accepted the imperative necessity of preparing reports of undocumented tenants in the event of any controversy at the Tribunals hearing,

So also was the Government's readiness to review the rking of the Land Tribunals and increase their number if found necessary

Again the State Government appointing a Committee to go into the question of settlers in the forest lands has been welcomed, but its composition and terms of reference left much to be desired.

Large tracts of temple lands had been given on long lease to the Nair Services Society by Kottiyur Devaswom. The Government has refused to issue stay orders against this assignment

The political support of the NSS is obviously more important during the coming Parliamentary elections to the leaders of the Congres and the PSP than the rights and well-being of the temple tenantry. In view of this un-satisfactory state of affairs, the agitation at Kottyur will continue

Last but not the least, 2,071 satyagrahis including the loved kisan leader A. K. Gopalan will be released. The Kerala Home Minister has stated that sentences of 1,045 persons involved in 82 cases had been remitted, cases with-drawn against 986 persons involved in 176 cases and 49 cases involving 130 persons were being dropped.

The grand unity and memorable struggle of the Kerala kisans, supported by broader democratic opinion, has won a good victory. The issue involved was simple—just, proper-and prompt implementation of the land reforms.

We have no doubt that far larger strata of Kerala kisane than ever n ever before realised from their own experier all must vote Communist, in largest-ever nu bers to drive more sense into the Congress rulers and strengthen the hands of their leaders for the never-ending battle of the poor, the rightless and the land-hungry kisans

More, the heroic and self-sacrificing example of Kerala kisans will inspire and galvanise the kisan millions of our country outside Kerala and not only for this election campaign



The anti-colonial Afro-Asian opinion and honest n the the world over will be as much shocked by the cowardly attack on President Sukarno's life, even more so than they were over the Western attacks on Pandit Nehru after the Goan action. The Indonesian people lovingly call President Sukarno Bung Karno (Brother Karno). Preliminary Indoary Inde nesian investigations have revealed that Dutch henchmen were behind the unsuccessful outrage.

It will be a mere formality if India only wished long life to President Sukarno. The guilty ones will also do so, to hide their responsibility for the dastardly crime. life

to finde their responsibility for the dastarchy crime. The colonialist powers, their press and statesmen besmirched Prime Minister Nehru's name when he moved Indian armed forces to end Portuguese colonialism. The colonialist agents aimed at President Sukarno's very life when he ordered Indonesian armed forces and the people to get ready to rid West Irlan of Dutch occuration to get ready to rid West Irlan of Dutch occupation.

Nehru must immediately call upon the Dutch to quit West Irian and close Indian air and sea ports to the Dutch colo-nialists. This would be worthy of India and is urgently

We are bound to Indonesia with the debt of gratitude over Goa, the bonds of Bandung and the common cause of anti-colonialism and world peace. No silence under Western pressure! No wordy formalities like the evil kind!

Indonesia's Merdeka is India's Swarajya. West Irian is their Goa. They reacted in splendid solidarity. We must similarly respond warmly and spontaneously.

JANUARY 14, 1962

# THE BUTCHERS OF DEMOCRACY

Ever since Marx and Engels published their showed historic Communist Manifesto and called upon the proletarians all over the world to unite to throw off the yoke of capitalism and build a new society, has been inventing the vilest slanders bourgeoisie against the Communist movement.

ture,

and members of the States

ruling party. The leaders of this agita-

tion openly declared that their aim was to "paralyse

State. The all-India leaders

of the Congress, who claim to be the architect of In-

dian democracy, did not raise their little finger aga-

Instead of discouraging the

in sight, they threatened to march in Trivandrum "mas-

sive forces" and declared that the State Secretariat would be

an order dismissing the Min-

istry and taking over the ad-

It should be remembered that Communist-led Gov-ernment in Kerala to its last

day enjoyed the confidence

of the majority in Legisla-ture. But even then it was made to quit. This undemo-cratic action of the Central

Government was justified on the floor of the Parlia-

ment by the then Home Minister Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant and Prime

Minister Nehru. The PSP.

THIMMAYYA'S

THREAT

RARELY two months

was assaulted in Keral

after Indian democracy

of course, supported it.

Go

dismiss the Kerala

the administration

inst these boodiums.

Nour days, the imperial-ists, headed by the U.S. ruling circles, spend billions of dollars to carry on their alander campaign against the onward march of socialist that Communism is op-ed to democracy and that Ideos lies the+ posed to democracy and the Communists want to destroy it, "our" bourgeoisie is no different

However, it has been established time and again that the bourgeoisie is for retaining democracy as long as it can easily rule but when its class rule is threatened it class rule is threatened it would like to throw parliamentary democracy into the dust hin

The events that took place in Pakistan and a number of South-East Asian countries in the second half of 1958 very

well prove this point. What about the bourgeois violent agitators they asked the Communist-led Govern-ment to resign and order the parties in our country? No ubt, some of them regretted these developments but it is mid-term elections to face the a fact that som electorate Jaya Prakash Narain di The organisers of the so-called "liberation struggle" had hoped that struggle to give a good conduct certifi-cate to the idea of "basic democracy" of dictator Ayub. But this is not all. When situations threatenend the Communist rule would be "short and swift". But when even in the third week of July, the end was no where

ing the very basis of our young democracy and Repub-lican Constitution arose in our country, some of the leaders of the Congress, Praja Socia-lists and, of course, the Swa-tantra and Jana Sangh band-ed together for the burlal of democracy. Let us recall some

the State Secretariat would be "besieged". This was to have happened on August 9, 1959. But hand-in-glove as they were with the Central leaders of the Congress, they were saved from doing this. The Central Cabinet decided to It came as a great surprise to the indian bourgeoisie when as a result of the Second ment and on July 31, 1959 the President of India issued General Elections the Communists secured a majority in Kerala and for for the t time a stable government

in Kerala. But within the very first The infamous assault on de week of its formation, the mocracy was, thus, made by then General Secretary of th All Inda Congress Com-mittee, Sriman Narain disthose who accuse the Com nunists of threatening to destroy dmocracy. covered that there was a sence of "lack of security among the people of the State. The tune set by the Congress. General Secretary was echoed and re-ech by the Congress and PSP leaders of Kerala.

The opponents of the Communist administration unsucessfully tried to wean away the strength of the Commu-nists in the State legislature by offering a bribe of Rs. two lakhs to one of its mem-bers. The startling disclo-sures about these foul means only discredited the Congress. When all these methods failed the representatives of the bourgeois-landed inter-violent "mass upsurge" was organised against the Com-munist-led Ministry. The Congress leaders who generally sermonise others not to mis-guide the students into agitation themselves did not hesi-tate in bringing out students on the roads. Similarly they tried to whip up anti-Com-munist hysteria among workers and especially among Christian and Muslim mino among

In June 1959, a noble way of fighting the Communists

and the Communist-led Ministry dismissed by an order of the President of the Indian Republic, ano ther stir ws caused by the sensational publication of the news of the then Army Chief General Thimmay ya's threat of resignation.

Although Nehrn characte-

JANUARY 14, 1962

rities.

rised the reasons for the Ge-neral's resignation as "tri-vial", all the same it clearly

which is proving bad for the nation-and might prove dis-This, then, is a demand dic- (January 10) tated by objective necessity, itself and the Communist Party will go on raising it till it has been translated into

Indonesia supported India over Goa. Prime Minister



was found out, and the communal reaction duly backed by the Congress, communations and the Muslim League launched an agitation against the Com-munist Ministry which in-cluded in its plan such "peaceful" actions as attacks on and damaging of transport buses and boats, l buildings and furni-Government offices

of the

how the minds of some of the Indian politicians

were working. He described at that time that the differences between the General and the Defence Minister were "temperamental". But many wondered how Chief of Staff a disciplined Chief of Staff could be so temperamental as to submit his resignation. Naturally the question arose of the supremacy of civil po-wer. What was that that made the Chief of the Army so impatient? The two naners which leaked the news of the resignation were the States-man and the Amrita Bazar

Patrika. Although by the time these two papers published the news of the resignation it had been vithdrawn yet significantly the story was given undue

to be created that the Army Chief and the Defence Minister had some trouble over the defence policy of the Govern-ment. The Patrika story had stressed "the defence ideology of India should be spelt in no uncertain loyalty' to the

country.

the step taken by the Ge-neral there were certain sections of people in the country who defended him. It was noted by our Party and the New Age that the same set repeatedly slandered un Communist-led Government

of Thimmavya. The campaign in defence of the Army Chief of Staff way spearheaded by Acharya Kri-palani and joined by Asoka Mehta and the spokesmen of the Jana Sangh and Swatantra Party.

The Right-wing of the Congress, headed by Morarii Desai is always hand-in-glove with reaction in India and impe-rialism outside. Even at this critical juncture it was not inactive

More than one hundred publicity. More than one hundred An impression was sought MPs had signed a requisition demanding an emergent meet-ing of the Congress Parlia-mentary Party to demand the blood of Krishna Menon.

Asoka Mehta was angry with the Prime Minister because he defended Menon. In the Lok Sabha debate he anwhile everybody was question on which the Prime surprised at the audacity of Minister had the last word".

The reactionary, monopolist press posed the same threat.

EXPOSURES

🛱 ★ by O. P. MEHROTRA 🕁 🚍

The Eastern Economist said, "It is for the Prime Minister to recognise that the public mind—and not the Prime Minister—will in the last analysis decide whether or not his choice of the Defence Minister is in the national interest" the (September 4, 1959).

The Hindustan Times de-manded, "Krishna Menon must go" and its editor wrote "where Mr. Menon brought himself to the point of being a liability not in the defence job alone but in any cabinet job, was the suspicion that attached to learnings his political lean (September 2, 1959).

Karaka's Current which echoes and prattles the language of the II. S. imne rialists said, "We must feel sure that the man entrusted with the defence port-folio owes loyalty to India and not to any foreign ideology" (September 9, 1959).

The Jana Sangh mouthpiece Organiser also joined the anti-Menon chorus and cried Menon "Dismiss comrade (September 7, 1959)

# **Congress Monopolists** Feared E. M. S. Ministry

W HAT were the main features of the Com-munist Ministry which differentiated it from other ministries and which scarh scared the Congress into butchering democracy just to throw it out? In his latest pamphlet, Kerala and the Ugly Face of the Congress, E. M. S. Namboo-

diripad says: Firstly, it was a ministry which was free from fac-tionalism. Although it had only a very small majority of just two votes over the combined opposition, it stood like a rock against all the assaults mounted against it by the opposi-tion. This stands in sharp contrast with the previous ministries in this State and Congress ministries in other Congress ministries in other States, which were and are notoriously faction-ridden. Secondly, because of this stability of the ministry, the developmental activities in the States were being carried on more effi-ciently and fully than ever before. This can be seen if a comparison is made of the figures of fulfilment of the Five Year Plan before, during and after the Communist-led government's rule.

The percentage of fulfilment of targets during the First Five Year Plan was 84.4 per cent, while, in the first year of the Second Five Year Plan, it was 64.2 per cent. This was the posi-tion before the Communistled ministry took office. It was in 1957-58 that the Communist-led ministry took office. It, naturally, took some time to fami-liarise itself with the problems of planning and go into it with promptness and efficiency. Yet the per-

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centage of fulfilment in that year was 84.5 per cent. The next year, in 1958-59. The next year, in 1958-59, the percentage rose to approximately 100 per cent. Thirdly, a definite orien-tation towards industriali-sation was being taken. Unfortunately for that

all the projects to be included in the Second Plan had already been worked out by the Central Government by the time it assumed office, and there was no worthwhile scheme for industrialising the country. Much, therefore, could not be done during the Plan neriod. Nevertheless, the Govern-

ment took initiative to have at least a few indus-tries in the private sector started. The result was the successful negotiation of a type plant and of a rayon pulp factory in the private

Fourthly, a new orientation was given to the ad-ministration of the State in the direction of its democratisation.

Although the Central Government and the Planning Commission have been speaking a lot about the need for people's participation in the formulation and implementation of develop mental plans, nothing muc has been done by them in practice.

The principle of associating the people with plan-ning and developmental activities has been accepted by the Central Government which has directed the State governments to form State Planning Advisory Boards, District Development Councils and Block Advisory Committee

The Communist-led Gov-ernment of Kerala not only

put these instructions into put these instructions into practice in the spirit in which they were made but applied and extended them to a much wider field of administrative activity.

Fifthly, the Communist. led Government of Kerala evolved what is popularly known as a "new police

policy." The crux of that policy is that it is not the function of the police to suppress the trade union, peasant and other mass activities of any mass organisation, or political struggles waged by any political party; the function of the police is to track down and punish those who commit ordinary crimes

The settlement of the labour disputes is to be left to the labour department of the Government and not to be taken over by the police; the police arrive at the scene the police should labour, agrarian or other mass or political struggle only in case these strug-gles led to an actual, ently threatened breach of peace, or violent action.

Above all, the Communist-led Government adop-ted such democratic poli-cies in the fields of labour and agrarian relations, educational reform, taxation and Government expenditure as are in full conformity with the democratic platform prepared by the entire national novement (including the Indian National Congress during the anti-imperialis movement, but had not been implemented by the Congress Government after the country attained inde-pendence.

PAGE FIVE

# West Bengal Newsletter

# WHERE CONGRESSMEN WRITE TO B. C. ROY: "WHAT DANGEROUS CREATURES ARE THE **POT-BELLIED** PERSONS AROUND YOU"

The battle that is now being fought out in the dates. In return for this back-Asansol-Ranigunj-Durgapur industrial region of ing, the PSP is supporting the West Bengai is not just an ordinary election contest. It is a battle between the forces of reaction and progress, between all that is healthy, moral and forwardlooking in life and all that seeks to throttle it.

**T** is no accident that a sec-tion of Congress workers of and happiness. this area recently, addressed This is why the outcome of this battle is being watched with keen interest all over West Bengal. an open letter to West Ben- this battle gal's Chief Minister, Dr. B. C. Roy in their Bengali weekly Lipi with a heavy heart, they The Asansol-Raniguni-Dur-"You know that gapur region is one of the creatures are the most important industrial lied persons who zones of the country. It is old him: dangerous creatures are the fat, pot-bellied persons who surround you. They gamble rightly regarded as the "Ruhr of India". Besides th coal-mines, which produce about 23 million tons of coal annuwith the lives of our people. "They mix water with Penicillin and Streptomycin; they put soap-stone powder into ally, there are two steel plants. thermal power stations, coke oven plants, the Chittaranjan baby foods; they surrepti-tiously remove the properties of the Steel Plant fro hehind comotive works and a host of other industries, in which

the cover of the khaddar; they hoodwink the authorities and fill their coffers by turning the "black gold" of the mines into real gold. es into real gold. "Here the law has ceased

to exist... And, about not turnal debaucheries? The They indulge in drunken revelrie and sexual orgies under the cover of night. The law has been strangled. 'Silver tonic' has done the trick. The agonised sobs of dishonoured women no longer

Such has been the lot of the people of the region dur-ing th past 14 years of Con-gress rule, and there is no way out of this intolerable situation so long as the Congress retains its monopoly of

power in West Bengal. Some years ago, a Sub-Ins-pector of Police, Motilal Sarker, had tried his best to establish th rule of law. But he had to pay dearly with his. own life.

Even now, the entire region continues to be a veritable paradise for anti-social ele-Robberies and murents ders are almost daily occurranc es here.

Not merely that. The vast wealth of the region is looted by a handful of exploiters, In-dian and foreign, who are the owners of hundreds of coalmines, factories and plants located in this Zone an area of about 420 sq. miles.

# VICIOUS IMMORALITY

It is in this context that the election battle is being fought out here. The Congress seeks to maintain the poisonous, vicious nest of corruption, exploitation, immorality and gangsterism

Party, which relies on all those people who want to create a healthy environment

PAGE SIX

ing, the PSP is supporting the Congress nominees in other constituencies, although it has its own candidates in these seats

The employers and other vested interests have made a nice division of job among themselves. One section is helping the Congress while the other is supporting the PSP! In one particular constituency, a powerful section of the colliery owners, who maintain goonda gangs to terrorise the workers and at-tack the trade union movement, have put up one of their trusted men as a candidate

Fighting the battle of the people against these combin-ed forces of reaction are the Communist and other candi-dates of the United Left Alliance, composed of the CPI, F.B., RSP, Marxist F.B., RCPI and Bolshevik Party.

candidates Communist Beiov Pal. Chandrasekhar Mukherjee, Haridas Chakra-varty and Lakshman Bagdi,

steel workers, is contesting from Kulti constituency as an Independent supported by the Unitd Left Alliance.

Taking the Asansol-Rani-

gunj-Durgapur region as a whole, it may be said without

any fear of exaggeration that

the workers and employees of the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works, the Burnpur Steel plant and other factories, the

Eastern Railway, P. & T. De

partments, Banks, I.I.C.

WORKERS

AROUSED

supporters of the Congress are the non-Bengali traders and businessmen. Their num-ber is not at all inconsiderable

The large number of motor transport workers are mostly unorganised.

Communist candidates are being discriminated against in the matter of facilities for conducting the election campaign. For instance, the opportu-

nities afforded to the Congress and the PSP in Chittaranjan township, which is a "protec-ted area", are denied to the nist candidate. All over the area, the

Communist Party is carry-ing on an intensive cam-paign through house-to-house approach, baithak and mass meetings. A novel form of campaign, which is attracting large crowds in Asansol, is a series of political cartoons in the form

of posters. But, despite the broad mass support behind the Communist Party, it must be admit-

the richest men in the area. ate inclusion shareholder in Atulya Ghose's Janasovak. Deven Sen, the PSP leader, is a worthy match of the Congress boss so far as faithful service to the vested interests

service to the vested interests is concerned. It is, no doubt isolated from the people in Asansol; but in Durgapur, it is utilised by the reactionaries to dis-rupt the unity of toiling mass-es. And, all over, the entire each multing area it acts as coal mining area, it acts as the most trusted agent of the

British employers. This is, indeed, a proud re-cord of achievements! Deven Sen is the condidate of such a party. Little wonder that he is being backed by the employers, because he can still masquerade as a "left" leader before the backward sections of workers.

They have, however, abso-lutely no reason to be apprehensive regarding him as his own record has been one repeated treachery to the cause of the working class. It was he who first planted the INTUC in the Asansol-Ranigunj area.

# COMMUNIST CANDIDATE

Pitted against this unholy alliance of the Congress, PSP and employers is the Communist candidate Ketnarain The Co

VETERAN WORKER **OPPOSES** honoured women no longer disturb the earle stillness of the night, because immora-lity and oppression have gone to the farthest limits. The only thing that can happen now is an explo-sion".

> remain untanned. And the major portion of the wealth it produces now is grabbed by a handful of exploiters instead of being harnessed for national reconstruction

over two lakh workers are employed. But, even today the re-

gion presents picture in contrasts. Its potential re-sources are almost unlimit-

ed; but much of them still

There are seven seats to the West Bengal Assembly and one to the Lok Sabha (Asansol Parliamentary Constituency from the Asansol-Raniguni-Durgapur region. Congress and PSP candidates are working in close cooperation in most of the Assembly constituencies.

The architects of this entente are the Indian and British employers, who see in these parties absolutely de-pendable tools of their will.

The Congress candidates are, without exception, trust-ed agents of vested interests. One of them is a colliery owner himself. He was on ar. er himself. He was once ar-rested on suspicions in con-nection with the murder of the brother of Nazrul Islam, famous revolutionary poet of Bengal, and was in jail for

The PSP candidate have equally unenviable record. The PSP's candidate in Hirapur constituency, B. P. Jha, had won the 1957 election from Kulti with the support and gangsterism. The PSP is an active part-ner of the Congress in this is now trying to get re-elec-ted by whipping up anti-Ben-gali sentiments among non-all other vested interests. of reaction is the Communist Ranged against these forces of reaction is the Communist Rivel Congress factions op-

Rival Congress factions op-posed to the Congress candi-dates for some constituencies are helping the PSP candi-

NEW AGE

is a sense of self-compla-

Atulya Ghose, the sitting

the people. Ask any person in Asansol about the attain-ments of this gentleman, and he would inevitably speak in the most derisive

It is not for nothing that it is reported, have also opened their purse-strings

No less important is the fact that the G. S. Atwal, a big colliery owner and one of

movement in this State for over 25 years.

Hailing from Azamgarh dis-trict in U. P., he came to Cal-cutta in the early twentles and found employment under the Calcutta Tramway Coy. He was one of the pioneers of the trade union movement in this British-owned concern and one of the founders of the powerful Tramway Work-ers' Union. He was discharged in 1948 for his trade union activities. Shortly afterwards he joined the Party and became its fulltime worker.

Despite stark poverty and vicissitudes in the family, Misserii never thought of either leaving the trade union movement or giving up the wholetimership of the Party.

Misserji symbolises all that is best in the class, from the depths of which he has sprung. So, it is not difficult to understand why with Atulya Ghose and Deven Sen on one side and Misserji on the other, the election contest in the Asansol Parliamentary constituency has become a fight between the forces of reaction and progress.

-Prafulla Roy Chowdhury

# **ANDHRA COMMUNISTS' MANIFESTO** FORWARD TO AN ALTERNATE GOVERNMENT ?

After 14 years of uninterrupted rule of the Congress in Andhra, it has failed to take this State forward on the path of industrial development, improed agriculture and increased social amenities and, thus. failed to deliver goods.

sector

So, defeat Congress can-didates and help the Com-munist Party and other de-mocrats to form an alternate government. If not, at least or is available, but not even morats to form an alternate government. If not, at least weaken the monopoly of Cona medium sized iron and steel gress and help the formation plant was licensed

of a strong opposition. This is the ringing call of tries in the Government sec-the manifesto released by the tor have been handed over to Communist Party in Andhra.

on December 31, 1961. The appeal could not be otherwise: the conclusion that the Congress has failed to deliver the goods, is inescaof politics and economics in Andhra and much more so, for the Communist Party. which is associated with every aspect of the life of the Andhra people during the last 25 years.

There is another aspect which runs like a red thread through the manifesto: that is the failure of Central Government to come to the aid of Andhra, in its efforts to come out of its present backwardness and the incapacity of the Andhra Government to bring pres-sure to bear upon the Cen-tre for meeting th needs of the State. dustries.

# Industries Neglected

Thus, the national aspira-tions of the Andhra people to build an industrialised and prosperous State, as also their own efforts to better their living conditions, have re-mained unfulfilled.

mained unfulfilled. This was graphically, fac-tually and vividly illustrated in the manifesto, which is an irrefutable indictment of the

14 years of Congress rule. Take, for example, the lifelong and cherished desire of the Andhra people for indus-trialisation. The manifesto says: "Not a single heavy industry was established in this state after independence... state after independence... 90 per cent of Virginia tobacco is grown in Andhra Pradesh. but no cigarette factory was established. Andhra stands

Andhra's interests by the Centre could not be thwarted due to the inefficiency and carelessness of the Andhra Government". Land reforms were often spoken of and not implemented. "The land reform legisla-tion enacted seven years ago in the Telangana, area was not implemented so far. It was expected that in one dis-trict of Khamman alone, 92,000 acres would become available for distribution, but

ultimately, it was found that less than 506 acres would be in excess over and above the ceiling. Even this would not be available now as a result of the new ceiling legislation enacted recently in the assem-



**JANUARY 14, 1962** 



ted that organisational weak-nesses still persist over the entire area, although there trial. constituency. Misserji are adequate grounds for the apprehension that the Con-with the militant trade union who are contesting from Asansol, Hirapur, Barabari and Ranigunj (scheduled) constituencies constituencies respectively are tried and trusted lea-

ders of the workers and the people in their own areas. Forward Bloc candidates gress, PSP and employers will resort to every conceivable means, including goondaism, to create disturbances. It is also a fact that there are standing from Jamuria (scheduled) and Durgapur, and Taher Hussain, well-known leader of Burnpur

cency among a section of Communist workers. The Asansol Parliamentary Constituency is made up of seven Assembly constituencies mentioned earlier. The candidates contesting from this Parliamentary seat are: 1) Atulya Ghose, President of West Bengal Pradesh Con-

gress Committee; 2) Deven Sen, prominent leader of the PSP and of the HMS, and 3) Ketnarain Misser, Communist working class leader.

M.P., needs no introduction to the people. Ask any person in Asansol about the attain-

terms Sir Biren Mukherjee, owner of the Burnpur Steel plant, has donated seven lakhs of rupees to the West Bengal Congress election fund. Other employers in the area,

# for Atulya Ghose

# are the mainstay of the Com-munist Party. The intelligentsia and a section of officers of different factories in the area also support the Com-munist Party. The Party has not yet been

able to bring all sections of the coal workers under its political influence. However, a significant factor in the situation is that this time the Muslim electors will not en bloc for the Congress as in the last general elections. Apart from the owners of mines and factories, the main

# ASANSOL'S BATTLE



the private sector. The pro-posed fertiliser factories in the public sector have also been given over to the private

The attitude of the Central Government in this respect is discouraging, dis-appointing and even discri-minatory. Though this minatory. Though this State stands fourth in res-pect of population and fifth in respect of area, "out of the Rs. 668 crores spent by the Central Government on the Central Government of the Central sector indus-tries, less than Rs: five five crores was spent in Andhra, during the first two plans. "Respective figures for the Third Plan are Rs. 1,261 and

30 crores only. Out of the 65 industrial units to be estab-lished in the country, An-dhra's share is only five in-

"The per capita investment in Andhra is only a niggardly amount of ten rupees whereas it is 65 in Calcutta and 46 in Bombay. "This attitude of neglect of

"Even according to Gov ernment statistics, over 50 per cent of tenants have been evicted after enactment of tenancy protection legislation in nd over 80 per cent in the Andhra area, Circulars have been issued for eviction of cultivators from banzar lands which they have been tilling since ten to fifteen field labour cooperative so-cieties, for the most part of it, have been given over to the landlords. "As a result of such land

reforms, the slogan of land to the tiller was not realised. There was some change in the land relations, but the hold of the landlords nue to grip the peasantry as before. Since no basic change in the land relations could be brought about, productive forces could not fully develop and production also did not increase to the extent expected. Many areas in the State continue to be subjected to famine conditions".

# Slow Irrigation

The progress of the cons-truction of irrigation pro-jects is tardy. "The second phase of the Nagarjunsagar project. Pochampad and Vamsadhara have not receive Vamsadhara nave not receiv-ed Central Government san-ction so far. The progress of ction so far. The progress of the Tungabadhra project is too slow. Srisailam and upper Sileru projects have not been sanctioned so far. The river water dispute and the ap-pointment of Gulhati Commission threaten to affect most of these projects.

"The utilisation of harnessed waters is also defec-tive. Only 2½ lakhs of acres are being benefited by these projects, though they had created an irrigation poten-tial of 10 lakbs acres. Most of the 30,000 tanks in the zamindari areas, rights over which have been vested in government after the aboli-tion of the zamindari sys-tem, are in a state of disrepair and remain neglect- Sour



Their lot-still the same

the matter of electricity, the per capita consumption of electricity in this State is only 15 units as against the all-and 67 per cent of peasant India average of 45 units.

the production of power". The policy of the Govern-ment has been to impose new taxes every year as also in-crease the existing taxes. Total taxes collected from people which stord of Be 20 51 people which stood at Rs. 30.61 crores during 1955-56 sharply rose to Rs. 52.94 crores 1960-61.

The peasant is asked to pay besides land revenue, cess, surcharge, water cess, commercial crop tax, development cess and so on. In the name of integration of land revenue in the whole state, the attempt is being made to raise the land revenue rate by 50 to 100 per cent in the Andhra area.

Most of this increased tax burden is being borne by the common man. The Govern-ment has not accepted taxation on the basis of a graded system

Prices

families are indebted Govvillages have been supplied relieve this indebtedness. The with electricity by end of efforts to provide credit thro-1960. Andhra · occupies the tenth place in the country in the production of power". of the richer sections only.

> "Because of the failure to increase production commen-surate with the needs, deficit financing, inflation, absence of control over production and consumption, refusal to put prices under control, there was spiralling rise in prices of all essential commodities of all essential commodities by three to four times be-tween 1947 and 1960. Only 49 per cent of the price paid by the consumer is reaching the producer".

> Did the wages keep pace with the rising costs? "Ac-cording to Second Agricultu-ral Labour Enquiry, the average wage of agricultural labourer fell from fifteen and half annas in 1950-51 to fourteen annas in 1956-57. While the total income of an agri-cultural labourer's family was Rs. 426, the expenditure shot up to Rs. 575

"In 1958, the factory workers in the rice and

\* See Page 11

PAGE SEVEN

Nagarjunsagar-tardy NEW AGE



the Untouchability (Offences

Act. 1955, and the Act was

enforced from January 1956.

the constitutional provision banning untouchability, made the practice of untouchability

a penal offence. But Congress

governments have not shown

any great anxiety to imple-ment the Act efficiently and

While every year large

number of cases are registered

under the Act, they are not effectively pursued by enforc-ing authorities with the result

that large number of offen-

unpunished.

According to information

available, 693 cases were re-

gistered in 1956, 496, in 1957, 550 in 1958 and 389 in 1959. However, convictions were secured only on 149 cases in

1956; 87 cases in 1957, 127 in

A more glaring fact is that

even where convictions were secured, the penalty imposed is so light as to make them a

"Another factor to which

attention was drawn in the

previous Report was the low fines and punishments which are imposed on the offen-

ders under the Act. During

the year under report, a number of cases came to the

notice where the fines im-posed on the defaulters were

For example, in the State

of Andhra Pradesh, a fine of

Rs. 3 each was imposed in 2 cases. Similarly, a fine of Rs. 4 was imposed in one case in Mysore State and

unishments of fines up to

Rs. 20 or imprisonments

a few weeks were noticed in cases nearly in all States" (Report of the Commis-

sioner for Scheduled Castes

and Scheduled Tribes, 1959-

The record of the Congress

Government in this regard is highlighted by the following observation of the Estimates

amittee of the Lok Sabha.

and effectiveness of the

"Regarding the implementa-

60, pp. 28, 29).

tion

1958 and 81 in 1959.

thoroughly.

ders go

mockery.

very low.

This Act giving effect to

"Whether Onam (Kerala's national festival) comes or a prince is born, Koran gets only gruel in a leaf-bowl." So goes a Kerala saying. Independence has come "in all its fullness" (as the Congress Manifesto "new temples" of pilgrimage are being built all over the country, but the old temples are still forbidden to the accursed.

OR can the untouchable named by Gandhiji, it is also drink from the new tir a problem of social emancipa-N OR can the new tirthas, because he has no land, no home, and is still beyond the pale of society; he is not even allowed to draw water from wells built at state exnense.

But when he fights back and rarely does he do thatwhen he seeks to assert his of oppression practised on the dignity, to establish his rights Harijans by the higher castes as a citizen of free India, the "chosen" ones swoop on his dwellings, set fire to it, beat him and his family and often get him arrested on 'framed-up charges.

We saw what happened in Kerala, during and after the "liberation" struggle of the landed gentry; we see what is happening in the villages of Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Gujarat where marriage processions of Harilans are attacked by where marriage processions of Harijans are attacked by enraged mobs of caste Hindus. We know what hapened in Ramanathapuram in down South.

Let us have a look at the problem. According to the 1951 Census, the total popu-lation of the 245 scheduled tribes including the "denotifled" tribes, formerly known as "criminal tribes", was esti-mated to be 26.5 million. The 799 Scheduled Castes numbered 55 million.

In different States, accord-ing to local conditions, cer-tain other communities are called "backward class Their number has not been ed. But accord correctly as ing to the Ministry of Educa-Scholarships Board. their number comes to 54.6 million. But from the recom-mendations of the Backward Classes - Com nission, it apears that they form the ajority of the po ulation

Taking only the Sche-duled Castes and Tribes together, they form over 22 per cent of the population the country.

# Untouchability Continues

The problem of uplift of these communities is merely a question of ecor is not emancipation. It is not merely a question of the general con t of classes ba ed on definable economic interests and specific production relations. If that were so, then the problem would not merit any special consideration.

But in the case of the backward classes in India, the "Harijans" as they were stand that the Act has not been very effective and the general experience has been that a large number of off-ences relating to the practice of untouchability go un-noticed partly due to the lack. of interest on the part of the police officials and partly pecause the scheduled caste people in rural areas being economically dependent

> After 14 years of independence, if the Harijans are still too terror-stricken to complain against the uni-

from the Harijans could take

In 15 villages, either separate pits or separate places were provided for the Harijans, and savarnas to draw water rom the same wells. Sometimes the pernicious

practice goes to ridiculous extents. For example, in one village a bamboo pipe was used for serving water from wells to Harijans, while in r village separate is were being used to nother pour water to Brahmins and These details of discrimina

tion against the Harijans will not convey the immense suffering to which they are sub-jected to, especially in the jected to, especially in the desert areas of Rajasthan. Since the sources of water

supply in these areas are limited and often far off from the villages, people have to walk sometimes three to five miles to bring water for daily needs

# Inhuman Torture

Imagine the plight of the Harijans if even these inade quate centres are made out of bounds to them—how will they quench their thirst,

not using even those wells for the construction or repair of which grants were given by Government

No Bhangi goes in or near any temple or makes any offerings to the delty in the villages surveyed and having temples.

In the pilgrim centre of Chitrakut a Mehtar infor-mant stated: "We can have darshan of the deity from darshan of the delty from outside. If we want to offer sweets or flowers to the delty, we give money to some high caste boy to buy the same and offer to the delty on our behalf. We can, however, offer coins from a distance." Indeed cash is welcome from whatever welcome from whatever source it is received; even gods are not free from the lure of money!

Discrimination is practised even in educational institu-tions, which are run with Government money. In a sub-urban village in Saharanpur District, no Bhangi boy has ever gone to the village

All boys belonging to the Harijan castes were found to be sitting together at one end of the row in each class.

In an interior village of the tion. same district, it was stated It seems even organised and stayed at t that Harijan boys sat separa- civic bodies extract forced. Dogra Kamoo.

Communist Members of cannot be uplifted, that their Parliament took up the matter in the Parliament and no social oppression cannot be ended, unless certain fundadoubt the Government assurmental economic meaures are doubt the Government assur-ed that proper steps have been taken in the matter. But the fact that such incidents did take place in such a well-known institution underlines implemented. The enforcement of minimum wages for agricul-tural labour will cut at the root of forced labour. Provithe serious nature of the prob-

sion of cheap credit will libe-rate the scheduled castes and tribes from the clutches of landlords and moneylenders. Another important social disability from which the un-touchables suffer from is begar and similar forms of The distribution of waste lands and surplus lands after enforcement of ceilings forced labour

While Article 23 of the to agricultural labour and poor peasants will give them social status and economic to agricultural labou Constitution prohibits forc-ed labour, it is a matter of shame that in some States like Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, the system still prevails, in certain areas.

According to the Report of the Commissioner for Sche-duled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for 1956-57, in the Koraput Sub-Division and in the Sundergarh District of Orissa State Gothi system of forced labour is in force.

In Madhya Pradesh, a system called Harwahi Pratha is prevalent. According to this custom, the scheduled tribes are forced to work on the farms of individual zamindars without adequate remunera-

dent reported by the Com-missioner for Scheduled Castes and Tribes in his report for 1959-60. "A case was reported from a village in District Rohtak Punjab, that two police ins-pectors accompanied by three constables came to the village and stayed at the house of one

independence which alone will

the brandishments of upper caste landlords and bullys in

But it is precisely in these

respects that the Congress

The collusion between the corrupt official machinery and

the village oppressors is illus-

trated by the following incl-

vernments have failed

enable them to stand

the villages.

especially in the long summer tely and did not get proper attention from the high caste

In a suburban village in Meerut District in the same region, Balmiki boys cannot touch buckets, etc., provided in the school. One of the four schools in an interior village in the same district is a Hariian school where alone Harijan children are admitted.

boys went to the Harijan school even though another school was nearer to their houses. Shades of Little Rock?

birth in a particular caste.

this practice is confined to the illiterate, especially in the rural areas and that the educated and enlightened do not tolerate it. Facts do not square up with this view

Social

Boycott

teacher.

Forced

It was found that Harijan Labour

1959-60:

Pradesh.

"Under this system, when-

ever the Harijans take loans from the landlords or rich

cople one member of the

family is left with the credi-

tor to work in lieu of loan

till the money is repaid'

The question arises: Why is

The causes have to be

oppressing classes and castes. Communist spokesmen in Par-

phasised that the Harijans

liament have every

(Ibid., pp. 40).

There is, perhaps, no end to the narration of discrimina-tion against the citizens of the country-discrimination based on the mere accident of

But it could be argued that

At Allahabad, the Govern ment of India has set up a training centre for giving

that in spite of all the high principles preached and tall promises made by the Con-gress leadership, these off-ences against national senticoaching to scheduled cast and scheduled tribes boys appearing for I.A.S. and I.P.S. examinations under the manments persist? Why have fourteen years of Congress agement of the Allahabad University. fourteen years of Congress rule failed to wipe out these pock-marks from the face of

It was alleged by the trai-nees that several ugly inci-dents of harassment and dismother India? Sought for in the collusion between the official machi-nery and the upper castes, in the dependence of the Congress organisation on the

abour from scheduled castes. "The Dogra asked a Harijan The Pandhurna Municipal Committee in Madhya Prato bring a cock and a hen for the police officers. On refusal esh forced the municipal to provide these the Dogra sand from the stream beds for the construction of municipal works, in addition to their incited the police officers and thereafter one police officer blackened the face of the man and hung an iron normal duties and without tava round his neck and also xtra remuneration garlanded him with old shoes.

"He was then made to walk about in the streets of the village accompanied by two constables. He was also taken to the neighbouring village in the same fashion.

In the villages of Akkalkot Taluka of Sholapur District in Maharashtra, the Mahars, "Ultimately this man was allowed to go with the warning that if he lodge any com-plaint in the matter against police authorities he would Ramoshis, etc., have to work as inferior village servants without any remuneration. According to the report for be punished more severely... (Ibid. p. 41).

"Recent reports, however, Political indicate that a type of serf-dom still exists in certain **Deprivations** areas if Shahdol, Sidhi and Rewa Districts of Madhya

It is the same police who have to enforce the welc provisions of the law. If the fence itself starts eating the crop, what can the poor Hari-jans do?

Nor does the Harijans enjoy absolute political freedom, even though adult franchise and periodical elections theoretically give them these rights.

Because social life is dominated by the upper castes, who also hold political power, the free exercise of political rights often land them in trouble. It is well known how the

Harijans in Kerala were victimised for supporting the Communist-led Government. Not merely were they terrorised, beaten and even murdered by fascist gangs, their huts burned and looted, they were also denied work by employers, Government contractors, etc.

Even Sarvodaya leader Ke- at the

castes persons could not freely enter either hotels or

eđ. The situation in U.P. is

worse. A survey of 23 villages spread over 12 districts in different parts of the State showed that untouchability

Out of 230 informants, 38.3 per cent stated that Harijans

to which they are subjected to. Could any civilised society tolerate such ghoulish cruelty? But in Congress India these are daily occurances. Perhaps Congress could ex-blain away this blot on our national conscience by saving

This is the inhuman torture

that it is not strong enough in Rajasthan to wipe out un-touchability by its own or its government's efforts alone.

# A survey of 28 villages situated in eight talukas of Baroda district and two villages situated in two talu-kas of Kaira District, showthat in the villages of

temples, or take water from public wells. In the the Baroda district, untouchabi-lity is conspicuously observ-

But this could not be said of



Baroda Taluk, the scheduled

taluka towns of Savli, Jabugam and Chhatandepur of

in one form or another is practised throughout the State in varying degrees.

per cent stated that Harijans were not allowed to use village wells, 29.56 per cent were of the opinion that only some wells were open. dents of narassment and us criminations, etc., took place in their hostel. The manager of the canteen refused to serve tea to the trainees.

wells were open. It was observed that in the suburban villages of Saharan-pur and Jalaun districts and trainees; they were refused entry into playgrounds, com-mon tooms, etc.

tion. Apart from being the object of economic exploitaeconomically dependent on the Caste Hindus are afraid tion along with other exploit-ed sections of the people, the Harijans are also victims of of lodging complaints against the off enders" (Estimates Committee—Second Lok Sahumiliating social oppression. bha-48th Report, p. 20). Untouchability is the most glaring and degrading form of oppression practised on the It takes many forms Government of India forms The

Act. the Committee under-

versally condemned prac-tice of untouchability, how deplorable indeed are con-ditions under Congress rule!

Even the late Home Minis-

ter Pant was apologetic when he addressed the conference of State Ministers in charge

of the advancement of back-

vard classes on 24 October

"Pandit Pont said that un-

touchability was abolished by the Constitution. It was made

penal by an Act passed by Parliament some time ago,

but still it continued to linger

in many places" (Hindustan Times, 25 October 1960).

It is not fully realised, how-

ever, that untouchability in

one form or another is prac-

tised on a wide scale in the country, especially in the rural

According to a study of 51 villages spread over all the five administrative divisions of Rajasthan, in 12 villages Hari-

jans had no access at all to any of the temples while in three villages they could white

three villages, they could visit only the temples dedicated to

Only in two villages had

Harijans free access to all the temples. In the rest of the

villages there were restrictions

of various degrees, though not

In regard to drinking water

wells, piaos and eating places, only in one village out of 41 inhabited by Harijans and having wells, the scheduled

castes were permitted to draw water from all the wells. In

16 villages, there were sepa-rate wells for the use of Hari-

jans. In nine villages, separate

tans were provided to the re-

servoirs attached to the wells

their own diety.

a total ban.

*Mariians* 

areas.

Humiliated

lappan was forced to publicly. economic pressure and politi-cal intimidation practised on the helpless Harijan labourers.

Even in the capital of India. in Delhi, they are not free from such disabilities.

"A complaint was received from the Harijans of a village in Delhi that they were not allowed to make use of a well which they had been using for about 75 years by the new owner of the land on which the well existed.

"On the spot enquiries made by me revealed that such an action was taken against Harijans because in the panchayat elections the the panchayat elections the Harijans had supported their own candidates, all of whom won the elections and high caste Hindus did not get any seat....

"It may be pointed out that the owner of the well in ques-tion had another well also for the the use" (Ninth Report of the Commissioner for S.C. and S.T., p. 41).

THE INSULTED & THE INJURED

In the Second Five-Year Plan, a provision of Rs. 90.47 crores had been made for the welfare of backward classes. scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. According the Third Plan report, only about 79.41 crores were likely to be spent from this allocation. Commenting on this, the Commissloner for Scheduled Castes and Tribes points out in his report for 1959-60:

Funds	
Wasted	

"But I can say with cer-tainty that the anticipated expenditure of Rs. 79 crores is an impossibility, because firstly there may not be 100 per cent expenditure in every state during 1960-61 as anticipated, and second-ly considerable funds from the amounts reported to be spent will not in fact be the actual expenditure, but simply book transfers.

"In view of the same, the total expenditure at the end of five years would, in my opinion, be much below and may be around Rs. 65 crores only, leaving a big unspent balance of Rs. 26 crores" (p. 17).

It has been pointed in the reports of the Commissioner that large sums of money shown as spent are in fac kept in the personal accounts of officers.

"Instances have come to my notice that the amounts plac-ed at the disposal of the dis-trict magistrates and other executive officers which could not be utilised in time during a particular year were trans-ferred either to their personal ledger accounts or kept in the treasuries as revenue deposits "

Similarly the funds placed disposal of District

Development Boards. NES In fact, the problem has be Blocks, Panchayat Samits, etc., have been reported as spent, when actually they are kept by these agencies to be utilised in subsequent years.

By K. Subramanya Menon

For example, in Bihar, a District Magistrate transfe red a sum of Rs. 1,02,343 for struction of a hostel, to a District Board. This amount is reported to have been spent. even though no construction has taken place in 1959-60 (Ibid. p. 17).

Some more examples of fictitious expenditure on 'welfare' schemes which do not exist at all are shown below

In Madhya Pradesh the entire provision of Rs. 30 lakhs was reported to have been spent on the scheme "Communications", during 1958-59, even though not a single pie had been spent. during

The Bihar government reported that a Tussay sub-station was functioning at Bandgaon in Singhbhum District. The fact is that such a sub -station had never been started there.

In the Progress Report for the year 1958-59 sent by Mysore government, figu-res pertaining to the year 1959-60 and the figures supplied by the State Govern ment differed from those fur-nished by the Audit Depart-

In Bombay, the District Local Board, Amreli, received large grants during 1958-59 and 1959-60. All these grants were not utilised, but the State Government report-ed full utilisation thereof.

One of the steps taken by the Government to impro the status of the scheduled castes and scheduled was to reserve certai centages of jobs in the State services and initiate special measures to recruit candidates from these communi-ties. However, performance in this respect also is deplorable. Even a brief study of the

facts reveals the deplorable position of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in central government services.

Government figures them. selves show that the repre-sentation of scheduled cast-es and scheduled tribes candidates among Class I, II and III services of the gov ernment is extremely mea-gre and the Congress government will have to double its efforts if any satisfactory improvement is to be effe

As a matter of fact the record of the government in this matter is not very bright

## Reservation

## Farce

In the 1956 special IAS re-cruitment there were 21,000 candidates, of which 960 scheduled caste and 104 sched tribe candidate sat for the examination. Of these only 200 scheduled castes and tribes candidates qualified in the written test and were called for the personality test for final selection. In this final selection only 10 of them were selected.

One of the most serious problems problems of the scheduled castes and tribes is housing.

come more acute today.

As their social awareness grow they come increasingly into conflict with the landlords and moneylenders. As a result, they are denied house-sites on the lands owned by these classes and are also often evicted from their exist-ing dwellings.

The question has urgency in recent tims due to the spate of evictions resort-ed to by the landlords to escape tenancy and ceiling legislations

The government's 'schemes of colonisation, housing grants, etc., have not pro-gressed much either.

In this connection it is worthwhile recalling that Members of Communist Parliament have always insisted that the problem of housing for scheduled castes and tribes cannot be solved unless and until the ques-tion of providing them with house-sites is taken up in earnest. Unfortunately very little is being done in this regard.

While this is the situation in regard to the social condi-tions of the backward classes, their economic condition has actually deteriorated during th last few years.

# Rural

## Poor

As agrarian labour is the most important occupation of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, the situation on the agricultural labour front broadly corresponds to the economic conditions of the classes, According to the Report of the Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry, the ave-rage annual household income of an agricultural labour family has fallen.

It has been estimated that between 1950-51 and 1956-57, while output from agriculture has increased by 12.6 per cent, the total income of arrival income of agricultural lab-our families has declined by 9.9 per cent, and the per capita income of agricul tural labour has declined by 4.42 per cent.

Thus, it will be seen that not only are they still socially oppressed, economically also their conditions have worsen-

The Election Manifesto of ist Party states:

"The practice of untouchability has not yet been eradicated. Tens of millions of our fellow citizens be-longing to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and backward com live in sheer neglect, hum bled and humiliated.

"The funds that are allo-cated for their uplift are not only meagre but are misused and sométi even not spent at all. The miserable conditions in which this downtrodden humanity lives mock at all the rhetorics about social instice.

The Manifesto also lists the urgent steps necessary to re-medy the situation.

# **Mass Resignations** From Assam Congress

# From Madhusudan Bhattacharva

The factional fight in Assam Congress, far from The factional fight in Assam Congress, far from resolving, seems to be getting more and more intense as the election is drawing nearer. The new turn that this factional fight has assumed is evident from the large-scale resignation of members, including some very prominent leaders of Assam Congress.

Some resignation from a also the resignation of the party here and there, perhaps, is not of much significance and generally it is not taken much notice of. In Assam also when the first report of resignation of some mem. bers appeared in the Press, nobody took it seriously particularly because it is known that in recent times many fortune seekers have Swelled the ranks of the Congress who, being disappointed in getting ticket, might resign.

But in the background of recent fierce factional fight in Assam Congress, these resignations assumed some significance. Moreover, when reports of resignations began to come from district after district, it could hardly be ignored by political obser-

The first resignation report came from Darrang district, where one of the vice-Presi-dents of the District Congress Committee resigned and de-clared his intention to conclared his intention to con-test the Industries Minister Tripathi as an Independent candidate. This was followed by resignation of some mem-bers of lower levels in Nowgong and Sibsagar.

Then came the news of the resignation of 55 Congress members, including some-Mandal Congress Presidents and some Anchalik Panchayat Presidents from Jorhat followed by similar report of defection from Golaghat, another sub-division of Sibsagar district

Significance was attached to the resignation of mem-bers of Jorhat and Golaghat Congress over which, it is be-lieved, Deveswar Sarma, the former Education Minister of Assam who is considered one of the stalwarts of the anti-Ministerial Ministerial group, has got considerable influence.

Deveswar Sarma, it may be recalled, was not only not nominated as a Con-gress candidate, but was also forced to resign his membership of Pradesh Election Committee to which, Sarma claims, he was elected with overwhelming majority of votes. He then resigned his Assembly membership as also the membership of Pradesh Congress Committee and AICC, as a mark of "protest"

The report of resignation of Congress members from Jor-hat indicated further that soon the total figure of recignations might reach one hundred, if not more.

That this resignation is not any isolated event be-came all the more clear-from the latest report of resignation of one of the members of the Pradesh Election Committee, who is also a member of the PCC. His resignation has been followed by the resignation of another stalwart of As-sam Congress who is the Chairman of a Municipality of a subdivisional town, as

PAGE TEN

vice-president of Gauhati District Congress Commit-These last three are lea-

ders of the Congress in lower Assam. Thus, it is obvious that the current mass resignation has affected both lower and upper Assam districts.

The Pradesh Election Committee member who resigned was an applicant for nomination as a candidate for the Gauhati seat which has been given to another member. This Congress leader is a close relative of the former Chief Minister Bishnuram Mehdi

The largest share of nomi-The largest share of nomi-nations has gone to those who belong to what is known as the Ministerial group. The Ministerial group could get their nominees selected by the Central Election Committee which is said to be more fav-durable. Itemate the ourably disposed towards the Ministerial group than to the other group.

The anti-Ministerialists tried to induce the CEC to further revise their decision in favour of at least some of the nominees of the an Ministerialists. But this mo anti. it is said, was frustrated by the dogged resistance of the Ministerialists who are reported to have received the backing of some very influen-tial persons in New Delhi, including Congress President Reddy.

As they found that there was no chance of the CEC decision being revised, they took the decision to resign their Congress membership. It is believed that this is a con-certed action of the anti-Min-isterialists or at least a sec-tion of them and not just in-dividual decision dividual decision.

How many of those who have resigned will contest the official Congress candidates as independents is not imme-diately known. But it is be-lieved here that at least some of them more very table as leved here that at least some of them may eventually con-test the official Congress nominees as independent can-didates or may work other-wise against the official Con-gress candidates.

This current mass resignation is reported to have caus-ed a great deal of concern in the leadership. Chief Minister Chaliha who had been to New Delhi recently is reported to have requested both the Con-gress President and the Union Home Minister to visit Assam ostensibly for election campaign of Congress

But, according to compe-But, according to compe-tent sources, this request has been made by Chaliha to get these central leaders here to mediate between the contranding tactions and the contending factions and try to bring about a rappro chement, if that is at all possible. The same sources, however, maintain that the factional fight in Assam Congress has now far to be solved by ma tor

# TERROR OVER COAL FIELDS

\*

KALYAN ROY, Gene-ral Secretary, Indian Mine Workers' Federa-Norther 20 cases" said the tion and Benarasi Tewary. General Secretary Colliery Mazdur Sabha, have issued the tollowing statement:

A night-mare condition prevails in the Modern Satgram colliery where since the last week of December, 1961, nearly 30 old employees have been summarily dismissed. Among them are workers who are State witnesses against the management. The women workers have

not been spared; they too have been dismissed. The management has even re-fused to pay their dues.

The owner of the colliery, Nandolal Jalan, is openly telling that victimisation has not yet been complete the remaining members of the Sabha also will have to leave within this month. "I have made the police file 23 cases against 100 workmen and their lea-ders; if they dare to pro-

owner to the wagon loaders when the wagon load ers when they went to him to protest against this mass scale victimisation. The agent of the colliery

has set up a screening board to hunt out who are the members of the Sabha and thumb impressions are being forcibly taken from new workers on white papers. On the other hand, no attention is paid to the

Mining Regulations and miners and trammers are being compelled to work for 12 to 16 hours and sirdars (some of them are in-volved in murder cases) supervise them with whips in their hands.

Dismissed and other workers have not got any Provident Fund accounts although the management have all along deducted provident fund contributions from their wages; but the money has not been deposited. For the last eight months,

just after an agreement

gement has been despera-tely trying to victimise the union activists and particularly the old wagon loaders but they have not been successful because of the stiff resistance of all worker

Armed hoodlums were repeatedly brought to evict workers from their quar-ters. This, too, failed be-cause of heroic resistance of workers. The police as usual have

all along arrested union members and supporters and it is apprehended fol-lowing this mass scale dis-missal will come another wave of police attack, ar-rests and other harassments.

We firmly hold that this mass scale dismissal and oppression on workers of this colliery has been pos-sible because of utter callousness of the Central Government Government and its con-sistent support to Jalan in anti-union activities and refusal to send major cases of dismissal in the past for adjudication.

Elections, Congress and Communists got an equal number of seats both in the Lok Sabha as well as in the Territorial Council, though the Commu-nists and their allies got more wotes. With two nominated members, the Congress held power in the Territorial Coun-

it was five years back. The people of Tripura could see the real face of the local Congress leaders in the Territorial Councils which became an Augean stable of corruption and nepotism.

brought by the Communists during the early part of this year exposed these corrupt practices and the chairman escaped defeat by a single

Getting isolated from the people, the leaders of the Tri-pura Congress adopted the worst disruptive tactics. Following in the footsteps of their friends in Assam, they incited the Bengalis against tribal minorities of the Ter-

were spread and the local P.S.P. unit joined in that chorus, Ganaraj, the mouthpiece of the State Congress, launched this cam-paign of hate. A "Liberation Day" was observed. Nagarik another Congress organ wrote on August 10, 1961: "The resistance movement should not be confined in meetings and demonstrations alone. Other methods have to be adopted".

Tripura, the P.S.P. organ, on August 25 advocated boy-cott of the tribals in town markets by observing hartals against them. The Congress leaders ap-

JANUARY 14, 1962

Among the local issues-the struggle for the Vidhan Sabha remains. The Congress Party in the Territorial Council opposed this demand and stood for the extension of powers of the Council, which the Home Minister now offers.



JANUARY 14, 1962



Tripura Kally being addressed by Jyoti Basu.

# TRIPURA MOVES TO **TROUNCE CONGRESS**

# From Nripen Chakravarti

About half a lakh of people, with about ten thou-sand volunteers of the Santi Sena in uniform in the front rank, rallied at Children's Park on December 26 to hear Jyoti Basu, speak in the first election rally of the Communist Party in Tripura.

HE people were in a real festive mood. They were out to dislodge Congress from the Territorial Council and deprive them of the seats deprive them of the seats that they hold in the Lok and

Rajya Sabhas. During the Second General

But the situation in Tripura is totally different from what and found new allies.

The no-confidence motion

Disruptive

Tactics

who are their friends and who acted against their inritory. Wild stories of "terrorism" torate in Tripura are mostly

has been said by the Prime Minister in last session of the Lok Sabha Assembly Wanted

m Tripura: proached the AICC, which sent a Fact-finding Commis-sion under the leadership of Bijayananda Chatterjee, Se-cretary, West Bengal Congress Committee.

But this campaign of hate ended in a flop. It further isolated the Congress leaders. The internal quarrel of the Congress was intensified so much that it has not yet been possible for them even to an-nounce their full list of cannonnee their full list of can-didates for the Territorial Council and Lok Sabha. On the other hand, during last five years the Commu-nists have rallied new forces

nd found new allies. During the last elections, the large majority of dis-placed persons (D.P.s) voted for the Congress in the ex-pectation that they would continue to get rehabilita-tion benefits. But no sooner were the elections over, than the Government announced their decision to close down the Rehabilita-tion Department. The D.P.s

fought against this decision under the leadership of the Communists. Biswambar Das sacrificed his life after an 11-day hungerstrike, while in police custody. The P.S.P. and the Scheduled Caste Federation leadership joined hands with the mur-derers. The D.P.s could see

terests. The issues before the eleclocal. Though the Congress leadership harps on the India-China border issue, it has really lost its edge after what

Another important local issue was the implementation of the newly adopted Land Reforms Act. The Administration, instead of distributing land to the three lakh strong landless peasants of Tripura, has started issuing thousands of eviction notices on neasants olding khas Government land for years

Further, notices are being served for the enhancement of rent and nazarana, at places, three to four times the

Hundreds of meetings were held in protest and in a rally of 10,000 kisans, held under the flag of the Kisan Sabha the peasants threatened a no the peasants threatened a no-rent campaign, if rent was enhanced. The Congress lea-ders, both inside the Council as well as outside, stood for this enhancement.

# Communist Advance

The people of Tripura saw that this offensive of the Go-vernment could be resisted only if the Communists were strengthened. The Communist Party and their allies are out to win a clear majority in the Territorial Council, besides both the seats in the Lok Sabha.

The P.S.P. has set up nine candidates for the Territorial Council of which hardly one seat will be won by them, as happened in last two elec-

Having lost its strength the Congress has alled itself with the Scheduled Caste Federation, by offering them four seats in the Territorial Coun-cil. As a protest, a good sec-tion of the Scheduled Caste Federation have joined hands with the Cmmunists and disowned their leadership.

In the election campaign, the people of Tripura find that while the Communists fight for the real integration of the country, the Congress leaders spread communalism and sow seeds of disintegra-tion; while the Communists fight for a better and cleaner Tripura, the Congress leader-ship rallies all the corrupt elements under the Congress banner.

They have no doubt that the victory of the Commu-nists would usher in a new era in Tripura for which the democratic masses so long fought and suffered.

### NEW AGE

\* From Page 7

industry contributed additional production 170 lakhs, the workers back only Rs. 64 lakhs. ks. 110 hann, Rs. 64 lakhs. got back only Rs. 64 lakhs. The respective figures for sugar industry are Rs. 263 and Rs. 93 lakhs, in textile Rs. 100 lakhs and Rs. 75

**ANDHRA APPEAL** 

"The recommendations of the Pay Committee in resp of AGGos and teachers are wholly unsatisfactory". After detailing the failures

After detailing the failures of the ruling party in various other fields like health, edu-cation, handicrafts, the mani-festo made a strong indict-ment of the Congress as being wholly responsible for corrup-tion, favouritism and ineffi-clency in administration. The manifesto cited the gross interformer at the

gross interference of Minis-ters in the administration of panchayats, cooperatives even at village level and superseding many of them at the ins-tance of their followers; the amendment of the University Acts providing for their inter-ference, the recent affair of the election of vice-chancel-lor of Andhra university, in which the Ministry made a mockery of the autonomy of universities; promotions and ing many of them at the ins. universities; promotions and transfers and dismissals of universities: promotion officials who did not serve the officials who did not serve the ruling party's interests at any level of administration; re-jection of the recommenda-tions of and restriction of the powers of the Public Service Commission; naked favouritism towards Con-gress-controlled to do Con gaess-controlled trade unions, panchayat samitls and other local bodies; discrimination and elimination of Commu-nists and other opposition Darties and gress-controlled trade opposition opponent parties, and even inside their own party, at various levels of local self-government These instances of favour-

itism and corruption have become so menacing that even the High Court had to pass some serious strictures on some ministers.

"Due to the method of indirect election, absence of secret voting and proportional representation and various other provisions in the Act, the scheme of de-centralisation has become a mockery; it has only en-abled the local landlords to gain control of the pancha yat samitis and zilla pari-shads and convert them into centres of anti-peoples' activities".

"Internal squabbles are corroding the Congress. There is an increasing trend among Congress leaders to encourage castes and communities like Reddi, Kamma, Kapu. They have not even shirked to flirt with such rank Muslim communal organisation as the Ittehad-Ul-Muslimeen, the notorious Razakar organisation"

After such analysis of the After such analysis of the results of the Congress mis-rule in the State during the last 14 years, the manifesto puts forward a concrete pro-gramme, on the basis of the all-India Communist' Party Flexibation Monifesto detailing Election Manifesto, detaili the various policies which need to be pursued in the fields of industry and agriculture, in backward areas and among the middle-classes and women, in defence of demo-cracy and peace, for a change in the price structure.

The manifesto then pro-ceeds to recall the services to the people by the Communist Party since 1952 and states: "When Communist Party was

opposition. could hold up various anticould hold up various anti-people's measures of the Con-gress government, in alliance with other progressive forces. "Recent history has proved that but for such a strong opposition, the Congress would have steem-prolement with measure ve steam-rollered still more the desires of the people

"Because of the weak op-position that emerged after the 1955 mid-term elections, the Government re-enacted which i various measures which it had to withdraw during the Rajaji and Prakasam regimes; stopped distribution of banzar lands; handed of banzar lands; handed over banzar lands; being tilled by poor people, to Con-gress "political sufferers"; replaced the comparatively better ceiling legislation in Telangana by a nseless ceil-ing legislation for the whole State, which left no land for distribution, normand for distribution; postponed implementation of certain useful provisions of the Hy-derabad Tenancy legislation and so on.

'Irrespective of the number of votes polled by the opposi-tion parties, the Congress could secure an overwhelming majority of the seats thank to the absence of proportional representation"

Stating that this situation Stating that this situation has once again posed the pro-blem of power, the Manifesto stated that "if the minimum programme set out by the Communist Party has to be implemented and the people want to be delivered from the misrule of Congress, then, there is every need to replace this government by a siterthis government, by a alter-nate government.

# ALTERNATE GOVERNMENT

"The Communist Party, therefore, appeals to the people to return Commu-nists and other progressive independents in sufficiently large numbers to enable the formation of such a alter-native communer of the formation of such a alter-native government. If this is not possible, remaining in opposition, the Commu-nist Party would strive to break the monopoly of po-wer of the Congress and defeat the anti-people's po-licies and defend the inte-rests of the people rests of the people.

"The need of the present situation is the formation of a broad national demo cratic front of all patriotic and democratic forces and Communist Party has un-dertaken to fulfil this his-

dertaken to fulni this his-toric task and hopes it could have the help and coopera-tion of the people. "A fitting reply to the reac-tionary policies and anti-peoples measures of Congress government would be the peoples measures of Congress government would be the unity of all democratic forces and the struggle for a shift to the left. This is necessary; otherwise, the rightist and reactionary forces would take the country hackward. the country backward. "There is no other way out.

Towards this end, the Communist Party is prepared to join hands with all other de-mocratic forces to strive for such a leftward swing and progressive shift in government's policies

"Therefore, the Party appeals to the Andhar people to defeat the Congress and reactionary forces, secure the victory of Communist and other progressive indepen-dents supported by Commu-nist Party, and thus, enable the State to march forward to build a new Andhra"

PAGE ELEVEN

# Bu CYNICUS MALAYU

The subject of 'Greater Malaysia' crops up all the time these days; and the fictitious elation engendered by the first report that a merger would unite Singapore, Malaya, North Borneo, Sarawak, Brunei and thus bring a solution through federation to some of the economic problems of the area is now showing itself for what it is: propaganda diffused through rigidly censored press in order to make palatable a scheme which found its origin in the Foreign Office, London s early as 1953.

T seems that even in those-days the more astute and knowledgeable among the British experts of South East Asia realised that the whole area had to be treated on a large scale.

Seato was one effort, and now 'Greater Malaysia' will replace Seato as the strong-hold of a new, intelligent, and far more ruthless type of colomialism with a tentacular hold

over the whole area. I say intelligent with son reason: gone are the days of crude anti-communist propaganda, of rather jejune and direct military aid. Now all is subtlety, indirection, corrup-tion, infiltration.

In this new longterm and long planned disruption at all levels, the principal fea-ture will be the utilization of Asians, willing or eager for personal motives to be the tool of manipulations which will enslave, more effectively than before, the populations of the small countries of South East Asia, and prolong the domi-nation of monopoly capital-ism, if not enhance it, in

the area. It is here, in Kuala Lumpur, that over the Christmas period, with whiskey flowing and tongues loosened among the holiday - makers who throng the capital, that one hears, talked of as freely as the races, of schemes whose rank expediency and total lack of compunction can only be compared to those which have made a shambles in the

Straight from the horse's mouth, or rather straight from the mouth of British Army personnel, who at the moment are engaged in small scale manoeuvres both in Malaya and in Singapore in order to show the population who is really the master here, come the most hair-raising state-

# Vietnam In Danger

Many of these officers have lately been following a course of studies about South East Asia, designed to promote in them a "better understand-

ing" of the tasks at hand. To begin with South V begin with South Viet-: "Well, of course, South Vietnam has got to be helped. If only they will listen to Bob Thompson, they'll win,"

The Bob Thompson referred to is R. G. K. Thompson, formerly permanent secretary for defence to the Malayan Government, who with other "experts" of anti-communist warfare, both military and psychological, in Malaya, went in October 1961 as part of British Mission to Ngo Din Diem of Sonth Vietnam to try to teach Diem how to deal with his own tronbles. "The problem in South

Vietnam is almost exactly as it was in Malaya," said Thompson. He added that the difference was "the frontier, which is a ghastly comleation"

PAGE TWELVE

buying crooked politicians; constant psychological war-fare against Cambodia; ntilizing Thailand and South Vietnam as bases. Lately, in a brilliant series

Thompson has been invited

by Diem to go to Saigon and become chief adviser there. But Diem is obdurate; and

apparently "most of his best troops are engaged in protect-ing him personally and the members of his family from

Thompson is to change all that, and to tell him that, apart from his own personal

safety. Diem must also change

a "He's made a lot of mis-s there, killed a lot of

his tactics towards the vill-

people and antagonized the

villages: You can't do that

sort of thing nowadays". To bolster up Thompson's good advice, Tengku Abdul

Rahman, Prime Minister of

Malaya, in November himself

rushed to offer "good advice"

o Diem, and to persuade him

to listen to the British ex-

It is thought in Kuala.

Lumpur that now the system of "new villages" which prov-ed effective in Malaya will be

used in South Vietnam. Food

and supplies will be denied to

the guerillas by wiring in wholesale the population in

wholesale the population in concentration camps called "protection areas", and by shooting anyone found with even a cup of water or a banana in hand outside the

Curfews at night will be

imposed in toto; and as an amiable and talkative Bri-

tish colonel said to me: "In

be pretty ruthless about it ....as we had to be, here in Malaya, before we began to

Where Cambodia is con-

cerned, the feeling of hosti-lity is now in the open; a

"hate Cambodia" campaign

seems to be on the ramnage

in the drawing rooms of the British businessmen.

It is well known that Lord

Selkirk, British High Com-missioner for South East Asia,

does not look with favour on

dent mindedness and his policy of neutrality. But the virulence with which this

policy is now denounced is

throats of British business-

men and Army officers like a bone in a dog's gullet; but here too a cure is on the way,

for the disease of neutrality.

they can't do very much and we'll settle their hash one day". Some one else said:

"Sihanouk's goose is cooked. Just wait and see."

What are the long-term

"It's a small country and

Cambodia sticks in the

Prince Sihanouk's indepen-

fact, they'll have to learn to

barbed wire encirclement.

win."

surprising

being a

ages. " takes

nerts.

Tengku's

Advice

of manoeuvres, by inviting re-presentatives of the world press to Cambodia, and by making it clear that he would not tolerate threats, Sihanouk has gained the first round in this battle waged against his country. But the end is not yet. He

plans of these new empire-builders for Cambodia? Sub-version within the country;

will need all his wariness and good sense in the years to come to prevent Cambodia from falling into the clutches of what Sinanouk himself described, correctly now I feel, as 'wild beasts who would destroy us'.

In Singapore, which is always talked of as "the heart of the matter", and "the Red bastion in South" effectively, and is being done. Another campaign, of dis-crediting the leaders of the East Asia", the British seem to have decided to go on utilizing Lee Kuan-yew, also known as Harry Lee, whose siong, who is a popular hero and went to jail for two years, double-dealing tactics and is said to have become obstinate megalomania in bourgeois" to be most amenconfusing the good of the State with his own personal able to "reason" when under the influence of brandy, and, in short, it is hinted that he interest have served them well so far, even if they might also, under lavish and have earned him the title of. "the most despised Prime Minister in South East Asia". people, but are a guarantee of peace in South East Asia.

Of course, some deplore the fact that Lee, who is subject to tantrums, should have laid himself open to attacks which

IMPERIALISM'S NEW

showed up the weakness of his position. They think he should have gone on playing a double

Others think that Lord Sel-

kirk should not have shown

tish "brains" who run Singa-pore, behind Lee's rantings

game, only more cleverly.

Letter From Malaya

fear: fear of the vernacular-speaking.

Here the campaign is subtle

and effective: however "socia-list" the English-educated

may proclaim, or even think themselves, there is a natural conflict of interest between

themselves and the Chinese-

speaking or Malay-speaking

This can be exploited most

Barisan Socialis, is also being

conducted. Thus Lim Ching-

generous treatment come to

recognize that the British bases in Singapore not only provide employment for 25,000

With Seato ont of the way

(it

"verv

Subtle

Campaign

Kuan-yew, is being infiltrated ingly enough, Sarawak, North from the inside. Its weaker members, some of the English-educated intel-ligentsia, are being wined and Borneo, known as sleepy littl territories, have suddenly sprung awake, and that in Sarawak there have been dedined and indoctrinated with

monstrations against "Greater Malaysia", very strong demonstrations indeed. "Trouble" will not end with the creation of Greater Malaysia. And this is attributed to the fact that in Greater Malaysia there will still be a great percentage of Chinese; in fact, there will be only about 700,000 "other aces" as a surplus over and

above the Chinese population. And 700,000 isn't very much. "But if we add Sumatra, we'll have nine mil-lion Indonesian-Malays, and that'll finish off the Chi-nese", said the Britisher I was drinking with.

And that is another "open secret" here: that the Greater Malaysia plans also in-clude snbversion and dis-ruption in Indonesia; with sia; with the annexation of Sumatra to Malaysia.

For those with short memories (and that means most of the people in a world where so much happens that no one can remember what happened last week), I may recall that a few years ago a rebellion, stimulated by the Western Powers against Soekarno, whom Life Magazine then labelled 'a Red', was started Sumatra, and

in Celebes, Suma other places in Indo But astonishingly enough in spite of gun-runn ng and help from the freedom-loving democracies, the rebellion

MALAYASIAN MANOEUVRE Not entirely, however. It seems that plans are being revived to "stimulate" Sumatra to demand autonomy, and

# Indonesia

words are not coined

The chinese will have their That's quite certain. Of course, we'll all be terribly sorry if that has to happen,

And this was confirmed to me by an Asian friend of mine: "Yes, at the moment the Malays everywhere are being 'stirred np' against the Chinese. Just like in India in 1947, the British intend to 'fix' things so as to leave a bloody holocaust behind them. And everyone is afraid..."

Even if merger, or Greater Malaysia, happens (and it is bound to happen, since there is an army of 100,000 British and other troops to see that it does), the grandlose vision does not stop there. For in Greater Malaysia the

Meanwhile the Barisan So- "racial balance" will still be clalls, or Socialist Front, the precarious; and moreover it opposition to the rule of Lee has been found that, surpris-

way, and what's in a name, especially when the name itself only arouses an image of querulous inaction?), and a new, far more effective eventually Federation with Greater Malaysia. This is talked of openly in business circles.

# Threatened

It seems that at the moment the campaign is being accele-rated. Indonesia's claim to retake West Irian is being utilized. machiavellically, 'n this way: ever since Soekarno proclaimed that West Irian would be liberated from the Dutch and returned to the Indoneisan fold, manipula-tions by businessmen in Indo-nesia have sent the price of commodities sky-high.

Food and other necessitie are undergoing a tremendous inflation, under the pretext that 'supplies' are needed for the troops. This is designed to create discontent and opposition to the Soekarno G

ment. Already Indonesia, because of its lack of technical know how, of economists, of heavy industry, is eminently vulnerable to such manipulations, and corruption is difficult to control

On the one hand, supplies of ammunition are pouring in, on the other all kinds of discontent ntilized, and especially in Sumatra, to make the campaign to libe rate West Irian a dismal failure. And thus, and thus ... "if Snmatra joins Grea-ter Malaysia, we'll be safe".

Who said that colonialism was over? JANUARY 14, 1962

When the nomination of candidates of the All Parties Hill Leaders' Conference (APHLC) was announced for United Khasi-Jaintia Hill district, it was noted by observers that it was a via ted by observers that it was a victory of the moderate group. It was also noted that the APHI.C was no longer as united as it was at the beginning. The rift that had already appeared has since been widening

A FEW defections from the APHLC's district unit have already been reported. The most significant among those most significant among those who resigned is the vice-President of the APHLC who was also the Editor of the party organ. According to some informed sources, the rift is an pearing over the distribution

Recently the Lok Sabha nominee of the APHLC issued an appeal to the electorate. Sign ficantly, the appeal was issued not by the organisation, but by individual candidate hin self. The appeal, it is to be noted, does not speak about the demand for Hill State which was to be the main plank of the APHIC.

Instead, opposition to Assa-mese as the State language of Assam has been made the main. issue and the appeal has called upon all the minorities in As sam to unite to protect their rights and the Lok Sabha candidate has promised to carry the fight for the defence of the rights of the minorities to a "bigger forum," if he is elected to the Lok Sabha. But the apsilent peal is conspicuously over the issue of Hill State.

Congress Proposals The APHLC has not yet announced its nominees for the other hill districts. This is taken to mean that the attempt of

in the State

the result

may disintegrate.

When the audience, broke

you no

into applause, he reproached them, saying: "Have you no

restraint — are you applaud-ing because he is dead, or because I say he was a great

the leadership of the APHLC to make adjustment among its different constituents has not so far been successful. Some The Congress is contesting almost all the seats in the Au-tonomous Hill districts, except one in United Khasi-Jaintia The Party has called upon the people of the Hills to fight shoulder to shoulder with the working people of the plains against the Congress rule. In one in United Khasi-Jaintia Hills. With the exception of observers are inclined to think that in the process of adjustment there may be a show down and consequently the APHLC as a political platform the general constituency of Shillong, in United Khasi-Jaintia Hills, in all the other a forthright indictment of the 14 year old Congress rule, the Party has shown that it has refused to solve the problems of the plains. constituencies the contest is As against the APHLC, the Congress in the hill districts between the Congress and the APHIC, though there are indi-cations that some independent candidates might appear on the Congress in the hill districts has been posing the Scottish The Party has pointed out that the Congress rulers all these 14 years have sought to bypass the real problems of the ternative to the Hill State. The scene in some of the constitu Congress has been explaining that the Scottish pattern gives the Hills every benefit that the encies. Most of these inde-pendents would be those who broke away from the APHLC. Hills and have sought, instead, to perpetuate its rule here by

# EHRENBURG HITS OUT

# Denis Ogden

Hundreds were turned away when writer Ilya Ehrenburg read extracts from the as-yet unpublished fourth and fifth vo-lumes of his memoirs to an audience of more than 1,00 at the Polytechnic Museum here last night.

The extracts he read dealt mainly with his experiences during the Spanish Civil War. They included a generous tribute to the late Ernest Hemingway who, said Ehrenburg, helped me to understand life".

Ehrenburg told the audience which filled the aisles and back of the hall that he would answer questions only about his memoirs and not, as he put it "about President Kennedy or evtuchenko's poetry".

When asked how he had survived during the period of Stalin personality cult, Ehrenburg recalled his words



and ravings (he went to the radio to broadcast a series of twelve speeches denouncing "communist machinations" in Singapore, but only succeeded in making the people laugh more than they ever did at any comic film show), is to but. word the referendum in such a way, should ever a referen-dum come to pass, that who-ever votes against the longterm plans laid down by the Foreign Office, which Tengku so obligingly upon himself to "prome took

will automatically be dubbed a traitor and lose his citizenship. Perhaps Mr. de Gaulle, master of the ambiguous, will be able here to help demo-cracy with advice: "To vote Yes is to vote for your country; to vote No is to be a trai-tor; but you are free to choose. Of course".

NEW AGE

link-up taking its place, it is thought that some of the Left leaders may be hoodhis partiality for Lee's kind of double-crossing tactics so openly; still others feel that winked, or may be willing to connive at hoodwinking Lee was very foolish in pro-mising the people of Singa-pore a referendum on the matter of merger, for if totheir people, into acceptin "reasonableness". And finally, if "reasonable-ness" fails, then, I am told morrow the people went to the polls, Lee would get very few votes indeed. (most openly, over the same cheerful Christmas libations) there is always the final, Singapore's the effective weapon of "a Problems The by me, they issued from the aforesaid well-informed busi-So the concern of the Bri-



It is not clear if this shift is prompted by political ex-pedience to woo non-tribal voters who constitute a substantial section, particular ate capital or is of a genuine change in the politic mand of the APHLC. nolitical de-

Hill State might offer without the obligations and responsibi-lities that a separate State would impose on them.

This line of approach of the Congress received a fur-ther boost from the Prime Minister who in his public speech at Shillong on Janu-ary 1 said that the Scottish pattern was something more than what was understood by this. He explained that i would give the Hill people all the benefits of "real au-tonomy" without the burden **Programme** of a separate State.

He also said that if the peo ple would chose those upported the proposal of cottish pattern of autonomy, the Government of India would immediately appoint the pro-posed Commission to work out the details of the administrative machinery for it.

In Shillong. in Shillong, however, the political scene is different. Here the Communist Party has put up its candidate and both the APHLC and the Congress have to meet the political line of ap-proach of the Communist Party. Though the Party is contesting only the Shillong seat, it has put forward a prohas a bearing on all the Hill districts of Assam.

The Party programme makes a clear analysis of the socio-economic situation prevailing in the Autonomous districts. While strongly up-holding the need for a real Autonomy for the Hill dist-ricts, the Party has opposed any imposition of a political solution on the hill people.

# From Madhusudan Bhattacharya

seducing some of the leaders of the Hills, offering them shares of the loaves and fishes. The Party has pointed out that it is a this with a first state.

that it is this policy of the Congress that is responsible for the birth of the slogan of a separate hill State.

The Party has called upon the people of the Hills to join a common front of struggle with their brethren in the plains and has said that the mutual goodwill and under-standing that such a common struggle will create will be the real basis for finding out a political solution, for the hill district, A 20-point pro-gramme has been suggested by it as the tentative basis for a joint struggle.

This programme has created ong the leaders of he hills as also the flutter Congress in the hills as also the leaders of the APHLC. Both, it appears, have been trying to by-pass the basic problems of the people of the Hills that the people of the Hills have been dealt with by Communist Party. with by the

But the programme has created interest among 'the young section of the APHIC. Though still maintaining their differstill maintaining their ence with the Communist Party on very many issues, the youth following the APHLC appears to welcome its programme and it appears that they want their leaders to make their position clear on the issues raised there.



A small but really moving reception took place in the Constitution Club, New Delhi on the 10th. The Jamiat-nl-10th. The Jamiat-nl-Ulema-i-Hind thanked Supreme Court Senior advocate A. S. R. Chari, who assisted by advocates Ramamurthi and Venkataraman, had argued the case of the minorities and the cause of truth, justice and securalism before the tribnnal appointed enquire into the Jubbulpore riots

MAULANA Hifzur Rehfor the magnificent legal help given without any financial recompense in the cause of upholding secularsm.

Subhadra Joshi, MP, recalled the days when it was all chaos in Jnbbulpore, nobody listened, everybody talked and one never knew what was going to happen next. The lawyers were terrorised, the police was 

Available in Hindi OMMUNIST CHALLENGE by Ajoy Ghosh HE BIG LOOT by Bhupesh Gupta WORKING CLASS UNDER CONGRESS RAJ by Raj Bahadur Gour In English in press WOMEN'S PROBLEMS by Hajrah Begum COMMUNIST PARTY PUBLICATIONS

bullying all round with the magistrates tamely doing their bidding. At such a critical moment, effective help and intervention by Chari and his assistants helped to change the atmosphere towards sanity and communal peace.

A. S. R. Chari, in reply, said that it came to him as a surprise that for an ordinary job done to main-trin the denemination of the second tain the decencies in our daily life and the honour of our land, such warm gratitude came spontane-ously and was expressed in moving words. This showed that there were good men enough to fight for the good cause, but also that our country was unfortunately in a very bad shape.

A large number of Maulanas and aged Ulemas present in Delhi graced the occasion along with mem-bers of the Supreme Court Bar and leaders of secular political organisations. The Maulanas presented the lawyers with Moradabad brass, the work of skilled Muslim artisan

# NEW AGE MONTHLY

Due to unavoidable reaso there was no issue of NEW AGE Monthly in December 1961 and January 1962. The next issue will be published in February 1962 containing in February 1962 containing the full texts of the reports on the 22nd CPSU Congress by P. Togliatti and W. Gomulka.

PAGE THIRTEEN

Ehrenburg also commented on a veiled attack launched

at the beginning of his memoirs when he said that there were times when des-tiny was like a lottery. He had "drawn a lucky ticket". against him by novelist Vse volod Kochetov, who in h who in his to the 22nd Communist speech to the 22nd Communist Party Congress referred to "Gloomy compilers of mer who "with a zeal worthy better causes dig into the rub-bish heap of their memoirs to Asked how he felt when he heard of the death of bish heap of their memoirs to Pasternak, he replied that he drag out long-decayed literary thought "a great Russian poet" had died. corpses".

> His recollections of writers who have fallen victim to the personality cult and since been. rehabilitated was his contribution to ensuring that there should be no recur-rence of similar tragedies, said Ehrenburg.

Culture, he went on, needs continuity. There are gaps in young people's knowledge of outstanding personages in the history of Soviet literature.

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# CPI PUBLICATIONS

AJOY GHOSH : Third Elections-Communist Challenge

E.M.S. NAMBOODIRIPAD : Kerala And the Ugly Face of the Congress

M. K. PANDHE : Wages Since Independence

PRICE : 25 np each

**People's Publishing House** New Delhi

NEW AGE

# WHAT IVAN KNOWS & JHONNY DOES'NT

# From Masood All Khan

The Programme of the Communist Party of the to four thousand. In the third Soviet Union sets as one of its aims the all round and year he has eight thousand year he has eight thousand words and what the Time calls a formidable reader of harmonious development of the individual. "In the period of transition to Communism", it says, "there are greater opportunities of educating a new man who harmoniously combine spiritual wealth, moral purity and a perfect physique'

intellectual capabilities of the. Soviet people for the common good. The Soviet system has always worked from its very birth for the realisa this sim for the raising of the intellectual and general educational level of the common man.

Now the tempo of progress even in this sphere is becom-ing faster and the next two decades are to create a army of a new type of workerwhich will become one of the big factors in the defeat of capi competition with the w Communist society.

Soviet- educated worker-intellectual achieve wonders in all walks of life and leave the hitherto achievements of the capi-'talist society far behind. The situation obtaining to-day in the field of science and cosmic research where nts of the capiday in the held of science and cosmic research where the Soviet Union is far ahead of everybody, will become the general rule in all other fields of civilised

human activity. Even today, one often comes across this worker-intellectual who holds his own with you in matters of art, literature and ideology. There are fac-tory workers serving as full nthe anmission members on the commission which awards the Lenin prizes to the leading intelle oineers, and scientists of the

land and every day their number is on the increase. Foreigners who visit the Soviet Union for the first ne are surprised at the sight of the mass habit of reading which turns the metro com-partments into long reading oms and at the rush in all bookshops all the year round. I shall not go here into the astronomical figures of the number of books published in the Soviet Union which has placed this country ahead of the whole world, And mind shead of you the books which are so and read in millions are not sex novels or murder and crime thrillers but books, which really educate purify and elate the human spirit.

## Intellectual Unsurge

This general intellectual upsurge is having far-reach-ing consequences in the fur-ther democratisation of Soviet society.

Anyhody who has followed the Soviet press of the last few years will tell you how it has become more and more interesting to read and how mass participation in its proiuction has been on the increase.

There is an atmosphere of continuous countrywide mass discussion in which all problems of living are being out. Everything thrashed from methods of produc- sport, tion to questions of arts, Fun". morals. family relations, love, child education and home decoration

PAGE FOURTEEN

THE task in short is the mobilisation of all the intellectual capabilities of the soviet people for the common good. The Soviet system has level of argument and dission that ordinary De0ple are capable of. The foundations of the new

man, his intellectual develop-ment that is, are laid in the Soviet school and it is inter-esting to compare certain asnects of Soviet primary schoo education with that of the USA. Today's Soviet children, after all are the future citizens of Communist society. Recently I was surprised to

find in the Time the repro-duction of a page of my daughter's school textbook of will Russian reading. Gulnar goes ralks to an ordinary Soviet school nerto which is just next door and sapi- she is now a student of the Third Form.

How did a page of my daughter's textbook find its way into the Time of USA? Well, the magazine is worried about the high level of Soviet primary education and the low level of the same in the United States.

Uptil now, we were being told, yes, of course, Russia is ahead of TISA as far as the output of engineers and scien-tists is concerned it is three times that of USA, but the Soviet schools suppress the that, according to Time, the US fourth grader when he humanities which supposedly thrive in the "Free West" now it seems, they have to admit that that even here the Soviet Union is far ahead of America

A book has appeared in the States under the telling title of What Ivan Knows that Johnny Doesn't", by Arthur Trace, which according to Time is out to shatter even this illusion.

Wonderml Trace argues that humanities are "dangerously neg-lected" in the USA and that 11.0 Russian children get "vastly more thorough training" in those subjects. The Soviet children are introduced early to the joys of good read-ing and all children in their first year at school study from a reader, which gives them a vocabulary of two thousand words. A typical US first reader is limited to 158 word vocabulary.

While the US child is taught to have fun only, the Soviet child in his first year, apart from fun, is urged to keep clean, study hard, tell the truth, feed birds in winter, help old ladies and take care

of Mama. He also studies the lives of ants and bees and squirrels, he is taught to identify six mushrooms, 12 birds and hares, foxes and wolves. And fully one third of the reader is unadulterated literature— poems by Nekrasov, Lermon-tov and Pushkin, Russian fables and stories by Tolstoy. The American child in his first year reads stuff like "See sport, Run Oh Oh, This is of Communism. It will be a

In his second year the conditions for a Soviet student of the primary school doubles his vocabulary

# NEW AGE



more ferocious. This is the

any more.

country.

against

writing on the wall and our country cannot ignore it

What, however, is impor wnat, nowever, is impor-tant at the stage is that our people should be made to recognise the forces which echo the voice of Worter Parties in the

Pandit Nehru's speech

against the Swatalira Party and other Rightists, at Srikrishnapuri, was a hint towards it. Reaction

and Rightists outside the

Congress cannot be fought successfully when they are

harboured inside the Con

But ambiguity being one of the main characteristics

of the Congress the fight

against Reaction is sought to be balanced with attack

on left. And Patna session

SOME comments ap-

press again indicate that

the Rightist forces inside

the Congress, too, feel very much injured to-

day. I suggest to the

New Age readers to read

this part of the despatch

of the special correspon-dent of Free Press Jour-

"The two resolutions on

international affairs and Goa, which were passed unanimously, have given

Nehru the moral support he

so badly needs at this jun-ture from his partymen and through them, the country.

"It is no secret that the

approval is a personal tri-umph for Krishna Menon

who was instrumental in

drafting the Goa resolu-

It continued: "It can also

ed that

be now disclosed that Morarji Desai and Krishna

Menon did not see eye to eye on the draft of the Goa

resolution, hence the delay in introducing it in the

"It is well-known that

"It is significant that

Morarii Desai was not pre-

tion was moved and had left for Delhi even before

the session was formally

the forces represented by

Morarii to the national

policies can be judged from above. And it is a fact that

they play a significant role inside the Congress and

water down its program.

them an anti-people twist.

The opportunities pre-

utilised for breaking the

monopoly of power and giving it a Leftward swing

the coming days.

by the ensuing Elections must be

AGRADOOT

How irreconcilable

sent when the Goa r

Desai was not fully con-vinced of the strong action

Plenary session.

taken in Goa.

over".

sented General

nal, January 7, 1962:

pearing in the daily

was no exception to it.

Chagrin

the Swatantra

Western Reaction in

# **Behind** The Stampede

Moscow

384 pages. This is my daugh-ter's textbook and I have it

before me as I write. What does it contain?

tion with poems and stories by first-rate authors. But

by inst-rate authors. But apart from that there is geography and history and nature study and social life and anatomy and five year plans and the building of

ocialism all, of course, in a

way the child would under

The child learns about the

origin of rivers and frogs and wind and rain. He is taught the functions of the human

body, the dangers of infec-tion and what is bacteria. The book is well illustrated with charts and diagrams.

textbooks for the year cost us

57 kopeks. There you have socialism in day-to-day life.

fourth form next September she will be studying books

with a vocabulary of ten thou-sand words and in her fifth

class she will be ready for

separate courses in history

geography and other subjects. In some schools, children are taught foreign languages from

the second year and now they

are planning to introduce them even at the kindergarten

By contrast I must mention

finishes his year has a voca-

bulary of fewer than 1,800 words of English and "a middle-class idealisation of

cardboard mummies and dad-

dies in a hypothetical and

sterile community" and "tri-fling stories written by obs-

Of course, it is not only a matter of textbooks. There is the Pioneer organisation, the whole school, the role of

radio, television, cinema and theatre all being used to educate the child to be a good citizen of the society. And it is another society

The programme of the CPSU

says that in the next decade compulsory secondary general and polytechnical education is

to be introduced for all child

And in the subsequent decade every one will have

the opportunity to receive a

complete secondary educa-tion. This, of course, means a

standard in intermediate and

higher in our terms and this education is going to be for

How far behind the world of capitalism will be left when

Soviet society enters the stage

qualitatively different and in-tellectually far advanced society which will create the

of human genius never witnessed anywhere on earth.

everybody and free!

based on different pri ples than the capitalism USA. on different princi

with

three

women

cure

When Gulnar goes to the

There is a literature sec-

The Srikrishnapuri session of the Congress is over, fortunately without any major tragedy. Of course, the big news of the session was the stampede that took place on January 5. The behaviour of the crowd was very different from what otherwise happens on such occasions.

PRIME Minister Nehru, gress. the next day, told the session that a group of three to four hundred peo nle had come determined to disturb the session. He, however, did not name the party responsible for this unfortunate act of vandal-

From the scraps of in- Rightist formation that is available it is, however, clear that the forces behind the stam-pede had evil designs. On clear that January 6, the Statesman quoting an UNI message said "Twelve persons were arrested in connection with the stampede in the Congress pandal—One or \_\_\_\_\_ had a dagger in his posses-sion according to the

What was the object of organising this "confu-sion"? Was it just to disturb the meeting or was something more sinsten behind this stampede, one would like to know. But when a bundantly abuse Nehrn in the foulest language. Thinking about this enisode my mind goes back to ghastly tragedy of Gandhi's murder.

More so, because the crafty and criminal me-thods of the imperialists have, in the recent past, been fully exposed. We don't have to remind our about nolitical readers committed murders neighbouring Ceylon, and earlier in Pakistan at the behest of the imperialist nlotters.

# Heed Warning

These suspicions can be dismissed only by compla-cent minds at too great a risk. The reaction of the Western — Nato powers — over the Indian action of liberation of Goa, the virulent anti-Nehru and hate India campaign launched by the so-called Western "friends" of India, makes it perfectly clear that in-

stead of goodwill they have hatred for India and her national leaders, despite the latter's tolerance of the sins of the colonialis

The bomb almed at Pre-sident Soekarno on Janu-ary 8 from which he escap-ed fortunately but which killed three persons and injured 31 others is an pointer in the same direction. The imperialists in their last days, although less powerful, have become

TRAITORS' RAVINGS

action"

31).

violono

cher, echoed the ad

**WESTERN** 

TUNES

Why are those, who vere till yesterday claiming a monopoly of patriotic sentim pulling such long faces at the liberation of Goa? Why are those who were shouting from housetops that the Indian Communists and "crypto-Com-munists" (among these they included Krishna Menon and Nehru) know no patriotic fervour, doleful today when the country is rejoicing? When—in which foreign land—lie their minds and hearts?

T is now certain that they do not share the thrill and joy of the Indian people. They are comple-tely estranged from the phts and sentiments of the Indian people. I have already quoted last week what the Jana Sangh scribes are writing on Goa. A much boosted colum-nist of the Organiser—a bad coin though—called the liberation of Goa "as our adventure for all it was worth". He did not share the elation of the nation at India entering the new year free from old colonialist incubus; on the contrary, he thought that we were entering the new

Rajaji, generalissimo of the Swatantrite irregulars, is even more unequivocally sullen. In an article in the Swarajya (December 30) he decries the liberation of

vear "as disillu

ioned as

# **Slanders Answered** COMMUNISTS AND COMMUNALISM

Sanjeeva Reddy recently (October 12, 1961) declared in Trivandrum that the Communists were not sincere in their offer of support to the Congress in the fight against communalism because an anti-Nehru demonstration was organised by workers at Durgapur to protest against police firing there.

THIS argument, in the first based on a logical fallacy and false reasoning. When the Communists pledge support to the Congress party on the limited issue of communalism, it does not follow that they ought to support all policies of the Congress regime, including its repressive activities against the Indian

peopl The Communists have similarly supported the Indian foreign policy based on non-alignment, peace and anti-colonialism. They have also come out in support of some other progressive aspects of lared domestic policies the Congress regime, e.g., ilding of heavy industry, ceilings on land, etc.

But the Communist Party has never promised to refrain from criticising or opposing the pro-landlord and promonopoly capitalist policies of the Congress governments. The charge of insincerity

is particularly absurd be-cause the Communists have openly proclaimed through their Party documents and resolutions on which issues and policies they could support the Congress, and

**JANUARY 14, 1962** 

for service to the people. Coming to the particular question referred to by Reddy, we are surprised that anyon should question the anti-communal record of the Communist Party. In fact, it is the record of Reddy's party that is so very dismal in this res-

Muslim and Nair communalism to dethrone the secular and popular Cor

The recent example of Kerala shows how Con-gressmen allied themselves with the forces of Catholic,

Goa as "this clan-tran Goa.

He is sore at our nation-alism which he declares "has led us into impatience "has led us into impatience at the wrong moment". And he has echoed, endorsed and applanded American reaction letter by letter by stating that "India has helped to undermine the

prestige and power of UN Security Council!" The gang-up is complete with the following angui-shed howl in the columns of PSP's Janata (December "Non-violence non-viol-

ence, non-violence, oh ex-cellent non-violence, proclaimed the preacher. Nonviolence, non-violence, non-, oh excellent preaoften unthinking, hearers. And now violence, plain, simple, undisguised viol-ence, and not even in self-defence!"

"Aggression has been committed against Por-tugal", pleads this PSP columnist who is none

other than that muleborne Sancho Panza of a pen-pusher called Gorwala. He has written with great passion, indeed, and I cannot resist the temptation of quoting a whole paragraph from his effusive essay: "When the Government

of one country marches troops against the will of another Government into another Government into territory that has been governed by that Government for years, the process is rightly termed an inva-

sion. "The first Government may have very good rea-sons for its conduct but it cannot either deny that it has invaded the other's territory or complain if others so describe its act. "When the first Govern-

ment goes on to take possession of the territory, removing from authorit officials and agents of of the second Government, and disarming its forces, it is seizing the territory and establishing within it its own rule in place of the rule of the former Government.

"What has happened is war and conquest. The Government of India has gone to war with the Government of Portugal and it has conquered from it the territory of Goa". (sic)

After this denunciation in chorus with the foreign aperialists, of his o country as an aggressor, it matters little if this Janata columnist swears that the Goa action was the right

The patently treasonable substance of this pack's plea and that of all the others of his ilk in the Swatantra Party and the "Bharativa" Jana Sangh who sing the same refrain by saying that our moral stature is gone, is clear for all to see.

They are exposed, alas, too soon for them, as marionettes of the West who had been loudly



thumping the tub after the Sino-Indian clash, des-cribing everyone else as unpatriotic and antinational

Typical of the modus operandi of this gang was the screech that the present Indian foreign policy had rendered the country friendless. This asinine brood thought that it was being clever. But Goa, again, has exposed it. It has shown that far from India being friendiess, she has any number of honest and decent friends.

# INDECENT BOORS

While Gorwala and the Jana Sangh, who call them-selves "Indian" squeal that what India did was, in actual fact, "invasion" or "aggression" these true friends of ours explained and established in a most brilliant fashion the true nature of Indian actionan act of liberation, a coun termanding of aggre

Indian people are since-rely thankful to these fri-ends, whose number is legion, and especially to the Soviet Union. No pattriotic and cultured Indian triotic and cultured indian can help entertaining and acknowledging the deepest sense of gratikude for her great friendly act. But it is again a differ-ent case with the Swatan-ter Leng South and the

tra, Jana Sangh and the PSP gang. The editorial of

the Janata on Goa makes a passing reference to the "solid support of the Afro-Asian bloc" but convenient-ly "forgets" the Soviet veto that saved us.

The redoubtable Rajaji is openly unhappy, the soli-darity shown for India by the whole Afro-Asian and socialist world has filled this Swatantra light—the same who used to complain that we were friendless in the world, with apprehension, instead of elation, "I fear we shall now be push-ed more and more into the Communist camp", he wails

And the Jana Sangh, The less said about it, the better. It pours ridicule at our Afro-Asian friends. "Goa is the first fruit of the posturings of the Afro-Asian bloc", it sneers. Its latest is a scurrilous

editorial attack on the Soviet President through the Organiser. Stooping to downright abuse, it called the Soviet guest a "performing animal". Secondly, it cocophonously played the gramophone record provid-ed by its American masters by describing the synchronisation of the visit with the Goa action as "a pre-arranged plan". It seems the depth of

boorishness, vile and treachery that this party can sink to is truly fathom-less. It has truly disgraced and exposed itself.

# -GARUDA

on which issues and poli-cies, they would act as the party of democratic opposi-tion, ever striving to change their anti-people direction. There is clearly no duplicity in all this. The Party openly proclaims both aspects of its political programme. The difficulty in understanding this position on the part of Reddy is not due to any con-fusing trick of the Communists but in the political understanding and approach of those to whom the world of politics stands for horse-trading behind the back of the public, double-talk and double-dealings rather than

In 1956-57, the Congress did not hesitate to join hands with the Akali com-munalists in the Punjab in order to defeat the dem cratic forces in the last

In Assam, Reddy's fellow partymen have openly been appealing to com nal passions, in addition to flaming

the fires of linguism. The role of the Congress administration in the recent communal riots of Madhya Pradesh has been condem d by all impartial observers.

Instead of questioning the bona fides of the Communists, the Congress President should try to cleanse his own party of the communal elements of the communal elements and make it truly trustworthy. On the other hand, even the

worst enemies of the Comognise that it munist Party recognise that it is secular to the core. More-over, the Party has consistently cooperated with the Congress and other secular parties and persons in fighting

communalism. The Communists fully cooperated with the Congress-men of Lucknow in checking the spread of communal pas-sions in that city as a byproduct of the Aligarh riots. In Kerala, the CPI offered to

NEW AGE

Ministry by a violent "strng-gle" and by an illegal Cen-tral intervention. against the League and as the latter refused to put up a can-didate, the Communists supported a rebel Congres in a recent by-election to the Assembly.

> The Party also offered to cooperate with the Congress against the Muslim communalists in Hyderabad

> In the recent by-election to the Delhi Municinal Corporation from Jawaharnagar cons-tituency, the party worked hard in support of the Con-gress candidate against his Jana Sangh opponent.

In fact, if the Congress and other secular parties serious-ly join hands along with Communists in fighting comists in fighting co munalism, the communal parties like the Jana Sangh Hindu Mahasabha, Muslim League and the Akalis could be completely eliminated in the coming general elections as well as from the political life of the country.

But the question is: Will some of the top leaders of the Congress party really relish such a development? Have not some of them tried to make the Congress function as a loose federation of communal and caste groups in the legi slatures and outside?

Instead of campaigning campane munist Party against the Communist Par for its alleged untrustworth ness, the Congress President would better spend his time and effort better, if he tried to

reform his own partymen enabling them to discard their communal and casteist outlook so that the Congress could become fully worthy of rust as a secular party. But is his own record in this issue ouite above-board?

-B. K. MITRA

# ENQUIRY No 5

S. C. Sarkar: Rabindranath Tagore and the Renaissance in Bengal 

Irfan M. Habib-The Political Role of Shaikh Ahmad Sirbindi and Shah Waliullah ...

K. A. Nagvi: rowards a Model of Marvian Economic Growth

B. M. Bhatia: Famines. Food Short-

age and Food Policy in India (1860-1909) Obaid Siddioi:

Gene-the Basis of Life Communications from V. Singh, Dasharath Sharma and Devraj, Cha

Reviews by Romila Thapar

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# AT PATNA . . . =

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laid greater stress on peace-ful negotiations for arriving at a settlement with her

The resolution on the Mani-The resolution on the Mani-festo, which was given pride of place and moved by Dhe-bhar Bhai, reiterated the Con-gress "stand for a united, nonsectarian and secular India and for its stability and pro-gress" which could "only be achieved in a set-up based achieved in a set-up based upon the ssential principles of a democratic socialist society".

This was followed by the usual claims that "in the context of Indian conditions, the progress achieved since independence can easily be con-sidered a record from any sidered a rec point of view".

point of view". It sought to lay stress on "certain values of life" and gave a call for the weeding out of "reactionary tenden-cles" like "casteism, commu-nalism and other fortuitous tendencies"... and made an appeal to the people to vote for the Congress in the ensu-ing General Elections.

# ROSY-

# PICTURE

Dhebar Bhai spoke of the developments of the last 15 years—the achievement of yearsindependence, the division of the country, the great com-munal carnage, the abolition of the native States, etc., and claimed that it was the Congress which through all these troubled years maintained stability in the country, framtroubled ed and implemented a demo-cratic Constitution. The Third General Elections, he asserted, were possible only in this con téxt

Speaking of the opposition criticism of Congress rule, he warmed up: "It is easy to say that Congress is rotten, that the Congress is fourth, that the Congress is going down the drain. But without the Congress all this that hap-pened during the last 15 years could not have been possible".

He referred to the Swatan-tra charge that Congress rule was a Government by con-trols. He denied it was so. He made no efforts to justify controls on big business but instead pleaded that "we are maintaining only the mini-mum of controls", and dished out the figures that during the last decade alone 800 per-mits were issued for build mits were issued for big and 46,000 for medium and small industries

industries. He then mentioned the Communist Party's Election Manifesto, and said: "They accuse us that the present in-dustrialisation is for produc-ing luxury goods (!) They say that the rich are getting richer and the poor are get-tine noorer". ting poorer". Dhebar Bhai denied this by

pointing to the fact that by new employment opportuni-ties were created for one crore and twenty five lakh persons during the two Plans. "With so such new employ-impit" he argued "here acude

"With so such new employ-ment", he argued, "how could the poor become poorer". He did not care to see the other side of his medal which could have showed him that despite new em-ployment, the extent of un-employment, the number of unemployed, too, had been increasing during the same plans. plans.

He forgot President Sanjeeva Reddy's admission that it had become necessary to impose a ceiling on urban incomes, on profits. Whence the necessity of this celling if profits were not going up? Or was it meant only as an election ssity of stunt?

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Dhebar was supported by Sheel Bhadrayaji of the "Mar-Forward Bloc fame, who went one better and claimed that "in the villages new brick houses were springing up on all sides. It was a proof of all-round prosperity". He could no more see the squalor and misery, which was still the lot of the poor peasants and agricultural labourers in our country.

It was obvious, however, that Dhebar Bhai who moved the resolution was somewhat apologetic about the demo-cratic socialist society that the Congress was ushering in. Dealing with the Swatantra approximation to the Congress

opposition to the Congress policies, especially their objec-tion to Government controls and nationalisation, Dhebar said that this was done only to the minimum extent neces sary under the circumstances. He only did not work out the inevitable implication that that was a necessary evil. But even without that his

meaning was clear. It was left to Govind Sahai to take up the cudgels against Dhe-bar. Govind Sahai stressed the necessity of educating the masses and also the Congress ranks in the ideology of socialism "so that we are not thrown on the defensive and become

be done to embitter relations so that after the elections unity for national reconstruction may be established.

This brought a spirited attack from Nehru, who firm-ly declared that no unity was possible with reactionaries and communalists.

Nehru named the Swatantra Party as the reactionary and retrogressive force in Indian society. They stood for "justice" to the rajas and maha-rajas at the cost of the mass of people.

He traced the course of our istorical development to historical show that the forces of ignor-ance, obscurantism and social and economic reaction which had retarded India's growth in the past and led to our loss of our independence. loss of our independence, were today represented by the Swatantra Party.

# HELICOPTER PARTY

He ridiculed it as the heli-He ridiculed it as the heli-copter party—having seen the helicopter of the Raja of Ramgarh circling over Sri-krishnapuri all the three days session. Nehru accused the Swatantra Party for the dis-turbances and melee in the open session meeting on 5 January afternoon January afternoon.

It was a great speech that Nehru delivered in the open session in the afterhim and are harsh in them-

How was Nehru's own Gov ernment not being harsh with the people in this country when they were overburdened with taxes and high prices, whose incidence fell more on the poor than on the rich, when standards of life fell at a time when profits rose?

While the people were fleec-ed in the name of their plans and national reconsinction, the rajas and maharajas were treated with privy purses! Did all this mean no harshness to the people?

And it was not merely a question of economic burdens. He spoke of a new spirit, new moral values, and the new man of his dreams without which independence would be meaningless. He species of meaningless. He spoke of universal education.

But his Government cur-tailed higher education and the poor had no opportuni-ties to send their children to schools.

schools. He spoke of the necessity of training more engineers in the country. But all those who had qualified found no employment, not to speak of the increase in the number of unemployed with every Plan.

And the new morals that he pleaded for, were violated before they were established by his own followers, in the vast network of corruption they had set up in the

and the practice which his. ollowers followers and his organisa-tion, the Congress follow.

STATISTICS CONTRACTOR

45 Luf. Agney

Nehru, therefore, while he concentrated fire against the Swatantra Party at the Congress session did not see that the strengthening of the Left, of the democratic opposition led by the Comopposition led by the Com-munist Party was necessary even for the sake of the very ideals he was pro-pounding, for strengthening the forces of socialism and progress and democracy in the country.

And what a contrast to the principles of democracy and socialism was presented by the Congress session itself. The entire Srikrishnapuri, the The entire Sharishnaput, un-huge Congress pandal includ-ed, was constructed by the Government agencies, in the main the P.I.T. Was it not a brazen example of corrupt practices?

# TAINTED MONEY

party.

When your Correspon-dent put this question to Jagjiwan Ram, the Recep-tion Committee Chairman, his laconic reply was that payments will be made for all the services and payments will be made for all the services and the Chief Minister hastened to add that the Government will allow the same facilities to any other political

# DEMAGOGY, DIFFERENCES AND DEMORALISATION

apologetic when reaction acks controls and nationalisation. They are nece concomitants of democratic socialism and will grow with the growth of the latter".

On major issues three main lines of approach were evident at this session of the Congress. Dhebar attacked both the Swatan-tra Party and the Commudistance from both, which in his case was nearer to the Swatantra Party's approach to basic emetions. to basic questions.

Nehru, and the bulk of speakers following him, con-centrated against the Swatantra Party.

Morarji Desai who moved Morarji Desai who moved Dhebar Bhai's resolution on the Election Manifesto in the open session, did not say a word against the Swa-tantra Party, but spoke of the Communist Party, whose rule had "disillusioned" the Deople of Kerele and lod to we nau "distilusioned" the people of Kerala and led to the downfall of the Com-munist Party's Ministry there.

SLY MOVE

Finding that the Swatantra Party was inevitably coming in for attack, the Swatantra sympathisers sought to softhe blows and Kamal-ain Bagat apealed not to ten poison the atmosphere with animosity. An amount of rivalry is inevitable in the elections but nothing should unt of in the noon on 6 January. He argued how planning was the only scientific way of national reconstruction and growth in the shortest possible time.

He said that this growth and change could only be at the cost of those who had so far monopolised the wealth of society for themselves.

Against reaction and aga inst vested interest he outlined the prospect of pro-gressive, democratic unity.

He did not make any refer-ence to the Communist Party in that 100 minutes open session speech. Earlier in the Subject Committee he refer-red to the Communists "who are good people, devoted and disciplined. But they have no flexibility. Like soldiers they unquestioningly followed their leaders. They are not orientat-ed towards the country's traditions".

But then, "he conceded" that things were changing". And he went on to elaborate And he went on to ensorate his favourite theme that while slowly "USA capitalism was adopting socialistic mea-sures. The USSE was also changing".

In 43 years the USSR had made tremendous progress, he conceded. "But to do so they had treated their people harshly. We want to traverse a different path".

But he did not meet the Communist criticism of his nath.

He chose to avoid facts, which were uncomfortable for

whole country. Congress-men worked against Con-gressmen in self-interest.

The new man that he dreamt of was being throttled in his struggles.

And what of democratic unity and national growth of the country? How could this be entertained when the organisation, which he heads Insation, which he heads, allows noble sentiments and nobler words to be dashed to pieces against reality, which is neither so noble nor principled.

The moral values prevailing in the Congress were such that Congressmen worked for the defeat of Congressmen. President President Sanjeeva Reddy threatened "immediate action against those who worked to defeat their fellow Congressmen. We won't wait for the elections to be over. Swift and strong action will be taken".

But he also admitted that "the people who are not clear in their record are the worst to shout against others. Hence I would request our friends to be cautious\_in complain-ing"!

## HORRID

## MORALS

Such was the state of affairs inside the Congress. Such was the standard of its morality. Such was its moral values:

The Communist Party fouthe communist Party fou-ght against all this-against this inconsistency, this con-tradiction between the prin-ciples by which Nehru swears But these assurances are not going to deceive anybody. In the same press conference B. N. Jha revealed that some big Calcutta Marwaris—led by Poddar—had.sent 47 cars for the Congress session.

It was widely rumoured that S. P. Jain had liberally contributed to the session fund as well as to the funds of the ruling party in ex-change for a huge indus-trial loan granted him by the Bihar Government. It was difficult to check up the rumour.

Examples have come before this correspondent when per-mits and licences were sold in exchange for contributions to Congress session funds. In Patna this was no secret.

In this atmosphere it is idle to believe that Nehru's enthu-siastic address to the enormous concourse of people could put an end to the petty quarrels and personal ambitions of Congressmen, which were but-tressed by caste and commu-nal prejudices.

Shyamanandan Mishra, who was acting on behalf of the Bihar dissidents, wanted the Bihar list of Congress candi-dates revised. He was frustrated.

And the leader of the Bihar dissidents was quite candid in a private talk to some pressmen that this session, though it acted as a morale booster to Congressmen from different States will not be booster to Congressmen from different States, will not be able to prevent the landslide against the Congress in Bihar, which will be returned but with a weaker majority.