

communist horizons of man's glory!

NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

from masood ali khan

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The 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which is to adopt the new epoch-making programme of building Communist society in the Soviet Union is meeting in an atmosphere of great enthusiasm, self-confidence and complete unity. This Congress of the ten million Communists of the USSR now triumphantly enters its second week of inspiring and world shaking proceedings.

THIS great assembly of five thousand leading workers and the best sons and daughters of the mighty and invincible Soviet socialist motherland meets in an atmosphere charged with the radiant and electrifying purpose of building the world of humanity's dreams with scientific precision and business-like economic planning.

The new glittering Palace of Congresses where this great assembly of the planners and builders of Communism meets, is a fitting setting for its proceedings. It is a huge but delightful modern structure of glass and marble and plastics—symphony of straight lines and surfaces and curves, a beautiful composition in white, golden, brown, silver and red. The whole building is light and airy myriads of wonderful brilliant lights illuminate the ceiling. This Palace is a setting for the future and has no trace of the cumbersome and depressing heavy conservatism of the old architectural style.

A truly symbolic setting for the victorious Congress of a heroic Party which has thrown the moth-eaten ideas of doddering dogmatic intriguers on the rubbish heap of history, has rid itself of all that clogged the unhindered ascending advance towards its cherished Leninist goal and emerged young, strong, confident and full of optimism. The air is fresh and exhilarating as after a spring shower and no wonder the delegates say it has become easier and freer to breathe.

There are 4,813 delegates, three-and-half times more than at previous Congresses and they represent nine million and 716 Communists of the Soviet Union.

In the wide marble corridors of this great crystal palace you can meet Fyodor Petrov, the oldest Communist talking to Walter Ulbricht. You can see Gehrman Tifov, the hero cosmonaut, talking to Georgian workers, farmers and writers.

Here are the scientists and the well-known engineers and proud women farmers with their gold decorations and medals.

Sholokhov tells someone, "What glorious times we are living in. One should spend more time at the writing desk". There goes Keldish, President of the Academy of Science and there is Khrushchov surrounded by the Congress delegates. Yes, they are all well-known celebrities here—the very best of the Soviet society. But some of these who deserve our thanks and admiration still cannot be recognised. But they are here all the same among the delegates to the 22nd Congress. They are the atomic scientists and the designers and the builders of the cosmic ships which blaze the trail of the new cosmic era, the harbinger of Communism.

The time will come when their names will become household words in every Soviet home but even un-

known they are a part of the Soviet reality of today and all their achievement is a part of the millions of victories and the day-to-day heroism of ordinary Soviet citizens.

From the tribune of the Congress Khrushchov delivered two marathon speeches which took up the first two days of the proceedings. In his Report of the Central Committee and in his speech on the new Party Programme he gave an account of the gigantic work done by the Party since the Twentieth Congress, set out the grandiose plans of Communist construction and again confirmed the determination of the Soviet people to defend peace with all the resources at the command of the mighty and resolute Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

It is impossible to describe the effect of these two Reports, how they inspired the delegates and lit up the horizons of future advance.

They brought out the tremendous significance of the 20th CPSU Congress for the Soviet Union, the Socialist camp and the whole working-class movement. It was the 20th Congress and the reforms and changes which followed from it that released the tremendous creative forces of the Soviet people and

made the all-out construction of Communism possible.

The results are there for everybody to see and it is now as clear as daylight that if these hidebound dogmatists and conservatives, who did everything to defeat the line and purpose of the 20th Congress, had succeeded this advance would not have been possible.

The defeat of the anti-Party group was a historic necessity, they had become a brake and a contradiction which had to be removed to clear the way

furious. Furtseva said that the members of the anti-Party group were afraid that the truth about their dark deeds would be out and, therefore, they started hatching up a conspiracy against the new line of the Party.

Mikoyan gave a detailed account of the development of the differences inside the leadership of the Party after the 20th Congress, analysed the theories on which the dogmatist group based their stand and exposed the bankruptcy of their ideas and

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Dogmatism Denounced

for the future, they were the extinguished stars as Khrushchov put it which had long stopped emanating light and lived only in the aura of past glories.

Furtseva in her speech related this incident which took place during a meeting of the Party Presidium while considering the rehabilitation of Tukhachevsky and other army leaders. Their innocence was so obvious that even Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov and others voted for their rehabilitation, although they were themselves responsible for the tragic death of the army leaders.

And Khrushchov asked them very calmly this straight question: When were you right after all? When you voted on their destiny and it was determined in such a tragic way or now when you fully rehabilitate them? Tell us when were you right?"

And this straight and honest question made them

secret intrigues behind the back of the Party and its Central Committee.

Other delegates exposed the crimes committed by Malenkov and Kaganovich and thus the whole picture of their anti-Party struggle is being put together before the Congress bit by bit.

But for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union all this is past history. Today it is being examined in detail to draw proper conclusions from it, warn the brother Parties to avoid similar mistakes and close the chapter for ever so that the cult of personality of Stalin could never be repeated again.

Many delegates and representatives of brother Parties have criticised the leadership of the Albanian Party sharply for their dogmatist line of the 20th Congress, which they themselves had earlier accepted.

Delegations from 80 foreign Marxist-Leninist par-

ties are attending the 22nd Congress. For the first time representatives of the Democratic National Parties of newly independent states of Africa, Guinea, Mali, Ghana are also attending the Congress of the CPSU. On Saturday the leader of the delegation of the United Revolutionary Organisations of Cuba, Blas Roca was given a tremendous ovation by the Congress. The General Secretary of the CPI, Ajoy Ghosh, also addressed the Congress on Saturday evening. (See page 4 for full text of the speech.) The whole great assembly rose to cheer him. The speech of Ajoy Ghosh delivered by him in a firm and resounding voice, was interrupted by stormy applause repeatedly and after the speech he went over and shook hands with Khrushchov who was presiding over this session. The Soviet leader held in his two hands the hand of the Indian Communist leader and shook it warmly and later joining his hands together, Khrushchov did a namaste in the Indian fashion while the audience of five thousand applauded standing for a few minutes.

On Saturday evening a dinner was given by the leaders of the CPSU in honour of the delegations of the Indian, Ceylonese and Japanese Communist Parties. Khrushchov also attended this dinner along with other Soviet leaders.



N. S. Khrushchov among the delegates to the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

LIKE MAHANTS OF YORE

The Press this week contains news of the Congress decision to contest all the 2,968 seats in the various State Assemblies where elections are due and also contest the 497 seats in the Lok Sabha from all the States. The Congress spokesmen are a little too loudly trying to generate self-confidence among their cadres and followers.

THE ill health of the Congress, as national political organisation, and the ruling party as well, is best highlighted by the reluctance of the Bihar PCC to hold the annual session of the Indian National Congress as scheduled from January 4 to 7 at Patna. The reasons given are not the unprecedented floods that have created havoc for the people of Bihar.

The officials of the Reception Committee have openly charged the top Congress leaders with not helping at all with the preparations for the Congress session. The Congress President Reddy had to rush to Patna to get Bihar Congressmen save Congress prestige.

unprincipled alliance

The simple question arises, what after all the Bihar Congress leaders were busy with? They have been giving all their time and energy to secure an electoral seat for themselves or for their factional supporters. The Pradesh Election Committee stood split over the choice of candidates and on October 18 the Times of India Correspondent reported that an agreed list was "a far cry even after 5 days of fruitless meeting".

While the Bihar Congress leaders have been unable to make up their own differences they have simultaneously been trying to get the Jharkhand Party merge with the Congress. The terms of the merger have all been settled except for one hitch. The Jharkhand leadership wants to contest the coming elections under its own traditional symbol, the Cook.

Why this hitch over a formal? The Jharkhand leader Jaipal Singh has been skillfully exploiting all the sins of the Congress regime to turn the just discontent of the mass of the much-exploited down-trodden tribal people to demand a separate Jharkhand State.

Mere anti-Congress demagoguery, of course, cannot yield a separate State. The Jharkhand leader, inside the Parliament has actively associated himself with the pro-American lobby on almost every controversial issue. He has also been responsible for offering a safe seat to the Political Agent of the Tata Empire, M. E. Masani.

Some of the Jharkhand MLAs have already joined the Congress in Bihar, frustration and confusion in the ranks is widespread. The Jharkhand leader obviously does not want to face his big mass following as a self-proclaimed political turn coat.

The Congress High Command is reported to have told the Jharkhand leadership that it must fight the coming elections under the Congress symbol if it desires to participate in the choice of the leader of the ruling party and the State Government.

If, however, it insist on merger after the elections, it will lose the right to influence the choice of the leader. The Jharkhand leader is, thus, in a dilemma.

The entry of the Jharkhand inside Bihar Congress would inevitably intensify Congress factionalism within Bihar and lead to new alliances being forged. The Congress-Jharkhand merger is bound to provoke new thought among the honest and the serious.

The Jharkhand leader would be faced with the simple question by the mass of simple tribal folks: Have we got the Jharkhand State, that you are going inside the Congress? They cannot but turn with growing understanding towards the Communist slogan of regional autonomy for the tribal people within the Bihar State.

Principled Congressmen cannot but be troubled with the question: how can an unprincipled top alliance with a seasoned separatist leader be justified or maintained?

Such reactionary alliances, however, are not new in post-Independence Congress. The Congress-Akali merger was tried out in the Punjab, the Congress-League alliance was forged in Kerala and so on. The Congress-Jharkhand merger will only mean a new political infection in the chronic dysentery that the Congress is suffering today.

double-faced tactics

Chief Minister Kairon very much likes being called the strong man who can successfully smash any campaign whether led by the communists or the Communists, whether from the Right or Left. It is true Kairon looks strong outside but he is not so inside. All his vauntings about smashing the opposition have not helped him to silence the opposition within his own party!

Besides, the traditional dissident group he is faced with a new and powerful group emerging as an influential opposition to his domination within the Congress and the government. The press this week publicised the news of Punjab Congress Minister, ex-Akali leader No. 2, Giani Kartar Singh joining hands with the ex-Minister, summarily sacked by Kairon, Rao Birendra Singh, and the Hariana leader Devi Lal. They have openly accused the State election body headed by State Congress Chief, Darbara Singh, of partisanship and refused any further cooperation.

The Congress and the Akalis claim to be two different poles in the Punjab. But every political observer, after the withdrawal of Master Tara Singh's fast, has noted their self-propelled gravitation towards each other.

The Congress in its public propaganda takes the credit for not surrendering to the

NOTES OF THE WEEK

Akali communal demand. The Akalis in their similar propaganda claim to have received solemn "assurances" that the Punjab Suba can and will be won either through informal negotiations with New Delhi or in due course through the Commission in any case.

All that was necessary is to keep faith in the Panth intact and vote Akali in all the Sikh majority seats when the elections come!

The Akalis are carrying on their propaganda through the Gurdwaras to restore the morale of their followers. Chief Minister Kairon is issuing press statements galore and also speaking in the public meetings. His latest is that no assurance has been given to Akali Chief as pre-condition of his breaking the fast, creating the impression that it was the case of a total and unconditional surrender by the Akali leadership.

The Akalis are trying to rebuild the damaged prestige of their leader by playing up the story of Master Tara Singh's meeting this week Prime Minister Nehru and Home Minister Shastri to settle the issues outside the Commission.

no truck with akalis

Both sides are indulging in double-talk and following double-faced tactics.

So far as the Congress is concerned Kairon is to act tough within Punjab while Pandit Nehru and Shastri are to talk sweet and reasonable in New Delhi.

The Akalis on their side are planning a hurricane election campaign to be fought on the issue of the Punjab Suba and have announced in the press that they are seeking electoral adjustments with the Communist, Swatantra and Republican Parties.

The Punjab Communist spokesman Surjeet has of course, promptly announced that "the Party would not enter into an electoral alliance or understanding with any communal organisation". (Times of India, October 24).

The Akali aim obviously is to consolidate its communal following through religious demogogy and attain political respectability by seeking alliance or adjustments with secular parties both of the Right and Left.

On the Congress side while Kairon is trying to demoralise and disrupt the Akali following, Nehru and Shastri are to try to win Master Tara Singh and Sant Fateh Singh, etc., join the Congress.

Both sides are willing to talk "business". The issue of issues is the number of seats that the Akalis get if they join the Congress before the General Elections.

The maximum Akali demand is that all the Sikh majority seats should go to the Akalis and the minimum that the Akali chief should have a decisive voice in nominating the candidates to these seats.

The Congress leadership has no scruples in negotiating such deals. They have negotiated them before and with the same Akalis. If the dirty deal comes off it will again get sanctified with the argument that the Con-

gress is generous, that the Akali party is pledged to become a religious social organisation, the Akali leadership sheds its communal character the moment they join the Nationalist Congress. Only the gullible can swallow this "dip in the Ganges" plea. It is traditional, of course, but a gross violation of the national principle.

peddling half-truths

If anyone had hoped that the U. P. Congressmen would be busy facing up to the consequences of communal riots they would be sadly mistaken. Some of them did bestir themselves during the riots but most of them sat at home. All of them were, of course, worried to death about the fate of U.P. with themselves as the choice for the Congress ticket.

All U. P. Congressmen who matter have been rushing in and out of Lucknow where their political fate was being settled and the claims and counter-claims for the various seats were being discussed.

The U.P.C.C. Executive did meet on October 22 and according to the special correspondent of the Hindustan Times, October 23, held "a free and frank discussion on the recent communal disturbances" and passed a resolution.

The resolution blamed "some communal organisations have created the poisonous atmosphere which was responsible for these disturbances". The organisers were deliberately not named, obviously with some political motive.

Every Congressman in U. P. knows that the RSS the Jana Sangh were the main agitators and organisers of these riots. Home Minister Charan Singh and Chief Minister Gupta have visited the trouble-spots and they know it all first hand, but the leadership of U. P. Congress does not name the political culprit, guilty of shaming the nation and causing the deepest concern for the future of Indian democracy itself.

The reason obviously is the Hindu majority vote during the coming General Elections. Without naming the riot-monger how can the riots be fought?

The resolution also congratulated the Government and its officials "for the speedy action taken by them". Nothing could be a less deserved compliment.

Both the Chief Minister and the Home Minister have been told by Congressmen themselves and shown the evidence of Muslim mosques desecrated right before the police stations, policemen not effectively protecting the lives, properties and izzat of the Muslim minority and so on.

There were, of course, honest and efficient officials as well. Both the Chief Minister and the Home Minister did try to tone up the administrative machinery and pull up the men manning it. But we cannot fight Ayub's slanders by indulging in falsehood ourselves.

The Congress Executive also opined that "the disturbances were confined to a section of the people, that the common people not only remained away from them but helped the Government restore peace".

This healthy sign has been duly noted and popularised in the columns of the New Age. But if the common people of U. P. did not participate in the riots it was because of their own healthy sentiments and despite the Congress leadership which did nothing to actively rally them in defence of the Muslim minority.

The blunt truth, however, is that the U. P. Congress leadership have done nothing to forge the national unity to popularise the spirit and implement the decisions of the National Integration Conference in cooperation with other national secular parties.

The good work symbolised in the secular all parties rally at Lucknow seems to be an exception rather than general rule. Perhaps, that, too, was held with the narrow purpose of preventing the riot wave engulfing the capital city of U. P.

break congress power monopoly

Hard facts and unfortunate developments like the above spot-light the urgency and the reality of the main Communist slogan, break the political monopoly of the Congress through the coming general elections.

What we have outlined above are no political aberrations but follow inevitably from the political line being pursued by the Congress leadership, noble in words, ignoble compromises or cowardly passivity in practice.

This very duality of the Congress has led to the emergence of a dual political challenge to its national domination. Emboldened by its past and continuing compromises with the vested interests and the Rightwing elements, the parties of the Right are getting together and self-confidently preparing to challenge the Congress.

The challenge from the Left is spear-headed by the Communist Party and embraces other principal Left parties, several ex-Congressmen who broke away when they found their parent organisation betraying its past, and the mass of neutral patriotic opinion.

The forces of the Left seek to carry forward whatever is best, positive and constructive in the past of the national movement and the progressive policy declarations of the Congress itself.

The Left derives its mass support from the righteous discontent of the common people against the Congress regime letting them down. A stronger Communist and progressive democratic opposition of the Congress and routing the Rightwing parties, is the obvious way out of crisis after crises that has been clouding up India's political horizon and for the better gold and green future.

—P. C. JOSHI

Public Sector Shames Private Sector

The spokesmen of the private sector and leaders of the Swatantra and other anti-plan parties decry the public sector as being a very wasteful venture. As opposed to it they present their private sector as not only the most economical but also the most profitable on earth.

HOW spurious is their claim except, of course, about the profitability of their enterprises, and how erroneous is their assertion about the public sector is shown by two sets of reports which have been published recently. One is a study made by the Reserve Bank on the finance of Indian joint-stock companies during 1959, and the other is a news agency report on the working of the state undertakings in 1960-61.

The first study shows that the pace of growth of some 1,000 large and medium-sized non-Government public limited companies slackened in 1959, although their sales, as well as profits showed considerable increases. These companies accounted for 77 per cent of the paid-up capital of all companies in the sectors covered, and thus were representative of the private corporate sector.

Their sales in 1959 registered a rise of Rs. 170.5 crores or by 9.3 per cent as compared to a rise of Rs. 154.4 crores or 5.4 per cent in 1958. This was reflected in a rise of Rs. 40.6 crores or 33.5 per cent in profits before tax, which had only slightly improved during the previous year.

Profits after tax were also higher at Rs. 102.4 crores during 1959. In 1958 they had amounted to only Rs. 65 crores. The amount set aside for dividends during 1959 too was higher at Rs. 64.1 crores against Rs. 46.9 in 1958.

Thus, in sales and profits the private sector presented a picture of affluence, despite all the grumblings of the Swatantraites and the FICCI leaders about the onerous character of Morarji's levies, but in assets and capital formation it showed depleted returns, and all because Morarji's concessions, and its own greed for profits, would not let the concerned enterprises show better results.

The total gross assets formation of the companies covered in the study was only Rs. 157.4 crores in 1959 as compared to Rs. 166.8 crores in 1958 and Rs. 263.8 crores in 1956. Their gross fixed assets too showed a smaller rise of Rs. 107 crores or 7.5 per cent during the year as against Rs. 148 crores or 11.8 per cent in 1958 and Rs. 177 crores or 16.5 per cent in 1957. Their gross capital formation, comprising fixed assets and inventories, amounted to Rs. 123 crores in 1959 as compared to Rs. 153 crores in 1958 and Rs. 229 crores in 1957.

As opposed to this by no means a very agreeable picture of the much-vaunted private sector the public sector showed a steady improvement. According to the press release referred to earlier almost all enterprises in it recorded a rise in production during the past year (1960-61) as well as yielded higher profits.

The pride of place among these is taken by the Hindustan Machine Tools at Bangalore which turned out 1,002 machines valued at Rs. 3.3 crores in 1960-61 as compared with 702 machines worth Rs. 2.37 crores in the previous year. It also doubled its profits during the year and has decided to set up another machine tools factory out of its own earnings, as well as contracted to set up a factory at Pinjore in the Punjab with East German collaboration.

The Hindustan Cable Factory at Roopnarainpur achieved an output of over Rs. 1.6 crores in 1960-61 as against Rs. 1.0 crore in the previous year.

In the case of the National Instruments Factory at Calcutta the rise in production was from Rs. 53.7 lakhs in 1959-60 to Rs. 59.3 lakhs in 1960-61. The Nahar Foundry turned out over 3,172 tons of equipment valued at Rs. 25 lakhs in 1960-61 as against the previous year's output valued at Rs. 22.05 lakhs.

Both the factories under the Hindustan Insecticides improved on their past year's performance and together produced over 2,800 tons of DDT.

An Impostor From Bonn

From Ziaul Haq

"A POLITICAL impostor", as he has been described by his own compatriots, Hubertus Prinz Zu Loewenstein was on a visit to this country recently in the official capacity of adviser to the West German Government.

The Prince has had a colourful career which in itself is enough to illustrate the diabolical ambitions of the Bonn rulers, particularly now when he is going round the Asian capitals in a bid to win friends and influence people on behalf of Bonn, especially on the West Berlin question.

Bonn is direly in need of doing so after the outspoken stand taken by the non-aligned countries at the Belgrade Conference, which both the West German press and official spokesmen have denounced in the most vehement terms.

Prince Loewenstein comes from the landed aristocracy having connections with the monarchist circles in Austria as well as with the industrial concerns in West Germany and other Western countries. He started his career about 1930 as a journalist, indicating very early the mercurial quality of rapidly changing political loyalties which has characterised him throughout.

From the Social Democratic Party he jumped over to the Catholic Party in the early thirties. But even he failed to keep pace with the rapidly changing scene which culminated in the Nazi's accession to

The Hindustan Antibiotic Factory produced 42.76 million mega units of finished penicillin as against 33.15 million mega units in the previous year.

These, however, do not exhaust the list. There is besides them the Bhilai Steel-works which is slated to achieve full production within the next six months. There are others, too which the press release has not included but which find mention in Government publications.

While there certainly are some black sheep among them (both the Rourkela and the Durgapur steel plants for example) they have on the whole by no means shown a picture as disagreeable as that of the private sector.

With them increase in profits has meant a spur in growth as well and not a fattening of the purse of the entrepreneurs. As such they are certainly a better instrument to advance the country industrially than the private sector which cannot by its very nature look beyond its immediate gains.

The fact of the public sector enterprises' improved working in the past year does not, however, absolve their authorities and the Government of their responsibility to work them still better in the current and subsequent years.

The deadweight of bureaucracy which they have to bear and the schism between their authorities and the workers have very often impeded their efficient functioning in the past. These need to be completely eradicated if the fine record established by them in 1960-61 has to be maintained and improved in coming year.

INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

Woong U.S. Monopolists

NEW DELHI is playing host these days to a band of about 50 top executives of some of the biggest corporations in the United States. These gentlemen have descended on New Delhi to convince the latter of the need to solicit their cooperation, (which they could have perhaps avoided since Morarji has already been doing this so wonderfully for them).

They also want New Delhi to change some of its basic policies to make it profitable for them to invest their funds in India. According to knowledgeable circles they have come prepared with a memorandum which among other things seeks removal of the ban on majority foreign participation in joint ventures. They also want new lines hitherto reserved for the public sector to be opened up for their investments.

One such line is heavy electricals. So far India has planned for two public sector heavy electrical plants during the Third Plan period, besides of course, completing the existing plant at Bhopal. These are to be built with Soviet and Czechoslovak assistance.

Now the American industrialists have offered to supply equipment for heavy electricals provided big orders are

placed with them. They also want the specifications to be changed to the American pattern since the British specifications at present in vogue in India, do not suit them.

The US industrialists have planned their strategy with the conviction that their pleadings will have some ready listeners in New Delhi. Already, according to the Financial Express, October 23, the Development Council for heavy electrical industries has reportedly told the Government that the manufacture of transformers, motors and other such equipment of higher ratings, which is at present reserved for the public sector, should be opened to the private sector.

It has also suggested that in cases where capital goods requirement is not large, import licences should be granted against free foreign exchange or against loans available from the various countries.

This suggestion of the Development Council indicates the depth of corrosion which India's industrial policy can suffer if the Government heeds its own advisers. It also points to the opportunities which the American and other investors, look forward to despite all the brave words about "socialism" which the Government leaders bandy about.

—ESSEN

Party). But the warning was not heard".

This is a reference to the fact that in 1953 Loewenstein had joined the FDP on the basis of various industrial and banking concerns offering 200,000 DM to the party which would put him up on its list. The FDP accepted the money and got the Prinz into the Bundestag.

After this, the Prince declared that the German Democratic Republic be overthrown by force with the military backing of the west. He demanded for this reason to make the West German NATO army fully prepared without any delay. Prince Loewenstein, who founded the organisation German Action, propagated through this organisation chauvinistic aims of the worst type.

He demanded the reconstitution of a big Reich according to the example of the Hitler state. According to the various declarations he demanded that not only the former frontiers should be established but the Sudetenland, Austria, Luxemburg, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Liechtenstein should also be considered German states.

His declarations were so dangerous that even the party which he officially represented in the West German parliament did not identify itself with his demands and many West German papers openly protested against such irresponsible declarations.

The deputy Chairman of the Social Democratic Party Mellies

called Loewenstein a political impostor and an irresponsible politician. He said literally "his proposal means that he is prepared to plunge millions of people into a catastrophe and to start a third world war".

In the Bundestag fraction of the FDP these utterances have aroused great indignation. The Free Democrats have responded with the declaration: "In the unanimous opinion of the Bundestag fraction any form of the use of force for the solution of political problems is out of question. Therefore, the Free Democrats have always pointed out the necessity of negotiations and talks for the solution of outstanding political questions."

All parties in Bonn have met the utterances of Loewenstein with unusual sharpness and the Prinz left the FDP in June 1957 to join the ultra-chauvinist German Party, which failed to get even 4000 votes in 1957 elections.

It is such a man who has been selected by Bonn to go round the Asian capitals and explain their stand. Obviously, with the call that he made in Delhi for "standing firm" on Berlin and the German peace treaty issue for another ten years, he could hardly win any support for Bonn. He was listened to in polite and cold silence, with mild amusement, as he indulged in his dramatics.

Obviously Bonn is incapable of doing anything better in the matter of winning the non-aligned to its side on these crucial issues.

Ajoy Ghosh Greets CPSU

ON behalf of the delegation of the Communist Party of India I convey to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to its Leninist Central Committee, to the delegates assembled here, to the Soviet people and to the representatives of all fraternal parties and of National Democratic organisations, our warm and hearty greetings.

Comrades, your Congress, aptly described as the Congress of builders of Communism, is meeting at a momentous period in world history and its decisions, too, will be momentous not merely for the Soviet people but for the whole of humanity. It is not surprising, therefore, that the eyes of the people of the entire world are focussed on you.

For ages man dreamed of a society which would ensure happiness and prosperity to everyone and in which inequality and oppression would come to an end. But decisive steps towards such a society could be taken only when the working class of Russia led by the Bolshevik Party, headed by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, seized power and established a new kind of State, a State of proletarian dictatorship.

Barely forty four years have passed since then—a brief period in terms of world history. But this period has seen changes far more profound than centuries in any previous epoch. The banner unfurled by the October Revolution has triumphed finally and irrevocably in countries inhabited by one-third of the people of the world. Powerful Communist Parties with millions of members and supporters march in the van of the people in several countries. The world colonial system which at one time seemed mighty and impregnable has collapsed in vast areas and its final disappearance is already in sight. Hundreds of millions of people have awakened to a new life and taken to the path of independent development.

In effecting these massive and far reaching changes the key and decisive role has been played by the country where the working people for the first time in history became masters of their own destiny.

And today the people of that country, the great USSR, have placed before themselves the magnificent objective of building Communism. The Draft Programme declares boldly and confidently that the building of a Communist society has become an immediate practical task for the Soviet people. The successes already achieved can leave no doubt that this task will be fulfilled.

The great achievements of the Soviet Union and of the entire Socialist camp in re-

Blueprint of Communism in their hands.



cent years, the tempestuous advance made by the world Communist movement and the striking successes won by the forces of national freedom, democracy and peace would have been inconceivable but for the bold decisions taken by the 20th Congress of the CPSU. These decisions which were hailed by all Communist parties were indeed epoch-making in every sense.

Any failure to realise the import of the 20th Congress for the world Communist movement and for each Communist Party must inevitably do serious damage to the cause of Communism.

Comrades, the Draft Programme of the CPSU, which in historic significance ranks with the famous Communist Manifesto, is a document which shows to the world of mankind its future. Combining bold vision with scientific precision, it tells the Soviet people in concrete and tangible terms what they can have and will have in the course of the next few years.

Mapping out the path to Communism for people who have already established socialist society it is at the same time a clarion call to the working-people of all countries to intensify the struggle for their own emancipation and, thus, create conditions which would enable them to reach the cherished goal of a society free from exploitation of class by class, of nation by nation and of man by man.

The Draft Programme is, therefore, the guiding star for mankind as a whole. None can doubt that a Party and Government which has put forward such a magnificent programme is deeply interested in the preservation of peace. The Draft Programme is a powerful demonstration of the Soviet Union's consistent peace policy.

At the same time, the grim danger that threatens humanity cannot be ignored. Conscious that the future belongs to Socialism, conscious that the days of the system of plunder, repression and bloodshed which they built up are numbered, the most aggressive circles of imperialists, before all the US imperialists, are striving to work up war tension.

Having established military bases in many countries, having stockpiled vast quantities of atomic weapons and, above all, having rearmend West German militarism they want to inflict on the world the horrors of a thermo-nuclear war in order to win back world mastery and impose on all peoples their hateful regime.

While resolutely upholding

peace and expressing readiness for negotiations the USSR, therefore, has had to take measures that would enable it to deliver a crushing blow to aggressors. This itself we have no doubt will help the cause of peace. The Communist Party of India and the advanced sections of the Indian toiling people fully understand the necessity of these measures on the part of the USSR.

For us, the people of Asia and Africa, who for many years suffered from imperialist rule, this Congress of the CPSU has special significance. Every step that takes the USSR towards Communism also enhances its capacity to defeat imperialist efforts to export counter-revolution and to render aid and assistance to countries which have thrown off the foreign yoke and are striving to rebuild their economy.

The advance of the USSR along the path of Communism simultaneously strengthens the cause of national independence in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This has been strikingly demonstrated in the events of the last few years.

But the significance of the Draft Programme for the countries of Asia and Africa is not confined to this aspect alone. It has another and a deeper significance. Once backward Russia has within four decades reached a stage when it can be proclaimed, with confidence that the present generation of Soviet people shall live under Communism. This stupendous fact cannot but exercise a profound influence on the mind of the peoples of Asia and Africa and strengthen their struggle for thoroughgoing democratic reforms. It cannot but draw them towards Marxism-Leninism, towards socialism.

Comrades, having won national independence and striving to liquidate the heritage of colonialism, the Indian people have made a great contribution to the struggle against war and for peaceful coexistence.

The Republic of India has resolutely rebuffed the efforts of the imperialists to draw her into military alliances. Our people find in the USSR the most steadfast champion of peace as well as a genuine friend, who is rendering valuable aid and assistance to reconstruct our economy on a modern basis.

No wonder, therefore, that relations of close cooperation have grown between India and the USSR. This has been a powerful factor for peace and it will be our constant endeavour to strengthen this relation of cooperation and friendship between the two countries.

Permit me, comrades, to congratulate the CPSU and the Soviet people on the magnificent victories they have won in every sphere, especially since the historic 20th Congress of the CPSU and express the confidence that still greater victories await them.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Leninist Central Committee!

Long live the Soviet people, the builders of Communism! Long live the all conquering teachings of Marxism-Leninism!

Long live world peace! Long live friendship between the peoples of India and USSR!

HINDI-RUSSI BHA! BHA!

Sack Morarji

Editorial

IT IS NO SECRET AMONG the knowledgeable circles, in India as well as abroad, that the monopolists and colonialists of the West are grooming and going all out to build up Finance Minister Morarji Desai as the successor to Prime Minister Nehru. Blinded with his own self importance Morarji Desai is acting recklessly in the service of his foreign patrons. Speaking before the African Seminar this week he revealed his true colours.

He mustered enough insolence to advise the leaders of African liberation not to be impatient. Despite the Prime Minister's earlier clear-cut statement to the contrary he declared his belief that India would not be sending its army to liberate Goa.

Thus the Finance Minister flagrantly repudiated the statement of his chief, the Prime Minister "in his personal capacity". He committed an unprecedented political outrage.

Our honoured African guests and the Goan brothers were aghast and dumb-founded. They had all come to plead that the Indian Government start serious action against Portuguese colonialism, passionately argued that this was the best fraternal aid independent India could give struggling Africa, fervently hoped this worthy lead would come from the Indian official leadership.

It is all to the credit of Prime Minister Nehru that the very next day he repudiated in positive terms the statement of his pro-Western Finance Minister.

He honestly admitted, "India's efforts to solve the Goan problem peacefully had failed". Referring to Portuguese atrocities he declared "we cannot tolerate this and certainly have to consider what other steps could undertake".

Full throatedly he reiterated that the Government of India did not rule out military measures for the liberation of Goa, "I had said this before and I repeat it again". Finally he stated that Goa was part of India and no foreign foothold in the country could be tolerated.

All this is very well. A correction in words, however, is not enough. Morarji Desai stands condemned from his own mouth, that he is alien to Indian national sentiment, hostile to Goan freedom and African liberation, loyal only to Western interests and policies. Prime Minister Nehru's words do not carry the needed weight, with Finance Minister Desai sitting pat inside the same Cabinet.

If India's honour is to be vindicated, if Goa is to be liberated, if the respect of resurgent Africa won, Morarji Desai must go out of the Indian Government. If he does not quit he must be sacked. Then alone Prime Minister Nehru's words would ring true.

October 24

Ghatshila Ghastliness

SERIOUS and avoidable accidents are not rare in the Indian Railways. The latest one, suffered by the Howrah-Ranchi Express is on all counts one of the worst in the record of our rail system. Railway Board Chairman Karnail Singh has admitted it to be a major disaster.

The casualties have been awesome. About 50 dead, over 100 taken to hospital and double the number treated on the spot. Numbers alone cannot convey the human tragedy involved.

Reliable reports from the spot indicate that relief and rescue work did not receive top priority at the hands of officials.

Police detectives and others held up the rescue and search of the wounded and the dead for about 14 hours, to make their own inquiries.

Giant cranes from Jamshedpur were used to lift up the wrecked bogies without concern for the wounded who were still in the wreckage.

Men and equipment for relief and rescue were rare. There was no separate team to pursue the search for bodies.

There was nobody to attend to queries from anxious relatives. There was not even a list of the injured.

Bureaucratic callousness has not departed with the British. It obviously persists. The Railways and allied officials involved in the gruesome Ghatshila accident need being sharply pulled up and put on the mat.

In Independent India, Indian lives matter the most, Indian citizens cannot be treated with heartless unconcern by the Indian officials.

The careless, the inefficient and the guilty are already trying to cover their tracks and work up alibis. Stories about attempted sabotage, are being spread, as before in such accidents. Even the dacoits are being mentioned, though no dacoity actually took place, and just because some gypsies were around!

There should be no delay in appointing an independent, competent high powered inquiry committee that will undertake the most thorough probe and ensure that Indian lives, national property, and the country's good name are taken seriously, respected by all concerned, above all the Railway officials.

October 24

From Our Special Correspondent

The recent riots in Aligarh and other towns of Uttar Pradesh provide a number of serious lessons for the democratic movement. The first and foremost is the necessity of vigilance against communalism. This would have been a mere cliché had not recent events shown that this vigilance has not been exercised when it was most needed.

THIS was apparent from how our daily press and our politicians took up the events of October 3 in Aligarh. What was the main thing that had happened on that day? Without doubt this was the slaughter of some twenty-five people, including women and children, belonging to the minority community.

None of these people (except a student and a peon) had anything to do with the All-India Muslim University. Many of them had probably never heard of the Jama'at-i-Islami. The women who had been killed and the girl who still lies fearfully mutilated and barely alive, in the District Hospital—what had they to do with the University Union elections?

What other thoughts than those of earning their daily bread had the poor people travelling from villages and gasbas when they were pulled out of the buses and stabbed, their bodies left rotting in the fields till their stench compelled discovery or secret burial?

Yet, with one or two honourable exceptions, no newspaper considered these tragedies the chief object of its concern. The main concern was with what had happened in the Aligarh University Union elections on October 1, why there had been a fight among students in the early hours of October 2, how had the non-Muslim students been treated in the University, how Muslim communalism was responsible for it all.

The Union Ministers came and went away and then made statements all concentrating on the events within the campus of the Aligarh University.

B. N. Datar brushed aside most of the murders in the City as the result of private feuds!

And what of our police? There is no doubt that from the evening of October 3, the police and the Armed Constabulary led by the DIG himself who came from Agra, did the work expected of them.

But on the morning of the third, some of our police officers who have no qualms about beating up demonstrating workers, allowed mobs to form, murders to be perpetrated and shops looted with complete indifference. Buses continued to run into Aligarh, while on the road the rioters waited for them to proceed with their work of slaughter.

There is certainly great appreciation of the conduct of those officers who stood firm and did their duty; but there are also serious allegations against individual officers which need investigation.

The Jana Sangh, the RSS, the Vidyarthi Parishad are certainly in the van in the riots, but it must be remembered that they have been immeasurably helped by the attitude of some of our Ministers, educationists and police officers. On the other hand, let it be noted that humanity asserted itself among our people even during the darkest days to restrain the hands of the bloodthirsty.

The vast majority of the people of the city were taken aback by the riots and made prey to all sorts of rumours and horror stories. But they were not with the rioters and the murderers. Non-Muslim householders often offered

protection to their Muslim neighbours.

In a number of mohallas local people warned off by the trouble-makers, Devdatt Kalanki, a Sarvodaya worker, sustained serious injury in his attempt to stop a riotous procession. Individual Congressmen here and there did their bit.

The small Communist Party threw itself into the task of defending the minority. In their mohallas, in a bus, on the streets, Communist workers saved the lives of individual Muslims. They were also the first to call for the formation of a Peace Committee, and it was not their fault if Congressmen divided into factions could not agree among themselves about the names of its members.

In this popular desire for peace and for protection of the minority lies the main hope for the future. It is the Government's first responsibility to respect this desire.

Already it is said powerful pressures have been set into motion to get the alleged riot-leaders released and the cases against them withdrawn. If this is done no one

will have any confidence left in the good faith of the Government and of its claim of bringing the guilty to book.

What in all this of Muslim communalism, specially in the Aligarh Muslim University? Is it to be completely overlooked? No, but it must be remembered that if Muslim communalism was strong before the riots, it is much stronger now after them.

Tales of horror as they spread are adding every hour to the feeling of bitterness in Muslim homes all over U.P. and outside; and it is from these homes that the majority of the students of the Muslim University come. This bitterness will not evaporate on account of the fumnations of ministers against communalism and the Jama'at-i-Islami.

Defend Muslims!

Ministers Shrimall and Datar with city notables. Surendra Kumar, the leading local industrialist, is reported to have declared that in the City there had throughout been Hindu-Muslim amity (and presumably, therefore, no communal killing); he then protested against the arrest by the police of the riot-leaders who were wanted for murder.

Role of Police

The Minister listened to all this apparently without a frown; and Surendra Kumar, who had held a meeting of forty "prominent" Hindu citizens during curfew hours on October 3 to make inflammatory statements about what had happened in the Aligarh University and who had been all the time foremost in incit-

ing non-Muslim students to leave the University hostels and be exhibited as refugees, remains in the best books of the administration. Indeed, he has also hopes of getting the Congress ticket for the Parliamentary seat from Aligarh....

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Defend Muslims!

But the direct fight against Muslim communalism on an ideological level is equally important. For the Muslims Muslim communalism is in reality as dangerous as Hindu communalism. Its growth has provided the best provocation for all the misdeeds of the Jana Sangh and the RSS. The Students Union elections in the Aligarh University are but one instance of how communalism of one side feeds that of the other and provides the pogrom-mongers with the perfect alibi.

This is the most urgent reason why the growth of Muslim communalism within the Aligarh University cannot be ignored. Here we have men in authority encouraging day after day obscurantism and communalism, in order to improve their own position and heedless of the explosion towards which their actions must lead.

Communalists Emboldened

The communal trend in the Union elections was after all an imitation of what the students' elders did in the

legitimate interests of the minority.

ents led by the Students Federation failed to stem the communal tide. But the days of the riots which followed showed conclusively that the communalists are not the sole masters of the situation.

When the University Market was attacked by a city mob on October 3, many teachers and students dissuaded the University boys from breaking out of the hostels and so prevented a clash which would have had very serious consequences.

Then, too, when the shops of non-Muslims were attacked in senseless retaliation, there were teachers and students who saved some of the shops by physically barring the way of the attackers.

Immediately after the riot the first task was to restore confidence among Muslim and non-Muslim students, since the latter were leaving their hostels. The Appeal of Fifty Students, Muslim and non-Muslim (printed by the New Age last week and widely publicised in the daily press) is the result of the effort of SF workers who collected the signatures within two days of the disturbances, at a time when bitterness was at its height.

That it had struck the right chord was apparent from the wild rage with which it was greeted by both the Hindu and Muslim communalists. For days—such is the influence behind the communalist conspiracy—no Hindi press in the City was willing to print the Appeal.

These efforts made in very trying circumstances are not to be scorned or brushed aside. Here is the material out of which a secular climate can be built up in this University after the terrible blow it has received. The task is now harder than ever before and can be successfully accomplished only if all secular forces unite to isolate the communalists, Hindu and Muslim.

It is unfortunate, when considered in this context, that a man in the position of Charan Singh should go out of his way to insinuate that the Communists had a hand in instigating the looting of non-Muslim shops in the University. His charge is curiously quite opposite to the allegation made by the Muslim University Youth Congress, namely, that the Communists are in alliance with the Jana Sangh and have been the authors of the "false" rumour that University students damaged some non-Muslim shops.

The riots have further emboldened the communalists, and led by the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan, they are out on a crusade against the Vice-Chancellor, Col. Zaidi. On every step taken since October 3, there have been accusations of a sell-out of the University, making the work of restoring normal conditions extremely difficult.

The Jama'at-i-Islami has now become so sure of its position in the University that it has come out right into the open and only the other day a member of it boasted in the correspondence columns of a newspaper that it has eight members on the teaching staff of the University.

Minister Shrimall is welcome to play with his pet problem of whether the Communists have encouraged Muslim communalism with their sympathy or antipathy. What is clear to every one is that communalism in the University is now the dominant force and continuously on the offensive. Against it in the University, of which the Communists are an inseparable part.

The communal turn which the Union elections took shows that the secular-minded stud-

ents led by the Students Federation failed to stem the communal tide. But the days of the riots which followed showed conclusively that the communalists are not the sole masters of the situation.

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Betrayal In Orissa

★ From RAMAKRISHNA PATI

Before coming to the character of the present land reform Bill as introduced in the last State Assembly session it must be reiterated that agriculture is in a state of semi-stagnation. Agriculture lags far behind the requirements of India's development, more particularly in Orissa. Feudal economy remains in tact. Therefore, industrial development is weak. The incentive for all round development in a state or society springs from a progressive rural economy based on the abolition of feudalism. This basic fact must be understood very clearly.

FEUDAL elements both inside and outside Congress who have been trying to perpetuate the backward economy are not only the enemies of democracy but they must be regarded as anti-social elements preventing the nation from blossoming.

Raising agriculture from its low equilibrium, breaking the mesh of interlocking factors, such as outdated technique, primary poverty and low productivity warrants first and foremost radical land reform, fixing fair wages, reducing tax burdens, redemption of debts and provision of cheap credit, all of which are gigantic and urgent tasks. Only a mighty agrarian movement can achieve this.

Terrible

Poverty

First of all what is required is radical land reform. Such land reform necessarily aims at releasing the peasants from the feudal clutches, and giving land to the myriads of the landless. This inevitably means increasing production and raising the purchasing power of the peasants.

In connection with such land reform a significant fact to be noted is that 53.53 per cent of the rural household in Orissa are landless agricultural labourers. Another 46.47 per cent of the rural households are agricultural labourers, who have some land. The latter category comprises that class of agricultural labourers, who have land but who cannot maintain themselves by its cultivation.

Along with this in the rural areas we also find that 59 per cent of the peasantry, most of whom are agricultural labourers having practically no land, are heavily in debt.

The land reform amendment, as introduced in the present session of the Orissa State Assembly, has smashed to the dust the demands and expectations of the peasant mass. The present Ministry before its formation and after it functioned, gave rosy hopes and promised that it was going to bring in a progressive land reform.

As a matter of fact, the original amendments as published and given to the press by the Revenue Minister on August 9 this year though not conforming to the needs and expectations of the peasants, were better than the Coalition Ministry's land reforms. The present Bill has further moved towards the right. This is clear proof that the present ministry has surrendered to the feudal elements and protected their interests as against those of the millions of the peasantry and landless.

The 20-acre ceiling as envisaged in this Bill is a

lands, which is and should be a dominant factor in the land reform, the Bill is very disappointing. It is a blow against the share-croppers who naturally are landless or have few strips of land with them.

The provisions made for resuming land do not at all protect the interests of the share-croppers. The land-holder can now take away land without looking to the economic interest of the share-croppers.

Economic justice demands that the share-croppers should not be deprived of any land below a basic holding as defined in the present amendment.

But deplorably enough the provisions are such that a share-cropper may not at all reach a basic holding limit when lands are resumed from him by a land-holder.

Further in view of the fact that the share-cropper has been paying the share of the produce to the land holder, who has been appropriating the rent so paid without contributing any labour or capital, the share-cropper should be allowed to enjoy and possess the land without paying lump sum compensation but by paying five times the fair and equitable rent that is paid by the landlord in respect of such land in order to comply with the provisions of the Constitution.

With regard to distribution of land the main consideration should be focussed on the

When the Patnalk-led Ministry was installed in office in Orissa many had expectations that some steps would be taken by it in the direction of progressive land legislation. These expectations have been belied.

Ramakrishna Pati, the Secretary of the Orissa State Committee of the Communist Party of India, in his statement of October 14, reproduced below, sharply exposes the concessions made by the Ministry to the landowners. The original amendments to the land reforms Bill have been modified and

changed to benefit the feudal elements.

The opposition within the Congress to the original amendments was led by Biswanath Das, with Mahab doing his best to use this opportunity to oust Bijoyanand Patnalk from Chief Ministership. Attempts were made to bring in some Ganatantra Parishad members into the Congress so as to give Mahab a majority. For the time being such attempts have failed. But they continue to be made and Orissa's Congress factions continue their manoeuvres.

tenants who were in possession of the land. At present a share-holder in a cooperative society is necessarily a person having land. So instead of giving priority to the cooperative societies the first priority should be given to the tenants who were in possession of such surplus lands and to the landless.

The Government is expected to take such measures and create such an atmosphere that the poor peasants and the peasants who have got land from the surplus pool form voluntary cooperatives of their own, for more production.

The landlords form cooperatives for a two fold purpose: to avoid the provisions of ceiling and to get the cream of the cooperative and to make it virtually their property.

We, therefore, appeal to the Government to release itself from the feudal clutches and make this Bill a real reform for the economic uplift of the peasant masses and to curb the parasitic income of the landowners. There is still time.

We appeal to democrats, wherever they be, inside political parties or outside, whether they be in the legislature or outside, to demand that the Government initiate progressive land legislation and desist from the policy of appeasement and surrender to the feudal and anti-social elements.

We appeal to the toiling masses and to the peasantry to struggle for the reversal of this land reform, which goes against their interests and to correct it into a real progressive land reform.

Land Reforms—Record Of The Decade

The dream of every Indian patriot has always been to take India forward to becoming a great independent power through rapid economic progress, and to lift her out of her present status as an underdeveloped country. The acid test of the Government policy lies in the extent to which this dream is being translated into reality.

It is useless to blame, for any failure, either the dearth of capital resources or the growth of population, as both are inherent in an underdeveloped economy. If the twin problems did not exist, our planners would not have been called upon to wipe out economic backwardness.

"The increase in national income has been 42 per cent over the last decade", states the Planning Commission, "but, owing to increase in population, the increase in income per capita has been 15 per cent".

But the "people" constitute the basic production force. If their productive energies are suitably employed; if that has not been done, it only means that India's rate of economic progress is far below the needs as well as the possibilities of the situation. It is precisely this state of affairs which justifies a change of policy.

basic weakness

The basic weakness of the Government's policy is its failure to remove the bottleneck of agricultural progress.

In the First Plan, the main emphasis was on agricultural improvement and on the eye of the Second Plan it was glibly assumed that the job had been done. But now on the eve of the Third Plan, it is officially recognised that the earlier expectation had been belied by the actual performance.

While the rate of growth of national income (at 1960-1961 prices) has been a little over four per cent per annum in the last decade, the annual rise in agricultural production, on the same basis and during the period, has not exceeded 3.5 per cent. Thus, agricultural progress is lagging unduly behind despite an investment of over Rs. 1,500 crores in course of the last 10 years.

But in an underdeveloped economy, agriculture is the main sector from which an expanding investible surplus emerges more rapidly than any other sector, at least initially, if the economy has to rely mainly on its own resources. Now, what ought to have become a big leap has turned out to be the big lag.

One need not go far in order to find out the causes responsible for this big lag. On the eve of the First Five Year Plan, the Planning Commission itself stated:

"A rigid social structure and unutilised resources have always characterised underdeveloped economies. To change the social pattern built round the ownership of land and technology into every-day operation became, therefore, central to the process of development.

It is the purpose of planning to bring about rapid changes in such a way that the economy moves forward in a balanced integrated manner, keeping in view at all times the major objectives of com-

ment of objectives had gone. M. L. Dantwala calculated the probable effects of such a change and obtained the following resultant picture:

Type of the Farm	Percentage of Total area in possession	Percentage of Holders
1. Bigger than family farms	15 to 20	5
2. Family farm	30 to 35	25 to 30
3. Smaller than family farm	15 to 20	20 to 25
4. Cooperative	10 to 15 from below	40 to 50
	10 to 15 from above	

(Source: Papers relating to the Formulation of the Second Plan, p. 568).

Comparing the two tables, we obtain the probable change as follows:

Working families possessing self-sufficient family farms would increase from 19 per cent to 36 per cent of the total area, while the percentage of the holders within this category would be doubled.

Families possessing uneconomic holdings would be drastically reduced from 71 per

by BHOWANI SEN

cent to 25 per cent, while the percentage of the total area in their possession would remain almost the same.

At the same time, land in possession of the big holders would be reduced from 64 per cent to 20 per cent of the total area.

This is, according to an expert opinion, what might have been done, but has such a change taken place? Comparable data are not yet available but there is no dispute about the answer, an unambiguous No. The following facts show the obviousness of such a negative conclusion.

① Firstly, the ceiling laws have been enacted in most of the States only in 1961.

② Secondly, ceiling laws enacted earlier in certain States have not yet been fully implemented.

③ Thirdly, the level of the ceiling proposed or enacted is so high and the exemptions are so many that the status quo can hardly be changed even if the laws are strictly implemented.

④ Fourthly, the statutory provision regarding the imposition of a ceiling and the acquisition of the surplus land contains so many loopholes that the owners are able to evade the provision at ease and with impunity.

The Planning Commission itself has been forced to conclude that: "on the whole, it would be correct to say that, in recent years, transfers of lands have tended to defeat the aims of the legislation for ceilings and to reduce its impact on the rural economy" (Third Five Year Plan, p. 229).

Despite these remarks, the Planning Commission has

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Despite these remarks, the Planning Commission has

carefully avoided the root causes of the failures and is, therefore, unable to offer any effective remedy. A close scrutiny of the papers relating to

the recommendations of the Land Reform Panel reveals that their recommendations contain the germs of all the weaknesses of the Government agrarian measures. The Planning Commission added its own quota to enlarge the germs.

For instance, the Panel proposed that the ceiling area should be three family holdings (a family holding being defined roughly as one plough unit). But at the same time the Panel recommended that the ceiling area should be enough to yield a net income of Rs. 3,600. The latter means an area up to 25 or even 30 acres, while a plough-unit, properly so called, can be, on the average, only 15 acres or so.

The Panel recommended that the ceiling should be related to the aggregate possession of the whole family, but the Planning Commission kept its recommendation vague, on the point. Ultimately, the State Government, even those who have statutorily related the ceiling to the family, instead of to the individual, have made the provision still more vague so that it has turned out, in the eye of law, that every individual holder can retain the full extent up to the ceiling.

The whole trouble started from a wrong approach. The approach is—not from the end how land can be given to the poor and landless tillers, but how the big land-holding families can be given the maximum protection.

But only a united peasant movement can guarantee a change in the social outlook of the people and create the suitable climate for the required agrarian changes.

essential steps

But this requires two important steps:

Firstly, the constitution must be so amended that every change in land-relations in favour of giving land to the working peasants is regarded as the guiding line for the legislature, the executive and the judiciary.

Secondly, implementation of land reform measures must be fully entrusted to democratically elected peasant committees, duly vested with adequate powers. The officials must be made subordinate to these committees. The executive officials and judicial personnel have to be re-educated for the purpose so that they can proceed with a new outlook.

But only a united peasant movement can guarantee a change in the social outlook of the people and create the suitable climate for the required agrarian changes.

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An examination of the inter-relation between the domestic politics and foreign policies of the continent and an enquiry into the sources and strength of the concept of non-alignment, a subject whose importance is heightened by the recent meet of the heads of the non-aligned states in Belgrade. 75 nP.

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PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE

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kerala kisans—big battle looms

★ From Our Correspondents

A MAJOR struggle is developing in Kerala on a number of vital issues in relation to the implementation of the Agrarian Relations Act.

First and foremost among these is the problem of eviction of tenants who have no records to prove their tenancy. The gravity of the problem can be understood if it is realised that forty per cent of the peasants who should benefit from the provisions of the Act are such tenants without records.

Landlords have launched an organised offensive against them. They have already gone to courts to get such tenants declared as wage-labourers and numerous injunction orders have already been passed in their favour prohibiting the tenants from harvesting the crop they have grown and preventing them from entering the land to start cultivation.

Wherever tenants try to harvest the crop, prosecutions are launched against them on charges of trespass, theft, etc. The moment tenants file petitions before Land Tribunals for the rights which the Act confers on them, landlords file counter-petitions denying their tenancy rights or file cases for arrears of rent.

Without any rent receipts or other documents, the tenants are in no position to either prove that they have paid the rent or their tenancy rights. The result is that not only do they not get any benefits from the Act, they are facing the threat of losing the

land they have been cultivating.

The Kerala Karshaka Samgham, State unit of the All-India Kisan Sabha, has demanded urgent steps by the Government to enable these peasants to get the benefits of the Act.

The proposal the Samgham has put forward is that in every village, panchayat and village officials should prepare records about the cultivating possession of each plot of land and that such records should be accepted by the Land Tribunals and courts if any dispute arises on the question of occupancy.

The second problem which the peasants face is the paucity of Land Tribunals. Tens of thousands of petitions have been filed in every district and each district has only one Tribunal. At the rate at which the petitions are now being disposed off, it will take at least fifty years to deal with all the petitions that have already been filed.

In the interest of implementing the Act expeditiously, the Karshaka Samgham has demanded that one tribunal should be appointed for every 2000 petitions.

The third problem is that peasants occupying Government forest lands are being asked to pay huge amounts as taxes and fines. When the Communist-led Government was in office in Kerala, it had stopped these collections and initiated steps to confer these lands on the occupants. Instead of completing this, the present Gov-

ernment has sent out its officials to collect tax-arrears for the last ten years.

The Karshaka Samgham's demand is that the Government should immediately withdraw its orders for collection of these taxes and fines and give the land to the occupants, realising only the basic land tax from them.

Fourth, is the problem of arrears of rents. It is impossible both for those who have paid rent and have no receipts and those who have not paid rent to give in one instalment one year's rent for arrears up to 1957 and the entire rent since then.

The Karshaka Samgham has demanded that all arrears up to the date the Act came into force, February 15, 1961, should be cleared by one year's rent in the case of tenants cultivating land up to five acres, and two and three years' rent respectively in the case of those cultivating fifteen acres and more than fifteen acres.

Fifth is the problem of occupants of private forest lands. Government, denying the rights of the present occupants, is leasing out these lands to big landlords and their organisations like the Nair Service Society.

The Karshaka Samgham's demand is that these lands should not be leased out to such landlords and organisations, but that these lands should be surveyed and settled with the present occupants guaranteeing them all the rights according to the law.

Yet another demand raised

by the Karshaka Samgham is that those provisions of the Agrarian Relations Act which have not been put into operation should be implemented immediately.

The Working Committee of the Kerala Karshaka Samgham which met in Trichur in the first week of October discussed all these problems and has decided to convene a Special Conference on November 5 to chalk out a programme of action to defend the interests of the peasants.

A. K. Gopalan, President of the All-India Kisan Sabha, has said in a statement that the offensive launched against the peasants in Kerala is bound to lead to tension in the rural areas.

Proper implementation of land reforms is not only needed to do justice to the peasants, it is of the utmost importance for the success of the Plan itself. But the Kerala Government does not seem to have this in mind.

The demands put forward by the Karshaka Samgham are in the interests of all peasants, irrespective of their religion, community or political party. If the Government is in the least interested in improving the lot of the peasantry it would have accepted these demands. If it refuses to do so, the peasants and their organisation at least cannot remain silent spectators in face of this attack on them.

A. K. Gopalan concludes his appeal expressing confidence that the campaign of the peasantry will have the support of all patriots and democrats.

The First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Nikita Khrushchov, on October 18 addressed the 22nd Party Congress at the Kremlin with a report on the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In the earlier half of the century socialism gained a firm footing on our planet, and communism will do so in the latter half. The chief result of the activities of the Communist Party and the Soviet people is the complete and final victory of socialism in our country.

THE formation of the world socialist system is the principal result of the progressive development of society in our epoch. The crumbling of the colonial system is second in historic significance among the results of world development. The third result of world development is an acute all-round weakening of capitalism and a fresh sharpening of its general crisis.

INTO THE ORBIT OF COMMUNISM

khrushchov reports on cpsu programme

The down-fall of imperialism and the triumph of socialism on a world scale are inevitable. Khrushchov stressed that

the 22nd CPSU Congress would go down in history as the congress of builders of communism. Socialism has been translated into reality in the Soviet Union.

People's living conditions have been altered radically as a result of these colossal transformations. Unemployment has long been wiped out. The workers' real wages have risen 480 per cent, and the real incomes of peasants have risen more than 500 per cent.

Socialism has given Soviet people a grand sense of faith in their own and their children's future, a sense of security, and has moulded them in the spirit of historical optimism.

Imperialism has irretrievably lost its hold on the bulk of the peoples. The main avenue along which mankind advances has been established. It is socialism.

NEW EPOCH

"The formation of the world socialist system is the principal result of the progressive development of society in our epoch", Khrushchov said.

That the socialist system inevitably replaces the capitalist has now been confirmed by the experience of not just one country but of a large group of countries. The decisive advantages of socialism have been proved.

The national liberation revolutions inflicted a staggering blow to the Bastille of colonialism, the First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said characterising the second historically significant result of world development—the crumbling of the colonial system. Forty-two sovereign states have sprung up on the ruins of the colonial empire.

The third result of world development is an acute all-round weakening of capitalism and a fresh sharpening of its general crisis, Khrushchov said. The facts have fully corroborated Lenin's analysis of capitalism and its highest stage, imperialism, presented in the Second Programme of the Party.

Khrushchov noted that economic instability of capitalism has increased steeply, as well as the uneven development of some countries with regard to others.

War production has become a permanent element of the capitalist economy. Fifteen to twenty per cent of the national income is spent on armaments. A substantial portion of the man-power is not being used to produce material values. Eight to ten million out of 85 million industrial workers in the developed capitalist countries of North America and Western Europe, and in Japan and Australia are fully unemployed. This means that on the average one man in every nine is unemployed.

The political instability of world capitalism has increased. There is no such thing as

"transformation" of capitalism and the process of its growing enfeeblement, sharpening of contradictions, increasing decay and parasitism is well under way.

The apologists of imperialism, Khrushchov said, are pinning their hopes above all on state monopoly capitalism as a means of salvaging imperialism. These calculations are groundless. The United States, where state monopoly capital is highly developed, is becoming increasingly the epicentre of capitalism's economic difficulties.

"American capitalism has passed its prime, and is declining".

Objectively, there are two trends that operate and intertwine in the imperialist camp: one is the trend towards joining all forces against socialism, and the other is the trend towards mounting contradictions between the imperialist powers, and also between the imperialist powers and the other countries of the capitalist world. The United States has not succeeded in overcoming the latter trend. The American financial oligarchy does not have the strength or the means to implement its claims to the role of saviour of capitalism and, the more so, its claims to world domination.

At present imperialism compels mankind to spend at least 100,000 million dollars annually for military purposes.

If only 20 per cent of that sum were annually spent on helping the under-developed countries, in the course of 25 years it would be possible to build power stations totalling 230 million kilowatts, and steel works producing 185 million tons of steel a year, irrigate more than 100 million hectares of land and do many other big things to improve the life of the peoples.

All this demonstrates once again how urgent the struggle for disarmament is to all the peoples, Khrushchov said.

To summarize the principal results of world development, we can say: History is developing the way Marx and Lenin predicted. The forces of socialism, all the forces of world progress, are on the upgrade. The peoples are more and more resolutely breaking away from imperialism. The down-fall of imperialism and the triumph of socialism on a world scale are inevitable.

MAIN FEATURES

In the second section of his report "Communism — the Great Goal of the Party and the People," the First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee defined the main features of the draft programme.

The main feature is that it is a concrete, scientifically motivated programme for the building of communism.

The draft programme marks a new stage in the development of the revolutionary

theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

The spirit and content of the draft reflect the unity and indivisibility of Marxist-Leninist theory and the practice of communist construction.

The third Party programme is a programme of the whole Soviet people.

The new programme signifies the full realisation, in practice, of the Party's slogan — "Everything for the sake of man, for the benefit of man".

The draft programme proceeds from the new international conditions: Communism is being built not in a capitalist encirclement but under the conditions created by the existence of a world socialist system, the increasing supremacy of the socialist forces over those of imperialism, of the forces of peace over those of war.

Our programme is imbued with the spirit of socialist internationalism.

COMMUNIST HUMANISM

The draft programme is a document of true communist humanism, it is imbued with the ideas of peace and fraternity among nations.

Calculations show that within 20 years a communist society will be in the main built in the USSR.

Khrushchov compared the programmes of the CPSU with a three-stage rocket. The first stage wrested our country away from the capitalist world; the second propelled it to socialism and the third is to place it in the orbit of communism.

The main feature is that it is a concrete, scientifically motivated programme for the building of communism. We can proudly tell those who want to know what communism is, Khrushchov

said, "read our Party programme".

"The third Party programme ushers in a period when all the difficulties and hardships borne by the Soviet people in the name of its great cause will be rewarded a hundred-fold".

Khrushchov said: Once the Soviet Union will have become the first industrial power, once the socialist system will have fully become the decisive factor of world development, and once the peace forces the world over will have grown still greater, the scales will tilt once and for all in favour of the forces of peace and the barometer of international weather will show: "Clear. The menace of world war is gone never to return".

We proceed from strictly scientific calculations, Khrushchov said, and calculations show that we shall in the main build a communist society in two decades.

Characterising the transition from the socialist to the communist economy, Khrushchov said: A material and technical basis for communism will be built up in the USSR in the course of two decades. This is the principal economic task, the cornerstone of our Party's general line.

In 20 years Soviet industry will produce nearly twice as much industrial goods as is now produced in the whole non-socialist world.

To achieve in the forthcoming 20 years such a living standard of the people which will be higher than in any capitalist country.

The country of communist construction will have the world's shortest working day.

Within the next 10 years (by 1970) the group of low-paid industrial and office workers will disappear.

Full maintenance of all disabled persons will be provided at public expense.

Rent-free modern housing and free basic communal services for every family will be a wonderful achievement of communist construction.

It is only in building up the material and technical basis of communism, Khrushchov pointed out among other things, that we can win the economic competition with capitalism and always maintain the country's defences at a level adequate to crush any aggressor who dares to draw the sword against the Soviet Union, the socialist world as a whole.

We have every reason to say that the mobilisation of such immense capital investments (approximately two trillion roubles) in national economy in the forthcoming 20 years will not entail hardships and sacrifices as in the period of industrialisation.

The 20-year national economic development plan (the general perspective) envisages a considerable approximation between the rates of growth in the production of means of production and the production of articles of consumption. In 1925-1940 the average annual rates of growth in the production of means of production exceeded the rates of accretion of the production of articles of consumption by nearly 70 per cent whereas in 1961-1980 the gap between them will be approximately 20 per cent.

It is planned to increase the gross national product about five fold in the coming 20 years. The industrial output will rise not less than six fold and the aggregate agricultural output approximately 3.5 fold.

ENORMOUS GROWTH

"This is tantamount", Khrushchov explained, "to

saying that another five industrial and more than two agrarian countries like the Soviet Union today will be created in our bountiful land".

In 20 years Soviet industry will produce nearly twice as much industrial goods as is now produced in the whole non-socialist world.

In 1980 our country will produce about 50 per cent more power than is at present produced in all the other countries of the world combined.

In the coming 20 years we are to build 180 mighty hydro-power stations, about 200 thermal power houses up to 3,000,000 kilowatts each, and 260 big thermal power stations.

The iron and steel industry is to have an annual capacity of some 250 million tons of steel. In as little as nine years Soviet steel production will exceed the present United States' output by about 55 million tons.

In the coming 20 years the output of all the consumer goods industries is to increase approximately five-fold.

Over nine-tenths of the increase in the national income in 1961-1980 is to be derived from the rise in labour productivity. In the next 10 years the labour productivity in our industry will approximately double and in 20 years it will rise 4 to 4.2-fold.

In the sphere of distribution of the productive forces it is proposed: to build up powerful fuel and power-producing centres in Siberia; to turn Central Asia into a key power-producing area, based on its immense resources of gas and hydro-power; to build up new powerful metallurgical centres, so that by 1980 the country should have five metallurgical bases—in the Urals, the Ukraine, in regions of Siberia and the Far-East, in Kazakhstan and in the central regions of the European part of the country.

Referring to the development of agriculture and socialist relations in the countryside, Khrushchov pointed out that the CPSU considers the

following to be the chief tasks in the sphere of agriculture:

● To achieve an abundance of high-quality products for the people and of raw materials for industry;

● To ensure a gradual transition of the Soviet countryside to communist social relations and to eliminate in the main, the distinctions between town and country on the basis of a powerful expansion of the productive forces in agriculture.

The First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee announced that by 1980 grain production is to be raised to 18-19 thousand million poods and state purchases to seven thousand million poods.

The CPSU is advancing a great task—to achieve in the coming 20 years a living standard higher than that of any capitalist country. For the first time in history insufficiency will be fully and finally eliminated. No capitalist country, Khrushchov said, can set itself this task.

RICHEST PEOPLE

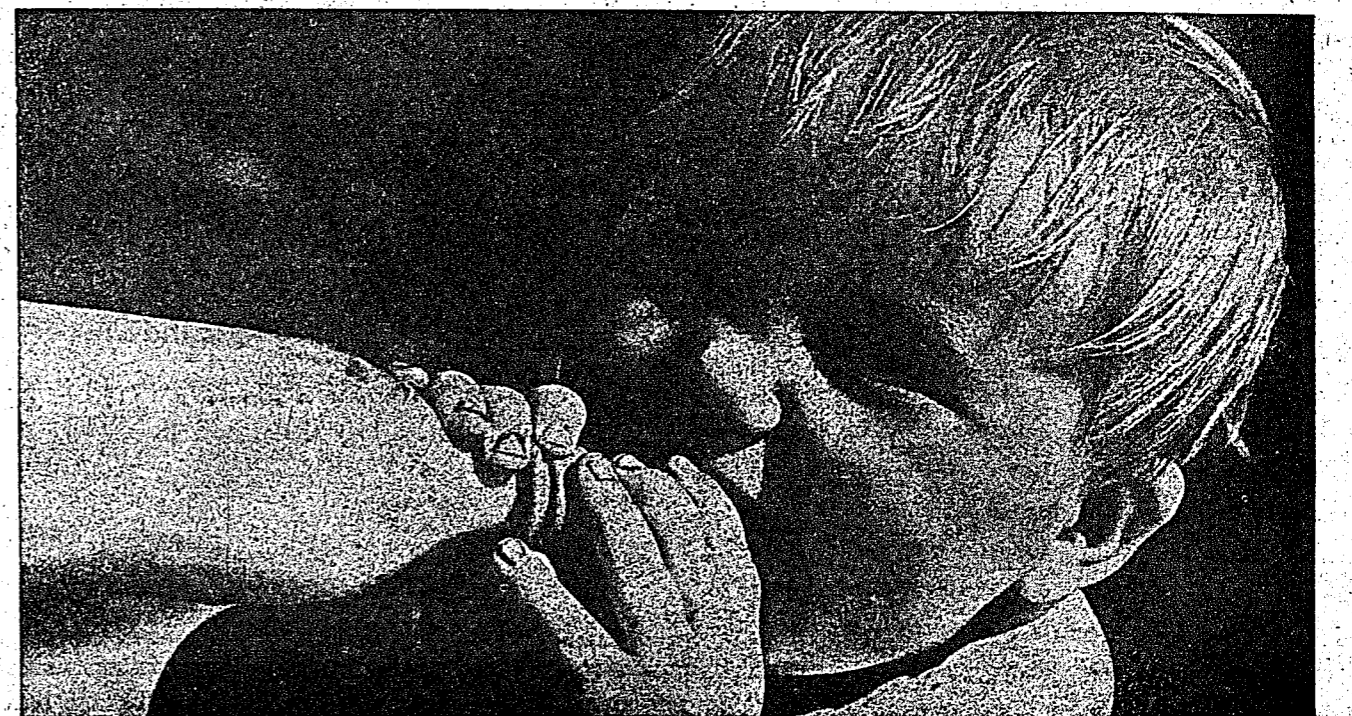
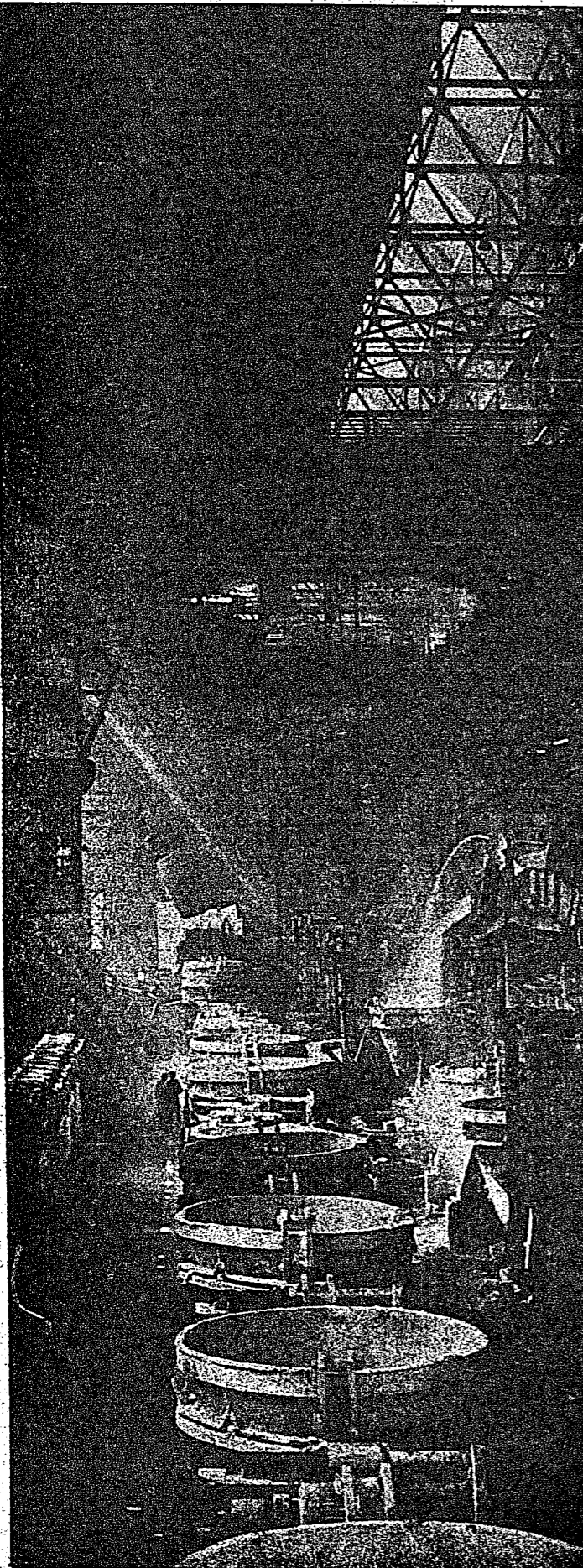
The rise in the real incomes of the population will derive from the growth of the national income of the USSR. By 1980 the latter will amount to approximately five times that of 1960.

In the course of the next 10 years we must put an end to the housing shortage, Khrushchov went on to say. At the close of the second decade every family will have a separate comfortable apartment.

Within the first 10 years a 6-hour working day, or a 35-hour working week, will be established for the bulk of the working people, and still shorter working time (30 hours a week) for the rest. The country of communist construction will have the world's shortest working day.

At the same time, the length of paid vacations

* ON PAGE 12



For him is ensured the highest living standard in the world.

Congress Communalism

Open communal parties have practically no independent platform in Assam, nor have they much following among the people in general. But their politics is no more absent in this State than it is elsewhere in the country. All shades of disruptive communal politics operate here from within the Congress, utilising the halo around the Congress. In fact, it is the Congress organisation of this State that harbours and nourishes communalism of all varieties.

In the current pre-election factional fight between the two groups of the Congress leadership of the State, generally known as the Ministerial group and the anti-Ministerial group, both sides have been liberally using communalism of one shade or other as a convenient weapon to beat the other side with. It is this consideration that, according to competent observers, has brought together even apparently incompatible.

Using Muslims

Only in the recent past, the dark force of communalism was utilised by the Chaliha Government against the language movement of Cachar that ended in a deplorable communal riot in Hallakandi. Though official spokesmen would have us believe that the incidents were not communal, few indeed were taken in. Facts were overwhelmingly against them.

It will be recalled that the present Ministerial clique came to power utilising communalism as a stepping stone. Chief Minister Chaliha got himself elected from a predominantly Bengali constituency of Cachar district not because he held out any programme of unity between the different linguistic groups of the State.

On the contrary, he was chosen because he could rally a substantial section of the Muslim voters there exploiting their fear against the Hindu Bengalis of the district among whom certainly there is no dearth of elements that would not hesitate to incite feeling against the Muslims.

In this task the Chief Minister was very effectively assisted by his two Muslim colleagues in the cabinet. In his struggle against the former Medhi group that he dislodged to capture power, Chief Minister Chaliha tried his best, and not without success, at least in the initial stage, to rally all the minority forces of his party as well as outside the Congress, and pit them against the Congress of the majority community among whom there were more supporters of the former Chief Minister.

In his bid to retain power by exploiting the conflict between the majority and the minority, all political principles were thrown overboard and nakedly opportunist alliances were made. True, his opponents also did not yield ground to him in such rotten tactics.

Chaliha group's above mentioned political strategy paid good political dividend until last year when his opponents seized upon the most delicate issue of language to dislodge Chaliha clique—with what devastating result, it is now known to the whole country. Chief Minister Chaliha's

This leader knew well enough that among the supporters of the Ministerial group there were some prominent personalities who played an important role in instigating the language disturbance of 1960 and sought to use that knowledge this time in the interest of his group. But the attempt was frustrated by the Ministerial group, with the assistance of the High Command to which the matter was referred and which decided it in favour of the Ministerial group.

What has brought the hitherto hostile Assamese and Bengali Congress leaders together? It is their common anti-Muslim bias coupled with their anti-Ministerial group hatred. It is this group that has been whipping up the current anti-Muslim tirade in Assam.

Yet, only recently, the Bengali-speaking Congress leaders of Cachar, assisted by a section of the so-called "nationalist" Press outside the State condemned this group of Congress leaders of anti-Bengali chauvinism, not necessarily without justification. Likewise, these Assamese Congress leaders were unpar-

alliance cracked on more than one front in the face of the assault of his opponents. If the Chaliha clique could still retain power, it was no less because of the blessings of New Delhi that the Chief Minister has behind him than because of his concession here and there to the chauvinist elements of different shades and his partially successful manoeuvring inside the ruling party.

Almost equally successful was his communal alliance, this time with only the religious minority, with faithful assistance from some of his cabinet colleagues with dubious antecedents. It is this alliance that stood him in good stead against his opponents in Brahmaputra valley as much as in Cachar.

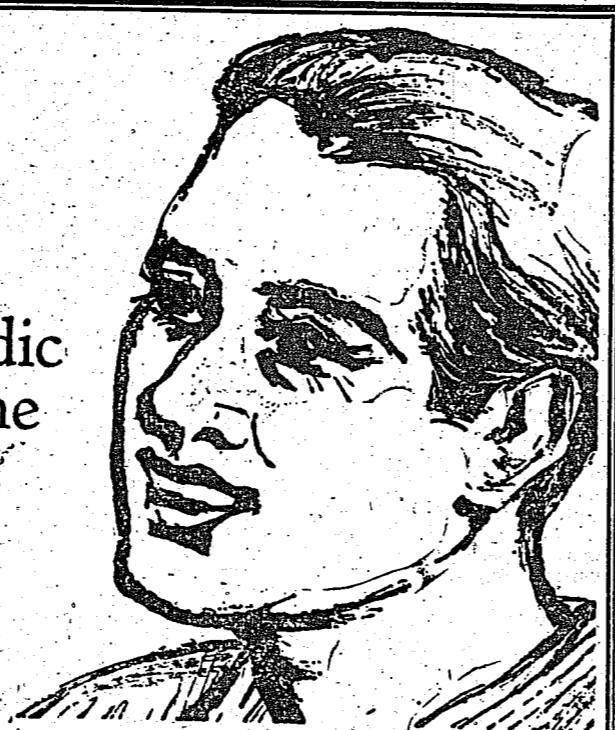
The anti-Ministerial group that only last year utilised the language issue to beat the Chaliha group with, also changed its line recently. In fact, even early this year the anti-Ministerial group of Assamese Congress leaders was bitterly opposed to their counter-parts among the Congress leaders of Cachar and in their struggle against the Bengali-speaking Congress leaders of Cachar, they seemed to be extending their support to the Ministry. But as the election began to draw near, the hitherto incompatible found themselves in the same camp.

Revealing Incident

Only one instance will be enough to show this new alignment in the Assam Congress. Disciplinary action was taken against some of the Congress leaders of Cachar for their participation, "defying the directive" of the Congress leadership of the State, in the language movement of that district.

At the initial stage when this decision was taken, both sides of leaders were equally enthusiastic in "teaching the recalcitrant" Cachar Congress leaders a lesson. But one of those affected by this disciplinary action was a supporter of the anti-Ministerial group in the Pradesh Election Committee of the Congress and hence, his suspension deprived the anti-Ministerial group of one vote.

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ing in their denunciation of their present allies. But now they argue that if they had earlier quarrelled, it was a quarrel between "brothers"; but now, in the face of common danger of "Muslim invasion" of Assam, they should unite and united they have.

The Ministerial group of Chaliha on the other hand, blows hot and cold against the Muslims only to pressurise them to cast their lot with the Ministerial group. It was the Chief Minister Chaliha himself who once not long ago quoted British Census Superintendents to prove "silent invasion of Assam" from across the border.

This had a purpose: With this statement he added fuel to the fire of anti-Muslim campaign at that time only to put further pressure on the Muslims so that they might not put their loyalty to any other group than that of Chaliha. It yielded the desired result.

While this Muslim scare whetted the campaign of the communal elements both inside and outside the Congress, it also set the police to work. Bengali Muslims, even if they had already declared themselves to be Assamese, became victims of "Pakistani hunt". He could escape only if he could find a Congress lea-

der to certify his bona fide. Thus these sections of Muslims were slyly brought behind the Chaliha group.

At the time he let loose this campaign, he also, perhaps, thought that this way he would be able to win over some of the Assamese Congress leaders who had allied against him by giving a concession to their communal bias. But later on it proved to be his best line of rallying his forces against the anti-Ministerial group that has made anti-Muslim campaign its main plank.

Together with this communalism, casteism also has of late been imported into Assam Congress, mainly by a prominent personality of the Ministerial group who had had his political grooming in his circle in New Delhi. The other side has also not been slow in catching up the line. It may not be quite correct that the two groups have become clearly divided into two hostile communal camps; but from what has been narrated above, it will be seen that the Assam Congress today is a hot bed of communalism of all shades. It is this struggle between the two factions of the Assam Congress on communal line, rather than on political line, that drives a wedge among the common people and dangerously divides them.

Chandausi—The Criminals

Chandausi was among the towns which witnessed communal killings in the recent flare-up in Western U. P. Six persons were killed—all of them belonging to the minority community. Three belonged to one family, one of them a seventeen-year old girl.

There had been no serious communal trouble at Chandausi ever since 1947. Whenever there was trouble in other places it never went beyond tension in Chandausi. How was it then that on this occasion Chandausi, too, was drawn into this wave of killing, arson and loot? Obviously some new factors, having very little to do with inter-communal relations as such, had come into play.

Chandausi is said to be the cleanest town with the dirtiest local politics within a radius of at least a dozen districts nearby. The economy of the town depends on the grain trade and the wealthy traders, Barahenis and Agarwals, manipulate the affairs of the local politics on caste basis.

Both the Congress and Jana Sangh dominated by them have always planned their strategy on this very basis. For the present the Congress is symbolised by the Barahenis and the local Congress M.L.A. is just a pawn in the hands of wealthy Barahenis. Similarly in the Municipal Board a wealthy Baraheni Khandasari is the Congress-ticket-holding President.

Traditionally these wealthy manipulators of the so-called local politics have been maintaining and financing gangs of Lathai-goondas (lathi-wielding gangsters), terrorising the common people of the town. Whenever any of these lathais are in hot water, the so-called leaders maintaining them go to their rescue.

For more than a year the streets of Chandausi have been occasionally resounding with shots of country-made pistols and there have been pitched battles between these goonda gangs of youngsters. Sometimes these battles were marked with a communal tinge. The most unfortunate aspect of this gangsterism is that a section of the students has also been involved in it and the S. M. College authorities have always been found to be unassertive and ineffective in the matter.

As a matter of fact most of the teachers of the college have ceased to command any respect from the students. The appointments are made on the basis of extra-academic considerations and more often than not the students are made a pawn in the faction squabbles of the teachers. They are made to insult and humiliate the teachers belonging to one faction by the teachers to the other. The management of the college pays little respect to the teachers and has earned notoriety for harassing and humiliating them.

It is in this background that the general elections have been approaching. Still more imminent, however, was the issue of a no-confidence motion pending against the Congress-ticket-holding Municipal President.

The local Municipal Board consists of 25 members. The Congress-ticket-holding President holds the chair on the strength of eight Congress and three Jana Sangh ticket-holding members.

The only Communist member of the Municipal Board, Madan Mohan Dikshit had moved the motion of no confidence against the President. It was supported by 13 other members of the Board, eleven Congressmen and two Independents. Out of the four Muslim members of the Board three had signed the motion tabled by Comrade Madan Mohan Dikshit.

It was with the purpose of creating the necessary communal diversion in order to defeat the no-confidence motion that the bloody events were engineered by the Congress and Jana Sangh bosses.

bihar press on u. p. riots

From ALI ASHRAP

If the communal riots in Aligarh and other towns of Western U. P. did not attract as much attention as they deserved in the Bihar Press, it was mainly due to their preoccupation with the serious situation caused by the unprecedented floods in the State. The Urdu Press, however, as could be expected, has made a detailed survey of the Aligarh incidents and their aftermath in their news coverage and discussed the causes and remedies in their editorials.

The deterioration in the communal situation in the country as reflected in the series of riots in U. P., following within months the Madhya Pradesh riots, has forced the independent daily Navarashtra to raise the question about the future of the country.

In a brief editorial, the paper asks: "After all where are we going? This is the problem we should all ponder upon instead of considering who committed the mistake first and whose responsibility was greater. Yesterday it was Jabalpur which burnt in the fire of communalism. Today it is Aligarh. Who knows what tomorrow has in store for us?"

In the end the paper exhorts both "the people and the Government to join hands in a supreme effort to root out the poisonous weed of communalism" (October 6).

The Daily Searchlight is of the opinion that "the original skirmish between the student factions in the University campus was wildly exaggerat-

ed by 'interested persons' and minor injuries were given out as deaths. "In simpler words, then, mischievous rumour mongering was deliberately indulged in by enemies of communal harmony in a wilful attempt to incite riots... Since that has been established, it should be the immediate concern of the State Government to find out the persons who were at the root of the trouble and to make an example of them".

The Searchlight also considers it necessary that the role of the police "must in particular be fully investigated". Because though "an impartial police force cannot by itself guarantee communal peace anywhere; yet its impartiality is essential for public morale". (October 11)

The Hindi daily of the Maharaja of Darbhanga, the Arjavrata has sought to trace the trouble to the "Communist" and the "Communal fifth columnists" who "should be put an end to". If that was not done, the hardly-veiled threat is given that "riots will continue".

The Urdu daily Sathi is convinced that "while the victims of the communalists are Muslims, the real blow is against the Congress and national integration... Unless the enemies of national integration are put an end to no movement for national integration can succeed..."

In a subsequent editorial the Sathi says: "The mass of people whether Hindu or Muslim are not communal... Only a small group is communal... But due to the neglect of those in power, the encouragement of the administration and the support of the press the

Moradabad Gate. This most likely was a stage-managed provocation and a signal. For simultaneously another mob assembled at Bara Bazar and started looting the Muslim shops.

It is to be remarked that the throwing of brickbats at Moradabad Gate and the looting of the shops at Bara Bazar started simultaneously. The students did not loot or burn any shop or house till 11.30 and even then the number of shops looted or burnt by the students did not exceed a dozen.

The rest of the damage and the loss of lives was caused by the non-student city mob openly led by Jana Sangh leaders Manohar Lal, Sudarshan Das and Sarnam Singh. Congress people had also been there and a member of the Mandal Congress Committee Peshawari Lal has already been arrested.

The looting and the burning of the Muslim shops and houses continued till 4 p. m. and 107 (out of these seven morning, inciting the boys on the basis of such horror stories. They succeeded in bringing out the students on the streets, although even then the great majority of students remained restrained. Nothing happened till brickbats were pelted at the procession at about 10.30 at the

communalists are growing fast...

"In order to defend unity of the people what is necessary is not appeals to the masses but stern measures against the communal goondas. But the Government has so far been avoiding this. But now the decisive moment has arrived. The Government has either to face the communalists or lay down arms before them".

The Sathi pleads for a ban on the RSS. The weekly Roshni, which represents BPC President Abdul Qayum Ansari, however, does not agree with the suggestion.

at 10.30 a.m. the police did not arrive till 2 p.m. It is significant that the shop of Abdul Gafoor, tailor master, who is a member of the Municipal Board and is on the side of the President, was saved while the other Muslim shops nearby were looted.

Many leading Congressmen as well as the PSP M.L.A. from another constituency in the district, Ch. Buddhi Singh, have stated that the Congress M.L.A. and Jana Sangh have utilised the Aligarh events to serve their own interests. Sarvodaya worker, Ram Swarop Sharma has declared that Jagdish Narain, the Congress M.L.A. is a rank communalist. He has also written to the Congress president on the subject.

Despite all that happened on that day, people on their own kept their balance in most localities. The main Muslim bazaars remained safe. In the area where the Communist municipal commissioner Madan Dixit, who is also the District Party Secretary, lives, due to his efforts, despite all attempts, no serious damage could be done. He successfully intervened to stop looting of houses and shops and at the height of trouble gave shelter to some twenty members of neighbouring Muslim families.

Analysing the causes of the recent growth of communalism in the country, the Roshni asks: "Why is communalism not being eliminated despite the good resolutions and forceful speeches? The reason is clear. The Congress itself is suffering from weakness which make it helpless before the onslaught of communalism".

These "weaknesses" are the "growth of casteism and communalism inside the Congress itself". In order to fight effectively the phenomenon of communalism, the Congress must first set its own house in order!

CPI pamphlets issued on the eve of the general elections:

Pamphlets on sale:

K. P. Subramanya Menon
National Income

An analysis of the rate of growth and distribution of national income in India ... 25 nP.

ajit roy

Big Business Under Congress Raj

Factual and revealing analysis of the power and the danger posed by big business.

Forthcoming pamphlets:

Pamphlets on the following subjects will be issued in the forthcoming weeks:

- (1) Condition of the Indian worker under Congress rule;
- (2) position of women;
- (3) backward communities;
- (4) unemployment;
- (5) taxation;
- (6) agrarian reforms;
- (7) foreign exploitation in India;
- (8) national integration;
- (9) corruption; and
- (10) prices.

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE
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N. S. Khrushchov at the rostrum of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU

Future Begins Today!

process of its withering away will be a long one; it will cover an entire historical epoch and will not end until society is completely ripe for self-government. For some time features of state administration and public self-government will inter-mingle. In this process the domestic functions of the state will develop and change, and gradually lose their political character. It is only after a developed communist society is built in the USSR, and provided socialism wins in the international arena, that there will be no longer any need for the state, and it will wither away".

Having noted further that never before has actual rule in the leading imperialist countries been concentrated in the hands of so small a handful of monopolists as today, Khrushchov summed up:

The flowering of democracy in the socialist countries, on the one hand, and on the other the increasing curtailment of the already curtailed democracy in the capitalist countries—these are the two opposing trends in the political development of the contemporary world.

"We are doing our utmost, and will continue to do so, to further perfect our social system and our democracy, as a model of the socialist way of life for all peoples".

We will, Khrushchov said, support the objective process of the increasingly closer rapprochement of nations and nationalities proceeding under the conditions of communist construction on a voluntary and democratic basis. It is essential that we stress the education of the masses in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and Soviet patriotism. Even the slightest vestiges of nationalism should be eradicated with uncompromising Bolshevik determination.

The friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union is one of our greatest gains. Let us guard it as the apple of our eye!"

The First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said: "Education of people in the communist spirit is an all important element of communist construction".

He listed among the tasks of moulding a new man the consolidation of the communist world outlook, education through labour, consolidation of the principles of the communist morality, cultural development. "Communism is the supreme flowering of humanity and of the human personality".

The Party programme also sets the goal of putting all forms of higher education within everybody's reach. At present we have an enrolment of 2,600,000 in our higher educational establishments. By 1980 it is envisaged that enrolment there will rise to 8,000,000.

mankind's progress

Turning to the development of Soviet science, Khrushchov said: "It is the honourable and patriotic duty of Soviet scientists to consolidate the already won foremost position of Soviet science in the key spheres of knowledge, and to

ensure that Soviet science occupies a leading role in world science in all the basic fields".

Communism means mankind's progress. Fulfilment of our Party's programme will exert a most profound influence on the course of world history.

Nikita Khrushchov said that by 1980 the Soviet Union would leave the United States far behind in industrial and agricultural output per head of the population. The world socialist system will account for about two-thirds of the world's industrial output by that time.

Today practically any country, irrespective of its level of development, can enter on the road leading to socialism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union considers alliance with the peoples who have thrown off the yoke of colonialism to be a corner-stone of its international policy.

The balance of world political, economic and military forces has already changed in favour of the peace-loving camp.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union sees as the principal aim of its foreign policy not only to prevent a world war, but to banish it for all times from the life of society, that purpose to be achieved within the life-time of our generation.

The Soviet Union is ready to disband its army and sink its atomic bombs and missiles in the ocean, but of course only given general and complete disarmament under strict international control.

first in the world

The First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said: "The Party sets the task of converting our country, within the next decade, into the world's leading industrial power, winning preponderance over the United States both in the absolute volume of industrial output and in the volume of industrial output per head of the population".

By approximately the same time, the USSR will exceed the present-day United States' level of agricultural production per head of the population by 50 per cent, and will reach the United States' level of national income.

But that, Khrushchov emphasized, is only the first objective. We shall not stop at that. In the course of the second decade, by 1980, our country will leave the United States far behind in industrial and agricultural output per head of the population.

The economy of all the countries of the world socialist system and not only of the Soviet Union is developing far more rapidly than the economy of capitalism. Preliminary estimates by economists show that by 1980 the world socialist system will account for about two-thirds of the world's industrial output.

Khrushchov said: "The building of communism in our country is an integral part of the creation of a communist society in the entire socialist community. The successful development

of the world system of socialism opens up prospects for the transition of the socialist countries to communism at more or less the same time, within one and the same historical period".

The First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee noted that communism has become the most powerful force of our time. Today communist parties are working in 87 countries of the world and have a membership of about 40 million.

"The world is going through an epoch of revolutions. Social revolutions, anti-imperialist national liberation revolutions, people's democratic revolutions, broad peasant movements, popular struggle to overthrow fascist and other despotic regimes and general democratic movements against national oppression—all these merge in a single world-wide revolutionary process undermining and destroying capitalism".

In the present epoch, Khrushchov said, more favourable international conditions have arisen for the development of the world revolutionary movement. In the present epoch the internal conditions for the transition of new countries to socialism have also become more favourable.

In the present epoch the tasks of the popular democratic, the national liberation and the socialist revolutions are drawing closer and becoming interwoven. The logic of social development has led to all these revolutions becoming directed against one principal foe—imperialism, the monopolist bourgeoisie.

It stands to reason that the highly developed capitalist countries have full requisites for the transition to socialism. After accomplishing their national liberation, anti-imperialist revolution, the seething under-developed states of Asia, Africa and Latin America will be able to effect the transition to socialism. "Today practically any country, irrespective of its level of development, can enter on the road leading to socialism".

beacon of cuba

Khrushchov said that Cuba has become a bright beacon of liberty, which is lighting the way to progress for all the peoples of Latin America. It has inscribed socialist aims on its battle standard. "Our people have rendered, and will continue to render assistance to the fraternal Cuban people in their sacred struggle for their just cause", Khrushchov said. In its revolutionary struggle, Khrushchov continued, the working class will in the future continue to come up against various opportunist trends that hinder consolidation of its forces and the achievements of its aims. As long as capitalism exists these trends will appear time and again under various guises. This is why the draft programme emphasises the necessity of struggle both against the ideology of social democracy and revisionism,

* ON FACING PAGE

* From Facing Page

and against dogmatism and sectarianism.

The First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee pointed out that the successes in communist construction will be of exceptional significance to the destinies of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

He said that the national liberation movement has entered the final phase of the abolition of colonial rule. But imperialism is not laying down its arms. Its methods are becoming more cunning. The monopolists want to carry out a far-reaching plan for the preservation and consolidation of their positions in the under-developed countries, and are concealing the real essence of this plan behind the mask of pious talk about aid. In this the US imperialists are second to none.

But the aims of the monopolists remain what they have always been—to keep the under-developed countries in the position of agrarian appendages and sources of raw materials, and to go on exploiting their peoples, Khrushchov said.

Khrushchov pointed out that the achievement of political independence by the former colonies has had a favourable effect on their economic development. The rate of development of production has gone up.

national democracy

Meanwhile, the upper crust of the bourgeoisie and the feudal landlords, who have linked up their destinies with foreign capital, are doing all they can to keep the under-developed countries in the system of world capitalism. The road along which the imperialists and their henchmen want to drive these countries offers no guarantee of the achievement of the aims for which the peoples rose in struggle against the colonialists.

Khrushchov stressed that the way out should be sought along the non-capitalist path of development. "Marxist theoretical thought, by a deep study of the objective course of development, has discovered a form under which the unification of all sound forces of a nation can be most successfully achieved. That form is national democracy. Reflecting as it does the interest not of any one particular class but of a broad strata of the people, a state of this type is called upon to consummate the anti-imperialist revolution for national liberation".

The First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee declared that the Soviet Union, like the other socialist countries, has no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of the young, newly-free states, or of imposing socialism upon any of them.

"There has not been, is not, and will not be any export of socialism but then there must not be any imposition of colonialism, or an export of counter-revolution", he said.

The CPSU considers alliance with the peoples who have thrown off the yoke of colonialism to be a corner-stone of its international policy, Khrushchov continued. Our Party regards it as its international duty to help peo-

OCTOBER 29, 1961

Peace To The Earth!

pies who have set out to win and strengthen national independence, to aid all peoples who are fighting for the abolition of the colonial system."

Khrushchov said that the Party's confidence that already the present generation has every possibility of preventing a world war is grounded in a profound and comprehensive analysis of the forces operating on the international scene. "This analysis leads to an indisputable conclusion—the balance of world political, economic and military forces has changed in favour of the peace-loving camp".

The First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee expressed conviction that the central principle of socialism's foreign policy—the principle of peaceful coexistence—will be the banner under which all the peoples will rally, all those who want genuine peace and prosperity for mankind.

In adopting our new programme, Khrushchov said, our great Party solemnly proclaims to the whole of mankind that it sees as the principal aim of its foreign policy not only to prevent a world war but also to banish it for all times from the life of society, that purpose to be achieved within the life-time of our generation.

Our policy of peace is a principled, outspoken, socialist policy. We are defending the cause of peace not because we are weak, Khrushchov said.

He pointed out that in the new conditions the launching of a war will mean the end of the anti-popular imperialist system. Our unshakable confidence in this does not mean that we underestimate the forces of imperialism in the slightest. We know that imperialism is still strong. The possibility of a new war being unleashed by the imperialists cannot be excluded. In a situation like that we have only one path—we must strengthen our might, create the most powerful weapons, and be prepared at any moment to hurl back any attacks made by the aggressors.

soviet strength

We have declared more than once, and we declare again, that we are prepared to disband our army, and sink our atomic bombs and missiles in the ocean, but, of course, only given general and complete disarmament under strict international control, Khrushchov continued.

"Until the imperialist powers agree to that, we shall see to it that our armed forces possess the most up-to-date means for the defence of our homeland—atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons and rockets of every range—and that all types of war material are maintained at the due level. The strengthening of the USSR's defences and of the might of the Soviet Armed Forces—such is the paramount task of the Soviet people".

Khrushchov said that the ideas contained in the draft programme of the CPSU have spread far beyond the bounds of the Soviet Union and have met with a very warm response in the hearts of mil-

lions of people living in all countries and continents.

The discussion of the draft programme, which has acquired dimensions unprecedented even in the history of the CPSU and the Soviet state, has demonstrated with great force the unseverable ties between the Party and the people.

"It may be said without exaggeration that the draft programme was discussed by the whole people and was accepted by the people as their own, and which they themselves will fulfil".

The Congress has every reason to affirm that the draft programme has been unanimously approved by all communists and by the entire Soviet people, Khrushchov stressed.

Khrushchov said that the numerous proposals for amendments to the draft programme had been thoroughly studied by the Central Committee and that the final text of the draft programme had been edited with due attention paid to these proposals.

world's welcome

The draft programme of the CPSU has acquired the character of a document of truly world importance and

has already had considerable influence on the political climate of the world.

All people holding progressive, democratic views note that the programme provides solutions to the most urgent problems of the day, and will play an outstanding part in social movements and in the progressive changes of modern times.

Even the bourgeoisie and its press have to admit that the programme and its fulfilment will have an exceptional impact on the situation throughout the world.

A real battle between the two ideologies, the communist and the bourgeois, has developed around the ideas of the programme, Khrushchov said.

Bourgeois ideologists now admit that communism, as a new socio-economic organization of society, is becoming an ever more powerful force in our times.

The great idea of the programme, that communism and peace go hand in hand, is becoming ever more widespread among the population of the capitalist countries. Even many representatives of the bourgeoisie have to admit that a country that has announced such great plans of construction must want peace.

The programme of the CPSU "has administered a big new defeat, to the aggressive forces, to those who idolize the hydrogen bomb", Khrushchov declared. The bourgeoisie and their advocates have nothing to counterpoise to the programme of the CPSU.

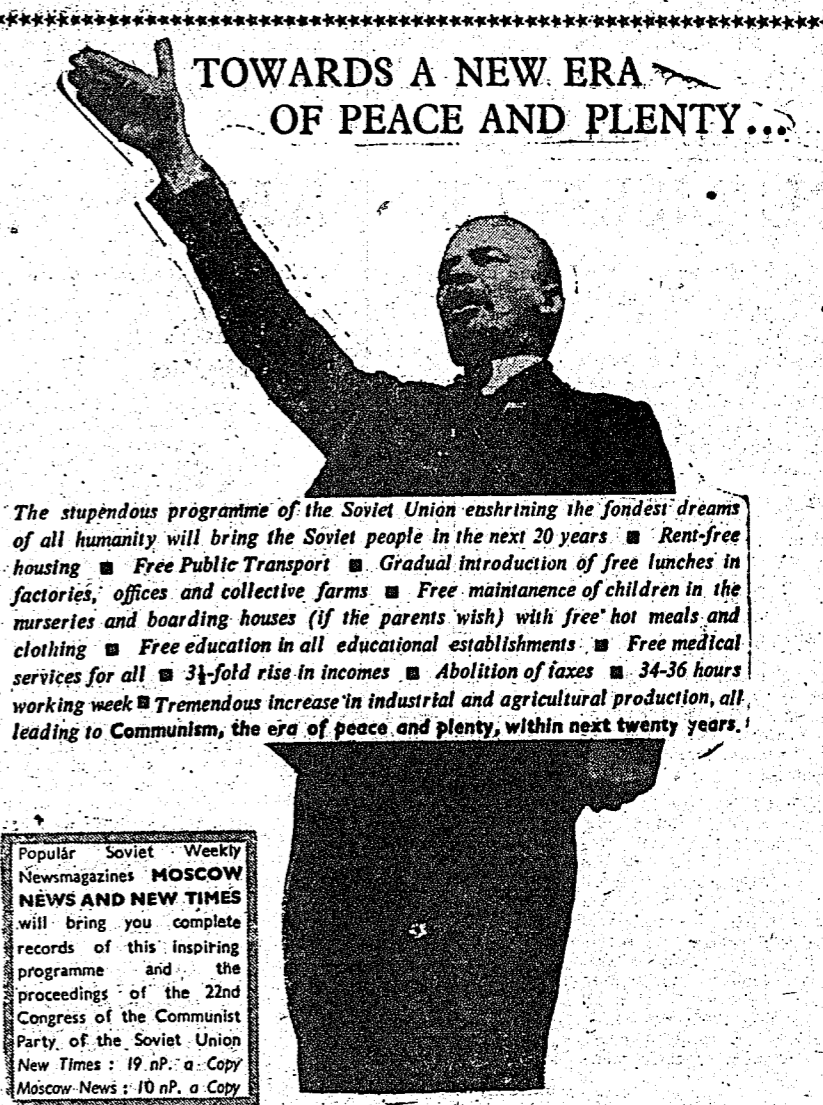
Khrushchov ridiculed the bourgeois critics of the draft programme who used the poisoned arrows of slander, insinuations and rigged quotations. There is utter confusion and impotent malice and pitiful scepticism in the camp of the enemies of communism. If the forces of obscurantism are arrayed against our programme, the latter must be very much to the point, Khrushchov declared.

Khrushchov stressed that "our Marxist-Leninist Party which arose as a party of the working class has become the party of the entire people".

In the concluding part of his report, Khrushchov declared:

"By raising the torch of liberty, the banner of socialism and communism over the world, our Party has glorified the 20th century as a century of fundamental changes in the destinies of mankind. The heroic struggle of the great army of communists of all countries, who have carried along with them the masses, has accelerated the course of history, has brought closer the day of realization of mankind's finest ideals. But how much faster history will advance when a communist society will have been built in the Soviet Union!"

TOWARDS A NEW ERA OF PEACE AND PLENTY...



The stupendous programme of the Soviet Union enshrining the fondest dreams of all humanity will bring the Soviet people in the next 20 years ■ Rent-free housing ■ Free Public Transport ■ Gradual introduction of free lunches in factories, offices and collective farms ■ Free maintenance of children in the nurseries and boarding houses (if the parents wish) with free hot meals and clothing ■ Free education in all educational establishments ■ Free medical services for all ■ 3½-fold rise in incomes ■ Abolition of taxes ■ 34-36 hours working week ■ Tremendous increase in industrial and agricultural production, all leading to Communism, the era of peace and plenty, within next twenty years.

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FROM CENTRE PAGES

will be increased for industrial and office workers.

Gradually the system of paid vacations will also be extended to collective farmers.

A task of historic significance will be fulfilled in the USSR in the next 10 years: the group of low-paid industrial and office workers will disappear. At the close of the coming 20 years between 75 and 80 per cent of the cost of maintaining and educating children will come from public funds. Full maintenance at public expense of all persons unfit for labour will be provided at the same time.

In addition to free medical treatment, instituted in our country a long time ago, there will be free accommodation of patients at sanatoria and free dispensation of medicines.

Rent-free modern housing and free basic communal services for every family will be a wonderful achievement of communist construction.

Khrushchov again emphasized that the projected plans of improving the living standards can be fulfilled successfully in the conditions of peace, as the draft programme points out.

planning techniques

Dealing with the question of planning and management, Khrushchov pointed out that "it would do no harm if we were to learn from the foremost capitalist models" of speeding construction, and starting and running new enterprises. We, he added, have accumulated tremendous experience in building and management and possess an incomparable advantage over capitalism. But even now we

should not scorn useful foreign experience and should critically adopt all technically and organisationally valuable points available in the West in the field of speeding the turnover of funds and getting greater returns from capital investment.

The plan for the development of our country for the coming 20 years is truly imposing, Khrushchov emphasized. It does not merely represent breath-taking figures showing the increase in the output of coal, steel, oil, grain, meat and milk. It is a magnificent plan for the creation of a society where man will be a genuine master of nature and of social relations and where a high living standard will be attained for the whole people.

Characterising the tasks of the CPSU in the sphere of developing communist relations and the moulding of a new man, Khrushchov said that "the development of the Soviet Union has reached the historical period when the task of building a classless communist society of free and politically conscious working people is being solved directly".

future of the state

The draft programme of the Party raises and resolves a new important question of communist theory and practice—the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a state of the whole people, the character and purpose of this state, and its future under communism.

"The state of the whole people is a new stage in the development of the socialist state, the all-important phase on the road from socialist statehood to communist public self-government".

The experience of the Soviet Union and the people's democracies has fully confirmed the Marxist-Leninist theory that the victory of socialism is possible only if the dictatorship of the proletariat is established, Khrushchov said. It no longer takes a dictatorship of the proletariat to build communism, Khrushchov declared.

"The state will remain long after the victory of the first phase of communism. The

SUCCOURING BIHAR BEGINS

★ From Our Patna Correspondent

THE unprecedented Bihar floods have awakened every section of people to a sense of urgency, to gird up their loins to rush help to the suffering humanity stricken by the calamity.

It was this which prompted the leaders of all parties who had assembled in a Code of Conduct Conference to decide to set up a joint committee to organise relief and coordinate private and Government relief efforts. The Chief Minister agreed to request the Governor to accept the Chairmanship of this committee.

The Governor constituted a committee of 61 (later extended to 63) representing all sections of people—all the political parties in the State, the Sarvodaya Sangh, representatives of the industrialists (including the Tatas, the Dalmia Jains, the Batas etc.) and members of the Government.

At the first meeting of the Committee on October 16, the Governor was requested to nominate an Executive Committee and a Sub Committee to draft the Constitution of the Committee. It was decided that the Governor's Fund be deposited and operated through the State Bank and the Central Bank respectively.

Jai Prakash Narain who had

just returned from Delhi reported to the meeting on the Bihar Flood Relief work done there till then. Supporting the Governor's All Parties Relief and Rehabilitation Committee, he raised the question of the constitution of similar committees at all levels.

Habibur Rahman of the Communist Party stressed the necessity of removing administrative difficulties standing in the way. The district magistrate of Gaya was reported to have bluntly refused to head an all parties committee saying that the Governor had no service rules to prevent him from this.

United Committees

It was decided that the Chief Minister would issue immediate instructions obviating any difficulties due to the service code and for setting up similar joint committees headed by the district magistrates at the district level and by the Block Development Officers in the blocks.

According to reports such committees have been formed already in Monghyr and Gaya.

The Committee noted the contradiction between the number of dead (under—)

estimated in the Government Report circulated in the meeting and the number given by the Bhagalpur Commissioner as 2000 dead in his Commissioner's area.

The Government was asked to verify the figures and remove this discrepancy. It was, moreover, requested to come out with a detailed and true estimate of the losses so that a realistic assessment of the needs of relief and rehabilitation can be made.

Besides immediate relief in grain and cloth and medical help, immediate assistance is required in money and kind for the reconstruction of the houses demolished. Steps have to be taken for the draining out of flood water. And then loans have to be provided for resuming cultivation operations and for purchasing the wherewithal for it.

Relief even on this minimum basis will be an uphill task. It is beyond the capacity and resources of Bihar alone to tackle it. Liberal assistance from outside and especially from the Central Government is needed and needed urgently.

Of course, Bihar is trying to do its utmost. Collections for the Relief Fund have started in right earnest. Besides direct donations to the Governor's Fund, the daily Searchlight and the progressive Hindi weekly Jamshakti have started their respective

funds to augment the Central Governor's Fund.

Workers of the Patna Town Committee of the Communist Party led by its indefatigable secretary Chandi Prasad are making door to door collections. During the celebrations of the Durga Puja they approached in jathas the puja committees and others for donations.

The main task of organising relief and reaching it to the flood stricken people inevitably falls on the Government and its machinery. And it is here that the work is faltering. It was stressed at the meeting by everybody that the work has to be taken up on a war footing.

Congress Squabbles

But as Abdul Qayyum Ansari, the BPC president commented a few days later after his visit to the flood-stricken areas, relief had not reached to many areas. In other areas the wheat supplied from Government godowns was rotten and uneatable—a sample of which was shown by Comrade Habib to the Government Relief Secretary.

Another important factor hampering the single-minded devotion to relief work is the Congress leaders—some of whom happen to be Govern-

ment leaders also—preoccupation with the inner party controversy over the selection of candidates for the General Elections. The coming all India Congress session in Patna is also distracting attention.

The result is that Congress leaders and legislators are not able to devote their time and energy towards the mobilisation of all resources for relief and rehabilitation. Consequently, despite the decision to set up joint committees at the lower levels, actual co-ordination between popular and official relief and the popular supervision of that relief is not being done.

While neglecting practical relief work rival Congress factions are not lagging behind in taking factional advantage of the tragedy. Ram Smbhag Singh who is allied with the dissident group in the State opened the offensive against the ruling group by declaring the floods to be man-made tragedy.

The bursting of the Kharagpur dam, he averred, could be prevented by timely action. The Government promptly issued some sort of an "expert" explanation insisting on the inevitability of the dam burst. They could have, very well waited for a proper enquiry and report. And in any case the Kharagpur dam was only a part of the total flood calamity, which was certainly due to the unprecedented Hathla rains.

Among the Muslims

CURRENTS AND CROSS-CURRENTS

ONE of the serious "dangers to Islam" in the eyes of Muslim Communal Parties—the Muslim League of Madras and the Majlis Ittehadul Muslimeen of Hyderabad—seems to be that the future Muslim husbands may not be allowed to have more than one wife.

The passage of the special Marriage Act drew adverse comments from Muslim League President Ismail. And now the Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen of the Razakar fame, in its Election Manifesto published the other day, has demanded that Muslim Government servants be exempted from the compelling provisions of monogamy and that this governmental interference in the "religious" right of Muslim officers be stopped.

I do not know how the mass of Muslim women would react to the Majlis Manifesto's appeal for the restoration of this "religious" right of their menfolk. But most probably the mass of Muslim women will not be able to break the seclusion of their purdah-ridden homes to come to the polling stations. And so the Majlis need not take them into consideration while rousing the religious passions of their menfolk.

This is not the first occasion when Muslim communalism has sought to defend social reactionary practices in the name of religion. In the early thirties during British rule a widespread agitation was orga-

nised to defeat the Sarda Act. Stopping the marriage of minor girls—often to old, married husbands—was condemned as "interference in religion".

On this occasion, too, the Majlis, the Muslim League of Madras and the Jama'at-e-Islami have all combined on this issue.

The *modus operandi* of the latter, however, has its own distinctive aspects. Differing from the other two organisations which are outspokenly political, the Jamaat endeavours for the observance, in practical life of what it calls the precepts of Islam.

Accordingly, the Jamaat organ *Dawat* sometime back carried a notice in the "wanted" column to the following effect: "Wanted a young, beautiful and intelligent wife for a prominent, respected, middle aged, journalist who has already got one wife. The necessity for the second marriage has arisen in order to prove the superiority of polygamy over monogamy!"

I do not know whether the necessity was caused by as disinterested a motive as the vindication of a mere principle. Whatever the motive, it was a sordid, reactionary one.

It is imperative that the reactionary cry of the Majlis is defeated. One of the cardinal principles of secularism is that in its social legislations the State shall not allow any distinctions based on religion. For a healthy growth of secular traditions in our country a con-

sistent observance of this principle has become necessary.

Dawn's Mischief

IN the days before partition the Muslim League mouthpiece *Dawn* had earned enough notoriety for inciting communal mischief. The partition which proved to be a personal tragedy for thousands of Muslims as well as Hindus; the decline of the Muslim League in Pakistan and the subsequent take over by the military Junta, do not seem to have any sobering effect on the *Dawn*.

In a recent issue it has come out with the mischievous suggestion to redraw the boundaries of India and Pakistan and organise transfer of population in a way that all the Indian Muslims are concentrated in Pakistan. The *Dawn* says it cannot leave those who helped build Pakistan to the tender mercies of the communal rioters in India.

But did it not leave them when it dawned to leave the country? *Dawn* is overdrawing on its credit when it claims that all the Muslims of India helped build Pakistan. Or is it the assumption that only those who supported Pakistan were true Muslims?

When religion and politics are identified, it always results in such distorted thinking.

But whatever the distortions of the diseased, communal mind of the *Dawn*, Indian Muslims have chosen to stand by the land of

their birth, and of their forefathers and to build jointly with all their countrymen a secular, democratic way of life. They look at the *Dawn* and its tribe with disdain.

Urdu papers have invariably condemned the *Dawn's* suggestion as mischief and a provocation. The *Sada-e-Aam* of Patna has written more with a feeling of pain and grief that: "The people of Pakistan and the *Dawn* cannot be unaware of the terrible sufferings that accompanied partition, of the tragedies that followed it. Indian Muslims are still paying for it. For all that they may do, their loyalty is still suspect."

"And every provocateur whenever he may want in order to serve his own nefarious ends, can dub the Indian Muslims as foreign agents and Pakistanis! *Dawn* is playing a dangerous game at the cost of the Indian Muslims. It will only help to spread ill will and hatred against them in the country. "Whatever Pakistan says or does is with a view to consolidate and strengthen herself, and to decay India, Indian Muslims can have nothing to do with it. India is their motherland. They are sons of the soil and will ever remain so."

Charan Singh's Vituperation

This should have closed the matter of the *Dawn* so far as we Indians are concerned. But some people—and not commu-

nal provocateurs either, as the *Sada-e-Aam* benevolently thinks—cannot overcome the temptation of having a dig at the cost of the Indian Muslims, in season and out of season.

Such is the indefatigable Charan Singh, the star of C. B. Gupta's cabinet in Uttar Pradesh. When asked about the *Dawn's* provocation, Charan Singh brushed it aside, saying, "Let alone the newspapers, in India itself private meetings have been held by Muslims to consider the proposal for a separate State."

Charan Singh, nobody can deny, has certainly the means to know about private, in camera meetings. But being a responsible politician and not a dirty provocateur, it was his duty to lay his fingers on those who were guilty of the crime and not malign a whole mass of people of our country who happen to profess a particular religious faith.

By doing this Charan Singh himself is equating religion with politics and following in the worthy line of the *Dawn* itself. But in the wake of the U.P. riots, whose game is Charan Singh playing by letting loose this provocation?

It is not given to others to guess the workings of the inner recesses of a minister's mind, for a Persian poet long ago said that "Romooz-e-mamlikat-e-khesht khusrwan danand!" The sovereign alone knows the secrets of his domain.

—ALI ASHRAF

ALIGARH REBUFFS JANA SANGH

From Our Correspondent

THE Aligarh Muslim University and all the Colleges in the City, reopened on the 23rd of October. There was depleted attendance owing to the fortnight's vacation and the psychological aftermath of the disturbances.

But the Jana Sangh-RSS conspiracy to call a strike in the City colleges and organise a boycott of the University by its non-Muslim students failed miserably; and the forces of sanity and secularism have won a notable success.

The Jana Sangh camp tried to make all preparation for a show-down on the 23rd. There were money-bags and self-styled "prominent citizens" to encourage them; and some of the powers-that-be were willing to close their eyes to their activities.

The Jana Sangh campaign began in full blast with the final meeting of the "Ved-Prachar Saptah" in the Arya Samaj Mandir on the 19th. Ostensibly held for a purely religious purpose, this meeting was really completely political in nature.

The local Hindi daily, *Prakash*, announced in advance that the meeting would be addressed by Prakash Vir Shastri, the Swatantrite M.P. well known for his diatribes against the Aligarh University. More than 5,000 people came to the meeting.

Prakash Vir Shastri may now go about denying it, but all those who listened to him describe his speech as full of inflammatory statements about the Aligarh University and the Muslims in general.

A swami in yellow robes also spoke shedding tears at

the imaginary hardships of Hindu students in the University and proclaiming his intention to picket the University on the 23rd and to force a Hindu boycott of it by going on hunger-strike.

The inflammatory portions of the two speeches were reported with banner headlines in the *Prakash* of October 20.

The so-called "Ved-Prachar Saptah" meeting was followed by a series of meetings of "students and guardians" and of RSS cadre in the same Arya Samaj Mandir, held every day up till October 22. For all these meetings Section 144, which was in force, remained a dead letter.

On the 21st a meeting resulted in the formulation of certain demands and the "election" of a Jana Sangh-dominated Committee to negotiate with the University and District authorities. It was proclaimed that the non-Muslim students would not go to the Aligarh University till all these demands were conceded.

It was the Communist Party alone of all the parties which exposed and resisted the Jana Sangh campaign. On October 22 the Town Council of the Communist Party passed a resolution vigorously protesting against the misuse of the Arya Samaj Mandir for political meetings.

It criticised the District authorities for allowing these meetings to be held and for not prohibiting the *Prakash* from publishing inflammatory material. The Communist Party on its part issued a printed Appeal to all students to attend their classes on the 23rd.

At the same time the secular and progressive sections among the students and teachers organised and intensi-

fied their efforts. Among the University students these began with the Appeal of Fifty Students, (among whom 23 were non-Muslims) issued soon after the riots at the initiative of the Students Federation. Its wide distribution here and publication in the press had a most salutary effect.

Since then it has been possible to associate larger sections with this campaign. A broad-based Committee of Students was organised and a cyclo-styled Appeal in its name has been circulated among all students of the University. In the City even the non-Muslim candidate for Presidency in the recent Union elections openly agitated against the strike and boycott of the University.

Some forty-three teachers of the University and the City colleges joined together to issue an Appeal to all students of Aligarh calling upon them to resume their studies and work for peace and communal harmony. Printed in Hindi, Urdu and English it was also very widely distributed.

These efforts bore fruit; and the non-Muslim students of Aligarh proved that they cannot always be used as pawns of the Jana Sangh and the RSS.

On the 22nd evening the Vice-Chancellor of the University, Col. Zaidi, went to address the meeting of non-Muslim students and guardians in the Arya Samaj Mandir that had been organised to culminate the Jana Sangh campaign.

The majority of the students in this meeting were so lukewarm about the strike, and many of them openly opposed to it, that the Jana Sanghites failed to force through their resolution for even a Hindu boycott of the Aligarh University.

DEATH OF A MINER

By Kalyan Roy

A. KRISHNAN came all the way from Tamilnad to work in the Khas Kajora colliery in West Bengal, six years back.

For six years, he worked as an underground loader. And for six years, he worked without taking any leave. He could not go to his native village in Ramnad district, Madras, since the day he first went underground.

The management liked him; he was a hard working miner who never took any leave, never grumbled about 12 to 14 hours work. He lived with other Tamil workers in crowded dhows and had to pay rent to the owner. There was no light nor water.

In the middle of July, miners of the colliery moved to form a union. A. Krishnan also joined. For the first time, they heard, deduction of house rent from wages was wrong. They were entitled to Railway fare.

But even before demands could be placed, the management struck. On July 25, hired hoodlums came to raid his quarters. The workers defended and the gangsters fled.

Within half an hour, the police came and led by the agent of the colliery, arrested A. Krishnan and all the 51 Tamil workers from their quarters and dumped them in company's trucks. A case was launched against them and they were kept in jail for seven days.

A. Krishnan lost his job along with other 51 workers. There was no charge sheet nor enquiry. Case was filed in the conciliation board; but there was no hearing. In the meantime, repeated attempts were made to evict them from quarters.

The area where they lived was quarantined and chaprassis were posted around their quarters. Other workers were terrorised and any worker found to be giving any rice or money to them was driven out of the colliery.

After one month of hard struggle, A. Krishnan fell sick, started vomiting and temperature shot up. The doctor refused medicine and the manager refused to send him to the Welfare Hospital for miners. The other dismissed min-

Pro Vice-Chancellor's Resignation Urged

EVENTS since October 1 have shown quite clearly that there is something drastically wrong with the Aligarh University administration.

On the one hand there had been the Vice-Chancellor, Col. Zaidi, trying to restrain Muslim communalism so as to make return to normalcy possible; on the other there was the communist faction dominating the Executive Council and led by the Pro Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan, which has been proclaiming any effort at conciliation or admission of any act of indiscipline by the University students as a "sell-out to the Hindus".

Things are said to have become so impossible that the Vice-Chancellor, who has so often retreated against the successive offensives of the communists, now decided to take the plunge.

On October 21, he sent a long letter to Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan, asking him to resign with immediate effect, since he has failed to obtain his cooperation.

It may be recalled that Dr. Yusuf Husain's role in encouraging communalism in the

Aligarh University has already been severely criticised in the press and in Parliament. The recent Aligarh University Enquiry Committee also referred to the fact that on various issues the Pro Vice-Chancellor had openly opposed the Vice-Chancellor; and in view of this the Committee recommended the abolition of the post of Pro Vice-Chancellor altogether.

It is widely rumoured that Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan, who has powerful friends in the so-called "Muslim Lobby" at Delhi, is exerting his might and main to secure the Government's "neutrality" in his struggle with the Vice-Chancellor.

If he succeeds in this, the Executive Council will be mobilised to over-rule the Vice-Chancellor.

Democratic opinion in the country will be deeply interested in seeing whether at long last the Government will stand by its word, and give its support to secularism and responsible administration, or will continue with the Education Minister Dr. Shrimati's existing policy, which is one of encouraging Hindu and Muslim communalists alike.

IN ALLAHABAD CAMPUS

Communal Danger

By O. P. Mehrotra

IT is always interesting to meet some one from one's own Alma Mater. Recently a young man who happens to be an important office bearer of the Allahabad University Students Union came to see me.

After the usual chat of how everybody was I asked him why the University was closed prematurely before the Dusserha holidays this year? What he told me was enough to show how a small but organised band of communalists with the help and active guidance of some members of the staff of the same brand, could threaten the peace in the city.

Following the reports of a scuffle between the students of two communities in Aligarh Muslim University the Vidhyarthi Parishad and RSS activists in Allahabad began a whisper campaign for "doing something" to protest against Aligarh University incidents. This was followed by the visit of two students from Aligarh who spread wild tales of atrocities committed on Hindu students.

On October 5 at a meeting of the Presidents and Secretaries of the student unions RSS leaders through one of their proteges got the issue of Aligarh raised. It was suggested that the Allahabad students should go on a strike. As the meeting had been called for a different purpose they could not force a decision there.

Thus, having failed in spontaneously getting a resolution passed they changed their tactics and decided to move through individual Unions. Some members of the Uni-

versity staff who are well-known RSS leaders of the City counselled their student counterparts to concentrate on the University first.

Thus, on October 6 the President and other office-bearers of the Union were subjected to a lot of pressure. About 200 activists of the Vidhyarthi Parishad and RSS campaigned for a strike call in the university.

The local Vidhyarthi Parishad issued a call for general strike on October 7. But the Union President did not join them. Through a press statement he appealed to the students to maintain peace in the city.

The district authorities who had become alert after getting the news of the RSS-Vidhyarthi Parishad preparations became panicky. They advised the Vice-Chancellor to close the University and also ordered the closure of all local schools and colleges.

The University and Colleges having been closed on October 7, the Vidhyarthi Parishad could not get the opportunity to fulfil their dreams. Allahabad was saved from what happened at Aligarh.

But in Allahabad as elsewhere communalists are very much active in the campus and outside RSS teachers in schools, colleges and universities have become a menace. They openly hold meetings of students and guide them to spread their fascist ideology among the students and teachers.

There is no awaiting guidance from above in this. The mass of patriotic students must assert themselves and throw the communal elements out of the campus.

MILITANT PATRIOTS WIN THE DAY

FROM OUR POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Intended by the sponsors to be no more than a Seminar on Problems of Portuguese colonies, the realities of resurgent Africa today did not permit it to remain just that.

NOT all the sophistry of a Morarji Desai and the detached exercise in legal niceties over what UN could or could not do, or for that matter the laboured explanations of India's policy towards Portuguese colonies on this country's soil could detract or weaken the African freedom fighters' demand for immediate, direct and coordinated action against Portuguese colonialism.

Right from the beginning the Seminar became a battle ground for two completely divergent, in many ways even opposed lines of thinking and approach towards the problem before the Seminar.

The representatives of African freedom fighters—those who wanted to "write the history of the country and its struggle for independence in blood" as the delegate Jonas Savimbi from Congo put it—demanded "action, action and action".

The spokesmen of the hosts, holding prominent positions in the Government of India, on the other hand, appeared to be anxious to counsel patience, to try to get away with platitudes and to advise inaction.

The former ultimately won, though after a hard struggle, as is evident from the communique issued from Bombay at the conclusion of the Seminar. The communique calls for "a decisive blow" to be struck against Portuguese colonialism and stresses that "all efforts must be coordinated and directed" towards that end.

In dignified but firm tones the communique declared that "no effort should be spared" to bring about the end of hated and savage Portuguese colonialism and "no means eschewed" to hasten the achievement of that objective.

While advocating collective action by the U. N. and States

outside the U. N. and spotlighting the unworthy role of Nato powers in sustaining "the anachronistic and vicious" Portuguese colonialism the communique does not confine the scope of action open to freedom and justice-loving nations to that only and advocates "full moral, material and other support" for the freedom fighters.

Finally, the communique spotlights what is, perhaps, the most significant aspect for this country. "Freedom of Goa", it declares, "would be of the greatest importance in liberation of other Portuguese colonies and is, therefore, a matter of special urgency".

In the context of the battle for freedom and independence raging in Africa today, the savagery and the brutality that the Salazar dictatorship has displayed to hold back the tide of the revolt in his colonies, the result of the deliberations in the Seminar could be no other than what has emerged.

Assembled in New Delhi and Bombay were delegates from Angola, the scene of ruthless massacres of the people; from Mozambique where the banner of revolt has already been raised, from Rhodesia whose people are engaged in a grim struggle against British machinations and racial terror and discrimination; from the Congo where the war against foreign mercenaries and local traitors is still to be won.

These delegates could not be satisfied with "plous resolutions" or hair-splitting, theoretical examinations of aspects of this or that colonialism.

Even Kenneth Kuanda, President of the United National Independence Party of North Rhodesia, an avowed follower of non-violence and Gandhian methods, made it plain that he was not interested in Semi-

nars but "meetings to plan action".

Others made their position even more sharp and clear. They looked up to India to give the lead in organising a massive offensive against Portuguese stranglehold over her colonies, preferably by "using force, because that is the only language which Salazar understands".

Against this cry for action, here and now, the believers in liberalism and inaction, however well-meaning they might be, pitted what were no more than pathetic plans of dealing with an explosive situation.

Wedgewood Benn, the "reluctant peer" from Britain, who represented the Committee for Liberation for Portuguese Colonies in London, suggested that the Afro-Asian nations should introduce a resolution in the UN General Assembly setting a date for granting freedom to Portuguese colonies.

If Salazar were to flout the UN directive, the world today could take collective action against Portugal. This would also provide India international legality and backing for military action against Goa.

The alacrity with which this suggestion, in itself and as part of a massive offensive against Portuguese colonialism certainly unobjectionable, was taken up by India's Law Minister Ashok Sen, however, disappointed every one.

But this disappointment turned into bitter shock when the Seminar heard the Finance Minister holding forth on the philosophy of right and wrong, non-violence and morality, which was in reality an open and cynical dissociation from the battle for liberation going on in whole of Africa and above all in Goa, Daman and Diu.

What left every one dumbfounded was the arrogant way in which Morarji tried to interpret and twist his own Prime Minister's stand. Inaugurating the Seminar, the Prime Minister had emphatically stated that use of force to liberate Goa was not ruled out.

Morarji flatly declared that if anyone understood the Prime Minister to mean that India would "invade Goa" he was mistaken. He brazenly went on to state that "Goa was part of India only theoretically".

If the aim of the sponsors of the Seminar, the Indian Council of Africa—with official backing was to gain understanding and sympathy for India Government's policy on the issue, it achieved no such purpose.

Speaker after speaker in the Seminar exhorted the Government of India to liberate Goa since it would be "the biggest blow to the tottering regime of Salazar", would mean "the death-knell to the phobia of overseas Portugal, zealously propagated by Lisbon".

Adelino Gwambo, representative of the National Democratic Union of Mozambique, even brought a special appeal from his organisation, requesting the Government of India to liberate Goa within six months. The appeal was greeted with thunderous applause.

The Prime Minister was undoubtedly able to sense the mood of the Africans. Starting with a laboured explanation of his Goa policy while inaugurating the Seminar, the Prime Minister fairly candidly admitted its failure in the concluding rally in Bombay.

Though still hesitant, the Prime Minister has been at pains to promise that he would not be averse to the use of force for clearing up the blot of colonialism still disgracing our great country.

The Seminar, whatever the intention and the aim of the sponsors, has thus served a highly timely and useful purpose.

It has focussed attention on the fundamental and urgent issues before the people of Africa. No longer is Africa a distant and dark continent and the call for help to the people struggling for freedom—concrete, material help on a massive scale—must find response from the people and Government of India.

It has forced on the agenda the question of liberation of our own territories by all necessary means.

QUESTIONS OF YANKEE TYCOONS

THE round of talks that the much publicised Businessmen's International group of American tycoons is having in New Delhi appears to have excited more than unusual interest in the official and business circles here.

During their talks with Ministers and high officials they are reported to have asked "searching questions" about the official policies and possible fields of American private investment in this country.

Appropriately enough the group will conclude its mission with a round table discussion with their counterparts in India, the big business houses who have been and are looking forward to become their collaborators. It is apparently in this meeting that the real object of their so-called exploratory mission will take somewhat concrete shape.

What exactly is the nature of their mission and what kind of searching questions they want answered might well be indicated by the twenty one questions, that they have submitted in advance to the Indian businessmen who will meet them on Friday.

The first four questions out of the twenty one are based on the assumption that targets fixed in the Third Five Year Plan both for the public and the private sectors are not likely to be achieved. The group accordingly asks which targets will be most difficult to achieve and where are the shortfalls likely to occur.

However, the most significant among these four questions is: "What state sector

targets are unlikely to be achieved during the Third Plan? Is there a likelihood that the GOI will continue to switch public sector projects to the private sector? In which fields?"

The next group of questions are what might well be described leading questions to elicit information on private businessmen's attitudes and the extent of their willingness to join hands with their American friends to bring about changes in some of the important policies of the GOI.

The Americans, for instance, ask: "Does Indian business share the GOI's desire to keep foreign equity participation to a minority" and "Do Indian businessmen think that foreign investors should be restricted to certain product lines in India" and further "Do Indian businessmen favour or oppose the employment of greater numbers of foreign technicians and managerial personnel in joint manufacturing ventures?"

The last question on the list is: "How can a foreign investor with a minority interest in an Indian venture protect its interests with regard to efficiency of production, quality of products, its corporate name and trade mark?"

But earlier figures a significant question which all trade unions might take note of. "How easy or difficult is it to dismiss an Indian worker?" American businessmen intend to ask the Indian employers.

What replies or explanations the group will take away with it, need not be gone into here. But the questions in themselves are revealing enough.

STRANGE "SOCIALISM"

THE Congress "socialistic" pattern of society goes on ticking away merrily—for the monopolists and the money-drenched millionaires. The Communist Party and many progressive economists have time and again drawn attention to the gross and growing inequality which advances far faster than the tardy rise in national income.

This "outmoded" Marxist criticism, it appears, has now been confirmed by the Wealth Probe Committee, headed by P. C. Mahalanobis. This Committee, it is reliably learnt, worked out certain revealing calculations, regarding the cornering of national wealth by certain monopolistic agencies.

Its preliminary enquiries show:

● Two per cent of the income tax assessee (only one per cent of the country's population is assessed for income tax) hold between them 40 per cent of the shares of the "major industrial combines and business houses" in the country.

● This fortunate two per cent consists of 18 "family business houses" and own over 58 per cent of the total private wealth of the country.

● The Nizam of Hyderabad and princes of Rajasthan, Saurashtra and Orissa (numbering scarcely over a hundred persons) own about 29 per cent of the private wealth.

These are the fortunate few who patronise the Congress

and the "reasonable" Swatantra opposition. And it seems they have the power to "persuade" the Government and prevent the speedy publication of the findings of the Wealth Probe Committee. This Committee has already encountered what one of its members termed "stiff resistance from business houses connected with Stock Exchanges", who are refusing to give essential information.

It is imperative that the democratic movement exerts the maximum pressure and raises the maximum rumpus to force the Government firstly to mandate all business houses to cooperate with the Committee and secondly to publish immediately its preliminary findings.