

FOR THE VICTORY OF COMMUNISM!

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

Moscow, Oct. 31

The Twenty-second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union closed here this afternoon amid scenes of rejoicing and great enthusiasm. Khrushchov presided over the concluding session. The Congress adopted a long political resolution and then the Programme of the Party, into which some amendments and suggestions have been incorporated in committee stage. All the delegates amid scenes of great elan and happy excitement unanimously voted for the epoch-making programme of the construction of Communist society in the USSR.

EVEN the delegates with consultative vote had sent notes to the Presidium saying that although they do not have the full right to vote they would also like to show approval for this great Marxist-Leninist document. The Congress allowed them to vote as well and a forest of red and green cards went up as the five thousand delegates unanimously voted for the Party Programme.

Then followed happy scenes of rejoicing delegates shouting: "Hurrah! Long live the Party," "Long live Peace," "Long live Friendship between Peoples," "Forward to Communism" and the stormy applause continued for a few minutes.

It was announced by Khrushchov that the new Central Committee elected by the Congress had elected an 11 member Presidium with the following members: Brezhnev, Voronov, Kozlov, Kosygin, Kuusinen, Mikoyan, Podgorny, Polyansky, Suslov, Khrushchov, Shvernik. There are five candidate members. A Secretariat of nine has been elected with Khrushchov as First Secretary and the following Secretaries: Frol Kozlov, Petr Demichev, Leonid Ilyichev, Otto Kuusinen, Boris Ponomarev, Ivan Spiridinov, Mikhail Suslov and Alexander Shelepin.

Shvernik has been elected chairman of the Control Commission.

Making a short concluding speech Khrushchov declared that the most important stage in the struggle for the building of Communist society has now set in. The Party had travelled a long way from those days when Communism seemed a desirable but far away goal. The Twenty-second Congress declares to the world that guided by the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin the CPSU raises high the banner of the construction of the Communist society. For this a powerful material basis was necessary and work only can create it.

On behalf of the delegates of the Congress Khrushchov expressed heartfelt thanks to the fraternal parties for their participation and good wishes.

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NEW AGE

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Incredible Courage!

Labouring and progressive humanity the world over will celebrate this week the 44th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the greatest revolution of all times that changed the course of human history as nothing else ever did.

HOW the face of the whole world along with that of the Soviet country itself has changed in these forty-four years! A whole system of socialist states embracing one-third of the world's population has come up and consolidated itself.

Imperialism no longer decides the destinies of the world. The socialist system increasingly becomes the decisive force on the planet, making easier the passage of every people to full political and economic independence and a just social order.

Looking back at the more recent past, at the years since the end of the World War II, when United States imperialism emerged as the unscathed and fattened war profiteer bidding for world domination, wielding its monopoly of atomic weapons and knocking together aggressive military blocs, it was the might of the Soviet State that stood at every decisive step in the path of realisation of that diabolical purpose.

Again and again, at the same time, over all these years has the Soviet Union appealed to the Western imperialist Powers to abandon trying to dictate from so-called positions of strength and settle all outstanding questions through negotiations and on the basis of reason and recognition of just interests of all.

Again and again has the Soviet Union backed its appeals with concrete steps taken unilaterally—whether it was on the question of abandoning bases on foreign soil or withdrawal of armies stationed there during World War II, or the question of reducing its conventional armed forces or that of stopping nuclear tests.

Not one of the Soviet Union's appeals or concrete measures for the relaxing of tension and peaceful settlement of disputes was ever met by the Western Powers with a matching step.

Over and above all this, despite appeals year after year, the Western Powers have persisted in their refusal to close the chapter of World War II, by agreeing to jointly sign

with the Soviet Union a peace treaty with Germany.

They have successfully managed to bring about—by taking advantage of this abnormal situation—the revival and rearmament of a German army commanded entirely by Nazi generals among whom are convicted war criminals. They have placed some of these generals in decisive positions in their main aggressive military alliance, NATO.

They have refused to listen to all who have called for reason and they have gone to the extent of pouring scorn and ridicule at the neutral nations that gathered at Belgrade and appealed for negotiations and settlement over Berlin and Germany.

Consistent with its peace policy the Soviet Union has kept its calm in the face of all these threats. Time and again it has repeated and confirmed its faith, in the

scrapping of all nuclear weapons, not to speak of the tests.

If the Soviet Union is strong it is using its strength only to ensure its security. It has not used that strength to stage a Guatemala or the overthrow of a Mosaddeq, or to invade Egypt or Cuba. Even today it is imperialism and not the Soviet Union which plots to send its armed forces into South Vietnam—having failed to achieve its ends there through all possible and grossest violation of the Geneva Agreement of 1954.

The Soviet Union on the contrary has demonstrated, once again from its highest available rostrum, the 22nd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, that it is to peaceful construction—on a scale that the world has never witnessed before—that it wants to devote all its strength and all its energy.

It is this prospect of tremendous economic growth that the new programme of the CPSU has unfolded for the Soviet Union that the imperialists want to prevent if

NOVEMBER 7—A DAY FOR ALL HUMANITY

last six months also, in the feasibility of preserving peace and averting war.

It has even declared that it would be prepared to waive the date-line for a German peace treaty if the West agreed to negotiate with the aim of reaching a settlement within a reasonable time.

But Adenauer and de Gaulle, the Pentagon and the armament kings of the USA and the old Cliveden set in Britain along with "ultras" of all hues all over the West insist on "standing firm" and pushing the armaments race.

They project their own attitudes to the Soviet Union accusing it of indulging in terror tactics. Not only that the perpetrators of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and their allies in the various military pacts should have no face to indulge in this "Stop thief" tactics, but the fact remains that even today the Soviet Union keeps calling on them to accept general and complete disarmament with any controls, which would mean the

they can. It is nothing else—no multi-megaton bombs—that strike terror in their hearts.

The highest spokesmen of the Soviet State have repeatedly declared that it is after having been forced to do it and with a heavy heart that they have resumed the tests and that they are taking every possible measure to reduce to the absolute minimum its harmful effect.

Greeting the heirs of the Great October today the Indian people who have always held the message of the Russian Revolution so close and dear to their hearts and have always felt the glow and warmth of its friendship rejoice at the new heights for humanity that the CPSU Programme has unveiled.

We join with Tagore to say: "What incredible courage" and proceed to reiterate with him: "In the world of today the people of this country at any rate are thinking of the interests of the whole of humanity".



Moscow's Marx Monument was unveiled by Khrushchov in the presence of the delegates and visitors to the Twenty-second Congress on the exact spot where the foundation stone was laid by Lenin in 1920.

TRIMURTIS— DIRTY BRAND

The Trimurti, unity of three contrary elements, Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh, has been a well-known part of traditional Indian thought. This conception proved very handy to explain or justify the various evils and contradictions of the feudal age.

THE same conception has now emerged in the present day India as the political tactic of reaction, whether inside or outside the Congress. It was first tried out against the Communist-led Ministry in Kerala, as the Triple Alliance of the Congress, PSP and Muslim League.

Now it is being tried out against the Congress itself, with Acharya Kripalani going all out to defeat the Defence Minister Krishna Menon, with the joint support of PSP, Swatantra and Jana Sangh. There are other examples.

Their common banner, anti-Communism, is all false trail. What they really abhor and fanatically attack are the progressive policies to which Indian democratic national movement is solemnly pledged. What they are working for, in defiance of Indian and world history, is to usher in the age of a political kalyug for our country, in "friendly" alliance with the West!

Kripalani Brand

Kripalani's is the latest, in the disgusting round of manoeuvres of Indian reaction.

Birla's Hindustan Times, has given the Acharya a boost under three column headline "Krishna Menon is Friendly Towards Communists, Kripalani Alleges". The Special correspondent of the paper reports his press conference from Lucknow where he denounced Krishna Menon as a "danger to the country" because he gave "bad advice" to the Prime Minister.

The Acharya made it clear that "his fight was on a strictly limited issue. He was fighting neither the Congress nor the Prime Minister nor the Government policies. He was fighting Mr. Menon because he gave a twist to Prime Minister's foreign and defence policies, which had failed to safeguard the country's interests."

Despite his swearing by "the Congress of Gandhi's conception", he knows it, as well as do the newspaper readers of the country, that he is more than deviating from truth.

The Acharya, during the last five years, whenever he cared to speak in any Parliamentary debate, has done nothing else but attack whatever was progressive in Congress policies, as explained and defended by the Prime Minister. In fact his allergy towards the Prime Minister has been one of the favourite topics in the lobby.

Again the Acharya has earlier tried, during the various Parliamentary debates, to differentiate between the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister, for example over the Thimmayya affair and the explosive border issue. Each time he was put in his place by the Prime Minister himself.

The Acharya and his supporters think that the clever way to isolate Krishna Menon

NOTES OF THE WEEK

with the India's policy.... One of the first questions the Prime Minister is likely to be asked is whether Mr. Menon fully represents the Indian Government's policy."

It is no accident that the US State Department has launched its new offensive against Krishna Menon, on the eve of the Indian General Elections, after the well-known pro-American elements and parties decided to put up Acharya Kripalani to oppose, Krishna Menon.

Good Revelation

We are, however, grateful for a few important revelations made by the Acharya from his own mouth. A wise Correspondent drew the Acharya out, with the comment that as a member of the Government Krishna Menon was only expounding the Cabinet's policy as a whole.

The Acharya stated that he did not subscribe to that view, "it was well-known that there was a Rightwing in the Union Cabinet and there was a Leftwing.... I am fighting the Leftwing which has an alliance with the Communists."

We, Communists, feel that it is in the interests of the nation to build a national democratic front together with progressive Congressmen but as everybody knows this does not exist at the moment—we can't confirm Acharya Kripalani and the Congress leaders concerned will themselves deny it. The real point of Acharya's admission is that he is not fighting Krishna Menon alone but the Left inside the Congress.

Between the two wings of the Cabinet, the Prime Minister had a "split personality" in the Acharya's estimate. The Acharya also claimed the support of the Right inside the Cabinet "I do believe they will support me if they have a conscience".

The first is the confirmation of the existence of a Right and Left inside the Cabinet. The second is a reiteration of Kripalani's abhorrence of the Left, even though chained inside the Congress. The third and the most important revelation is of the Right inside the Congress, headed by Morarji Desai, supporting and being supported by return by J. B. Kripalani, basing himself on Swatantra, Jana Sangh and PSP support. Such is the chain of Indian reaction in flesh and blood.

This chain spreads further, abroad towards Washington. The newspapers contain news of the US being dissatisfied with the Indian stand over N-tests inside the UN. The Prime Minister, before the Governors' Conference identified himself with what the Indian delegation had done at the UN. The US pressure, however, continues mounting. The US Secretary of State Dean Rusk himself launched the attack.

No Accident
The Hindustan Times Washington Correspondent, Ajit Bhattacharya (October 30), has faithfully reported the US "annoyance and irritation

Legislature Party."

E. M. S. Namboodripad commenting on the Congress-PSP settlement about the division of seats stated "there were no political principles involved in it. He thought that it was, therefore, possible that both parties might come to some clandestine understanding with the Muslim League." (Hindustan Times, October 29)

So far as the PSP is concerned the position is really shaky. The AICC representative K. K. Snaah expressed the pious hope that the PSP will have no truck with the League. PSP State Secretary Sreedharan, however, stated that the Muslim League did not appear in the negotiations of the PSP with the Congress.

The Congress has given more seats to the PSP but its position is not easy. It holds at present only one Parliamentary seat and that was won with League support. The three new seats allotted to it by the Congress are Communist-held seats, including Comrade A. K. Gopalan's, and each of these have a sizeable Muslim vote.

The IPA Trivandrum Correspondent reports, October 30, that the PSP has decided "to adopt the 'Kuttipuram' technique of the Congress; tell the Congress that it will have nothing to do with the Muslim League while assuring the League its support and continuance of the alliance with it".

Old Sin And Sinners

When Pandit Nehru twitted Acharya Kripalani with the troika supporting him the Acharya promptly reminded the Prime Minister of the Kerala Triple Alliance that enabled the Congress to overthrow the Communist-Ministry.

The unholy Kerala Alliance had its ups and downs but it has not collapsed. It remains in operation, though in a modified form.

The Congress alliance with the Muslim League outraged national conscience but it did not make the gaddi nashins at New Delhi nor at Trivandrum blush. It needed communal flare-up at Jabalpur and other places in the Madhya Pradesh for the AICC to pass the resolution at Durgapur banning Congress alliance with communal parties. Even after Durgapur the Congress did not give up the Muslim League within the Kerala.

As the General Elections came near it became evident enough that it would be very difficult for the Congress to face the electorate, if the alliance with League was kept intact. After long deliberations and difficult negotiations all round it has been decided that unlike last elections the three flags will not fly together in Kerala during the coming Parliamentary elections.

It is certainly a victory of the good cause, a case of the Congress leaders being made to retreat from the evil course because of public opinion. It is, however, not yet a firm victory of principles.

The Times of India, October 26, reported that "though there will be no united front with the Muslim League for the Parliamentary elections yet it will 'continue to be a member of the ruling Alliance

party was confident of taking over the reins of power in the State. It is necessary to study what lay behind Masani's day-dream.

There has been a running battle between the Congress and Swatantra Party chiefs to bag the Rajasthan Princes. Swatantra have the star, Maharani Gayatri Devi and several Maharajas along with their brothers, sons, nephews and uncles. The Congress stepped in to stop the rot by getting some princes to accept its election ticket.

The Swatantra Party is reported to have succeeded in its alliance with the Ramrajya Parishad which enjoys the support of the Bhoshwami Sangh, the premier organisation of small jagirdars.

The Swatantra negotiations with the Jan Sangh are on and hard bargaining is afoot. The Jan Sangh wants to emerge as the biggest single party in Rajasthan and has announced that it will contest 130 seats, which limits the scope to bargain. However an adjustment between the Swatantra and the Jan Sangh seems assured.

Inside the Congress there has been the usual clamour for the Congress ticket, 149 candidates out of 178 have been unanimously agreed, for the rest New Delhi will decide. The "unanimity" achieved rests on delicate foundations, the dissatisfied ones are looking towards the Swatantra.

There are reports that one faction is allied to Swatantra Party, and where the Congress candidate is not to its liking it would prefer to have a Swatantraite. Similar allegations are made against the other faction "too" (Hindustan Times, October 28).

The reactionary alignment within the Rajasthan thus emerges as the Swatantra and Jan Sangh together, allied with one or the other faction inside the ruling party.

Way Out

The anti-Communism of the Congress leadership has come home to roost. It has directly resulted in producing and heightening some very reactionary features in our national life. It has given political respectability and moral courage to the blackest elements. They now feel strong enough to oppose and denounce the topmost Congress progressives themselves as Communists!

They don't even care to hide but tom-tom their alliance with the Right of the Congress. The worst of all, there is no sign of even the healthy elements in the Congress leadership trying to break through this vicious circle.

The coming elections are the people's opportunity to intervene and help remedy national situation. The Communist clarion call to rout the parties of the Right, break the Congress political monopoly, strengthen the democratic opposition as a whole and the Communists in particular, is the obvious way out to uplift the Indian situation and ensure the nation's march forward.

—P. C. JOSHI

DANGEROUS CONCESSIONS

The top US business executives, who had been meeting in New Delhi for a week, have ended their confabulations with a meeting with the Prime Minister. And now that they are returning home it is said that they are carrying with them firm assurances from Indian officials and industrialists about the profitability of their future investments in Indian enterprises.

NOT only in fiscal policies, which under the benign dispensation of Morarji Desai have already been diluted enough to benefit foreign investors, but also on the vexed question of reservation of certain industries for the public sector they have been assured of a good deal of accommodation and adjustment.

The Government is not at all rigid in implementing its policy in this respect, one of the Indian industrialists is reported to have told them, for has it not allowed the private sector to start fertiliser and aluminium industries which had hitherto been reserved for the public sector?

In oil too, even the much-maligned Minister Malaviya seemed to have taken the sting out of his policy by saying that he also has a "co-operative sector", which provides ample opportunities for foreign private investors.

The US investors, thus, seem to have been given assurances on all points, and all because the Government and leading industrialists seem to feel that they cannot

do without these investors' "interest" in India's development.

They are even reported to have assured these gentlemen that they would be willing to grant even a majority participation to them in certain joint ventures, although the policy laid down in this behalf categorically bars it.

The foreign investors have, thus, won all round although, as the reports suggest, they wanted their victory to be much more comprehensive and secure. They had, for instance, mooted a suggestion for 100 per cent US-owned industrial plants, which the Government did not accept.

Similarly, their plea for selling off of some of the public sector plants to the private sector also did not receive the response they desired.

Their Indian counterparts, too, are reported to have told them some home truths about their irritating business practices, which show them in a bad light in the Indian market. In spite of these discomfitures the businessmen have

gone back convinced that India offers vast opportunities for profitable investment.

The US investors' questionnaire did not, however, seek assurances only on economic points. According to Link (October 22) it had certain top secret questions as well, which sought to probe "the possibilities of increased trade only in politically favourable conditions".

Among these questions are reported to be such gems as: "was the country heading towards complete socialism? Is India's socialism pink or will it soon be Russian-red? Had the Communists anything to do with the disturbances in UP, etc."

It will be really interesting to know the Government's replies to these unique questions. In the meantime, one hopes they were not so naive as to give the Americans the impression that they can not only earn fat profits here, but also run the country the way the State Department and the Pentagon would want it to be run.

Sugar—U. S. Letdown

IF the Indian industrialists who complained about irritating business practices of the United States had waited a couple

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of days longer, they would have added another example of such a practice to their list.

For, hardly had they ended their talks with the Americans, the US Department of Agriculture announced a cut of 50,000 short tons in the sugar export quota which it had earlier allocated to India for the current year.

The reduction in the quota has come at a time when almost all the 225,000 short tons of sugar, originally allotted to India, had already been purchased and billed for export to the US. What is more, the bulk of it had also been shipped, although it is not known whether it will now be allowed to enter the US ports.

The US step, especially at a time when the Food and Agriculture Minister had been expecting an enlargement of the quota allotted to India, has been termed "unfair" and "unethical" in New Delhi's official circles. They have been cut to the quick by this stab in the back, when what they had looked forward to was a pat.

The Indian Embassy in Washington is reported to have taken up the matter with the authorities there, while

the US Ambassador in New Delhi Galbraith has offered the consolation that they in Washington did not perhaps "recognise the difficulties the cut would create in India".

In the meantime the sugar industry here is said to have incurred a loss of about five million dollars as a result of this unkindly cut.

The US Government has justified its step as "an effort to increase the price of raw sugar in the United States" although it itself admits that this price "to date is on an average about the same as the annual average price in 1960 and higher than that of earlier years". What then is the explanation for this strange step?

The Indian Express ascribes it to what it calls the "protectionist" approach of the Kennedy administration, which in its view makes a mockery of the much talked about trade with aid policy, which the new incumbent in the White House was supposed to espouse.

There might be other reasons, too, all of which would point to only one conclusion that in trade the United States is certainly not a dependable ally.

—ESSEN

Kerala—Big Shift To Mass Unity

From SUKHDEV SINGH

The recent patch-up effected in the Kerala coalition parties was temporary and was bound to give way, said M. N. Govindan Nair in an interview. He was meeting our correspondent in connection with the developments in Kerala in view of the General Elections which are only a few months ahead.

AFTER making a comprehensive assessment of the political assignments in the post-mid-term-poll Kerala, the Communist leader said that the wall of anti-Communism that reaction in Kerala tried its level best to build and preserve, was now showing visible signs of crashing.

"The Muslim League which was an important partner, has been driven away from the alliance so far as the ensuing parliamentary elections are concerned and the marriage of convenience of the Congress and the P.S.P. is also in a melting pot".

Pointing out that both the parties had enough reserves of opportunism to keep together till the General elections, he felt that immediately after this, the break up in coalition cabinet was very likely.

He spoke of the political ambitions by which the leaders of both the parties are guided and this, he said, was one of the main factors that widened the rift between them. The coming parliamentary elections, may be responsible for further widening the crack.

He explained that the PSP, whom the Congress has allotted four out of the 18 Lok Sabha seats, would have to rely heavily on the League for the election fight. It is

no accident that the P.S.P. has chosen League-dominated areas. Last time, too, the solitary seat won by the P.S.P. was annexed with the League's backing. Now, if it decides to renounce the Muslim League to respect the declarations of the Congress, it will find itself in an unhappy position but if it keeps its "promises" then in some constituencies it would have to support Congressmen against the League, which would again embitter mutual relations.

While the Congress professions of secularism would again be put to the test in Kerala, he said that the Parliamentary elections might only add to the process of lack of trust and division among the two parties.

The likely adverse effect on its position in other States during the coming elections, among other things, forced the Congress to retrace its step of open alliance with the League, Govindan Nair said. However, the three parties are still functioning collectively through their Joint Assembly Party. So it is only fair to have some doubts about the sincerity of Congress avowals of secularism.

In reply to a question, the Communist leader stated that Communist Party would not let the alliance parties or the Muslim League go unchallenged in any

of the 18 seats. For that matter, it would try to forge a united democratic alliance based on a minimum political agreement. The R. S. P., which commands a certain influence in some areas of the State, was likely to join hands with this front.

Questioned whether there had been any further change in the mood of the masses since the mid-term poll in Kerala, Govindan Nair was emphatically of the opinion that there had been a shift. He stated that the blind anti-Communism, based on religious passions, communal appeals and sectarian calls worked up during the days of the so-called "Liberation struggle" has of late been badly broken.

While the Congress professions of secularism would again be put to the test in Kerala, he said that the Parliamentary elections might only add to the process of lack of trust and division among the two parties.

The people who, on the instigation of their leaders, had participated in the agitation, have been wondering about the gains promised to them in a "liberated" Kerala. Further, new problems have been cropping up and playing upon communal passions does not lead to their solution.

In this connection, the Agrarian Relations Bill, originally passed by the Communist-led Ministry, and later restored, in the main, by the Coalition Government following the Kisan Sangham's powerful agitation, has had a decisive impact on the situation.

In Kerala, as elsewhere, a

peculiar situation existed in land relations. For a long time, lakhs of peasants and share-croppers, who have been tilling the land and are the actual occupants, did not possess the registration deeds, conferring on them the right of ownership.

Now the coming into the picture of the Agrarian Relations Act, makes it essential for the peasants to get hold of such documents. The landlords, on the other hand, are not only putting up their counter-claims before the land tribunals, appointed under the Act, but to substantiate them are forcibly evicting the peasants also.

In this struggle, the mass of the peasants, irrespective of caste or community, are finding their own "liberators" pitted against them.

This phenomenon, said Govindan Nair, knowing no party affiliations and cutting across all communal barriers, is leading to a new alignment based not on religious passions but class interests.

So, today in the State thousands of peasants are closing their ranks under the leadership of the Kisan Sangham and getting ready for a resolute fight for their just rights and for the better implementation of the Land Relations Act.

Another thing that is shaking the social base of "liberators" is the question of forest

lands on which about two million families are settled. The Government under rising protests, is reported to be planning to stage many mass Amravatis (where A.K. Gopalan had to launch a hunger-strike for the resettlement of about 10,000 families on some 8,000 acres of land).

While the sword of eviction has been hanging over them, the poor peasants, learning from the Amravati struggle, are getting convinced of the imperative need of unity under the Kisan Sangham.

Then there are the questions of new taxes and the Malabar Temple lands, where Mannath Padmanabhan (the Nair communal "chieftain") had recently bought about 30,000 acres of land, tilled by the peasantry. While he is planning to take more lands under his feudal domination, a class rift in his following is already in evidence.

A sharp political struggle, at the level of the common man, is underway. Already the Catholic Press is making the Nair feudalists their target.

Thus, a new kind of unity among the masses is getting forged, based not on communal passions but on healthy, secular class interests.

A manifestation of this new alignment is the big struggle in the near future which Kisan Sangham is planning to uphold the cause of the toiling sections of the peasantry.

Govindan Nair said in conclusion, that the wall of anti-Communism which reaction in Kerala tried to build and preserve is crumbling surely.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

CONGRESS MONOPOLY

Question:

In the Election Manifesto of the Communist Party it is stated that the answer to the treacherous moves of right reaction and to the anti-people and anti-democratic policies of the Congress Government is "the unity and struggles of the democratic forces for shift to the left. Either such a shift to the left is brought about or the right reaction turns the wheel back. There is no third alternative".

How is this to be squared with the slogan that it has become "a national necessity to weaken and break the Congress monopoly of power"? (A Student from K. M. College, New Delhi)

Answer:

It is easy enough to see the essential compatibility and integral unity of the slogans quoted above if a concrete analysis is made of the national scene—which is precisely what the first section of the Election Manifesto does.

The fundamental and overwhelming fact of the last 14 years of Indian history is the Congress monopoly of power. Only in Kerala for a brief 28 months was this stranglehold broken and what devilish means were used to bring it back are known to all.

And with this monopoly of power where has the Congress leadership brought our country and our people?

No doubt some strengthening of the national economy has taken place, a public sector has been established, some industrial growth has been registered, a basically national foreign policy has been pursued.

But these are small bright spots in a growth that has been tardy and accompanied by magnifying inequalities. The essential targets of national endeavour—economic independence, a decent living standard, impregnable national unity and a firmly founded democratic system—are far off and, in some respects, receding in the distance.

As has been noted by Pandit Nehru himself there is frustration and apathy among large sections of the population. He forgot to add that there is anger, too, and stern struggle as the embodiment of that anger.

And in places where the democratic opposition is weak, this apathy and this anger have been utilised by parties like the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra. Their propaganda is that the Congress has landed the country in a mess because it has tried "dangerous experiments" like "socialism" and "secularism".

There is no lack of very important people in the Congress leadership and the Government who sing more or less the same tune. They also say that the only forward is to go back! Give up the socialist slogans! Give up Panch Shila! Sell the public sector! Such are their slogans.

To this the Communist answer is—Advance and no

retreat. The discontent of the people can be assuaged and the nation can storm ahead only if a radical democratic programme is adopted and implemented. Genuine land reforms, the ending of foreign exploitation, rapid industrialisation, the curbing of monopolies and the general extension of democracy in every field—such are among our main demands.

The nation, thus, stands at the parting of the ways. Either the Congress power monopoly continues, the people get more frustrated and the right thrusts home its attack or the monopoly is broken, considerably weakened and the democratic movement imposes the implementation of many items of its programme.

The essential points to be grasped are that Right reaction thrives on Congress power monopoly and cannot be fought without the latter being weakened. And Congress power monopoly cannot be fought without a battle against the Right who seek to divert the masses from the democratic movement.

And it is necessary to sharply emphasise that the weakening of the Congress power monopoly is a perfectly feasible proposition. The Second General Elections did it better than the First and the Third is likely to go still further in this direction.

Kerala will not go to the polls (except for parliament) but the message and spirit of its break from the Congress stranglehold will. The gains registered by each democratic advance will all go to add to the strength which one day will shatter all monopolies—economic and political.

COMMUNIST PATRIOTISM

Question:

Since the Communist Party of India is part of the world Communist movement, is it not true to say that its nationalism is inhibited and likely to come under pressures from outside India in some or another emergency? (S. K. Dhar, Srinagar)

Answer:

It has been stressed time again—the most authoritative and recent declaration was in the Moscow Statement of the 81 Parties in November 1960—that each Communist Party is independent and sovereign and responsible to its own people.

In the course of its work it is quite certain that the Communist Parties of different countries will make mistakes at times, wrong assessments and so on. But the "credit" for these mistakes belong to those Communist Parties and nobody else needs to be blamed.

As a matter of fact, however, the experience of other Communist Parties—collectively discussed and evaluated—enables each Communist Party to make less mistakes, since the cause they serve is the same—the happiness of the people everywhere.

Further the recent decade has underlined a very basic

BY MOHIT SEN

UNHOSPITABLE!

Editorial

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU'S visit to the USA is taking place at a critical moment in the international situation.

With India's high world stature, and Pandit Nehru's own recognised status as the foremost of the wise statesmen from the uncommitted world, his visit could be very useful and fruitful in getting President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchov together to discuss constructive solutions to end the current cold war and ensure world peace.

The US, however, is not preparing to welcome Prime Minister Nehru as is due to the authoritative spokesman of the biggest uncommitted nation, dedicated to the cause of peace and respected the world over.

The US press, on the direct prodding of US State Department is working up an atmosphere, not of warm welcome but of political blackmail. Instead of honest discussion of the issues at stake there is downright distortion of the Indian stand. Prime Minister Nehru has already expressed his surprise and pain.

Gone are the days when Kennedy talked of new frontiers and welcomed Indian neutrality. The upshot of all the criticism and demands of US is that India may retain her neutrality as a fig leaf, but must make it so elastic as to support US policies on all practical issues of the day, or at least remain silent, and in any case come forward in a big way to criticise and attack the concrete policies of the USSR inside and outside the UN.

The US wants India to operate its "independent" foreign policy in such a way as to serve the needs of US imperialism. The US wants India to act such a bridge between the two camps over which the US war mongers can fire their salvos against the USSR and world peace.

Their first victim is the Indian spokesman at the UN, Krishna Menon. Almost all the correspondents of the Indian papers in USA have cabled that the first question Pandit Nehru is likely to be asked is whether Menon really represents the policy of the Nehru Government!

US newsmen in New Delhi had the temerity to ask the same question and with due dignity the Prime Minister stated that India did not judge the merit of its representatives "at the bidding of others".

The US is indignant over the Indian stand, critical of all the nuclear tests, they want India to concentrate its whole fire against the USSR!

The US is opposed to the Indian resolution, at the UN calling for moratorium of all N-Tests and linked with immediate and urgent negotiations for general and complete disarmament. They call it being pro-Soviet while honest men wanting peace consider the Indian proposal practical and sensible.

This is not all. US seeks to dictate to us all along the line.

This is the year when China's admission to UN has become practical politics. US wants us to reduce our support to a ritual and not passionately persuade other nations to vote for China's just right.

US seeks to keep Laos in the melting pot by giving such wide powers to the International Commission as would make Laos sovereignty nugatory. India is for such purposes for the Commission as are consistent with Laos' sovereignty.

The daily press news is enough to indicate that the days of US puppets in S. E. Asia are numbered. When US asks India to play a leading role in this region it means that we help to save these pro-US reactionary regimes from their doom at the hands of their own people. It is the same for Africa and the same for Latin America.

From where does the US press and US statesmen get their insolence to make such demands upon Independent India. Imperialist appetite grows on what it feeds. It is the continuity of such statesmen like Morarji Desai inside Indian Cabinet, it is the serious practical concessions given to US monopoly interests and their experience of the eager welcome by big Indian monopoly groups and of the pliability of top Indian officials and ministers, as directly experienced and admitted by the latest delegations of US Businessmen International, that makes the policy-makers and public-opinion-moulders of USA so bold and aggressive towards India.

Prime Minister Nehru will have to face up to all the ignoble manoeuvres and the so-called ideological appeals from the US side.

Let there be no doubt that the US pressure constitutes an imperialist offensive against our independent foreign policy, against Indian independence itself. We earnestly hope the Prime Minister will firmly talk reason, with his head held high, while in the US.

The moment the US rulers realise that India cannot be swerved from the course of peace and justice, better sense will begin to dawn.

PLANTATION LABOUR

Showpiece Or Statute?

From Our Labour Correspondent

An important protective legislation for the plantation workers in our country adopted by Government after years of agitation and struggle by the trade unions, is the Plantation Labour Act, 1951. The Act was enforced in most States only from 1956.

PLANTATION labour is the worst-exploited and even after the passing of the Act, the situation remains largely so. The reason is not far to seek. The plantation owners refused to implement the provisions of the legislation in its vital aspects.

This is now admitted by a Parliamentary Committee of the Assam State Assembly which had inquired into the implementation of the Act in the tea gardens of Assam.

Of about ten lakhs of workers employed in tea plantations in India, almost half the employment is in the Assam tea gardens. According to official statistics, the total number of workers in Assam gardens covered by the Plantation Labour Act was 4,89,750 in 1958.

The Committee of the Assam State Assembly which has submitted its report recently came to the conclusion:

"In most cases, the management appeared to have the idea that the Act is a mere piece of goodwill which one should try to implement and not one must implement".

The Committee charged that very scant regard was shown by the managements of the tea estates to the Act. In

no garden of Assam were the provisions of the Act fully and properly implemented.

Rejecting the excuses put forward by the managements, the Committee observed:

"In our opinion, the real cause of non-implementation lies elsewhere. It can most probably be found in lack of indifference to the obligation imposed by the Act".

In regard to housing, the Committee found that only 30 per cent of the gardens have so far constructed the requisite number of workers' quarters. Even of this, 80 per cent of the houses so constructed did not conform to the prescribed standards.

Bad and defective construction, lack of proper drainage in almost all cases, inadequate supply of drinking water in about 62 per cent of the gardens, are some of the glaring objections noted by the Committee.

And this was the record when 80 per cent of the cost of construction of these houses was offered as loans by the Government.

In the sphere of amenities, the Committee noted that although 72 per cent of gardens constructed buildings for

creches, only ten per cent had satisfactory arrangements. Provision of canteens was "hopelessly bad" and only 22 per cent of the gardens had any satisfactory arrangement for education. The administration of the Plantation Labour Act is the responsibility of the State Government.

According to an India Press Agency report, Assam Labour Minister, K. P. Tripathi, commenting on the findings of the Committee, admitted that proper machinery had yet to be devised to ensure the implementation of the Act.

Almost a decade after passing the Act and five years after the State Governments took up responsibility to enforce the legislation, is it not strange that a Labour Minister has yet to devise "proper machinery" to ensure its implementation?

A majority of the tea gardens are owned by British companies and it is well-known that by rampant exploitation of our plantation workers, the London investors have minted huge profits.

Of late, Big Business in India has also gone in for heavy investments in plantations.

And, thus, with the State Governments still attempting to "devise" machinery to enforce statutory enactments and the workers' unable to resist with full force, Big Business is having their good hunting for profits in the high hills of Assam.

Coal—Price Rise?

A FURTHER increase in the controlled prices of various grades of coal is understood to be under the consideration of the Union Government. A final decision in this respect will be taken early next month.

The mineowners are stated to

have taken the stand that they would not be in a position to meet any increase in the workers' wages, howsoever justified and necessary, within the present price structure enforced in the coal industry.

This has stalled any progress being achieved in the bipartite talks on wages in the in-

dusty between the workers and mineowners' representatives, arranged at the instance of the Union Labour Ministry and the Tripartite Industrial Committee on Coal.

After two meetings, both the workers' and mineowners' representatives have jointly urged the Union Government to clearly state its mind about the coal prices. An urgent request was sent on behalf of the latest bipartite meeting to the Union Labour Minister, Nanda and the Union Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel, Swaran Singh to personally attend the next meeting scheduled for November to enable the two parties to have a definite picture of Government policy and facilitate agreement. The two Ministers are understood to have agreed to attend the meeting.

While Government is yet to take a final decision on the mineowners' demand, irritation over the mineowners' tactics is apparent. Whenever a dispute over wages or other rights of the workers arises in the industry, the mineowners use the opportunity to put pressure for revision of price structure for coal.

In the course of last five years, as many as seven price rises have been granted even though the various awards on labour demands were based on a thorough enquiry into the industry's capacity to pay on the basis of their prevailing coal prices.

TRICHI'S HELL HOLE

From Our Correspondent

THE Madras High Court has admitted a petition for the issue of a Writ of Mandamus or any other suitable Writ requiring the Superintendent of Central Jail, Trichi, to observe prison regulations in regard to giving statutorily laid down facilities to prisoners lodged there.

G. VEERAYAN, a kisan Satyagrahi lodged in the Trichi Central Jail, has filed an affidavit to describe alleged inhuman conditions prevailing within the jail premises.

Justice Sri G. R. Jagadisan has admitted the petition and ordered issue of notice to the Jail Superintendent, returnable in two weeks.

G. Veerayan in his affidavit says, inter alia "I took part in the picketing agitation launched by the Kisan Sabha on September 15 to protest against certain provisions of the Madras Land Reforms (Fixation of Ceiling) Bill. The picketing was wholly peaceful. I was sentenced to two months rigorous imprisonment on October 9 and have since been lodged in the Trichi Central Jail.

"I was lodged in this very jail even during the remand period, pending trial. According to the notice board in front of the Trichi Central Jail, it has been stated that only 2,010 prisoners could be lodged there.

"Ever since I was lodged in the Central jail, the number of inmates has steadily tended to rise. At the time of filing this affidavit, the number of inmates has risen to 7,800. At no time during this month was there less than this number, namely 7,800.

"I was lodged in a closed prison. There are 160 cells and two Association Wards in this prison. Out of this 160 cells, twenty one are reserved for "B" Class prisoners.

"According to the Prison Act and the Madras Prison and Reformatory Manual, the Superintendent of the Jail is required by law to observe certain minimum regulations.

For instance each prisoner lodged in this jail is entitled to movement space of not less than 450 square feet, whether he is lodged in a single cell or association-ward.

"According to this regulation there is room for only 150 prisoners in the association ward and 400 in single cells.

What has, however, happened is this: Myself and other prisoners, totalling about 2,600 have been lodged in the cells and the association wards in groups, while there is room for only 400 in all. A cell that should hold one now holds seven prisoners. Similarly, the whole jail can hold only 2,010 prisoners whereas there are now more than 7,000 prisoners.

"The difficulties flowing from this overcrowding are

manifold. There is no sleeping accommodation for most of the prisoners. I cannot sleep either during the day or in the night for want of accommodation. During the day time, the association ward and the cells are locked. This means I have to spend the day under the sun, without protection from vagaries of weather conditions.

"We are not given clothing outfits according to regulations. There is no water facility for bathing. And worst of all, there are no sanitary facilities even of the elementary kind. The latrines are kept in most unhygienic and primitive conditions, providing the breeding ground for foul germs.

"Because of the failure of the Jail Superintendent to comply with the provisions of the Prisons Act and the rules made thereunder and the violations of the statutory rules, I have been deprived of my personal liberty as guaranteed under the Constitution.

This is in violation of Article 21 of the Constitution. My continued imprisonment in such primitive conditions, not sanctioned by law, is an infringement of my fundamental rights.

"I have tried to make representations to the Jail Superintendent in this behalf but I have been denied interview with him. Under the Prison Regulations, the Superintendent is required to hear representations from prisoners once a week on Monday. In this case even this rule has been violated.

"I have, however, made representations on the condition inside the jail through Messrs P. Ramamurthi, K. T. K. Thangamani, Members of Parliament, and S. Kalyanasundaram, M.L.A."

In the end, the petitioner prays for the issue of a writ directing the Superintendent of Central Jail, Trichi to observe prison regulations and afford facilities to prisoners sanctioned by law. Mohan Kumaramangalam is appearing for the petitioner.



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The Congress keeps proclaiming the "virtues" of its uniquely "democratic" path to socialism. The Communist Party has often enough underlined the point that it has no quarrel with the Congress for staying away from socialism. It has no illusions on that score.

The crux of the Communist Party's criticism at the present stage is that many of the Congress policies do not serve the promotion of democracy. On the contrary, they promote the growth of profoundly anti-democratic forces.

In no sphere is this criticism more valid than in that of the pattern of economic development which our country has had imposed on it by the Congress.

Preaching the socialist pattern Congress practice has been the nurturing and development of monopoly capital, that deadly enemy of democracy and national progress.

Ajit Roy deals in this article and in the box alongside with some of the features of this dangerous tendency of monopoly growth in India. Readers who wish to further pursue the topic may refer to his Big Business Under Congress Raj, a pamphlet issued in the series on vital issues of the Third General Elections, published by the Communist Party of India.

The constitution of the Indian Republic enjoins upon the state to pursue an economic policy designed to foster equitable distribution of wealth and opportunity and to prevent the concentration of economic power in the hands of a small number of persons. Parliament adopted the 'socialistic pattern of society' as the objective of social development. The Second and the Third Five Year Plans make repeated reference to the above objectives and swear by these ideals.

WHILE these really noble ideals are proclaimed from the house-tops, the practice of the Congress regime and the objective results flowing from it have in the main served to extend and tighten the grip of powerful monopolistic formations over a wide sphere of our national life.

GIANT COMPANIES

Let us first take the case of joint stock company which embraces the entire corporate sector of the economy.

According to the data presented in a study published by the Company Law Administration of the Government of India, about 25,000 companies out of a total of 28,250 companies in the private sector had paid-up capital of below Rs. five lakhs each and they had between themselves an aggregate paid-up capital of Rs. 161.1 crores.

In other words, about 88 per cent of the companies at the base had about 15 per cent of the aggregate paid-up capital. At the top, however, 126 companies had paid-up capital of Rs. one crore and above each and they had about Rs. 356 crores of paid-up capital in aggregate; in other words 0.4 per cent of the total number of companies had a total of 33.5 per cent of the paid-up capital.

In the sphere of manufacturing industry according to the data available in the Census of Indian Manufactures 1957, 4,969 factories out of a total of 6,780 factories, i.e., 73.2 per cent of the total belonged to the size class employing less than 100 workers each.

These factories employed 8.4 per cent of the total productive capital and 9.9 per cent of the total number of workers employed. Collectively they were responsible for 16.2 per cent of the total value of gross output only.

Five hundred and six giant factories, i.e., employing 1,000 and above workers each, on the other hand, constituted 7.5 per cent only of the total number of factories.

But between them they

73.6 per cent of the total number of private banks accounted for a meagre share of 3.6 per cent of the total deposits only. The aggregate share of the three top banks, on the other hand, forming less than one per cent of the total number of banks was 29.1 per cent of the total deposits of all the 350 private banks in India.

Fourteen banks with deposits of Rs. 25 crores and above each, forming about four per cent of the total number of banks had an aggregate deposit of Rs. 889.9 crores of 69.6 per cent of the total deposits.

The progress of concentration in the sphere of banking has made rapid headway during the last decade. The number of giant private banks (excluding the Imperial/State Bank of India) increased from 6 to 14. At the other pole, the number of small, non-scheduled banks declined in this period from 521 to 258 and their aggregate share in the total deposits fell from 13.2 to 3.6 per cent.

BIG BANKS

In other words, about a dozen big banks have grown bigger still by driving out of business innumerable small banks. Among the surviving banks, the share of the top private banks in the total deposits increased from 52 per cent in 1949 to 69.6 per cent in 1960.

But more important than the high rate of profits in the banking business proper secured through various malprac-

in the general level of prices was also due to the pressure of monetary demand.

That a considerable part of bank credit to the private sector goes to sustain the speculative activities is admitted in the Reserve Bank reports, though in a rather guarded language.

For example, the Report for 1959 says that the high volume of commercial advances "would appear to have been partly used for carrying excess inventories in certain lines". Then again the Report for 1960 says, "bank credit during the same period went up... and appeared to be larger than was warranted by the genuine requirements of trade and industries."

PRICE PUSH

"Prices began to move up, specially of industrial raw material and manufacture. The stock market too was characterised by boom condition, aided to some extent by a sharp rise in credit against equity shares and also the direct financing of budla transaction by certain banks".

It is clear that just a handful of giant and super-giant units in the spheres of manufactures, plantations and finance dominate the respective fields.

However, staggering the picture already revealed might appear, the commanding heights of the organised sector of the Indian economy are still narrower because of the simultaneous progress of centralisation, expressed mainly through two forms:

MONOPOLY SPREADS

tees is the use, which this huge amount of deposits accumulated in the vaults of the big banks are put to.

Between 1949 and 1960, the total deposits of the private banks have increased by about Rs. 740 crores from Rs. 538.97 crores to Rs. 1,278.30 crores. This huge accumulation is utilised by the big business magnets like Tatas, Birlas, Jains, etc., who combine in their persons the control of giant industry and high finance to extend their industrial empires and to sustain their speculative activities.

Scheduled bank credit to industry rose by over Rs. 400 crores, from Rs. 160 crores in 1949 to Rs. 563 crores in 1960.

While the public sector's progress is held up due to shortage of resources, the private sector exceeds its targets of investment with the help of bank advances. This extension of bank credit leads to an expansion of money supply, in the same way as the deficit financing by the Government, and hence adds to the inflationary pressure.

"The trends," said the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) Report for 1960 "in the economy from the beginning of the year showed that... bank credit to the private sector constituted the largest single factor for monetary expansion". Further: "While shortfalls in agricultural output explained part of the rise in raw material prices, it became apparent that the rise

them published 167 daily newspapers.

"Out of a total circulation of 46.10 lakhs of dailies in the country, the share of those forming part of 17 chains, 115 groups and 27 multiple units was 31.10 lakhs.

"There were ten owners, representing five chains (Express Newspapers, Times of India Publications, Hindustan Times and Allied Publications, Amrita Bazar Patrika and Jugantar and Ananda Bazar Patrika) three groups (Malayala Manorama, Free Press Journal and Hindu) and two multiple units (Thanthi and Statesman), which published 37 dailies with a circulation of 18.11 lakhs and thus controlled 39.3 per cent of the total circulation of daily newspapers in the country.

"Taking the three categories separately, dailies forming part of chains commanded 34.7 per cent of the total circulation of dailies, those belonging to groups, 23.8 per cent, and those coming under multiple units 9 per cent."

It will be seen from the above that a large part of this newspaper chains is directly controlled by the big business groups, which dominate over the country's economic life. For example, Hindustan Times and Allied publications, represents Birla interests, the Times of India Publications is controlled by Dalmia-Jain combine and the Statesman is the mouth-

piece of the British finance capital entrenched in the eastern region of the country.

As a result of the concentration and centralisation described above, some of the vital industries have come to be dominated by a handful of monopolistic concerns—foreign and Indian. Tea and raw rubber we have discussed earlier.

Rubber manufacture is the exclusive preserve of two companies, Dunlop and Firestone, both linked up with gigantic world monopolies. They have price agreement between them, as a result of which competition is eliminated.

Oxygen which is so vital to modern industries is the exclusive preserve of the Indian Oxygen Ltd. with its factories and depots dotted all over India.

Tobacco and Cigarettes including the marketing of raw tobacco leaves is dominated by the Imperial Tobacco Co. The Western India Match Co. (WIMCO) with its associate the Assam Match Company has a monopolistic grip over this industry.

Hindustan Lever, an offshoot of the giant British monopoly, Unilever dominates the soap and vanaspathi industries. Hindustan Lever and Tata Oil Mill Co. (TOMCO) control between themselves about 80 per cent of the market in these two products.

Half of cement producing capacity is concentrated in the hands of the Associated Cement Companies Ltd. (ACC). Another quarter is controlled by the Dalmia-Jain combine.

ITS TENTACLES

Out of the existing capacity of 17,500 tons of aluminium production, 15 thousand ton capacity is owned by a single concern Indian Aluminium Co. Ltd. Even if the projected expansion of the capacity is achieved as a result of the setting up of a number of new units, about half the capacity will still be concentrated in the hands of two companies which have been permitted to expand their present capacities.

These tax concessions have in general benefited the larger units to a greater degree. Instead of effecting a levelling up as implied in the ideals of "economic democracy" and "socialistic pattern", the taxation measures so long adopted have led to a widening of the gulf between the small and large units.

A recent study published in the RBI Bulletin (December 1960) shows that the rate of profit after tax as percentage of net worth was in the two years 1957 and 1958, 3.8 and 4.6 for small companies as against 4.9 and 5.1 for 1,001 large and medium companies respectively.

This higher rate of profit for larger companies means that the latter are capable of retaining a large volume of profit for ploughing back, which after gestation leads to a further concentration of productive resources.

A taxation policy, oriented towards the prevention of concentration of economic power should impose a still higher incidence of direct taxes on the larger units, so

position in the international market? I know as I have said in my previous statement that the IJMA is a powerful organisation, which can create pressure, even a crisis" (The Statesman, Calcutta, August 10, 1961, emphasis added.)

Concentration and centralisation are the basic laws of capitalism. As long as private ownership in the means of production is the means of production in the bulk of social production can never be checked.

The accentuation of this trend towards concentration and centralisation in recent years which we have noted earlier, is the result of the relative heightening of the tempo of economic growth that has been taking place in India during the last decade.

GOVT. POLICIES

What is more significant in this connection is that the various economic policies and actions of the Government of India have, in fact, in spite of all the socialistic declamations, tended to promote further consolidation of the monopolistic groups.

Mention should be made in this connection of the following aspects of Government policies in particular:

1) Taxation policies: The taxation policies pursued by the Congress regime have contributed towards the acceleration of the process of concentration. Between 1947-48 and 1960-61, the proportion of direct taxes in the

BIG BUSINESS HONOURS LIST

It is very difficult to properly calculate the extent of the interests controlled by the Indian big business houses. Like icebergs, they manage to keep the major part of their activities under surface. For one thing, most of the big houses carry on their activities under more than one sign-board.

Take for instance, the House of Tata, the biggest of the Indian big business. The Tatas operate through at least four managing agencies, viz., Tata Sons (P) Ltd., Tata Industries (P) Ltd., and Tata Hydro-Electric (P) Ltd., and they are a leading partner in the Cement Agencies (P) Ltd., which again is the managing agency of the biggest cement combine in India, viz., the Associated Cement Co. Ltd., (ACC).

The House of Tata controls about 125 biggest financial and industrial units in India. For instance, they control two of the biggest private banks, viz., the Central Bank of India (deposits Rs. 233 crores) and the Bank of India (deposits over Rs. 100 crores). They also have a share in the control of another big bank viz., the Bank of Baroda.

The New India Assurance Company which monopolises about a third of the total general insurance business in India as we have seen earlier is a Tata concern.

In the sphere of manufacturing industry they control the biggest single private establishment in India, viz., the Tata Iron and Steel Co., (TISCO) whose assets aggregate about Rs. 200 crores. Another Tata concern, the Tata Locomotive (Telco) is also a big combine which produces the railway locomotives on Government account and heavy diesel trucks and has assets of about Rs. 32 crores.

The Tatas also operate three inter-connected electric supply systems providing power to Bombay city and suburban regions, viz., Andhra Valley Hydro-Electric, Tata Power, and Tata Hydro-Electric Power Supply. Apart from these, their activities extend to many other spheres including chemicals, heavy and fine, textiles, radio manufacture, cement, engineering etc.

The House of Tata is at present closely linked up in partnership with another managing agency, Macneil and Barry Ltd., which manages 23 companies including Kilburn and Co., which in turn serves as the managing agency of a few others. The Tatas have also acquired the controlling interest in another agency house formed in partnership with the Swiss firm, the Volkart Bros, viz., the Voltas Ltd.

The next biggest, obviously, is the House of Birlas which is known to operate through at least six managing agencies. Although the Birla concerns individually are of far lesser significance than the Tata units, their empire extends over a much larger sphere of economic activity.

According to an estimate by R. K. Hazari, published in the Economic Weekly, Bombay, February 18, 1960, the total number of companies in the Birla complex is 384, whose assets aggregate about Rs. 300 crores. The House of Birla controls one of the big banks, viz., the United Commercial and has a share in the control of another big bank, viz., the Bank of Baroda and a few smaller ones. They also control a few insurance companies of lesser importance.

Then there is the Dalmia-Jain group which operates through a number of managing agencies like Dalmia Agency (P) Ltd., Sahu Jain Ltd., Hari Bros, Sahu Bros, Govan Bros., etc.

This group controls one of the big banks, the Punjab National, a chain of cement factories in India and Pakistan, sugar and chemical factories, a chain of newspapers and periodicals, and the Rohas Industries Ltd., which itself is a big combine engaged in the manufacture of sugar, cement and cement products, asbestos, cement sheets, spun pipes, vanaspathi, soap, paper and paper products varnished fibre sheets, chemicals, steel castings, machinery parts, and electricity generation. The assets of the last named concern alone exceeds Rs. 16 crores.

Martin Burn Ltd., born out of the amalgamation of two Managing agencies, Martin and Co., and Burn and Co., now under the predominant control of the Mukherji family is another important big business consolidation which runs the huge steel combine, Indian Iron and Steel Company Ltd., (IISCO), with total assets of about Rs. 90 crores, a number of electric supply, engineering, light railways, and insurance companies.

Similarly, the Walchand Hirachand group controls important engineering, motor manufacturing, sugar factories and the Scindia Steam Navigation Co. Ltd. The last named concern alone has assets of nearly Rs. 50 crores and more than half a dozen subsidiary companies and is linked up through common directors with three of the biggest banks, viz., the Central Bank of India, Bank of India and Bank of Baroda.

The J.K. Group with interests in textile, aluminium, engineering, iron and steel and the Mafatal Group, in cotton and jute textiles, sugar dyes and chemicals are two other examples. Both of the above are linked with banks and insurance companies.

by
AJIT ROY

KHRUSHCHOV SUMS UP—ON TO COMMUNISM!

Albanian Leaders Using Cult Methods

In the course of his speech on October 27 Khrushchov said: "The speeches made by delegates and by representatives of fraternal parties show plainly that the Central Committee of our Party was absolutely correct in reporting to this Congress, frankly and from a principled standpoint, that the situation with regard to the Soviet-Albanian relations is abnormal".

He noted that the numerous attempts to normalise relations with the Albanian Party of Labour yielded, unfortunately, no results. "The Central Committee of our Party showed the greatest patience and did all in its power to restore good relations between our two Parties".

The leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour, Khrushchov said, do not scruple to use any methods to conceal from their people the truth as to what our Party and our people are doing. Albania is the only country in the socialist camp that has not published the full text of the Draft Programme of the CPSU.

Khrushchov stressed that the Albanian leaders concealed the CPSU Programme from their Party and their people because "they are scared stiff of the truth. The Party Programme is sacred to us, it is our lodestar in communist construction".

"If they had published it in full, Albania's working people would have seen who lies and who speaks the truth, would have seen that the entire activity of our Party and all its plans are in keeping with the vital interests of the peoples, including the interests of the friendly Albanian people", the First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said.

Our great Party, Khrushchov continued, has more than once been a target for

Noting further that everything that had happened in the Soviet Union during the cult of personality manifested in even worst form in the Albanian Party of Labour, Khrushchov said: "It is no longer a secret to anyone that Albanian leaders maintain their power by: resorting to force and arbitrary methods".

Today honest people are being subjected to repressions only because they come out in defence of Soviet-Albanian friendship. Those who today advocate friendship with the Soviet Union and the CPSU are regarded as enemies by the Albanian leaders.

This is why the Albanian leaders come out against the Leninist course of the Twentieth Party Congress. For Shehu, Hoxha and others, to put an end to the cult of the individual would mean, in effect, to relinquish key posts in the Party and Government, and that, of course, is something they will never do of their own free will, Khrushchov said.

"We are confident, however, that the time will come when the Albanian Communists and the Albanian people will have their say, and then the Albanian leaders will be called to account for the damage they have done to their country, their people, and the cause of socialist construction in Albania".

Khrushchov said that the CPSU would go on fighting against all deviations from Marxism-Leninism. He said that the Party had criticized China. That would really benefit the Albanian Party of Labour and would meet the interests of the entire socialist commonwealth.

german question and nuclear tests

Nikita Khrushchov, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, delivered on October 27 a speech at the evening session of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union winding up the debates on the report of the Central Committee, the report on the Draft Programme of the CPSU and the report of the Central Auditing Commission.

He declared that the entire content of the 22nd Congress has reaffirmed our Party's unwavering fidelity to the line worked out by the 20th Congress.

It is now still more evident that the 20th Congress has, by removing all the after-effects of the period of the personality cult, opened a new chapter in the history of our Party and exercised a beneficial influence on the development of our country and of the world communist and working class movement as a whole.

The attention of our Congress is focussed on the Party Programme, the programme for the building of communist society. All the delegates to the Congress who have spoken from this rostrum expressed firm confidence that the new programme would be successfully realized and the readiness of Soviet people to apply their every effort to fulfilling the Third Programme as successfully as the First and Second Programmes.

Now, at the 22nd Congress we see still more clearly that communist construction has become the practical task of the Party, the cause of the entire Soviet people.

Important questions concerning further improvement of the managing of the national economy were raised during the discussion of the Central Committee report and the Draft Programme, Khrushchov said. Implementation of these proposals will unquestionably help to successfully accomplish the tasks we confront.

Delegations of nearly all the communist and workers' parties of the world are attending our Congress.

The speeches made from this rostrum by our dear guests and the salutary messages the Congress has received from the fraternal parties reflect the great unity of the ranks of the world communist movement and confirm once more that all the Marxist-Leninist parties approve and support the Leninist policy of our Party, Khrushchov said.

Nikita Khrushchov pointed out that the speeches made at the Congress by the leaders of the Communist and workers' parties of the countries of the socialist camp have shown that the fraternal parties stand unanimously by the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement. The socialist camp has again demonstrated the monolithic unity of its ranks, the growth and the increased cohesion of the forces of world socialism.

Khrushchov said: "The presence at the 22nd Congress of delegations from 80 Marxist-Leninist parties, their speeches here, reflect the

powerful growth of the international communist, working class and national-liberation movement and the unshakable loyalty of the communists of all countries to the principles of proletarian internationalism bequeathed to us by Marx, Engels and Lenin".

The First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee cordially thanked the representatives of the democratic national parties of the independent African states of Guinea, the Republic of Ghana and the Mali Republic which, although they are not communist parties, have sent their delegations to the Congress.

"All Soviet people wish the independent African states that have taken or are taking the path of independent economic and political development, great success and prosperity".

After noting that the success of the Soviet Union and of all the socialist countries have a great force of attraction, Khrushchov said: Being aware of this, the imperialists would have liked to retard our swift advance.

It is this that explains the aggressive nature of the policy pursued by the ruling circles of the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and the other imperialist powers.

Their policy is not determined by the interests of preserving the domination of the imperialists.

Nikita Khrushchov stressed again that any further delay in solving the problem of abolishing the survivals of the Second World War in Europe is fraught with grave consequences to the cause of peace.

He pointed out that in reply to the proposals of the USSR to conclude a German peace treaty and to normalize the situation in West Berlin on that basis, the Western powers openly threaten to take up arms. "By threatening war they want to make us perpetuate the rights of the United States, Britain and France to occupy West Berlin".

Khrushchov noted that the Western powers pretend to need these rights "to ensure the freedom" of West Berlin. "But neither the Soviet Union nor the German Democratic Republic and the other socialist countries have any designs upon the freedom of West Berlin".

Khrushchov emphasized that the Western powers speak of "freedom" but what they imply by it is the occupation of West Berlin.

"They want us to ensure, like traffic police, the unintermittent transportation to West Berlin of their military freights, spies and saboteurs for subversive acts against ourselves and our allies. Who do these gentle-

men take us for? Do they actually believe that they can do anything they want and that they can make us act against our vital interests, against the interest of world peace and security?" Khrushchov said.

It is high time they understood, Khrushchov declared, the simple fact that today they can negotiate with the Soviet Union, and the socialist community as a whole, only from a position of reason, not of strength. And reason and justice are on our side, not on theirs.

"The Western powers policy on the German question is not prompted by the interests of peace but primarily by the interests of the militarist and revenge-seeking forces in West Germany. The chief demon who shapes that policy is Chancellor Adenauer".

After pointing out that militarist aggressive circles make no secret of their hatred for the Soviet state and our foreign policy of peace, Khrushchov said: "Whatever their feelings for socialism, let them give up all hope of ever imposing their capitalist system on the socialist countries".

Khrushchov went on: "Today we can say to them once again: Don't lose your wits, gentlemen, don't try to test the strength and solidarity of our system. Everyone knows that our enemies tried that more than once in the past and knows how those attempts ended".

The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU declared again that if the Western powers show readiness to settle the German problem, the issue of a deadline will no longer be so important.

"In that case we will not insist on a treaty being signed before December 31. We are not superstitious and we believe that both the 31st and the 13th may be a lucky day. The important thing is not the date but a business-like and fair solution of the problem".

We are willing to hold meetings with Western representatives and to exchange views with them so as to prepare fruitful negotiations, Khrushchov said.

However, he says, the Soviet Union will not stand for negotiations being held for their own sake, will not stand for the Western powers taking advantage of them to delay peaceful settlement in Europe. If anyone is counting on that, let him know in advance that his expectations will never materialize.

"Such is our stand. We have adhered to it so far, and we abide by it firmly", Khrushchov declared.

The First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee again emphasized that the Soviet Union was compelled to resume nuclear weapon tests.

Referring to the hue and cry raised by bourgeois propaganda in this connection and assertions that such tests run counter to moral principles, Khrushchov said: No United States Government or President

has ever declared since the end of the war that the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were immoral acts.

"They are guided by the imperialist moral principle of might is right. They thought their monopoly in nuclear weapons would enable them to gain world dominion".

But the Soviet Union, Khrushchov continued, shortly made a powerful nuclear weapon and thus put an end to the United States monopoly in this field. Even President Kennedy has to admit that the United States "is faced with the arduous task of overtaking the Soviet Union in this sphere".

But, Khrushchov noted, while the United States President speaks of the need to overtake the Soviet Union, Secretary of State Rusk persists in calling for a "from a position of strength" policy. "It looks as if the right hand did not know what the left was doing."

The Soviet Union is far from seeking to dictate its will or terms to other countries, Khrushchov said. He added: "In the face of direct threats and the danger of war, the Soviet Union was compelled to take appropriate steps to strengthen its defences, to defend the Soviet people and the peoples of the great commonwealth of socialist countries".

Khrushchov stressed that the Soviet scientists were doing everything to reduce the harmful after effects of the tests to a minimum.

"But we cannot refrain from carrying out those tests at a time when the United States, British, French and West German imperialists are making preparations to destroy not only the socialist gains but also the peoples of our countries. For they threaten not only to contaminate the atmosphere but to take the lives of millions of people."

The First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee again drew the attention of the United States, British, French, West German leaders and the leaders of other countries to the fact that "the most sensible thing to do is to discard the policy "from a position of strength" and "cold war". "In the sphere of international relations, it is necessary to pursue the realistic policy of peaceful co-existence."

"The peaceful coexistence of countries with different social and political systems is a cardinal issue of our time", Khrushchov said.

Some people, he continued, attack us, accuse us of allegedly "simplifying or softening the assessment of the international situation when we stress the need of peaceful coexistence in the present-day conditions. We are told that those who lay stress on peaceful co-existence allegedly display some sort of an under-estimation of the essence of imperialism and even contradict Lenin's appraisal of imperialism."

Khrushchov stressed that the opportunities for im-

perialism are now different from what they were in the period of its undivided domination. "Today the situation is such that imperialism can no longer dictate its will and conduct its aggressive policy without opposition".

The road to the aggressive aspirations of the imperialists for recarving the world, for enslaving other peoples, Khrushchov said, is blocked by the inconquerable forces of the world socialist system and above all the Soviet Union. These forces curb the wolfish appetites of the imperialists.

Khrushchov stressed that in our time the might of the world system of socialism has grown more than ever. This system is a great bulwark of world peace. The principle of peaceful co-existence among states with different social systems assumes vital significance in the present-day conditions.

"Only the hopeless dogmatists fail to realise this, dogmatists who have learned by heart the general formulas about imperialism and stubbornly turn their eyes away from actual life."

Cult Again—No!

KHRUSHCHOV further noted that in many of the speeches at the Congress and not infrequently in the press, too, when mention is made of the activities of the Central Committee of the Party, some special emphasis is placed on his, Khrushchov's, personality and his role in the implementation of measures of the Party and the Government is stressed.

I appreciate the kind feelings guiding these comrades, Khrushchov said. But allow me to state emphatically that everything said about me should be referred to the Central Committee of our Leninist Party, to the Presidium of the Central Committee, because not a single major measure nor a single responsible speech was undertaken on somebody's personal instructions.

They are all the results of collective discussion, and of collective decision. Our real strength, comrades, lies in collective leadership, in a joint decision on all matters of principle.

While firmly opposed to the revolting effects of the cult of an individual, Marxist-Leninists have always recognized the authority of leaders, and will continue to do so.

But, Khrushchov noted, it would be wrong to single out any leaders, to set him apart in any way from the leading collective, to indulge in his excessive praise. This is contrary to the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Inclination to self-praise and any special accentuation or excessive exaggeration of the role of individual leaders is profoundly alien to true Marxist-Leninists. It is simply insulting for them when someone importunately tries to set them apart, to isolate them from the guiding nucleus of comrades.

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CPI delegation to the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, outside the Congress hall. From left to right: Comrades Promode Das Gupta, Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri, S. G. Sardesai, Ajoy Ghosh, Z. A. Ahmad and Khandkar.

Congress Goes To Court Of Wards

From Homi Daji

The Madhya Pradesh Congress Committee (MPCC) has abdicated the all-important task of selecting candidates for the forthcoming elections and entrusted the work to Lal Bahadur Shastri. Political circles mockingly name it as "the Congress is entrusted to a Court of Wards."

THIS was the result of long standing group rivalries inside the Madhya Pradesh Congress, which is mainly divided into two groups—the Katju or the ministerialist group and the Pradesh Congress Committee group or the Deshlehra group. There are various groups within these groups but, in the context of the elections the main division is between these groups.

Deshlehra was elected President of the MPCC in teeth of the opposition of Dr. Katju and despite all the influence and pressure of the different Ministers. Ever since his election he set about tightening his grip on the Congress organisation with an eye to the coming General Elections. Supporters of his group openly attacked the administration for its many failures and even in the Assembly some of them spoke in no less critical a tone than the opposition itself.

Their main targets were the Education Minister Dr. Sharma and the Health Minister Rani Padmavati.

But just as Deshlehra's group seemed to be digging in it was outmanoeuvred by Dr. Katju. This he managed by appointing three Deputy Ministers early this year. Thereby he managed to consolidate his majority both in the Assembly as well as secure a 6 to 5 majority in the MPCC election committee. This only infuriated the Deshlehra group and as the time for the selection of candidates drew near the rivalries burst out openly.

The Bilaspur District Committee of the Congress openly passed resolutions expressing dissatisfaction with the work of Deputy Minister Dube and Education Minister Dr. Sharma and levelled serious charges against them.

Meanwhile Paliwal, a Congress MLA from Bilaspur, was arrested on a charge of dacoity alleged to have been committed more than a year back. The Deshlehra group espoused his cause and raised the matter in the MPCC meeting. A howl and rumps burst out

at the meeting when Dr. Katju refused to allow the matter to be discussed as it was sub judice and threatened to walk out if the discussion continued. Simultaneously, he moved the resolution for the suspension of the two District Committees who had passed resolutions against the Ministers. The meeting broke up in confusion.

The Indore INTUC and the local Congress have been at daggers drawn for many years. This year one of the Congress workers of village Rangwasa in Labour Minister Dravid's constituency was brutally murdered, allegedly by the other group who are INTUC supporters.

It caused great shock and put the INTUC leaders in the dock, though they disavowed all responsibility. But the incident widened the gulf and set them snarling against each other.

The local Congress took full advantage of the extreme unpopularity of Dravid and turned down his application for a Congress ticket. They also refused to recommend Ram Singh Bhai's application for ticket from Indore for the Lok Sabha. When voting took place both Dravid and Ram Singh Bhai were

routed as the overwhelming majority of Congress Mandal Committees and panchayats voted against them.

Thus, Dravid's autocratic rule has come to roost and he is facing ridicule and humiliation as he has been refused a ticket from his Home District. The local Congress offered him a ticket against the Communist MLA Homi Daji saying that as that was the labour seat he should rightly contest there. This Dravid was not ready to risk. He now made it a prestige issue and is trying to manoeuvre a ticket from the High Command.

It was in this background that the MPCC Election Committee met to finalise the list of candidates. Hundreds of ticket-seeking Congressmen swarmed into Bhopal during those days and tempers ran high.

Inside the Committee work was impossible, as each group contested almost every name and deadlock resulted.

Then Dr. Katju and Deshlehra were given the work of ironing out the differences and presenting as many agreed names as possible. But at midnight suddenly the committee withdrew this mandate and met the next day only to face yet another

deadlock. At last the meeting appointed committees for the different regions for finalising as agreed a list as possible.

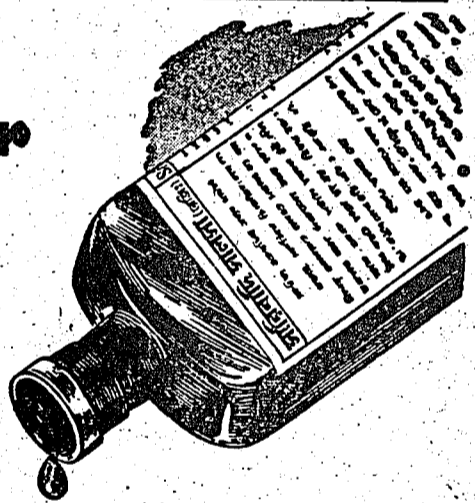
When the Committee again met on October 10, agreement was as far away as ever. The Ministerialist group charged the Deshlehra group with being too ambitious, while the MPCC Chief's countercharge was that in the absence of any recognised leader of the Ministerialist group, agreement was made impossible.

The AICC had asked the MPCC to submit a panel with two or three names if agreement was not possible. But the Committee was so divided that it could not even agree to a panel. In this situation the only thing to which the Committee could agree was to leave the entire task to Lal Bahadur Shastri.

Nor is there anything to choose between the two groups. The Deshlehra group draws its strength from the rice traders of Chattisgarh and is opposed to State trading in foodgrains and the nationalisation of road transport.

On the other hand, Dr. Katju leans heavily on feudal elements—and corrupt discredited Ministers.

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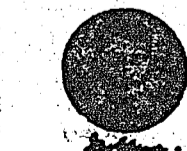
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* On page 12

EXPOSURES

by O. P. MEHROTRA

CORRUPTION COMPETITION

Corruption, scandals and misuse of higher position for political ends and group aggrandisement have become the hallmark of Congress rule. It is all on record. The various reports of the State Public Account Committees, the debates of the legislatures and the dailies throughout the land bear witness to this patent fact.

Any random presentation of the cases of corruption in any State reveals that the Congress rulers have shown a cynical disregard for the very serious charges made against them.

Even after the 14 years of uninterrupted rule in almost all the States it has not been able nor willing to take any drastic step to stop these scandals and to root out the evil forces who perpetuate the misery of the people and mercilessly and unabashedly waste public funds.

The few cases given here also show that the Congress rulers are not only incapable of ridding the administration of corruption but themselves breed and encourage it by their own practices.

Let us take up this time the cases on the record of the Public Account Committee's report which was submitted to the Madhya Pradesh (MP) Vidhan Sabha during the last monsoon session which ended on September 27. The 15-member committee was presided over by Manjula Bai Wagle, a Congress MLA.

Before citing the cases of a general nature given in the report it would be interesting to present the record of a Congress Deputy Minister. The item relates to General Administration.

The Raja Bahadur of Khairgarh was a Deputy Minister of the former Government in Madhya Pradesh. He was sent as a second delegate to the International Conference of Social work held in Toronto in June, 1954, on the condition that he would himself bear half of the expenditure actually incurred.

While the estimated tour

expenditure per delegate was only Rs. 7,500, the Deputy Minister was granted advances aggregating to Rs. 16,550 during the period from April 1954 to August 1959 to be adjusted later. On return from abroad he did not immediately present the account of expenditure incurred by him. This account was submitted by him in 1956 but even then it was not examined and adjusted while the Minister was in Office.

The matter was taken up in November 1956 and in June 1957 the M.P. Government sanctioned a sum of Rs. 4,990 for adjustment against the advance sanctioned to him and asked him to refund the balance.

The Raja who no longer holds office under the State Government and currently occupies a seat in the Rajya Sabha has, however, refused to pay.

During the examination of the item in December 1960, the Public Accounts Committee was assured by the Chief Secretary that the matter would be decided finally by March 1961. And yet the Committee had not been informed of the progress made in the matter.

It would be interesting to note that Raja Bahadur is the husband of the present Health Minister of the M.P. Government.

That being the record of the rulers one cannot expect the administration to be better. Here are two examples. In the Revenue Department a total defalcation of Rs. 4,477 pertaining to the period from July 1959 was

detected during the local audit of a Collectorate in 1959. A sum of Rs. 2,765 was recovered from Nazir and he was dismissed from service in February 1959.

But in spite of the view held by the Audit that the embezzlement was rendered possible by the failure of the supervisory officers to exercise the prescribed checks over the cash books and the connected records no action has so far been taken to fix the responsibility.

Two cases of misappropriation of Government money in a Sanskrit college were reported to have been brought before the Committee. In one case the principal of the college refused to share the responsibility on the plea that he did not know English.

Another case in the same department concerns the financial loss due to irregular appointment. In this case the former M.P. Government appointed an officer, who was on the pay scale of Rs. 380-850, as the director of a non-existent department (Institute of Education) in the pay scale of Rs. 1,250-1,500. It is significant to note that no other staff was appointed for the Institute and later (in the new Madhya Pradesh State) the scheme itself was dropped!

TEXT BOOK RACKET

In the field of education Text books racketeering has become the biggest headache of the guardians. A book, *Kavya Kamudi* which is recommended for compulsory reading has 207 pages out of which only 86 pages are meant for study. The cost of the book is Rs. 2.75.

But if the necessary 86 pages are separately printed the cost of the book should not be more than Rs. 0.75 nP. The particular publisher, it is estimated, has earned Rs. 60,000 on this title alone till now. This is only one example.

But this state of affairs is being tolerated for the last seven years. Why? Is it because some of the text book publishers are donors and financiers of the Congress and particularly a Congress Minister?

BIRLAS RULE THE ROOST

NEW AGE has exposed from time to time the connection of Congress ministers with the Birlas.

The Birlas enjoy special privileges under Congress Raj and yet clamour for more. At Nagda they insist on a separate Municipalty for Birlagram in order to avoid municipal taxes which would come to approximately ten lakhs of rupees annually and increase with opening of new units there.

The Birlas receive the patronage of the Congress in Madhya Pradesh in many other ways. Here is an example.

In 1956 the former Gov-

ernment of Vindhya Pradesh (now in M.P.) entered into a contract with Birlas for the installation of a paper mill at Amalai in Shahdol district up to 1953 and a lease of all the bamboos was granted to them on a royalty basis for twenty years.

Since then, more than four years have passed but even initial preparations for the opening of the paper mill do not seem to be under way.

The Birlas have merrily used the agreement for a different purpose. From the lease area a small quantity of bamboos are cut and sent to a Birla paper mill out of the State,

which is in contravention of the agreement.

The Birlas have not cut all the bamboos from the area because they will have to pay the royalty, while the uncut bamboos are being ruined (bamboo survives only for four years). But the Government cannot give it to another contractor for that would be against the lease agreement. This has resulted into a loss of over one million rupees.

Incidentally, Shamboo Nath Shukla who is also the Forest Minister of the State, contests the election from this constituency in which Birla's man and money are operating.

Police—The Stink

THE Indian police recently celebrated its centenary. A century back the British rulers in order to perfect the system of colonial oppression had founded what later became the Indian police force.

During British rule it was taught to suppress the peoples' movement and defend alien rule. Naturally the British always defended the izzat of their police.

What now in free India? The Congress rulers inherited the same police force with all its bad past and worse habits. They only gave it more powers and kept it away from the people.

From time to time strictures have been passed against the excesses of the police by various judicial enquiry commissions and by some eminent members of the judiciary. The Government did nothing to charge things. Recently when Justice Anand Narain Mulla of U. P. made certain observations about the Indian police force, in a case of show cause notice against Mr. Mohammed Naim, Sub-Inspector of Police, Police Station Shahbad, Hardoi, the Government preferred an appeal for expunging certain remarks.

The remarks of Mr. Justice Mulla which the State Government wanted to be expunged were: (a) If I felt that with my lone efforts I could have cleaned this Augean Stable, which is the police force, I would not have hesitated to wage this war single-handed; (b) There is not a single lawless group in the whole of the country whose record of crimes anywhere nears the record of that organised unit which is known as Indian Police Force; and (c) Where every fish, barring perhaps a few, stink it is idle to pick out one or two and say that it stinks!

The application for expunging these remarks came up before Mr. Justice A. N. Mulla at the Lucknow Bench of the Allahabad High Court. The case was dismissed and the contention of the applicant that the remarks made by him were too wide and sweeping in range, that the observations were likely to humble the position of the entire Indian nation before the world, endanger security of the State and demoralise the police and other services, was rejected.

Upholding that the Courts of law could make observations touching public administration, the learned judge observed:

"I know the police force of my province better than the lines of my hand and I again reiterate that Mohammad Naims are the rule in this force and not the exception.

"It would be a sad day, indeed, when judges would be stopped from speaking the truth. If judges cannot do so, who else can do it?"

"I am, therefore, of the opinion that the State by presenting this application is presenting a deaf ear to the observations made by this Court, which were made for the purpose of removing the defects which are faced by courts of law in criminal cases again and again."

The learned judge held: "As a matter of fact I am of the opinion that if these remarks are expunged they would demoralise the judiciary. It would be the end of judicial independence if the judiciary can make only those observations which are approved by the executive.... Again in my opinion the stock of the Indian police force will not rise merely by expunging these remarks from a sheet. You cannot expunge them from the hearts and minds of the people."

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SCRAP-BOOK

CURRENT LIES

YELLOW journalism is a paying profession. But everyone cannot indulge in it. Those who have any regard for truth are doomed to failure. Twisting of facts and if necessary inventing lies is a must for students of yellow journalism. Karaka's weekly Current is a perfect example of the kind.

How should one invent a lie and repeat it even in face of facts? The Current's editor knows it well. He has done it so many times and here is another example.

Two weeks ago, to be precise in the issue dated October 14, Karaka published in his tabloid a concoction of lies under the heading—Menon and Film Scandal. The film in the case is a documentary on Kashmir. How bad was the documentary?

He wrote: "When Mr. Nehru saw the documentary it is reported that he was quite shocked. . . Mr. Nehru is reported to have left the room in extreme annoyance. He was so angry that even before it reached the censors, he forbade it to be exhibited".

But the lie exploded too soon for Karaka. The film was shown recently in Delhi and Bombay. How

blatant was the lie can be seen from the reaction of two Current readers itself, whose letters it carried in the next issue:

".. You have stated in your report that the said documentary was never shown...."

"For your information the said documentary was being shown at the Excelsior cinema a fortnight ago".

How does the Current's editor explain this lie? He persists that the story was not "incorrect". Old fascist way—repeat the lie till people forget the fact.

CONGRESS CONFESIONS

THE Birlas have been consistent supporters of the Congress. They run a chain of newspapers. Their editors cannot be accused of not knowing how the Congress organisation runs its affairs. Here is what Durga Das, one of the former editors of the Hindustan Times, says on the subject in a documentary on Kashmir. How bad was the documentary?

He wrote: "When Mr. Nehru saw the documentary it is reported that he was quite shocked. . . Mr. Nehru is reported to have left the room in extreme annoyance. He was so angry that even before it reached the censors, he forbade it to be exhibited".

But the lie exploded too soon for Karaka. The film was shown recently in Delhi and Bombay. How

in). It has the indirect support of the administration and community development personnel.

"The Congress, moreover, selects its candidates on considerations of caste and community. It uses its power and patronage to win electoral advantages for the Party and its candidates. It has no scruples in fighting the policies and programmes of the rival parties".

That is a nice confession about the Congress. But I am told Durg Das is much closer to Swatantrites these days. When is he going to write about them?

ANOTHER DONOR

As the General Elections draw closer more and more money is flowing to the Congress and Swatantra election funds. Since companies are free to donate funds to political parties, more and more are joining the race to ensure their future with the ruling party and patronise the "democratic opposition", which according to Tatas is Swatantra Party.

The Commerce of October 21, carried a notice of Hukumchand Jute Mills Limited to its shareholders for a meeting to pass an ordinary resolution for authorising to contribute "to charitable and other funds, not directly related to the business of the company" a sum of Rs. three lakhs.

The claimants are well-versed to get their share!

AGREED TO

RAYALASEEMA STARVES!

* FROM PAGE 10

This is the harvesting season and in normal times the fields should present a picture of lush greenery, the ears of corn ripening to a golden brown, wafting majestically in the cool breeze.

Here and there, as if to emphasise the general desolation, there still are small patches where irrigation wells are not yet dried up but they are few and far between.

The picture of complete failure of crops is uniform for the entire area with perhaps an extremely minor degree of variation. The main food crops of this area are jowar, korra and in some tracts paddy. The commercial crops are groundnut and cotton.

In most places, no attempt was made even to sow anything. Wherever this was done, the plants withered into deathly pale yellow after growing to a height of a couple of inches.

At some places there were a few sprinkling showers which helped to provide some fodder for the cattle as the crops were not fit for human consumption. The groundnut, the main commercial crop, has failed completely and the same is the condition with cotton in the black soil area.

At Hamchanahalli, the Secretary of the taluk Kisan Sabha stated that all those who could walk and do some work had already migrated to Karigunda iron ore mines in Sandur district of Mysore in search of work.

At Kottalapalle village,

about 3,500 people are dependant on a rain water pit in which the dried up water is not only dirty and stinking but is also infested with guinea worm. This is the only source of drinking water for human beings as well as cattle.

In Gadé-Hothur of Gooty taluk, the small and even middle peasants are selling off their cattle at distress prices as they are unable to provide fodder.

The bureaucracy and the Government might fight shy of the word famine, because of the implications of the Famine Code and its application. Bureaucratic callousness might avoid the responsibility of feeding the people. But there is no reason why people should hesitate to realise this grim reality.

Only a powerful campaign to rouse public opinion can bring the required pressure to bear on the Government to shake off its complacency. The tragedy is that the recurring famine in the Rayalaseema districts appears to have somewhat deadened the senses of the people and the present one is only spreading a sense of helplessness and despondency.

If only the people of all the districts of Andhra were to come together to extend their helping hand, as they had done on previous occasions, they can still provide hope and consolation to the afflicted people who are physically debilitated and suffering from sapped morale. (IPA).

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

* FROM FRONT PAGE

He also thanked the parties of independent states of Africa for their presence and declared that the Soviet Union would continue to support the people's struggle for freedom. Friendship and peaceful coexistence, he said, remain the basis of Soviet policy.

And he finished on these words "Our goal and tasks have been defined, let us now get down to work for the victory of Communism". It was 4-30 p.m. Moscow time when this great and historic Congress of the CPSU came to a close and all the delegates, Soviet leaders and foreign guests from more than 80 parties and nearly all countries of the world sang together the hymn of the world working class movement, the Internationale and a huge portrait of Lenin was lighted up in red light. For a long time the shouts of Hurrah and stormy applause resounded in the floodlit magnificent hall of the new Palace.

Seventy speeches were made during the eight days given over for joint discussion on the two Khrushchov reports and there were still 209 names on the list of the people wanting to speak when the closure motion was moved and passed. What has this discussion shown?

formed the Party with Lenin and built the Soviet State and who experience great joy seeing the embodiment of Lenin's behests.

The Leninist line of the Party laid bare the ulcers of the Stalin personality cult to which the anti-Party group so tenaciously clung, he said. He recalled the hounding of old Bolsheviks during the Stalin period and said that the Leninist line has the wholehearted approval of the Party.

He recalled that three Congresses of the Party had decided that a new Programme be worked out but nothing was done during the days of the cult. Only now after the Twentieth Congress and the defeat of the anti-Party group has it been possible to present the country with a new Programme.

Sifting Atmosphere

Ilyichov, head of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee, in a long speech dealt with the grievous consequences of the personality cult for the Party's ideological life and for ideological work in general.

He revealed for example that ten versions of the text book of Political Economy were prepared and they were all rejected because they allegedly did not bring out the Stalin period satisfactorily. The period of the personality cult, he declared, was a bleak time for living theoretical thought. Any attempt to view the phenomena of life from a new angle, any attempt to construe the new facts and new conclusions was viewed with suspicion.

Why is it, it may be asked that now so much attention is being devoted to the activities of the anti-Party group four years after their complete defeat and uprooting from the Party.

The reasons are the following: The Twenty-second Congress had to deal with this question and review the period as the Twenty-first was an extraordinary one. Secondly, hundreds of new facts revealing the dastardly crimes of the dogmatist anti-Party group have since come to light.

The Chairman of the State Security Committee, Shelepin, dealt with this in great detail and other speakers brought out the injustices and mass repressions in Byelo-Russia, Ukraine and other places committed by the anti-Party group during the Stalin cult days.

Thirdly, four years after the defeat of the anti-Party group Molotov tried to put forward a "political platform". As Khusnien said all previous anti-Party groups had their political platforms but the factionalists of 1957 had none. They noticed this omission only now.

Molotov was trying to concoct a certain sectarian platform. He "decided to muddy waters and to try to catch a fish if not at home than may be in alien waters."

And Satyukov, the editor of Pravda, revealed that Molotov had written to the Cen-

HYMN TO LENIN'S CAUSE!

tral Committee saying that the new Programme of the Party did not have anything that would tie up Communist construction in the USSR with the prospects of revolutionary movement abroad and calling it a revisionist and pacifist document.

Molotov denied that Leninism stands for peaceful co-existence with different social systems. It follows from his assertions, Satyukov said, that without war further movement towards Communism is impossible. But the Party says no to this and will continue to do everything to ensure peace and the Leninist principle of peaceful co-existence remains the general line of Soviet foreign policy.

There were many demands from the delegates that in view of their crimes and not because of political differences Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich be expelled from the Party.

One of the most important events of the Congress was Khrushchov's closing speech summing up the discussion on the October 27. It was a great speech, frank, open and sincere which moved the audience and was followed by an ovation lasting eight minutes in which foreign delegations also enthusiastically took part.

And on Monday morning (October 30) a motion was moved in the CPSU Congress on behalf of the Leningrad

Party organisation to remove Stalin's body from the Mausoleum in Red Square at the earliest possible time.

Moving the motion First Secretary of the Leningrad Regional Committee, Spiridonov, said that this demand has been unanimously put forward at meetings by the workers of the city of Lenin.

He stressed that the presence of Stalin's body next to the body of Lenin was incompatible with the acts of lawlessness and repression committed by Stalin during the period of the cult of his person.

The motion was supported by the Moscow Communists and the First Secretary of the Moscow City Committee, Demichev, said that though the arbitrariness and lawlessness prevailing at the time of Stalin cult were things of the past, one could not remain silent about them.

"From now on for all time the Leninist principles are triumphant", he declared.

The motion was also supported on behalf of the Communist delegation of Georgia by Javakhishvili, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic.

After him got up an old thin woman Lazarukina, a member of the CPSU since 1902, who had worked with Lenin in her youth and was arrested in 1937 and spent 17 years in prison camps.

The entire regime, the entire situation in the Party at that time was in contradiction to the Leninist spirit, she said.

She recalled that she used to defend Stalin in the camp when others abused him and used to say "No it is not possible that Stalin allowed all this in the Party. It is impossible".

She was released and rehabilitated just before the Twentieth Congress and only then came to know the truth.

Lazarukina compared the atmosphere of comradeship that prevailed in the Party at the time of Lenin with the repressions of the Stalin period when Communists were forced to denounce their innocent comrades.

She called Lenin "the most humane of men" and continued "our great Lenin cannot lie next to a man who even though he did render services to the Party caused much harm and misfortunes to it in his later years".

The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukraine Communist Party also spoke and said it was the unanimous opinion of the people of Ukraine that "Stalin's body must not be in the Lenin Mausoleum which is sacred to the Soviet people and all workingmen and women of the world".

The resolution was unanimously passed amid applause.

kairon's savage police

AFTER discussing the repression launched especially against the Communists by Kairon Government, the State Executive adopted a resolution on the second day of its deliberations, extracts from which follow:

To prepare the ground for provocative offensive against the Party, Chief Minister Kairon levelled false and ridiculous charges against it of entering into an alliance with the Akali Party and of its contemplating engaging in sabotage and immediately thereafter issued orders for a general round-up of Party leaders and workers.

The Secretary of State Council, who immediately denounced the false charges in a press statement from Chandigarh was arrested without a warrant at Goraya on the evening of September 2. A large number of members of the State Executive and Council, of district councils and other active workers of the Party were similarly rounded up through widespread police raids on September 2 and subsequent days under Section 107/151 of Cr. P.C. and Section 6 of Criminal Law Amendment Act.

Party workers were arrested in large numbers for the crime of raising the slogan of "Hindu-Sikh Unity Zindabad". Over 1,100 Communist workers were, thus, arrested in the course of a month and kept detained illegally without trial.

Meetings, meeting places, speakers and speeches attri-

buted to them were wholly invented by the fertile imagination of the police. Fabrication of false charge-sheets on a mass scale beat all records even of the British days.

Relatives of wanted comrades were harassed, arrested and detained illegally in police stations. Their movable properties were illegally removed by the police and their cattle driven away in districts Kapurthala, Ludhiana, Ferozpur, Bhatinda and Hoshiarpur.

To defame Communist workers false allegations were made against them of inciting Sikhs against Hindus. In a case against a prominent leader his participation in national freedom movement was also cited in support of demand for security to be of good behaviour for a year under Section 107/151.

The strictures passed by the High Court judge in the Habeas Corpus petition of Surjeet have thoroughly exposed the illegal procedures indulged in by the Police and certain magistrates.

The Ludhiana District authorities showed callous disregard of all sense of elementary decency by revoking the permission granted for holding a civil liberties convention on September 3 and arresting the comrades, belonging to the Republican Party, P.S.P. and our Party.

The District authorities abused their powers to render impossible the holding of the Dehati Mazdoor Sabha Session in district Bhatinda and the Silver Jubilee Session of State

Kisan Sabha in district Hoshiarpur. Youth Festival in Dasuya was cut short by arbitrary ukase of Deputy Commissioner Hoshiarpur on August 31.

The Village Patrol Act was generally misused to mobilise villagers for guarding Railway lines, etc., for weeks together and to create a sense of unnecessary panic among the people.

The occasion was used by the ruling clique to arrest and intimidate Panchayat Samiti members not amenable to their dictates and thereby to capture these institutions. The occasion was also used to arrest trade union workers and smash trade union organisations in Amritsar, Phagwara, Ludhiana and Nangal.

The satyagrahis in Sangrur district were mercilessly beaten, tortured and humiliated day after day in police station Sangrur by S.I.O. Maharaj Krishan, acting under instructions of the Deputy Commissioner.

The workers were detained, tortured and interrogated in Amritsar Fort.

This chapter of repression constitutes a dismal story of lawlessness on the part of the police and administration headed by Chief Minister Kairon against peaceful citizens.

The Executive demands a sifting enquiry into the disgraceful conduct of authorities in the whole affair in the interest of truth, justice and democracy.

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Jamaat-E-Islami's Poison

by Ali Ashraf

The Jamaat-e-Islami is like the proverbial lady who protests too much. Ever since the incidents at Aligarh focused attention on communal organisations and the Jamaat, too, came for its part of the blame, the volume of its protests has increased manifold.

THE Jamaat is not a communal organisation, aver its leaders. The Jamaat is there to propagate an ideology, argued its organ Dawat. It is like the Communist Party. But while the latter is based on a godless creed, the Jamaat seeks to propagate the ideology of Islam. And if the Communist Party is not a communal organisation, how can the Jamaat be given this label?

Very logical, it would appear. And in order to strengthen the impression further, the chief organiser of the Jamaat claimed that "removing communal tension was a part of the Jamaat's programme for without relations of mutual love and unity the Jamaat-e-Islami cannot carry its message to the others".

And the Dawat writing editorially under the caption Aligarh and Jamaat-E-Islami went so far as to claim that "the Jamaat-e-Islami insists on the purity both of ends and the means.... the Jamaat does not permit the use of means which may lead to... communal hatred, class struggle or strife in the land" (October 13).

worst separatism

Enough to convince all those who have some regard for "the purity of means" and especially those who hate class struggle. Next day, as further proof of its anti-communism, the Dawat came with advice "to the Muslim organisations and influential personalities to establish contact with those active and influential organisations of the country who are suspicious of the Muslims and who on the basis of certain imaginary things adopt an anti-Muslim attitude or who are misled for political reasons.

"In interviews and personal discussions they should be asked to consider the underlying aims of their anti-Muslim attitude and the purpose of the anti-Muslim front. Whenever these organisations become active they gain easy success, and the Government only takes belated action to

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through its organ Dawat. In its issue dated October 16, the paper wrote: "In the eyes of the enemies of Islam all Muslims are united as Muslims.... The enemy is aiming at Islam and the Muslim. To him the difference between the Jamaat-ul-ulema and the Jamaat-e-Islami has no significance....

'bring the situation under control.'

"It is not difficult to imagine that it is really these organisations who exercise control over the activities of society and Law and Order is in fact, subject to their will.

If their activities harm the Muslims, commonsense demands that Muslims establish contacts with them... If their aim is to obtain power under cover of (struggle against) Muslims, then it should not be difficult to discuss the matter with them in the light of the situation. If they want merger, its details and results can also be discussed. It is impossible that after understanding each other's point of view some way to peace and friendly relations is not found".

It should be obvious to the meanest intelligence that behind the facade of "peace and friendly relations" and an anti-communal approach, what the Jamaat-e-Islami official organ Dawat is angling at is a reactionary alliance with the communal Hindu organisations against the Congress in the former's attempt "to obtain power".

But is this reactionary, political alliance with communal Hindu organisations visualised on a non-communal basis? The Dawat postulates a precondition for this alliance. And the condition is that all Muslims and their organisations should first unite among themselves on a single platform.

communal unity

"There are three Muslim organisations in India which influence popular mind. They are the Jamaat-ul-ulema-i-Hind, the Muslim League and the Jamaat-e-Islami. The leaders of these organisations namely, Maulana Hifzur Rahman, Mohammad Ismail Saheb and Maulana Abul Lais exercise broad influence on the Muslims. We propose that these three leaders should jointly prepare a course of action for the future" (October 19).

It is only rank hypocrisy which can allow the Jamaat-e-Islami to lay claim to a non-communal character and role and at the same time take initiative to organise all Muslims on a single political platform and to jointly prepare a course of action for the community!

This appeal for communal political unity of the Muslims is a theme which in recent weeks has repeatedly been made by the Jamaat

"In the riots against the Muslims it is enough that their victim is a Muslim... Hence, there is no reason why Muslims themselves should not unite among themselves on the basis of the oneness of their religious belief".

integration opposed

Referring to Charan Singh's remarks about the Jamaat-ul-ulema the Dawat wrote: "Uttar Pradesh Interior Minister has not spared the Jamaat-ul-ulema while accusing the Jamaat.... Besides five or six other Muslim organisations have also been named.

"Will the Muslim organisations not realise the necessity of unity even now? Will they not realise even now that the Government wants to look at all organisations of Muslim awakening and Muslim culture with a different eye?

"The reality is that the Government looks with suspicion at all those organisations which are fountainhead of Islamic consciousness, which put the stamp of Islam on Muslims...."

Then follows open opposition to national integration. "We are afraid the Government will make every effort to dissolve the religious organisation of the Muslims. It will try to nationalise the cultural and religious distinctiveness of the Muslims.

"The steps which the Government is taking in the name of national integration will only lead to the elimination of linguistic, regional or racial conflicts among the Hindus and strike at the individuality of the Muslims and invite them to merge themselves completely...."

"This is a common danger. A common board of all Muslim organisations should be formed to face it. We invite all Muslim organisations to recognise their basic religious unity in this critical period and to oppose the crushing floods with the strength of their unity".

All this the Jamaat claims is not communalism. Oppose secularism. Oppose national integration. Unite and organise all Muslims on a political platform in the name of religion. And then let the United Muslims negotiate with the United Hindus.

To pretend that all this is anything but the worst of communal separatism is possible only for the hypocritical and dishonest Jamaat moulvis who swear by the "purity of both means and ends" to exploit religion and Islam in the interest of their nefarious and reactionary aims.

Coming to the films as

govt.'s bungling mars film festival

FROM ZIAUL HAQ

THE festival of international films now drawing close in Delhi and soon to take place in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras provides a rare opportunity, at least in the main centres, for a small fraction of our cinema-going people to see some really good films of world standards.

The abysmal degeneration of the vast bulk of the Indian film industry and the torrent of trashy Hollywood stuff that keeps on pouring into our cinema houses have together made us almost forget over a number of years that there could really be good films and one could keep rushing from one cinema hall to other to keep pace with them.

That is, when one could get the necessary admittance into the cinema halls showing these films. For it is rarely that such an undertaking has been so badly organised in this capital city of our Republic.

It has happened in some of this festival's showings that rows and rows of seats have gone empty while vast crowds outside have been turned away on the pretext that all tickets had been sold out.

Tickets and passes were reported to have been cornered by "the Ministry", i.e. the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting which is supposed to be mainly responsible for the Festival.

Strange types appeared in the rows reserved for the Press while pressmen wanting to cover the Festival, after being made to suffer all sorts of harassment and humiliation, were told they could get passes for only three shows in the entire festival.

Most of them in sheer disgust preferred to keep away hoping they could purchase the tickets. But even there the inevitable "Ministry" was there solidly blocking the way!

It would be too much to expect from such a "Ministry" presided over by a person neither too literate nor too modest that it would know what an international film festival is really like.

Their idea of a film festival is, as it turned out to be, that some glamorous stars are brought together and placed on the dais for the inauguration and the closing and it becomes a festival.

Neither the makers of the outstanding films who have come all the way are given an opportunity at any stage to say a word about the films they have made nor any discussions are organised about the various films.

To cap it all, respected figures of our own film industry are treated with contempt to the extent that even the doyen of Indian film actors, Prithvi Raj Kapoor is not considered worth being called to the dais.

Coming to the films as

such, of the few that I could manage to see I must confess that I found the Czechoslovak Higher Principle the most moving—for its ruthless realism and fidelity to truth, as well as for its forceful delineation of characters both Czech and German.

The teacher whose simple delusions are shattered by the realities of Nazi occupation and who is impelled, naturally and almost inexorably by the higher principles he has imbibed through his calling and learning, to stand by his students to the last; the teen-age lovers; the mother, and the Gestapo chief who knows the classics and does not want his child to be cruel to the gold fish—all of them stand out in bold relief truthfully and with no exaggerations.

There is cowardice and cringing and betrayal among the Czechs living under brutal Nazi terror. And there is noble heroism and patriotic action inspired by no more than normal higher principles, the basic universal values. With superb acting all around the film makes a terrific impact.

Almost the same is the case with Prof. Mamlock, the East German film of Hitler's advent to power and the destruction of the German peoples' conscience by means of the weapon of anti-Semitism.

This film version of the famous play by Friedrich Wolf is made by his son Kurt Wolf who at 35 is a leading figure in the GDR film world.

The film tells of the tragic fate of a middle-class intellectual, a Jewish surgeon, who realises after the Nazis seize power, that there can be no humanity under the fascist system.

Dr. Mamlock in face of the stupidity and cowardice of his colleagues has no alternative except to take his own life.

In contrast to the above two films the West German entries openly seek to ridicule the anti-Nazi resistance putting art at the service of reaction.

For the Happiness of Us Alone, the Japanese entry, is as highly artistic and technically superb film, showing the struggle and triumph, the privations and the hankering for love and happiness on the part of a terribly handicapped, deaf and mute couple in immediate post-war Japan.

Nevertheless the propagandist over-simplification and sentimental overtones take away much of the effect. Because the moral that is proclaimed in so many words through the mouth of the deaf and mute couple is: We have kept away from politics and striven for the happiness of us alone.

In spite of this, it is a charming film full of pathos and human grandeur and the two leading characters create a lasting imprint.

In LUCKNOW

Jan Sangh Strikes Again

from Ramesh Sinha

On Friday, October 27, when the Lucknow University reopened after the Dusshra holidays, the Jan Sangh and the RSS, along with their handmaid—the Vidyarthi Parishad, made another bid to disturb the peace which was just setting in after the murder of 37 Muslims in the State in the well-organised riots of the earlier few weeks.

ON that day, Prakash Awasthy, author or stooge-signatory of the rabidly communal leaflet, "Why this peace of the graveyard?" which had sought to rouse the students of the University to acts of communal rowdism on the basis of false information of the happenings in Aligarh University, made a dramatic appearance in the University, got-together a few hundred students belonging to the Jan Sangh and RSS ideology, and organised a march to the Court to stage a surrender.

The University authorities tried to dissuade the boys from breaking Section 144 which has been imposed by the district authorities in the city for the last fortnight. The district authorities also tried to reason with the determined bands of the Jan Sangh and RSS boys.

Since then tension prevails in the University. Demonstrations were organised on the 28th and 29th.

On October 29, according to some reports, some people had come even from Kanpur to help the Jan Sangh and RSS boys of the University. The Tarun Bharat, newly brought out evening daily of the Jan Sangh, had, during the last two days, published the most weird and provocative account of the happenings in the University.

The city's Jan Sangh Mayor had come out in an open statement to denounce the police action in dealing with the boys, and, in general, a vast campaign has gone in the city to work up people's feelings.

The University authorities were, once again, either by themselves or on the advice of the State Government, frightened into closing the institution. Luckily the city's population has cold shouldered all efforts as yet to create trouble and involve it into an-

But it was obvious that the whole move had been thoroughly preplanned. Through most inflammatory speeches, passions had been worked up to a frenzy. To inflame them further suddenly a boy came on the stage, cut his finger and applied a blood tika on the forehead of Prakash Awasthy, who was wanted by the police for bringing out that hateful leaflet.

The solid core of nearly 200 boys was acting as the cheer-gang. It has been said that

Algeria—Salute!

THE Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India has issued the following statement on the occasion of the Algerian National Day:

On the occasion of the National Day (November 1) of the Algerian people, the Communist Party of India sends its warmest greetings to the brave sons and daughters of Algeria and their provisional Government headed by Mr. Yusuf Ben Khedda.

Our Party and the entire Indian people are solidly behind the Algerian people and their cause of national independence.

We are confident that the Algerian people who have been so valiantly fighting will before long win complete victory.

We would urge upon the Government of France to seriously and sincerely undertake the negotiations with the representatives of Algerian Provisional Government on the basis of recognition of independence of Algeria.

Anti-colonialism to which India is dedicated, demands such a concrete step on the part of the Government of India without further delay.

NOVEMBER 5, 1961

Ghatshila Horror

The Ghatshila tragedy has stunned the country. Confidence in the railways has been rudely shaken. People view with suspicion official attempts to pass off the ghastly accident as an act of sabotage.

Next week we shall print a despatch from our Calcutta Correspondent, giving the details—most of which has not appeared anywhere else. Below we print a statement on Ghatshila by Communist MP's Indrajit Gupta, Renu Chakravarty and Mohammad Elias issued on October 27:

"We had refrained so far from commenting publicly on the terrible disaster which overtook the Howrah - Ranchi Express near Ghatshila on the night of 20/21 October. But continued reports reaching us from reliable sources, including some survivors of the accident, indicate such alarming possibilities as deserve to be brought to public attention.

"While the railway authorities seem to be persisting in the theory of sabotage as the cause of the accident, available evidence does not point to any tampering with the track. On the contrary, serious allegations have been made regarding the defective maintenance and repair of locomotives at Kharagpur Loco Shed and grave doubts have been cast on the condition of the particular engine, which was used to haul the ill-fated Express.

"All this calls for the most searching inquiry by impartial persons unconnected with the Railway Administration. The responsibility for this tragedy must be pinned down. "Attempts to conceal facts and unpalatable truths may be a disservice to the long-term interests of the Indian Railways."

"Other grave issues arise out of the post-accident situation. There is every ground for mistrusting the

also, to its utter and abiding disgrace, tried to fasten the blame for the trouble in Aligarh and elsewhere on the Communists. Their Chairman, Udit Narayan Sharma has come out with the statement that the Communists were in both the communal camps! They were on the one hand helping the Muslim communalists and on the other, the Hindu communalists. This gentleman would not even say who these Hindu communalists were.

The attitude adopted by the authorities on October 27 was also of a piece with this frivolous handling of the situation. They had not arrested Prakash Awasthy during the last two weeks although it should not have been a secret from the authorities that he was being sheltered by some communal elements in the city and the University.

Even the University authorities had not acted to take any disciplinary measure against him till the night of October 27. When they expelled him from the University.

And on the 28th, instead of using tact or, at worst, the minimum of force, they made a fairly brutal lathi charge. They gave full freedom to the Jan Sangh

and RSS people to work up a frenzy and then they tried to arrest Prakash Awasthy. The lathi-charge won for the victims the natural sympathy of the student body. Even the National Herald has said, "The public authorities could have done better...." (October 30)

In connection with the Lucknow students' demonstration, it should be remembered that the University Union office-bearers are most valiantly fighting against the communal trouble-makers. Everything possible should be done to strengthen their hands.

This will only play into the hands of the Jan Sangh who, despite the fact that not one Hindu died in the last round of riots, want to keep up this sort of communal tension, at least till the elections.

NOVEMBER 5, 1961

PAGE FIFTEEN

GOA LIBERATION

New Stage, New Slogans

Blue-prints of liberated Goa will be worked out as soon as a Provisional Government of Goan freedom fighters is set up. Already a group of nationalist Goans have taken the decision to liberate some areas lying adjacent to the Indian border and set up a provisional government there, according to Aruna Asaf Ali, Chairman of the National Campaign Committee for Goa.

THE actual date of the setting up of this government of the areas which would be liberated have not been announced by them for obvious reasons, she said, but they have appealed for help and aid from all anti-imperialist forces in the country and the

The Committee is also organising relief for those Goans who have suffered at the hands of the oppressors.

Since the brutal suppression of the satyagraha movement in 1955 by the Salazar regime, there was a lull in the movement to liberate Goa. But it

used by Desai, and said: "No-body invades his own country; Goa is to be liberated and not invaded".

November 25 would be observed as Goa Day all over the country, the Chairman of the National Campaign Committee announced. It is the 451st anniversary of the Portuguese occupation of Goa, which Goans traditionally observe as a day of mourning, and an occasion to pledge themselves to the service of liberating that part of India from foreign rule.

SET UP GOVERNMENT!

Government of India for their efforts.

The National Campaign Committee has greeted this "heartening news" and pledged all possible help to such a provisional Government. It would be a test for the Government of India, Aruna Asaf Ali said, whether the Government would watch passively its countrymen being massacred by the Portuguese imperialists—a course which the Salazar regime was sure to adopt in the event of such an insurrection in Goa.

She felt that patriots inside Goa had been emboldened to take this "brave

had revived, thanks partly to the activities of the National Campaign Committee, she said.

All the Indian political parties had recommitted themselves to the liberation of Goa. The Goan Political Convention had also become highly active in recent days.

"Indications of a change" was also being noticed in the Government of India's policy in the past few months, as had been evidenced from the pronouncements of the Prime Minister, she said.

The Government was slowly realising that years of

Aruna Asaf Ali welcomed the declaration issued by the recent Seminar on Portuguese Colonies in Africa. She said that the Seminar focussed attention on the urgency of freeing India from Portuguese domination.

The Seminar rightly pointed out that liberation of Goa would mean shaking the pillar of Portuguese imperialism. It had also brought to the fore NATO's role in propping up the Salazar regime, according to her.

When India had applied sanctions against Portugal,

LIBERATE BORDER AREA!

step" in the background of the changing conditions in India as well as the world. The mounting wave of indignation and protest against the Portuguese atrocities in Africa and continued colonial exploitation had stirred the nationalists inside and outside Goa.

She also made it known that the National Campaign Committee is preparing for a mass march into Goa, though the details are yet to be worked out. A signature campaign is to be launched on an appeal to the Government of India to liberate Goa within one year.

peaceful efforts at liberating Goa had not borne fruit, but only created the impression in Portuguese minds that India was not serious in liberating Goa, she said.

Aruna Asaf Ali decried the views recently expressed by Morarji Desai that Goans were Indians only theoretically and that liberation of Goa was the concern of Goans alone. That would be like saying that liberating Calcutta was the affair of Bengalees alone, she said.

She also took objection to the expression "invade Goa",

the NATO countries including Pakistan had rendered all help to the Portuguese authorities in Goa, she said. That meant that the common Indians in Goa had to suffer, while the Portuguese enjoyed all their previous comforts.

This provided a propaganda theme for the Portuguese that the Government of India was inflicting hardships on the Goans. She welcomed the Government's action in liberalising the terms of sending money orders to Goa and removing some of the harassment of ordinary Goans at the customs barrier.

Congratulations, Mongolia!

THE People's Republic of Mongolia has at long last taken its place in the United Nations. It is a triumph of justice and reason at least on one issue over the imperialists' persistent refusal to recognise realities. New Age greets this Asian Republic, the second socialist state in history.

Ever since the UN was formed the US using its Kuomintang dummies had doggedly resisted the Mongolian People's Republic's entry into the world body. The changed correlation of

forces in the world and in the UN itself, with so many Asian - African countries taking their place there, has compelled the US now to give in.

A grave injustice against which India and her Prime Minister repeatedly raised their voice with passion, has been removed.

The ancient Mongolian people now regenerated and reborn into the most advanced social system, are sure to play a glorious role in shaping world events in the years to come.

A justified question being

asked on all sides now is: When will the much graver injustice that is being perpetrated against the people of China be remedied? And what about the admission of the two German states into the UN?

Surely these issues too cannot be shelved for long and imperialism will have to yield sooner than many people imagine.

We wish the People's Republic of Mongolia every success in the internal and international spheres and congratulate them on this victory.

TAGORE MELA— PEOPLE'S FESTIVAL

From AJOY DAS GUPTA

Calcutta is preparing for the Tagore Centenary Peace Festival as the inauguration date of November 3 is approaching. The erection of the huge pandal and stall have begun. Posters and festoons of the Mela, with the symbol drawn by Satyajit Ray, are drawing the attention of the people.

DIVERSE sections are helping to spread the information of the festival. Not to speak of trade unions, kisan sabha, youth, student and women organisations, teachers and social workers, artists, poets and writers, are spreading the information and enrolling associate members.

The Calcutta Tramway company has displayed large number of posters inside the tram cars free of cost. Cinema house owners like M. D. Chatterjee and P. C. Nan are exhibiting free of charge slides announcing the festival in their houses.

This is but natural. The traditional hospitality of Calcutta has found an objective, working for the success of which will be honour for all. The organisers are confident that the Mela will be an unique affair. Like of which has not yet seen. A truly all-India and international event is going to take place.

The response to the call of the Festival is really wide. As the Festival Committee has put it "People of conflicting views and ways claim Tagore as their own. The absolute quality of his ideas fit in with diverse ideas and that is the measure of his greatness".

The preparation of this festival has, in many parts in India, brought about a resurgence of cultural activities, writers, artists, singers, intellectuals of various schools, views and groups have come together to form State or area committees.

In Kerala, people who were rallied on two sides at the time of agitation against the Communist-led Government have again come together.

In Madras a most broad-based committee has been formed and a troupe and delegation of 126 men and women will come all the way to Calcutta to participate in the Festival.

From Rajasthan the State Sangeet Natak Akademi is sending artists along with those chosen by the State Festival Committee.

Paul Robeson, that towering symbol of the fight for human dignity and freedom was very eager to come to India and participate in the festival. But ill health and strong objection by his physicians prevent him from coming.

Nevertheless he wants to participate. He has asked the Festival Committee to send him an English translation of Tagore's famous poem "Africa", so that he

can send a tape recording of his recitation of the same.

Such is the irresistible attraction of the Mela dedicated to the poet of human love and brotherhood. So to the festival will come representatives not only from all the States of India, but from many countries of the world.

The participation of Soviet delegation has already been announced. Now it seems almost certain that Academician Petrov, who was the President of the Voks at this time Tagore visited Soviet Union, and as such his host, and who is now 90 years old will come with the delegation.

More. Vera Novikova, who has translated Tagore's works in Russian language from original Bengali text will be in Calcutta.

The delegation of German Democratic Republic will be headed by Dr. Prof. Walter Rubens, member of German Academy of Science and Director of Institute of Indology.

Czechoslovakia will be represented by Dr. Duzar Zbabitel, Director of Indology, and from Bulgaria will come Madame Amru Kemenova, the noted writer.

Vietnam is sending Phan-Tuan Khanh, Director of Opera and Nguyen Thuy Vinh, actress.

Nazim Hikmet, the revolutionary national poet of Turkey and leader of the world peace movement is coming.

Our neighbour Ceylon is sending a dance troupe of internationally famous artists who will perform "Rahuni" dance popular in South Ceylon and the "Kandy" dance, which is "one of the purest forms of national expression in Ceylon and is truly a people's art".

From Japan will come Dr. Torini W. Kora, President Tagore Society of Japan, who was poet's interpreter during his Japan, visit, and also Prof. Otoy Tanaka, Director of the said society.

The international character will also be expressed through the film festival from 16 countries. Shorts, documentaries and full length feature films will be shown.

Along with the Soviet Union, China and other Socialist countries as well as USA, UK and Canada, such newly liberated countries as Egypt and Ghana are also sending films. Classics such as "Battleship Potemkin" and "My Universities" from USSR, "Ashes and Diamonds" and "Kanal" from Poland, "The White Stallion" from France and "The Great Adventure" of Sweden, will be shown. Full length Tagore documentaries from USSR and China will be on view.

And so Calcutta is preparing to receive the guests from abroad and other States of India in the city of Tagore and to make the Rabindra Mela, an event to remember and cherish.