

# ALL FOR GOA'S D-DAY!

## NEW AGE

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Events have moved fast last week. The stage is also set for Goa's deliverance. Only New Delhi has to give the final word to our jawans and Goa, Daman and Diu will be back into the arms of the Motherland. Knowledgeable New Delhi circles, however, report some confusion, hesitation and great secretiveness in official circles.

**THE Portuguese provocations go on mounting, the colonialists' aggressiveness is crossing the limits. This has been underlined by the news of the week, about their doings inside the occupied territories.**

Goa has been rapidly built up into a veritable armed camp. During these few weeks, 12,000 Portuguese troops have been packed into this tiny colony, most of them have been brought from outside very lately.

The Portuguese have mined the sea-lanes which have been the traditional coastal trade routes and used for ferry traffic for many centuries past. They have made fishing and shipping on India's coastal waters unsafe.

### PORTUGUESE INSOLENCE

They have provocatively hoisted the Portuguese flag over the Island of Anjaded, only two miles from the Indian coast to demonstrate their authority and demoralise our people around,

who clearly see the usurpers' flag flying high instead of summarily blown up.

The Portuguese have also covered with their heavy guns the Karwar side of the coast and compulsorily evacuated the villages on the Goan side, spreading panic and misery.

In Daman, they have arrogantly trained their guns on several Indian villages. Three Portuguese frigates are rushing reinforcements or lying at anchor in the Arabian sea off Daman. The villagers who have come over from Daman into the villages on our side complain of increased oppression by the jagirdars and the Portuguese.

Three hundred Portuguese troops have been rushed into the still tinier Diu and their two frigates are seen around.

The latest is that the



Tomorrow is theirs but what about today?

Portuguese soldiers from Goa have dared to trespass into Indian territory near Sawantwadi on December 5. They fired a few shots and sneaked back. Naturally enough, the villagers on our side are restless, apprehensive and demand action to punish the alien marauders. Reports continue to come pouring in that the foremost aim of the trigger-happy Portuguese is to strike terror among the neighbouring Indian villages.

The Portuguese Governor-General has asked for more reinforcements from Lisbon. The Portuguese Defence Minister's visit is awaited.

by

**P. C. JOSHI**

The Portuguese aggressors have simultaneously intensified their brutish repressive measures inside Goa.

The Secretary of the Goan Political Convention, George Vaz, informed the Prime Minister that Mark Fernandez, a hero of 1955 satyagraha has been "tortured and perhaps killed" in Panjim lock-up and that another satyagrahi, Vasant Manjrekar, who entered Goa on November 15 is untraced.

On December 5, he again reported that four Goans were shot at sight by the Portuguese on the Sawant-

wadi border as they were taken to be underground workers and that the Portuguese were running riot with house to house searches and mass arrests for interrogation, and beating up in their police lock-ups.

Plenty of information has reached the Government and the Press of growing Portuguese atrocities in Goa "of killing, raping and burning of villages as reprisals against people whom they suspect of not being in favour of the continuance of the Portuguese regime" (Hindu, December 5).

The flame of resistance within Goa continues to burn despite all the Portuguese efforts to smoke it out.

● In the last week of November, three Portuguese soldiers who were attempting to molest a Goan girl were killed on the spot at Cuncoilin by the villagers.

● At Panjim, the students came out in demonstration against the Portuguese usurpers and boldly demanded that they quit Goa.

● The Goan Political Convention has received reports about underground workers blowing up a Portuguese jeep near Sanguem. After this, the Portuguese have given up night movements and their troop movements go on only during the day.

● The latest is the December 5 PTI report, that three Portuguese soldiers have been killed in recent skirmishes with the underground nationalists in Goa.

After continuing news of such Portuguese terror as also the heroic Goan resistance, who is the Indian who will expect the Indian Government to go on studying the situation!

After all these rapidly moving developments which challenge India's national self-respect and sovereignty, one would have expected the very sensitive Prime Minister to immediately rise to the occasion and act.

There is, however, yet no official announcement of any different political approach being adopted by the Government of India and as eagerly expected by our patriotic people.

There is, however, a change in practice and in the desired direction. There have been large-scale movements of Indian troops towards the Portuguese colonial pockets. The official

spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry however took great pains to explain that they are in "the nature of precautionary measures against the threat posed by the aggressive manoeuvres of the Portuguese forces".

"Precautionary measures" in the present situation of shame just make no sense. But the official spokesman according to the Hindustan Times, (December 6), "declined to answer the question whether any concerted action to oust the Portuguese from these areas was imminent".

According to the Statesman, (December 5), the troop movements constitute "a warning to the Portuguese" and that "the movements of troops towards Goa will continue until India has deployed sufficient strength to impress the Portuguese and to convince them that she means business".

The official denial that immediate military action was planned has caused resentment in the lobbies, even according to the Hindustan Times correspondent, (December 5), and, of course, much intenser in the opinion outside.

The dawn of Goan deliverance is very clearly visible on the horizon. The devilry of the Portuguese usurpers cries aloud for prompt retaliation.

### SEND IN OUR ARMY!

The crazy military build-up, mock heroic manoeuvres and aggressive posture of the Portuguese is a challenge to India's nation-hood and a threat to our security.

We know the Morarjis inside the Cabinet, the friends of the West, and Portugal is a Nato power. We all are aware of the hesitation of the Prime Minister when it comes to action.

Now is the time to organise and step up an irresistible united national campaign demanding immediate, all out military action.

India's armed forces are now there all round the border. The Indian Government has only to utter the word, GO: and Goa, Daman and Diu as Portuguese possessions will exist no more.

Our brothers and sisters kept enchained for centuries will stand liberated and these foreign occupied territories will be re-united with the Motherland.

Goan commandos keep alive the flame and expect India to come soon.

**Tara Singh's Tears Can't Wash Away Akali Crisis**

From Our Correspondent

The well-trained and well-fed hounds of the West, whether from the monopoly controlled daily press or as leaders of the Rightist parties came out into the open with the publication of the White Paper and started off the hunt, more boldly than ever before. Their target this time, without any guise, was the Prime Minister himself, and the policy of Panch Sheel.

It was preceded by a provocative press campaign and the offensive carried inside Parliament.

The Editor of the Hindustan Times, November 22, headlined his slanderous signed column as "Shocking State of Affairs". The Times of India, November 22 tried sarcasm in its editorial entitled "Not An Inch". The British owned Statesman, November 22, was more circumspect but no less provocative, "the country seeks and deserves greater reassurances than Authority has so far given. Checking the Chinese is easily said than done. The Parliament is still right to insist that all that can be done is in fact being done".

A little later the Surveyor, Times of India November 27, had hurled the rudest at Prime Minister Nehru in his column "Does Papa know Best?", and accused him of attempting to "minimise what cannot and should not be minimised at all... New Delhi has a shattering piece of advice; be quite and patient and all will be well".

**Insolent Right**

The Surveyor again, Times of India, Dec. 4, after the first statement of the Prime Minister in the Lok Sabha, railed against "the highly impressionistic picture which Government has painted of a villainous, Opposition, hysterical, bellicose, and panting for Chinese blood and—in contrast—a calm and collected leadership bathed in inexpressible wisdom and counselling restraint, objectivity and limitless patience".

Much more along the same lines was headlined as, "A Further Dose of Poppycock".

The pro-Western camp whether in the press or inside the Rightist parties has every reason to rave because its immediate aim to work up an irresistible pre-election pressure upon the Government to change its policy towards China has headily failed.

The Parliamentary debate is not yet over at the time of writing. The Prime Minister has concluded it in the Lok Sabha but it has yet to begin in the Rajya Sabha. The line of attack by the Right and of defence by the Government are, however, known and set.

Indian public opinion was sought to be excited with stories about the 1953 and 1960 maps and that a new large chunk of Indian territory had been swallowed by the Chinese.

The Times of India even produced a map in the Lok Sabha, however, the Prime Minister repudiated it as "incorrect and stated that the portion shaded as having gone anew under Chinese occupation was not a correct reflection of actual reality.

The wrong map was a visual representation of the wrong story of another 2,000 square

face to face in the Lok Sabha with the Rightist Opposition spokesmen, who donned the garb of Mars and indulged in their heroics.

The total impression left on the objective listener, without the blinkers, was that though the Government of India would go ahead with defence preparations, the Prime Minister stood out for a policy of Peace and was waiting for avenues and opportunities for negotiations but not now!

This became clearer still when he had to defend the principles and policy of Panch Sheel, not only against the crazy Acharya Kripalani who thought it was born in sin, but against the cleverer Ashok Mehta who declared his agreement with it in principle but challenged in his involved manner, "the context", i.e., its application to China.

The Prime Minister in his reply passionately declared India's adherence to Panch-sheel and its continued application in our relations with China as well. He reiterated his conviction that Panch Sheel was not only good for India, but it alone could be the most civilised policy for the World, producing fruitful international relations ensuring Peace.

He sharply posed the two alternative policies of war and peace towards China, in terms not only of India's territorial integrity but of Asian and world peace.

He at once expressed his disillusionment with China's present policies and desire for peace with China, both in the short and long run, as being something "historic", "basic" on which depended to a considerable extent future "destiny", and not only of our country.

The Right felt bold enough this time to attack the whole Panch Sheel policy from its historic origin itself and vigorously repeated their thesis that the original sin began with India accepting Chinese suzerainty over Tibet.

The Prime Minister defended his old Tibet policy but on the practical pragmatist ground, that there was no other practical policy for India to adopt.

The Rightists dare not advocate in so many words their war-mongering policy against China. Their Parliamentary spokesmen as also the Press denied that they advocated a policy of war or were unmindful of its consequences. They suggested instead "energetic measures" short of war. They sought to exploit national sentiment to press for provocative actions with all their evil political and foreign policy implications.

The Surveyor, Times of India, (December 4), for example, screamed "why should there not be more energetic and purposeful patrolling in the areas controlled by the Chinese?" This is the less crude version of the Jana Sangh and Swatantraite demand to blast out the Chinese posts.

**Nehru's Stand**

The Prime Minister soon balanced himself and stated referring to the defence preparations on the frontier that "this did not mean that India wanted to raise a war cry or to go to war. India's doors were always open for negotiations". (Times of India, December 2).

The Prime Minister was firmer and clearer still when

who are campaigning for such provocative acts, but that the Thimmayya-brand generals also brief the Press and speak out their US Embassy-inspired thoughts and plans.

Prem Bhatia writing in the Times of India (November 28), states "at the military level, the impression is that it may now be difficult to avoid an armed clash or two with the Chinese, especially as the Indian army has instructions to proceed with its programme of extending its check-posts on Indian territory".

It is obviously not enough for the Prime Minister to denounce the exaggerations and warn against provocations which is the meat of the anti-Panch Sheel Press and politicians, but also forge concrete assurances that India means to keep peace on the border, despite the difficult situation.

This time, the Rightists pressed hard the demand for breach of diplomatic relations with China. The editor of the Hindustan Times, (November 22), urged the "straightforward and honourable course is to break off all relations with that country".

The Times of India, (December 4), asked, "why can't diplomatic relations be severed?" In the Lok Sabha debate, Jana Sangh's Vajpayee and the Swatantraite Chief Ranga also demanded the same. The Prime Minister, however, paid no heed to them.

Ashok Mehta did not want to go that far, but pleaded that India this year should not vote for China's admission to the UN. The Prime Minister made mince-meat of him in his reply.

We have taken note of the relative weakening in the Prime Minister's position. The worst part of the picture, however, is the weakness revealed inside the ruling party and its MPs. The Prime Minister was the sole defender of his China policy!

The Parliamentary correspondent of the Hindustan Times, (December 5), has noted with evident satisfaction that in the Lok Sabha debate "Congress members like Dr. Ram Subag Singh and Dr. Sushila Nayyar who took part in the discussion were no less denunciatory of Chinese activity, but they were, not unexpectedly, satisfied by and large with the Governmental measures to meet the situation. Interestingly enough, while they praised the Prime Minister, there was no support for the Defence Minister".

The rot within the Congress was further exposed by the MP Dr. Ragnu Vira's resignation from the Congress. In the Press conference he stated "his fresh aggression in Ladakh calls for the resignation of the Defence Minister Krishna Menon". (Hindustan Times, December 4)

The running theme of the Rightist attack on India's Panch Sheel policy vis-a-vis China has been that it has failed to win the respect of the Chinese and cost us the trust and friendship of other neighbouring countries. This argument was dug up again this time not only by the Press, but also the Parliamentary spokesmen of the Right.

The Hindustan Times emanation of the Lok Sabha debate noted, "there was a surprising identity of views

on the nature of the Chinese provocative acts, but that the Thimmayya-brand generals also brief the Press and speak out their US Embassy-inspired thoughts and plans.

This is nothing else but the much propagandised Kennedy slogan that India must take over the leadership of South-East Asia on the basis of anti-Communism, i.e., lead the Bandung fraternity in line with the demands of the State Department and the Pentagon.

The Prime Minister in reply repudiated such an estimate of the situation and stated that our relations with Burma had never been more friendly, the Prime Minister of Malaya was soon coming on a visit, Nepal and other neighbouring countries who were independent and sovereign could not be dictated to nor was India's policy to do so. He twitted Ashok Mehta for listening to what he wanted to listen during his trip to Burma and Malaya.

Communist spokesman Prof. Hiren Mukherjee, during the Lok Sabha debate hit the nail on the head when he said that the Rightist opposition leaders were engaging in demagoguery and wanted to "subvert" India's national policy of non-alignment.

Every patriotic Indian would support the Government of India in making all the defence preparations that are necessary to defend the integrity of the country. Defence measures are necessary but they are not all.

It is not enough for India to go on repeating the mantra of peace. One has to remain a posture of peace with our neighbors. That, too, is not enough, it has to be accompanied by concrete constructive steps that lead towards peace and good neighbourliness and help remove present hostility and tension that bode ill for India, China, Asia and the whole world.

It is obvious enough that such a posture and practice of peace is not easy in the very difficult and trying situation facing us. But then can the re-making of India, influencing Asian and world destiny in the desired direction be an easy job?

Our country must avoid at all costs the other path that leads to darkness, the path being advocated by the protagonists of the West, Ashok Mehtas, Kripalanis, Rangas and the Jana Sanghis.

The tactic of the pro-American lobby is clear enough; it is to break India's Panch Sheel chain over China and then link India step by step, with the West. The tall talk of "breaking diplomatic relations", forcing "evacuation of aggression" is all meant to lead to seeking US arms like Pakistan and inevitably become another Pakistan. This way will make India cease being India. Only with this understanding and corresponding indignation, the pro-US Rightist elements and parties can be silenced and routed during the coming general elections.

— P. C. JOSHI

Re-election of Master Tara Singh as the president of the powerful and influential Sikh Gurdwara Prabhak Committee does not end the crisis that has overtaken the Akali Party since the termination of the long fast of the Akali leader which began with staking such tall claims and ended in near ignominy.

In fact, the unity achieved between rival factions in the Akali Party after the verdict of the Panch Piyaras, who in the Sikh religion represent the five chosen of the great Guru, is no more than superficial.

The crisis, on the other hand, is much deeper. It might subside for a time, because of the compulsions of the coming General Elections but will reappear again even in more violent forms than was seen a few weeks ago after the elections are over.

Meanwhile, the tussle will not end and will rage within the Akali ranks constantly over the distribution of tickets for the elections as well as over the control of the S.G.P.C. and the Akali party.

Competent observers attribute the crisis in the party to the failure of the basic and fundamental policy pursued by Master Tara Singh ever since his assumption of dominant power in Sikh communal politics and its party, the Akali Party. That policy consisted

in alternate use of tactics of pressure and compromise with the ruling power.

The fast undertaken by the Akali leader represented a high water mark in the pressure tactics. It failed miserably in achieving even an honourable retreat. Immediately, thereafter, Masterji attempted almost desperately to come to terms with the Congress High Command in Delhi. He received an equally strong rebuff in that bid also.

This shattered the myth built over the years that Masterji was a master tactician of every twist and turn and yet never losing his hold over the Sikh masses and the party machine. This inevitable group within the Akalis themselves which has begun to challenge the leadership of the Masterji.

The leadership of the Akali dissidents certainly does not represent any break with communal politics as such. But it undoubtedly has displayed a

greater consistency in its outlook and approach ever since the powerful morcha for the Punjabi Suba in 1960.

They have stood for unity of all forces for the demand of linguistic reorganisation of the Punjab and have continuously disapproved of Master Tara Singh's tendency to make the issue one of political bargaining.

Since Master Tara Singh in the course of the last two years has failed to strike anything like a successful political bargain for the Akalis, the dissidents find themselves in a position to mount an offensive both against the policy and the person of the veteran leader.

Master Tara Singh tried to face the challenge on several fronts. On the one hand, he again took on the posture of an uncompromising enemy of the Congress and the Congress Government. As a part of this he boycotted the Commission appointed to examine the charge of discrimination against the Sikh community which formed the basis of withdrawal of his fast.

On the other, he tried to hound out of the Akali organisation all his opponents and took disciplinary action against several of the pro-

minent leaders of the dissidents. Finally he raised the cry of Panch in danger and called every one to unite under him to fight the battle of elections, in which he promises a thumping victory.

The dissidents stood their ground and finally the great Master had to eat the humble pie. Besides accepting the punishment and penance prescribed by the Panch Piyaras—which traditionally should have closed the chapter of internecine quarrels—the Akali leader had also to accommodate his opponents in the organisation.

Sardar Lachman Singh Gill, the main financier of the dissidents, who was suspended from primary membership of the Akali party only a few days earlier had to be appointed General Secretary of the S.G.P.C. despite Master Tara Singh's unwillingness to accept him to the last.

According to informed sources, Masterji agreed to accept him only when the dissidents showed their strength in the General meeting of the S.G.P.C. itself. 74 members out of a total of 144 of the S.G.P.C., belonging to the dissidents demonstratively stayed away from the meeting called to

elect Master Tara Singh as the President.

It was after this that Masterji agreed to the compromise solution to maintain Akali unity presented by Sant Fateh Singh. The solution provides for not only important positions to the dissidents in the S.G.P.C. but also in the Akali Party and the Panchic Election Board which will distribute the Akali tickets.

A part of the crisis facing Master Tara Singh, according to knowledgeable sources, is that quite a few of the financiers, the contractors and businessmen of Delhi and Bombay, are reported to have switched their loyalties to the Congress. After the death of Sardar Baldev Singh who had been a great source of financial help in difficult times, Masterji is stated to have placed high hopes in Sikh princes, among them Maharaja of Patiala.

But these hopes also appear to have been misplaced since few among them are willing to earn the displeasure of the Union Government. It would appear that Masterji is again turning towards the family of his old patron, in particular, the son of late Sardar Baldev Singh, Sardar Surjit Singh who is stated to be very keen on entering politics. But following the footsteps of his illustrious father, Sardar Surjit Singh would prefer to contest the elections on the Congress ticket and has been making efforts to secure it.

Since the times have changed and he is still new at the game, he cannot afford to please both the Congress and Masterji at the same time. But as a Congress ticket to Sardar Surjit Singh is not likely, he might finally decide to contest as an independent, with the Akali support which in turn might augment the lean resources of the Akalis.

Meanwhile, the grand alliance of the opposition against the Congress in the Punjab, which the Swatantra leader, Rajaji has gone to the Punjab to forge appears unlikely to assume much effectiveness both because of the crisis in the Akali leader and the unwillingness of the Communist party to have any association with the Swatantras.

It had been envisaged that alliance, overt or covert, will be made, including within it Swatantras, the Republicans, the Akalis and the Communist party. Under pressure of the Akali dissidents, however, Master Tara Singh has made it plain to Rajaji that he will not be able to forge an alliance with his party and there could at best be adjustments, with the proviso that the Akalis will not lend any support to such of the candidates of the Swatantra Party who do not stand for the Punjabi Suba.

Rajaji, on his part, was unable to commit his party to support Punjabi Suba for fear of a split in the Swatantras, which has brought highly disparate elements within its fold.

Though Republicans are willing to come to terms with both the Akalis and the Communist party, it is as yet difficult to say that it would be possible to adjust the claims of all the elements in practice. Considering the sharp differences in policies and ideologies of the parties whom Rajaji wants to bring together in a complex web of adjustments, the success of the attempt is doubted in wide circles of political opinion in the Punjab.

**Under Congress Rai**

**OUR LEASE OF LIFE**

"Your article in New Age Weekly, November 26, 1961," writes a friend from the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, "is a big surprise. I consulted our demographic expert here. He totally rejected it. Any way, can you indicate the sources? The expectation of life increasing with a simultaneous rise in the general death rate is a bit of mystery. There must be some catch somewhere. Please do enlighten".

READERS will probably remember that in the columns under criticism we had referred to the claim made in the Congress Election Manifesto that "the expectation of life in India has risen from 32 in the forties to 47.5 now", and commented that although the average longevity in India had somewhat risen in the post-war period as a whole, the general death rate had been showing a rising trend during the Second Plan period.

|         | Male  | Female |
|---------|-------|--------|
| 1941-51 | 32.45 | 31.66  |
| 1951-56 | 37.76 | 37.49  |
| 1956-61 | 41.63 | 42.05  |

(P. 652)

To make the above point, we had quoted the figures of the general death rate per thousand of population which revealed a rise from 9.8 in 1956 to 12.1 in 1959. For the benefit of our doubting friends, we can state here that these figures were quoted from the Reference Annual, India 1961, published by the Government of India. The same figures are given on two occasions in the above

publication on pages 17 and 129.

Since this question has proved to be of some interest to some of our readers, we may be excused if we revert to the subject and present some more illuminating material.

Let us first take up the question of the rise in the expectation of life. On the previous occasion, we conceded the substance of the Congress claim that there was some rise in the expectation of life, but we passed over without comment the figures mentioned in this connection in the Congress Election Manifesto.

The Congress claim that the average longevity has now increased to 47.5 years appears to be baseless. In the Third Five Year Plan, which was really intended to serve as the prototype of the Congress Election Manifesto, the following figures are given on expectation of life.

Plan, therefore, are projections made on the basis of the First Plan Period.

And, it is clear from above table that it has been assumed that the same rate of rise as in the First Plan Period, viz., the increase of about five years in the average expectation of life, will be achieved during the Second Five Year Plan too. These projections are very unlikely to correspond to the reality, as is clear from the rise in the general death rate, we have referred to above.

In support of our second contention that the Congress Government can claim little credit for whatever small increase in the average expectation of life might have been achieved, we quote below from a Lok Sabha speech by a Congress stalwart, Dr. Sushila Nayyar—herself a physician and a former member of the erstwhile Delhi State Congress Government.

"One of the first things in life", she said on April 6, 1960, "is good water supply. If we can give this country a good water supply, good sanitation, disposal of water, drainage facilities... then 75 per cent of the diseases in this country will disappear... Yet what do we find now? A big grand sum of Rs. 17 crores for the whole of the rural area of the country. ... For this vast country with 500,000 villages, with States like Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh and hilly areas, where water supply is most difficult, the

total amount provided in the plan for rural water supply is Rs. 17 crores...

"...In a city like Nagpur", continued Dr. Nayyar, "where there was no filaria, increased water supply without drainage has resulted in stagnant pools resulting in breeding of mosquitoes and appearance of filaria..."

"Diphtheria", she said, "is a thing which can be controlled by simple immunisation. Diphtheria Pertusses Tetanus Vaccination is an effective vaccination. All that you have to do is to introduce this vaccination in your health centres. Have we done it? We have not even started it".

"A friend of mine who spoke before me", said Dr. Nayyar, "mentioned tuberculosis is on the increase. Somebody was telling the other day that even for small pox, the incidence is higher than what it used to be in the British days."

"When I spoke to one of the high officials of the Health Ministry, as to why we have not been able to do anything in these matters, he said, it is administrative failure. Of course, I agree it is administrative failure....

"...I am sure the Health Minister, when he replies, would say: 'What can we do, when it is the responsibility of the States? The States have got to do it'. We have heard that answer often enough. If the Health Ministry can do nothing and it is all in the hands of the States, why do we have a Health Ministry?..."

"We are sorry for the rather longish quotation, but it might help dispel so many doubts."

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## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

### Non-Alignment & Non-Involvement

#### QUESTION:

The Jana Sangh, Hindu Mahasabha and the Swatantra Party have been propagating the idea that India should not get too involved in international affairs as she needs to devote her energies for national reconstruction. What is your opinion? (Satyapal Dang, Chheharta, Amritsar)

#### ANSWER:

It is typical of the double-dealing of these Rightist parties that they ask us not to get too "involved" in international affairs. After all, the people are scarcely likely to forget that it is these parties that are in the forefront of the mad chorus that shrieks and shouts that Pandit Nehru is "appeasing" China, that wants war and all that.

It is scarcely a coincidence that all these parties, with the PSP thrown in for good measure, have joined together to fight Krishna Menon in North Bombay. It is they who have made foreign affairs their main platform, their main talking-point. What kind of non-involvement in international affairs is this?

#### Total Change

Further, it is not only a question of their opposing certain aspects or actions of the generally accepted foreign policy of the Government. They are striving might and main to secure its total reversal.

They are least interested in asserting India's territorial integrity whether against China or Pakistan or anybody else. What they wish to achieve is the hurling down by the Government of the Panch Shila banner and the picking up of the Stars and Stripes!

Under the guise of non-involvement they want India to move away from non-alignment. They want us to be nicely caught in the meshes of the Yankee imperialists.

Just one example to prove this point. At the height of the India-China border dispute, the Jana Sangh, Swatantra, PSP and, of course, the Right-wing press ran a regular campaign that our country should sign a joint defence pact with Pakistan. They also urged that we sign an arms deal with the United States.

Unfortunately for them, within a matter of weeks after they had made their outrageous proposals, Ayub Khan made his bellicose speeches about Kashmir. A few months later came the stepped up arms aid to Pakistan by Washington with the assurance that these could be used against any "aggressor", Communist or non-Communist.

But where was their protest? How is one to explain

their silence about these international moves in which we are involved whether we like it or not?

Nor is this all. Their plea for non-involvement, even if we take it at its face value, is anti-national to the core.

Today the world is still poised uncertainly on the very brink of catastrophe. And should an atomic holocaust come, India will not be spared. The sign of the mushroom cloud is the sign of death for us no less than for other peoples.

Even without the outbreak of war any increase in international tension adversely affects our national reconstruction. Readers will recall the Suez crisis of 1955 and the steep rise in freights and other items of our import trade. Besides, diversion of the huge funds earmarked for military purposes to aid for underdeveloped countries like ours, would immensely ease our burden. Peace literally means prosperity. The struggle for it is a struggle for our well-being.

Our dedication to peace has to be total and our energy in its pursuit endless. We have to intervene for peace on every conceivable opportunity. Passivity is criminal.

Moreover, any weakening of imperialism, any defeat of its predatory plans is grist for India's mills. Oil is the latest example. We are able to put the Western oil monopolies on the run not only on the basis of our own strength. Soviet oil and the Arab awakening—both profoundly anti-imperialist forces—enabled us to get our way to a considerable extent.

Similarly with regard to real aid for our national reconstruction. It is a fact, acknowledged by all save the prejudiced, that the Socialist countries; above all, the Soviet Union, have done us yeoman's service. It is again no coincidence that in the Third Plan only those public sector industrial projects are put in the category as assured of foreign exchange and of completion that are tied up with credit from the socialist countries.

Finally, the Rightist attack on the Government's foreign policy is not just an isolated phenomenon. It is linked up with the issue of the growth of Indian democracy itself.

#### Democracy Involved

It will be recalled that all these very vociferous critics of the foreign policy, joined together to back Thimayya in his bid to challenge civil authority. Their argument was that Krishna Menon wanted to betray national defence in his devotion to Panch Shila! They came out as scarcely veiled propagandists for openly authoritarian methods of Government.

Nor is this fortuitous. All the countries that have become members of the Western military alliance, where the Rightists would like us also to be, are countries of one form or another of dictatorship. Non-alignment, on the other hand, while not a guarantee for the existence and stability of democratic institutions, considerably aids the establishment and consolidation of democracy.

The Jana Sangh make this amply clear in its election manifesto where it combines an attack on Panch Shila with a perfidious call for the conversion of India into a Hindu theocracy.

India's policy of non-alignment with military blocs, of energetic intervention for peace and against imperialism, has been of the utmost value for our national reconstruction.

That is precisely why these Rightist parties attack it. That is also the reason why we Communists support, in general, the foreign policy of the Government.

Our complaint is that under Rightist pressure, from within and outside, the Government, vacillations and inconsistencies have developed, particularly on anti-imperialist issues.

The latest examples are the non-recognition of the Algerian Government, the failure to express full-throated solidarity with Cuba and the lagging behind the African awakening. These neither raise our prestige abroad nor help our joint struggle against imperialism.

We have also pointed out, in our Vijayawada Congress resolution, that one of the reasons for this inconsistency and vacillation is the lack of a sustained mass movement and pressure by the Communist Party and other democratic forces in support of the Government's foreign policy and against the Right offensive against it.

We have failed to take foreign policy issues and all their very national implications to the masses on a sufficiently wide scale. During the election campaign this defect will no doubt be removed.

—MOHIT SEN

### INTO BATTLE

WE have just received a letter from E. M. S. Namboodipad in which he has told us of his readiness, despite an enormously heavy programme and involvement in the Kerala kisan satyagraha, to write two or three articles for us on the main issues posed by the coming elections. It is likely that the first one will reach us in time for the issue of December 24.

In that issue, we also plan to print an interview with either Jyoti Basu or Promode Das Gupta on the West Bengal election scene.

In the next issue (December 17) we are carrying interviews with the leading comrades of Assam and the Punjab on the situation in these two States, where particular emphasis during the elections will, no doubt, be laid on questions of national integration.

Also in the issue will be a profusely documented and invaluable article by Ajit Roy on the taxation record of the Congress Government. It is a devastating indictment of their undemocratic method.

## scotch this conspiracy!

### Editorial

THE KISANS OF KERALA have moved into action for a cause which transcends all party barriers. In essence

what they are demanding is simply the implementation of the slogan which gave our fight for freedom its striking power—Democratic Agrarian Reforms.

Whatever may have been the reactionary modifications subsequently effected, the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill was a great achievement of Indian democracy. And the Communist Party is proud that it was the Ministry led by it that brought it into being.

Even at that time, we had warned that the reactionary forces, and the Congress leaders backing them, would not rest till even the limited advantages won by the kisans through this Act, were wrested back from them. This was the central and scarcely concealed aim of the "liberation struggle".

The same forces and with the same evil intent now seek to sabotage at the stage of implementation what they could not upset totally at the time of legislation and enactment. Through withholding of legal documents, through scandalously few Land Tribunals and through evictions the kisans are sought to be deprived of the right to secure, after due payment, the land they have been tilling.

It is against this injustice, this rotten attack on their rights based on legislation which received Presidential assent, that the kisans have risen up to do battle. It is a healthy and most encouraging fact that the picketers and satyagrahis are not only ordinary kisans themselves but belong to all castes and communities. This struggle, its very launching and the initial success, is a veritable victory for the forces of democracy, secularism and national integration.

It is the Kerala Government that by its policy of brute repression seeks to gain some temporary political advantage. Trying to convert a struggle for economic demands into a political clash, the Patom Ministry wants to round up all the leaders of the people of Kerala at all levels. They, thus, hope to prevent the proper organisation of the election campaign of the Communist Party and other democratic forces. It is a sinister move to deny the people of Kerala their basic democratic rights. Such is the isolation and desperation of the ruling clique in Kerala.

It is essential that their sordid conspiracy is scotched. It is essential that democrats all over India send in a torrent of protests to the Kerala Government and to New Delhi. They must demand the granting of long-denied rights to the kisans of Kerala. They must demand the restoration of democracy so that the people of Kerala may duly express their will in the coming elections.

(December 6)

## hands off cuba!

THE Council of the Organisation of American States is reported to have voted a proposal for "collective action" against Cuba and although the full details of this decision are not available as yet, it has all the potentialities of becoming a most serious threat to world peace.

Ever since the failure of the April invasion of Cuba, directly organised by the USA, more thorough-going preparations for a new attack have been going on.

As part of these plans the USA has set up thirty new training centres for mercenaries around Cuba where the invasion forces are being prepared.

It is as part of these plans and on the basis of forged documents and engineered incidents that the USA has secured the rupture of diplomatic relations with Cuba on the part of several Latin American States.

And now the US imperialists have succeeded after prolonged efforts in bringing sufficient pressure on the Latin American countries to get this resolution of "collective action" against Cuba adopted by the Organisation of American States.

Of 21 member States only two—Cuba and Mexico—opposed the resolution and five, namely Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile and Ecuador abstained.

The nature of the other 13 States which joined the U. S. in deciding upon collective action is too well known. They are outright puppets and colonies of the U. S.

India, seeking friendship and understanding on the part of the peoples of Latin America, must lose no time in making its strong opposition to the latest U. S. plans of intervening in Cuba with the O.A.S. known to all Governments and the whole world.

The Indian people have profound sympathies and regard for the heroic people of Cuba who, under Fidel Castro's leadership, have, for the first time in Latin America's history, dared to take the destiny of their country in their own hands. It is their absolute right to order their internal affairs as they choose.

For world peace, and for the freedom of all India must proclaim—Hands off Cuba!

(December 6)

## by N. Rajasekhara Reddy

The Pradesh Council of the Communist Party of India which met in Guntur from November 1 to 5, decided to set up candidates for 150 Assembly and 20 Parliamentary constituencies in the State. It finalised candidates for 100 Assembly and 16 Parliamentary seats and authorised the secretariat to select the rest.

MEMBERS of the Council who came from the districts with reports about the pre-election situation, about prospects of different parties at polls in their districts, gave a careful estimate of Party's strength and its chances.

### Optimism Prevails

There was an atmosphere of optimism in the Council that Party can make a bid to contest more seats, but it was decided to limit the number to 150 Assembly and 20 Parliamentary seats alone and encourage progressive and independent candidates in the rest of the seats.

The decision could not have been otherwise, with the Party's overall aim "to break the monopoly of the Congress in alliance with all democratic and progressive forces".

It is necessary to explain here why the Communist Party made it its primary aim to break the monopoly of the Congress in this State and to subvert all its other electoral steps to achieve this aim.

The Congress has enjoyed a monopoly of power in this State for seven long years, i.e., since the 1955 mid-term elections, during which period, the opposition remained weak. Taking advantage of this weakness of opposition and its own monopoly of power, it ran the Government without restraint or responsibility; it rode roughshod over the interests of the people; democracy was stifled.

Favouritism, nepotism and corruption have become rampant. One has to grease somebody's palm, even to get a very small thing done, like securing a seat in a college. The Administration has receded farther and farther away from the people and people can reach it only through brokers and the effective brokers are Congress MLAs and MPs.

Consequently, there has been increasing interference by Congressmen in administrative affairs. Tehsildars and even Collectors work in the districts only at the mercy of local Congress presidents and MLAs.

Ministers were only too ready to oblige their followers' demands for transfer or demotion or dismissal of any official who dared to implement any Government order in a fashion which was not to the liking of the local Congress bosses or which did not favour the rich and landlord tribe.

The ushering in of the scheme of democratic decentralisation and formation of Zilla Parishads and Panchayat Samitis elected by indirect franchise has only helped the Congress Party, or, to be more exact, the scheme was introduced deliberately to enable itself to extend its monopoly to rural areas and vest power and authority in the hands of those sections of population, which were acting as its storm-troopers in villages.

People, who do not have an intimate idea of this State think that Andhra has a developed agriculture. But such agriculture, as it exists in this State, is wholly based on dams and canals—built hundred years ago.

Except the four Circle districts which are irrigated by the British-built canals and projects, in all the other sixteen districts, agriculture is dependant mainly on the monsoon and four districts which constitute Rayalaseema are chronically famine-stricken areas.

Irrigation projects undertaken are progressing at a snail's pace. Half of the original Tungbhadra High Level Canal, which is mainly intended to fight famine in Rayalaseema districts, has been shelved and the other half is not expected to be completed even by the end of Third Plan.

Vamsadhara, conceived to benefit the backward Srikakulam district and which has been included in the First Plan, has not got off to a start.

The Pochampad project on the Godavari, which is the harbinger of prosperity to the dry districts of Telangana, shares the same fate.

The second phase of the Nagarjunsagar project, which was in doubt even from the beginning, has, of late, become a scheme of further controversy and strong feelings have developed among the people against the Centre in this regard.

The Srisaillam hydro-electric project, which is hailed as the cheapest power scheme is coming up against many diffi-

culties and if sanction is delayed, the project will not come off since the area will get submerged.

Land relations, though they have changed slightly in form, in essence, continue as before. The so-called land reform brought about by the Congress left many loopholes in the legislation for the big landlords. Even according to the Government, it is expected that very little or no land would become available for distribution among the landless.

In this connexion, the Revenue Minister made the astounding statement that the purpose of land reform was not to confer land on the landless!

Though the Andhra Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution as far back as in 1954, directing the Government to distribute the 40-lakh acres of banjar land to the landless, the progress has been very tardy.

According to the Government itself, out of the 40 lakh acres, only about seven and half lakh acres have been distributed so far. Vast areas of land have been exempted from distribution on one pretext or other and even where land was distributed, the poor could get them only after paying the usual mammoths to the local revenue officials, which, in some cases, is as much as the cost of the land itself.

Instead of conferring tenancy rights on the tenants and making their position

more secure, the history of the last seven years has been one of large-scale evictions, with the result, when the tenancy laws come into operation, there will be no tenant to be protected!

The social structure in the rural areas remains as before and the landlord continues to lord it over others. The plight of the agricultural labourers has deteriorated and their indebtedness has increased.

Huge Burden

The tax burden on the people has been on the increase from year to year. Even according to the Finance Minister, the Government originally expected to raise only Rs. 9.60 crores by way of taxation during the Second Plan period, but, it actually collected as much as Rs. 24.49 crores!

The position is no different in the urban areas. Prices have been shooting up; real incomes have fallen. All sections of wage-earners are so seriously affected that even the middle-class employees are coming into action.

The Labour policy of the Government has been one of splitting the working class and giving favoured treatment to the INTUC, succumbing to the pressure of managements and non-implementation of minimum wages, which are non too high.

Confident of the shelter and protection they would get at the hands of the Government, Congress landlords have taken the law

ed before the courts of law. Its Planning Minister has been proved to have used unfair election practices and unseated by the Election Tribunal, but he still clung to his seat until the High Court, to which he appealed, also showed him the gate (all the same, the Congress made him its general secretary). Its Education and Co-operation Ministers were pulled up by the High Court for their partisan behaviour and still remain as Ministers!

It is against this background that the people in this State are being called upon to elect their representatives for the next five years.

In Andhra Pradesh, there are no significant left parties, other than the Communist. The Praja Socialist Party is almost non-existent. The Socialist Party, after P. V. G. Raju crossed over to the Congress, exists only in name. The Praja Party's general influence is confined to small sections in urban centres.

This leaves in the political field only the Congress the Communists and the recently formed Swatantra Party, mainly composed of the erstwhile Lok Party elements, who are personal followers of Prof. Ranga and dissident Congressmen.

Since even the Swatantra Party's influence is confined to three or four districts only, the main election battle will be fought between Congress and Communists.

The Swatantra Party boastfully announced its intention to contest as many as 150 seats. This party is essentially

composed of those landlords who are disgruntled with the Congress.

It is in a dilemma. It is torn between its desire to contest a large number of seats and appear big and the desire to contest only a few winning seats by coming to some arrangement with any political group, particularly, the Ministerial group.

Swatantra Hopes

As it is, it is finding it difficult to secure candidates to stand on its ticket, in spite of its offer of jeeps and money. Even Prof. Ranga is still in search of a dependable seat. The Communist Party will naturally contest him.

It wants to capitalise on the strong anti-Congress sentiments among the people and poses as the champion exposé of corruption, though some of its own leaders and candidates had been former Ministers, whose record is only too well-known.

The methods and criteria the Congress adopted to select its candidates reveals its decay. It adopted the method of selecting only those who can spend the most, contribute most and whose caste or communal antecedents could be best utilised, bypassing the old patriotic Congressmen.

The result is that big zamindars, landlords, bus

\* SEE OVERLEAF

Its Ministers stand accus-

ANDHRA ● break congress monopoly!  
● bring democratic shift!

# Nehru's Speech—Damp Squib

From Jnan Bikash Moitra

A public meeting was arranged by the West Bengal Government at the big Brigade Parade Ground in Calcutta on December 2 on the occasion of Pandit Nehru's visit to the city for addressing the Annual General Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, an organisation of British business tycoons.

It was announced with fanfare that Pandit Nehru would address the public rally as the Prime Minister of India. Many had, therefore, expected that he would confine himself to such matters as could not be construed as electioneering for the ruling party. But his speech was mostly election propaganda. What he said as the Prime Minister was hardly different from what he would have said in a Congress election meeting as the topmost leader of that organisation.

Chief Minister Dr. B. C. Roy, who was presiding, himself made the real purpose of the meeting abundantly clear when he said that certain parties in India were trying to confuse the people and were seeking to take advantage of disensions prevailing in the country to achieve political ends in the election battle. The people should, therefore, listen to Pandit Nehru, "who will show you the correct path in this situation and tell you about your duties".

As for Pandit Nehru's speech, it should be remembered here that the Communist Party is the first party in Calcutta. In the last general elections, the Congress was reduced to a small

minority in this metropolitan city. It has a long and glorious tradition of democratic struggles.

On top of all this, the United Front of six Left parties, with the Communist Party as the leading partner in it, is now fighting the present elections with the slogan of an alternative Democratic Government to break the Congress monopoly of power for the past fourteen years. It is a challenge which the ruling party is not facing in any other State.

These factors naturally set the tone of Pandit Nehru's speech. He devoted more than half an hour (he spoke for about one and half hours) to the India-China border dispute. While he warned against reckless talk of war between the two countries and said that such a war might lead to world war, he also said that every patriotic Indian strongly resented the aggression by the Chinese. But the Communists, according to him, were trying to cover up the fact that China had committed aggression! Was their love of China greater than their love for the motherland? he asked in demagogic style.

Referring to the explosion of the 50-megaton bomb by the Soviet Union, he observed that people of India were displeased. It had pro-

duced harmful effects as radioactivity in the air had increased. Such explosions must be stopped, he declared. But he had not a word to say about the underground explosions by the USA or tests in the Sahara by France.

He spoke for only a few minutes on the problem of Goa, but, strangely enough, did not make any mention either of Kashmir or of the Indo-Pak border problem.

He talked of all things under the sun but one got the impression from his speech that imperialism and colonialism hardly existed in this world, let alone the conspiracies and preparations of the imperialists for launching another world war.

As was to be expected, he dwelt at some length on what the country had achieved under the benign dispensation of his party. In this connection, he called upon the people to toil hard for their own emancipation. But he did not tell them who had appropriated the fruits of their toil in the past ten years due to the policies of his own party and Government.

He did not tell them that less than a quarter of a mile away 6,000 workers of Birlas' Hind Motor factory, who were on strike, were demonstrating for a few

months' bonus, since the employers had increased their net profits from Rs. 11 lakhs to Rs. 2.5 crores in course of only four years!

When the Prime Minister was speaking on the India-China border problem, three members of the Chinese Consular Corps in Calcutta were seen leaving the meeting.

There were two significant features of the public meeting, which did not fail to attract the notice of many. In the first place, the gathering was poor compared to the one that Pandit Nehru had addressed at the same place in December, 1956 on the eve of the second general elections.

Janaseval, mouthpiece of the Congress in West Bengal, estimated the crowd at over 60,000. Actually, it was much less. It was perhaps the smallest public rally that Pandit Nehru has so far addressed in this city.

Secondly, the Bengalis, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the city's population, were hardly to be seen in the meeting. At most, they made up ten per cent of the crowd.

## Workers' Deputation

SEVERAL thousand workers of Birlas Hind

Motor Factory went in a mass deputation to the Prime Minister on December 2, demanding his intervention for an amicable settlement of the dispute and for the withdrawal of repressive measures and police help to the employers (for details of the dispute, see New Age of December 3).

The workers were stopped by the police; but when the Prime Minister agreed to meet a deputation on their behalf, they dispersed peacefully.

The deputation, consisting of Ranen Sen, M.L.A., President of Hind Motor Workers' Union, Dinen Bhattacharya, General Secretary, and Ram Sen, submitted a detailed memorandum to the Prime Minister and impressed upon him the necessity of a settlement acceptable to the workers.

The Prime Minister was understood to have recognised the justness of the workers' demand. He asked the Chief Minister to take up the issue with the management without delay.

Earlier, a meeting of the workers was held at the Maidan. The rubber workers of three factories in East Calcutta also participated in the meeting and the mass deputation.

## EXPOSURES

★ by O. P. MEHROTRA ★

# chaos and corruption

The people of Andhra, under the active leadership of the Communists and other democrats were the first in successfully breaking the resistance of the Congress rulers and achieving their linguistic State. That had naturally weakened the Congress and it became difficult for it to approach the electorate single-handed.

THE leaders of Congress connived with various forces to form the United Congress Front to defeat the Communists in Andhra. But this alliance soon developed cracks and by the beginning of 1959 it was already a thing of the past. By this time the Congress also became a house divided against itself with various power-hungry factions decrying each other in order to get to the top. It is in this background that the various Congress ministries have administered Andhra Pradesh during the past years.

While the State of Andhra itself needed funds for opening new industries the then Government was investing its funds outside the State in private ventures, not so very long ago.

On December 10, 1958 Times of India reported that the Andhra Pradesh Government had decided to purchase 9,227 ordinary shares of the Tata Locomotive and Electrical Engineering Company, at a cost of over Rs. 9,22,000.

How detrimental this policy was to the interests of the State becomes clear from the report of the Public Accounts Committee. The Public Accounts Committee of the Andhra Pradesh Legislature Assembly in its fourth report on Appropriation Accounts for 1953-54 and audit report of 1954 of the Government of Hyderabad pointedly suggested that if the State Government finds that it is not in a position to invest the required additional capital in an industry, it is far better to hand it over to the Centre.

"The Committee felt that the Government should not invest outside the State and try to get back as early as possible the share values and loans it has advanced to various units, in which they had no controlling voice and use them to concentrate and develop a few important industries within the State", said a report in Hindu of December 13, 1958.

The Committee also referred to the Civil Supplies Department and regretted "that there were no accounts" maintained when it was dealing in the purchase of large quantities of stocks from millers. The total loss incurred from July 1, 1951 to February 29, 1952, amounted to nearly Rs. 7.8 crores.

It also noted that, excepting a few, all the industries in the State were on point of liquidation. Only eight out of 26 companies were paying dividends. It recommended that the Government should purchase more shares to the

extent of the loans they had given and, if necessary, invest further to get a controlling voice in the industries.

WHAT was happening on other important fronts? Let us take agriculture. The Congress rulers of Andhra can well claim credit for creating chaos here, too.

The Accountant General of Andhra Pradesh in his audit report on the appropriation accounts of 1955-56 expressed the view that neither the District Collectors nor the Board of Revenue exercised sufficient control over the operation of the scheme for grant of loans for sinking wells under the Grow More Food Scheme.

A Hindu report of December 11, 1958 said, "loans amounting to nearly Rs. 2.13 crores were granted to ryots for construction of wells till the closure of the scheme. Out of this Rs. 1.20 crores were subsequently converted into subsidy, the balance being ordered to be recovered. It was noticed that there were many irregularities in the conversion of loans into subsidies".

ANOTHER type of scandalous behaviour of the Government was exposed by the Opposition through a short-notice question regarding 500 copies of the Eleventh Year of Freedom, a Congress publication, purchased by the Government. The Minister for Information admitted the fact.

When members asked whether the Government would purchase the publications of other parties, the Minister replied that if the request came as a "competition" to the book already purchased, it would not be desirable.

YET another type of favouritism was exposed by the Communist members of the Assembly in the month of August, 1959.

The Opposition charged the Government that it had taken a decision to give excise contracts to 200 co-operative societies of tappers and it was known only to Congressmen.

D. Sanjeevaya, Excise Minister insisted that the contracts were given according to a programme, though the Government had not made public announcement regarding the contracts.

When P. Sundarayya asked the Minister why the decision was not made public, the Minister replied that every decision of the Government was not published.

## LEST WE

FORGET . . .

THE late Feroze Gandhi's memorable charge-sheet against the then Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari remains the most authentic exposure of the Congress Government yet. It showed how the present rulers helped the pigny and crooked industrialist to become the owner of an industrial empire.

The total amount invested by the LIC in shares of the Mundhra Group was Rs. 1.56 crores and the bulk of the purchase was made on June 25, 1957. Feroze Gandhi, supported by opposition leaders, had demanded an enquiry. He had said, "Much as I have tried, I have failed to understand how the Life Insurance Corporation became a willing party to this questionable transaction".

He pointed out that the Finance Minister (T. T. K.) had stated in the House on November 29 that the Corporation invested its funds not to favour any individual or group but to see that it benefited by the investment.

"May I ask, was it fulfilment of this policy that the Corporation purchased by direct negotiation from an individual—Mundhra—shares worth rupees one crore and twenty-four lakhs in his concerns on June 25, 1957. In March, April, June, July, August, September, in these six months... the Corporation purchased shares on 19 different occasions of the Mundhra Group for a sum of one crore and fifty-six lakhs of rupees.

"If this is not favouring and financing one particular individual and group then what else is it? he had asked.

The Government accepted the challenge for an enquiry committee. Later the Chief Justice of Bombay, M. C. Chagla, was appointed by the Government of India to conduct an enquiry "to ascertain facts relating to the investment of the Life Insurance Corporation in the Mundhra group of the companies".

This enquiry was the biggest news of the year 1958. The Chagla report, published in February 1953, found the transactions imprudent in substance and improper in procedure. Share prices were fixed in an "amazing manner". The Commission reported that the Finance Minister must "fully and squarely accept the responsibility for the actions of his principal private secretary H. M. Patel."

After this no other course was left for the Finance Minister but to resign. Strangely the Prime Minister of India was not happy to part company with his Finance Minister.

## COOPS' SCANDALS

THE Congress leaders of Andhra Pradesh (Ministerialists and dissidents alike) can claim patent rights for a few things—handling of co-operative societies is one of them. It is almost a chronic malady, as old as the Congress rule over the State, and defies any solution.

This report compares very well with the sensational disclosures made on the floor of the Andhra Legislative Assembly in the month of August 1961, by a Congress member Pragada Kotiah against Konda Lakshman Babuji, Minister for Small-scale Industries and against the former by an Opposition member.

Minister Konda Lakshman, the Chairman of the Hyderabad Central Weavers' Cooperative Association, was accused by the erstwhile patron of the Andhra Handloom Weavers' Cooperative, Pragada Kotiah, for following a policy of discrimination in the distribution of art silk yarn against the Andhra region and of favouritism for Telangana region in the matter of fixing quotas for dyes and chemicals, etc.

Kotiah read out extracts from the observations of the Reserve Bank of India which amounted to saying that the Hyderabad Central Weavers' Cooperative Association was so badly managed and inefficiently run that the organisation had better be wound up. He also referred to the Audit Report which revealed instances of gross irregularities.

Among other things, Kotiah also referred to the fact that the Minister continued to take sitting fees as Director of several cooperative societies.

The Minister tried to wriggle out of the situation by pleading that similar irregularities had been found in the working of the Andhra Handloom Weavers' Society, which is led by Kotiah.

Filling up the blanks the opposition members put both the accused in their proper places.

## "PEACEFUL" POLICE

NOW Sanjeeva Reddy is the Congress President, one does not know what he thinks about the police. But as the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh he used to praise the police force. Said he presiding over the concluding day's programme of the second Andhra Police and Fire Services on November 15, 1958 at Hyderabad:

"To mention peace and order in State without having to resort to might of arms is a great achievement, and the Andhra Pradesh Police had brought credit to the State by doing so".

Let us see how correct the above statement of the ex-Chief Minister is.

In the city of Hyderabad on December 22, 1958, the police lathi-charged a crowd of striking rickshaw-pullers.

In Nellore, one person died and five were injured when the Police opened fire on the crowds on December 31, 1958. The situation arose as a result of hunger strike by Gopi Sankaraya to bring down the high price of Nellore rice.

On January 15, 1959, in Vijayawada the police arrested leaders of the rickshaw-pullers' strike.

On February 24, 1959, Communist member Kamla Devi narrated on the floor of the Assembly how the people demonstrated against the shifting of a dispensary from Raigir to an interior village which led to police lathi-charge, resulting in injuries to 30 persons including 10 workers.

On February 26, 1959 the Chief Minister of Andhra, N. Sanjeeva Reddy, informed the State Assembly that a sub-divisional Magistrate was inquiring into the death of Desetti Narayana at Proddatur. Communist Member, P. Venkateswarlu had raised the matter in the Assembly.

## Andhra—Parties

### Enter The Arena

★ FROM OVERLEAF

owners, contractors — like S. B. P. Pattabhirama Rao, ex-zamindar of Kapileswarapuram, Raja of Boboil, P. V. G. Raju (Raja of Vizianagaram), Raja of Challapalli, Maharan of Wanaparthi, Raja Rameswara Rao, owners of bus fleets like Osman Ali Khan, and moneybags like M. Harischandra Prasad, Ch. Hanumaniah and so on—have been chosen.

Local people have been ignored in favour of those who have come from outside with pots of money. Caste, community, and factional considerations were the touchstones for the selection of candidates.

The Communist Party is entering the elections with a positive programme for the all-round development of the State; rapid industrial advance; advance of agriculture, on the basis of land reform which gives land to the tiller, enabling the peasantry to use improved agricultural methods; greater attention to the development of backward areas like Rayalaseema and Telangana; ruthless elimination of corruption; development of Telugu culture and language.

The Majlis - e - Ittehadul Muslemeen, the ex-Razakar

organisation of the notorious Kasim Razvi, has raised its head in Hyderabad. The Jana Sangh also is active in the city.

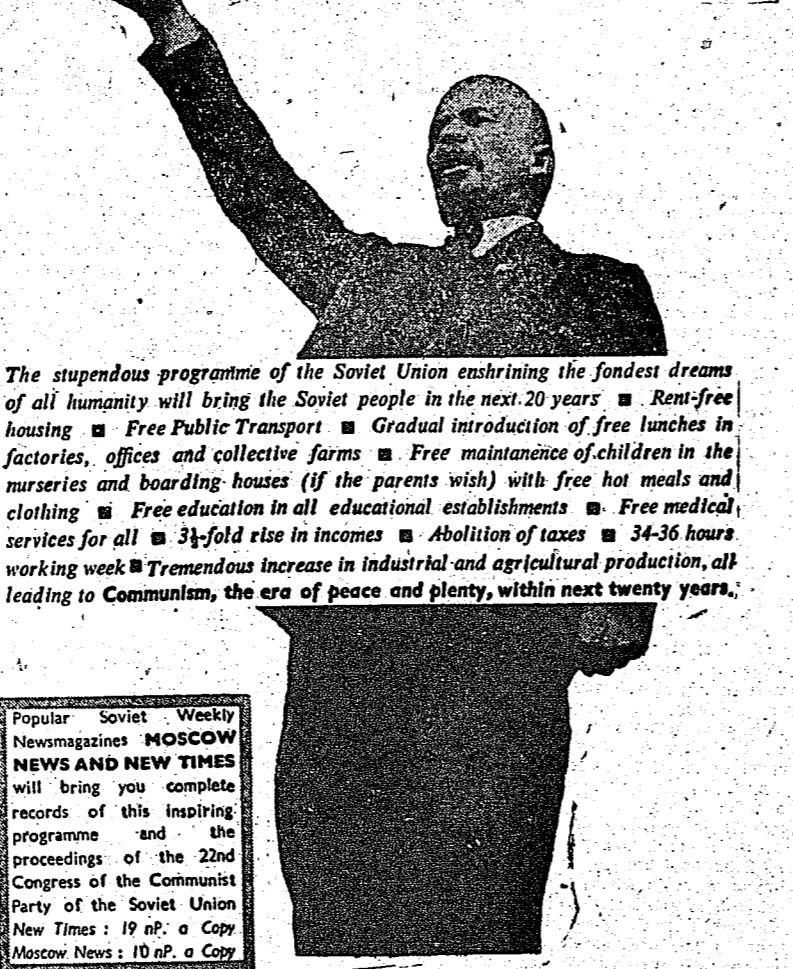
Conscious of this danger to the growth of healthy democratic life in the capital of Andhra, the Communist Party expressed its willingness to come to an adjustment with Congress to fight the Hindu and Muslim communalism in the city. But the Congress President has outright rejected this offer.

It is not surprising that he did so when one knows how his partymen flirted with the Razakar organisation in the corporation and how some of his prominent followers have even encouraged a rival Muslim communal organisation.

The Communist Party is not approaching the elections with any spirit of selfishness. While it wants a large number of Communists to be returned to the Assembly and Parliament as a necessary part of democratic advance, it has left a good number of seats it could have contested on its own, to draw in democratic groups and individuals. In such seats it has the strength to help progressive independents to win.

The main slogan is: Break the Monopoly of Congress Power: Elect an Assembly with More Democrats!

## TOWARDS A NEW ERA OF PEACE AND PLENTY...



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

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# AJOY GHOSH Comments On

A month has passed since the conclusion of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Volumes have been written on the Congress in this brief period. Perhaps it would be no exaggeration to say that no previous Congress even of the CPSU drew such worldwide attention. Also the proceedings of no previous Congress were reported at such length and with so many comments in bourgeois newspapers.

CONTRAST this with the proceedings of Congresses and conferences of any party in any capitalist country. None except the people of that particular country—and sometimes not even they—take much notice of them. This itself is significant. It is an admission, even by the bourgeoisie, of the pivotal position that Socialist countries, especially the USSR occupies in today's world. It is a recognition, though unwilling, of the role that the Soviet Union plays in international affairs.

However, it must be admitted that while forced, because of world public interest, to write a lot on the 22nd Congress, the bourgeois press has deliberately focussed attention—almost exclusively—on certain aspects of the Congress only.

## Congress background

From a perusal of bourgeois papers one might get the impression that nothing happened at the Congress except criticism of the cult of Stalin and further exposure of the many mistakes and excesses that occurred in the Soviet Union between 1935 and 1953, the denunciation of the activities of Malenkov, Molotov, Kaganovich and others, the condemnation of the leaders of Albanian Party of Labour and the divergence between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China on the Albanian issue.

No one will, of course, say that these were matters of no importance. On the contrary, they are of importance for each one of us. They are of importance for the Soviet Union, for the Socialist world, for the world Communist movement and for every Communist Party.

But these particular issues cannot be viewed in isolation. They have to be viewed in the background of the main developments that have taken place in the Soviet Union since the 20th Congress, the main features of Soviet life of today, the main tasks set before the Soviet people by the 22nd Congress and the main decisions taken to implement these tasks.

The two Reports presented by Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov—one on the work of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the other on the Programme of the CPSU—deal with these matters exhaustively. Examples of creative Marxism, these reports make a penetrating analysis of the political, economic and social conditions existing in the world of socialism on one hand and in the world of capitalism on the other.

They bring out vividly the contrast between the new and the old. They show why the capitalist world is bound to experience further decline

and why, in the competition of the two systems, socialism is bound to win. Above all, they prove, on the basis of incontestable facts, that the statement made in the Programme—The Present Generation of Soviet People Shall Live Under Communism—is no idle boast but a solemn proclamation which will be realised.

And to those who want to know what Communism is and what it will look like, we can tell: "Read the Programme of the CPSU and you will get an idea." As such, these two Reports and the Programme should be carefully studied by every Communist, every Socialist, every democrat. They should be studied by everyone who wants to understand what is happening in the world of today and why.

In the period that has passed since the 20th Congress, a period of only six years, events of tremendous significance have happened. And in shaping the course of these events as well as in determining their outcome, the decisions of the 20th Congress have played an extremely important role.

Hence it was that the 12-Parties Declaration of 1957 stated: "The historic decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU are of tremendous importance not only to the CPSU and to the building of Communism in the USSR; they have opened a new stage in the world Communist movement and facilitated its further development along Marxist-Leninist lines."

The unanimously adopted Declaration of 81 Communist and Workers Parties repeated this assessment of the 20th Congress. And now on the basis of the advance that has been made in the USSR since 1956, the 22nd Congress has charted out the path for still greater advance.

## breath-taking progress

Breath-taking indeed in every sphere has been the progress achieved in the last few years. As is known, when the 21st Extraordinary Congress of the CPSU met, nearly three years ago, to adopt the Seven Year Plan, many bourgeois critics were sceptical. They doubted whether the targets would be attained. They called the plan a "stunt". But what has actually happened?

The Seven-Year Plan laid down a target of 8.3 per cent of average growth of industrial output for the first three years. The actual growth has been 10 per cent. As was stated by Khrushchov:

"It was planned to smelt 65-70 million tons of pig iron, but we now expect to smelt 72-73 million. Instead of 86-91 million tons of steel, we shall probably obtain 95-97 million tons or more."

And so on... Further—"We shall produce more cement, tractors and farm machinery, paper, footwear, butter, sugar, furniture, radio and television receivers, refrigerators, washing machines and many other items for the country's economy and for the general public than envisaged in the control figures".

This is how the Soviet leaders "miscalculated". One wishes that leaders of capitalist countries, our country included, make such "miscalculation".

Only ten or eleven years ago, Soviet industrial output was less than thirty per cent of USA. Today it is sixty per cent of USA. The gap is continuously and rapidly narrowing.

And what about agriculture? The average annual production of foodgrains has increased from 89.1 million tons (1951-55) to 126.8 million tons (1956-60). Similar advance has been made in production of other agricultural goods as well.

But increase in production or in national income does not by itself prove that the mass of people are living better. We know that in the richest country of the world, USA, a large part of the national income is appropriated by the rich.

We also know that in our own country, while national income has gone up by over 40 per cent in the last ten years, there has been stagnation or even depression in the living standard of the majority of people.

Such is not and cannot be the phenomenon in socialism where production is not for profit but for satisfaction of the needs of the people, where the motto is: Everything for the sake of man, for the benefit of man.

Three-quarters of the national income in the USSR goes to satisfy the personal requirements of the people. Already the Soviet people enjoy many facilities which are beyond the dream of the mass of people in capitalist countries—such as free education, free medical service, full employment, the lowest rate of rent in the world, annual vacation in sanatoria and so on.

Already the death rate in the Soviet Union is the lowest in the world, while longevity is steadily increasing. Already also, Soviet society has become the most highly educated society in the world and the Soviet Union trains three times as many engineers as the United States. The achievement of Soviet science has astounded the world.

It would, of course, be wrong because of all this, to claim that Soviet society has been or is even today perfect.

As is well known, the 20th Congress made a scathing criticism of the cult of personality that had persisted for many years. It drew sharp attention to the fact that, together with big advance in every sphere, there had also taken place in the Soviet Union, in a certain period, many mistakes and many excesses.

There had been violation of socialist legality, abuses of power, repressive measures of which many innocent and honest people had

been victims. The Twentieth Congress took important measures to rectify these mistakes and to ensure that such things should not happen again.

There can be no doubt that the criticism of the cult of personality was necessary. There can be no doubt that the measures taken by the CPSU in the last few years have helped considerably to expand socialist democracy and to unleash popular initiative in the task of laying the foundation of Communism. The CPSU declares that the Soviet Union is no longer a state of proletarian dictatorship. The specific conditions which necessitated the state of proletarian dictatorship have disappeared. Today, the Soviet State has become a state of the entire people.

The armed forces which the Soviet Union is compelled to maintain, because of the threat posed by imperialists, are meant exclusively for defence of the country and of the socialist system against aggression.

They are not meant to be used against any section of the people of the country. Can any capitalist country make similar claim? There, the use of armed forces of the State to put down struggles of workers and peasants is becoming an increasingly common phenomenon.

countries like the Soviet Union of today will be created in our beautiful land".

By 1980 Soviet industry will produce nearly twice as much as is now produced in the whole of the non-socialist world. It will generate 50 per cent more electric power than all other countries are generating today. The United States, the most developed country of capitalism will be left far behind.

The country of Communist construction will have not merely the highest standard of life but also the shortest working day in the whole world. No ruling party in any country of the capitalist world has ever dared to make such concrete specific promises to be realised in such a short period.

Together with this spectacular advance in the sphere of material prosperity, the cultural standard of the people will rise to an unprecedentedly high level. Socialist democracy will be constantly expanded and continuously expanded. All citizens will be drawn into the administration of the affairs of society.

In this way, conditions will be created for rooting out the last vestige of class society from the minds of men, for remoulding the consciousness of man, for complete triumph of com-

nuclear weapons and built bases round the socialist world. The Soviet Union has had to take certain measures.

Many have deplored this—among them are honest and genuine partisans of peace also. But it is evident that already the firm but flexible stand taken by the USSR is having some effect. The world situation, though still serious, has improved in recent weeks.

The Programme of building Communism in the USSR has great significance for the peoples of Asia and Africa. One of the features of the new world situation to which the 20th Congress drew pointed attention was the disintegration of the colonial system. It cannot be considered accidental that this disintegration is taking place precisely in the period when socialism has become a world system and the socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society.

The close relationship between the two phenomena has been pointed out by Communists on several occasions. But even when the 20th Congress met by far the greater part of Africa was under colonial slavery. That situation has changed. In the course of the past 6 years, twenty-eight States have won political independence. "The sixties of our century" said N. S. Khrush-

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America rejoice, therefore, in the advance that the Soviet Union has made. They know it helps them directly—both in the economic and the political sphere.

It was not surprising, therefore, that representatives of national democratic organisations from several African countries attended the 22nd Congress as guests. Their presence at the Congress was symbolic of the new bonds that are being forged between the socialist world and the oppressed peoples of the East. As for the working class, the peasantry, toiling masses in general and the advanced sections of the intelligentsia of Asia and Africa—for them the new Programme has another significance as well. Which path to take—this has become a question of crucial importance for many of them.

The example of the Soviet Union, of China and of other countries (which once were considered backward) proves the indisputable superiority of the path that leads to socialism. Inevitably, the new Programme and every step towards its implementation will strengthen the forces of socialism in every country.

The 22nd Congress discussed at length amendments to the Constitution of the CPSU, the new Party rules and the report on them made by Kozlov.

# Twenty-second CPSU Congress

no matter what their mistakes—from the Congress of the CPSU without giving them an opportunity to place their point of view before the representatives of all Communist Parties? Did the Congress make a correct appraisal of J. V. Stalin and was the decision to remove his body from the mausoleum proper?

In dealing with these questions, we shall have to take into account what the Soviet leaders have pointed out, viz., that repeated attempts on their part to discuss issues with the Albanian leaders failed due to the latter's intransigence, that they carried on a campaign of vituperation against the CPSU and acted in several other ways in such a manner as to weaken the unity of the socialist camp.

We shall also have to take into account their explanation that while they recognise the merits of Stalin, he cannot be equated with Lenin and given the same status in view of his many grave defects and shortcomings.

Also that his body, though removed from the mausoleum, has been accorded a place of honour near the Kremlin wall alongside the bodies of such outstanding leaders as Kalinin, Dzherzhinsky and Sverdlov.

Nevertheless, it is a fact that a big majority of members of our Party and many others, too, have been deeply hurt by the decision to remove Stalin's body from the mausoleum. Many have communicated their sentiments to us. What our delegation felt on this issue, we have conveyed to the CPSU.

Some others argue that in view of revelations made at the 20th and 22nd Congress, the decision was logical. Some comrades also ask whether the very practice of embalming bodies of dead leaders and preserving them is proper.

Several other questions have been raised.

Moreover, the revelation of a number of horrid facts such as condemnation and punishment of persons by lists that occurred in a certain period of Stalin's leadership as a part of methods of repression have shocked the conscience of our comrades, of our friends and sympathisers, of every decent person.

Naturally they ask: How could such things happen for such a long period without protest from anybody and how was it that they were not even known to us and to many Soviet citizens themselves? Can they be fully explained by the thesis about the cult of personality alone? What role did leaders other than those who have been condemned play in the building or combating of the cult of personality?

Besides these specific questions, certain bigger issues have been posed before the entire Communist movement. In the main they are:

● What kind of guarantee should be created in socialist society in order to prevent arbitrary acts? Or more broadly, what should be the features of socialist democracy—especially today when socialism has already triumphed in one-third of the world?

● What rules and what practices can ensure that, together with centralisation, there is also effective inner-Party democracy?

● What principles and considerations should guide Communist Parties in their mutual relationship and how these principles to be implemented?

That such questions are asked and such issues are raised is not surprising. All Communist Parties consider the CPSU to be the vanguard of the world Communist movement. Moreover, it is the CPSU and the Soviet people that in the final analysis, have the right to decide as to what is good for the USSR.

Nevertheless, the 20th Congress of the CPSU which endorsed that criticism. Evidently, Stalin cannot be placed in the same category as Lenin. From the facts that have come to light, it is indisputable that, together with great achievements, there occurred in the USSR—especially during the latter part of Stalin's leadership mistakes, excesses and misdeeds of an extremely serious nature, for which Stalin bears main political and moral responsibility.

There was violation of norms of inner-Party life, there was resort to arbitrary acts, there was wholesale repression—including unjust condemnation and punishment of loyal Communists and of Generals and officers of the Red Army.

All these happened when certain historic conditions prevailed but that does not mean that they can be considered inevitable and condoned. We cannot afford to forget that they did serious damage and had evil effect in several other socialist countries as well.

At the same time, the fact remains and cannot be erased from history that Stalin was an outstanding Marxist-Leninist of exceptional talent and ability who upheld the teachings of Lenin against deviations and developed those teachings in several spheres, who made great contribution in building socialism in the USSR and towards the growth and development of the world Communist movement.

## stalin's role

This dual role of Stalin—his positive as well as negative aspects—has to be constantly borne in mind in determining as to how exactly, without in any way glossing over his defects, the struggle against the cult of personality has to be conducted and what concrete steps have to be taken in pursuance of that struggle.

Taking all this into account, one cannot but regret deeply that the struggle against the cult of Stalin's personality was carried to the length of changing the names of a number of places above all, the name of Stalingrad which has such historic associations.

Also I feel that while many details of the excesses that took place in the USSR have been revealed by the 22nd Congress, the question as to how they happened and why they happened has not been

discussed—  
not now

As soon as possible, after the general elections, we shall have to hold a meeting of the National Council to discuss these issues. By then members of the National Council as well as others will have studied the relevant documents.

We, members of the delegation, shall also place before the National Council, the discussion and exchange of views that we had with the Soviet leaders and their point of view. Then only the considered opinion of the National Council can be given.

In the meantime, all comrades must refrain from publicly uttering their views on these issues.

At the same time, on certain events that have taken place since the 22nd Congress, I feel it necessary to say a few words.

The criticism of the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour that has been made by the CPSU as well as the comment made by Chou En-lai on

# 20TH CONGRESS LINE—NEW STAGE MARXISM-LENINISM ENRICHED HISTORIC PROGRAMME ADOPTED MAGNIFICENT VISTAS OPENED

Two opposite political trends can be seen in the world of today—one in the socialist world, the other in the capitalist world.

In the socialist world the dominant trend is one of expansion of democracy; in the capitalist world the dominant trend is one of curtailment of democracy. No one who has studied the developments of recent years can deny this.

On the basis of the whole development of the 44 years since the working class took over power in Russia and on the basis of the implementation of the decisions of the 20th and 21st Congresses of the CPSU, the 22nd Congress has taken another gigantic step forward. It has adopted a programme which has been hailed as the document of our epoch.

The 22nd Congress will be remembered for all times to come primarily as the Congress which adopted the Programme of building Communism.

Within the next ten years, the USSR will become the world's leading industrial power. It will surpass the USA both in the absolute volume of industrial output and in the volume of industrial output per head of the population.

By 1980 total production in the USSR will increase by 500 per cent—industrial output by not less than 600 per cent and agricultural output by 350 per cent. Or, as Khrushchov said, "another five industrial and more than two agrarian

munism in the political, social and ideological spheres.

Such is the grand perspective that the Programme holds out. No one who knows how tempestuous the advance of Soviet society has been, can dismiss all this as a mere utopia. In fact, a number of bourgeois papers have characterised the Programme as a big "challenge".

There can be no question that a Party and a Government that have placed before the people such a magnificent objective are deeply interested in peace.

The 22nd Congress has once again emphasised the deep desire of the Soviet Union for peace. As always, the cardinal principle of Soviet foreign policy is the policy of peaceful coexistence. At the same time, as realists, the Soviet leaders cannot afford to be complacent.

Several times in recent years, as on the occasion of the crisis over Suez, the world trembled on the brink of war and what saved humanity was, first and foremost, the might of the Soviet Union. Every strengthening of the USSR has always meant strengthening the main bulwark of peace.

With a view to strengthen its own defensive capacities and the defensive capacities of the whole socialist camp, in face of the threats mounted by aggressive powers headed by the USA who have rearmament German militarism, stockpiled vast quantities of

chov, "will go down in history as years of the complete disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism".

In the Soviet Union the newly-independent countries find a reliable friend and a firm ally. Striving to overcome the heritage of many decades of colonialism, they can obtain from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries the means to lay the foundation of industrial advance.

The volume of Soviet assistance to newly-independent countries has grown rapidly in recent years. This has helped them to secure some economic assistance even from Western capitalist countries on better terms than before.

It is evident that the march of the Soviet Union and other countries towards Communism will simultaneously increase their capacity to assist the newly-liberated countries to overcome the backwardness bequeathed to them by the imperialists.

Moreover, in the context of the rebuff that Britain and France got when they invaded Egypt, it is evident that the growth of the industrial and military might of the USSR and the further shift in the correlation of world forces will make it increasingly difficult for imperialists to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries.

As regards the peoples who are still fighting for freedom, they receive consistent support from the USSR and other socialist countries.

the propriety of making such open criticism are evidently matters on which opinion has to be given by the National Council after hearing the report of our delegation.

At the same time, we cannot but take note of the fact that the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour have, in their recent utterances, started assailing the very basis of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and also the decisions of the 20th Congress. This attitude cannot be considered to be in conformity with the Declaration adopted at the 81 Parties meeting.

The 81 Parties Conference also criticised the cult of personality. Our Party has fully endorsed that criticism. Evidently, Stalin cannot be placed in the same category as Lenin. From the facts that have come to light, it is indisputable that, together with great achievements, there occurred in the USSR—especially during the latter part of Stalin's leadership mistakes, excesses and misdeeds of an extremely serious nature, for which Stalin bears main political and moral responsibility.

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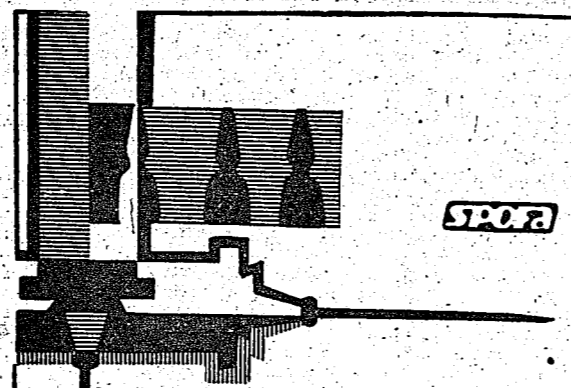
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## SINDRI—Waste And Bungling

From Our  
Correspondent

BAD planning, non-coordination and bureaucratic negligence have led to another stoppage of work at the Sindri Fertilisers in November. It will be recalled that the plant had to be earlier shut down for a week in the latter half of September.

The reason for the present shut-down is the non-availability of the main raw material, gypsum, at the plant. The official version is that this is due to rail restrictions on the movement of gypsum. It is, however, difficult to accept this plea as the plant is expected to stock raw material for three months.

The real explanation is that the officials have again been caught napping and they are taking shelter behind a spurious plea. It does not matter to these hard-boiled bureaucrats that due to their crass negligence the nation is suffering a big financial loss.

A matter for grave concern is the systematic downward trend in the plant's produc-

tion since 1959. The original plant started production in October 1951 and in 1953 the target of 1,000 tons of Ammonium Sulphate per day was reached. At the present moment, average daily output has fallen to 800 tons.

The performance of the expanded plant has been even poorer; it never did reach the target figure. In 1959, the expanded plant produced 400 tons of Double Salt and 75 tons of Uria while now the respective figures have dropped to 200 tons and 40 tons.

In order to explain away this sharp drop in production the management puts the blame on the poor quality of coal supplied to the plant. However, it is no secret here that payment for this coal is made at the rate of high-grade coal.

This by no means is the only instance of corruption rampant at the plant. Some time back, one lakh tons of coke were declared unsuitable for gasification and were auctioned off at a cheaper

rate out of which 50 per cent was declared breeze loss.

In this way, public money is simply being thrown away and it is time the Central Government and the Public Accounts Com-

mittee paid some attention to this sorry state of affairs.

While the nation's wealth is thus being frittered away, the management has resorted to an indirect cut in workers'

wages. Prices of canteen-food have been increased by 33 per cent due to rise in food prices. The workers' wages have, however, not been correspondingly increased to meet this higher cost of living.

## ROURKELA SATYAGRAHA

From Our Correspondent

THREE hundred retrenched Rourkela workers, men and women, have gone on a mass satyagraha in front of the Administrative Offices of the Hindustan Steel Ltd. from midday November 24, 1961.

The satyagraha has the active support and sympathy of all workers employed at Rourkela. The Acting President Balakrishna Panda, General Secretary Nityanand Paida and other leaders of the Union are on the spot.

The workers were forced to take this step as the management refused to meet their demand for reinstatement of 448 workers, mostly Adivasi women, retrenched on September 30. The Rourkela authorities had transferred all the work done by the re-

trenched workers to contractors who were to employ their own labour to complete the construction work.

It may be mentioned here that this move of the management to hand over work to contractors grossly violates the ruling of the Supreme Court in the Stanvac Oil Refinery Case on the abolition of the contract-labour system, which has been one of the major demands of all sections of the Indian trade-union movement.

Finding the management's attitude adamant, the workers led by their union—the Steel Mazdoor Union—decided earlier to launch a mass satyagraha on October 30. In order to avert any such move on the part of the workers and to arrive at a joint set-

tlement, the Deputy Chief Minister, Biren Mitra called a meeting of workers' representatives and the management, represented by the General Manager and the two Deputy-General Managers, at Bhubaneswar.

At this meeting, Minister Biren Mitra appealed to the management to reinstate the workers at least on humanitarian grounds and the management agreed to consider favourably the workers' case.

Since then the workers had patiently waited in the hope that justice would be done. But all their hopes were shattered when they saw that the management was not at all interested in re-employing the retrenched workers and ending the system of contract-labour.

## Jamshedpur—New Challenge

THE General Elections will see new challenges to the Congress in India's first steel city and its environs. Long held as a Congress stronghold, Jamshedpur administered a shock to both the INTUC and the Pradesh Congress leaders in 1957, when the Communist leader, Kedar Das was returned to the Bihar Assembly. Since then, the Congress circles feel, the situation has deteriorated further with group-politics getting the upper hand inside the Singhbhum District Congress, causing considerable worry even to the High Command.

Inside the INTUC also, Michael John's near-monopoly position among Tata workers has been undermined to a large extent because of internal rivalries. And it is now known that even with the Tata management, John does not pull that weight that he used to do before.

While the INTUC-led Tata Workers' Union could still enlist a large number of workers, observers feel that this is so mainly because of the fact that this Union alone is recognised by the Tata management, while the workers' sympathies appear to be with the AITUC-led Mazdur Union.

It is, therefore, evident, that the AITUC union would expect more workers this time in the General Elections than in 1957 for the candidates favoured by it. The India-China border issue—which may be used against CPI in other parts of the country—may not prove to be as effective in an electorate predominantly working class, it is felt here in many circles.

Indicative of the new ac-

tion of its strength here is the Communist (CPI) decision to contest the Parliamentary seat, their candidate being a popular doctor who is also closely associated with local trade union work, Dr. Udaykar Misra. For the Assembly seats, the CPI will be putting up All Amjad from the neighbouring Jugal constituency and Basta Soren from the Ghatsila-Potka Scheduled Tribes seat, while Kedar Das will seek re-election from Jamshedpur.

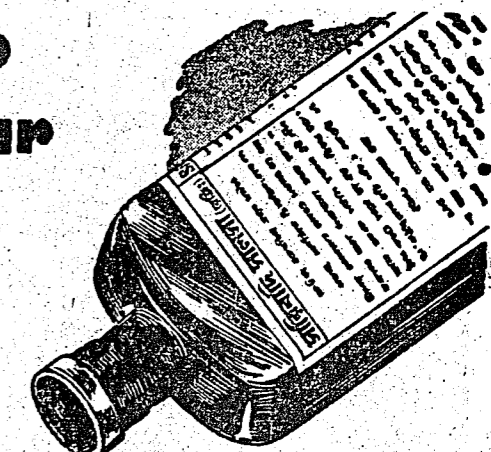
The Swatantra Party is making a spectacular bid in this region. The Raja of Ramgarh, the Bihar Swatantra Chief announced here that he would be putting 300 jeeps on the Bihar roads during the elections. The Raja Bahadur's confident predictions of Swatantra victory in the Adivasi belt are, however, not taken too seriously, since it is recognised that Jaipal Singh's Jharkhand Party continues to be a formidable force among the Adivasis.

This fact is recognised by the Congress, and it accounts for K. B. Sahal, the Bihar Congress dissident leader, trying hard to win over Jaipal Singh as a counterblast to Raja of Ramgarh. The failure of the Jharkhand-Congress merger talks has naturally depressed Sahal's group.

It is known that Sushil Bagge, Jharkhand leader in the Bihar Assembly, and G. D. Munzal, General Secretary of the Jharkhand Party, disfavour any electoral alliance with the Congress, though an understanding with the Swatantra Party is not ruled out for most of the Jharkhand leaders. They feel that they could thereby make use of the Swatantra's resources without having to bear its political liabilities, since in the Adivasi interior, the Swatantra political thesis is practically of no consequence. —(IPA)

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satisfactorily answered. A far more comprehensive and deeper analysis than what has been done hitherto, is needed—not merely in order to understand the cause of these deplorable happenings but also and above all, in order to ensure that they never occur again in any socialist country.

In other words, the process of expansion of democracy initiated by the 20th Congress and continued in the 22nd Congress has to be carried forward still further.

Our enemies, of course, are jubilant. Look, they say, has not everything that we said about the Soviet Union, turned out to be true? Many of our friends, supporters and even comrades get dumb-founded by such questions, feel demoralised and do not know what to answer.

But has "everything" that our enemies said, proved correct?

They said that the family has been abolished in the USSR and no religious liberties exist there. They said that Communists could only destroy but not build up anything. They said that the Five Year Plans were failures and that Soviet economy was in chaos. They said that socialism would mean cultural backwardness, stagnation of science and arts, general degradation. They said that the Soviet Union was a "colossus with feet of clay" and it would collapse speedily when invaded by the hordes of Hitler.

Have they proved to be correct? They have proved to be wrong on each of these issues.

Certainly, many things happened in the Soviet Union which should not happen in a socialist country. No one regrets them more than Communists.

But all these have to be viewed, keeping in mind the conditions in which they occurred and the context of the gigantic achievements—the transformation of a

## 22ND CPSU CONGRESS— MAJOR LESSONS FOR US

backward country into a mighty industrial power, the liquidation of illiteracy and the big cultural advance, the complete equality of all races and all nations and the progress made by the formerly oppressed nations of Central Asia, the freeing of women from age-old bondage, achievements without parallel in world history.

How was all this possible? Because the shortcomings, though serious, did not affect the basic nature of the social system of the USSR.

Industries remained in the hands of the people, socialism was extended to the sphere of agriculture, socialist construction was carried out by unleashing mass initiative, power was exercised at all levels by

the peoples, elected organs. Socialism remained, developed and grew stronger. Without this, such mighty advance could not have been made.

The achievements of the USSR are far greater than its shortcomings.

As for the world role which the USSR played in the defeat of Hitler and in saving humanity from the horrors of fascism, its role in the triumph of socialism over one-third of the world, as well as the role it is playing today in defence of peace and of the freedom of all countries—that is known to everyone.

No country has done so much in changing the very face of the world as the USSR has done in the last 44 years.

Moreover, let it not be forgotten that it is the ruling party in the USSR, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union itself, that revealed the defects openly.

On the basis of this revelation and on the basis of concrete measures taken in the last few years many wrongs done earlier have been rectified and major steps have been taken to re-establish socialist democracy.

Moreover, the CPSU leaders themselves "do not consider" as N. S. Khrushchov made clear, "that the task of improving our socialist system is already consummated".

Anyone who visited the Soviet Union in the past and has done so in recent years can see, appreciate and feel the big change that has come about. And the change is still continuing and will continue with added momentum.

Whatever opinion one may have on certain matters, the big and basic fact is that the whole trend of events since the 20th Congress—in internal matters as well as in the sphere of foreign policy—has been in the correct direction, has enormously helped the cause of socialism, democracy and peace.

### Entire History

We, Indian Communists, shall draw correct lessons from the entire history of the CPSU—its mighty achievements as well as grave mistakes. We are determined that the mistakes and misdeeds which occurred in the Soviet Union and some other socialist countries, the violation of socialist democracy that took place, must not happen in our country.

Events have shown that while abolition of classes, for the first time in history, create necessary conditions for full democracy, such democracy does not come about automatically.

Violation of democracy, excesses and arbitrary acts can take place in a socialist society also.

Even after the abolition of capitalism and of exploitation of class by class, a continuous prolonged and conscious struggle has to be waged to promote and extend democracy, to create effective guarantees against arbitrary acts and misdeeds by the Government and the

State, to uphold human values.

Without this, the full potentialities of socialism remain unrealised and the development of the human personality is hampered.

This is a major lesson that we have to draw.

Our opponents allege that if socialism triumphs in our country, Communists will suppress all other parties. They allege that all freedoms will be abolished—above all the freedom to criticise the Government. They allege that there will be regimentation of the press, of education and even of thought.

### Our Path

We firmly reject these allegations. Recognising the close inter-relation between socialism and democracy, our Party, in the Preamble to its Constitution has stated:

"In cooperation with all forces working for socialism in the country, the Communist Party shall strive to build a socialist society which ensures rapid advance in all spheres and also guarantees the widest possible extension of individual liberty, freedom of speech, press and association and the right of political organisation to all—including those in opposition to the Government, as long as they abide by the Constitution of the country. Socialism alone, by abolishing the exploitation of man by man, can create conditions for the full flowering of the human personality".

The specific questions which have been raised earlier can be answered only after a meeting of the National Council and on the basis of its decisions. It must be recognised by all, however, that the 22nd Congress was a tremendous event for all Communist Parties. The two Reports delivered by N. S. Khrushchov, the report on the Amendments to Party Rules made by Kozlov as well as the major speeches made at the Congress need to be carefully studied.

Such study alone will enable one to understand the decisions of the Congress in the proper context. The 22nd Congress has carried forward the process initiated at the 20th Congress to a new stage. It has enriched Marxism-Leninism by tackling concrete problems related to the task of Communist construction. It has adopted a Programme of world historic importance, a document which will be a powerful weapon in the hands of all Communist Parties in the ideological battle with capitalism.

It has opened up magnificent vistas before the whole of humanity. As such the 22nd Congress will ever be remembered as a landmark in the march towards Communism—the noblest dream of man. (November, 30)

DECEMBER 10, 1961

## W.F.T.U. CONGRESS OPENS

The Fifth World Congress of Trade Unions opened in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses yesterday. Over a thousand delegates and observers from more than 100 countries of the world assembled in Moscow, to review the past struggles and adopt a comprehensive programme of trade union action for the defence of the workers' interests and rights all over the world.

NEVER before in the history of the international trade union movement had such a representative assembly of the proletariat come together in one place. The people of Moscow are proud to receive and play host to the steved fighters for the cause of the working class from the five continents of the globe.

They are surrounded by warmth and affection wherever they go and they are happy and excited to have come to the capital of the first socialist State, where the working class has ruled for more than 40 years, to a city which is the standard-bearer of world peace, friendship and cooperation between nations.

There are demonstrations of friendship and solidarity wherever the delegates go and the representatives of Asia and Africa occupy a special warm corner in the hearts of Muscovites. They are always surrounded; they are in the limelight as representatives of the rising East and among them are the more than thirty trade-union delegates from India.

Delegates and guests fill the marble corridors and the bright hall of the vast modern palace. They belong to all the nations and races of men and they are happy to meet, specially the veterans of the movement who recognise each other and run to shake hands and embrace.

And their movement has certainly grown and their sacrifices have certainly borne fruit.

The WFTU when it was founded after the Second World War represented 67 million people but today it unites within its ranks more than 107 million working people of all lands. And the heart-beat of their mighty movement is felt here in this hall, where a month ago the historic 22nd Congress of the CPSU held its sessions.

Agostino Novella, the President of the World Federation of Trade Unions opened the Congress. The Fifth Congress, he said, sums up the glorious results of the struggle of the world trade-union movement for national independence, for peace and against all exploitation and oppression.

After pointing out that scores of millions of people have recently gained independence, Novella saluted the working people of Algeria fighting for their liberation, the peoples of Angola, Congo and Cuba and of other lands defending freedom and fighting oppression.

The floor was then granted to Viktor Grishin, Chairman of the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions who welcomed the Congress on behalf of the Soviet Trade Unions.

The Congress adopted the following agenda for its work:

- 1) The activities of the WFTU and the present tasks of trade-union organisations for peace, against imperialism, for peaceful co-existence, universal and complete disarmament and the economic and social demands of the workers.
- 2) The development of trade-union activities and solidarity to aid the peoples fighting to end colonialism.
- 3) Auditor's Report.
- 4) Elections of the Governing Bodies of the WFTU.

The rest of the day was taken by the comprehensive report on the first item of the agenda delivered by Louis Salliant, General Secretary of the WFTU.

The decisions taken at the last Fourth World Trade Union Congress in 1957 in Leipzig have been the source of untiring activity in the service of the international working class and its fundamental interests, he said. The correctness of these decisions have been confirmed all the time in the light of the events and experience of the international movement.

The Draft Programme of Trade Union Action, which is being placed before the Congress for approval has been widely circulated and discussed by the workers and trade unions of all shades of opinion and it has made possible a vast preparatory discussion on problems of interest to the international trade-union movement today.

Salliant said that these problems were the following: To avert war; to check imperialism; to ensure the complete eradication of colonialism; to defend and win satisfaction of the workers' social and economic demands; to struggle against the power of monopolies; to defend trade-union rights and democratic liberties, and to promote unity and international working class solidarity.

It had been confirmed, he said, that discussions and debates help to strengthen unity and perfect the general policy of the world trade-union movement in the class struggle against imperialism. The WFTU has received proposals for changes in the Draft Programme. The Congress as the final authority, shall consider them in a spirit of unity and solidarity.

Presenting a detailed review of the international situation, Salliant declared that the superiority of the socialist system over capitalism had been amply proved over the last few years.

For an ever increasing number of people in the face of the great accomplishments of the socialist world, the capitalist system seems un-

able to solve the great problems of our time and is unable to utilise the productive forces and marvels of technique for the benefit of society.

Reviewing in detail the measures of people's welfare in socialist countries, Salliant declared that the magnificent programme of advance to Communism adopted by the recent 22nd Congress of the CPSU was an event of far-reaching importance for the whole of mankind and a charter of happiness and peace.

War is not inevitable; it can be avoided. Peace can be preserved and strengthened—to this theme a whole section of the report is devoted.

The General Secretary of the WFTU gave a detailed survey of the working class struggles all over the capitalist world for their rights, for better living conditions and widening of democratic liberties and for the eradication of colonialism.

The movements which were developing on the basis of the specific conditions in each country had a common substance, Salliant said. And their analysis revealed that it was possible and necessary to establish broad unity against the monopolists.

He presented a long and detailed programme of united action based on the needs and demands of the workers.

The report declares that world-wide unity and active international solidarity of the TU movement are essential for the victory of the working class.

"We do not regard unity among workers and unity among the trade unions as a mere formality but as a continuous struggle against everything that hinders it". In general, the trade-union movement had grown stronger throughout the world but it would be even stronger if it were united. All organisations affiliated to the WFTU have been working for unity with zeal. It is becoming a reality on local and factory level and also frequently on national level during struggles.

The WFTU is always ready to discuss with the ICFTU agreements for action on points where unity is possible. "We hope the leaders of the ICFTU will agree to discussions with the WFTU but we cannot rest only on hopes. They will not agree to these discussions unless the pressure of workers is sufficiently powerful to force them to do so". Life itself will create new demands for unity, Salliant said.

The Draft Programme of Action specifies the aims of this unity and can become a joint platform of TU organisations throughout the world. "Workers of all countries, let us unite for peace, freedom and happiness", Salliant finished his Report on these words.

Today Ibrahim Zakaria, Secretary of the WFTU presented a long report on the second point of the agenda—the struggle against colonialism. The discussion on both the points will be taken together.

## D. P. MUKERJEE

THE news of the death of D. P. Mukerjee brings gloom to the hearts of the thousands upon thousands of his admirers, students and friends. India has lost one of her finest intellects and the world of letters a brilliant novelist, essayist and publicist. We have lost a friend, a mentor whose like we shall not see again.

D. P., as all who knew him affectionately called him, had a mind of encyclopaedic breadth. He was an economist, a sociologist, a litterateur and a music critic—all of the very first rank. His command of Bengali and of English was sure and subtle.

He was one of those rare spirits whose brilliance of intellect and concern for

knowledge drove him to steadfast espousal of all those good old causes which were bound up with the progress of our people. This was no mere generosity of spirit, which he possessed in abundant measure, but the outcome of his passion for truth.

As a teacher D. P. had few peers and no superior. And it was a measure of his own integrity and love for the new generation, that so very many of his finest students joined our Party. This was an unique contribution by a personality as warm as it was scintillating.

We offer our homage to his memory and our deepest condolences to his family.

## INDIA-CHINA—BASIC PROBLEM REMAINS

\* FROM BACK PAGE

he pointed out the role the monopoly-owned press was playing by seeking deliberately to whip up hysteria. He waved a copy of that morning's issue of one of the Delhi papers, who all of them, in reporting Prime Minister's Lok Sabha speech gave banner headlines announcing the alleged Chinese threat to cross the MacMahon Line.

Bhupesh Gupta read out the portion of the latest Chinese Note. While regretting as "objectionable" the reference in it to the possibility of the MacMahon Line being crossed although in a very hypothetical way, he pointed out that the Chinese had reiterated their determination to keep twenty kilometres off the border and to maintain the status quo.

He said that if the Chinese did cross the line, the Government would be fully entitled to prevent such a move and protect the territorial integrity of the country.

The Note was welcome in so far as it stated that of the three posts to which India had objected in its October 31 Note, one did not exist. The Prime Minister said that the Chinese seemed to have withdrawn from this (Dambugura) as they had done from two posts in the Demchok area.

It was heartening news that the Prime Minister gave the Lok Sabha that the People's Republic of China had asked for negotiations for signing of a new treaty regarding Tibet. The old one will lapse in June 1962 and the press had freely forecast a total stoppage to all communication with its coming to end.

"It is obvious" he said, "that when such a request is received—unlike other Chinese communications that we have been receiving this is a very polite communication expressing the hope that this and that will happen—merely to say that we will not discuss with you, prima facie seems

rather wrong. Obviously, we cannot just say "Yes" and go and discuss it. That, too, is wrong. Therefore, whatever we may say will have to be conditioned, and on certain conditions being satisfied, we may...."

The debate has been helpful not only in securing a fresh enunciation of policy which is basically a reiteration of the policy of seeking settlement principally through peaceful methods on the basis laid down in the Officials' Report. More than that, it has been helpful in showing up the "bad conscience" of the Rightwing elements who thought they could reap decisive electoral advantage from shouting at the top of their voices from the forum of Parliament.

The basic problem nevertheless remains in all its grim seriousness, as Prime Minister Nehru said. So long as it is not solved the enemies of India's democratic development, both inside and outside the country, will find ever new means of intensifying and complicating it.

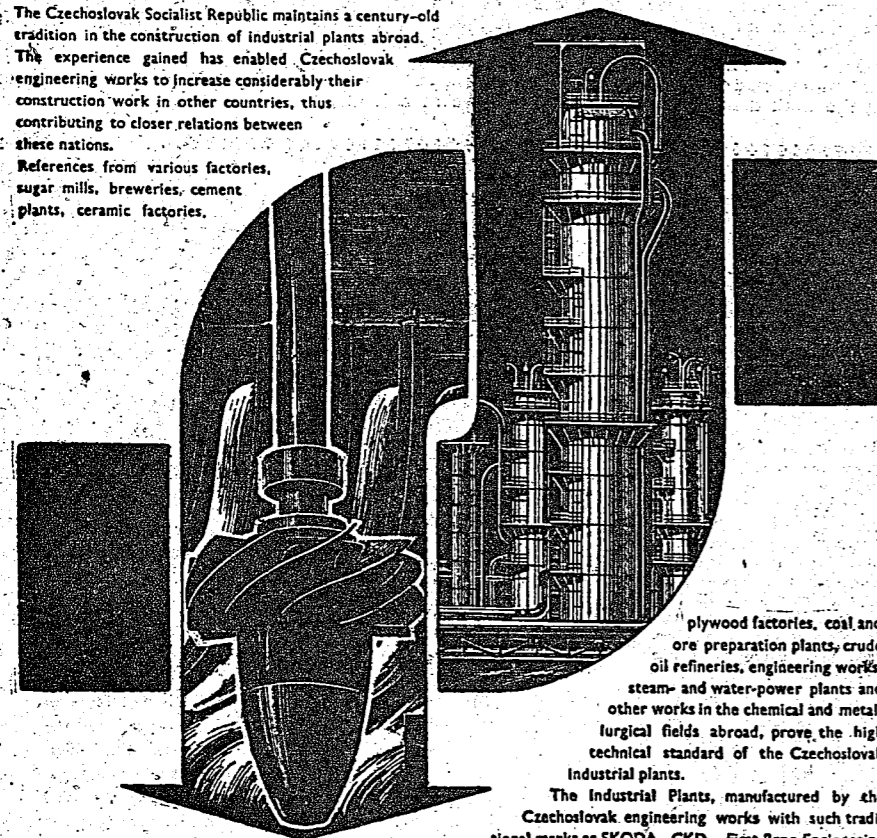
(December 6)

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NEW AGE

# COMMUNISTS OF U. S. —PRIDE OF THE WORLD

The ghost of Joe McCarthy is again stalking the United States of America these days. On October 9, the US Supreme Court, by a bare majority of five to four, with Earl Warren, the Chief Justice among the dissenting four, finally refused a hearing to the US Communist Party appealing against the order of the Subversive Activities Control Board that the Party must register as an "agent of a foreign power" under the infamous McCarran Act.

But the Communists are not scared of ghosts or real-life fascists. Despite the deadline fixed for November 30, the national officers of the Communist Party of the U. S. refused to register and advised the Attorney-General in Washington to that effect. They are determined to uphold their rights as well as those of all democrats.

Under the McCarran Act, two groups are required to register. First is the "Communist action organization," namely the Communist Party. It is required to report the names of officers and members, contributors, printing presses, and multigraph machines, even its office equipment.

Second are the "communist front organizations," which allegedly are controlled by the Communist Party. These are required to file similar reports. Some thirteen organizations were cited in this category. J. Edgar Hoover, of the FBI, has threatened no less than 200 more organizations. Senator Olin Johnston has urged that the law be applied to opponents of US intervention in Cuba.

The Communist Party, in defending its own rights, has so far held back attacks on other organizations. It has spearheaded the defense of the Bill of Rights, for all Americans.

This law defines a communist action organization

as one which is "acting under control, direction, and discipline to carry out the objectives of the world communist movement by bringing about the overthrow of existing government by any available means, including force if necessary, and setting up communist totalitarian dictatorships which will be subservient to the most powerful existing communist totalitarian dictatorship".

To this lie, completely foreign to the aims of the Communist Party, the American communists will never plead guilty by registering.

## Built-In Verdict

This built-in verdict further states that communists are organized on "a secret conspiratorial basis", and carry out their purposes by "trickery, deceit, infiltration, espionage, sabotage, terrorism, and any other means". To register is to plead guilty to "crimes" completely foreign to the methods of the Party.

The order first applies to the Communist Party. If it fails to register it faces a fine of \$10,000 for each day of non-compliance.

If the Party fails to register within thirty days, the officers are ordered to register within thirty days, on behalf

of the Party. The penalty for failure to do so is a \$10,000 fine and five years in jail for each day of such failure. Finally if the officers refuse, individual members are required to register within sixty days or face the same penalties.

The American Government does not really expect compliance. What it plans is another series of arrests and prosecutions against officers of the Communist Party.

Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, said in a press conference on June 8, 1961: "We would rather face imprisonment for life than betray the confidence of a single member or sympathizer and live in freedom." The law also forbids communists to work for the Government or in defence industries and to use a passport.

There is also a little-known second section (Title 2) of the Internal Security Act of 1950 entitled Emergency Detention Act of 1950, which authorizes detention in concentration camps of communists and others in the event of 1) invasion, 2) declaration of war by the US, and 3) insurrection.

Such camps are already ready in the U.S.A. The California camp used for Japanese war internees has been re-fitted. A camp built by prison labour, is near the Federal prison at Lewisburg, Pa. These are a grim threat to the many Americans who are peace advocates and active trade unionists.

The decision of the Supreme Court, which virtually outlaws the Communist Party of America, has aroused great anxiety among progressive Americans.

## Urey Protests To Kennedy

It is significant that that champion of Negro rights, Dr. Du Bois, joined the CPSUA precisely at a moment when the Party was facing the biggest government attack against its very existence (see box on this page.)

That many eminent Americans are perturbed is evident from the letter addressed by Dr. Harold C. Urey, Nobel Prize Winner and renowned atomic scientist, to President Kennedy:

"I am deeply worried that freedom of thought, speech and association would be seriously damaged if your Administration were to undertake prosecutions under the McCarran Internal Security Act. I am especially concerned because free and independent thinking is most urgently needed today when most thoughtful approaches to the troublesome problems of this century are required".

At this most difficult time in the history of CPSA, New Age joins all communists and democrats in protesting against the action of the U. S. Government. It sends its heartfelt and warmest greetings to our dear American comrades whose courage is peerless, dignity dauntless and love for their cause deathless. They are, indeed, the pride of world democracy.

# SCRAP-BOOK

## Current Rage

**KARAKA's** Current is angry with New Age because in this column some time back some of the lies invented in its office were exposed. But this is not for the first time that it has devoted a three column headline to New Age.

Replying to our pinpointing of a contradiction from a Kashmir official printed by it, Current retorted "when Current hits the bulls-eye and damages the Communist cause, their official organ New Age, produces about a column and a half on Current".

What was the "Communist cause" that was "damaged" by the Current. For it Kashmir is a den of Reds. That is why week after week it pours ridicule and contempt on the administration there and its leaders, thereby supplying first-rate material to anti-Indian elements in Pakistan.

I have myself counted more than a dozen of such stories printed, in the last seven or eight months, by Current.

And probably it is for this anti-national role that it gets full page advertisements from Pakistani agencies (refer to the advertisement in its issue dated September 13, 1961).

As regards misrepresentation of facts Current indulges in it all the time. Any intelligent reader can point out glaring discrepancies in the stuff that it produces.

But what prompted me to reload this column with facts on Current, was an advertisement on its editorial page this week saying "In Goa Get Your Current". This advertisement is a pointer to the fact that Current is even today welcomed in Goa. Why?

Naturally because Current does not write a word that can annoy the Salazars of Goa committing grave crimes against our kith and kin there. To confirm this I turned the pages of its file.

Not on one occasion has it editorially demanded liberation of Goa or even expressed any sympathy with the brave commandos fighting the Portuguese fascists.

Compare this to its continuous onslaught on India's foreign policy, and its consistent demand for a pro-Western orientation of it.

## Dollars For Kripalani?

In the political circles of the capital a rumour is afloat that lot of money from dollar-land will be poured into the North Bombay constituency against Krishna Menon. The Triple Alliance of the Swatantra, Jana Sangh and PSP is al-

ready there to channelise all possible forces against Menon. Paid canvassers are soon to be appointed, it is said.

Anti-Menon quarters in Delhi are worried by the open support the Jana Sangh has given to Acharya Kripalani. But there is another section which is sure that the active mobilisation of the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh will outweigh the disadvantage due to the communal character of the Jana Sangh.

And now, more or less, a campaign is being launched to prove that the Jana Sangh is not a communal body. Rajaji's recent statement in this connection is being regarded as a signal for starting this campaign.

It is being said that to boost up the Kripalani campaign volunteers will be mobilised from all over the country and paper organizations created to pass resolutions against Krishna Menon.

## Why Not Mundhra?

NOTHING is impossible these days. And it is being said that the Congress Central Election Committee, currently meeting at 7 Jantar Mantra Road, has decided to give the ticket for a Lok Sabha seat of Punjab to a sugar magnate, against whom enquiries are proceeding for violation of foreign exchange rules.

It is also being said in this connection that the above candidate has promised to give five lakh rupees to Congress Election Fund.

If that is correct, I have another suggestion. The Congress Election Committee should also decide to give a ticket to Mundhra, too!

—AGRADOOT

## TAGORE AND THE WORLD

A remarkable essay on the internationalism of Rabindranath Tagore: TAGORE AND THE WORLD

by Chinmohan Sehanavis.

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From Sharma

Trichur Dec. 5

In the first week of the kisan agitation in Kerala, two thousand kisans have been arrested for picketing nine collectorates and five taluk offices. The majority of them are actual tillers of the soil of various categories: agricultural labourers; tenants with no documents or with no receipts for the rent they have paid; tillers of temple, revenue and forest lands. They belong to all castes and communities.

LEAST among these are the 75-year old Muslim Ahmadi at Ernakulam, 75-year old Sreedharan Pillai, 75-year old Velandi, 70-year old Ikkaran, 60-year old Chacko Kurikose and 50-year old Raman Gunamanian.

Six batches of Kottiyur peasants have also courted arrest. These volunteers came from over three hundred village units or 80 block samitis of the Karshaka Sanghom. Everyday, meetings, collection of donations to the struggle fund and recruitment at volunteers are going on at the offices of these units.

At head of these sons of the soil stands veteran, 70-year old Vishnu Bharatheeyan, who has behind him thirty years of struggle in the interests of the kisans and service to the people. Following him are representatives of the people in the Lok Sabha: K. K. Warrier, M. K. Kumaran, A. Subba Rao; Legislators: E. P. Gopalan, M. M. Sundaram, N. N. Pandarathil, E. V. Vasa. Among the arrested are also former Minister P. K. Chathan; former M.L.A. M. K. Kela, P. Govinda Pillai, E. P. Thampal, R. Janardhanan Nair and several members of local bodies.

At Palghat Kongasseril Krishnan, Communist M.L.A. who had gone of a fast demanding receipts from the landlords for rent paid enters his sixth day without food. The movement is spreading to the villages gathering support from all sections of the people and especially the working class. Dailies like Kaumudi and Pithujanam have supported demands of the Karshaka Sanghom while being critical of the Communists. They have asked the Government to be reasonable.

Fr. Vadakkan wrote a signed article, besides an editorial in his paper, Thozhil, answering the Government's press note, backing the demands of the Sanghom and criticising the Government's approach for "ignorance and power madness".

Deepika, the Catholic daily warned the Government against playing with real kisan issues, even while criticising the Sanghom.

The Government has remained silent for the last three days. Earlier, Minister Chacko raised legal difficulties to meet the demands, while Minister Shankar at first brushed aside the demands as unrealistic. Minister Chandrasekharan (PSP) slandered the demands as unreal and politically motivated.

All these have failed to rouse public opinion against the demands put forward by the kisans. It is because of this that the Government has resorted to provocative arrests of K. K. Warrier and M. K. Kumaran, M.P.s, even though they had not participated in picketing. It is also refusing licence to operate loudspeakers and continue to evade the issues.

EMS Namboodripad has challenged Minister Chandrasekharan to convene a representative conference of kisan

# Kerala Satyagraha— Sweeping Ahead With Great Popular Support

organisations, including his own (he is the President of the PSP's Kisan Panchayat) and Fr. Vadakkan's organisation, and convince them that the Government has done all that ought to be done. He has asked four pointed questions:

- How does the Government propose to protect the tenants in possession without deeds and receipts?
- What should the Kottiyur peasants do when the Nair Service Society, the new overlord, demands a second payment?
- Does the Government guarantee that the thousands of petitions filed before the Land Tribunals would be disposed off before the time limit specified in the Agrarian Relations Act?

## End Repression?

JAGJIT Singh Lyallpuri, General Secretary, S. V. Parulekar, M.P. and N. Prasada Rao, Joint Secretaries of the Central Kisan Council of the All India Kisan Sabha issued the following statement in connection with the struggle of the peasantry in Kerala to the press on December 5:

Reports that have appeared in the Press this morning from Kerala are disquieting. The Congress-PSP Coalition Government there has resorted to large-scale arrests of kisan leaders under the preventive sections of the Cr. P. C. apart from the daily arrests on the average of over 300 satyagrahis that have been going on since the struggle began on November 27 with the picketing of collectorates in the nine districts of the State.

This repression unleashed on the struggle is totally unjustified. State Police Minister Chacko himself has admitted on December 4 that the struggle has been peaceful. His caution against resort to violence

should at least explain to the people which were the demands that the Government had conceded and what action it proposed to take in respect of the other demands. He concluded by saying that if there were any practical difficulties in implementing the demands, they could be solved at a roundtable conference and the Sangham, he was sure, was prepared to extend its full cooperation.

Meeting at Ernakulam under the Chairmanship of T. V. Thomas, the Kerala

is only meant to be a cover for the intensification of the repression. The struggle of the Kerala peasantry has been launched to win a number of legitimate demands framed at a representative conference early in November.

The demands among others, are for the protection of tenants without records, for more Land Tribunals, for speedy disposal of petitions, for implementation of the Agrarian Relations Act so far not implemented and for certain amendments in the Act itself.

On November 13, a deputation led by the President of the all India Kisan Sabha, A. K. Gopalan, M.P. made a representation to the Government on these demands. The struggle began full 14 days after this.

The Government has not dared to challenge the justness of any of the demands. It has not given any explanation to the people as to why they cannot be conceded. It has not put forward any counter-proposals which would satisfy the peasantry that its rights would be safeguarded.

After all this, for Government spokesmen to characterise the present kisan movement as an attempt to overthrow the Government or as the political stunt of a particular political party is nothing but sheer slander of a just and peaceful mass struggle. Not only is it slander; it is a malicious attempt to prevent the growing volume of support to and solidarity with the fighting peasants.

The large-scale arrests on the eve of the General Elections are a blow at civil and political liberties.

We appeal to units of the Kisan Sabha and democratic-minded people all over the country to raise their voice in protest against this repression and demand that the Kerala Government release the arrested persons, withdraw all cases and concede the just demands of the peasants.

The Council did not consider it necessary to answer the baseless charge against the struggle that it was prompted by political motives. The fact that the Press Note deals at some length with most of the 18 demands of the Sangham is itself an indirect admission of the justness of our case.

Regarding the three important demands of the Sanghom connected with the implementation of the Agrarian Relations Act, the preparation of the record of rights of the peasants, the issues regarding those peasants who have paid rent but not got receipts and the increase in the number of Land Tribunals, the Government has taken steps only in regard to increasing the Land Tribunals by five.

The Sangham desires to repeat on its part, it is prepared to have discussions with the Government for a satisfactory solution of these problems. But the Government should give up their present unsympathetic attitude, realise the urgency of the issues involved and prepare to act dynamically.

has resigned the primary membership of the Congress Party protesting against the communal, corrupt and reactionary policies of the present Government. He has issued a long, documented statement exposing the hoax of Congress socialism as practised in Kerala.

Addressing a public meeting at Sbertalal convened to mobilise support for the Kisan struggle Subramanyan stated that there never was a Government which was so anti-peasant as the present one. The Government if they wanted could have averted this struggle.

The demands of the kisans were simple and could be conceded. But this Government has refused to yield due to the pull on it by the big landlord and vested interests. There was now only one course open for all honest thinking people and that is, to rally behind the kisans and support them to achieve this demand.

In a statement issued from the headquarters of the Karshaka Sangham, Gopala Krishna Menon on behalf of the Action Council stated that the Government have turned their faces away from the major demands raised by the Sangham and only tinkered with some of them on which they have taken action. He was commenting on the Press communique issued by the Government on December 4.

He said: The Action Council have given due consideration to this communique of the Government since it was the official declaration by the Government in reply to the demands placed by the Sangham a fortnight ago.

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# India-China Debate— Rights Badly Mauled

It was a vigorous defence of his China policy that the Prime Minister made replying to the Lok Sabha debate on December 5, reiterating the same in the Rajya Sabha the next day.

**T**HE PSP-Jana Sangh-Swatantra combine, chagrined in the extreme, did their worst to heckle him in the Lok Sabha. Skillfully manoeuvring, the Prime Minister nevertheless stuck to his guns, refusing to yield to their shrieking demands for an adventurist course and a change of policy.

No holds were barred when the Rightist opposition launched its attack in the Lok Sabha on Monday. Their star batsman who opened the innings, Atal Bihari Vajpayee of the Jana Sangh, went to the extent of suggesting that the Prime Minister of India should be prosecuted under the law enacted by Parliament which makes the casting of doubts regarding India's frontiers a criminal offence, because, according to Vajpayee, Nehru had all along created confusion as to where India's border really was, always giving the benefit of the doubt to the Chinese.

They charged Nehru of withholding information and of creating confusion, giving propaganda ammunition to the Chinese and of sowing demoralisation in the country. They painted a picture of India being militarily unprepared, thanks to the Government's (especially the Prime Minister's and the Defence Minister's) weakness of trusting the Chinese.

Having themselves done their worst in that regard during the last few years, they painted a picture also of India having become friendless and isolated in the world, especially among its close neighbours.

Loudly disowning in words the adoption of war as the means of settling the issue, they pressed for measures which they know fully well would inevitably lead to that. Asoka Mehta suggested in the name of "keeping the morale of our people", the demolition of "at least" some Chinese posts by force.

Kripalani would have Indian patrols start firing on the Chinese. In one of his interjections when his colleague Vajpayee was trying to deny the fact that they advocated war Kripalani even said, with great bravado: "We do want war".

They would all have the Government of India reverse its stand on Tibet and join them in the "war of Tibetan independence" they have long been carrying on. A typical specimen of the classical Tailors of Tooley Street, as he was called by the Prime Minister, Braj Raj Singh demanded that India should claim all territory up to the Brahmaputra.

Asoka Mehta gave the blueprint of a revised foreign policy for India. Of course, he did not want "the basic outlines" of our policy to be changed! Of course, he didn't want "an change in any bloc"! And most certainly he was no anti-Communist. Nevertheless Panch Sheel should be regarded as having been "conceived in sin", as Kripalani had announced long

ago, and it should be given up!

The solution of all difficulties according to Asoka Mehta lay in drawing our neighbours into an anti-China alliance. He blamed the Government of India for not pushing that project with sufficient vigour and bewailed the fact that so many of our neighbours took this plan enthusiastically.

Inevitably, he suggested, we had to ally with such of them as were willing to do so. In this context the recent visit of the Japanese Premier was particularly welcome and also the impending visit of the ruler of Malaya. What sort of alliance, signed or unsigned, this will lead to is not difficult to see.

He had soft words even for Pakistan and Portugal and his leader Kripalani stooped to malign the struggle for Goa's liberation as a Communist diversion from the China threat.

All this amounted not to just a "thin end of the wedge" but a full scale attempt to bring about a major shift in India's foreign policy of non-alignment and Panch Sheel.

## From Ziaul Haq

The Prime Minister after some preliminaries, started his Lok Sabha reply by drawing attention to the fact that, "I have been accused of many things, including confusion and lack of clarity".

"My own impression", he said, "has been that a number of Members, chiefly on the opposite side of the House, have been singularly lacking in any clarity of thought or expression". He charged them with an "utter lack of a coherent approach", of having "a bad conscience", of having an eye on the elections.

He referred to the two Hon. Acharyas, saying of Kripalani that his utterances either lacked relevance or were devoid of meaning altogether and of Ranga that the working of his mind was "too tortuous" to be followed, and that "he does not realise that we are living today and not ten years ago".

He charged Asoka Mehta of prevarication, all of them of being obsessed by "hidden fears" and incapable of taking a "brave, straightforward attitude to the world".

Referring to the charge about "my desiring to suppress facts" he said it was "so patently wrong that I am amazed that anyone should make it...."

"I am not an unmitigated fool and for anyone to suggest that on the 20th (November) I kept back a fact so that on the 27th I should be exposed by the Hon. Member is a bit difficult to understand".

Refuting the charge of not attaching sufficient importance to the China issue, the Prime Minister declared, "I think personally that it is

more important basically for us than any other external problem...."

He said that "basically" "a certain aggression" had taken place and our policy was to have it "vacated fully and wholly".

"Our policy...always has been in regard to every matter to try every method, every peaceful method, to gain our objective.

"It may be that the peaceful method is not successful. Even so, it is desirable to do that for two reasons, one because it is in consonance with our policy, internal and external, and secondly it should always be the necessary prelude to any other action".

Whether one agrees with it fully or not, it is a very clear statement of policy where, with all emphasis on defence measures and preparedness "ultimately, if you like" even for war, the immediate insistence is on "every peaceful method".

Going further Nehru made it clear that he did not take pursuit of these methods in a defeatist spirit or as mere tactics and did not rule out the possibility of peaceful means succeeding.

He referred to the suggestion for making further territorial claims up to the Brahmaputra and declared, "We shall not claim that frontier and we do not propose to claim that because it has no historical or other validity. What we claim is for adequate reasons pointed out in the Officials' Report".

Regarding the stand India had taken about Tibet in 1950 and after, Prime Minister said, "I am completely unrepentant about the policy we adopted towards Tibet".

The other course, the one suggested by spokesmen of the Right, would have been "a foolish policy, policy of accepting what has happened and bewailing our lot".

Defending Panch Sheel at which Asoka Mehta had railed, the Prime Minister defended it stoutly and said it was "a kind of red rag to the bulls of the Opposition". He declared that the principles laid down in the Panch Sheel "are the only principles which a civilised society can have in its international affairs".

In the Rajya Sabha it was Dayabhai Patel of the Swatantra, Prof. Mukut Bihari Lal of the PSP and Hriday Nath Kunzru (Ind.) who mounted the attack. But the reply given in the Lok Sabha, it seems, had already demoralised these gentlemen so much that there was hardly much of punch in their attack.

They were, moreover, handled pretty roughly by the Communist Party's spokesman Bhpesh Gupta who mauled them badly—perhaps a little too much for the Prime Minister's liking. Because Nehru, instead of saying anything much about the content of Bhpesh Gupta's contribution, brought up the question of differences of approach inside the Communist Party on the China question.

Bhpesh Gupta did a signal service to the country when

# Salute From GAGARIN

*Uluo Haurayruke nomerama  
Luuu ruitaunuuu razeitu  
"How Signe"  
W. Tanap*

(The message reads: MY BEST WISHTS TO ALL READERS OF "NEW AGE", Y. GAGARIN).

**G**AGARIN has literally conquered the heart of India no less surely than the cosmic forces he subdued.

After Delhi, he swept Lucknow off its feet and the citizens of the centre of Indian courtesy found the Gagarin modesty and charm quite irresistible.

In Bombay, the major event was a public reception at Shivaji Park where over five lakhs had congregated. Krishna Menon in his speech stressed the fact that Soviet success in the exploration of outer space strengthened friendship among nations. Later the film stars gave a glittering party for the cosmonaut. The finale was the dinner organised by the ISCUS President, Dr. Baliga.

Calcutta gave a hero's welcome to the world's first cosmonaut when he and his wife arrived on December 4. It was a working day. School and college examinations were on and the State Government had taken no initiative.

Yet two million people lined the entire route from the airport to the Raj Bhavan. Workers built welcome arches and thousands came with flags and lanterns to greet him.

Wherever he went, thousands of people stood along the streets to cheer him. His sunny smile captivated everybody.

His engagements began with a press conference in the Soviet Consulate where he declared that the first man would land on the moon in the next five years.

Replying to a question whether his success happened by chance, he said neither he nor Soviet scientists had ever any doubt about the success of his space flight.

The time fixed for the civic reception was most unsuitable. Yet a big crowd gathered. Welcoming him as the "conqueror", the Mayor of Calcutta Corporation said his heroic feat would remain enshrined for ever in human history. Although he was a Soviet citizen, every Indian regarded the victory as his own because he represented mankind in space.

Replying, Gagarin said the first space flight was the harbinger of a new age in human history. The day was not far off when In-

dian scientists and workers would build space ships and Indian and Soviet cosmonauts would proceed to conquer space, hand-in-hand.

Gagarin and his wife also attended receptions given by the Governor and by the Press Club and Journalists Association jointly. Speaking in the latter function, Gagarin stressed the urgency of peace and friendly relations among the nations of the world and said the journalists could render unique service to this cause by truthful and objective reporting.

On December 5, Gagarin and his wife were given a reception by the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society. It was the warmest and most touching of all receptions during his two day programme. The packed hall burst into thunderous cheering as they entered.

Welcoming Gagarin as the symbol of youth and power of space travel, Einstein's colleague Prof. Satyen Basu said his feat had brought glory not only to his country but the world in general. The welcome address was read by the Rector of Jadavpur University.

Replying, Gagarin said the day is not distant when man would travel to different planets but that man would be a Soviet citizen. He further said friendship between India and the Soviet Union was a reliable guarantee of peace and security. ISCUS had an important role in making Indo-Soviet friendship as strong and dependable as Bhilal steel.

He and his wife were given a large number of presents by many organisations. Mrs. Gagarin was given a sari.

Earlier they attended a warm reception, where a huge number of school students gave a thunderous welcome and seemed to regard him as a symbol of their own future.

In a reception by the Bengal Flying Club Gagarin said a spaceman should be able to reach Mars in the next few years.

In another reception by the India International Club he appealed to the scientists to cooperate in maintaining world peace for the further progress of science. He and wife left for Hyderabad on December 6.