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# COMMUNISTS EMERGE STRONGER

The Secretariat of the National Council which met in Delhi on March 10, expresses its heartfelt thanks to the millions of people who voted for the Communist Party and its allies in the last general elections.

**D**URING the election campaign, thousands of working people, our dear and sincere friends, worked tirelessly and made great sacrifices for our success.

It is their initiative, their efforts and their sacrifices which enabled our Party and its allies to put up a valiant fight against the monopoly of political power of the Congress, and against forces of communalism and right reaction.

Our opponents prophesied that the Communist Party and the democratic movement would be pushed back in the elections. But the elections have proved them false prophets. In the country as a whole, the Commu-

nist Party and its democratic allies have won new successes and emerged stronger. At the same time, our Party notes with great concern the growth of the Swatantra Party and the Jana Sangh and other communal parties in certain parts of the country.

This challenge of reaction and communalism has to be met with all the strength and striking power of the broad forces of democracy.

We are conscious that we have to advance with far greater strides and build still broader unity of the democratic and patriotic forces in the country in the struggle for a better life and for a strong and prosperous India.

It is naturally of the utmost importance that we consolidate and further strengthen the unity of the left forces which we have achieved as, for example, in West Bengal and Maharashtra. To these great tasks, our Party will devote itself in the coming period with all energy.

The elections have been a great experience for our Party and, indeed, for all democratic forces. The National Council of our Party will shortly review our Party's election struggles and draw necessary lessons from our experience, in order that we can overcome our political and organisational weaknesses as well as the shortcomings in our work among the masses. The elections have highlighted not a few of such weaknesses and shortcomings which must be overcome at all costs.

We assure all sections of our working people, irrespec-

tive of whether they supported us or the Congress or any other party, that our Party shall always stand by them in defending their vital interests. The election results have ever so emphasised the need for greater unity and exertion on the part of the democratic and patriotic forces.

The parliamentary elections in Kerala have proved both in terms of votes polled and of seats won or lost that the present Congress-PSP alliance which is in control of the State Government does not command the confidence of the electorate and the people.

In these elections, the Communist Party and its allies who fought as a single front have won a larger number of votes than the Congress and PSP put together and won ten seats as against six by the alliance of Congress and the PSP.

The Secretariat is firmly of the opinion that the Congress and the PSP coalition government in Kerala has no right, politically and morally, and even from the point of view of constitutional propriety, to continue further in office. The Secretariat demands the immediate resignation of this coalition ministry in Kerala.

It is surprising that the Central Government should have chosen to shut its eyes to this popular verdict and now applied different standards in order that this coalition government can continue. This defiance of popular verdict given in terms of the Constitution and this flouting of the normal constitutional principles and practices in a parliamentary system can only bring incalculable harm to India's parliamentary institutions and undermine our Constitution.

## Defence Of Democracy

We print below brief extracts from the speech by P. Ramamurti in the Rajya Sabha on the President's Address (March 13).

**T**HE Address of our revered President naturally makes reference to the recent elections but before coming to that reference I would like to join in the rejoicing of all sections of the House and of the Government and the President at the fact of the recent liberation of Goa, the last vestige of colonialism in our country.

At the same time, the President takes note of the fact that there were certain countries which were opposed to this and which were angry over this but the vast majority of the population of the world and a vast majority of the governments, particularly the governments in Asia and Africa, have acclaimed this act of liberation.

I would like the Government of India to take note of the particular people, the particular governments which have become extremely angry over this fact of liberation of Goa, and what it signifies. I do not want to dilate much on this problem within the short time at my disposal.

### Wrong Method

Coming to the elections, I would like to read what the President has said in his Address in regard to it: "As a result of the elections my Government have received a significant vote of confidence in their internal and external policies and a renewed mandate to strive..."

I dare say that the Government of India was not a party to the elections; it is the Congress Party, the party in power which certainly was a party in the elections and I

do not think it is constitutionally proper that the President should be dragged into this kind of controversy over policies that a particular ruling party put forward in the elections.

It is not good and it is absolutely unnecessary for the President to talk about this. We have to lay down constitutional proprieties, and the President of India has certainly got to be kept above party politics.

### Congress Tactics

Now, coming to the election itself, it is true that the Congress Party has come back to power, has been returned with a majority, but let us consider this fact also that even after boasting about the achievements in the Five Year Plans, the percentage of votes that the Congress party has received in this election is even less than what it got before.

It has not been able to get the majority of votes polled. Let us not forget that. Let us also realise that this election was fought by the ruling party with the spending of a tremendous amount of money, more than in any previous elections.

This was in 1937, I remember very well as a Congress worker, when we fought the biggest money magnates, biggest landlords and biggest Maharajas in this country, with no money. The same party today has got to spend lakhs and lakhs of rupees.

Ramamurti then went on to give many instances of the flagrant manner in which Ministers used their official position to influence the elec-



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tions—inaugurating projects, laying foundation stones, etc. He called for a probe into the question by the Election Commission.

He next dealt with the situation that had arisen in Kerala, where the majority of the electorate had clearly given their verdict against the coalition Ministry. He called for the recognition of the Ministry and appealed to Pandit Nehru in this connection.

The President has made a reference to the code of discipline and industrial relations. I would like to refer to the employers in the public sector industries. I am glad, that yesterday's newspapers carried a news item that the strike in the Heavy Electrical Company at Bhopal had been settled.

But then why was it necessary for the workers in that particular industry to go on strike for nearly a month? This is something which has got to be gone into. After all we had nothing to do with it.

### Bhopal Strike

It is an independent union and it is because of the cussedness of the management right from the beginning that this thing has been going on there, strike after strike.

I would like to ask in a public undertaking of this type, if we have got such wooden-headed bureaucratic officials

who do not understand what industrial relations today mean, what should we do? They do not today, carry out even the law of the land.

When the law of the land says, for example, that a particular union has got to be recognised on the basis of the strength of its real membership, the union is not recognised. The management refused to function even the Staff Council which is today a statutory obligation.

Here is a management which thinks that it can do whatever it likes and the workers are there to submit themselves as slaves. There is something rotten in this public sector undertaking. It is a serious matter.

### Probe Needed

Therefore, I would ask the Government to undertake a serious enquiry, not by some officials but a serious enquiry in which the Members of Parliament are effectively associated, because we have sanctioned hundreds of crores of rupees for many of these public sector undertakings, and we have got a right to know what is happening in these undertakings.

When the President is quoting many of these statistics, I wish that they had quoted the other side of the statistics and found out how this increased national income,

increased national wealth has been distributed in this country. I am not going into the whole question, because there is not much time for that. We had a Committee to go into that question. What happened to that Committee?

We find growing concentration of wealth in the hands of a few families. Financial institutions, like banks, are in the hands of a few families. Similarly industrial concerns are in the hands of the same few families. This is what is happening in our country. This is not something which is very desirable, and the projection of this has also taken place in the newspaper industry.

The latest report of the Press Registrar says that nearly 61 per cent of the total circulation of daily newspapers in this country is concentrated in the hands of ten big families, who also happen to be industrial tycoons, who happen to be also banking tycoons. We know what the result of that has been in the Bombay election.

### Serious Evil

The Prime Minister also complained about that. Let us, therefore, not talk very much of democracy when we are continuing to allow this sort of concentration of wealth to take place. This is a serious evil to democracy.



There are the enemies of disarmament, who hope to fatten on the gigantic surpluses of a war-based economy and who still hope to somehow browbeat the socialist camp and the neutralists by atomic bombardment. With them the question is not of dialogue but of irresistible pressure.

HERE are also sceptics, not necessarily ill-intentioned people—and leaders of peoples—who cast doubt on the possibility of disarmament, apart from looking askance at times on its utility.

Their contention is that imperialism is too strong not to be able to retain—and employ—all the weapons it wants. All the other clamour about the inherent militaristic character of imperialism has never really been the subject of controversy.

**Imperialism Retreats**

Is this assumption sound? Is it not really a hangover or an outmoded approach to imperialism? Imperialism has not changed its character but it has proved fully feasible to force it to retreat, to abandon close on 75 per cent of its colonial possessions in less than 15 years.

Above all, right at the very doorstep of the most powerful imperialism in the world Cuba has been possible.

Surely, it cannot be said that imperialism prefers arms to colonies. On the contrary, among the reasons for its enormous arsenal is its colonialist desires. Thus, there is nothing inherent and inevitable about armaments. It is a question of the balance of forces around the issue.

Then the argument is advanced—oddly enough by the most rabid of imperialists and the most "ultra" of "anti-imperialists"—that disarmament would unleash the forces of chaos and crisis in the capitalist countries, and, hence, is impossible to achieve so long as capitalism exists.

Here again, let it be stated that nobody minimises the extent to which the fate of economies of imperialist countries is linked up with the arms race. But, a ten-nation group of experts established by the U. N. General Assembly to study the economic and social consequences of disarmament today officially dismissed fears that economic chaos would follow world-wide disarmament" (Reuter, March 11). This was its "unanimous conclusion".

Let it be noted that the experts came from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland, India, USA, U. K., France, Pakistan, Venezuela and Sudan. Such a composite group's unanimous conclusion is surely entitled to be treated with very great respect.

"Assuming complete and rapid disarmament, the group said it was unanimously of the view that all the problems and difficulties of transition could be met by appropriate national and international measures".

The report said that "the industrialised countries with a private enterprise system should be able to maintain effective economic demand in the face of disarmament without too much difficulty."

"Monetary and fiscal policy could be used to counter the effect of any shortfall in total

demand which was not offset by a rise in civil Government spending".

The experts said that "the conversion from the economy of World War II to peacetime conditions was a much larger one and involved a more rapid transfer of resources than total disarmament would require at present".

In contrast to the slight edge of anxiety in the persuasion regarding capitalist economies the economists were, again unanimously, of the view that "in the socialist economies, maintenance of effective demand while reducing military expenditure, would be simply a matter of the efficiency of planning techniques. Effective demand, therefore, could be readily maintained". A revelation as to the potentialities and problems of the two systems!

This possibility again depends for its emergence on a shift in the balance of forces and the only relevant discussion today—as the Geneva

USSR and the explosion of a fifty-megaton bomb probably strengthened Kennedy's campaign against the Ultras, for, though it doubtless increased the ardour with which many of them demanded a show-down with the USSR, that is a preventive nuclear war, it also greatly increased the general awareness of the catastrophic casualties which would result from successful retaliation by even a very few undestroyed Soviet nuclear missiles".

He quotes the London Times report from Bermuda on December 22 last: "It is now privately admitted at the Pentagon that the U. S. can no longer hope to impose its will on any nuclear battlefield..."

But the Soviet Union has not used its greatly enhanced military might to extort "concessions" but only to impose negotiations. Take the latest examples.

On the very eve of the Geneva Conference Gromyko wrote to the U. N. Secretary-General warmly welcoming the convocation of an international conference to sign a convention banning the use of nuclear weapons, as provided for in the General Assembly's

closest possible touch with the proceedings and themselves proceed to Geneva at an appropriate time.

Khrushchev's series of letters have ensured that the utmost importance is invested in the Geneva Conference and that it cannot degenerate into a purely routine meeting, as the West had hoped.

It is a matter of great pleasure that Pandit Nehru responded so quickly and favourably to the Soviet Leader's proposal that the Heads of Government should give personal attention to the various problems which will be encountered as the parleys commence.

**West's Strategy**

In face of these promising prospects what is the counter-strategy being worked up by the Western imperialists?

Their main objective seems to be to divert the Geneva Conference from the main job that it has to perform—work out a plan for complete and general disarmament.

Already the propaganda cry has gone up that there can be

most powerful ploy of the Western side will be their insistence that there can be no disarmament without adequate controls. Their case, in a nutshell, is to first work out the system of controls and inspection of existing armaments and then proceed to disarmament. It can be quite accurately categorised as a plan for espionage.

Blackett, in his article, has made the very telling point that as the Soviet Union is relying on a minimum deterrent and would quite clearly not be the first to strike, it is essential that its retaliatory capacities and missile sites be kept strictly secret. Espionage would clearly pave the way to aggression.

He states "If a detailed study of this document (the Western inspection proposals) is made, it is clear that the process of setting up and operating the proposed international inspection system might conceivably have served to reveal the location of some, at least, of the Soviet missile sites. At any rate, it would be very hard to convince a military staff officer of any nationality that this possibility was negligible."

The Soviet case has been forcibly put by Khrushchev. He has declared his readiness to accept any system of controls or inspection proposed by the imperialist powers provided they accept the Soviet proposals on disarmament.

In essence, the Soviet stand on the question of controls has been that it must be related to the exact degree of disarmament that is being contemplated, no more and no less. That is why in its three-phased plan for complete disarmament in four years, it has proposed similarly phased inspection and control measures.

**Neutrals' Role**

It is particularly at this point that the neutralist nations, can, perhaps, make their greatest contribution, i.e., on the question of the powers and the composition of the control bodies, the neutralist nations could make fertile suggestions. It is at this point that they could compel the West to break the deadlock it has itself created.

The Soviet Union has proposed—and the Western powers can scarcely afford to reject this proposal—that part of the resources released in the process of disarmament should be utilised for rendering economic and technical assistance to the underdeveloped countries.

It has gone on to insist that the share of resources earmarked for rendering such assistance should be stipulated in the treaty, on general and complete disarmament itself.

If the neutralist nations act with wisdom and vigour at Geneva, in alliance with the socialist states, it is likely that the result may well be the first big step from peace to peaceful coexistence.

**KERALA TURNS AGAINST COALITION GOVERNMENT**

E. M. S. Namboodiripad declared at Trichur that if the same yardstick that was used by the Congress leaders to measure the so-called "mass upsurge" against the Communist Government during the liberation movement could be used to measure the popular discontent against the present Government in the State, as was evidenced by the Congress-P.S.P. debacle in the Parliamentary elections, the Coalition had no right to continue.

"MAY I submit to the Prime Minister", Com. Namboodiripad asked "that there is a mass verdict against the present Ministry and in the context of his earlier advice, is it not necessary for the Congress-P.S.P. coalition to seek a fresh mandate from the people?"

Namboodiripad was explaining the resolution adopted at the two-day session of the State Council at Trichur. The meeting of the State Council of the Communist Party convened on March 7 at Trichur.

It adopted a resolution of condolence on the death of Ajoy Ghosh, the General Secretary of the Party. By another resolution the Party condemned the act of stone throwing indulged by certain elements against the Chief Minister Pattom Thanu Pillai.

The Council examined the results of the recent parliamentary poll and the appraisals and views expressed by various political and party leaders of the State.

The Council considers that the results of the elections are a clear verdict of the people against the two year old coalition Government in Kerala and the policy of continued neglect and discrimination that the Central Government was adopting towards Kerala during the First, Second and Third Five Year Plans.

**WEST BENGAL'S CALL ...**

**STRENGTHEN LEFT UNITY** *From Inan Bikash Moitra*

The first mass rally, held in Calcutta after the elections on March 10 under the auspices of the United Left Front (ULF), was attended by 25,000 people. Hemanta Basu MLA (FB), presided. Among those who addressed the gathering were Jyoti Basu (CPI), Leader of the Opposition, Tridib Chowdhury, MP (RSP), Amar Basu (Marxist FB), Hemanta Basu, Anadi Das (RCPI) and Nepal Bhattacharya (Bolshevik Party).

The leftist leaders said that it was true that their objective of ousting the Congress from power had not been realised; but the tall claims of the Congress that it had won a "resounding" victory in the elections were baseless. They stressed that the Congress had succeeded in securing the majority by adopting heinous tactics and undemocratic methods.

The meeting observed one minute's silence to pay homage to the hallowed memory of Ambica Chakravarty, one of the leaders of the historic Chittagong Armoury Raid. He died on March 6 as a result of a street accident. Addressing the gathering, Jyoti Basu said that it was a misfortune for the people of West Bengal that an alternative Government had not been formed. But the Congress claim of having won a "thumping" victory was not borne out by facts. In support of his contention he quoted the facts and figures given in

the statement issued by the United Left Front on March 6.

If the Congress had really won a big victory, where was the spontaneous demonstration of jubilation by the people, he asked.

"The victory celebration held by the Pradesh Congress Committee on this very Maidan on March 3, was attended by about 7,000 people, many of whom were brought in trucks. Compare that meeting with to-day's vast gathering and you will realise who have the mass support behind them", he observed.

Pointing out that the ULF did not minimise the serious setbacks suffered by the democratic forces in Calcutta, Howrah and 24-Parganas districts, he analysed the causes of these reverses.

He said that in the light of the experiences of the 1957 elections, they had concentrated their efforts in weaker

port or otherwise of that party in power.

It was in the name of this principle that the Communist Government was dismissed in July 1959 and the mid-term elections ordered in February 1960 by the Central Congress Government.

Thirdly, the present Coalition Government came to power through and as a result of that mid-term poll. The leaders of the Coalition Government had declared during the recent elections that this election was an opportunity for the people to pronounce a clear verdict on their two year old rule here.

Apart from this the Congress and P.S.P. contested the Lok Sabha elections together as partners in contrast to other States where they fought against each other. This was another factor that made State politics the issue in the Lok Sabha elections.

Fourthly, the percentage of votes that the Congress and P.S.P. could secure on the basis of their coalition is 44.14 per cent which is 10 per cent less than what they secured in the 1960 mid-term poll in the matter of seats, they have been reduced to a minority of only six out of 18.

The State Council considers that to argue in the face of the aforesaid considerations that the results of the present Lok Sabha poll and the continuation of the State Government have no relation whatsoever is undemocratic to say the least.

If Prime Minister Nehru and the leaders of the Congress High Command approve this stand of the Congress-PSP leaders here, they will be guilty of the crime of applying different and contradictory standards to Congress and Communist Governments and practising discrimination against the Communist Government and the Communist Party as such.

**Guilty Congress**

The Kerala Congress leaders and their allies of Prime Minister Nehru organised a "direct action struggle" in January 1959 against the Communist Government which, according to them, had lost "the support of the majority of the people".

The Communist Party then and today holds the view that what they did was immoral, wrong and unconstitutional. The question of organising "a direct action" to force the present coalition to quit office is, therefore, farthest from the thoughts of the party.

But the State Council of Communist Party desire to point out that the conduct of the leaders of the Congress and PSP in continuing to stick to office in the face of the reality that both in votes and seats they have been reduced to a minority is unjustifiable on any ground and that especially when they were the architects of the

direct action against a Government that "had lost popular support" and they still justify the propriety and morality of their action.

The State Council by another resolution urged the Government to hold a judicial enquiry into the charges of corruption raised against several Ministers of the State Government. The resolution condemned the attitude of the Government which while refusing to clear the Ministers by an enquiry had launched prosecution proceedings against four Communist dalles.

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pledging to preserve the leftist unity like the apple of our eye, he made an impassioned appeal to the people to forge unity in their ranks to stand up against the Congress misrule.

Referring to instances of goondaism by the Congress he said that the attempts of the Congress to introduce the Tammany Hall tactics or the methods employed by fascist thugs in public life would be firmly resisted by the people.

The election of 7,733 members for 923 Panchayats in the State are to take place on 21, 24 and 28 of May. The last date of nomination is April 17.

The Communist Party, the resolution added, would strive its utmost to arrive at an understanding among parties and non-party individuals and form a broad front pledged to run the civic bodies in a democratic way in the best interests of the common people. The Council directed the District Councils of the Party to take active steps in this regard.

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# For An Upsurge In

# Agriculture

# GREAT PERSPECTIVES

One may say without hesitation that the programme of achieving a further rise of agricultural production adopted by the 22nd Congress of the Party will be not only fulfilled but surpassed, just as our programme of industrial production, Nikita Khrushchov declared in his concluding speech at the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU on Friday.

Let imperialists yell about a crisis. We comrades know that there is no crisis in our agriculture.

Khrushchov noted: "We are now criticizing ourselves not because we did little but because we can do more if we utilize our potentialities rationally."

Khrushchov stressed that everything must be done so as to achieve already this year and in the next few years a turning point, so that the Soviet people should feel a substantial improvement in the supply of animal products. "We have everything needed to achieve that."

### Increased Assistance

But First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU warned that "the planned measures to increase assistance to agriculture do not mean that there will be a reallocation of means to agriculture to the detriment of the development of industry or of the strengthening of the country's defences."

He stressed that the strengthening of the might of the Soviet Union, of its defences, was a most important task. "We shall accomplish it unflinchingly. This is the bedrock of the existence of our socialist state, of its development and its successes."

"By history the Soviet Union, our Party, our people, have been given the leading role in the construction of socialism and communism, in defending their homeland and other socialist countries from imperialism."

"The working people of the Soviet Union are well aware of the historic significance of the construction of communism in our country, for the fraternal socialist countries, for all the peoples fighting for freedom and independence."

Khrushchov noted that, steadily developing industry and strengthening the country's defences, the Party and the Government will find appropriate and adequate means for agriculture.

At the same time Khrushchov said he was confident that, relying on the equipment and the level of mechanization of agriculture already existing on collective farms and state farms, it was possible to increase considerably the output of farm products already now.

The main and the most urgent thing to do now is to ensure better utilization of equipment, to organize better the work on collective farms and state farms, Khrushchov said.

Khrushchov spoke about the great significance of maize, the skilful cultivation of which is source of great wealth for the people. He pointed out that as proved by the experiences of thousands upon thousands of farms in different zones of the country, maize can be effectively cultivated all over the territory of the Soviet Union.

Khrushchov noted that the question of production of mineral fertilizers warranted serious attention. He announced that possibly it would be necessary to convene a Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Party or a conference in order to discuss once more the tasks of the further development of the chemical industry. Now, he added, we have a better and more concrete idea about the country's requirements for chemical industry products.

Turning to certain organizational problems of agricultural management, Khrushchov pointed out that at the present time the organizational problem—the problem of selecting and training people—was the main one in agriculture. Collective farm and state farm production administrations are called upon to play an important part in this.

"Agriculture is one of the main aspects of our entire production life. It is impossible to build communism without a powerful, well-developed modern industry. But neither can communism be built without a comprehensively developed agriculture."

In our Soviet society, Khrushchov stressed, the attention of the whole Party, of the whole people must always be focussed on the development of agriculture.

Khrushchov noted that the work of this Plenary Meeting gave deep satisfaction to all. The speeches of the participants in the Plenary Meeting showed that "already now we have risen a step higher in our understanding of the production problems of agriculture."

### Great Scientists

Wonderful scientists spoke at this Plenary Meeting, Khrushchov said. Most gratifying was the speech of Academician Konstantin Skryabin who was welcomed so warmly and with enormous respect for his work by the participants in the Plenary Meeting.

Khrushchov recalled that the Plenary Meeting was addressed by scientist Viktor Pisarev who used such a figure of speech: "The day of the downfall of the autocracy of the whole doctrine of the grassland agriculture is the day of liberation of our land from the heritage of the cult of the individual which heavily weighed on it." "That was a fine way of putting it," Khrushchov declared.

At the same time Khrushchov noted that unfortunately there still were some scientists who did no scientific research and indulged only in administrative work.

Soviet scientists, in the first turn the Academy of Sciences, and leading exponents of Soviet science should ponder over the ways to open more widely the doors to science before young people.

Khrushchov agreed with those comrades who raised at the Plenary Meeting the

question of revising the regulations of collective farms. "It is really necessary to do that. The regulations are not only obsolete but have in many respects outlived their time; new regulations are needed for collective farms."

"We have adopted a Party Programme; we are confronted with the task of drafting a new Constitution of the USSR. On the basis of these documents new regulations for agricultural co-operatives will be worked out and presented to a congress of collective farmers for approval."

### Party's Aim

Khrushchov noted that the Party has called upon boys and girls to go to work on collective farms and state farms. The youth has enthusiastically responded to this appeal. He remarked that after all not too many people need be sent to collective farms and state farms. Therefore the Party's appeal should not be regarded as a mass reallocation from town to the countryside. Now most districts have an adequate labour force.

The Western press, Khrushchov noted, writes a lot about the work of the Plenary Meeting. There are some ill-wishers who rub their hands and write that there is an agricultural crisis in the Soviet Union and that socialist agriculture cannot compete with capitalist agriculture.

It seems, Khrushchov noted, that these gentlemen hoped that the Plenary Meeting would adopt a decision renouncing the socialist methods in the agriculture of the country. "Let the imperialists yell about a crisis; we, comrades, know that there is no crisis in our agriculture."

Khrushchov pointed out that as compared with 1953, when 1,757,000 tons of meat and meat products were sold through the state trading system, in 1961 this figure rose to 4,033,000 tons.

"We are now criticizing ourselves not because we did little, but because we must do more and because we can do more if we utilize our potentialities rationally," Khrushchov declared.

Khrushchov pointed out that the increase in the output of farm products did not keep up with the growing requirements of the people. The demand and supply could have been balanced even with the available amount of products.

"Had we not abolished taxes, loans, had we not raised wages when we switched over to the seven-hour working day, had we not carried out other measures aimed at raising the people's standard of living, we would have reduced the demand of the population for foodstuffs."

"One should consider that through the above-mentioned measures alone the state has given the working people an additional 42,000 million roubles. This is what caused the increased demand."

Had we not followed a policy of increasing the real incomes of the population, particularly of factory and office workers in the low income brackets, Khrushchov went

on, we even would have had surpluses with the same amount of consumer goods and foodstuffs.

In a capitalist state, Khrushchov said, the capitalists would have boosted prices instantly, and such conditions would have been created under which tens of millions of people would not have been able to buy products.

There are many countries in which the shops are bursting with goods, while the people are starving and are barefoot and ill-clad.

In the United States, Khrushchov said, a country with a high level of agricultural production, there are many hungry people. In the United States there are more than five million fully unemployed, not to speak of the semi-employed.

Because such people, and many others whose earnings are low, do not have the money to buy products, the shops are well stocked.

Khrushchov noted that there were some bourgeois publications which admitted the indisputable achievements of the Soviet Union in developing agriculture, industry and culture. They write now that there should be no illusions about the failure of agriculture in the Soviet Union. They write, Khrushchov went on, that life in the USSR becomes better from year to year, that the people are well dressed, vigorous and confident.

"Indeed our forces of potentialities are tremendous!" Khrushchov declared. "What once was tsarist Russia," he said, has advanced to the forefront. The most highly developed capitalist countries now set themselves the task of catching up with the USSR in science, education and culture."

"The CPSU included in its Programme a scientific plan of creating the material and technical basis of communism as the main economic task, as a sure way to realize the great principle of communism: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.' 'This Leninist line of our Party has the support of the whole Soviet people, of the world communist movement and of progressive humanity.'"

### Soviet Glory

"Through the ages will live the name of the man who was the first to blaze the road to outer space, and the country which sent the first cosmonaut soaring to the stars."

"This country is: the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the first cosmonaut is a Soviet citizen, Yuri Gagarin, a Communist. The first diurnal flight—17 revolutions—around the globe was made by a citizen of the Soviet Union, a member of the Communist Party, Gherman Titov."

"No arithmetical totting up of the flights can change what went down in history forever. Our country and our people blazed the way to outer space. By this very fact they opened the way to other countries and other peoples."

"Now any one would be able to make such flights if space ships are built. Brave people can be found in any country and the number of space flights can be endless."

"Those very working men and women, peasants and peasant women whom the aristocrats regarded as rabble, have proved in actual practice their talent for science, technology, art, culture. And so, comrades, even if in agriculture we are weaker now than some highly developed countries, we shall overtake and surpass them."

"The difficulties will be surmounted," Khrushchov declared. "We have a fine industry, we have advanced science, our cadres are capable of solving the biggest and most complex tasks."

### CENTRAL COMMITTEE DECISION

"A powerful upsurge of agriculture is to be regarded as one of the main and urgent tasks of communist construction," says a decision adopted by the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU on March 9.

The decision notes that "fraternal Communist Parties, the world working class and the national liberation movements regard the new CPSU Programme as an outstanding document of creative Marxism-Leninism."

The strength of the CPSU Programme lies in the fact that it treats communism comprehensively, as a system of universal equality and justice, as such a phase in the development of humanity when an unparalleled growth of the productive forces of the society will be achieved and the highest standard of living ensured for the working people.

"The CPSU included in its Programme a scientific plan of creating the material and technical basis of communism as the main economic task, as a sure way to realize the great principle of communism: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.' 'This Leninist line of our Party has the support of the whole Soviet people, of the world communist movement and of progressive humanity.'"

"The Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU stresses the prime significance of a further upsurge of agriculture of the country for realizing the tasks of communist construction, for achieving a steady rise of the living standards of the people."

The decision cites figures which speak of a considerable increase in the output of farm products in recent years. The gross output of the entire agriculture has risen by 60 per cent between 1953 and 1961.

Within these years the output of grain has increased from 5,036 million poods to 8,380 million poods. As a result of the growth of the output of farm products it has been possible to increase considerably the state purchases of the most important foodstuffs and their sales to the population.

Sales of meat products through the state trading system have increased from 1,757,000 tons in 1953 to 4,033,000 tons in 1961, of milk and milk products—from 1,980,000 tons to 9,393,000 tons, of butter—from 330,000 tons to 632,000 tons, sugar—from 2,410,000 tons to 4,550,000 tons.

Thus, the decision points out, the efforts of the Party and the people to advance agriculture have yielded substantial results. At the same time the CPSU Central Committee holds that the level of output of grain, meat, milk and other products is still obviously insufficient and does not correspond to the great potentialities of the socialist system of economy and the increased requirement in products.

The Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee holds that the present structure of agricultural management does not correspond to the increased requirements, it restricts the possibility of using the reserves inherent in socialist agriculture and needs to be radically reorganized.

The decision says that "the rapid advancement of agriculture with a view to ensuring in the shortest possible time the full satisfaction of the country's growing requirements in farm products and the further raising of the working people's living standards" should be regarded as "one of the most important and urgent tasks of communist construction."

In the course of reorganization it is envisaged to set up in Regions, Territories and Republics, production administrations for managing agriculture, and agricultural committees, which will be headed by the First Secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics, Territorial and Regional Party Committees.

The Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee condemns the lev-farming system as insolvent from the scientific viewpoint, unfit for socialist agriculture," the decision says.

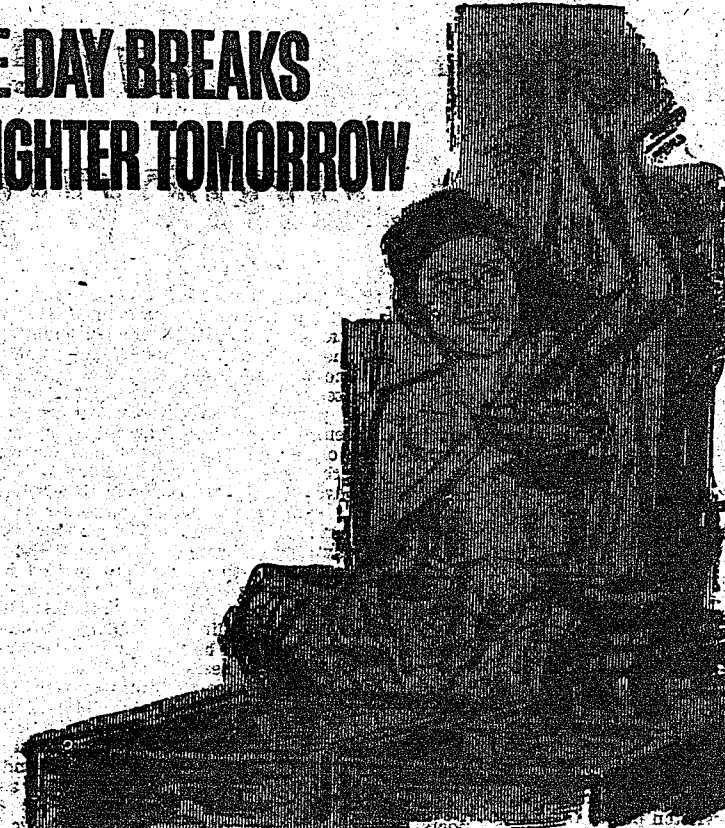
The decision touches on questions of studying and introducing Soviet advanced experience, as well as the achievements in the science and practice of farming of fraternal socialist countries.

It also deals with questions of strengthening the collective farms and state farms with experienced organizers and specialists. The importance of consistently abiding by the principle of material incentive is stressed again.

The President of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have been instructed to draft and adopt an extensive programme for improving the material and technical supply of agriculture.

The decision says: "It is important not to lose time and do everything to secure already this year a sharp increase in the output of agricultural products with a view to satisfying more fully the demand of the population."

## THE DAY BREAKS BRIGHTER TOMORROW



PLAY BECOMES HAPPY SERVICE  
Today's service, Today's effort. Continuous, successive.  
Work-laden, face shining with a smile.  
Tomorrow... a little less of care, a little more of joy.  
And for HINDUSTAN LEVER, too, tomorrow begins today.  
In the research laboratory, in the factory and office.  
Work, patience, care  
to serve tomorrow's homes and the nation's needs  
with products that grow better and better.

TODAY AND TOMORROW... HINDUSTAN LEVER SERVES THE HOME  
WITH SOAPS, FOODS, TOILET PREPARATIONS



It was a unique experience I had—of being present at the last Kripalani election meeting in North Bombay. It was February 23 and at 12 midnight all election meetings had to come to a stop. For polling was to be held on the 25th, and Saturday, the day in between, was the day of "truce".

I had started rather early with a Bombay colleague that evening from the centre of the city for the suburbs where the last skirmishes of the great battle were being fought out. We were headed for Jogeshwari as we had seen an announcement that Acharyaji would be addressing a "workers' meeting" there.

## High Excitement

During those days of high excitement, as everybody knows, Bombay's local trains and stations had become scenes of heated political controversy. And it so happened that on that particular evening, in all the groups that we came across, somehow the supporters of Acharya Kripalani seemed to be on the offensive.

First, there was a short, shrivelled, elderly gentleman—a sort of black sahib with a white topee on, declaiming to a group of much younger people how Menon's victory would mean the end of all religion and morality.

He was such an angry old man, that the younger ones

was set nearby with a lone bulb flickering above.

Obviously it was no "workers' meeting". It seemed to be an area election meeting. A number of quite prosperous looking ladies, surrounded by some admirers, appeared to be in charge of the arrangements.

They kept on telling them how wicked the ruling party was and how it was spreading all sorts of lies against Kripalani. They said that their side was the poor man's side while the capitalists and the government were on the other side.

The curious groups of people lingered on for a while and then started melting away for there was no sign of Bajaj turning up or the "meeting" really starting.

In the meanwhile, as we wended our way to the station, we found quite a big Menon procession that seemed to have spontaneously formed in the locality, preparing to march through the streets.

Chasing Kripalaniji we finally landed up in Mahim where a meeting was really on. And that was the last meeting of the Kripalani election campaign.

It was quite a well-at-

denouncing the people's morcha against and bonfire of the Indian Express.

Acharya Kripalani arrived with great fanfare and accompanied by quite a few Western photographers and newsmen. People in the audience could not help remarking how deeply these foreigners were interested in this election.

Just before Acharyaji, the other star performer of the evening, the film actor Prem Nath, had arrived with equally great fanfare. And the real performance began.

Prem Nath announced that he was going to invoke the blessings of God for "this old man", and said that he was going to recite prayers, "as it was done at Gandhiji's meetings".

He then proceeded to murder one by one all the holy scriptures. Having done that successfully, he went on to tell the audience that all the numerous film stars, artistes, directors, etc., who were supporting Krishna Menon were traitors and ignoramuses. Finally, he ended up by telling the gathering that Krishna Menon and those supporting him were all "thieves".

Acharya Kripalani was the next speaker. There was not a word, not even a remote hint, of disapproval of the disgraceful buffoonery that had just been performed before his eyes. He spoke of the high mission he had

nevertheless remains a subject for a thorough enquiry and the people of this country deserve to be told as to how and from where it originated.

One must admit that very few people expected the margin of Krishna Menon's victory to be so colossal. Even after the polling, people thought it would be somewhere between thirty and fifty thousand.

## Great Dignity

How did it happen? There is no doubt that the two sides conducting the two campaigns had two different conceptions of the level of intelligence and of the sense of decency of the electorate.

More than that was, perhaps, the fact that the battle became a political battle par excellence—something reminiscent of and parallel to the great national campaigns to throw off the foreign yoke, with one side obviously seeking to throw the country back and the other passionately resisting that effort and proclaiming its resolve to carry the country forward along the path of socialism and democracy. The break-through certainly came thanks to the efforts of the broad-based Support Menon Committee. One wonders what would have hap-

pened if this Committee had not taken the initiative to organise the campaign it did, in face of the hypocritical protests of the official Congress Committee.

Responsible people in the latter body seem to have hatched the diabolical plot that like the proverbial dog in the manger they would keep the charge of the campaign in their hands, and as a result, neither do anything themselves nor allow others to do anything. In the bargain they also hoped to show how ineffective even the Prime Minister's fullest support could be.

This sinister plot was seen through and the Support Menon Committee appeared on the scene. And the magnificent job done by this committee with the most active collaboration of India's top-notch film artistes, directors, poets, writers, working journalists and others will long remain a cherished chapter in the history of our national movement.

No calumny was left unused against them, no pressure was left unutilised. The base and vile abuse to which the country's most loved film actors and artistes like Raj Kapoor, Dillip Kumar, Balraj Sahni and all the rest of them were exposed and the great moral courage they revealed under these pressures have few parallels.

Even their fundamental right as Indian citizens to take part in shaping the destiny of their country and

their capacity to intelligently participate in this were questioned and sought to be denied.

The great dignity with which they comported themselves, apart from the high political level of understanding and the great moral courage they displayed would make any country proud of them. The democratic movement of this country owes them a debt of gratitude which it shall never forget.

Many honest Congressmen, both from Bombay and outside, threw themselves wholeheartedly in this battle between progress and reaction. A. M. Tariq, Violet Alva and many others passionately joined the ranks. Along with Dr. A. V. Baliga, Rajani Patel, R. K. Karanjia, K. A. Abbas and hosts of others, they were made the target of ridicule and abuse. Yet they carried the fight to a victorious finish.

Above all, it was the common working man and woman, the conscious working class of the constituency who struck the decisive blow. They had the sagacity to see through all the false propaganda and subterfuges.

The bitterest opponents of the hated Congress Labour Minister Shantilal Shah, were the most ardent supporters and active campaigners for Krishna Menon. It is significant that while Shantilal Shah's own vote was only

# North Bombay—A Great National Campaign

who were listening to him with some reverence and awe, had very soon to give up the effort of trying to argue with him.

In another instance, while we were waiting to change trains at a station, we overheard a conversation between two Hindustani baboos.

One of them very mildly asked the other why he would not vote for Krishna Menon. The other person almost shouted back that never and in no case would he vote for Menon. The former shrugged his shoulders and that was the end of the argument.

A few more such encounters, and I felt quite upset. I wondered why these Menon supporters would not hit back and argue it out. Thinking it over later I realised that by that time the two sides had made up their minds.

While the Menon supporters appeared to be more numerous, the Kripalanites had worked themselves into a hysteria. Perhaps, they also realised that they were outnumbered and were not prepared to listen to any arguments.

This was somewhat confirmed when we reached Jogeshwari, the spot where the "workers' meeting" was to be addressed by Kripalani. After a lot of knocking about we did succeed in finding out that a Kripalani meeting was going to be held in front of the post office.

And as we reached the spot a shrill shrieking voice was announcing through a mike fitted in a car that the meeting would be starting soon and Ramakrishna Bajaj would soon be there to address it. The car was parked in open space on the roadside, a table

tended meeting. For both the PSP and the Muslim League seemed to be quite strong in that area. Jamaate-Islami posters, describing in gory detail "Red atrocities" against Islam and Muslims in the Soviet Union, were widely plastered.

When we reached there, Maniben Kara was denouncing the Prime Minister for his tireless campaigning for Krishna Menon. This was a common point with almost all the subsequent speakers, including Kripalani himself. Obviously, the Prime Minister's long distance campaigning was hurting them very much.

"They say that a vote for Menon is a vote for Nehru", Maniben was saying. "How can you vote for Nehru here in Bombay? For that you will have to go to Phulpur. And you will be turned back even from there, for your name will not be found on the rolls".

## Western Admirers

It was at this level—besides all the usual stuff about Communists and cryptos—about handing over Indian territory to China, that the argument was carried forward by subsequent speakers including F. M. Pinto, the PSP candidate for assembly, and another PSP leader Moinuddin Harris, the latter arguing at length about "freedom of the Press" and

undertaken of safeguarding the spiritual values of all religions. He made a special point of the fact that he had entered upon the fight at the instance of some high-placed Congressmen and that he still had their blessings and support.

It was already past twelve. The meeting had to come to a rather abrupt close, without the candidate having had his full say.

## Brazen Forgery

On the polling day, going round the constituency, the most remarkable experience we had was in Parle-Andheri. At one of the roadside election "offices" of Kripalani, a hand-written poster was hung up announcing that "thirty Chinese tankers" (later changed into tanks) had crossed into Indian territory and the Government of India was keeping the news secret from the people.

An amazing piece of brazen forgery, which we discovered later, had been planned at some very high level, perhaps to play the role of a Zinoviev Letter at the last moment in turning the election.

It was reported that even a certain news agency's wires had carried the fabrication the previous night. But it was somehow detected and scotched in time. It

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—Zia-Ul-Haq