

NEW AGE

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Unleash Relentless Struggle

The first week of June may be called the week devoted to National Integration, thanks to the discussions and deliberations that took place on the subject at the highest level in course of the week.

It was on June 2 and 3 that the National Integration Council met and discussed for the first time the problems of national integration after it was formed by the National Integration Conference convened by the Prime Minister some eight months ago.

It was again on the three subsequent days that these problems dominated the debate inside the Lok Sabha in the context of the Home Ministry's demands.

The dangerous growth of communal and separatist forces as announced by the results of the Third General Elections followed by the communal riots at Malda and Rajshahi had come once again as rude reminders of

and other matters." The Home Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri correctly came down upon them, and stated that this "National Integration Council should continue to

racialism and communalism of the majority race and community. In view of this the late Ajoy Ghosh had drawn the attention of the National Integration Conference to the particular task of fighting "the communalism of the majority community."

Carrying this theme forward the West Bengal Council of

engineered by the Muslim communalists. They went to the length of demanding exchange of population between India and Pakistan. Despite all this, Shastri's silence on Hindu communalism, absence of even a mild criticism of the Jan Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha, was ominous. Collection and exhibition of

is responsible for a number of anti-Muslim riots that have taken place in recent years—the most ghastly of them being the recent carnage that took place in Jabalpur, Saugor and other places in Madhya Pradesh." The Jan Sangh denies that it is a communal party. It violently protests whenever it

Against Communal Forces

function and help share in building up the necessary public opinion."

But Shastri did not throw any light on how public opinion against communalism was going to be built up by inviting and including rank communalists in the Council and its Com-

the Communist Party of India, in its resolution on May 16 and 17, immediately after the communal disturbances in West Bengal and East Pakistan, had appealed to all secular, democratic and peace-loving people to "unite irrespective of political affiliations, remain vigilant and fight boldly for the protection of the minorities and against the dark forces of communal reaction. It is the democratic and moral responsibility of the majority community to stand by and protect the minorities."

Unfortunately, Shastri, in his reply to the debate, completely ignored the Hindu communalists and concentrated his attack against the Muslim communalists exclusively. This cannot but encourage the Hindu communalists who are the major communal threat in India.

Representatives of Hindu communalism did not lie low in the Lok Sabha debate. They were aggressive against the Muslim minority. They fanatically asserted that the riots at Jabalpur, Aligarh, Sitamarhi, Malda, etc. were

election propaganda materials by the Home Ministry should have convinced first and foremost Shastri himself that Jan Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha are the parties of aggressive Hindu communalism. The role played by the members and supporters of these parties in the communal riots of past two years was there to condemn them as worst disruptors of our national unity, of Hindu-Muslim unity for which Mahatma Gandhi sacrificed his life.

Communist Declaration

The Communist Party of India in the resolution adopted by its Sixth Congress held in April 1961, had unreservedly declared.

"The Jan Sangh, which spearheads the forces of Hindu communalism, has become more active than ever. In several areas, especially Hindi-speaking areas, it seems to have increased its strength, making some headway even among the youth and the students. It

is accused of provoking and engineering the communal riots. It cannot, however, deny the results of the last general elections. It has grown most and come out as the main opposition party in those two States of U.P. and Madhya Pradesh which had been the scenes of large-scale communal disturbances in the year before the elections.

The Jan Sangh has indulged in the conditions of Hindu-Muslim tension and riots. It planfully and deliberately creates this condition so that it may flourish and engulf our nascent democracy and freedom.

Nobody can accuse Shastri of lacking so in wisdom and maturity as not to understand that the slogan of transferring four crores of Indian Muslims to Pakistan creates the condition of perpetual communal tension, conflicts and riots. Yet this slogan is being advanced and assiduously propagated by the Jan Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha inside and outside Parliament without any denunciation and condemnation by him.

* SEE BACK PAGE

by
Yogindra Sharma

the warning given by the late Ajoy Ghosh in his speech at the National Integration Conference that communalism was "the most serious of all the menaces that confront us."

All secular and patriotic elements in our national life had expected the National Integration Council, meeting in this background, to launch a campaign against communal forces, the most serious of all the menaces that confront us. But the decision of the Council to appoint a Committee comprising almost all the representatives of communal parties together with those of the secular ones for defining communalism came as a big disappointment. It was like what used to happen during the British days whenever communal riots took place—calling together leaders of communal riots and forming a peace committee—

Launch All-Out Assault

Surely, fifteen years of our national independence have given us sufficient experience and forces to take concrete and effective steps to launch an all-out assault against these dark forces of communalism.

Even the timid and compromising step of the Integration Council was challenged in the Lok Sabha. Strangely enough Md. Ismail of the Muslim League and Harish Chandra Mathur of the Congress made common cause saying that the "National Integration Conference was an outside body and had no jurisdiction to consider communal

mittee to define communalism.

This attitude of compromise and conciliation with the communal parties on the part of the ruling Congress party was assailed by Communist M.P. Vasudevan Nair and Socialist M. P. Ram Sevak Yadav as one of the reasons leading to the growth of communal forces.

Communal Parties Deny Identity

Despite the dangerous growth of communalism in our body politic the forces of secularism and patriotism are so powerful and overwhelming that even communal parties dare not own that they are communal. Spokesmen of the Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha, Jan Sangh, all professed that they are not communal.

Shastri, in his reply, refused to accept the profession of Md. Ismail and Badrudduja that the Muslim League and the Jamaat-e-Islami are not communal parties. He categorically branded them as reactionary and communal parties even though the bone of the Congress-League alliance in Kerala to overthrow the Communist-led Ministry did stick in his throat.

All communalism is bad and needs to be fought uncompromisingly. But it is the communalism of the majority community which is more dangerous and, hence, needs more courage and urgency to fight it.

It is the historical experience of Germany in Europe and Pakistan in Asia that fascism and military dictatorship come through the

LAOTIAN PRINCES FORM COALITION



Headed by Souvanna Phouma (Centre), with Souphanouvong (Right) as Minister for Economics & Planning and Boun Oum (Left) as Finance Minister, a coalition government has been formed in Laos.

A Partial Story Of Industrial Relations

*By OUR LABOUR CORRESPONDENT

One of the interesting debates that took place in the current session of the Lok Sabha was in regard to the demand for grants to the Ministry of Labour and Employment.

A significant feature of the debate was its opening by Gulzarilal Nanda, Minister in charge of the concerned Ministry, and also for Planning.

Nandaji being a trade unionist of long standing knew all the arguments on behalf of the workers and with that experience he made a debut to prove that things were really going in the right direction although not to the extent he desired them to be.

TREASURY-BENCH ARGUMENT

This approach, well argued as it was from the viewpoint of the treasury benches, sought to take away the sting out of the opposition arguments. In fact, it appeared that Nandaji agreed with the opposition that there were bad things which were really bad enough and that he was trying to remedy this position. At one stage in the debate, an impression was given as if the entire house agreed with and supported the labour policy followed by the Ministry.

When these bad things will be remedied or when the lot of workers would improve were, of course, another matter and it was sought to be established that the road on which the Ministry was travelling was the correct road despite the fact that the destination remained quite far and the pace that of a snail.

This was the approach which manifestly reflected the functioning of the Ministry of Labour and Employment in short. It was a very clever approach in any case.

In fact the report of the Ministry actually painted a picture which showed mostly the good aspect of the activities of the Ministry. But under that apparently placid and hopeful condition were hidden facts which were not very palatable and therefore they had been quietly ignored.

EXTENT OF IMPLEMENTATION

Nandaji with unconcealed glee referred to the question of implementation of the Wage Board's recommendations. He said that these have been implemented to the extent of 96 per cent in the case of Cotton textile industry, 89 per cent in the Sugar industry and cent per cent in the Cement industry.

What he did not refer to was the fact that these wage boards took about three years to make these recommendations and then Government took about half an year in each case to accept and publish them. And after that the implementation in each case took about two years.

And even then, implementation was never complete. In the case of a number of them implementation was only partial. The fact of implementation, as described by him,

looked very attractive in percentages. His own Ministry's report mentioned that out of 416 cotton textile mills, only 393 (357 fully and 36 partly) have implemented the recommendations. In Cement, out of 33 factories, only 23 have implemented fully and 7 partly. In sugar out of 170 factories, only 68 have implemented fully and 39 partly.

No wonder that the percentage of implementation as described by Nandaji showed a very alluring figure since he included all those partial implementations to reinforce his argument.

Nandaji also ignored the opposition sally that the Jute Wage Board appointed in December 1959 and Bank Tribunal constituted in March 1960, were yet to give their findings and recommendations.

It was not stated that through this tiring-out method an apparently good-to-look-at industrial peace had been established because the number of man-days lost was less than that in the year 1960. It was claimed that the improvement in the coal industry had been 'continuous and very remarkable' but mention was not made that in the coal mines area, the attacks of the mine-owners on the trade union rights of the workers had currently been intensified.

PEACE AT WHAT COST?

And for this peace the Labour Ministry sought to take the credit although Nandaji explained that there was "greater cooperation in this regard from the central trade union organisations."

Actually, it was not taken into account in glorifying the activities of the Ministry that the workers had become more conscious and they do not go on strike on every single issue spontaneously as they did earlier. They now listen more to advice and wait with extreme patience for the promised remedial actions. And to conclude from the number of mandates lost that industrial peace has been established is only to run away from the truth of the situation.

What was not reckoned with was that this so-called industrial peace might just be blown up if workers' patience were to wear out and conditions of living and working continued to deteriorate as happened in the case of the Central Government employees.

At the same time, on the other hand, whatever increase in actual money earnings the workers received, was again wiped out by the increase in prices. Nandaji himself did not deny the fact; he admitted that in the Second Plan, money earnings rose by 15 per cent, cost of living index went up by 18 per cent and therefore the real earnings declined by 3 per cent.

PATTERN OF WORKING

After all what was the pattern of working of the industrial relations machinery? Whenever an industrial dispute arose, the conciliation machinery in most cases stepped into it for a settlement. If the dispute was not settled at that level, then consideration of the report of conciliation and study of the case as

to whether it was fit for adjudication were taken up by Government. There is no time limit fixed for that.

There were instances, for example, the cases of East Nimcha colliery in West Bengal, New Marine colliery, Tata Iron and Steel Co. in Bihar and numerous other cases in various states where final decision by Government about reference to adjudication had remained pending for the last three or four years.

Meanwhile all the time trade unions were assured by the Ministry that matters were under active consideration and the trade unions in turn assured the workers that the matters were being looked into.

By the time, a decision about rejection or granting of an adjudication was taken and all the rigmarole was over much of the urgency of the issue died down.

This was not just a bureaucratic delay in the Ministry but a deliberate policy and one of the methods to ensure this so-called peace.

PRINCIPLES FOR REFERENCE TO ADJUDICATION

In course of the debate, Jaisukh Lal Hathi intervened to inform the House that the Ministry in the matter of referring disputes for adjudication follows a set of model principles. But what was not disclosed by him was the fact that these principles were there just for namesake and actually reference to adjudication was more dependent on the secret reports of the conciliation officers.

Nandaji talked about greater understanding and cooperation about productivity and rationalisation, and according to him, wages were no doubt low, but the real improvement could be brought about only by greater productivity.

WAGES Vs PRODUCTIVITY

This was once again quite an attractive argument on the face of it. But on a closer look, it would be seen that the proposition was not so rosy. Because, although during the Second Plan period, there was increase in productivity the share of workers in the wealth created has actually gone down! It was pointed out by Prabhakar Kar during the debate that even the employers' (a spokesman of the Tata group) agreed that the index of output per employee had increased from 121.6 in 1952 to 219.7 in 1958.

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from 144.9 in 1955 to 123.9 in 1959. And this was the fact established by Government's own statistics!

While this has been the position of the workers after having subscribed to the productivity and rationalisation drives, the employers' profit index showed an ever ascending trend. It was therefore, not surprising that all the central trade union organisations in the country, except the INTUC, opposed the Labour Ministry's new code of efficiency and welfare, at the Bangalore session of the Indian Labour Conference.

QUEER LOGIC

Nandaji did not deny these facts; he agreed with the opposition and yet he insisted that real improvement could only come about through greater productivity. The Union Labour Minister again did not explain as to why even after the 15th Indian Labour Conference decisions, the need-based wage system had not been implemented in any single industry so far.

Even today, the minimum wages have not been fixed for a large section of workers, particularly those who work in iron, manganese kyanite, and similar mines. In certain cases as in Madhya Pradesh and Kerala, implementation of minimum wages has been held up under court orders because the Government notifications were not proper.

EMPLOYERS FLOUT CODE OF DISCIPLINE

It was also not explained as to why, even after the adoption of the Code of Discipline which the Labour Ministry described as "a success", the employers continued to change the conditions of service of workmen with impunity and there was no protection against that.

To this day, the question of interim relief to the jute workers in Uttar Pradesh had not been settled. The appeal preferred by the employers in the High Court against it was still pending. Such instances were quite large in number and yet the tantrum persisted that the Code had been a success.

INDUSTRIAL HOUSING

The Labour Minister did not convince anybody when he said that crores of rupees had been spent on industrial housing because the fact remained that during the two Plans only one per cent of the housing programme had been executed.

In regard to provident fund schemes, there have been a number of instances where the managements have misappropriated the deposits and although in some cases prosecutions were launched, no effective results were forthcoming.

Even in Employees State Insurance Schemes, proper medical facilities were not avail-

able and specialised treatment was just non-existent. In many areas, even barest provisions for drinking water for the workers were not there.

Despite the agreement on abolition of the contract system, effective measures for its implementation were a far cry and particularly in the mining areas attempts were being made to employ more Gorakhpuri labourers.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

In regard to employment opportunities, the Labour Ministry could not put before the country any bright picture. In fact, they admitted that the number of workers in the country did not increase in keeping with the number of industries established.

But here the Minister counterposed the issues against the increase in population in the country. The only improvement, which the Ministry could claim was that the registration of workers in employment exchanges was higher by 18 per cent and placements were 29.5 per cent.

The speech of the Labour Minister did not give any indication as to how Government wanted to deal with this menace of unemployment to effect its eradication. He had to admit that the problem was being aggravated from year to year.

It was stated by the Minister that joint councils were functioning better but he had no explanation to offer as to why the number of councils was not increasing or why there had not been set up a single works committee in the whole of Uttar Pradesh even after the Indian Labour Conference decision.

WORKERS' EDUCATION

In regard to workers' education, the Minister stated that the scheme was functioning well but he did not state that despite two years' existence the literature sub-committee of the workers' Education Board could not produce a single book for the workers.

Nandaji stated that recognition of trade unions was secured in 39 cases under the Code of Discipline but he did not disclose as to in how many cases, the employers had still not recognised the trade unions. And in many cases, as in Rourkela, Bhilai, Barbil and several other places, the employers recognised unions which were not really representative of the workers.

A PARTIAL PICTURE ONLY

The debate actually showed that while the facts presented by the Minister were not disputed the conclusions drawn from them were over-estimated and they did not reflect the correct situation. At best, the Labour Minister's speech gave a partial picture of the situation where only the bright side had been highlighted.

Reasons Behind Stock Market Plunge

*By GUS HALL, General Secretary, CPUSA

The shock waves that hit Wall Street, as well as the stock markets of the rest of the capitalist world are symptomatic of the most crucial and fundamental developments.

THE basic causes for the cyclone that hit the stock market were not psychological. It was not "self-punishment" or an "emotional outburst". We can also rule out any idea that it was a Republican gimmick or that the plunge was a reaction to President Kennedy's blockade of the steel price rise. The basic factors that led to these panicky gyrations represent in fact the most grim and sober economic and political realities of today.

But before we get down to the causes for the dizzy plunge it is necessary to clear away some confusion and drive off some old ghosts that linger around.

It was not only the stock market that went over the cliff. With the downfall went crashing dozens of pet political theories, such as "people's capitalism" and "the ability of capitalism to plan and avoid economic dislocations."

To most economic analysts, the ghost of 1929 has become an insurmountable mental block. In their analyses each economic development either is or is not like 1929. To many of these analysts the 1929 crisis has become what a no-hitter is to a baseball pitcher or a hole-in-one is to a golfer.

Some of these analysts who even claimed the title of Marxists kept predicting the coming of another gigantic 1929 crisis. When it did not show up in that same scale, they concluded that the reason for this "unforeseen development" was because capitalism had changed and now was able to plan and thereby avoid these economic pitfalls.

Some went even further and postulated that it cannot be capitalism if the big crisis has not repeated itself. So they theorized and labelled it a "welfare state". And they made the full round, lost all perspective and became apologists for capitalism.

Life has, of course, as life always does, exposed the shallowness and brittleness of these theories.

BASIC CAUSES, NEW CONDITIONS

The basic cause for both periodic busts within capitalism as well as for its inevitable long-range decay has not changed. However, these economic cycles, including its crisis phase, take place today in a new set of world conditions and, therefore, do not repeat themselves in identical fashion.

It is now especially important to take note of the drastic change in the balance of world forces as a background for the periodic economic cycles because these economic cycles now take place in an epoch when capitalism is no longer the dominant force in the world. So, for example, in the United States, we have had the unusual spectacle of four successive economic recessions since World War II within the short span of 15 years.

The stock market, of course, is not an accurate barometer

of the causes for the stock market crash?

FACTORS FOR THE CRASH

First, the stock market in part was influenced by cynical or periodic developments because, while it is true that the economy is on the upswing, in this phase of the cycle there are some very definite weak spots. The pick-up of production so far has been slow and the economy remains sluggish.

There has been a cut in steel production resulting from steel being used from the huge stockpiles that accumulated during the preparations for strike. Also this decline in steel production mirrors the fact that even during boom periods only approximately 50 per cent of the capacity is used. Machine tool orders, especially domestic orders, are by no means encouraging.

The lack of capital expansion and machine tool orders is powerful evidence of how the wartime-bloated over-capacity of industrial production itself becomes a drag on the economy. At best, this cold war expansion was an artificial economic stimulator. The agricultural crisis continues unabated.

PERVERTED LOGIC OF BIG BUSINESS

The weakness of the stock market, therefore, partially reflected these cyclical developments.

But this by itself would not have resulted in the stock market shock. The developments in the stock market reflected much more serious and long-range developing problems.

In the springtime the ice on a river or a lake thaws and becomes weaker from the bottom of the ice. Very often the top of the ice looks as if it has looked all winter. This is what makes crossing on top of the ice so dangerous in the springtime.

BASIC FACT—ICE IS THIN

What the stock market crash symbolised about our economy was the slow unseen weakening and thinning of the ice that has been going on for some time. Without any forewarning, one foot crashed through the ice. The next day, it was brought back on to the ice. But this does not change the basic fact that the ice is thin.

The weakening of the economic ice is not just a cyclical process. What we are witnessing here is the phenomenon of a number of basic processes—slow quantitative changes that have been going on for some time are now reaching a point where they cannot continue without resulting in qualitative changes.

In fact the stock market was a flare that signalled that the continuation of the cold war policies that have been in effect since 1946 has reached a point where, if continued, it can result in very serious weaknesses for our people and nation.

While a few select monopoly financial and industrial empires gathered in fabulous riches as a result of these policies, the US has declined in its position, both in the world as a whole and in relation to the capitalist world. Some figures will illustrate this:

● In 1947 US share of world capitalist production reached the peak of 58 per cent but declined by 1960 to 45 per cent and is still falling.

● In 1947 US share of world capitalist exports was 33 per cent and declined by 1960 to 18 per cent and is still declining.

● US Steel production was 50 per cent in its most successful years and is now down to 25 per cent of world capitalist production.

● Chronic unemployment is around 5 millions and 40 per cent of our people or 77 millions live under conditions of poverty and deprivation.

The cold war policies have cost the American people untold trillions of dollars.

What are some of the processes that are now coming home to roost that were mirrored by the stock market developments?

Our people have been saddled with a \$98 billion dollar national debt on which approximately 10 billion dollars are paid annually as interest to the monopolies.

ECONOMY STUCK

Our national economy is now stuck with a mountain-high pile of reserve products and raw materials. These piles of products on which the monopolies made a killing of billions of dollars now stand as a glut on the markets of the world.

These same monopolies have taken their ill-gotten loot and invested it in competitive industries, especially in West Germany and Japan.

These policies have hoisted a 50 billion dollar yearly war budget on the backs of the people of our nation.

The continuing drain on the gold reserves, resulting from the cold war balance of trade deficit is reaching a critical point.

The cold war policy of constant expansion of industrial capacity without any real relationship to the market has now become a dead end street. The production of modern war equipment takes more of the tax dollar but it goes into the coffers of an ever smaller group of monopolies and does not have the same force as an economic artificial stimulator.

END OF BOOM CYCLE

In fact the post-war build-up in the capitalist world has now reached the end of its boom cycle. The illusion of continuous expansion has now met the reality of the laws of capitalist society. The shock of this realization hit the stock market around the world.

For millions of Americans who invested in a few shares, their deep-seated illusions about the basic nature of capitalism melted with their meagre savings. For the rich, on the other hand, it was the biggest steal in history. Once they realised the situation, the monopoly interests put on the pressure by demanding full payment on stocks bought on a marginal basis. This further deteriorated the price of stocks. It was only then that they moved in for the kill.

● Continue and accelerate armament production and the arms race, as the monopolists demand, and add to their already swollen coffers. Inten-

As is always the case under capitalism, the biggest and the richest who in the first place are responsible for the deterioration, then take advantage of this situation and grab additional fortunes.

The basic cause of the crash flows from the fundamental laws of capitalism. But this has been further aggravated by the cold war policies. Because the Kennedy administration has continued to follow these policies, it must bear a good part of the responsibility.

ULTRA-RIGHT'S PERSPECTIVES

However, there is a very real danger that the Republicans and the ultra-right fascist elements who are a major driving force for the vast cold war expenditures, which keeps the economy unstable and shaky will use the confusion and the disillusionment for their own evil aims.

The world must never forget how big business of Germany, through the instrument of its created fascist element, used the disillusioned masses, especially the middle class for its brutal purposes. In this connection, it is interesting to read what James Reston of the New York Times says:

"The mail coming into this office since the steel price controversy is not only critical of the President, but much of it is ugly, personal and irrational.

"Since the drop in the stock market the thing has got worse. The President is pictured as an impulsive Left-winger with dictatorial tendencies, surrounded by a lot of goofy professors—and anybody who suggests in print that this is bunk is vilified as a bootlicker, or worse, who has sold out for an invitation to the White House."

There is no doubt that the John Birchers and similar fascist elements are stepping up their frenzied activities.

The Stock Market plunge is not an incident without its effects. What happened on Wall Street will have its economic as well as political aftermath. All of the negative economic processes will be further aggravated. It will increase the tendency to further our overseas investments.

ATTACK ON WAGES

The reactionary forces of the country will use the crash to call for a cut in expenditures on social security. There will be calls for cuts in wages. There will be calls for more arms production.

But on the other hand, the sobering effects and the new realisation as to the true basic nature of capitalism will bring new forces into action. The experience of the crash will further stimulate all people's movements.

The monopolies have made a kill but their action will bring a new wave of motion against the monopoly power. The choice before the Administration and the people is:

● Continue and accelerate armament production and the arms race, as the monopolists demand, and add to their already swollen coffers. Inten-

FIGHT JANA SANGH MENACE

BHOPAL, June 10: The Madhya Pradesh unit of the Communist Party has decided to "unite, mobilise and bring together all the secular and anti-communal forces, organisations and individuals and forge broad-based fronts and unleash powerful, sustained campaign to counteract the menace of the Jana Sangh and other communal organisations."

The State Party Executive which met here for three days took this decision after a thorough review of the political situation in the state. The meeting discussed the trends in the state after the third general elections as analysed in the report of Khan-

dkar, Secretary of the State Council. The meeting was also attended by M. N. Govindan Nair and Yogindra Sharma on behalf of the Central Secretariat of the CPI. Reviewing the political situation and the phenomenal growth of communal and reactionary forces in the State and the continued factional fight in the Congress resulting in wirepulling inside the State cabinet, the Executive expressed deep concern over these trends. The Party felt that due to the bitter internecine warfare the government is neglecting the administrative problems. The near-paralysis of the policy-making wing of the State government has resulted in all round confusion.

While chalking out ways

and means to fight the communalism, the executive expressed satisfaction at the efforts made at Raipur, Bilaspur, Jabalpur and Bhopal to form broad-based united fronts against communalism. The executive committee has fervently ap-

pealed to all secular organisations and individuals to come out in greater number against the threat of communalism. The Party has made special appeal to the Congress to help hasten this process. The executive committee however

Tamilnad Workers Anti-Tax Campaign

MADURAI, June 8.

THE working class centres in Tamilnad have taken the lead in launching a campaign against high taxes. At Madurai a public meeting was held under the auspices of the Town Committee of the CPI on May 27 in the Tilak Maidan. S. Karuppiah M.C. and member of the Town Committee presided.

M. Retnam, Secretary, Madurai District Council and K. R. K. Tangamani member, National Council addressed the gathering. They pointed out the difference between the Swatantra-D.M.K. approach and our approach to this problem. While pressing for planned development, we oppose the modus operandi of mobilising resources. They referred to A. K. Gopalan's speech in the Lok Sabha. The speakers called upon the people to observe June 17 in a fitting manner.

In Madurai a hartal was called by the General Work-

ers' Union and United Handloom Weavers' Union to protest against the new taxes affecting handloom industry. The prices of yarn, (to quote an instance, the 20's are sold at 23.75) have gone up. Taxes are imposed on yarn below 40's and existing tax above 40's has increased threefold. Hartal was observed on June 1 by the Handloom Weavers' working small factories under the master weavers. According to P.T.I. 5,000 workers in 200 factories struck work, and they went in procession to the homes of local MLAs and MPs and District Collector.

They handed over a memorandum to the Assistant Textile Control Officer. A public meeting was held at Rajaji Maidan, Madurai. M. N. Adinarayanan presided. V. Karumegam, Secretary, Textile Workers' Union and S. Karuppiah, Municipal Councillor addressed the gathering.

Resolutions on the lines of the Memorandum presented by Anandan Namblar to Morarji Desai was passed and sent to Madras Government and Central Government.

might give his "earnest consideration to the matter", but here again, President Ayub Khan said: "I shall act according to the dictates of my conscience." It is not difficult to guess what the conscience of a dictator tells in such matters.

Although the Martial Law has been lifted, many of the decrees, orders and punishments under the former Martial Law Administration would nonetheless continue. It would now be the obedient duty of the "normal law of the land" to implement these oppressive measures. No wonder that political prisoners, many of whom are detained without trial, continue behind prison bars. The public of Pakistan has demanded their release and this demand has also been voiced in the current session of the National Assembly. But all that was simply brushed aside. It is a great tragedy that people of Pakistan should have been denied elementary rights and opportunities to shape their future.

Pakistan's misfortune began when the power was grabbed by a handful of politicians who initially exploited certain sentiments of the people, but had no love for the masses whatsoever. In the 15 years since independence these exploiters have continued to thrive on the misery and sufferings of the people, on the humiliation of the whole nation before the Americans. But it must be mentioned that Pakistan's misfortunes multiplied with the advent of the U.S. imperialists there.

Not only have huge consignments of military hardware come to Pakistan under the U.S.-Pak. Military pact but there has been simultaneously growing interference in her internal life by the Americans. The forces, again, created the conditions for the usurpation of power by Field Marshal Ayub Khan. Pakistan is an example where alignments with the West, militarily and otherwise, lead to.

We are however confident that Ayub Khan's is not going to be the last word. The patriotic and democratic forces in Pakistan who have already proved that they were irrepresible, would no doubt assert themselves in greater unity and struggles to find correct solutions to the problems facing Pakistan. It goes without saying her future lies in an independent development, free from all U.S. tentacles and in rejuvenating her economic and political life on democratic lines.

deplored the narrow approach of some Congressmen on this issue.

The State Executive by a resolution has characterised the coming inauguration of Panchayat Raj as a mockery of democracy and a deception to the people. For this last seven years no elections have been held to village. Panchayats and those elected seven years before have lost the confidence of the voters. But it is on the basis of these Panchayats that Janapads are being elected at the top and being called as the beginning of Panchayat Raj in Madhya Pradesh.

The State Executive has demanded fresh elections to the Panchayats so that with a fresh mandate from the voters the Janapads may be elected and real Panchayat Raj might be created on real democratic basis.

The State Executive Committee strongly protested against the new taxes on the people and the policy of giving relief to the big capitalists.

Against Taxes

The State Executive Committee has decided to observe June 16 as the day of protest and demonstrations against the new tax burden and has called upon all the units and mass organisations to stage satyagraha on July 1 at every Railway station to protest against the increase in railway fares.

The State Executive by a separate resolution has warned the Madhya Pradesh Government against imposition of new taxes on the people which the government proposes to impose in the coming session of the state assembly beginning from June 25.

The State Executive has decided to organise state-wide demonstrations and struggles if and when the state government decided to levy new tax burdens. The Communist Party will also launch satyagraha before the state Assembly in case the proposals for fresh taxes are introduced in the Assembly to overburden the people.

The State Executive has extended its full support to the proposed satyagraha movement in Balaghat, scheduled to be launched from July 19, 1962 for the distribution of fallow land to the landless agricultural workers, adivasis, and harijans. The Executive has also appealed to the State Government to concede the demands for the distribution of fallow lands in Balaghat and not to meet this just Satyagraha with repression.

Against Jana Sangh Activities

The State Executive Committee, in the face of growing challenge of communal reaction as represented by the Jana Sangh and the reactionary policies of the Congress Government has called upon all its units and branches to increase their membership, expand the activities of the Party in defence of peoples' rights and to build up powerful mass organisations of the workers, peasants, youth and students.

To strengthen the Communist Party at all levels of its organisations the Party will be organising a number of schools and camps to train and educate its cadres and for building up mass movements in defence of the people.

COMMUNIST WORKER MURDERED

★ From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

CALCUTTA, June 9:

A diabolical political murder was committed by Congress workers and their associates in the night of June 5 in Jagadishpur village in Howrah district.

At about 8-30 p.m. Moni Kayal, 35-year old Communist worker who was very popular among the villagers, was called out from his house by some persons, well known in the area as Congressmen. As soon as he came out, he was attacked with lathis.

Cold Blooded Murder

In trying to ward off the attack, Moni Kayal slipped into a nearby tank and got stuck up in the mud and weeds. Then 40 to 45 ruffians, armed with guns, swords, axes, crowbars and lathis, fell upon him and hacked him to death. One of his hands and one leg were almost severed from the trunk.

Another Communist worker, Amar Maitly (27), who came to his rescue, sustained very serious injuries and was removed to hospital in a precarious condition.

Immediately on receipt of the news of the gruesome murder Mohammad Elias, Communist MP from the area, and Anadi Das MLA (RCP), contacted the police authorities.

The police conducted investigations throughout the night and arrested a local Congressman, who was reported to have led the gang of assailants, from the house of another Congressman of a neighbouring village. Nine other persons were also taken into custody.

After carrying out searches, the police recovered swords, axes, crowbars and bullets, and the diary and blood-stained clothes and

shoes of one of the assailants. Two days earlier one of the gangsters had tried to rape Moni Kayal's eight-year-old daughter. On being taken to task he had threatened Moni Kayal with "dire consequences".

When interviewed, Moni Kayal's widowed wife said that some people had tried to attack him near the railway station in the afternoon on the same day, when he was on his way home after work.

With tears in her eyes and voice choked with grief, she narrated how the diabolical murder had been committed in cold blood before her own eyes.

Assailants-Congressmen And Smugglers

Moni Kayal's assailants are not only local Congress workers; they are engaged in the highly profitable business of smuggling illicit liquor.

They looked upon Moni Kayal as their enemy No. 1, because his social work had isolated them from the mass of villagers. During the last general election, they gave him an "ultimatum" either to work for the Congress candidate or leave the village!

He ignored their threats and worked tirelessly for the Communist candidate, who was again returned to the State Assembly.

Within less than four months he was physically liquidated.

This is the second political murder after the Third Gene-

ral Election. The first victim was Aftab Ali, an old Communist worker of 24-Parganas district. Shortly after the perpetration of this heinous crime, unsuccessful attempts were made to murder Nimai Koley and Dhiren Bhowmik, Communist workers of Raghunathpur and Makhla villages respectively in Hooghly district.

Needless to say that the assailants would never have dared to go to such lengths if they had not the backing of people higher up in the Congress organisation and the Government.

Md. Elias, Tarapada De, local Communist M.L.A. and a representative of the Howrah D.C. of the CPI were present during police investigations into Moni Kayal's murder.

Jyoti Basu, Leader of the Opposition, visited Jagadishpur village on June 8. He was accompanied by Md. Elias, Anadi Das, Ila Mitra, Communist M.L.A. and leaders of How-

rah District Committee of the Party. A touching scene was witnessed when Jyoti Basu met the old mother and the wife of Moni Kayal and the mother of Amar Maitly.

The simmering anger of the local people at the brutal murder burst out in the open when the leaders visited the area. Despite pouring rain several thousand persons attended a meeting held in the local school premises.

Addressing the gathering, Jyoti Basu said that Moni Kayal's murder was another proof of the attempts of the ruling classes to draw our national life into a despicable path. He appealed to all democratic forces in the country to unite and to stand up against these attempts.

A resolution passed at the meeting strongly condemned the murder and pointed out that it was not an isolated event. For some time past, political murders of this type

were being committed all over West Bengal.

Referring to the political murder committed in 24-Parganas district, the attempts at murder in Hooghly district and the conspiracy to liquidate physically Nurul Hussain, a worker of Howrah Jute Mill, the resolution further said that secret assassins, who belonged to the ruling classes, had been committing one crime after another. It urged upon the people to build up a united mass movement against these anti-social elements.

By another resolution, the meeting decided to set up a committee to render help to the family of the deceased. A sum of Rs. 140 was collected on the spot. The Secretary of the Howrah District Committee of the Communist Party promised to contribute Rs. 200 on behalf of the District Party. Ila Mitra also promised financial help on behalf of the West Bengal Mahila Samity.

NURUL HUSSAIN'S STATEMENT BEFORE MAGISTRATE

NURUL Hussain, a worker of the Howrah Jute Mill who suddenly disappeared on May 4 and was later rescued in an unconscious state from inside a locked steel trunk in an empty railway compartment at Howrah station on May 22, made a sensational statement before a First Class Magistrate of Howrah on June 8, when he was produced in Court for the first time after detention in hospital for treatment.

In his statement, Hussain said that he had been a weaver in the Howrah Jute Mill for about ten years. He had had to meet occasionally the Manager and the Labour Officer of the Mill in connection with his work.

On May 4, when he resumed work in the afternoon, he said, a man approached him and told him that he was wanted by both the Labour Officer and Debu Ghosal, the Secretary of the Workers' Union.

He further said that he had accompanied the man to the Labour Office when the latter (who was not known to him, but he could recognise him again) told him that both the Officer and the Union Secretary were at the Labour Commissioner's Office in Pilibhara. His companion and another man, who had joined him by this time, then asked him to go to the Labour Commissioner's Office.

Referring to incidents before his "disappearance", he stated that in April last he had given evidence before the Jute Wage Board, in course of which he had stated that all the weavers were made to work two machines (looms), which was not practicable. So, in order to keep the machines working, each one of the weavers had to hire a bhagwala (helper) on payment of Rs. 10 or Rs. 11 per week out of his earnings.

Asked by the Court whether the mill management was displeased with him for his evidence, Hussain stated that after he had given his evidence, the Mill's Labour Officer jeered at him and said that he had become a "leader" of the Union. Hussain further stated that the Labour Officer had also told him: "You have given evidence. You will be taught a lesson."

Solitary Confinement

When he became conscious, it was night and he found himself confined in a small room without any window. There were a few openings in the ceiling of the room. During the period he was confined in the room, he was given some puris to eat and a little water to drink. On taking the water, he said, he felt dizzy and intoxicated every day.

He was kept in the room for about 18 or 19 days. He questioned the man who brought him food every day as to why he was being detained. The man asked him to keep quiet or he would be "finished". Since then, he did not put any

further questions to the man.

Hussain further stated that he did not remember when and how he was put inside the trunk. All that he remembered after regaining consciousness was that he was in Howrah station and that police constables and others were standing around him. Some constables were fanning him and offering water to drink. He was later taken to Howrah General Hospital, where he was put under treatment.



Moni Kayal's widowed wife and children.

A. I. C. C. Session In Retrospect

"Some people had an easy time; they must be immensely happy over it"—this is what a senior Congress leader had to say on the two-day session of the All India Congress Committee, which concluded in New Delhi on June 6.

It is not known whether he had in mind particularly the High Command when he said "some people", because he refused to elaborate on the comment. But the proceedings of this session of the AICC amply prove the all-important role which the few at the top play in the affairs of the Congress and the easy manner in which they get away with it. Criticism emanating from the lower rungs of the organisation is either ignored or the steamroller of the High Command moves smoothly over the few spikes that might be there. The manner in which the new Congress President was elected at the New Delhi session only goes to underline this.

When the AICC resumed its sitting in the afternoon on the second day, the outgoing President, Sanjiva Reddy, called on Indira Gandhi "to propose a name" for the office of President. This procedure naturally attracted objection from some of the members.

Mahavir Tyagi wanted to know whether Indira Gandhi was moving an official resolution, and if not "why she should be called by name to propose any name at all". It should be open to all the AICC members to propose names for the office, he pointed out.

An Emergency?

Tyagi's was a pertinent point and it found support from other members too, but that did not deter Sanjiva Reddy from saying that Indira Gandhi was not moving an official resolution and the procedure had been adopted because it was an "emergency". Tyagi did not pursue his point further.

It may or may not be that all those who had assembled for the session agreed with the proposal to have D. Sanjivalah as the next Congress President. But the fact that Indira Gandhi had proposed his name meant that the choice of the "High Command", had fallen on him, and so, he was unanimously elected.

Resignation Not Ratified

More important perhaps was the fact that the resignation letter of Sanjiva Reddy was not placed before the AICC at all, despite the fact that it was the organ entitled to elect the President and therefore to accept his resignation. The Working Committee had decided to accept Reddy's resignation at its meeting in March last, and it just forgot to seek ratification from the AICC of its decision, even though that was the only item on the formal agenda circulated by the Working Committee earlier.

Again, there was near unanimous opposition from those who spoke on the resolution on elections to the panchayats

exercise at finding somebody to occupy the august office of the Congress President—the High Command was undecided about the choice till the morning of the election—Sanjivalah was persuaded, reportedly on the initiative of Indira Gandhi—to accept the honour. It evidently took the AICC members by surprise and the thin attendance at the time of the election was a pointer to that.

Yet, when it came to voting, it was seen that only a solitary vote by Sheelbhadra Yajee was recorded against the resolution. Yajee had earlier pressed his amendment to a vote, but nobody supported it. The reason for this may not be far to seek; it is that the High Command wanted it to be passed and therefore nobody would vote against it.

Letting Out The Steam

It seems that not all the AICC members are happy over this trend—which some even characterise as sycophancy—though the voice of this section is feeble. The informal discussion on the General Elections, held in-camera, did provide some of them a platform to voice their feelings.

Probably such an informal sitting of the AICC to discuss the General Elections was arranged with the express idea of "letting out the steam" generated by the dissatisfaction over distribution of tickets and failures at the polls. But the way top leaders reacted to the criticism was in itself significant.

Pandit Nehru, while moving the resolution thanking Sanjiva Reddy for his services as President, went out of his way to impress upon the delegates that the importance of the Congress President, or of the AICC for that matter, had not diminished.

Not A Body Of Yes-Men!

The view that "the AICC was a body of yes-men" was strongly deprecated by him. Pandit Nehru said that the activities of the Congress were governed by resolutions adopted by the Working Committee, to the sittings of which were invited other people also. These are then placed before the AICC for approval he said.

Indira Gandhi's speech was even more characteristic of the thinking and mood of the High Command when she appears to have impatiently brushed aside criticism of the selection of Congress candidates for elections and other defects in organisation and rebuked Congressmen for the tendency "to shout loudly about defects in the organisation and decry its achievements and strong points".

Were the AICC members satisfied with these explanations of the drawbacks that they so vehemently pointed out? There was no way of finding out, because nobody likes to express a critical opinion on what has been said either by Pandit Nehru or Indira Gandhi.

After what appeared to be a painful and long-drawn-out

litics will necessarily be positive. It is known that Sanjiva Reddy had stoutly opposed the move to have Sanjivalah as Congress President on the plea that it would have adverse reactions on the organisation in Andhra. And the bitter rivalry between the two leaders, who seem to be playing a musical chair with gaddis, is also well known. How will this rivalry shape with Sanjivalah as Congress President, it is to be seen.

By far the most important of the three official resolutions, one which gave rise to a lively debate during the AICC meet was on panchayat elections.

The only argument put forward by the mover, Y. B. Chavan, and by Pandit Nehru in favour of having non-party elections to gram panchayats was that it would not be desirable to divide the people on party basis at the lowest level of administration, where policy matters do not come up for discussion or decision. This did not mean that a political vacuum would be created in the villages either, because the Congress would be active otherwise, they hastened to add.

The High Command has killed two birds with one stone, a new Congress President has been found and a State problem has been solved, for the time being at least, by elevating Sanjivalah and having his headquarters shifted to Jantar Mantar Road. Observers however are not willing to agree with the view that its effect on Andhra po-

ASSAM CONGRESS RIVALRY Ministerial Group Wins By A Narrow Margin

★ From Madhusudan Bhattacharyya

The Ministerial group of Assam Congress secured another round of victory when its nominee was elected President of the PCC by defeating his only rival, a stalwart of the anti-Ministerial group, by a margin of only two votes. As many as 21 members of the PCC did not attend the meeting.

THE main plank of the anti-Ministerial group, as reported earlier, was the slogan of "Hindu consolidation" against the "danger of Pakistanisation of Assam". The Ministerial group, it is noted here, did not face that slogan on the political-ideological plane. Its main tactics were to mobilise its forces on the strength of the official power that it commands and the patronage that it can dole out to its supporters.

At the same time it utilised other kinds of "consolidations" as against the slogan of "Hindu consolidation" of its rivals. Though the Ministerial group has scored the victory, it does not enjoy a secure position inside the party, as the narrow margin of only two votes in its favour indicates. If the remaining 21 members who did not turn up had also cast their votes, what might have been the result is anybody's guess. As it is, both the rival factions are nearly evenly balanced and a little shift in the alignment might deal a fatal blow to the Ministerial group.

Both sides seem to be aware of this possibility. That is what explains the anxiety of the stalwart of the anti-Ministerial group who contested

make capital out of it. For them, Chavan had a mild rebuke—a pleasant sidelight to an otherwise dreary party atmosphere—"do not question the bona fides of other parties."

C. M. Stephen from Kerala, fearful of the Communist strength in his State, was not impressed. The Kerala Congress had turned down an offer from the Communist Party to keep political parties out of the panchayat poll, he reported, because the Communists will find a way to have a "trojan horse" to capture the panchayats, if the proposal had been accepted.

Afraid Of Weakness

Bibhuti Mishra from Bihar objected that discarding of party label will not divest a candidate of his ideology, and asked: how could Congressmen work along with Communists, Swatantras and Jan Sanghis in the panchayats? He feared that the proposal would only weaken the Congress organisation in the villages by giving undue advantage to its opponents.

When, in contrast to the general trend of the debate, there was a demand that elections to higher bodies of administration like block samities and zilla parishads should also be held on non-party basis, Pandit Nehru found it necessary to give a correct perspective to the scope of the proposal: "We in this country do not want to do away with political parties and form a

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QUEST FOR LIFE

Rahula was restless in his spirit and knew not how to stick to one place. This was wanderlust which took him to the farthest corners of the country and the world. It makes him one of the most travelled human beings alive today. This urge for vagrancy

strength by keeping the name of its supporters a secret, so also is the Ministerial group eager to find out who are in the other camp so that it may utilise all its resources to "wear away" some of its opponents. This is all the more necessary because the newly elected President will hold office only till the end of this year when throughout the country new Congress executives will have to be elected. The anti-Ministerial group is sure to measure its strength again on that occasion. Hence, this anxiety on both sides.

The defeated candidate made no secret of the line that the anti-Ministerial group will follow in the meantime to marshal its forces. While "congratulating" his victorious rival, he pointed out, that he thought the "main danger" before the State was "Pakistani infiltration". Though he might be dubbed a communalist, he is reported to have said in the meeting, he could not but point out that danger.

ATTEMPTS TO IMPRESS He even dragged the name of Acharya Vinoba Bhave to impress upon his listeners the "gravity" of the situation. The Acharya, according to him, advised him to draw the attention of the State Government to this danger and if

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Rahul Sankrityayana —A Portrait

★ BY P. C. GUPTA

In his seventies, down with blood-pressure and diabetes, suffering from loss of memory, gasping out perhaps the last moments of his life in loneliness and neglect, unless immediate help is rushed to him—such is the state of one of the foremost intellectuals of our time in free India.

MANY less gifted than he flourish and prosper, having adopted the ideology of the ruling party. There can be no complaint against this, but in this land of the free is there no room for helping those who differ in their opinions from the rulers of India today? This question forces itself on our attention, because Rahula has now been ailing for months and years.

Tall, fair, handsome as an Aryan god, his gait and bearing full of self-confidence and a native grace, a broad brow and eyes with great depth and simplicity in them—such is Mahapandit Rahula Sankrityayana. Simple in his ways, unassuming and natural he meets high and low alike with the same affection and detachment. The last quality is perhaps a relic of his upbringing as a Buddhist monk.

His autobiography, *Jeewan-Yatra*, has made us familiar with the highlights of his life. Born in a middling household in Azamgarh district, he left home and went away to Calcutta. Here he worked at the famous shop of Sunghni Sahu from whom the Hindi poet, 'Prasad' was descended.

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A. I. C. C. Session

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party-less democracy," he emphatically declared.

The debate on the resolution on disarmament, but for Krishna Menon's brilliant contribution, remained within the traditional grooves.

Of significance, however, was the optimistic tone of the resolution, expressing the hope that Geneva Conference will bring to a successful conclusion within a reasonable time the endeavour for a treaty on general and complete disarmament.

Menon's speech with its historical survey of man's yearnings for peace and for a world without arms since the very advent of civilisation was both illuminating and inspiring. The idea of outlawing war is not an ethical, sentimental and glamorous idea but something more, which affects the very lives of the people, he said.

Menon also underlined the optimism that the resolution expressed about Geneva talks. "Use of adjectives (vituperations) either in Russian or in English are far less in Geneva than in any other conference of this kind in the past. No attempt has been made either by the Americans or by the

guist, Indologist, historian, philosopher. He discovered Swayambhoo's Ramayana which takes the history of Hindi literature several centuries back.

He brought numerous rare manuscripts from Tibet and other places and edited them. He is author of over a hundred books. These include works of philosophy and history, novels, short stories, poems, plays, biographies, autobiographies, travel-books. He has translations of his credit, *Dakhunda* by Sadruddin Aini, for instance. I saw him at work on this translation. He was dictating from the original to an assistant and working very fast. The range of his intellect is truly encyclopaedic.

Rahula writes according to a plan, with a watch before him all the time. One of his outstanding works is the *History of Central Asia*. This is a monumental work and he lavi-

shed many years of labour over it. The *Sahitya Akademi* very reluctantly honoured this work.

His other notable contributions are works of philosophy and sociology, *Darshan-Digdarshan*, *Manava Samaj* and many others. Two novels, *Jaya Yodheya* and *Singh Senapati* are remarkable contributions to the historical novel in Hindi. In *Jaya Yodheya* he draws a picture of the Yodheya republic which the Gupta emperors were trying to destroy. He poses *Jaya* as a model hero against the celebrated *Chandragupta Vikramaditya*.

Rahulaji is preoccupied in favour of democracy and republicanism in his interpretation of history. In his short stories, *From the Volga to the Ganga*, he describes the onward march of the Indo-Aryans from their ancient home in Central Asia to the Indo-Gangetic plains. These are forceful and vigorous renderings of our history.

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The report further states, "Indications are that leaders, not necessarily belonging to a single group or the same political ideology, may pool up their popularity to launch a vigorous State-wide movement more against those who shelter illegal immigrants and shield them than against those who really jump the Indo-Pakistan border and sink into Assam." (Emphasis added)

But the Gauhati correspondents of some of the Calcutta dailies reported that he had referred to the "infiltration of Pakistani Muslims" into Assam. These reports have not been contradicted till the time of this writing. Perhaps that is the real line of this group. For, in the existing alignment of forces in the Assam Congress, it is not considered likely that an all-out Assamese rally against the ruling clique will come to pass. The slogan of "Hindu consolidation" on the other hand, is likely to pay a good dividend inasmuch as it is likely to draw in the Congress members of Tripura and Manipur also.

That "fighting the menace of Pak Muslim infiltration", a garb for anti-Muslim communal rally, is the main line is further evident from the report appearing in a Calcutta daily of June 2. Under the headline: "Danger of Pakistani Influx Into Assam: Be-

(IPA Service)

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Dangerous Tactics Of Assam Anti-Ministerial Group

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The report further states, "Indications are that leaders, not necessarily belonging to a single group or the same political ideology, may pool up their popularity to launch a vigorous State-wide movement more against those who shelter illegal immigrants and shield them than against those who really jump the Indo-Pakistan border and sink into Assam." (Emphasis added)

But the Gauhati correspondents of some of the Calcutta dailies reported that he had referred to the "infiltration of Pakistani Muslims" into Assam. These reports have not been contradicted till the time of this writing. Perhaps that is the real line of this group. For, in the existing alignment of forces in the Assam Congress, it is not considered likely that an all-out Assamese rally against the ruling clique will come to pass. The slogan of "Hindu consolidation" on the other hand, is likely to pay a good dividend inasmuch as it is likely to draw in the Congress members of Tripura and Manipur also.

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Here is the real face of the "fight" against "Pakistani infiltration"! The report claims that the APCC members "have now come to realise" that Pakistani infiltration

"is really a serious problem" and as an evidence of that realisation, points out to the fact that "almost half of them voted for Deveswar Sharma (for PCC Presidentship) 'who took up Pakistani infiltration as an election bogey against his rival'."

The correspondent informs that "some people indicated that Sharma would contest the next Presidential election of the APCC while others thought that he might soon visit the areas where there were concentrations of Pakistani immigrants."

Observers here think that this stalwart of the anti-Ministerial group will now, perhaps, undertake a tour in the State for mobilising the anti-Ministerial elements for the next round of fight by the end of this year. One wonders if this tour will not further add to communal tension in the State.

In this connection, it is significant that though for over a year this issue of Pakistani infiltration is being discussed in the Press and this has been providing a convenient weapon in the hands of some political elements, neither the State Government nor the Union Government have thought it necessary to state clearly the position.

In the last session of the State Assembly, the Chief Minister said that the actual position would be known when the census report has been analysed. The census report has been at the disposal of the Union Government for a long time now and various reports about the "findings" of the census report have been published in the Press in the meantime. These reports have neither been confirmed, nor denied officially.

Thus this tension has been allowed to prevail and grow. As the current trend indicates, the ruling party for its factional fight has been fanning this tension very dangerously, threatening the much needed integration of the State and the country.

DISARMAMENT & PEACE

In less than a month from now, a historic event will take place in Moscow. The event is the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace. The Congress will commence its session on July 9. The very fact that such a broad World Congress has been possible to convene underlines the mighty advance of the peace forces all over the world.

The Congress will be the most representative of its kind. There will assemble over 2,000 public leaders drawn from all walks of life and the most diverse religious, political and other beliefs and affiliations. They will come from all the continents and from no less than 90 countries.

Fundamental Concern

What brings them together is their common broad pursuit of world peace, their fundamental concern for saving humanity from the threat of thermonuclear war.

The organizers of the Congress have also appealed to the Heads of the Governments of the 18 Nations that constitute the U.N. Sub-Committee on Disarmament to state their respective viewpoints in writing or through direct participation at the Congress. This again illustrates the open-minded broad approach.

Another feature of this grand World Congress is that it will try to find the maximum basis of agreement among the participants and work out on that basis a broad line of action for uniting all champions of world peace. From whatever reports about the preparatory work for the Congress are available, it appears that the guiding line of the Congress will not be to stress disagreements or harp on them but to articulate in common accents the anxious thoughts of all peace-loving humanity.

This World Congress will be yet another clear demonstration of the truth that it is the peace forces and not those that make for war, which are on the ascendance. The World Congress for Disarmament and Peace naturally deserves every good wish and every co-operation from all those who value the gains of civilization and love humanity.

The crucial issue of our time is admittedly the issue of war and peace. We are face to face with the situation in the world today where there are only two alternatives—peaceful co-existence or nuclear destruction. Mankind seeks peace and life—and not death and destruction.

We Communists regard it as our historical mission not only to abolish exploitation and poverty on a world scale and rule out for all time the possibility of any kind of war in the life of human society, but also deliver mankind from the nightmare of a new world war already in our time.

"To abolish war" declares the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, "and establish everlasting peace on earth is the historical mission of Communism." Socialism does not need a war to triumph.

We have always maintained that peace is the ally of socialism. The entire work of the Communists whether they are in power or not, is based on this fundamental approach and principle.

However, the difficulties that beset the path to the fulfilment of this mission are by no means negligible. The imperialist camp headed by the USA is making preparations for the worst crime against mankind and it is perhaps unnecessary to reiterate that imperialism is the only source of war danger. So there must be no romantic ideas about achieving the objectives of disarmament and peace.

Success Possible

Imperialism must be compelled to accept disarmament and peace must be won. For this what is needed is combined struggles and efforts of all peace forces. There is every ground for confidence of success.

Gone are the days when imperialism alone could decide with impunity whether there is to be war or not. New, powerful forces have arisen in the world arena to bridle imperialism and bar the road to nuclear destruction. These forces are the mighty socialist camp, the peace-loving non-socialist countries like our own, the international working class movement and

the vast armies of peace champions.

Not only have these forces appeared on the world scene that used to be dominated by imperialism, but they are growing from strength to strength every day. This changed world situation has offered for the first time the real possibilities for averting another world war and securing durable peace.

From this objective historical situation, the champions of peace naturally draw inexhaustible inspiration and boundless confidence in the struggle for peace. In our view, there is no duty loftier today than the participation, with such inspiration and confidence, in this struggle.

A Principal Way

One of the principal ways of ensuring peaceful co-existence

and general disarmament is complete and general disarmament. It will be realized that the best way to get rid of war is to destroy the means of warfare and this task becomes all the more pressing and urgent when these means contain unprecedented destructive power. Entire nations and countries are liable to be wiped out by a thermo-nuclear war.

It is understandable therefore that the peace-loving people all over the world should have impatiently looked forward to a stop to the deadly arms race and in particular to the banning of all nuclear tests and of all weapons of mass annihilation. History has shown twice within a generation that arms race leads only to war. This lesson can be ignored only at human society's grave peril.

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Compared to the arms race that is now on, the earlier ones would pale into insignificance. Not for the sake of man's well-being but for destroying him and the creations of civilisation down the ages, imperialism has forced upon the world the present arms

under-fed, abysmally poor and lives without even the barest necessities of modern civilization.

One can only imagine what a different world we would have been living in if these vast resources had been spent for the uplift of the downtrodden. But the merchants of war—the handful of monopolies and colonialists—have no time to think for the people. To these enemies of civilisation all that matters is war and war preparations. For this brings them fabulous profits and feeds their insatiable lust for plunder and conquest.

With the U.S. nuclear blasts currently in progress in the Pacific, it would not be perhaps out of place here to say a word or two about these weapons. One single 5-megaton bomb for example, contains more explosive and destructive power than all the bombs used by all the combatants in the Second World War.

Besides these terrible megaton killers, what came down on Hiroshima and Nagasaki would seem a small affair. U.S. experts have publicly

warned that these tests would cause changes in the atmosphere and create radiation belts near the earth which are bound to gravely affect the peoples of all countries.

World Without Arms

Side by side with this stockpiling of nuclear weapons, the U.S. and other imperialists have created their system of aggressive military pacts and alignments and built up aggressive military bases in foreign countries. Some of these bases are already in a state of combat-readiness for nuclear war. In this connection, the most disturbing develop-

Military Pacts

ment is the U.S. plan to equip West Germany for waging an aggressive nuclear war.

Tens of millions of people did not die in the last great war in order that our generation may see German militarism not only once again revived but given such weapons of destruction as Hitler could not even dream of.

With such criminal record all along the line, the U.S. imperialists have now started their latest series of nuclear blasts in the Pacific. Their plan now is to treat outer space as if it belonged to the United States and carry out high altitude nuclear tests regardless of what happens to us on our planet.

The enormity of this crime against humanity would stand out in all its nakedness when one finds that the U.S. imperialists have begun these tests exactly at a moment when the

18-Nation U.N. Disarmament Committee, with their own participation, is discussing the problems of general and complete disarmament and also in particular that of the test bans.

In fact, they have made their first attempt at the high altitude tests. Although that attempt has flopped, the nuclear warhead has dropped into the ocean and there is no knowing where this warhead will be ultimately carried by the ocean currents and when it may be set off as a result of the corrosion of salt water.

These U.S. plans for high altitude tests have evoked universal condemnation and among those who have denounced this are well-known American scientists within USA itself. The latter have

such weapons. This conforms to the interests of all humanity. But then those who are in the forefront of struggle against nuclear weapons, for disarmament and peace, must also realistically fix the responsibilities for the continuance of the nuclear arms race.

Past history has shown and our present experience has confirmed that imperialism and imperialism alone, now headed by the USA, is responsible for this arms race. It would be a profound error and misconception to put the Soviet Union, simply because it is also a nuclear power and has had to carry out certain tests, in the same category as the USA and its other imperialist allies.

India's Role

In order that India can play its rightful part in averting

Peaceful co-existence is needed for these achievements and that is perhaps why the Americans are upset about the Soviet Union's firm adherence to the cause of peaceful co-existence.

USSR Initiative

The Fourteenth Session of the U.N. General Assembly in 1959 approved the idea of general and complete disarmament and it is well-known that the initiative came from the Soviet Union. At the next session of the U.N. General Assembly, it was again the Soviet Union which submitted a draft proposal on the Fundamental Principles of a Treaty on Complete and General Disarmament which created profound impression all over the world.

India's Role

In order that India can play its rightful part in averting

ing a firm deadline for the entire process of disarmament.

Compulsion For India

The U.S. line is plainly one of perpetuating the nuclear weapons. Obviously the Soviet Union cannot be expected to play into the U.S. hands and leave the security of their country to the mercies of U.S. imperialists.

In this connection, it should also be noted that the Soviet Union has proposed the banning of all inter-continental ballistic missiles together with all foreign military bases. Surely the Soviet Union cannot be asked to give up such missiles when the U.S. imperialists maintain aggressive military bases, all round the Soviet Union and the Socialist Camp.

As for the test ban proposals, here again the representative of the Soviet Union at the Geneva talks has expressed his country's readiness to accept as the basis for an agreement the proposals put forward by India and seven other neutral nations. The U.S. imperialists would however have

adequate to meet any imperialist aggression.

Danger Persists

Incidentally it is well worth mentioning here that the Soviet society has reached a stage where "in term of internal conditions", as the Programme of the CPSU puts it, "the Soviet Union no longer needs any army." Is there a single capitalist state in the world which is in a position to make such a bold, confident declaration?

The Soviet leaders do not hide the fact that as long as the war danger from the imperialist camp persists and the imperialists do not accept complete and general disarmament, it will be necessary to maintain the defensive power of the Soviet State and the combat preparedness of its armed forces.

Appeals Not Heeded

Incidentally this military power of the Soviet Union has not been without any benefit to others as well. It was a simple threat of the use of Soviet rockets, that immediately brought to a halt the Anglo-French aggressive war in Egypt in 1956. Syria and Iraq were saved from American intervention because there was the Soviet power to fall back upon. Cuba, valiantly defies U.S. imperialism today because there is the assurance of Soviet military support in defence of independence.

One wonders how the Portuguese colonialists and their friends in the NATO would have behaved over

France which is a member of the NATO alliance, began its atomic tests in the Sahara. Then came the American announcement of underground nuclear tests. To the just demand for a settlement of the West Berlin and the German peace treaty issues the West responded with an unprecedented intensification of the arms race.

It was in these compelling circumstances that the Soviet Union was obliged to resume certain experimental nuclear tests last year, purely from the point of view of the ensuring that its defensive power was

It should be mentioned here that the Indian representative has fully supported the Soviet viewpoint about the necessity of setting

crucial issues of our time

A Sense Of Shame

Even the New York Times, one of the most trusted mouth-pieces of U.S. imperialism has a sense of shame in this matter. This paper has come out with an editorial unequivocally condemning their Government's policy of continuing these nuclear tests in defiance of world public opinion.

Making it perfectly clear

that outer space belongs to all countries and not to any one country, the Acting U.N. Secretary-General, U. Thant has called these tests "a manifestation of a very dangerous psychosis". In his view, these high alti-

Soviet Programme

Today the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which guides the thoughts and activities of the entire Soviet people in all spheres of life solemnly proclaims: "To abolish war and to establish everlasting peace on earth is the historical mission of Communism." It further declares that "Soviet experience shows that socialism and peace are inseparable."

These are no empty protestations, for every act of the Soviet Union and its Government headed by N. S. Khrushchov follows this profound understanding and is inspired by this deep humanism. It is not accidental that the Soviet Union never regards peaceful coexistence as a matter of diplomacy or tactics. It is a question of principle with the Soviet Union and indeed peaceful co-existence is the general line of Soviet foreign policy today.

It may be worth recalling here that some protagonists of American imperialism have openly described peaceful co-existence as a dangerous theory. It may also be mentioned here that the Soviet Union wants to influence the course of world developments not by force or war but by, as Lenin had much earlier said, its economic achievements.

End Nuclear Tests

It is perfectly right for us as for any other people to demand the ending of all nuclear tests and banning of

ment is the U.S. plan to equip West Germany for waging an aggressive nuclear war.

Tens of millions of people

did not die in the last great war in order that our generation may see German militarism not only once again revived but given such weapons of destruction as Hitler could not even dream of.

With such criminal record all along the line, the U.S. imperialists have now started their latest series of nuclear blasts in the Pacific. Their plan now is to treat outer space as if it belonged to the United States and carry out high altitude nuclear tests regardless of what happens to us on our planet.

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Mass protest demonstration in front of one of the U. S. Army bases in Japan.



West German Police stop a peace demonstration.

MOSCOW CONGRESS UNDERLINES MIGHTY ADVANCE OF PEACE FORCES

GEORGI DIMITROV

★ By Mladen Kostov

June 18 is the 80th anniversary of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov, the great son of the Bulgarian people, an able organizer of the Bulgarian Communist Party and its struggles, and an eminent figure in the international working class movement.

Georgi Dimitrov was a heroic son of his class, of the Bulgarian people and one of the most popular figures in the Bulgarian Communist Party. His character as a Party leader and statesman was formed under the guidance of such remarkable proletarian leaders as Dimitar Blagov and Georgi Kirkov.

In the ranks of the Bulgarian Communist Party Georgi Dimitrov went through the hard school of the workers' and peasants' struggles. He participated with unflinching energy in the bitter revolutionary conflicts with the class enemy. All the revolutionary activity of Georgi Dimitrov on the national as well as on the international plane is of inestimable value to us and we are justly proud of it.

Fifty Years Of Political Life

Fifty long years G. Dimitrov was active in social and political life. At the early age of 15 he was an active member of the printers' union in Sofia. His first article was published in the newspaper "The Printer" in 1897. From that moment on begins his many-sided social and political activity among the working class and the toiling masses in Bulgaria. Georgi Dimitrov was the organizer of strikes, member of the municipal council and of Parliament, a beloved champion of the people. In the mind of the Bulgarian people the name of G. Dimitrov is linked with its brightest dreams of progress, of the spiritual and material growth of the country.

Thanks to his exceptional abilities and inexhaustible energy G. Dimitrov became a revolutionary leader of the international working class movement of the first rank.

Call For United Front

An important period of his stormy and active revolutionary life was his struggle for the building up of a united popular front against fascism among the different countries and nations. In this struggle for a united popular anti-fascist front he grew to his immense stature as a proletarian tribune, ideologist and fighter.

Georgi Dimitrov devoted a great part of his activity to the unification of all democratic anti-fascist forces and to fight against political reaction and fascism.

As early as the period just after the June 9 military and fascist coup d'etat in Bulgaria in 1923, when the reactionary political forces overthrew the government of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union, headed by A. Stamboliski, G. Dimitrov defined seizure of power as the basic task facing the toiling masses of town and village. He pointed out that unification and the rallying together of all democratic forces in the country were important prerequisites for the fulfilment of this task.

G. Dimitrov regarded the

united front as a vital necessity since it was "dictated by life itself and the will of the working masses." He raised the slogan of defending democracy against all forms of fascist aggression, of protecting the gains and the rights of the workers.

He upheld the idea of a united front with great ardour and enthusiasm and devoted his great talents to its realization. During the first anti-fascist uprising in Europe in 1923 he and V. Kolarov succeeded in building up an anti-fascist fighting front of the Bulgarian peasants and workers.

The union of these two most important social classes in our country and of their political organizations, created during the uprising, was a great political gain. The consolidation of this union was a guarantee that the future struggle for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship would be crowned with success and that under a workers' and peasants' government Bulgaria would resolutely pursue democratic development. All this was stated clearly in the letter addressed by V. Kolarov and G. Dimitrov to the Bulgarian people, as leaders of the September uprising after its defeat.

Struggle Against Fascism

After the defeat of the September uprising in 1923 G. Dimitrov was very active in unmasking the terrorist fascist dictatorship. He emphasized the necessity of cons-

olidating the party's links with the working class and the peasant masses and especially with the Agrarians who were supporters of the united front.

G. Dimitrov took a very active part in the struggle against fascism and the threat of fascism to the Balkans and to Europe. As secretary of the presidium of the Balkan Communist Federation he aided the anti-fascist movement in the Balkan countries and participated in drawing up their anti-fascist platform.

Through his heroic conduct in the Leipzig trial G. Dimitrov defended brilliantly the honour and the dignity of the Communist International and of the Communist Parties and made our country famous. His defence speech at the Reichstag trial was in reality a programme for united action of all progressive and democratic forces in the world.

Leipzig Trial

The Leipzig trial was a convincing demonstration of the fact that victory over fascism could be assured when all anti-fascist forces were united on a national and international scale. At the Reichstag fire trial G. Dimitrov dealt the first moral and political blow to German fascism.

After the trial at Leipzig G. Dimitrov began, with characteristic ardour, an active fight against nazism, a fight for a large scale consolidation of anti-fascist democratic forces into united fronts. In his historic report at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, he elucidated the class character of fascism

and its methods of government.

"Fascism in power," said G. Dimitrov, "is an undisguised terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic, most imperialistic elements of finance capital."

As secretary general of the Communist International he was active in building up a united proletarian popular anti-fascist front in each individual country, ready to fight against fascism and the war it was preparing and to defend the vital rights and interests of the working people.

In the period after the breaking out of the Second World War G. Dimitrov championed the idea of building up united fronts in all countries and nations, of unifying all forces of the nations in the struggle against mankind's bitterest enemy—nazism. This appeal was widely responded to in all countries who groaned under the fascist heel. Resistance against the invaders grew and developed into powerful movements.

G. Dimitrov contributed a great deal to the creation of the Bulgarian Fatherland Front and to the rallying of all democratic forces in the struggle against fascism. He taught that the only guarantee for the salvation of Bulgaria from the impending catastrophe lay in the rallying of all anti-fascists, democrats and patriots in a united front.

Combined Assault Against Dictatorship

G. Dimitrov's role in mobilizing and directing all the sound elements of the nation in a combined assault against the monarcho-fascist dicta-

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OPPOSE INDO-CANADIAN REPORT

Democratic Vietnam's Appeal

On June 4, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam issued a declaration asserting that the conclusion of the Indian and Canadian delegates to the International Commission that the D.R.V. has been indulging in "acts of aggression and subversion" in South Vietnam is at variance with the truth and violates the 1954 Geneva agreements.

The declaration says:

"On June 2, 1962, the Indian and Canadian delegates to the International Commission for the supervision and control of the implementation of the 1954 Geneva agreements concerning Vietnam, in spite of the resolute and well founded opposition of the Polish delegate, adopted a special report to the Co-Chairmen of the 1954 Geneva conference. In the said report, on the basis of groundless and slanderous allegations of the South Vietnam administration, they concluded that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam had been indulging in 'acts of aggression and subversion' in South Vietnam.

Incorrect Conclusion

"The government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam solemnly declares that this conclusion by the Indian and Canadian delegates is completely at variance with the truth. It constitutes a dangerous violation of the Geneva agreements by those very persons who have heavy responsibilities to ensure respect for the said agreements. This conclusion is invalid and illegal, and should be cancelled.

"The government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam highly appreciates the correct stand and views of the Polish delegate who has firmly upheld the Geneva agreements, important international accords which restored peace in Vietnam on the basis of recognition of the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam, and who has resolutely opposed foreign military intervention in South Vietnam, which is a serious violation of the Geneva agreement.

"It is not fortuitous that the Indian and Canadian delegates sent the above mentioned special report just at a moment when the U. S. government, after setting up the U. S. military command in Saigon, is feverishly intensifying its military intervention, actively introducing combat troops and arms of all kinds into South Vietnam, and directly participating in the 'undeclared war' against the Vietnamese people in South Vietnam.

They have successively launched terrorist operations with increasing ferocity and on an ever greater scale, have resorted to extremely cruel manoeuvres so as to herd millions of people into "strategic hamlets," have used all kinds of arms, from

napalm bombs to chemicals, to wipe out villages and their population.

U.S. Imperialism Threat To Peace

"More than ever, the U. S. imperialists have clearly laid bare their nature as colonialist aggressors and their designs to turn South Vietnam into a U. S. military base, in preparation for a new war. And more than ever, world opinion is raising ever stronger protests against these aggressive acts of the U. S. imperialists which create a direct threat to the peace and security of this area.

"It is precisely in such a serious situation and at a moment when the U. S. government is openly sending U. S. combat troops to Thailand that the Indian and Canadian delegates deliberately try to justify the U. S. government's policy of military intervention in South Vietnam.

Ngo Dinh Diem Clique

"It is to be recalled that the fascist dictatorial administration of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique, a creature of the U. S. imperialists ever since the conclusion of the Geneva agreements, and an efficient tool of the U. S. policy of intervention in South Vietnam, has launched a series of military campaigns to wipe out

the opponent religious sects, to wipe out all those who participated in the resistance for national salvation and to massacre the people who demand democratic rights and peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

"The Indian and Canadian delegates cannot be unaware of the series of campaigns in which Ngo Dinh Diem troops, under the command of U. S. advisers, have been for years massacring the innocent population.

"In face of these acts of violation and sabotage of the Geneva agreements, the Indian and Canadian delegates have taken an irresponsible attitude, and have not condemned them in time so as to pin down the bloody hands of the U. S. imperialists and the Ngo Dinh Diem administration to maintain peace and to create conditions for the fulfilment of the Geneva agreements.

South Vietnam's Treacherous Acts

"Against the fascist policy of the Ngo Dinh Diem administration in using troops for terrorist operations and extremely savage persecutions of patriots and honest people, against the U. S. government's policy of ever deeper intervention in South Vietnam, the South Vietnamese people have risen up in defence of their life and interests. This is their sacred and inalienable right, and nobody has the right to interfere with it.

"Newspapers and large sections of public opinion in the world including the Indian press and a number of U. S. newspapers have exposed, and protested against, the brutal fascist policy of the South Vietnam administration and the U. S. government's policy of brazen intervention in South Vietnam.

"The Vietnamese people and the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are profoundly confident that their just struggle, which enjoys deep sympathy and strong support from peace and justice loving people of the world, like the just struggle of the oppressed peoples everywhere in Asia, Africa and Latin America, against the U. S. imperialist aggressors and warmongers, will certainly end in glorious victory."

of the Vietnamese people, safeguarded the security of the D. R. V. and thus contributed to the safeguarding of peace and security in Southeast Asia and resolutely struggled against U. S. military intervention in South Vietnam and the war of massacre now being feverishly waged against the Vietnamese people by the U. S. imperialists and the Ngo Dinh Diem administration in South Vietnam. It has resolutely struggled to demand that the International Commission live up to its responsibilities and ensure a correct implementation of the Geneva agreement.

"The Vietnamese people and the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are confident that all peace and justice loving people in the world will indignantly oppose the conclusion of the Indian and Canadian delegates.

"The government of the D. R. V. requests the Co-Chairmen of the 1954 Geneva conference to reject this conclusion because it is entirely contrary to the truth, illegal and in violation of the Geneva agreements, is tantamount to covering up the U. S. imperialists' aggressive and bellicose acts, and will lead to extremely serious consequences for peace in Vietnam, in Indochina and in Southeast Asia.

Confident Of World-Wide Support

"The Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are profoundly confident that their just struggle, which enjoys deep sympathy and strong support from peace and justice loving people of the world, like the just struggle of the oppressed peoples everywhere in Asia, Africa and Latin America, against the U. S. imperialist aggressors and warmongers, will certainly end in glorious victory."

DIMITROV ...

* FROM FACING PAGE

torship is inestimable. With the help of the Soviet Army this assault ended in victory and a people's democratic rule was established in Bulgaria. At the present moment Georgi Dimitrov's ideas about the building up of united national fronts are of great and vital importance.

They find an application in the powerful national and liberation movements in the backward, dependent and colonial countries. They rally the working class, the peasants, the national bourgeoisie and the democratic intellectuals in the struggle against capitalism and imperialism for national independence and progress.

Unbounded faith in the strength and potentialities of the people's masses, pure and boundless love of the people are the communist virtues which adorn the character of G. Dimitrov as a communist and leader. Today his life and work serve as examples to the fighters for peace, liberty, democracy and socialism.

MEETING OF COMECON COUNTRIES

Assessment Of Economic Co-operation And Further Expansion

A conference of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties of the member-states of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON), was held in Moscow on June 6 and 7.

The conference was attended by the First Secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' Parties and the heads of government of Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Rumania, the USSR, and Czechoslovakia. The conference was also attended by representatives of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. At the request of its Government, the Mongolian People's Republic was admitted to COMECON membership.

The participants of the meeting, says the communique issued at its conclusion, discussed thoroughly the questions of further expanding and consolidating economic co-operation among the COMECON countries "in connection with the entry of the world socialist system into a new stage of development."

The communique points out that, as noted by the meeting, "the countries of the socialist community firmly hold the lead in the pace of their economic development and advance ahead of the capitalist countries in several most important fields of world scientific and technical progress."

● In the period from 1958 to 1961 the average annual rates of industrial growth

in the socialist countries amounted to some 13 per cent, almost 200 per cent more than in the capitalist countries.

● At present the share of the countries of socialism in the world industrial output amounts to some 37 per cent as against 27 per cent in 1955.

"Socialism has gained a historic victory in agriculture too," the communique says. In all the system of socialism the share of the socialist sector in the total area of farm land exceeds 90 per cent.

Successes Of Socialist System

"The meeting noted that the successes in the countries of the world socialist system were achieved thanks to the correct application of the common regularities of socialist construction taking into account the concrete peculiarities of every country and the interests of the community of socialist nations, thanks to the efforts of the peoples of these countries, their close co-operation and mutual assistance."

"The successes of the socialist countries in the peaceful development of the economy, in raising the living standards of the people, demonstrate the superiority

of socialism over capitalism, create the most favourable conditions for the revolutionary and national liberation movement, for the consolidation of world peace, the communique points out.

The participants of the meeting noted unanimously that "economic and scientific-technical co-operation among the COMECON countries has grown much stronger and expanded considerably." The co-ordination of national economic plans for a five-year and longer period has been carried out on the basis of the consistent implementation of the international socialist division of labour. Specialization and co-operation of production have received further development.

Economic co-operation in the development of raw material sources has been expanded. Work is being carried on to link up the power systems of the COMECON countries, and the international Druzhba (Friendship) oil pipeline is being built.

Growth Of Foreign Trade

Foreign trade relations among the socialist countries have grown considerably. In 1959-1961 the rates of growth of the trade turnover amounted to 14.2 per cent a year as

* SEE FACING PAGE

Moscow Conference Outlines Future Programme

* FROM FACING PAGE

against 8.5 per cent in 1958-1959.

"Contacts of all the socialist camp with the economically underdeveloped countries are growing, which contribute to the further economic development and raising of the material standards of the peoples of these countries," the communique points out.

LONG RANGE PROGRAMME

The communique stresses that, as believed by the meeting, the successful solution by the countries of the world socialist system of the tasks mapped out by the November (1960) meeting of the representatives of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties, and the solution of the tasks of communist construction, whose prospects have been indicated by the 22nd CPSU Congress, "call for even closer economic and scientific-technical co-operation among socialist countries, creation of more favourable conditions for the expansion and the correct formation of the international socialist division of labour."

The meeting approved the "basic principles of the international socialist division of labour", worked out by the 15th session of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, and recommended them as the basis for the drafting of an effective long-range programme of economic co-operation among the COMECON nations:

GREATER COORDINATION

It was acknowledged that the principal method of the activity of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance in the forthcoming period is co-ordination of the long-term and current economic plans of the COMECON countries.

"The meeting deemed it necessary that during the work on co-ordination special attention be paid to speeding up specialisation and co-operation of production, the maximum development of raw material, fuel and power supplies, the necessity of beginning in the near future co-ordination of the principal capital investments in the extracting and processing branches of industry, and the further widening and strengthening of the co-ordination of scientific and technical research.

The meeting deemed it advisable that the "COME-

CON countries begin, as far as necessary, to set up joint enterprises for the countries concerned, practise the establishment of joint scientific-research centres and project designing offices."

The participants in the meeting, the communique says, found it advisable to continue in the future regular consultations and the exchange of opinion between Party leaders and statesmen on major economic problems.

"The meeting expressed the desire of the COMECON countries for the further expansion of foreign trade with the capitalist countries," the communique says.

CONFERENCE ON PROBLEMS OF TRADE

"The COMECON countries are in favour of the convocation of an international conference on problems of trade which would discuss the question of setting up an international trade agency to embrace all regions and countries of the world without any discrimination."

The communique points out that the discussion of all questions at the conference "brought out the full identity of views of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties and the governments on all questions under discussion."



Georgi Dimitrov

PROVOCATIONS INTENSIFIED

★ By P. K. Kunhanandan Nair

In these columns last week were listed the dangerous provocative acts organised by the West Berlin police and the OAS style gangsterism organised by the fascist elements against the German Democratic Republic.

THESE provocations followed immediately after Chancellor Adenauer's visit to West Berlin where he made war-like speeches against the GDR and attacked negotiations for a German settlement. US Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, who is carrying on these negotiations with Soviet representatives in Washington, himself recently delivered an equally provocative speech in Canberra.

He said: "We (read American, British and French occupationists) will not be made to leave West Berlin, nor be ousted from there." The burgomaster of West Berlin, Willy Brandt, purveyed the prospect that the Western Powers must be ready in the future "to make big and may be terrible sacrifices" in West Berlin.

And General Freeman, Commander-in-Chief of US occupation forces in Europe declared: "I will use all my forces for defending the freedom of West Berlin."

Barrage Of Incendiarism

Thus the imperialists, for whom West Berlin is a "front-line city" against socialism, have intensified their provocative propaganda while their mercenaries, the revanchists, have stretched up the cold war into a barrage of incendiarism on the border.

The GDR Government as well as the Soviet Government

could not but take these provocations in word and deed, the aggressive acts and border violations, very seriously. The Soviet Foreign Ministry has sent a strongly worded note to the British, U.S. and French Ambassadors in Moscow on June 7.

The note charged: "All these provocations which have of late assumed the nature of openly aggressive actions, are doubtlessly of a deliberate nature." And warned:

"The Soviet Government deems it necessary to state that it will not be an indifferent onlooker and in case of need, will be compelled to take appropriate steps to fulfil its commitments with regard to the German Democratic Republic, which is an ally of the

The serious state of affairs developing imperatively demands that the situation in West Berlin be normalised on the basis of a peace treaty with Germany by means of eliminating the 17-year-old occupation regime there.

West Berlin should be



West Berlin police posing for photograph after opening fire on East Berlin side.

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West Berlin should be

If the US is really concerned over the freedom of West Berlin, why does it not first pull out its army of occupation? Why does it not agree to turn it into a free city, whose freedom and sovereignty are respected and guaranteed by all nations of the world?

Why does it object to replacement of occupation troops by troops of neutral States or of the UN, as the Soviet Union has proposed?

If the imperialists allow the Berlin border provocations to continue, it will any moment endanger world peace.

INDIA'S ROLE IN STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

★ FROM CENTRE PAGES

Goa, were it not for the fact that the military might of the Soviet Union, among other factors, makes it difficult now-a-days for the imperialists to export counter-revolution and intervene in national liberation struggles.

There is not a single incident however, in the world where the Soviet military might has given any ground for genuine apprehension on the part of any peace and freedom-loving nation. On the

contrary, the experience has been one of inspiration, confidence and support to meet imperialism's challenges. No amount of propaganda or distortion can cloud these salient facts of our contemporary world.

Reverting to the question of complete and general disarmament, it will be noted that the dangers of a nuclear war far from over-awing the people or causing defeatism among them, have roused their conscience and activated them. Complete and general disarmament has indeed be-

come the fighting slogan of millions of awakened people throughout the world. The World Congress for Disarmament and Peace will, we are sure, stand as a symbol of this confidence and resistance.

India is called upon to play a significant part in the struggle for disarmament. Our country is not militarily a big power, but it has a great moral stature in the world which the enemies of peace cannot but reckon with. It is now upto our peace champions to so function and fulfil their role that the impact of India's voice is fully felt.

Disarmament has a special significance for the working people, for the newly liberated under-developed nations and for those who are still struggling for their national independence. Disarmament would considerably lessen economic burdens of the working people and release enormous resources for their utilisation for the well-being of the masses. Of course, in the capitalist countries, this utilisation would not be feasible without broad mass movement.

Greater Assistance

Disarmament would make it easier for countries like India to draw upon, in an ever-increasing measure, disinterested economic assistance from the friendly countries for our national development. And these friendly countries on their part would be in a better position to render such assistance. One can easily see what a great fund of assistance from the Soviet Union, for example, would be open to India once that country is not forced as at present to divert its vast resources for military preparedness and defence.

Moreover, disarmament will help break the artificial East-West trade barriers which operate to the detriment of all countries including our own. We stand to gain considerably by the abolition of these economic blocs and trade barriers.

Even partial disarmament, not to speak of complete and general one, would limit the military possibilities of imperialism and this again will be a great gain for all those who are struggling for their national independence or are engaged in consolidation of their newly-won freedom.

Disarmament means abolition of foreign military bases and withdrawal of foreign military troops all of which go to help the cause of national independence.

Imperialists Fear

The struggles for disarmament help further isolate the imperialists and raise the moral and political stature of all those who fight for peace and for the cause of the people. It has been seen how these struggles sharpen the contradictions within the imperialist camp itself and at times cause even defections from that camp.

Economic, political, social, moral and cultural effects of disarmament—and even the struggles for it—are by all accounts positively beneficial for mankind.

India is summoned by history to play a worthy role to bring about Complete and General Disarmament and ensure for mankind durable peace. Let our emissaries at the World Congress for Disarmament and Peace and all our peace champions wherever they are be guided by the sense of this noble mission.

June 11 1962

Despite his head and hand injuries, he is partly writing and partly dictating his examination answers.

Indignant at this outrageous attack, many life members turned out to vote for Brian. The famous octogenarian novelist E. M. Forster, who had not voted for sixty years, came to vote for him and said: "I felt that a vote for Pollitt was the only way I could protest against the despicable attack on him. It was an act of sheer malice unequalled for many, many years at Cambridge."

"Apart from the brutality of the attack," observed the Dairy Mirror commentator Cassandra, "it is a pretty poor advertisement for British democracy and Cambridge University life. If a man can be beaten up for his political views, we might well revert to Brown Shirts, Black Shirts and all that."



Brian Pollitt

But the hoodlums' hand miserably failed in their plans. Brian is not only elected President by a thumping majority, he is also appearing for his final Economics Tripos examination.

BRIAN POLLITT ELECTED

Cambridge Union President

A significant victory against anti-communist gangsterism was won recently at a traditional seat of learning — Cambridge. Brian Pollitt, 25, son of the late General Secretary of the British Communist Party, Harry Pollitt, was elected President of the Union—becoming the first Communist to hold this famous student office.

The election was marred by a dastardly attack on Brian in his rooms at King's College.

The police believe that the attack, particularly the deliberate injuring of Brian's right hand hoping to hamper him in his final examination, was the work of a group of anti-communist undergraduates.

It is understood that one threatening telegram received by Brian Pollitt before the attack was dictated from a local call box by someone speaking with an American accent—real or assumed.

Report From Uttar Pradesh

struggle against high taxes

Lucknow, June 10: It is a great pity that, when, as a result of the heart-searching following the shock received in the third general elections, the all-India and the State leaderships of the Congress had begun to think in terms of paying some greater attention to pull this state from the deep bog of economic backwardness and all its dangerous social and political consequences for the country, the state is faced with perhaps the biggest convulsion it has known since independence.

STATEWIDE preparations are afoot for a grim and long struggle against high taxes—taxes that have already been announced by the Centre, and taxes that are proposed to be further imposed by the state government.

CPI and AIKS Take Initiative

The initiative was taken by the Communist Party and the Kisan Sabha. The State Council of the Kisan Sabha in its meeting last month had outlined the steps to be taken to resist this latest onslaught of the ruling party on the people of Uttar Pradesh who have already reached almost the limit of their endurance.

But the issue is so burning and all-embracing that, within less than a month of the counsels of the Kisan Sabha, almost all the parties of the state excluding the Congress, have warned the government of their resolve to resist any further burdens on the people.

Even the Swatantrites and the Jan Sanghis have said that if taxes have to be levied they should be levied on the richer sections of the people. They have announced their decision to launch a movement against any new imposts on the rural population.

The people are so disturbed by what they hear of the coming taxes that on June 4, almost towards the end of the last session of the state legislature, leaders of all opposition parties had to seek a two-and-a-half-hour debate on this question.

Debate in Assembly

The debate was initiated by Yadvendra Dutt Dube, leader of the Jan Sangh. Leaders of the Communist Party, Praja Socialist Party, Socialist Party and the Swatantra Party in the Vidhan Sabha took part in it. Unanimously they served notice on the government that any new taxes on the common people would be fought to the last ditch.

The C. B. Gupta Ministry is not particularly known for being sensitive to public opinion. But the intensity of feeling in the state on this issue is so great that even this ministry is finding itself in a quandary.

The cabinet is sharply divided on the issue. They could not decide anything

while the Assembly was in session. It is said that some of the ministers then toyed with the idea of imposing taxes through a Governor's Ordinance, while the legislature was away. Now, however, they have said that they would bring a consolidated bill before the next session of the legislature in July.

Ruling Party's Challenge

Gupta has asked people to be prepared to pay new taxes for the "development of the state." He has denounced those who oppose further taxes as "anti-national" and threatened to meet their "challenge".

There is no doubt that additional resources are necessary to implement the Third Five Year Plan. U.P.'s Third Five Year Plan allocation is to the tune of Rs. 497 crores. In this the Centre's share is Rs. 350 crores. The state therefore has to raise Rs. 147 crores. Nearly Rs. 43 crores had already been provided for by the state government last year through taxation and borrowings. Rs. 104 crores would still be needed for the remaining four years of the Plan.

This year, the government want to raise Rs. 13.55 crores, which is the deficit in their budget. And for this they are thinking of a variety of taxes.

Concession To Peasants Withdrawn

They have already withdrawn the 3 anna per rupee rebate that the peasantry of the state had won on irrigation rates after a mass struggle, and now they want to increase the land revenue, as the most handy method of raising resources! This is opposed by some of the more realistic ministers.

Seventy per cent or a little more of the farmers of the state possess holdings of 2½ acres or less. Even in terms of Congress resolutions (Fazlpur), these are actually un-economic holdings which ought to be completely exempted from land revenue. Anyhow, they have no capacity to pay more than what they are already doing.

It is because of their extreme resourcelessness that even the available irrigation facilities in the state are lying unused and agriculture and agricultural production in general have been lagging behind in the state, making Uttar Pradesh one of the most backward and poorest of all states.

For example, agricultural production in the country as a whole has increased by 52 per cent, but in U.P. it has hardly registered a 22 per cent increase in the years since independence. Similarly, while in the country as a whole the per capita income has increased by nearly 18 per cent, in U.P. it has grown by a mere 3 per cent in all these years.

In the matter of Five Year Plans also, although in the country as a whole, Rs. 10,110 crores have been invested during the first two five year

plans, the share of U.P. in this has been only Rs. 600 crores and a large part of the blame for this lies with the policies of the state government which have been directed towards raising corresponding funds and resources from sections of the people whose capacity to pay has been exhausted long ago.

As a result of these policies, while the burden of taxation on the wealthy classes has become less, that on the poorest sections of the people has gone on mounting, and now we have reached almost a saturation point, a critical point, nearly a breaking point beyond which only a disaster—economic and social disaster—can overtake us unless a radical reorientation is made in the economic and social policies pursued by the government.

The wealthier classes in U.P., the textile and sugar magnates of the state, the feudal lords turned overnight

talist supporters. He cannot do otherwise.

Poorer Sections To Be Fleeced

He is therefore reported to be in favour of raising the required resources for the Plan by raising the rates of land revenue, by imposing some more so-called development taxes or levies, by increasing electricity rates by nearly 50 per cent (even in connection with these the big industrialists are not to be touched!), by levying a 50 to 100 per cent surcharge on college fees, by increasing the entertainment tax, which is already very heavy, by raising duty on motor vehicles and petrol and by raising the duty on liquor. He and his supporters in the cabinet see all-round prosperity among the peasantry!

It can be seen that none of these measures is expected to touch the wealthier

***** From *****

Ramesh Sinha

into big capitalist farmers, contractors, permit and license holders, etc., etc., have unfortunately been enjoying almost an unquestioned sway over the economic policies of the various ministries in the state. Singhanias, Ram Ratan Guptas, Jajpurias, Sahu Jains, Birlas and the rest of their indigenous and all-India varieties have been getting a free rein in all their affairs.

They have been given all sorts of concessions at the cost of the poor tax-payer. They have been granted indefensible loans amounting to tens of crores of rupees. Crores of rupees of sales tax (9 crores) and electricity tax have been allowed to lie with them as arrears.

Soft Corner for Sugar Magnates

The sugar magnates have been allowed to deny the payment of crores of rupees which they owe to the cane growers of the state. They have also been allowed to keep with them vast sums of money pertaining to the cess that they are expected to pay to the government. They have been provided power at cheap rates.

Former Chief Minister Sampurnanand had called these gentlemen "the hens that lay the golden eggs" and the present Chief Minister, C. B. Gupta has always been their best and most trusted friend and supporter.

Gupta is, therefore, even today putting up a determined fight inside the cabinet against in any way touching their interests. His specious argument is that nothing should be done that would make "private capital shy away from the State." It is perhaps no fault of his if he shares the conceptions of capital accumulation and industrialisation of his capi-

classes. The entire burden of financing the plan is sought to be shifted on to the shoulders of the ordinary toiling people. Despite all talk of socialism and "our leader's instructions", in which Gupta indulges these days, there is nothing either of socialism or even of what Nehru says in these proposed steps.

This policy, as is natural, has its social and political counterparts, which are also unfolding now.

The Mulla episode in the Assembly has shown how intolerant the Chief Minister and his supporters are becoming even of the warped freedom that our Judiciary, specially in this State, enjoys.

The Chancellor, at the obvious bidding of the Ministry, has now ordered that evening and morning classes in the degree colleges affiliated to the Lucknow University should be forthwith stopped. Nearly 1,500 students, who combined the pursuit of higher education with some employment to keep their body and soul together, will now be deprived of this opportunity.

The purpose of levying a surcharge on college fees is also the same—to attack education, specially higher education.

severe shocks to the people of the state and, as stated at the outset, the state is set for one of the most widespread and powerful resistance movements the people have known in these parts. Indications are that almost all sections of the people, barring a handful of exploiters and henchmen of the Gupta ministry, will be active participants in this movement. This includes big sections of Congressmen also.

Before the storm that is likely to burst, unless the ministry is persuaded to mend its ways, the big food struggle of 1953 will pale into insignificance.

Against Anti-People Policies

This struggle, taking place at this extremely crucial period for our country and its plans of development, will actually become a struggle not merely for this or that economic demand (although the demands will also be inscribed on its banner), but for a change of the present anti-people and pro-vested interests policies of the state government; because, without this change, the state and its stagnant economy cannot only not progress, but cannot even go on any more as they have gone on so far. Our very future in this state will depend on the outcome of this struggle.

The Communist Party in the state has visualised this struggle to be a long and grim and all-pervading struggle. The demonstrations that are scheduled to take place on June 16 and 17 at tehsil and district headquarters in this context are to constitute only the first initial steps.

Support to Struggle

The Secretariat of the State Council of the CPI has offered full support to the Zonal and other Conferences the State Kisan Sabha is organising in different parts in preparation for the struggle. Some of these Conferences have already taken place, such as in Gorakhpur and Meerut. Others are scheduled to take place soon.

In these conferences the broadest mobilisation is sought to be made. There are already reports of some all-party consultations and gatherings to consider the serious situation created by the new threat of the Ministry.

The Communist Party has further asked all its units to enrol a volunteer corps to organise the struggle. The struggle is to be entirely peaceful and all forms—from passing resolutions, bringing out leaflets and posters, running signature campaigns, making representations to various authorities, holding separate and all-party meetings and demonstrations, launching abharnas and satyagraha, and organising strikes in the urban areas—are to be used as and when suitable.

The Communist Party and its spokesmen in the State Assembly and outside have also placed alternative suggestions for raising resources for the successful implementation of the plan of all-round development and industrialisation of the state. The attitude of the Party in this whole affair is very positive and constructive and that is why it is meeting with unprecedented support and response in all sections of the people.

K. M. ASHRAF

ANOTHER link with the glorious and heroic past of our militant struggle for national independence was snapped when: on June 7 death suddenly claimed Dr. K. M. Ashraf in Berlin.

A stormy petrel of Indian politics from the days of the non-cooperation movement which he joined when still in his teens, Ashraf was one of India's most eminent historians and a great scholar. For the last ten years he was devoting himself to the study and teaching of Indian history. Before he joined the Humboldt University in November 1960 as a visiting professor he had for some years been heading the department of history at the K.M. College of the Delhi University.

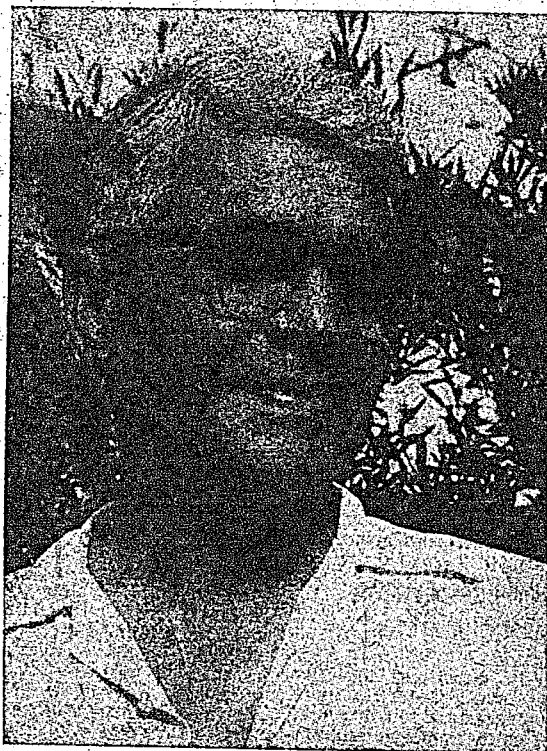
Kunwar Mohammad Ashraf was born in 1903 in a Rajput family hailing from Alwar and joined the M.A.O. College, Aligarh after finishing his school at Moradabad. When the call for non-cooperation came in 1921, he plunged into the struggle and was expelled (physically by the police) from the M.A.O. College. In direct association with Maulana Mohammad Ali, he participated in the starting of the Jamia Milia, as a centre of national education, free from British domination. It was at the Jamia that he continued his studies till the Maharaja of Alwar whom he had deeply impressed sent him for further studies to London.

After a short spell back at home, when he returned to England in 1929 he found himself in the midst of active struggle. Ashraf collaborated with Srinivas Iyengar, M. Mohammad Ali and Shapoorji Saklatwala to found the London Committee of the Indian National Congress. He was soon attracted by the ideas of Marxism and on return to India in 1935 became active in the Congress Socialist Party. He joined the Central Office of the AICC at Allahabad and spearheaded the first major Congress campaign against the Muslim League which took the form of Muslim mass contact.

Spokesman Of Left

He had meanwhile been elected to the AICC and his clear sharp rapier-like speeches made him a much sought-after spokesman of the Left in the country. At about the same time he became private Secretary to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Soon after the Second World War started Ashraf found himself the chief spokesman of the Communist Party in the AICC sessions, in the absence of R. D. Bharadwaj who was then underground. Soon Ashraf too was arrested and detained in the Deoli Concentration Camp. He was released in time to attend and play some part in the stormy Allahabad meeting of the AICC in April 1942.

After the legalisation of the CPI Ashraf joined its



headquarters in Bombay and worked there till 1947 when he shifted to Delhi to edit the daily NAYA DAUR. After the second Congress (1948) he was asked to migrate to Pakistan to help organise the party there.

Heavy repression soon claimed him and he was clamped in jail. He fell seriously ill in the Pakistan prison and on repeated representations, the Pakistan Government allowed him to leave for London on condition that he would never again return to Pakistan.

Shattered Health

Illness dogged him for years in London. His health was shattered and it was at one time suspected that he had cancer.

Through a regime of strict self-discipline, in the midst of terrible financial stringency he overcame his illness then. He was now returning to his old love—history—and used to spend days on end like the old days, at the British museum.

He was trying in the meanwhile to be able to come back to India and ultimately through the good offices of leaders of Kashmir, he succeeded in returning to his motherland. He stayed for two years in Kashmir and collected lot of material for a history of Kashmir.

But Delhi and its surroundings soon called him back and he joined the K.M. College. Although he had survived his severe illness that had nearly killed him in the Pakistan jail, he was no longer in a position to return to active political struggle. In the academic field where he always had a place of his own, he made a mark once more. His papers at the History Congress were always looked forward to.

Professor Reuben and other Orientalists of the German Democratic Republic who met him on their visits to India had been insisting for years that Ashraf come over to Berlin to help them organise Indian studies. He ultimately joined the Humboldt University in November 1960, paying a short visit to India two months later to attend the History Congress. That was his last visit to his beloved motherland.

His sudden demise on June 7 has left a void in Indian scholarship and progressive historiography. His great personal charm and wit, his sharp and clear mind won him thousands and thousands of admirers all over India and abroad.

Delhi Mourns

The meeting held in the Delhi Town Hall on the evening of June 12, to mourn the grave loss was a moving demonstration of the great affection and esteem in which Ashraf was held by the most diverse sections of people. Presided over by Mayor Nuruddin, it was addressed by Principal Swaroop Singh of the K. M. College; Brij Mohan, President, Delhi Pradesh Congress; Bhupesh Gupta, Member, Secretariat of the National Council of the CPI; Aruna Asaf Ali and others. The hall was full to capacity with people from all walks of life—students, workers, teachers, political workers belonging to different parties.

The resolution adopted at the meeting paid tributes to Ashraf as a patriot, pioneer of socialist ideas, a Communist and an eminent scholar and historian of whom his country will always be proud.

FOR FRUITFUL TALKS ON WEST BERLIN

THE Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, met in Moscow on June 7.

The meeting was attended by Todor Zhivkov, Anton Yugov (Bulgaria), Janos Kadar (Hungary), Walter Ulbricht, Willi Stoph (German Democratic Republic), Wladislaw Gomulka, Jozef Cyrankiewicz (Poland), Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej, Ion Maurer (Rumania), Nikita Khrushchov (USSR), Antonin Novotny, Vilem Siroky (Czechoslovakia).

The meeting heard a report by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Andrei Gromyko, on the talks between the Governments of the Soviet Union and the United States concerning a German peace settlement.

The participants in the meeting expressed complete approval of the Soviet Union's position at these talks, which is the common position of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

It was unanimously reaffirmed that a German peace settlement through the conclusion of a peace treaty, liquidation on its basis of the occupation regime in West Berlin and the establishment of a free city of West Berlin, conforms to the interests of European security and universal peace.

All the participants pronounced for the need to continue the talks between the Soviet and the American Governments. These talks, the declaration says, 'should clarify whether the occupation powers intend to continue to

avoid an agreed solution of the question of a German peace settlement or whether they are prepared to agree to a mutually acceptable solution of this question, normalization of the situation in West Berlin, and consequently, a relaxation of the dangerous tension in Europe and the elimination of the threat of an armed conflict between powers.'

The members of the Political Consultative Committee unanimously declared that "the unwillingness of the Western powers to contribute to the liquidation of the remnants of World War II will not prevent the states which fought against Nazi Germany and which stand on the position of concluding a German peace treaty from signing such a treaty with the German Democratic Republic with all the attendant consequences for West Berlin, which will be regarded as a free demilitarized city.

The Warsaw Treaty countries declared that they, as hitherto favoured a solution of the problems, dividing the states, by peaceful means, through negotiations. They hope that the Western powers will also have the same sober approach to a solution of these problems.

If the response to such peaceable policy are actions directed against the interests of their security of the sovereign rights of the German Democratic Republic and the interests of peace, the Warsaw Treaty countries are "fully resolved to fittingly protect their security and defend peace by all means at their disposal."

Reject Hindu Revivalism

* FROM FRONT PAGE

Nobody can accuse Shastriji of ignorance that the Jan Sangh like the Muslim League subscribes to the two-nation theory. He is sure to know it very well that the Jan Sangh concept of the Indian nation is a Hindu nation. He cannot be unaware of the Jan Sangh propaganda of "Hindi, Hindu, Hindustan".

Yet he allowed the claim of the Jan Sangh of not being communal, of not being responsible for communal riots, to go unchallenged in his long reply to the Lok Sabha debate.

This serious lapse on the part of Shastriji has come as a big disappointment to all who cherish the patriotic aim of communal unity and national integration. It will come as a rude shock and source of demoralisation to the religious minorities of our country whose homes and hearths have been looted and burnt, whose lives, living and honour have been attacked, who feel a sense of insecurity.

This condition of the minorities has to be radically changed in order to preserve and strengthen national unity and integration.

It is the sacred and patriotic task of all Indians particularly of the Hindu community to create a sense of security and equality among the minorities.

Despite the failure of the Government in this respect, despite the disappointing per-

formance of the National Integration Council and the Lok Sabha debate the forces of patriotism and secularism are strong enough to stem the tide of communal advance. The need of the hour is to unite and rally all such forces in an uncompromising fight against communalism. All such forces should join hands to unleash a nationwide campaign against communalism for guaranteeing the security, and equality of minorities.

In a number of places Congressmen, Communists, Socialists, Praja Socialists and other democrats have unitedly held anti-communal conferences. These small beginnings have to be developed at all levels in order to conduct a powerful nationwide mass campaign for national unity against communal disruption.

The healthy, patriotic fervour of our ancient people must be roused against the Jan Sangh propaganda of Hindu revivalism.

Communalism of all hues and colours should be unmasked. Let there be no compromise between patriotism and communalism. Jan Sangh propaganda of Hindu revivalism has to be ideologically and politically smashed. Official and non-official efforts should combine to create a sense of security and equality among the minorities.

(June 12)