

S.A.L. P. in

AUG 17 1961

TRIBUTES TO MOTILAL NEHRU

Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India has issued the following statement on the Motilal Nehru Centenary Celebrations which are being held throughout the country:

"On the centenary of the birthday of Pandit Motilal Nehru, the Communist Party of India pays homage to the memory of this illustrious son of India. He played a leading part in the movement for national liberation. He was a consistent champion of civil liberties. He was great and noble in every respect.

"Today when fissiparous and disruptive tendencies are growing in many parts of the country, it is particularly necessary to remind ourselves of the record of this stalwart patriot who always upheld national unity and gave no quarters to forces of communalism and casteism. Let us all emulate his example and strengthen the cause for which he lived and died."

NEW AGE

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U. S. BID TO PREVENT LAOS PEACE

* by ZIAUL HAQ

Despite all setbacks, United States imperialism is persisting most doggedly in its plans for dominating Laos through its puppets. As hithertofore, U.S. aggression is the single biggest hurdle in the restoration of peace in Laos despite the cease-fire call issued by the Soviet Union and Britain, the two Co-Chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indo-China.

THE American imperialists are at the moment frantically rushing through with their plans to instal the MAAG (Military Assistance and Advisory Group) that Kennedy ordered to be established right on the eve of the announcement of the agreement between the two Co-Chairmen to call for a cease-fire. Three hundred U.S. armed personnel were landed in Laos after the cease-fire call was given.

Even at the moment American military personnel and supplies are being rushed to Vientiane and it is to cover up this operation that all sorts of obstructions are being put by the Bonn Oum-Nosavan rebel clique in the immediate implementation of the cease-fire call.

The delay that has taken place has been due not to the fact that the Royal Laotian Government headed by Souvanna Phouma and the forces of the Neo Lao Haksat Party headed by Souphanouvong wanted to press the military advantage that they definitely had but because the U.S. imperialists, having lost whatever faith they ever had in their puppets, want to take advantage of the intervening period to instal the MAAG and to still further enlarge and entrench their direct interventionist force.

The total failure of U.S. imperialist policy that had been directed ever since the Geneva Agreement of 1954 towards the frustrating of that agreement has been demonstrated in the most glaring fashion to the whole world. The Geneva Agreement for Laos which visualised unification of the entire Laotian people on the basis of full integration of the Pathet Lao forces and the restoration of internal democracy as well as the pursuit of an independent and neutral external policy became the target for destruction by the U.S. Government from the moment of its signature.

History Of U.S. Intervention

It is the history of the last seven years that every time the Laotian people by themselves or with the aid of the International Commission came to an agreement among themselves, the U.S. rushed with its dollars and arms to bribe the most reactionary sections in Laos and defeat the prospects of unity and peace in that unfortunate land. It was this way that the Rangoon and Vientiane agreements of the intervening years were scuttled till the International Commission itself was scuttled to prevent its

coming in the way of U.S. interventionist plans

Having thus removed the hurdle of the International Commission the U.S. proceeded to "remove" the universally recognised neutralist Government of Laos headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma, openly incite rebellion and civil war against the legal Government and then turn the rebels into the "legal Government" behind whose cover they could carry on their interventionist game unhampered.

The patriotic leaders of the Laotian people, however, had no intention of letting the U.S. imperialists replace the French who had lorded over their country and had been thrown out only thanks to a long-drawn-out patriotic war. In the endeavour to uphold the independence of Laos the legal Government of Prince Souvanna Phouma appealed for and received the generous help of the Soviet Union.

That U.S. intervention in Laos on the one hand and Soviet help to the legal Government on the other have been two basically different things hardly needs any arguing. Directed against the Geneva agreement itself, U.S.

TO GURUDEV

On May 8, 1961, a century is complete since Rabindranath Tagore was born. In our country and in all the rest of the world, on this day, homage would be paid to this great son of India, and millions would participate, beginning from this day, in cultural celebrations and functions associated with the name of Tagore—which would last till the end of the year.

On this memorable occasion, the Communist Party of India associates itself with all our countrymen and with all the lovers and admirers of Rabindranath Tagore's art and genius in all the countries of the world, in rendering its profound, respectful and joyous homage to the greatest creator of beauty, and the noblest interpreter of the soul of our ancient and civilised people, in modern times.

Drawing his spiritual and aesthetic sustenance from the songs, ballads and the rich language of the common people of Bengal; identifying himself with them and with their aspirations of freedom and the good life; delving deep into the treasure of ancient Indian philosophy and literature; and learning and assimilating the best of world literature and thought, Rabindranath Tagore, in his personality and work synthesised and creatively augmented the very stuff of life. For what sustains us more than the great inspiration for noble ideals; the scintillating charm and beauty of life in all its myriad forms; and the profound wisdom and sensibility, imparted to us in such glorious abundance by a great poet and creative artist such as Tagore?

The Communist Party of India hopes and expects that the Centenary celebrations of Rabindranath Tagore would provide us all with the occasion and opportunity to read and study his works more widely and thoroughly, that it would inspire our progressive writers, poets and artists to come nearer to our common people and give expression to their highest and noblest aspirations for a rich, beautiful and cultured life; for the unity of India, for freedom, for human brotherhood and for world peace—ideals and aspirations which Tagore understood and expressed with such exquisite and tender sensibility. We are aware also that precisely because Rabindranath Tagore hated all cant and humbug, unreason and superstition, and loved his country, his people and humanity intensely, even, sometimes within the framework of his peculiar religious outlook, all the reactionaries, in India and all over the world, would try to distort and misuse his name and his ideas, for ends which Rabindranath Tagore loathed and despised. All the more reason, therefore, that on this occasion Communists together with all other true lovers of Tagore, should try their utmost to honour, learn and admire Tagore for his essential qualities. Thus alone can true homage be rendered to Rabindranath Tagore.

* SEE PAGE 17

THE WAR OF SUCCESSION

AFTER Pantji's death, the choice of the Deputy Leader acquired first-rate political significance, both inside the ruling party and amidst wider national opinion.

Indian reaction is not happy with the present Prime Minister but realises that he cannot be challenged in his life time. Hence it has been building up its strength step by step, brick by brick, to take over "after Nehru". Hence they concentrate upon blackguarding loyal Nehruite Cabinet Ministers like Defence Minister Menon and Oil Minister Malaviya. Hence their big build-up of Finance Minister Morarji Desai as his inevitable successor.

The Indian Right, encouraged and prodded by Western imperialist reaction, had set its heart on getting Morarji elected, as the Deputy Leader, inheriting the status and mantle of Sardar Patel, Maulana Azad and Govind Ballabh Pant, who had held the august office earlier, were accepted as second-in-command and inevitable successors if and when the occasion arose.

All the anti-Right forces, along with nondescript elements, rallied behind the Harijan Railway Minister, Jagjivan Ram.

So far the limitless mud-slinging and unscrupulous canvassing was confined to the State Congress Legislature Parties. The Central Parliamentary Party under Pandit Nehru's leadership functioned with greater decorum, the dirty linen-washing being done in the lobbies, duly backed by public campaign to confuse and corrupt national opinion, through the columns of the monopoly Press of the capital. This time canvassing reached such a low that Prime Minister Nehru was reminded of District Board elections.

The tension in the critical Parliamentary Party meeting reached a new high, which was resolved after a motion was moved and passed that the choice of the Deputy Leader be left with the Prime Minister, who in his speech had already cut the controversy to its size by openly stating that the Deputy Leader's office gave no more status than that of a Deputy and did not involve the hierarchy of succession.

The India Press Agency on April 29 forecast that Hafiz Ibrahim, a non-entity, might replace the two contestants. The Hindustan Times of May 2 and other daily papers reported the Prime Minister's suggestion for two Deputy Leaders, one for each House.

REACTION FURIOUS

Indian reaction is furious, after being foiled of the prize. The Hindustan Times of May 1 wrote an angry editorial entitled, "Down Graded", and opined that "there was clear consensus of opinion against postponement." It fumed against the proposal that Nehru "should take on the role of arbiter." And still more so because Nehru "seized upon it" and agreed.

It made the hardly-veiled insinuation that he did so "because the probable result

of the election would not have accorded with his wishes." In the grapes-are-sour spirit it concluded, "the post has been down-graded to the point where no self-respecting candidate could covet it." It looks as if Morarji Desai is drawing in his horns this time and getting ready to charge into action when the next opportune moment comes.

Meanwhile, a campaign is being built to downgrade and discredit Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself as the Prime Minister and that too under the mask of democratic principles. The last angry and threatening sentence of the Hindustan Times editorial is, "The question that has been asked before, and will be asked now with more persistence, is whether the ready surrender of its collective will and wisdom to the keeping of a leader, however, great, is the right preparation towards a party's growth, towards self-reliance and maturity."

The Times of India has been cleverer in its May 3 editorial entitled "Dangers of Evasion". It has taken the pose of considering the pros and cons both but the conclusion is the same. It concedes, "a defeat for anyone would have rankled in the minds of his supporters and made it more difficult for the party to work as a team."

It then proceeds to state, "What has emerged from the whole sorry business is the image of a sorely divided party which cannot even choose its Deputy Leader, much less determine the hierarchy of the leaders. It is in vain that Mr. Nehru has tried to belittle the office of Deputy Leader."

The frustration felt by reaction is thus expressed: "It is damaging to the morale of the people that no one in the country should know who most commands, next to Mr. Nehru, the confidence of the ruling party. What has happened in the last ten days can only deepen a sense of uncertainty about the future."

All this discloses that the forces of the Right were confident of getting their candidate win on a straight vote and wanted to use the next coming years to build him up as a successor Prime Minister.

DEFEAT THE RIGHT

Morarji Desai was supported not only by the Right-wing caucus inside the Congress but also by the Right-wing politicians and parties outside and by the entire monopoly Press. A major move of reaction has been foiled for the time being, but by no means defeated.

The Right inside the Congress has become so bold as to demand for their chosen man the status and guarantee of becoming the next Prime Minister of the country because it has been sheltered behind the prestige of the present Prime Minister. Its size and weight has increased primarily because of the cowardly passivity of the Congressmen themselves. It is elementary political sense, writ large with experience after experience, that the

Right cannot be cut to manageable size except by Congressmen themselves. The Indian Left headed by our Party has spared no effort to expose and campaign against the Right inside the ruling party as a menace to the integrity and independence of our nation and as functioning in league and cooperation with extreme Right politicians and parties outside the Congress, a political pest and a national menace.

NOTES OF THE WEEK

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Their All-Sided Campaign

THE Indian Right not only wants to succeed Nehru. It has started a systematic unscrupulous campaign against Nehru's progressive policies themselves. It falsely goes on repeating that they are becoming unpopular. It thus hopes to make the transition to the change of the leader and of national policies less of a sudden break, make it smooth and easy.

A good example of the above is the April 7 editorial in Birla's Eastern Economist, "Dent in External Affairs". Commenting on the debate on the demands of the Ministry it wrote: "Undoubtedly the tenor of opinion even in Congress circles was more on the side of Acharya J. B. Kripalani than on the side of the Prime Minister. This is so marked a change from the universal, almost mechanical acceptance of the Prime Minister's statements on foreign policy in the past that one should ask seriously whether the dents made in the Prime Minister's armour are of lasting significance."

"Undoubtedly the feeling inside the country is that the Prime Minister's foreign policy on China has placed this country in a position of humiliation."

The second editorial of the same journal, of the same date, is entitled "Defence Ministry in the Dock."

General Thimayya is the adored Timmy of Indian reaction. On retirement as Chief of the Army Staff, Argus, in his "Delhi Diary" in the same journal again of the same date has disclosed the plan of Indian reaction—that it wants him back in New Delhi as the next Defence Minister!

Below are Argus's own words under the caption, "Time for Timmy":

"His forceful utterances, his frank and open manner and the image that he created of a typical Indian soldier, capable of doing every job from the Jawan's right up to that of the Chief of the Army Staff, instilled in a very large number of people a feeling that he was something unique."

"I bid him good-bye from these columns with a hopeful feeling that he will return to Delhi soon in another capacity in which his deep military knowledge and his great popular following will win more appreciation in official quarters than his current assignment has done."

The anti-Indian plotters have a plan, slogans and personalities on whom they rely for the "take over."

Hitting On The Head

WHEN New Age published a series of report articles on the Madhya Pradesh communal riots, our readers were shocked. Almost all the Urdu dailies reprinted them. Many asked whether all that we wrote could have really happened in our country.

New Age was sought to be blackmailed and silenced by the threat of criminal cases by the Jan Sanghis and the top communal Congress leaders whom we had named. Delegations of Congress M.P.s sent there by the Congress High Command discovered for themselves that all that we wrote was true. Now at last the Prime Minister himself has confirmed our analysis.

Inaugurating in Bhopal a two-day meeting of the Madhya Pradesh Congress Committee, Pandit Nehru lashed out at the Congress leaders who had literally done nothing and failed in their most elementary duty as Congressmen.

He accusingly asked: "How many of you were in the forefront to check the riots and how many of you received injuries while trying to check the mass fury?"

He expressed his deep grief that "not a single Congressman was hurt because they did not face the situation boldly and kept themselves in their houses like purdah women."

As regards "the main responsibility for the sad events," he placed it squarely on the shoulders "of the majority community. It is a white lie to say that the minority was responsible for the disturbances. There was no need for an enquiry to establish that fact."

He added: "It was possible that there was a connection between the coming elections and the riots because such riots had also taken place on the eve of the last general elections."

The Prime Minister "deplored false rumours to the effect that hundreds of Hindus have been killed in the riots and said such rumours might have excited the people."

All see that communalism and reaction is running riot in our land. The Bombay rally of the best and most eminent of our national artistes has disclosed that the communal and reactionary forces can be routed, by putting the plain truth before the people, by uniting and activating all who love India, all who are eager to see that India is built in the image of our old dreamers and heroic martyrs, where healthy and prosperous life will grow and lead to the full flowering of India's national genius.

The Prime Minister, "while deploring the disturbances said they were not mere isolated incidents but were pre-planned."

"Amidst thunderous applause from the audience Mr. (May 4)

Nehru declared that whenever such incidents took place, the officials as a matter of policy should be transferred."

All this has also been the findings and the demand of our Party voiced in a special resolution of the Vijayawada Congress which also made a fervent plea to the Congressmen and all secular elements to unite against the demon of communalism, dancing and trampling underfoot the young and fresh-green Indian democracy.

A Welcome Rally

THE positive impact of the shocking events in Madhya Pradesh inside the High Command of the ruling party was the appointment of a Committee on National Integration under the Presidentship of Smt. Indira Gandhi.

In Bombay, Indira Gandhi, Chief Minister Chavan, Oil Minister Malaviya and others addressed and attended an all-star demonstration, the Writers' and Artists' Rally For National Integration.

Famous film actor Bhrati Sahni recalled that in 1947 "artists succeeded where politicians failed," when a unity procession headed by artists and writers paraded the city and helped to restore peace and calm in the riot-torn city. "Once again," he said, "we shall go wherever unity is threatened; we shall speak and sing to the people whom we love and who we hope love us."

The grand veteran of the Indian stage and screen Prithviraj Kapoor, always speaks eloquently whenever the nation's integrity and honour is at stake. This time his eloquence is reported to have reached a new high.

K. A. Abbas, reporting the rally, in the Last Page of Blitz, has transmitted some of the colour, and aroma of the solemn occasion in the following moving sentence: "While others spoke, two young men who are otherwise always in the limelight, sat together discreetly silent behind their elder—Yusuf Khan alias Dillip Kumar and Ranbeer alias Raj Kapoor, two actors—two Pathans—two young Indians—two friends—whose friendship could well be a symbol and a model for the emotional integration everyone was talking about."

Such are the qualities the imperialists seek in a prospective national leader for our country. These words of the imperialists are not without any meaning. The German monopolists through their rags are openly pleading the case of Morarji who pays back by pleading the case of foreign private capital in this country and offers them indiscriminate concessions. West German capital has already penetrated vital spheres of our economy and with the help of their crown prince, Morarji, it is finding for itself ever new spheres.

—P. C. JOSHI

SCRAP-BOOK

CHOICE OF A CROWN PRINCE

PRIME Minister Nehru was the caption to a report in the Free Press Journal of May 1. I would have read it and yet not cared to mention it had it been an appeal from Prime Minister Nehru or Congress President Sanjeeva Reddi to warring Congress factions. But this time it was an appeal from Sri Morarji Desai addressing members of the Assam Pradesh Congress Committee.

Sri Desai said he had no quarrel with anyone's ambition to acquire positions. But when it resulted in maligning each other behind one's back, he had his quarrels. Morarji is a leader by his own right, himself an ambitious man. So he does not find fault with the ambitions of others. But he did not limit himself to that.

He advised that all elections whether to the panchayats or to Congress Committees should be unanimous without any canvassing. Congressmen had to work far unanimous elections, he said, and added, anybody who worked for that end did greater service to the organisation than the one who maligned another man behind his back.

I had a different idea about Morarji. I had so far thought that he was one who practised what he said. But now he has disillusioned me. Morarji himself believes in contesting elections. He does not believe in unanimity when it comes to the election of Deputy Leader. Not once did he appeal publicly to his own followers not to canvass for him inside the Parliamentary Party. But he has been generous with appeals to other Congressmen not to do all that he is doing.

Or is it that Morarji has been disillusioned by recent events? Probably he had not expected that he would be faced with such strong opposition in the Congress. Having felt it now, he wants future elections to be "unanimous."

Whatever the reason, he has proved that he is not only ambitious but also power-blind. He does not care for the unity of the organisation to which he belongs.

—AGRADOOT

SCRAMBLE FOR POWER

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ANOTHER STUNT

CONGRESS President Sanjeeva Reddi has once again exhibited his love for stunts. His famous directive to Congress M.P.s, M.L.As, Ministers, etc., to send in lists of their assets was subject to comments a few months ago. Now he has again come out with yet another statement—made in Ahmedabad re: going into the assets of relatives of Congress Ministers and other office-bearers.

Only the very, very naive would be taken in by this. Others would know it for what it is—a vote-catching device specially meant for the General Elections which are fast approaching.

—AGRADOOT

FORMER RULERS BOLSTERING REACTION WITH WEALTH EXTORTED FROM THE NATION

RECENT activities of the former ruling princes and feudals to create a platform of reaction in Rajasthan and notably the announcement of Maharani Gayatri Devi's joining of the Swatantra Party have brought to the fore once again a vital question of Rajasthan's political life. And that is the question of stopping the fat privy purses and other facilities to these princes and revision of the list of their private property.

At the time of the integration of these States with the Indian Union in 1947-49, these "rulers" had demanded and secured as "price" for their agreeing to sign the instruments of accession fat privy purses and various other concessions. Some of them like the Jajpur, Jodhpur and Bikaner "rulers" were granted privy purses to the tune of Rs. 18 lakhs per year.

Besides these fat privy purses these "rulers" were granted various other concessions like free supply of light and water, the rate for which has in recent years been fixed at ten per cent of the privy purse. The result is that these former rulers, who own numerous houses and palaces and estates, and who have mostly rented out these buildings and are thus deriving profit out of them are getting electric supply to the tune of about Rs. 1.8 lakhs a year. About the same is the position in respect to free supply of water.

List Of Private Properties

The most "advantageous" concession that they secured was the acceptance of the list of private properties. They, of course, retained their fabulous wealth in the form of gold and jewellery, but in addition they retained innumerable houses, land in the urban areas and a number of estates, all of which, give them incomes running into lakhs of rupees. Just to state one example, the Jajpur Maharaja got the estate of the City Palace and the Choughan. Shops are now being constructed in the Choughan and each one of these 500 shops will fetch a rent of about Rs. 200 to 250 per month.

Having thus managed to keep all this wealth, these ex-rulers remained "silent" for some time but are now seeking to make use of all this to "influence" the political situation. Taking advantage of the traditional ideas prevalent in some sections of the population, and making full use of the enormous resources put into their hands, they are seeking to "make use" of the ballot box to revive their lost glory and strengthen reaction in every respect.

Naturally the question has arisen in the minds of all honest democratic elements: why should not these "privileges" that these rulers "vir-

tually extorted" from the nation, be now stopped.

This has been the demand of the democratic movement in this State almost since its formation. The Congress leaders, in the name of honouring the pledges made and sticking to assurances given, have so far resisted this demand. However, events are forcing the issue inside the Congress ranks also.

Thus it was that at the PCC meeting held at Kotah at the end of last month one of the members, Nathulal Jain, moved a resolution requesting the Government of India to take steps to stop these privy purses and also to get the list of private properties re-examined. This resolution, in the background of the State's political situation, found ready response in the minds and hearts of rank-and-file Congressmen and speaker after speaker rose to support it.

The combined "persuasion" of all the three chief leaders of the State Congress, M. D. Mathur, the PCC Chief, Sukhadia, the Chief Minister and Kumbharam Arya was required to secure the withdrawal of the resolution, but not till the PCC President had given the assurance that the sentiments contained in the resolution were shared by them and would be conveyed to the High Command. True to this assurance, the PCC President is reported to have conveyed this sentiment to the High Command.

After all, the pledges given to these "ex-rulers" lose all significance as compared to the pledges that the leaders and the Government have given to the people of this land for a better life and for progress. In case these so-called pledges given to the rulers more as the result of barain and extortion at a critical moment come in the way of the progress of the people

as is happening at present, then it is better that they are set aside.

The sentiments of the rank-and-file even inside the State Congress can be judged from the fact that one of the members of the PCC bitterly remarked that these fat purses and resources were being used for political ends and in some cases to purchase the support of individual Congressmen. Not to deprive the rulers of these resources meant leaving the way open for the "degradation" of Congressmen.

The same sentiments were expressed in some of the speeches made by Congress members in the discussion on the Governor's address in the Assembly.

One of the Congress MLAs, Shrihan Singh from Bharatpur, castigated the show that these feudals were permitted to put up at the time of the British Queen's visit.

Another member Janardan Rai Nagar who hails from Udaipur and is also the President of the Rajasthan Sahitya Academy, was very critical of the role played by the leaders of the Government in this whole affair. In the first instance these "ex-rulers" should not have been permitted to have all that show of feudal revival; and if it was not possible to stop it, at least the leaders of the Government should not have participated in them—this was how he expressed his discontent.

Though for the time being the leaders have succeeded in "pacifying" or containing the sentiments rising in the rank-and-file of the Congress, yet it is now most likely that as events unfold themselves and as through their own experience the Congressmen learn more, this democratic demand of the people of Rajasthan is likely to find greater and greater response.

—H. K. VYAS

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Proud And Great National Veteran MOTILAL NEHRU

★ by P. C. JOSHI

This week is the Centenary of Pandit Motilal Nehru's birthday. Any Indian who came in contact with him could not but retain feelings of the deepest respect for the great and peerless veteran that he was.

NATIONAL pride and self-confidence in the 'twenties grew with the living experience that if our country could produce Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Chittaranjan Das, Dr. Ansari, Maulana Azad and the like, the British imperialists could no longer keep us suppressed and enslaved and the obvious duty was to join the national movement led by them.

When the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre took place, I was at school and had just begun reading newspapers. The awful, blood-curdling crime of the British usurpers led Pandit Motilal from the leadership of the Allahabad Bar to the leadership of the Indian people. My father and uncles greatly admired his patient and devastatingly effective work in the Enquiry Committee but I was deeply moved, by his outspoken Press statements and speeches which served as my first lessons in patriotism.

In 1924, I came to join the Allahabad University and heard fabulous tales about his one-time riches and life of luxury, followed by still greater sacrifices and generosity. The story that impressed me most was his statement, "My dog will stand against... (an eminent Liberal leader of those days, long dead) and win."

This was meant to deflate the Liberal boast that they could successfully defeat the Swaraj Party in the elections. His was the expression of the national disgust against the compromising and even senile attitude of the Liberals towards the Montford Reforms. His great self-confidence and supreme confidence in the verdict of the people impressed us youngsters greatly.

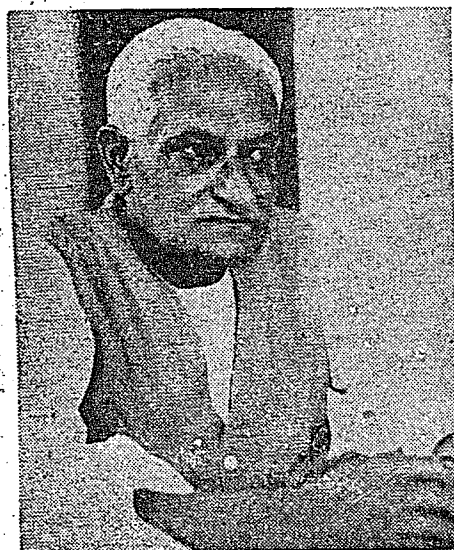
The Liberals were not the only rivals of the Swaraj Party. In the wake of the Hindu-Muslim riots, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya had joined the pro-Hindu communal Nationalist Party. The more politically conscious among us university students became Congress volunteers to canvass against the Nationalist Party headed by Malaviya and for the Swaraj Party headed by Motilalji. Allahabad was the home-town of the Malaviya clan and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya commanded great influence not only in the city but among the university teachers and plenty of students as well, being the founder of the big Hindu Hostel.

We operated throughout the campus and decided to concentrate upon the Hindu Hostel and win it over on the platform of anti-communalism and for nationalism. It was a hard battle but it was won, more and more.

Pandit Motilal was an indulgent and careful listener to our "reports" which contained plenty of bragging and wishful thinking. From his paternally caustic comments and useful tips we got our elementary lesson in political propaganda, election tactics,

etc. After the election results were out, he shared his happiness with us, who were less than half his age, in such an informal manner that we all felt thrilled.

After a while, the father and the son went to Europe and from there to the USSR. Pandit Motilal was the first great Indian national leader to visit the first Land of Socialism. He was also the first to sanction forging Indian national links with our anti-impe-



rialist allies abroad when he and Pandit Jawaharlal attended the Congress of the League Against Imperialism at Brussels (1927) and affiliated the Indian National Congress to it. It was attended by the Communist and Left Socialist leaders, as also the leaders of the Chinese, Arab, African and Latin American national movements.

Jawaharlal Nehru has written about their Soviet trip in his Autobiography: "It was a very brief visit, just three or four days in Moscow, decided upon at the last moment. But we were glad we went, for even that glimpse was worthwhile... To my father all such Soviet and collectivist ideas were wholly novel. His whole training had been legal and constitutional and he could not easily get out of that framework. But he was definitely impressed by what he saw in Moscow."

Pandit Jawaharlal was all for complete independence, but Pandit Motilal was one of the key architects of the All-Parties' Committee Report which demanded Dominion Status within a year.

When in Calcutta (December 1928) he put the issue to vote and asked if it was unanimous acceptance, a small, slow but clear voice arose from a corner: "I oppose." That was the tiny figure of S. V. Ghate, then General Secretary of the Communist Party. When he added that

he spoke for the Communist Party which stood for complete independence, there was hushed silence in the august assembly. Jawaharlal kept silent but I finally decided that here was the vital young Party I must join if it will take me.

I came back from Calcutta to Allahabad, sore with Pandit Motilal and disagreeing with Pandit Jawaharlal for agreeing to scuttle independence even on the basis of a one-year ultimatum to the British.

After three months, I was arrested from the university itself on March 20, 1929, as a part of the all-India round up of the Indian Communists in the famous Meerut Conspiracy Case.

Pandit Motilal came forward to become the Chairman of the Central Defence Committee for our case and sent us lawyers like Asaf Ali, M. C. Chagla, Pandit Pyarelal Sharma and others. The British had planned to prove during the trial that Indian Communism was an anti-national force, an agency of Soviet diplomacy and its "crooked statecraft." Pandit Motilal saw through the game and as long as he lived saw to it that we neither lacked money nor lawyers.

By the end of the year the famous Lahore Congress session was held; amidst emotional scenes the resolution on Complete Independence was passed, and satyagraha solemnly decided upon.

On the way back, the top Meerut Congress leader and our lawyer Pyarelal Sharma visited us in jail and with a proud twinkle in his eyes asked, "Motilalji has asked if you are now satisfied." I was the youngest and knew him more than the other comrades. I cheekily asserted, "You will never fight a real mass struggle, the resolution will remain on paper." He was taken aback. Sharmaji, who was also an old friend of my father and uncles politely replied back, "That is why we are working for your release so that you can do better." I changed the topic!

Pandit Motilal now became very busy but he looked prouder and grander than ever

Wrong And Disruptive

Editorial

THE LONG-DELAYED, AND still more longer-debated, Border Bill has been passed despite the persistent protests of the main Opposition party in Parliament, the Communist Party. It was no ordinary political dispute between the ruling and the Opposition party.

It is a matter that concerns the very direction of national policy and the health of Indian democracy. The politicians and parties that have made it their profession to discredit the principles of Panchsheel, challenge India's independent foreign policy, and support every reactionary cause at home, have loudly backed the Government over this Bill. There can be no greater damnation of the Government for its deviation from a truly national policy, no better vindication of the Communist stand, honourable and principled, though alone for the time being.

The Bill provides for a three-year sentence, not against those who preach warlike policies and who demand the end of good-neighbourliness, not against reactionary alien conspirators and foreign imperialist agents who in the guise of journalists, tourists, mountaineers, scientists, etc., misuse our nation's soil and generous hospitality for their nefarious game.

The Bill is openly directed against the Communist Party for its alleged policy towards China, and to paralyse if not ban the activities of the Communists in the border districts on the mythical ground of their being against the integrity of the country.

New Age has answered all such criticism point by point, in terms of our accepted national policy, and countered fictitious slanders with solid facts and that too from the columns and editorials of local Congress journals and the very mouths of Congress Ministers, MLAs and local leaders. Communist spokesmen reiterated it all and more on the floor of Parliament, but without avail. The official majority still further strengthened by extreme Rightist M.P.s cared not for this mass of facts.

There is, however, always time to think again. Is there any party in this country other than the Communist that is nearer the Congress in foreign policy, and in seeking peaceful solution of our dispute with China? In taking over some of the false demagogic slogans and anti-national demands of the pro-imperialist politicians and reactionary Rightist parties, masquerading under the time-worn banner of anti-Communism, is the Congress leadership appeasing reaction or fighting it, weakening or strengthening its own independent foreign policy, making peaceful and honourable relations with China more difficult or easier? Cool and honest thought will supply the obvious answer.

The need of the hour is unity of all national, anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces for settling the border dispute soon enough and going ahead with our nation-building tasks. The alignment revealed in the Parliamentary debate on the Border Bill ultimately leads the other way. It is thus a matter of the deepest concern to every Indian. His hopes and fears are inextricably bound with this issue.

We Communists have faced one slander campaign after another, all our life. We will face another nationwide campaign during the coming general elections to influence which this Bill is primarily designed. Indian public opinion is not gullible and infantile. Our critics and opponents will see for themselves that anti-Communism does not yield the results they are fondly waiting for.

To use a major international dispute (foreign policy dispute) for internal party politics can do our common nation no good; it can only bring in its wake new troubles.

The Bill does not mention our Party but we were the sole target in the speeches. After the Bill becomes an Act, the civil liberties of every citizen, in the far-flung border regions, who is out of favour with the local bureaucrats and the C.I.D. or the influential political junta will no more be safe. Anti-Communism soon degenerates into anti-democracy; this is the experience everywhere.

We do not brag; we warn—
We do not beg; we demand—
Keep the Border Bill in cold storage and scrap it the moment better sense prevails.

Thus save national unity, do not damage it, patiently nurse Indian democracy, don't throw bricks at it in a huff. The cause of India demands maturity and wisdom and not blind partisanship, not playing with principles, which can only go astray.

(May 4)

with his only and beloved son installed as the Congress President and well on the way to succeed him.

He soon went to jail, where his health became shattered, he remained unbent as ever and died in dignity as he had lived and worked all his life. We in Meerut Jail felt orphaned for a while, held our own mourning session in his honour and carried on.

There was very little in common between us young Communists and this veteran aristocratic national chief except anti-imperialism and love of the common motherland

(May 4)

POLITICAL RESOLUTION

India in a new world

SINCE the end of the Second World War, vast changes have taken place in the international arena. Socialism has triumphed in countries with more than one-third of the world population and socialist society has registered spectacular success in every sphere. The national liberation movement has won sweeping victories. Forty new sovereign States have come into existence in Asia and Africa. Colonialism is being shaken to its very foundation even in areas where it still exists. The working class and democratic movements have made sweeping advance. Forces of peace have grown more powerful than ever before. With all these developments, mankind faces today a situation radically different from what it faced in any previous period.

The essential features of this new situation have been described in the Statement adopted at the meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties held in November 1960 in Moscow. The Statement, a document of world-historic significance, which arms the Communists all over the world with an exceptionally powerful weapon says:

"Our time, whose main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is a time of struggle between the two opposing social systems, a time of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale.

"It is the principal characteristic of our time that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society."

The Statement also points out the magnificent prospects that have opened up before mankind:

"Today it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist transformation of society that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society. Whatever efforts imperialism makes, it cannot stop the advance of history. A reliable basis has been provided for further decisive victories for socialism. The complete triumph of socialism is inevitable."

The question before us is: What part have we to play in this great development? Where does our great country stand in its duty towards its own vast masses and towards mankind?

The hope and aspirations of the Indian people on the attainment of independence were aptly expressed by Prime

Minister Nehru in his message on August 15, 1947, wherein he held up the promise of a prosperous, democratic and progressive nation, the creation of social, economic and political institutions which will ensure justice and fullness of life to every man and woman.

In spite of the difficulties of the period immediately following the attainment of freedom and the immensity of the tasks that confronted the nation, conditions were exceptionally favourable for the fulfilment of that promise. In the first place, the party which had come into power had the confidence of the people in abundant measure, upon which they could entirely rely. Reactionary vested interests who had opposed the national liberation movement stood exposed and discredited, and were in no position to thwart the national advance. Further, the world situation had been becoming increasingly favourable for the attainment of our national objectives. Gone were the days when the imperialists could dictate their terms to economically backward and militarily weak countries. The Soviet Union and other Socialist

countries were ready to renege on their promise to render unselfish assistance to the newly independent countries to overcome their backwardness, build up their economy and consolidate their freedom.

While, therefore, national regeneration in a country of 400 million people was undoubtedly a vast and gigantic task, conditions, both internal and external have been exceptionally favourable for the carrying out of this task and for launching the country firmly on the path of all-sided national advance. It is in this context that the actual achievements of free India have to be assessed. Especially necessary is it to do so today because this is the year when the Second Five Year Plan is to be completed and the Third Plan is to begin. And if a proper estimate is made of the last fourteen years' record, it would be evident that, while some notable achievements have been made, the advance on the whole has been so slow in comparison with the necessities and possibilities and accompanied by such unjust and heavy burdens on the people, so much oppression and suppression that they feel angry, disappointed and even frustrated.

Industrial Development And Socialist Aid

Our people welcome the fact that, as the result of the First and Second Plans, the industrial base of our economy has become broader and stronger. Many articles which we formerly imported are now produced in the country. There has been considerable expansion of electricity and irrigation projects. A number of heavy and basic industries, which are of great importance for economic growth have been developed. The Public Sector has grown despite every effort by imperialists and certain monopolist circles inside our country to thwart this growth. The Oil Commission has achieved significant successes in a vital sector of our economy, which so long was completely under the stranglehold of Anglo-American imperialists. It is also to be welcomed that the Government of India has not acceded to the demands of the imperialists and the Indian reactionaries to cut down the size of the Third Plan and to abandon the emphasis on heavy and basic industries. Our national independence rests today on a firmer economic foundation than before.

This strengthening of the economic foundations of the national independence is the

product of several factors. During the days of the national liberation movement, far-sighted representatives of the national bourgeoisie and the Congress had advocated a broad policy of industrialisation in order to overcome the backwardness of the country. After its advent to power, the national bourgeoisie got the opportunity to implement this policy. Nevertheless, the First Five-Year Plan paid very little attention to industries. The weaknesses and shortcomings of this Plan, the objective needs of bourgeois development, together with the growth of the democratic movement and the mass urge for economic advance led to the formulation of the Second Plan which stressed the importance of heavy industries as the basis for industrialisation, pointed out the key role which the Public Sector had to play in this process and recognised to some extent the need for land reforms.

Relations of cooperation that were established between India and the countries of the Socialist world, above all, the Soviet Union, were of decisive importance in the taking of the first major steps towards industrialisation. These relations enabled India to get credit, capital goods and

On this and subsequent pages is printed the full text of the finalised version of the Political Resolution adopted by the Vijayawada Congress of the Communist Party of India.

technical know-how on terms far more favourable than what could be got from imperialist countries—such as lower rate of interest, easier terms of payment, involving no problem of foreign exchange, etc. Above all, aid from the Socialist world was of a qualitatively different type. It was aid for the building of heavy and basic industries vitally necessary for economic independence in the Public Sector.

India's economic cooperation with the Socialist countries has also enabled the Government of India to get assistance to some extent from the advanced capitalist countries for heavy industries. Even then, the contrast between the progress registered at Bhillai on the one hand and Durgapur and Rourkela on the other is glaring. Socialist aid has also helped the patriotic elements in the ruling circles to successfully resist the pressure from the imperialist-controlled World Bank and other agencies to weaken the Public Sector. The USSR has already offered Rs. 240 crores for the Third Plan, the whole of which will help the development of key sectors of the economy in the Public Sector. These relations of co-operation with the socialist countries are, therefore, of great anti-imperialist significance. Lastly, due to the very fact that Socialist economy is not a crisis-ridden economy, India's cooperation with Socialist countries is of great benefit in many other ways. During the recession of 1957-58 in the USA and other capitalist countries, the prices of goods which India exported fell far more steeply than the prices of those which she had to import from the capitalist countries. The result was a heavy drain of foreign assets and heavier loans. It is, evident therefore, that the more we de-link ourselves from the capitalist world market and the stronger our links with the Socialist world market, the more beneficial it will be for our economy.

It is true that, in spite of the failure to offer solutions to the basic problems of planning, advance has been registered in several respects, particularly in respect of India's industrialisation. We cannot, however, ignore the fact that progress even in that field is far less than what is possible and necessary. In several spheres, for example coal, the estimated targets, themselves moderate, have not been reached. The industrial progress, on the whole, has been slow and halting.

DANGER FROM FOREIGN CAPITAL

The Government of India has successfully resisted the pressure of imperialists and their friends who wanted our country to abandon the policy of building heavy industries and to weaken the Public Sector.

While noting the advance in our national economy through planning, it should be noted that the two Plans which have been carried out and the Third Plan as formulated now are fundamentally defective. Apart from the defects inherent in all plans for capitalist development (due to the conflict between planning and the spontaneous laws of capitalism), the other shortcomings of the plans consist in the refusal to adequately mobilise the resources in possession of the rich propertied classes, to ban the wasteful and luxurious expenditure by them and, above all, to bring about such institutional changes as nationalisation of the most important foreign concerns, of banking and such other sectors of economy as are necessary, as well as land reform in the interest of the peasantry.

At the same time, certain facts should be noted: First, there has been a rise in price of nearly 25 per cent since the Second Plan was launched. The sum of Rs. 10,200 crores is, therefore, not as big as it seems at first sight.

Secondly, during the Second Plan, actual investment in the private sector was far heavier than was targeted. The same can happen again unless effective measures are taken.

Further, there are a number

millions and conferring the main benefits on the rich propertied classes has failed to rouse labour-enthusiasm for the fulfilment of the Plans. Because of these wrong and defective policies, extremely serious problems have arisen in relation to foreign exchange that is required for the import of capital goods, the internal resources that are required for investment, the maintenance of a stable price level, etc. Everyone of these problems has, at some time or other, led to a crisis in the implementation of the Plans. All the eminent economists of the country have noted that the solutions that have so far been offered by the planning authorities have not led to the solution of the basic problems of planning.

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of developments and trends which are full of dangerous potentialities and cannot but cause grave concern.

In this period, two processes have been in evidence. The relations with the Socialist world have developed and India has secured valuable assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, assistance which has helped our country to broaden its industrial base and strengthen its independence. Simultaneously, there has been heavy import of foreign capital from the West, both in the public and in the private sector. Our official foreign debts have increased from Rs. 200 crores in 1955 to Rs. 925 crores in 1959—of which the share of the U. S. Government and American agencies comes to nearly Rs. 600 crores. And now, under the Third Plan, it is proposed to borrow over Rs. 2,600 crores; a big part of which is expected to come from the USA. Payment of interest and repayment of loans already contracted will average Rs. 100 crores a year.

Special note must be taken of loans under P.L. 480. In the period of the Third Plan about 17 million tons of foodgrains worth Rs. 608 crores will be imported.

Taking advantage of the foreign exchange difficulties, the World Bank and other American agencies are constantly pressing for greater facilities for foreign private capital. They demand curtailing of the public sector. They demand joint Indo-American ventures, reversal of the condition that control of joint concerns should vest in Indian hands. While resisting the pressure from imperialists in many respects, the Government of India has also made many concessions to it.

In regard to foreign private investment, too, while resisting the pressure of foreign capitalists on many occasions, the Government of India has also made a large number of concessions. It is reported that 228 schemes of collaboration between Indian big business and foreign monopolists have been approved in the first nine months of 1960.

These are dangerous developments. They mean not merely economic drain but something worse. When one remembers the role that American imperialism plays in today's world as the bulwark of world reaction and as the mainstay of colonialism, both of the old and the new type, one can easily guess the purposes for which American loans and "aid" are being advanced and the forces they are meant to strengthen. It is not accidental that the growth of American "aid" has been accompanied by increasing pressure for concessions which would create a "suitable climate" for foreign private investment.

It should also be noted that oil refineries owned by American and British Oil Companies had the audacity to report to refine crude oil imported by the Government of India from the USSR at a much cheaper rate than was available from imperialist sources. Prompt and stern action was needed against them in national interest.

But our Government dared not act as Cuba did.

Foreign private capital, mainly British, still controls several vital sectors of our economy and nets colossal profits. While being curbed in certain spheres, it has grown in others. There has been an overall increase in the book-value of foreign private capital from Rs. 256 crores in 1948 to Rs. 570 crores in 1958. There is increasing trend towards collaboration between Indian big business and foreign private capital, even in such industries as fertilisers. The Government is giving all facilities for such collaboration and has, in practice, modified its own Industrial Policy Resolution.

From all this, it would, of course, be erroneous to draw the conclusion that the Government of India is becoming more and more subservient to imperialists or that our independence is being bartered away. A considerable part of the rise in foreign private investments is due to reinvestment of profits earned in India. Moreover, Indian capital has grown at a much faster rate. The Public Sector has become a major factor in our economy.

Nevertheless, the links that are getting forged between Indian big business and their counterparts in imperialist countries have to be viewed with apprehension, especially in the context of the new strategy of imperialists.

Imperialists, above all American imperialists, are con-

STATE SECTOR

The growth of the State Sector, embracing strategic industries such as iron and steel, machine-building, coal, oil, etc., has been one of the most welcome developments of the recent period. Nevertheless, the investment in the private sector has been far greater than what was targeted. Heavy concessions have been made to monopolists even in respect of several industries originally scheduled for the Public Sector, such as aluminium and fertilisers. The Public Sector is still far from attaining a commanding position in our economy. Moreover, under the pressure of monopolists and their friends in the Government, the proposal was made some time ago to sell shares of Public Sector industries to private interests—a proposal which, in effect, amounts to partial "de-nationalisation".

The people must see to it that in the interest of the nation this dangerous move is totally defeated and never made again.

It is also necessary to eliminate corruption and mismanagement which discredit the State Sector. It is necessary to place the State Sector on a democratic basis and conduct it in such a manner as secures enthusiastic cooperation from workers and the general public. All this is lacking today. The Government's methods of running the State Sector, its attitude towards

conscious that feudal elements and pro-imperialist comprador sections of the bourgeoisie lack a broad social base in the country and cannot, by themselves, halt the advance of the people towards economic independence and full democracy. Hence, the imperialists strive to find new allies, especially among the rightwing of the national bourgeoisie. By utilising the economic difficulties which the country faces and by playing on anti-democratic sentiments, the imperialists seek to forge alliance with the big monopolists who wield enormous economic power and are closely connected with many leaders of the ruling party. These sections of the bourgeoisie, too, in their narrow selfish interests, often adopt a friendly attitude towards monopolists in imperialist countries, strive to enter into collaboration with them, bring pressure on the Government to give them more and more concessions.

This process, which has been accelerated in recent years, can be ignored only at our peril. Strengthening forces of reaction in economic and social, political and ideological life, it holds out serious threat to our economic advance, to our national independence and to democracy. Our people must be made conscious of this menace. They must be roused to defeat the attempts of imperialists who demand more concessions, fight the reactionaries who clamour for the entry of more foreign capital and combat the policy of the Government which facilitates this entry.

The workers and towards criticism from the public leads to waste and inefficiency, intensifies strife and conflict and gives rise to public discontent—all of which are utilised by enemies of the State Sector.

Unemployment

The employment situation has registered no improvement, the total number of unemployed at the end of the Second Plan is greater than it was at its beginning. The Second Plan aimed at providing eight million additional jobs outside agriculture. The actual achievement is estimated to be only 6.5 million. The Third Plan will start with a backlog of two million unemployed. If the entire Plan is put through, it will create additional employment for 14 million, while the number of new entrants in this period is estimated to be 15 million. This will add another one million to the backlog of unemployed. The total number of under-employed in rural and urban areas, according to the sample survey, has already reached 15 million.

This inflicts tremendous misery on millions of our working people and means a big loss of productive power and talent of the nation.

Semi-Stagnation In Agriculture

Despite the industrial advance, our agrarian economy on which depend the overwhelming majority of our people for livelihood and which contributes nearly half of our national income, is in a state of semi-stagnation. Agriculture lags far behind the requirements of India's development. The rate of increase of agricultural output during the first three years of India's Second Plan was only four per cent per annum. The total output of foodgrains increased from 65.7 million tons in 1955-56 to 75 million tons in 1959-61 (anticipated). The result of this meagre increase is that India has to import annually about three million tons of foodgrains under PL 480.

The fluctuation of agricultural production from year to year clearly indicates that our peasants are still helplessly dependent upon weather—in spite of the expenditure of about Rs. 1,000 crores under the two Plans. Only about 50 per cent of the targets of area to be irrigated under the Second Plan through minor irrigation works has been attained and not more than 25 per cent of the demand for nitrogenous fertilisers is expected to be produced in our country by 1960-61.

But the most important factor behind the failure to step up agricultural production on a significant scale is the fact that due to the Government's policy of compromise with landlords, the remnants of feudalism, though weaker than before, have not been abolished. The Government has refused to carry out such land reforms as would give land to the mass of peasants. Even the recommendations of the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee and of the Land Panel of the Planning Commission have been, on the major issue of ceiling, disregarded. Semi-feudal land relations are being sought to be gradually transformed into capitalist land relations without abolishing the concentration of land in the hands of a few. A small stratum of rich and well-to-do-peasants has derived some benefit but the condition of the majority of peasants remains wretched and their productive energy has not been unleashed. The failure to assure fair price to the peasants for agricultural commodities, the monetary burdens of taxes of various types and lack of expansion of cheap rural credit have left the peasants at the mercy of grain monopolists, speculators and prevented adequate investment in land. Due to all this, agriculture continues to be the bottleneck of our planning. Therefore, in spite of the fact that there has been an overall increase of agricultural production by about 40 per cent in the last ten years (a considerable part of which increase is admittedly due to better statistical coverage), the rate of increase is neither adequate nor stable.

The agrarian policies followed by the Government have not only hampered rapid growth of agriculture, expansion and creation of a surplus with which our economy could be placed on a firm foundation. They have also had adverse effect on the political and social life of the country and hampered the growth of democracy. The landlords who, despite the curbs imposed on them, own vast areas of land, in alliance with the topmost strata of rich peasants, some of whom have grown into a new type of landlords, use their economic power to dominate rural life, to buy over local officials, to control many district boards, panchayats and cooperatives and exercise powerful pull over the Governments in many States. Acting in close cooperation with profiteers, they create artificial scarcity and fleece the mass of people. A large number of them have joined the Congress and strengthened the forces of reaction inside the ruling party. Also in several States, they have become the spearhead of extreme reaction, backing such parties as the Swatantra, Jan Sangh and others.

It is evident, therefore, that India's economic development, as well as the cause of Indian democracy require resolute measures to abolish all remnants of feudalism and carry out land reforms in the interest of the peasant. Without this, the living conditions of the vast majority of our people cannot be improved, the problem of creation of internal resources cannot be solved, the basis of rapid industrial advance cannot be laid and democracy itself cannot become real and effective for the majority of our people.

It is estimated that only ten top business houses control between themselves 67 per cent of the total paid up capital of all companies.

The enormous increase in the power of big business and its close links with many Congress leaders have facilitated the growth of corruption on a vast scale. Charges of misuse of the public funds for partisan purposes of the ruling party or group are being levelled in every State. Conflicts inside the Congress over spoils of office, have grown sharper and more intense than ever, leading to virtual split in Uttar Pradesh, one of the main strongholds of the Congress. In many States, reactionary elements who had nothing to do with the national movement and who even opposed it, have come to control the local Congress Committees, pushing aside honest veterans who gave their lives to the service

of the Congress and the country. The relation between big business in towns and landlords in villages, many local Congress leaders and bureaucratic officials is growing ever closer—curbing democracy, corroding public life, reducing administrative efficiency.

A number of progressive measures have been announced but due to the pull of reactionary vested interests on the Government and also the Government's policy of exclusive reliance on the bureaucratic machinery, these are often implemented in such a way as to defeat their very object. Huge budgetary allocations for social services and community and other developments are often spent in a wasteful way and in such a manner as to strengthen the position of the ruling party and even factional groups inside it.

Through phenomenal increase in the burden of indirect taxes, through continuous mounting in prices of essential goods, through virtual wage freeze and other means the income of the workers, peasants, toiling intelligentsia and other oppressed sections is kept at a miserably low level, their share in the national income steadily declines, while at the same time profits reach dizzy heights. Big business is enabled to concentrate enormous wealth in its hands, profiteers are allowed to fleece the people and blow up the schemes for State-trading in foodgrains. The contrast between the wealth of the few and the poverty of the many has, instead of diminishing, grown more glaring than ever.

Monopoly has grown at a fast pace in the last few years. It is estimated that only ten top business houses control between themselves 67 per cent of the total paid up capital of all companies.

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Contrast Between Wealth & Poverty

The methods of the Government in raising resources have been such that, while the main burden of development has been laid on the common man, the main fruits have been garnered by the rich. National income has increased by 42 per cent during the last ten years which is considerably less than was expected. Per capita income was to have grown by 25 per cent as the result of the two plans. The actual growth has been only ten per cent. Moreover, where has this increased income gone? To those in the fields, factories and offices whose labour has created this extra wealth or to the parasitic classes? The very fact that such questions are asked increasingly and the Government itself has appointed a Commission to find out the answer shows how serious the situation is. It constitutes a devastating commentary on the economic policies of the Government and reveals callous disregard of the objective of reduction of disparity of income.

Mass Discontent And Popular Struggles

It is not surprising, therefore, that despite the relative progress which our industries have made and despite a certain amount of strengthening of national economy, the Plan evokes little interest among the people. The dominant mood is one of discontent and frustration.

As a result, the mass enthusiasm that existed when the country attained freedom has been dissipated. The masses who are under the influence of the Congress suffer from the same hardship as the masses following other parties. Many of their hopes have been belied by the actual practice of the Congress Government. Many members of the Congress and considerable sections of the mass following of the Congress are becoming increasingly critical of their own leaders and of the Government.

Inevitably, strife and conflicts, instead of lessening, have grown continuously. No one could expect that the masses would take all this lying down. The period since the last Congress of our Party has witnessed numerous actions of the people all over the country and a number of major struggles—such as the strike of the workers in the steel city of Jamshedpur, the anti-satyagraha in U.P., the food-betrayment levy struggle in Punjab, the food struggle in West Bengal, the anti-tax satyagraha in Bihar, the struggle of the landless agricultural workers in Maharashtra,

heavy difficulties and under continuous attack from vested interests and the Congress and other parties, the Kerala Government not only strengthened its base among the toiling masses of Kerala but also had powerful impact on the people of other States—discrediting the Congress Governments, giving rise to the demand that these Governments should do what the Kerala Government was doing, heightening the prestige of the Communist Party, drawing people towards it. Many Congressmen also in all States who are not supporters of the Communist Party, watched with sympathy and goodwill how the Communist-led Kerala Government was serving the people. Kerala was accelerating the process of mass radicalisation.

The results of many by-elections and local elections are also an indication of the dissatisfaction of the people with the ruling party—though this dissatisfaction where democratic forces are weak, often gets utilised by reactionary, opportunist and unscrupulous elements.

Together with the strengthening of the rightwing inside the Congress, the forces of extreme reaction have now established an open independent political party of their own, the Swatantra Party. Comprising within its ranks a number of big landlords and monopolists, ex-Generals, former Princes, disgruntled politicians and American Lobby-men, the Swatantra Party has nevertheless acquired, in some parts of the country, a certain amount of respectability, due to the leadership of Sri Rajagopalachari. It is trying to link itself up with other reactionary parties. The wide gulf that separates the actual practices of the Congress from its many noble declarations, the growth of factionalism and intrigues in Congress Committees, the blatant way in which the machinery of the State and its funds are often used to serve the interest of the Congress Party or its dominant group, give rise to revulsion and disgust among the people. At the same time, the Communist Party and the genuine democratic forces are too weak in many areas to give adequate expression to the popular discontent, to rally the people and wage an effective fight against the anti-people policies of the Government. Such a situation helps parties like the Swatantra.

The Right inside the Congress feels emboldened by the formation of the Swatantra Party. The Swatantra finds powerful allies among the Right inside the Congress. The immediate aim of both is to push the Congress further to the Right.

Striving to build itself up as the "main party of opposition" so that its capacity to pressure the Congress may increase, the Swatantra Party skillfully utilised the popular discontent against the Government. It argues that the shortage of foodgrains is due to the "killing of incentive" of "agriculturists" by agrarian reform and the slogan of cooperation, that the high prices of industrial goods are due to "burdens" on the industry in the form of high taxes. It thunders against corruption, waste and inefficiency in Government enterprises in order to discredit the Public Sector. It openly

appeals based on caste and community. Sometimes, provincial passions are roused by rival factions in order to discredit the ruling group—leading to ghastly tragedies as in Assam. Due to the position that the Congress occupies in the political life of the country, these pernicious practices on the part of many of its leaders set the pattern and are imitated by other parties. Ideas of secularism, of nationalism, of unity of the country—ideas fostered by the Congress in the days when it fought the British are becoming weaker. Sometimes such economic policies of the Government as tend to perpetuate and even accentuate the economic disparity of different regions, also strengthen provincial animosity.

Rise Of Right Reaction

Logic Of Their Policies

Despite the growing discontent of large sections of the people, including its own followers the Congress Government has refused to change its policies. The logic of these policies, combined with reactionary pressure, both from inside and outside the Congress has led to a shift towards the right on many issues. The difficulties which the Plan was facing were sought to be overcome by making more concessions to foreign private capital and to Indian big business. Landlords were sought to be appeased by not implementing the Nagpur decisions in a proper way. In Orissa, a Coalition Government was formed in alliance with the feudal Ganatantra Parishad. Brutal repression was let loose to suppress the struggles of the people—over 80 persons being killed in Calcutta during the food movement and over 21,000 being arrested during the Central Government employees' strike. Every effort was made to utilise the dispute between India and China in order to divert mass attention from burning problems and mount a vicious and sustained attack on the Communist Party—the spearhead of the democratic movement.

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POLITICAL RESOLUTION

assails India's foreign policy on the plea that this policy has left us "without friends" and advocates a "defence pact" with Pakistan.

Enjoying the support of imperialists, backed by many feudal elements and some of the most reactionary big businessmen and often acting in close cooperation with communal parties, as well as reactionary elements inside the Congress who are rightly called "veiled Swatantraites", the Swatantra Party tries to combat the growing influence of Socialist ideas and of the Communist Party. It assails all the positive gains which the nation has made since the achievement of freedom—such as India's independent foreign policy, the growth of the Public Sector, the formation of linguistic States, etc. It attacks Nehru and those closest to him. In alliance with other forces of Right reaction, it seeks to modify Indian foreign policy and give it a pro-imperialist orientation; create feelings of hostility against Socialist States, belittle the significance of economic assistance given by them; discredit and whittle down the Public Sector; sabotage all agrarian reforms; undermine and weaken democracy.

The Jana 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 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. While Prime Minister Nehru has denounced these riots in the sharpest terms, it is a notorious fact that quite a number of local Congress leaders were sympathetic towards the rioters, many others were apathetic and did nothing to check it and many police officials directly or indirectly aided the hoodlums. In Punjab, the Akalis, as well as Hindu communalists, have succeeded in sharply dividing big sections of people along communal lines.

These developments which are creating conditions of grave peril for our country and our people are neither fortuitous nor inevitable. They are the result of a number of factors. Firstly, the national bourgeoisie, the ruling class, while being objectively interested in independent economic development, pursues policies of compromise with anti-national vested interests, and, when its leadership is challenged seriously by the Communist Party and democratic forces, as happened in Kerala, tends to lean on reactionary forces for support. Also, in the name of ensuring stability but really in order to maintain itself in power at all costs and by all means, the Congress enters into all sorts of opportunist alliances—as with the Ganatantra Parishad in Orissa and the Akalis in Punjab. Secondly, the policies of the Congress, in so far as they curb to some extent the interests of foreign and internal reaction, engender conflict between them and the national bourgeoisie. Thirdly, the anti-people poli-

cies of the Government give rise to mass discontent and this discontent in the absence of a strong Communist Party in many parts of the country and the weakness and disunity of the democratic forces, is utilised by forces of right reaction for its own consolidation.

Right reaction constitutes a growing menace to our independent foreign policy, to consolidation and strengthening of our national freedom, to democracy. The extent and gravity of the menace cannot be assessed by mere reference to the strength of the Swatantra Party or communal parties like the Jan Sangh. Right reaction consists not merely of these parties but has powerful supporters and representatives in key positions in the country's economic life, in the administration and military apparatus and inside the ruling party itself—even at the highest level. Its slogans are supported by many of the biggest newspapers. The Government's policy of heavy concessions to the vested interests is continuously emboldening it, while the increase of dissatisfaction among the masses forms the fertile ground for its expansion. Moreover, the anti-Communist campaign indulged in by Congress leaders, including Prime Minister Nehru, diverts attention of people from the menace and aids its growth.

Fissiparous and separatist tendencies based on caste, community, province and region have grown apace in recent years. They threaten one of the most precious heritages of our freedom movement—the unity of the nation. Patriotic elements belonging to all parties are deeply worried by these phenomena.

To a great extent the responsibility for this lies on the Congress. In the past, national unity was achieved on the basis of the objective of national independence. After independence, this unity could be maintained and carried forward on the basis of a programme of radical reforms to complete the democratic revolution—nationalisation of foreign capital, land to the tiller, restriction of monopoly, improvement in the condition of the people and so on. But in the narrow class interest of the bourgeoisie, the Congress failed to carry out such a consistent programme. Many of its measures gave rise to profound discontent and frustration. They are being utilised by reactionary, separatist and disruptive forces to assail national unity.

It can be seen from the foregoing that the situation we are facing, is extremely complex and full of contradictory features.

First: Our industries have registered advance, but at a rate which, taking into account our needs, is slow and halting. Agriculture, on the whole, continues to be in a state of semi-stagnation and dependent on the vagaries of the monsoon.

Second: Economic relations with the Socialist world, above all, with the USSR, have grown, enabling us to build several industries which are vital for the consolidation of our national independence. At the same time, the Government has contracted and is contracting heavy loans from the imperialist countries headed by the USA. Collaboration between Indian big

business and foreign capital is growing.

Third: The Public Sector has become an important factor in our economy. But simultaneously, there has been enormous growth of monopoly and concentration of economic power in the hands of the big monopolists.

Fourth: Feudal relations are being curbed but the main benefit goes to a narrow stratum of rich peasants. Moreover, landlords remain a powerful force and have stepped up their activities.

Fifth: The economic advance registered has been achieved by methods which have imposed colossal burdens on the people and enriched the richer classes, both in cities and in rural areas. Unemployment figures have continued to mount.

Sixth: Misery has grown among the working class, toiling peasants and intelligentsia, giving rise to numerous struggles in which people have displayed militancy, heroism and will to fight. But due to many factors, such as disunity of popular forces, disruptive role of rightwing Socialists, inability of the working class to act on a national-political plane, weakness of peasant organisations and our own failure to conduct a sustained nation-wide campaign, the democratic movement, despite these struggles, remains weak and is unable to win major demands.

Seventh: Our influence

among the people has increased in the majority of States, but we are still far from becoming the decisive factor in the political life of our country.

Eighth: Popular discontent is being used, in many areas, by parties of religious fanaticism which have become more active and blatant than before. Tendencies of casteism, communalism and provincialism have become more pronounced. Fissiparous and disruptive trends are fast growing.

Ninth: Forces of extreme reaction have formed an open political party, the Swatantra Party, which assails India's foreign policy, public sector, land reforms, etc. The Swatantra Party very often acts in close collaboration with parties of communal reaction, the rightwing leadership of the PSP and rightists inside the Congress.

Tenth: The basic policies of the Nehru Government remain as before, national bourgeois policies—both in the external and internal sphere. At the same time, the rightists have tightened their grip over the Congress organisation and are striving to move the Government to the right. Many of their attempts have been resisted. Sharp conflicts over policies have arisen inside the Congress, but also on many issues they have succeeded in bringing about some shift to the right.

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tion of the Nagpur resolution on ceilings and State trading in foodgrains and were disappointed when this did not happen. Many of them do not desire the Congress to have alliance with forces of feudal and communal reaction and are unhappy over the growth of casteism. Quite a number of them were critical of Congress tactics in Kerala. They would like parliamentary democracy to be preserved. It is true that these views have not crystallised into a clear-cut platform. Vacillations and inconsistencies are to be seen quite often in their practice. Some, for example, who take a progressive stand on one matter fall to take a similar stand on another. While debating factional squabbles inside the Congress, they very often fall to see its political roots. Moreover, the leadership of the Congress tries to ally their discontent by demagoguery about Socialism, by talks of the responsibilities of the ruling party and the need to preserve the unity of the Congress in face of attack by opposition parties and, above all, by appeals based on loyalty to Nehru.

Nevertheless, however, vacillating and inconsistent these members and supporters of the Congress may be, they must not be placed in the same category as Right reaction—whether inside or outside the Congress. Essentially they are progressive. The process of rethinking that has started among them is not fortuitous. The growing radicalisation of our people and the increasing discontent and frustration generated by the Government's anti-people policies could not but have their impact inside the Congress as well. The increasing grip of the vested interests, the influx of landlords and other reactionary elements into the Congress, the growth of corruption and the decline of those values which the Congress once cherished, the resort to oppression and repression of the people, the never-ending wrangle over offices and patronage—all this combined with the impact of the mass movement gives rise to disillusionment and differentiation inside the Congress. Conflicts arise over policies, conflicts which though yet in an elementary stage, sometimes find expression in speeches in the State Assemblies and Parliament.

But by themselves, these progressive forces are too unorganised and weak to make an impact on Congress policies. They tend to rely too much on Prime Minister Nehru and feel helpless when he compromises with the Right. They, sometimes, succeed in getting progressive resolutions adopted by the Congress, but are unable to get even these resolutions implemented. Anti-Communism to which many of them have succumbed also prevents them from cooperating with the most powerful and organised democratic forces in the country in order to develop a strong movement.

As for the Praja Socialist Party which still wields considerable influence in some States, its leadership has become more and more opportunist. It joined hands with the Congress and the Muslim League to overthrow the Communist-led Kerala Government.

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HOMAGE TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE

by HIREN MUKERJEE

The world-wide celebration of the centenary of the birth of Rabindranath Tagore represents, in a manner that is almost unique, the homage of mankind to the memory of a towering artistic figure. To us in India, it means a great deal more. It is a heart-warming reminder that even in conditions of colonialism—half Tagore's life was lived in the nineteenth century which seems today an aeon away—India's creative spirit could not be quenched.

It is an occasion for us to recall also that Rabindranath Tagore, without ever being what is called a man of religion or of politics, earned the love and reverence of our people—a phenomenon that cannot be explained only in terms of his genius as artist but becomes clear enough in view of what he felt and did for his country and his people.

He was, of course, one of the world's great internationalists, but for India he had a special feeling which, above all things, accounts for the genuine popular enthusiasm over the centenary.

Massive And Versatile

His artistic production, in a life of four score years, was massive and versatile in a manner that is nothing short of amazing. Known primarily for his poetry, he wrote an immense amount of prose—novels, short stories, essays, letters, etc.—and on an astonishing variety of subjects.

His plays, with a certain penchant for symbolism, have a high place in Bengali writing. And his music was a continuous and golden stream—he wrote some two thousand and five hundred songs, setting most of them to music, which touch every gamut of the emotions and celebrate the joy and the pain and the sheer sublimity of the life around us.

When nearly seventy, he turned his hand to paintings, and was hailed by the world as a master—things which he could not shape in words were strikingly shown in a hitherto unaccustomed medium.

Philosophy claimed him as her own; pedagogues saw in him a master; tasks of rural reconstruction drew him strongly; the call of "the home and the world" never failed to elicit his response. He was a myriad-minded man, if ever there was one—a man, magnificent in every way, who symbolised the greatness of our India.

Evaluation of his artistic work has often been attempted on the most inadequate premises. Most of what he wrote has not been translated—and many of the translations, perhaps because our poetry does not easily yield her secret in alien vestments, have been rather inept. What in 1912-13 intoxicated poets like W. B. Yeats and Ezra Pound and won Tagore the Nobel Prize—his work in the "Gitanjali" phase—represents only a small part of his work.

It will be news to many that when the Indian national Congress (founded 1885) held its first session in Calcutta in 1885 it was Rabindranath, then a young man of twenty-five, who sang an opening song of his own composition.

A few years later, at another Congress meeting in Calcutta, he set to music Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's famous Vande Mataram hymn and sang it himself. Incidentally, he had a wonderfully sweet and resonant voice, and his singing, to those who have heard it, remains a cherished treasure. When the Bengal Provincial Conference was first held, it was this poet, already nationally reputed, who took the chair.

The Swadeshi Phase

In the preparation of the "Swadeshi" movement in Bengal and in its conduct for some time—the first big phase, indeed, of our national struggle—Rabindranath had a large, and significant, share. Later, certain pettinesses, perhaps inevitable in politics, hurt him badly and alienated him, but he never chose to be aloof.

When before the Calcutta Congress of 1917, the so-called "moderates" tried to prevent the election to the chair of Mrs. Annie Besant, on account of her reputation of being rather radical, it was Tagore who came forward openly in her support. Indeed, one of the grand documentaries of our national movement is a magnificent portrait by Gaganendranath Tagore of the Poet, in his flowing robes, addressing the enormous Congress audience of 1917.

These facts are little known, but everyone knows, of course, that when the Jalianwala Bagh massacre (April 1919) took place, Rabindranath Tagore renounced the Knighthood which Government had conferred on him in recognition of his Nobel Laureateship, and sent to the then Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, a letter of great dignity which symbolised the anguish of India and her indomitable sense of national self-respect.

During the "Swadeshi" phase of his life, Tagore wrote essays and poems and songs which were superb. He would address meetings, formulated schemes of social reconstruction, explain them patiently, participate in processions, and rouse what he always deeply believed in, the spirit of his people. The songs that he wrote are perhaps unequalled; they not only wrench the heart-strings, for a moment but are profoundly moving, and in a manner which is entirely free of chauvinism.

Citizen Of The World

Nearest to his heart were the sights and sounds of his native Bengal, but he was brought up in a spirit that was pan-Indian—no wonder he was preeminently the type that, while true to one's own soil, was citizen of the world. It was, indeed, no accident

that free India's national anthem, and hundreds of soul-stirring patriotic songs, came from this organ-voice of our ancient land.

Sick of the banalities of the system of education imposed on India, Rabindranath had started a school in his father's retreat at Bolepur—the famous Shantiniketan, where boys and girls were taught in their mother-tongue and in the free and open surroundings of nature. All the money that Tagore could lay his hands upon, including the Nobel Prize, went to the making of this enchanting school (where Gandhi sent his children and Nehru his daughter) and it was out of this nucleus that there grew, at Tagore's inspiration, the international university, "Visvabharati", where the world becomes a single nest" (Yatra visvam bhavatyekaneedam).

Visvabharati was founded about the time that Gandhiji started his non-cooperation movement, and there seemed for a time to be some clash of principle between the two master-minds of our country. Fundamentally, however, they were at one, though the negative aspects of non-cooperation pained the poet.

Gandhi And Tagore

Some of Gandhiji's Marxism also irritated him strongly. He could not, for example, stomach Gandhiji's repeated prognostication in 1921 that if only everybody span for half an hour every day, "Swaraj" would be achieved in a matter of months. This seemed to the poet a most unscientific approach—incidentally, he had often written on scientific themes—and also ethically unacceptable.

Swaraj was not an objective to be cheaply won, and so the poet said frankly that just as he would not worship the feet of a "pan-das" (priest) on being told that he would thereby earn the right to heaven, so he would not, without examining, take Gandhiji at his word and spin away in the faith that Swaraj would just follow. When the whole country was moved deeply by Gandhiji's magic, it was a good job, indeed, that the cold, clear voice of reason was heard as Tagore courageously spoke up against his great friend.

The magnificent controversy in September-October 1921, between Gandhi and Tagore, over the question of the demonstrative burning of foreign cloth, deserves to be particularly recalled. It was then that Gandhi called the Poet "the Great Sentinel", and the two wrote, superbly as only they could—Rolland, in his life of Gandhi, calls the Poet's letters "a poem of sunlight", while Gandhiji's answer was the spectre of the people's misery obtruding in the world of art; "Dare deny me existence?" It is a theme worth writing volumes about but

perhaps it is too much to hope that our attention will be properly drawn to this stupendous chapter of our recent history, the deep and great friendship between our two greatest men.

How significant it is to recall that while the friendship never faded—who can ever forget such fond scenes as Tagore at the bedside of Gandhi, singing bhajans and offering a drink of orange at the end of a hunger-strike—the Poet would never hesitate to castigate when Gandhiji, he felt, was wrong! In 1934, when Gandhiji attributed the Bihar earthquake to the sins of Biharis, Tagore was aghast and plainly told Gandhiji how perverse his verdict was.

Tireless Pilgrimage

The tireless pilgrimage of the ageing poet from country in East and West was a moving spectacle, and whether received with open arms or—as sometimes happened in the West—with hostility and a patronising sneer, there was a growing awareness that Tagore's mission mattered to the world intensely.

In March 1929, a Koumin-tang paper gave its doctrinal reaction that "the doctrines and principles held by Dr. Tagore were just as dangerous and pernicious as those of Karl Marx." An American Customs official in 1929 asked Tagore if he could read and write, a studied insult which led the Poet to cancel a projected visit to U. S. universities.

From Canada he wrote to his friend Andrews about "newspapers being hilariously impressed by this figure of an oriental mystic," and of a meeting where "the President, benignly pleased, had a photograph taken with a group composed of an oriental fool and a member of the Nordic race who always minds his own purpose while the cost is paid by others less favoured by fortune."

By false pretences, Mussolini managed to secure some words of praise from the Poet, but when, on learning the real facts and on Roman Rolland's advice, he withdrew what he had said before, Italian fascist papers abused him as "this unctuous and insupportable Tartuffe whom the idiosyncrasy of others prompted to the stature of greatness."

No poet in history has, in his life-time, won such acclaim in dissimilar lands, but he also had his fill of abuse, a tribute, indeed, to the vitality of his message and the danger which, sooner than later, reactionaries always found in his work.

To many of his erstwhile friends, Tagore became a bete noir, when, along with Rolland, he proclaimed, unequivocally, his friendship for, and his profound appreciation of, the Communist Party.

* SEE PAGE 13

* SEE PAGE 12

THE GREAT SYMPHONY

HOW little I know of this mighty world. Myriad deeds of men, cities, countries, rivers, mountains, seas and desert wastes, unknown creatures, unacquainted trees have remained beyond my awareness. Great is life in this wide Earth and small the corner where my mind dwells. Deprived thus, I read of travels; and gathering glimpses from words and pictures fill my empty realms of experience with wealth gleaned in unquenchable eagerness.

A poet of the world am I, its varied voices and tunes would find response in my flute. Wherever the call had come but failed that void I have tried to fulfil with my dreams and imagining

as I listened to the great harmony of the immense world surging through the silent hours into the recesses of my heart. Inaccessible snow ranges which stand at the fringe of the blue horizon have called to me again and again with their music unheard. The unknown star on the South Pole sailing through the great alone has touched my sleepless eyes with heavenly light. The mighty waterfall sweeping in the distance has sent its reverberations to my heart. As I have listened to the one vast song of Nature with which poets of all ages and lands have mingled their rhymes, I have become one with the great symphony sharing the eternal joy of being and the mood of universal kinship.

Farthest stands Man hidden away in the mystery of his being, time and space cannot encompass him. Truly to know him is to commune with his heart and love him. Not everywhere have I won access, my ways of life have intervened and kept me outside. The tiller at the plough, the fisherman plying his net, these and the rest toll and sustain the world with their world-wide varied labour. I have known them from a corner banished to a high petestal of society reared by renown. Only the outer fringe have I approached not being able to enter the intimate precincts. I know that the basket of songs becomes burdened with trinkets when link is lacking between life and life. And I know I have failed wherever my song has been left incomplete, wherever having crossed diverse ways it has yet missed reaching the all.

So here I am waiting for the message from the Poet of the earth, of the peasant the comrade whose words and deeds have achieved true concurrence.

May his words reveal kinship, may he conceal not, nor hoodwink nor his verse tempt the eye alone. May he give what I lack. May he save himself from luxury or mimic sympathy for the labouring people, which professes what is not its own trying to thieve that whose price is dearly paid. Come, Poet of the unknown multitudes, sing the songs of the obscure man, reveal to light his unspoken soul. Soothe his humiliated heart, restore life and joy and song to this dry and desolate land bereft of music. Resuscitate the dormant springs where they lie hidden deep in the heart of our humanity. May your voice reflect the joys and sorrows of those that stand with bowed heads unable to look the world in the face. Let the meanest minstrel with his one-stringed lyre add his tune to the resounding anthem at the great court of the Muse.

Come, Poet, lead me close to their hearts who are so far away in their nearness. May they win renown through your fame and ever remain your kindred; to you I offer my salutation.

** Sing With Tagore, Exult With Him ** AFRICA!

"...I am now in Russia; had I not come, my life's pilgrimage would have remained incomplete"

In Russia at last! Whichever way I look, I am filled with wonder. It is unlike any other country. It is radically different. From top to bottom they are rousing everybody up without distinction.

Troughout the ages, civilised communities have contained groups of nameless people. They are the majority—the beasts of burden, who have no time to become men. They grow up on the leavings of society's wealth, with the least food, least clothes and least education, and they serve the rest. They toil most, yet theirs is the largest measure of indignity. At the least excuse they starve and are humiliated by their superiors. They are deprived of everything that makes life worth living. They are like a lampstand bearing the lamp of civilisation on their heads: people above receive light while they are smeared with the trickling oil.

I had often thought, about them but came to the conclusion that there was no help for them. If there were no one below, how could there be anyone above, and it is necessary to be there above. If there is nobody at the top, it is impossible to see anything beyond one's immediate ken; mere animal existence can never be

While paying homage to the Great Poet of our land, we are happy to bring to our readers three of his poems and extracts from his letters from the Soviet Union.

no one should remain helpless or idle! Not in European Russia alone, but also among the semi-civilised races of Central Asia, they have opened the flood-gates of education. Unending effort is being made to bring the latest fruits of science to them. The theatres here are crowded but those who come to them are peasants and workers. Nowhere are they humiliated. In the few institutions I have visited so far, I have seen the awakening of their spirit and the joy of their self-respect. Let alone our masses, their differences even with the working classes of England is colossal. What we ourselves have been attempting to do at Sriniketan, they are doing on a superior scale all over the land. How splendid it would be if our workers could come here for training! Every day I compare conditions here with India: what is and what might have been! Harry Timbres, my American friend, is studying the health organisation of this country—it's excellence is asto-

nishing but where stands diseased, hungry, hapless and helpless India?

A few years ago the condition of the masses here was fully comparable with that of the Indian masses: things have rapidly changed in this short period, whereas we are up to the neck in the mud of stagnation....

... I am now in Russia; had I not come, my life's pilgrimage would have remained incomplete. Before it is time to assess good and evil in their activities here, the first thing that occurs to me is: what incredible courage! What is called traditional education alone can give strength to the weak: food, health and peace all depend upon it. Law and order may be a great boon but never when they thrive upon destitution that starves our body and kills our mind.

has been swept away to make room for the new. In my mind I marvel at the West when I see her achieving the difficult by the magic of Science. But what has astonished me most is the tremendous task that is being carried out here. Had it been merely a colossal destruction I would not have been so greatly surprised, because they can cause enough trouble if they want to, but I can see that they are determined to raise a new world. They have no time to lose, because the whole world is their opponent; they must prove without delay that what they want is not wrong, that it is no fraud; a decade or two is determined to prevail against a millennium. Very small is their material strength, but the daring of their will power defies comparison....

... Thus when I heard that beginning from almost nothing, popular education had made enormous strides in Russia, I decided to go there, and if my frail body does break, what matter! They have realised that education alone can give strength to the weak: food, health and peace all depend upon it. Law and order may be a great boon but never when they thrive upon destitution that starves our body and kills our mind.

Having grown up in the mo-

IN that early dusk of a distracted age, when God in scorn of his own workmanship violently shook his head at his primitive efforts, an impatient wave snatched you away, Africa, from the bosom of the East, and kept you brooding in a dense enclosure of niggardly light, guarded by giant trees. There you slowly stored the baffling mysteries of the wilderness in the dark cellars of your profound privacy, coned the signals of land and water difficult to read; and the secret magic of Nature invoked in your mind magic rites from beyond the boundaries of consciousness.

You donned the disguise of deformity to mock the terrible, and in a mimicry of a sublime ferocity made yourself fearful to conquer fear. You are hidden, alas, under a black veil, which obscures your human dignity to the darkest vision of contempt. With man-traps stole upon you those whose fierceness was keener than the fangs of your wolves, whose pride was blinder than your lightless forests. The savage greed of the civilised stripped naked its unashamed inhumanity. You wept and your cry was smothered, your forest trails became muddy with tears and blood, while the nailed boots of the robbers left their indelible prints along the history of your indignity. And all the time across the sea, church bells were ringing in their towns and villages, the children were lulled in mother's arms, and poets sang humns to Beauty. Today when on the western horizon the sun-set sky is stiffed with dust-storm, when the beast, creeping out of its dark den,

proclaims the death of the day with ghastly howls, come, you poet of the fatal hour, stand at that ravished woman's door, ask for her forgiveness, and let that be the last great word in the midst of the delirium of a diseased Continent.

MY BIRTHDAY

MY BIRTHDAY
With Death's passport in hand
It has emerged from its dive into the
chasm of nothingness
to breathe a while on the outskirts of
existence.
From the worn-out chain have dropped
the heads of the past years
and with this newest birthday
begins the counting of the days
of a newborn life.
The welcome offered today to me,
a passer-by,
who tries to con the signal of the morning
of an unknown star
beckoning him towards an uncharted
voyage,
is shared equally by his birthday
and the time of his death,
who mingle their lights like those of the
morning star
and of the waning moon.
And I shall sing the same chant to both,
to death and to life.
Grant me, Mother Earth,
that my life's mirage born of burning thirst
may recede in the farthest horizon
and my unclean beggar's bowl empty
into the dust
its accumulated defilements;
and as I start my crossing to the
unrevealed shore
let me never look back with longing.

on he last leavings of the feast of life.
Now when in this sleep-laden dust of
the day's end
the meaning is lost of the keen-bladed
hunger
with which you had goaded me to drag
life's chariot
you begin to withdraw your gifts from
me one by one.
Slight has grown your need of me
and slight have you made my use
and set on my forehead the stamp of the
discarded.
I feel it all and yet I know
all this contumely of yours
will not reduce my worth to nought.
Cripple me, if you will,
shut out all light from my eyes,
shroud me in the shadow of infirmity,
yet in the dilapidated temple of my
being,
the ancient god will remain enthroned.
Work your havoc and pile up the wreck,
yet in the midst of this ruin
the luminous spot of inward joy
will burn bright as ever.
For it was fed day after day on the
heavenly wine
which the gods pour on earth through
every sight and sound.
I had loved them all
and sung of that love.

That love has lifted me above your
bounds,
the love that shall abide, even though its
words grow feeble,
defaced by constant use.
On this love of mine have traced their
autographs
the pollen of the mango-blossom,
and the dew-cooled fragrance of the
sephalka
the twitterings of the doels in early dawn
and the rapturous touch of the beloved.
When I take my leave of you, O Earth,
take back from me, carefully reckoning,
all that you had vouchsafed to me,
the outfit and provision for a life's
sojourn.
Yet never think that I hold your gifts
but slight.
Ever grateful I am to this clay-cast mould
through which I have had my introduction
to the Formless.
Whenever I have approached your doors
with the mind free from all coveting,
I have been made welcome to your heart.
I know your gifts are not for the greedy,
that you withhold the nectar hidden in
your earthen pot
from the ravenous lips of those that
hunger obscenely.
You are waiting, O Earth, with your
immortal gifts,

to welcome the wayfarer who treads the
arduous path of detachment.
The gluttons who lust for flesh,
the traffickers in featuring carrion,
have banded today in their orgies of
violence, day and night.
Yet mockery tempts my smile, as of old,
at the pompous folly of the learned,
at the tyranny of the beggarly rich,
at the hideous make-up of the showy,
at the blasphemy that lampoons the
divine in Man.
Enough of this. The bell tolls the last
hour at your porch,
and my heart responds to the creaking of
the opening gates of farewell.
In this deepening gloom of the twilight,
I will gather what flickering flames remain
to light my fading consciousness,
to offer my last worship to you, O Earth,
under the gaze of the Seven Rishis.
And the incense of my last silent song
will float round you.
Behind me will remain the nagkeshar
plant
that has yet to flower,
the anguished heart of this shore
yearning in vain for a ferry across,
and love's self-reproach at its tired
memory
vanishing behind the screen of daily task.

HOMAGE TO RABINDRANATH

* FROM PAGE 9

clation of the Soviet Union. His "Letters from Russia" (1930), the English translation of which was banned by the British Government in India, was a landmark. "What stupendous heroism!" he felt—"If I had kept away from the world's greatest and most historic festival (yajna), I could never have forgiven myself." He sent a message to India to prepare for great ideals—it was the period of Gandhi's second great movement—and said: "We belong, to be sure, to the hungry and the helpless of the world."

Not that everything in the Soviet Union was perfect, but he rejoiced to see "the latest fruits of science and art" brought equally to all, to Asians, to peasants and workers—"nowhere are they humiliated."

In his farewell speech in Moscow (September, 1930) he spoke of "the miracle that has been achieved" and of his dream that his own "ancient land" would, like his host, realise the hope of "emancipating the people's minds which have been shackled for ages."

Tagore's spirit after 1930 had a new exhilaration which was seen in what he did and what he wrote—a remarkable thing when we remember he was then nearly seventy. Always in his life and work he was on the side of the weak against the strong, hating equally the cowardice of the weak and the arrogance of the strong.

But now he no longer seemed to see through a glass, darkly. And no voice was more nobly raised for Indian freedom and the freedom of all the world—no other voice in the world of art was raised so unequivocally against fascism which, between the two World Wars, mauled and menaced civilisation. The fascist rape of China, Abyssinia, Spain and Czechoslovakia roused his towering rage, and among the best work of his last five years (1936-41) was the poem "To Africa," which reads so wonderfully today while Africa is astir:

With man-traps stole upon you these hunters
Whose fierceness was keener than the fangs of your wolves,
Whose pride was blinder than your lightless forests.
You wept, and your cry was smothered,
Your forest trails became muddy with tears and blood,
While the nailed boots of the robbers
Left their indelible prints
Along the history of your indignity
And all the time across the sea,
Church bells were singing in their towns and villages,
The children were lulled in their mother's arms,
And poetry sang hymns to beauty.

The world must ask pardon

of Africa, he concluded, and earn it by its work. When a Japanese poet Noguchi whom he had earlier befriended had the effrontery to ask for his approbation of Japanese fascism, Tagore wrote back: "Your letter has hurt me to the depths of my being.... Your conception of an Asia raised on a tower of skulls...."

The early benignity of his views about society had changed. In 1931, stung by imperialist infamy in India, he asked, in pain, a "Question" posed before the God of his faith:

"Have you forgiven those who poison your air and blot out your light,
Can you give them your love?"

It was as if the Poet no longer forgave evil or cured iniquity by love. And even as he spoke from time to time on his fond theme of "the religion of man," his soul seethed. This is why he was driven to write (1938):

"Serpents hiss their poison breath all around,
The sweet tones of peace will sound but as fruitless jest,
So, before I go, I send my call
To them, that prepare in many homes, to fight the ogre."

It seemed, as if one no longer noticed, in Tagore, "the saner stillness" which the world had admitted in Gitanjali. "I am the world's poet," Tagore said in one of his last and greatest poems (January 21, 1941), and the World's woes found him, not with his back bent but his head high and his eyes on fire—the holy anger of the sages of ancient India. "I look around," he wrote in June 1941, "and see famished bodies crying for bread. I have seen women in villages dig up mud for a few drops of drinking water, for wells are more scarce in Indian villages than schools."

Indeed, for imperialism and all its works he had

nothing but the mightiest wrath, and it was only appropriate that, as Professor P. C. Mahalanobis has testified, he asked, as he lay dying, for news of the Soviet-German war and averred every time that whatever the odds the Soviet could not lose.

It was also in keeping with his great spirit that as he lay dying, this poet of ours, Bengal writing's lord and master, felt also that with all his ache for kinship with the life of his people, he had to be often remote and lonely. He knew it, and he tried, gradually to build a bridge:

"I accept my censure, the rift in my lute,
My verse, I know
Has travelled diverse ways,
but not everywhere.
And I strain my ears to hear that poet's voice,
Who shares the peasant's life and has earned true kinship,
Who touched the earth..."
(Written on January 21, 1941)

He was restless, and on February 13, 1941, he wrote again:

"They pull the car and run the plough,
In meadow after meadow
In town and country, they work
.....
Empires fall, and over their ruins
The people work...."

When on a dark day in August, 1941, he passed away, it was as if the light of the land lay dead. He did not live to see his country free, but he himself had earned his freedom. This man whose mind and being was rooted in India, whose genius was a spreading and benignant tree, whose branches touched every age and clime, lived a life that remains an open book, effulgent and wondrous, and his achievement, whatever the difficulties of reaching him in translation, partake of the radiance of the sun whose name his parents had given him at his birth.

GRAND CELEBRATIONS IN USSR

by cable from MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW, April 30

Tagore Centenary is being observed here in a big way. Preparations have already taken place in clubs, libraries, schools and universities devoted to the work and thought of our great poet. On May 8, all this is to culminate in a grand celebration evening at the famous Bolshoi theatre in Moscow.

Soviet Union's leading writers, poets, philosophers and artists will take part in the celebration. Some of them met Tagore during his visit to the Soviet Union thirty years ago and remember him well but others who were not lucky enough to know him personally are not any less enthusiastic in their admiration for the talent and genius of the great Indian sage.

The meeting will be opened by the famous poet and Chairman of the All-Union Tagore Committee, Nikolai Tikhonov. Fyodor Petrov, 84-year-old veteran revolutionary and friend of Tagore, will also speak.

A ballet, Chitra, prepared by the Kuibishev Theatre, will be shown. Tagore's Red Oleanders (Roktokorobi) will be staged. Soviet composers have been working on Tagore's songs and musical themes, their compositions will be performed.

Many exhibitions of Tagore's books are to be opened all over the Soviet Union. The biggest is to open in Moscow's Lenin Library where Tagore's books, translated into 18 languages of the USSR will be displayed.

On May 10, there will be

a reception in honour of the centenary at Moscow's House of Friendship. Two exhibitions will open there—one photo exhibition devoted to the great Indian poet and his visit to the Soviet Union and an exhibition of reproductions of Tagore's 40 paintings made available by the Indian Embassy.

Two films on Tagore have been produced—one by the Moscow Documentary Film Studio directed by Rubrik and another by the Central Television Studio directed by Volodarsky. A scientific session of the Academy of Sciences will be held on May 12 in which eight lectures on different aspects of Tagore's work are to be read.

Of the series of evenings already held in Moscow the latest was on April 26 in the Central Lecture Hall where lectures were delivered by Soviet scholars Diakov, Chelishchev and Sidorov. Corresponding Member of the Academy of Science who had opened the exhibition of Tagore's paintings in Moscow in 1930, Litman spoke on the philosophical outlook of Tagore. Another such evening was held at the Nekrasov Library where poet Vera Inber (she met Tagore during his Soviet visit) and others took part.

In all bookshops of Moscow one finds nowadays a poster with Tagore's picture announcing a new 12-volume edition of his works, the first volume of which containing earlier writings of the end of the last century is ready. A collection

of Tagore's lyrics has come out and a study of Tagore's work by Gnatyuk-Davilchuk has been prepared. Further a jubilee commemorative volume to which writers from India, Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, etc., have contributed 20 articles is to come out. A collection of documents, Tagore—Friend of the USSR, containing his letters, stenographic reports of his speeches and rare photos is ready for sale. Newspapers and periodicals are devoting much of their space to articles on Tagore.

Many writers and artists are working on the Tagore there. Well-known painter Chukov who has painted a series of pictures on India has done a portrait of Gurdudev and the Byelo-Russian sculptor Azur who made a bust of Tagore in black marble intends to present a copy to India.

Apart from Moscow, Leningrad, Tashkent, Stalingrad, Alma-Ata, Kiev and Riga have organised Tagore centenary celebrations in which leading writers and artists of the Republics will take part, among them the old Latvian writer and poet Karl Egls who has translated ten volumes of Tagore into his own language.

Apart from the ballet, Chitra, Soviet treatises are to present The Wreck, The Ghore Bahire (Home and Abroad), Bisharjan (The Sacrifice) is being produced in Tajikistan.

The Music Publishing House is bringing out a collection of musical composi-

tions by Soviet composers based on the songs and music of Tagore. Recently composer Balasanyan who has written the music for the Ramayan, visited India and studied Tagore's music. Long-playing Gramophone records of Tagore's songs have been prepared, a stamp and postcard portrait are on sale and a bronze jubilee medal has been struck and will be awarded to those who have done outstanding work on the study and popularisation of Tagore.

Many presentations are to be made to India. A tape-recording of the music for the ballet, Chitra, has been sent to Vishvabharathi, the two films are to be presented to the Indian Tagore Centenary Committee. A set of all publications on Tagore and his translations into the languages of the USSR, photo-copies of his letters, texts of his speeches and on top of all this, 15000 books by Soviet writers in Indian languages and English and reproductions of Soviet paintings and Soviet gramophone records are to be presented to the Tagore Museum at Shantimiketan.

This list is by no means complete but it gives an idea of the magnificent arrangements and the grand scale of the Tagore celebrations planned in the Soviet Union. It also shows the love and devotion and enthusiasm of the Soviet people for Tagore and his great cultural heritage which belongs to the whole civilised world but which is so near and dear to every Soviet heart.

ment, securing as reward the office of Chief Ministership. It tried to disrupt the glorious food movement in Bengal, the anti-tax satyagraha in Bihar, the food movement in Punjab and other struggles. It took a leading part in the anti-China campaign during the counter-revolutionary uprising in Tibet and subsequently. With its mass base weakening in many States, it now counts on alliance with reactionaries and disgruntled Congress factions, as well as the goodwill of Congress leaders in some places for success in the ensuing general elections.

The attitude of the PSP has disrupted Left unity even where it existed in some form earlier. At the same time, many of the cadres of the PSP are radical-minded, its following is largely a Left following. On certain occasions, e.g. the Central Government employees' strike, Communists and Praja Socialists cooperated.

Our Party, the Communist Party of India, has been in the thick of practically every major struggle that took place in this period—struggles which have been mentioned earlier. Trade unions, where we work, have become stronger than ever before. The main fire of the Government and the Congress has been concentrated on us. Despite this we have registered advance in several areas. We won the Nowgong Assembly by-election at the height of the anti-China campaign and the Parliamentary by-election in Calcutta; secured impressive victories in Bhopal and won many panchayat and local elections in several States. The campaign in defence of Kerala was one of the biggest all-India campaigns conducted by our Party in its entire history as also the campaign to help the Kerala unit of our Party in the mid-term elections. Vast masses participated in the pad yatras (marches) in Kerala and Tamilnad for agrarian reforms. Impressive also was the mass mobilisation achieved in many States during the rallies which were held at the culmination of State Party Conferences.

Notwithstanding all this, it must be admitted that our activities have, on the whole, been of a sporadic character. The working class has gone into action on a national and industrial level to defend its wages, its trade union and democratic rights from the attacks of the Government and the employers. But political actions by workers, working class actions in support of struggles of the peasantry and on general democratic issues have been very few. Working class action has not reached to the level which could bring about a major political shift in the position of the masses and have an impact on the policies of the Government. Except on Kerala, there was no all-India campaign. Above all, the Party's weakness among the peasantry which was one of the main factors for the weakness of the whole democratic movement, continues.

Due to the absence of a broad nationwide united campaign for progressive policies, disruption of whatever Left unity that existed in the past, the inability of the Communist Party to move the working class on a big scale on general

democratic issues, and the weakness of the peasant movement, the democratic forces have not been consolidated. They have not been able to defeat anti-people policies or even compel the Government to implement its own declarations in such a way as would benefit the people. Extreme reaction has taken advantage of this situation to strengthen its own base and mount an offensive.

The proposals of the Third Plan show that, while adhering to the policy of industrialisation, the Government does not propose to make any basic changes in its policies. While admitting that "in recent years, transfers of land have tended to defeat the aims of legislation for land reforms", the Draft of the Third Plan contains not a word to suggest that any effective measures are to be taken to realise these professed aims. On the all-important question of resources for the Third Plan, the Draft proposes additional taxation to the extent of Rs. 1650 crores which is to be raised mainly by "broadening

Forward To Unity

Confronted with these economic and political developments which, if continued, cannot but mean more misery for the masses, heavier burdens on them, further enrichment of the rich and increasing attacks on democracy, millions of people in all parts of the country and following all parties are asking the question: What is the way out? How to go forward? Historic responsibility rests on the Communist Party and on the most advanced and conscious democratic forces to give a proper reply to these questions.

Conditions, despite the negative features that have been narrated, are in many respects extremely favourable for the forces of democracy. The character of the new epoch, the new balance of world forces, the role played by the Socialist system and its mighty vanguard, the USSR, are drawing people towards Socialism. Our Party, despite its many shortcomings, has attained a big position in our country. Reaction still lacks a broad mass base. Its positive slogans evoke little response. Moreover, the living experience of the last fourteen years has taught our people many lessons, above all, it has taught them the necessity for struggle and unity.

Fourteen years of experience are teaching the people what price they have to pay if the ruling classes are permitted to continue the building of a capitalist order of society, giving concessions to "foreign capital, making concessions to landlords and relying on the profit-motive of Big Business. Fourteen years of experience are teaching the democratic elements inside the Congress that by reliance on individual leaders, no matter how great, they cannot attain the cherished goal of a happy and prosperous India and that even progressive declarations will not be implemented by passive waiting or even by their own exertion alone. Fourteen years of experience are teaching the democratic forces outside the Congress that, in order to alter the policies of the Government

and in order to defend the people against the ever-mounting attacks on their standard of life and liberties, they have to build united action with Congress masses, encourage the strengthening of democratic forces inside the Congress and join hands with them for common national tasks. The urge for unity has grown among all sections of people, especially among those who toil, suffer and fight.

These and other favourable factors exist. They are creating conditions for very broad democratic unity. They are creating conditions for a united mass movement, extensive and powerful. Reaction can be smashed and the compromising policies of the Government defeated if serious and sustained efforts are made to build a united mass movement. Such a movement will be built through campaigns, struggles and other forms of activity. It will have to cover every area and be based on strong mass organisations. Then only the plans of Right reaction can be defeated, the desired changes brought about in the policies of the Government and all-sided advance ensured.

Striving to build such a movement, our Party must intensify efforts to unite all patriotic and democratic forces in the country. It will be unity for democratic reforms, for defending and strengthening all that is progressive in the Government's policies, for opposing those policies which harm the people and retard the pace of economic development, for the reversal of those policies and for bringing about a shift to the Left.

Of great importance in this context is the establishment of unity of action to defend the vital interests of the working people; and to improve their living conditions. The classes that will constitute the democratic front are the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. Working class-peasant unity must form the core and pivot of this front. It was noted by us three years ago at Amrit-

the tax structure", that is, by laying more burdens on the people. The taxation proposals of this year are a clear indication of what the Government intends to do, how it seeks to squeeze the people while making new concessions to Indian and foreign Big Business.

In this way, some economic development will undoubtedly take place. But the limitations inherent in the capitalist path of development, further accentuated by the attempt to build our economy without radical agrarian reforms, by concessions to foreign capitalists and without curb on the monopolists cannot but make progress slow and halting, marked by twists and turns, giving rise to profound contradictions and sharp conflicts. With such policies the food situation will remain highly unsatisfactory, unemployment will grow, the condition of the masses will remain wretched. In these conditions, the dangerous anti-democratic trends that have already manifested themselves will get further accentuated.

Our Party has always advocated close cooperation and unity between Left parties. But we cannot ignore the fact that the leadership of some of these parties, especially that of the Praja Socialist Party, has become in many respects more Rightist than the Congress. At the same time, the ranks and the masses following them are broadly speaking, Left-minded who want to fight the anti-popular policies of the Government. Hence the need, while waging a sharp ideological struggle, for correct approach towards these parties so as to draw them and especially their following wherever possible into common activity and struggle.

The Congress has been and is an extremely important factor in the political life of our country. This is not surprising in view of the role it has played in leading the struggle for national freedom and in taking measures to consolidate independence under Nehru's leadership. The influence of the Congress, though less than it was in the days of the freedom struggle, is vast and extensive. It extends to all classes—including big sections of the working class. It extends to the peasantry, the artisans, the intellectuals and others. Nehru's influence is even wider. We cannot build the national democratic front by ignoring this big reality of the Indian situation.

That is why the Fourth Congress of our Party stated that the division between the masses that follow the Congress and the masses that follow parties of the democratic opposition is the most important division in the democratic camp. That situation still continues. In some States—Kerala, Andhra and West Bengal—with the decline in the influence of the Praja Socialist Party, the most important division has become the division between the mass following of the Congress and of the Communist Party.

From this it does not follow, however, that a general united front with the Congress is possible today—that is, with the Congress as it is. Our relations will inevitably be one of unity and struggle. The Congress is the organ of the national bourgeoisie as a whole—including its Right wing. Moreover, after independence it has been joined by many reactionary forces that opposed the national struggle—landlords and others. Many of the old leaders have got corrupted by their links with Big Business. Many new people have come in who had nothing to do with the national movement. All this finds reflection in many of the practices of the Congress and its Governments.

At the same time, it would be a big mistake to equate the Congress with parties of Right reaction. Many of the declared policies of the Congress and some of the measures are, in today's context, progressive—foreign policy, public sector, secularism and so on.

The complexity of the situation arises from the following facts: (1) Policies and measures which are hitting the masses, giving rise to discontent and frustration are the policies of the Congress and its Government. It is this discontent that is utilised by Right reaction to mislead the masses and strengthen itself. At the same time, these policies cannot be fought effectively either by our own strength or even only by the unity of the Left forces; the broadening and deepening of the struggle against these policies requires the drawing into it of a big section of the people who are in the Congress and loyal to it.

(2) A large part of the forces of the Right are inside the Congress. At the same time, the bulk of those who are our potential allies are also inside the Congress.

It is true that many Congress leaders do not genuinely support the foreign policy of peace and non-alignment. But it is equally true that most of those people who support it, who want it to be defended, are to be found not inside the PSP or any other "Left" party but inside the Congress or among those under Nehru's influence. Many inside the Congress assail the public sector. But it is equally true that the largest number of those who want it to be defended and extended are also in the Congress. As regards communalism, there can be no doubt that communalism has penetrated deeply into the Congress. But it must also be noted that not only Nehru but also many other Congressmen were far more distressed by the happenings in Subulpure than many leaders of the Left parties.

In order to defend India's foreign policy, the public sector and the parliamentary system, in order to wage an effective battle against communalism, it is necessary that we forge links with Congressmen.

For this, an approach has to be adopted which takes into account the loyalty of Congressmen towards their organisation and their sentiments. Time and again, direct appeals will have to be made not only to Congress masses, Congress committees, taking into account the issue concerned and the concrete conditions in the locality.

An urgent and important issue on which broad unity can be forged is that of opposition to communalism. A correct approach and fraternal appeal for practical united activity will get response from all healthy elements including many Congressmen. This has become a vital necessity especially after the Madhya Pradesh riots and the intensification of the activities of the Jan Sangh.

We must look upon democrats inside the Congress and the mass of Congressmen as our friends and potential allies in the struggle for consolidation of political independence, and its Governments.

POLITICAL RESOLUTION

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* SEE OVERLEAF

defence of parliamentary democracy, of foreign policy, public sector, agrarian reforms, etc. Ours must be a fraternal attitude. Also, when progressive declarations are made by the Congress, we have not just to "expose" them but use them for forging unity.

We have to support unhesitatingly and by mass mobilisation every correct measure that the Government takes against Right reaction. Such action on our part will enable us to fight the reactionary measures of the Government all the more effectively. Further, when conflicts arise inside the ruling party over issues of policy, we must make our position clear before the masses and mobilise them in support of correct policies.

In view of the need to broaden the basis of our struggle and in view of the critical nature of the period ahead, it has become more necessary than ever that strenuous efforts are made by us to forge links with democrats inside the Congress and with masses under Congress influence. We must stress this because despite what we said at Palghat, we have paid too little attention to this task.

What this requires are:

- (1) Use progressive declarations of the Congress to forge mass unity in action.
 - (2) In agitation, keep in mind not only those who are already under our influence but also those who are not, speak not only for those who sit "in front" and cheer every denunciation of the Congress and its Government, but also those who "stand on the periphery."
 - (3) Wage a resolute and uncompromising battle against Right reaction and against parties of communalism, against their policies and their slogans. This will help to draw towards us honest Congressmen.
 - (4) Even when opposing and fighting policies of the Congress and Government, concentrate fire wherever possible on the Rightist elements.
 - (5) Conduct patient explanatory campaign among Congressmen and Congress masses. They are worried about the situation that is developing—especially the growth of fissiparous tendencies. The basic causes of this, which arise from the class policies of the Government, have to be laid bare so that they are drawn into the struggle for changing these policies.
- While seeking to develop common activity with Congressmen and the masses following the Congress, our Party should, at the same time, carry on a campaign of patient explanation in order to point out to them how the basic policies of the Congress are themselves totally inadequate in the present-day conditions of India and the world and how these policies stem from the attempt to develop a capitalist society in India and that, too, without taking firm measures against foreign capital, without basic agrarian reforms in the interests of the masses of peasants and by giving big concessions to monopolists. The process of intense heart-searching that has started among them is bound to gather momentum as the difficulties of foreign exchange, price policy, admin-

istrative inefficiency, etc., become more evident. All effort must be made by us to raise the level of consciousness and understanding of democratic-minded Congressmen and convince them about the correctness of the basic slogans of our Party for national rebirth.

Progressives and democrats in other parties and also among those who belong to no party also constitute a vast number. While a big section of the masses owe allegiance to the Congress, there is also a big section which either follows parties other than the Congress or is not attached to any particular party. We have to make every effort to draw all of them into common activity.

Independent mass activity by the Party, combined with fraternal and genuine united front approach so that on each issue the maximum possible support is mobilised—such has to be the tactics. For such independent mass activity, the need is to raise the level of consciousness of the masses following us. We do not make unity a precondition

National Democratic Front For National Democratic Tasks

The tasks on the fulfilment of which depend our national regeneration and all-sided national advance are: further consolidation of our independence, by defence and strengthening of our foreign policy and forging of closer links with the Socialist and Afro-Asian States; by preventing further penetration of foreign capital and gradual elimination of its existing hold on vital sectors of our economy through nationalisation; by the rapid expansion of the State sector. Nationalisation of banks and of such other concerns as may enable the State sector to acquire a commanding position in our economy. Democratic control over the State sector, combating of waste, corruption and inefficiency, and the building of more heavy and basic industries in it. The carrying out of agrarian reforms which would really benefit the mass peasantry, reduce the heavy burdens on them and make possible more capital investment on land so that agricultural production may increase. A just system of taxation whose main burden falls on the rich. Fixing of minimum wage for all workers and employees and sliding scale of dearness allowance. Improvement in the living standard of the people. Repeal of repressive laws and guaranteeing of unfettered civil liberties. Restriction of the power of bureaucrats, greater powers for States, for local elected organs and extension of democracy.

These are national democratic tasks. They conform to the interest of the vast majority of our people. Most of them are in the objective interest of the national bourgeoisie itself, except of a handful of monopolist reactionaries. They can be carried out by united action by all who desire national regeneration. If carried out, they would launch our coun-

try on the path of all-sided advance, generate labour enthusiasm, dissipate the spirit of frustration, reduce strife. They would weaken the forces of reaction in the country and bring the people to the position when the struggle for basic changes and for Socialism can be waged more effectively. It is necessary, therefore, that all patriotic and democratic forces should come together to carry out these tasks and form, for this purpose, a broad national democratic front.

In order to build such a united front, we have to wage a determined and sustained struggle against the menace represented by Right reaction, making Congressmen, including progressive-minded Congress leaders, aware of the seriousness of the menace, approaching them in terms of Congress declarations, in terms of commonly accepted ideas and digits. We shall expose the demagogic slogans of Right reaction, the slogans with which it seeks to utilise popular discontent. We shall strive to move into action the masses under our influence in opposition to the slogans and tactics of parties of extreme reaction, and their attacks on our foreign policy, on our cooperation with Socialist States, in defence of peace and our national interests, on the public sector, etc., and seek the cooperation of Congressmen and Congress organisations for this purpose.

In order to build such a front, we have to wage a determined and sustained struggle against the compromising policies of the Congress Government, policies which facilitate the further penetration of foreign imperialist capital, retain the remnants of feudalism, encourage casteist, communalist and regional and other fissiparous tendencies, policies which, instead of encouraging

growth of democratic forces, try to suppress them, which help the rich at the cost of the poor. We have to explain to the people and to the progressive-minded Congress followers that without fighting these policies, the growth of reaction cannot be checked and the country cannot advance on the path of progress and prosperity.

In order to build such a front, we have to establish unity of action of the masses in defence of their immediate interests and against the attacks of the exploiting classes and the Government, strengthen the mass organisations and develop them as genuine united organisations.

In order to build such a front, we have to fight an uncompromising battle against forces of casteism, communalism, regionalism and provincialism against all discrimination in relation to minorities, for protection of all their legitimate interests, for adequate facilities for backward castes and for balanced development of all regions of our country. While fighting for greater powers for States, we have to come forward as defenders of national unity, seeking the cooperation of and striving to act jointly with all healthy and patriotic forces in all parties for this purpose.

In order to build such a front we have to strengthen our Party ideologically, politically and organisationally.

The struggle against the slogans of the extreme Right, the struggle against the policies of compromise pursued by the Government, as well as the struggle in defence of progressive policies and declarations made by the Government—all these struggles cannot be effective if they are waged only or even mainly through speeches in Parliament and the Legislature and through articles in our journals. They have to be waged on a mass scale—by efforts to build popular unity and also through independent mobilisation by the Party. For this, we have to lay utmost stress on the task of raising the political level of the masses who follow our Party so that they move into action on political issues. Such positive action and independent mass action will also facilitate the process of radicalisation among the masses who follow the Congress and other parties, and be a powerful lever to forge democratic unity.

Defend And Strengthen Foreign Policy

One of the main targets of attack of imperialists and their friends is India's foreign policy. This is not surprising in view of the position India occupies in world affairs. Ours was the first party in the country to advocate that a foreign policy of peace, anti-colonialism, cooperation with Socialist countries and close friendship with African and Asian countries is in our genuine national interest. We have been extending general support to the Government of India's foreign policy. In the period since Amritsar, re-

actionary pressure on India's foreign policy has increased—both from imperialists and by extreme Right-wing elements in our own country. Imperialists have been striving to change our foreign policy and for this purpose, they are utilising their economic "aid". The Jan Sangh, the Swatantra Party, the Right-wing PSP leaders, Right-wing elements inside the Congress, the big-bourgeois-controlled Press—all have been active on the issue, making full use of the India-China dispute for the purpose. The slogan is given of "common defence" with Pakistan. The argument is advanced that India should be "really neutral" and not associate itself "too closely" with Socialist States. The whole purpose of this pressure, these slogans and arguments, is to bring about a reactionary modification of our foreign policy—a modification which the imperialists desire and have been striving for for several years.

By and large, these pressures have been resisted. There have been powerful counter-acting forces, too. India's association with the USSR and economic cooperation with it has grown closer. A large number of African States which have won political independence in recent years take an anti-imperialist stand in the U.N. The interest of the Indian nation demands a continuation of the present foreign policy. Nehru, who has been the main architect of this policy, has shown no inclination to abandon it. India stands in the camp of peace and anti-colonialism, against war and for disarmament.

At the same time we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that there have been pronounced vacillations of the Government of India on several occasions in recent periods. There have been a number of failures on its part to take a consistent stand—especially on issues of anti-colonialism. The Government of India takes too long a time to take a correct position and even then the position is not always sufficiently firm. In a world situation which has become more favourable than ever, due to the growing might of the Socialist camp and the attainment of freedom by many countries of Africa, it was expected that India would act as the leader and vanguard of the newly-independent States. This has not happened. On several issues, a number of African States which shook off colonial rule only recently take a more consistently anti-imperialist stand than us.

A glaring example of this has been our Government's vacillations on the issue of Congo. While denouncing Belgian imperialists, India keeps silent on the role played by the USA and showers praise on Hammarskjöld whose despicable activities in Congo helped the imperialists. While rightly opposing the seating of Kasavubu's agents in the United Nations and demanding that the Congolese Parliament should be convened, India refuses to recognise the legal Government headed by Antoine Gizenga, as has been done by several African States, by Yugoslavia and even by Indonesia. Several other examples can be cited. More than once, under the spurious slogan of "two power blocs" and on the plea of "not taking

* SEE FACING PAGE

sides in the cold war", India has refused to take a firm anti-imperialist position. India is now coming to be looked upon by many as the leader of "moderates" in the Afro-Asian group. This certainly is not a role which Indian patriots would like India to play.

Such vacillation on the part of the Government of India is not in conformity with India's general foreign policy and India's great anti-imperialist traditions and also does not reflect Indian public opinion.

Therefore, while continuing to support the general foreign policy of the Government, it is the task of all democratic forces in the country to exercise vigilance so that there is no sliding back and to mobilise the masses so that the vacillations and weaknesses are combated.

A major reason for this weakness is that while the reactionary forces who want to change the foreign policy are vocal and active, the progressive and democratic forces, including the mass following of the Communist Party, are not so active in counteracting their pressure. There is the sectarian tendency of not making full use of the correct stand of the Government in order to forge broad unity and bring about broad mobilisation. Also there is the reformist and tailist tendency of taking the present foreign policy for granted, of relying too much on the Government of India and Prime Minister Nehru and hesitation to go beyond the stand taken by

TASKS ON MASS FRONTS

The working class movement has registered a big advance. In recent periods, on a number of occasions, all workers of the same industry have gone into action. The strike of over five lakh employees of the Central Government, which came about because of the united decision of all organisations of Government employees united in the Joint Council of Action was, despite all limitations and lack of preparation, a major event and focussed attention on the most outstanding grievance of all people, that is, the steep rise in prices. Nevertheless, that consciousness which would move the entire mass on a general issue affecting the workers as a whole and on general democratic issues is yet too inadequate.

Even in the field of wages, the working class is facing a serious crisis. Although the continuous struggle of the workers has wrested some increases in money wages from the unwilling hands of the employers, their real wages show a markedly declining trend since 1955. The real wage level in 1960 is no higher, if not actually lower, than the level of 1959. At the same time, production, productivity and profits in the organised industries have been rising throughout the Second Plan period.

By fighting for higher wages, dearness allowance, bonus, more amenities and better conditions of work the worker fights for a larger share of the wealth he is producing and of the goods which are the real national

income, a share which the employer always wants to reduce in some way and for which the worker must always fight in the ways open to him. This day-to-day struggle is, therefore, the necessary and constant daily task of the trade unions.

The entire working class, irrespective of different affiliations, is vitally interested in the fight for a sliding scale of dearness allowance, the raising and fixing of minimum wages, for a general rise in basic wages and against high prices and rationalisation and productivity schemes leading to retrenchment.

At the same time, this struggle of the workers is increasingly sought to be suppressed by the ruling class through use of the repressive machinery of the State and free hand to the capitalists to practise victimisation. Attacks on democratic and trade union rights including those which are "legally" recognised on paper are mounting. These attacks can be effectively resisted and repulsed only on the basis of united and determined mobilisation of the working class backed by democratic public opinion.

All these factors, together with several other aspects of intensified capitalist exploitation, are daily strengthening the objective basis for forging the class unity of the workers and mobilising them for united action in their common interest. The recent struggles and strike actions of the textile, jute, plantation, cement, tramway (Calcutta) and other workers in various States and above all,

the historic strike of the Central Government employees, are eloquent testimony to the growing urge of all sections of the working class for unity. Great new possibilities are opening up provided the trade unions utilise them with confidence and bold initiative.

If the trade union movement is to be raised out of the rut of localism and narrow economism, a determined campaign for trade union unity and united action must be developed. On this question, a basically sectarian outlook still persists and must be constantly combated. Developing broadest unity of all sections must be combined with principled exposure of disruptive and anti-unity elements and planned expansion of trade union organisation among the lakhs of still unorganised workers.

In order to overcome the serious lag in the political consciousness of the working class, it is necessary to educate, organise and mobilise the workers as part and parcel of day-to-day trade union activity itself. Popularisation of the all-round advance of the Socialist countries, the need for active solidarity with the national-liberation movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America and with the working class struggles in imperialist countries; campaign on the concrete issues of disarmament and peace; vigilance, exposure and action against the reactionary conspiracies and manoeuvres of imperialists and monopolists against democracy, against national economic development and freedom—these are some of the most important issues around which we must carry on ceaseless efforts to bring the organised working class into action so that it may increasingly play its vanguard role.

This vanguard role also requires that the working class comes out in action in defence of the demands of other classes—above all, the peasantry.

The democratic forces must adopt a correct attitude towards the small and medium industrialists who suffer from the fiscal and other policies of the Government and from the activities of the monopolists. In matters of trade union demands, these sections of the bourgeoisie cannot be placed in the same category as the big bourgeoisie. We must bear in mind that in order to defend, and strengthen democracy, as well as for the broadening of the mass movements, it is necessary to support actively the just demands of the small and middle bourgeoisie and draw them closer to the democratic masses.

In an agrarian country like ours, national regeneration demands, above all, rapid development of agriculture. Experience of the last fourteen years proves that this cannot be done except through democratic reconstruction of agriculture. Experience also proves that left to itself and in the absence of a mass movement, the Congress and the Government will not implement in a proper way even their own declarations. The fate of the Nagpur resolution on land reforms is the latest instance. Ceilings are being imposed in such a way as to leave practically no land for distribution

—thus defeating the purpose of ceiling.

At the same time, it has to be admitted that our own approach towards the progressive declarations made by the Congress from time to time has been defective—arising from partial and inadequate understanding of the factors that lead to such declarations. To some extent, they express the needs of national bourgeois development as against imperialism and feudalism. Then there is the pressure of the masses exerted through the rank and file and progressive Congressmen. Finally, there is the attempt to create illusions among the masses, illusions about the possibility of gradual and smooth advance through the benevolence of the ruling party, without struggles, without mass movement. The Nagpur resolution was also due, to a considerable extent, to the agrarian reforms proposed by the Communist-led Government of Kerala. In these circumstances and in view of the certainty that the Right-wing-controlled State Ministries were bound to sabotage the reforms, it was all the more necessary for the Communist Party, the Kisan Sabhas and other democratic forces, to launch a mass campaign and develop common activity so as to ensure proper implementation of the declarations—implementation in such a way as benefits the peasants and agricultural workers. This we failed to do.

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There are several issues on which broad-based mass campaigns can be built and all sections of the rural population mobilised in view of the growing food crisis, mounting taxation, the increasing grip of the moneylenders on the peasantry, the price-scissors which cheat the producers in two-fold ways, by exacting from them higher prices for manufactured goods and by denying them a just price for their own products. A ringing call and mass mobilisation for food, adequate credit, for fair prices, for a just distribution of resources for agricultural improvement, for developing rural industries, for various development works and employment, for irrigation schemes, for the lowering of taxes and rents, for fair wages, for a reasonable ceiling and its strict implementation and the distribution of surplus land, is bound to get response from all sections of the peasantry.

The strengthening of the democratic movement in the rural areas necessitates the organisation and moving into action of the most consistently militant forces in the villages, that is, agricultural workers. The unity of the mass of peasantry for immediate economic relief and for radical agrarian reforms would lack firm foundation without the movement of agricultural workers for their specific demands (wages, hours of work, employment, fallow land, homesteads, etc.) and their active and organised participation in all common peasant movements and popular struggles in the countryside.

One of the most serious obstacles in the way of building peasant unity today is the existence of political divisions among peasants who owe allegiance to different political parties. A very large section of the peasantry belonging not only to the upper and middle strata, but also the class of poor peasants and agricultural labourers is still under the influence of the Congress. The gulf that exists today between this section of the peasantry and that which follows the Communist Party cannot be bridged without our making very serious and conscious efforts to that end. The Party must do its utmost to end this division. Experience has shown that adequate response is not always secured by issuing appeals to peasants over the head of and against the political parties to which they owe allegiance. It would, therefore, be advisable and necessary to approach the peasantry following the Congress in such a way that they can be drawn into common actions, and in certain cases, it would be advisable to appeal to local Congress committees and other local organisations to which the peasants, who are not under our influence, are politically attached, for joint front actions for the redress of common grievances and the achievement of common mass demands of the rural population.

The existing political divisions among the peasantry can be overcome only if the Kisan Sabha itself is sought to be built as a united mass organisation of the entire peasantry regardless of the allegiance that different sections have to different parties.

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POLITICAL RESOLUTION

tions of the peasants owe to different political parties. Serious attention has to be paid to this task.

Broad alliance of democratic forces of all parties is needed not only to modify the policies of the Government but also in order to ensure that many of the declared policies which are in the interest of the people are properly implemented; not only to secure new concessions but also to ensure that the concessions already won are used for the benefit of the people; not only to extend democracy but also to ensure that the limited rights which local elected bodies enjoy are fully utilised in the interest of the people and so on. Without this, without a sustained effort to make full use of all opportunities and all possibilities, it is impossible to force the people for struggle for basic reforms. And for such effort it is necessary and desirable that all those who want to serve the masses should unite.

The struggle to draw women, youth and students into the democratic movement, to build their broad-based mass organisations and develop united movements and campaigns for the defence of their vital interests is a vital part of the struggle to build the national democratic front. Underestimation of the importance of this work is fraught with serious dangers for the democratic movement and must be overcome.

There is a new awakening among women—a rapidly growing urge to overcome the age-old disabilities they suffer from and make their contribution to national advance. Our women comrades have done valuable work in the women's movement and the results show the great possibilities that are there. But we are far from fulfilling our responsibilities and rousing the mass of women to the common task facing us.

The same vast possibilities are there among youth and students. There are vast new opportunities of drawing them in the service of the people and in defence of their own vital interests. The Party must take effective steps to organise the youth and students, to enable them to act unitedly in defence of their interests and to rouse their patriotism for making their proper contribution in the struggle for national advance and national unity and against religion, obscurantism and communalism. Popularisation of the ideas of scientific Socialism among the younger generation is an essential part of the Party's work on this front. Systematic and vigorous efforts must be made to overcome weaknesses of the Party's work among the intellectuals and on the cultural front.

ORGANISE

MASS

STRUGGLES

The ruling party and even some Right-wing PSP leaders frown upon mass struggles. The Government strives to crush them. It says that such struggles dissipate mass energy, divert people's atten-

tion from the task of national reconstruction, weaken the unity of the country. Our Party resolutely rejects these contentions. The fact is indisputable, as has been pointed out earlier, that while wages have yet to rise above the 1939 level and minimum wage and adequate dearness allowance to compensate for the rise in prices are denied to workers, profits have mounted; that the mass of peasants have benefited little from the agrarian reforms and the condition of agricultural workers has actually deteriorated in recent years; that soaring prices are flogging all sections of people; that corruption is rampant and the bureaucratic callousness to the needs of the people has grown. Nor can the Government deny that whatever concessions the people have been able to win, wherever they have been able to stop or slow down the offensive of the vested interests, it has been due primarily to the struggles waged by the toiling masses, the resistance put up by them, combined with bold advocacy of their cause by their representatives in the Legislatures. This is proved by the circumstances that led to the appointment of the Second Pay Commission, the taking of certain steps, though half-hearted, to reduce cloth prices after the Central Government employees' strike, the stoppage of advance collection of betterment levy after the great struggle in Punjab, the failure, after mass campaign, of the Pottom Ministry to sabotage completely the agrarian reforms enacted by the Communist-led Government and so on.

Moreover, we have to bear in mind that it is the worsening condition of the life of the people and consequent discontent that are major factors creating the very conditions in which Right reaction can thrive. Had not the Communist Party and the democratic organisations acted resolutely in defence of the people and organised their struggles and

ANTI-COMMUNISM

—A Bankrupt Banner

Democratic unity requires, together with the conducting of struggles for immediate demands, together with fraternal approach towards the mass of Congressmen, members of other parties and masses who are under no party's influence, together with campaigns on policy issues, sustained ideological battle. The Second Five-Year Plan had declared the following four objectives:

(a) a sizable increase in national income so as to raise the level of living in the country;

(b) rapid industrialisation with particular emphasis on the development of heavy and basic industries;

(c) a large expansion of employment opportunities; and

(d) reduction of inequalities in income and wealth and a more even distribution of economic power."

As we have already seen, a certain amount of industrial

movements, wherever they could, parties of extreme reaction would have been far stronger today than they are. Our Party cannot, therefore, relent its opposition to these policies or weaken the struggle against these attacks on the people. We seek and shall strive to secure the support and cooperation of all democrats for these struggles, which are an essential and integral part of the mass movement to build the national democratic front. They have been important in the past in rousing the people in defending their interests and in building their organisations. They will acquire even greater importance in the coming period.

Mass action in defence of the interests of the people and for progressive policies are themselves powerful factors helping to bring people together. They do not disrupt national unity as Congress leaders allege. On the contrary, they facilitate the cementing of unity on a genuine democratic and popular basis.

We must broaden the basis of the struggles and win general democratic support for them so that they acquire greater sweep and momentum. Also, in view of the attitude displayed by the Government during many recent struggles, when draconian measures were adopted, the masses, their organisations and the Party have to prepare themselves organisationally, politically and ideologically for stubborn resistance.

Our Party will, at the same time, mobilise the people for carrying out the task of national reconstruction. We shall cooperate with all patriotic forces in order to ensure speedy fulfilment of the Plan targets. We shall make every endeavour to build a popular unity so that the resources allocated for national building activities are utilised in a proper way and in the interest of the common people.

of the ideas of Socialism among our people, including their own followers, the Congress leaders have formally accepted Socialism as their objective. But their entire practice shows that this is meant to distort the real ideas of Socialism and keep the masses away from struggles for democratic reforms. We should, therefore, patiently and continuously explain to the people and to Congressmen that there is not a grain of Socialism in the theories, policies and measures of the Congress and its Government. We should also explain to them what Socialism really means and how it can be achieved.

In a vague and general way large numbers of our people have come to accept Socialism as a correct objective. They have seen what Socialism has achieved in countries where it has triumphed. They have seen how it has done away with the anarchy of capitalism, put an end to the staggering contrast between the wealth of the few and the poverty of the many, eliminated unemployment and launched the people on the path of speedy and continuous advance. Hence they get drawn towards Socialism.

A major ideological task of ours is to deepen this consciousness. We have to explain to the masses, especially the workers and advanced sections, the principles of scientific Socialism and show the relation between Socialism and the struggle for defence and extension of democracy in every sphere—economic, social and political.

The third general elections will be an important event in

Path Of National Advance

The general objectives to realise which the national democratic front has to strive have been narrated earlier. Their main contents are: strengthening national freedom, elimination of foreign monopoly capital; rapid building up of national industries; extension of the public sector and democratic control over it; genuine agrarian reforms; extension of democracy in political, economic and social life. Formulating concrete slogans on each of these issues, our Party will develop countrywide mass campaigns for their realisation, seek cooperation of patriotic elements in every party. It will wage struggles in defence of the interests of the people in the context and as an integral part of such a campaign.

Such a campaign, if sufficiently sustained and broad-based, sufficiently militant and powerful, can help the people win their immediate demands, bring about changes in the Government's policies, foil the attempts of Right reaction, expose and isolate it. It can alter the correlation of forces in our country in favour of democratic forces and lead to a situation when it becomes a practical possibility to raise the slogan of the establishment of a Government of the national democratic front—a Government representing the fighting

life of our country. The Congress will do everything in its power to give us a setback at the polls so that opposition to its anti-people policies gets weakened. The ideological-political offensive against our Party that has been gathering strength in recent periods is essentially an offensive against the forces of Indian democracy and a preparation for the coming elections.

The Swatantra Party, the Jan Sangh as well as the Praja Socialist Party will make every effort to dislodge us from our position as the leading party of opposition in Parliament as well as in several State legislatures.

These efforts must be defeated. We must not only retain our present position but strengthen it substantially. Serious preparations must be made for this right from now.

We shall fight the elections as a big political battle on the basis of the entire policy of our Party. Sharply demarcating ourselves from the parties of Right reaction and communalism and their slogans, we shall, at the same time, lay bare the anti-people policies of the Government and put forward our alternative policies. We shall come before the people with our record as the Party that strives to build a national democratic front for national democratic tasks and, as part of this struggle, defends the people against attacks from the Government and the vested interests. In States where the possibility exists, we shall give the slogan of establishment of a Government which can carry out genuinely popular and democratic policies.

GAGARIN FORTNIGHT

The All-India Peace Council has called for the observance of a Gagarin Fortnight from May 12, 1961 (the day on which we should celebrate the completion of one month since Gagarin's conquest of space) to May 27. The General Secretaries of the Council, in a call to all supporters of the movement to hold meetings, big or small, on one or more days of this Fortnight, say:

"The whole world has been electrified at the news that man has entered space and come back to tell mankind about it. The name of Yuri Gagarin is now a name known in every corner of the globe.

"The Soviet leaders, acclaiming this event of the century, were equally insistent that Gagarin's triumph was a triumph of world peace. In a flash, everyone could see what tremendous power man now possesses and what this power could do to end hunger and poverty in Asia, Africa and Latin America... provided it could be used for peace and progress alone and no more for war and armaments."

One of the specific forms of action suggested by the Council is the securing of signatures of representative personalities and of endorsements at mass meetings and other gatherings, of an invitation to

Gagarin to visit India. This invitation (the text of which we give below) is equally a pledge for general and complete disarmament.

We hope that our readers will take initiative to see that the invitation is endorsed by the organisations in which they work. The All-India Peace Council will send the invitation to Gagarin with a list of all signatures and of organisations which support the appeal, on June 1. All names of individuals and organisations supporting the invitation should be sent by that date to: All-India Peace Council, 14, Munshi Niketan, Kamala Market, New Delhi.

INVITATION FROM INDIAN PEOPLE

Dear Friend Yuri Gagarin,

Our hearts are filled with boundless joy at your courageous conquest of space. Your journey in the spaceship Vostok is the greatest event of this century, symbolising the tremendous advance of science and technology, the stupendous power which man possesses.

Yours is a victory for your great country, the Soviet Union, and for all that it represents.

Yours is a victory for all humanity, and, above all, for the forces working for

peace. You have given a new impetus to the Governments and peoples, who stand for peace and total disarmament, to redouble their efforts.

For us in Asia, Africa and Latin America, your colossal achievement points the way to an early end of the backwardness, hunger and poverty, which have been the legacies of imperialist rule and exploitation.

If man has the power to conquer space, he surely has the power here and now to conquer the hunger of our millions, provided this power is snatched away from the hands of the imperialists, who use it to make ever new weapons of war and destruction. Man can banish hunger for all time, provided this new power is used only as you have used it, dear Yuri Gagarin, for the purposes of peace and progress and the betterment of life.

We extend to you a hearty invitation to visit India at the earliest convenient time, and particularly to come to our State of... and our city/district of... We long to shake you by the hand, to embrace you and to hear from you directly of your magnificent journey into space.

We pledge ourselves to continue more resolutely than ever the efforts being made by our Government

Message from CPSU

To The National Council of the Communist Party of India, New Delhi,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union heartily thanks the participants of the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of India and all Indian Communists for the warm greetings addressed to the CPSU on the occasion of the successful flight of Comrade Yuri Gagarin on the cosmic ship Vostok around the earth.

We wish the Communist Party of India success in the struggle for the vital interests of the Indian working people, for peace and social progress.

Moscow, May 1, 1961.

Central Committee Communist Party of the Soviet Union

and people, in cooperation with your Government and people, for general and complete controlled disarmament—so that the trial blazed by you can be followed by many others for the greater glory and happiness of the entire human race.

With our affectionate congratulations,
Yours, in friendship,

CONTROL COMMISSION

THE Vijayawada Congress of the Communist Party of India unanimously elected Comrades S. V. Ghate, P. Narayanan Nair, U. Ramam, Abdul Halim and Hajrah Begum as members of the Central Control Commission.

BRAVO, GOAN GUERRILLAS!

WHEN we read in the daily Press the story of a raid on a Portuguese outpost in Goa in late March, followed by another in the night of April 26 we rushed

FROM FRONT PAGE

our Correspondent to the spot. As we go to press, he has just come back, with the heart-warming account of these heroic actions. His full story will appear next week. Here in brief are a few highlight points.

The Goan command went into their first action at Keri, March 23, midnight. They cut their way through wire entanglements and planned to overpower the Portuguese in their own den. They threw grenades, which being old, proved dud. The Portuguese fired like mad, about 2,000 rounds, but dared not come out and attack. The Goan guerrillas faced the furious fire without any casualty and melted into the bosom of their villages and jungles.

Undeterred by this initial failure, the Guerrilla High Command aimed higher still. On April 26, they noiselessly seized a Portuguese army station wagon and drove to the British outpost, just one mile across the river from Panjim, the capital. They relied upon their shot-gun this time and were successful beyond their fondest expectation.

The Portuguese military force was neatly overpowered and made to march out, one by one, with hands up. Their bullets were searched, all the automatic weapons, grenades and boxes of ammunition seized.

The wireless had been smashed earlier. Thus without a scratch all the guerrillas marched back to their base safe and all smiles.

The much longed for Goan liberation struggle has got on its feet. Every self-respecting Indian can now look the fighting African in the face, striking at the common enemy, separately and together, ensure the end of Portuguese colonialism and write a new chapter in the living history of Afro-Asian resurgence.

(May 4)

PAGE SEVENTEEN

LAOS

intervention starting right in 1954 was the uninterrupted continuation of John Foster Dulles' brink-of-war Indo-China policy.

The Soviet Union—one of the architects of the Geneva Agreement—did everything to uphold it and secure its implementation till U.S. machinations finally scuttled the International Commission. Later on the USSR pursued consistently the only course open to it in the spirit of the Geneva Agreement—namely, to support the legitimate Laotian Government of Souvanna Phouma which everyone (above all Prime Minister Nehru) acknowledged was the only Government capable of steering Laos on the neutral and independent course.

The fact that U.S. intervention and Soviet support to the legal Government have been basically different is also proved by the end result of the two processes. The U.S. Press itself is eloquent witness to this. On May 1, Times of India quoted one Mr. Jack Nevar writing in New York Times. He described the Laotian situation as grim for the U.S. and as reflecting a "complete failure of U.S. policy over six years of the country's independence from France."

Nevar ruefully wrote further: "Despite U.S. expenditure of \$300 million in that period—more for each of Laos' two million inhabitants than to any other nation in history—the country is almost blissfully ignorant of the imminent peril of a Communist take-over. The fact that most of the money went to the army is the usual explanation.

"But despite the abundance of funds appropriated for it, the army is nearly useless in protecting the country from the pro-Communist rebels (meaning, in American jargon, the lawful Government of Laos) whose aid from the Communist bloc is inferior in quality and quantity to that given to the Government (i.e., the rebel) forces."

The Times of India Correspondent quoting this piece legitimately asks: You can give them arms but how can you make them fight?

The fact is that the vast majority of Laotians have long since seen the U.S. game and that is why the U.S. is out to step up direct intervention and is even creating difficulties in the Co-Chairmen's call for cease-fire being promptly responded to.

The convening of the International Commission in New Delhi has been welcomed by the Royal Laotian Government of Prince Souvanna Phouma. He has also welcomed the proposal to hold an enlarged Geneva type conference on May 12.

In a statement handed over on May 3 to representatives of Soviet and British Governments in Hanoi, Prince Souvanna Phouma has cited facts demonstrating the Laotian Government's striving for a peaceful solution of the Laotian problem, for an early cease-fire and an armistice in the country and exposes the attempts of the Phoumi Nosa-van-Boun Oum group to wreck the talks.

Despite the fact that Vientiane has not replied to the appeal of the lawful Government to send delegates to Na-Mon or any other point be-

tween the lines of the two sides in the area of Hin-Hop, Prince Souvanna Phouma has ordered the troops of the Royal Laotian Government, and the Neo Lao Haksat armed forces to stop military operation beginning from May 3, 1961 "in order to create favourable conditions for a meeting between the parties concerned in Laos and to achieve an actual cease-fire prior to the opening of the international conference scheduled for May 12."

Prince Souvanna Phouma writes further in this communication that the Laotian problem is primarily a problem for the Laotians themselves and above all, by the sides concerned.

"At the same time," Souvanna Phouma says, "I consider that the convocation of a conference of fourteen countries is the most effective measure for the solution of the Laotian problem on the international plane. Therefore, the convocation of the conference of the fourteen countries, the cease-fire and resumption of the International Commission for Supervision and Control are inseparably connected links in the same chain."

The next few days will decide the fate of the latest effort to bring peace to troubled Laos. If U.S. aggressive appetites can be sufficiently curbed by pressure of peace-loving Governments and peoples, cease-fire will be effective and will lead to stable peace. If world opinion is unable to check the U.S. imperialists and they are allowed to press with their aggressive designs as hitherto, the people of Laos

will find the way to finally throw them out of their country, lock, stock and barrel. There cannot be the least doubt about it.

If the frenzied and repeated consultations in the U.S. National Security Council and the accompanying comments in the U.S. Press are any indication the situation is pretty serious.

UPI Correspondent Donald May said in a Washington dispatch on May 1 that "President Kennedy and his top advisers today approached the moment of decision on whether to send allied troops into Laos." He held that the decisions which Kennedy and the U.S. officials had to consider now were "whether and when to invoke military intervention (in Laos) by SEATO... how much could be achieved by such battlefield action and whether it would prove any more fruitful than further diplomatic manoeuvrings."

The same day the New York Herald Tribune wrote editorially that the U.S. "will not permit" the Phoumi-Boun Oum rebels "to be fatally compromised." It further threatened, "At what moment direct intervention by the United States or SEATO will be undertaken is not known. But there must be some point of no return—and it is clear it is rapidly being approached."

Observers also see connection with Laos in the cancellation of 6,000 U.S. troops' airlift to West Germany which was to start on May 1. A.P. Correspondent wrote that obviously, the immediate reason was "to keep these forces readily available to quick use elsewhere if needed."

MAY 7, 1961

NEW AGE

PAGE SIXTEEN

NEW AGE

MAY 7, 1961

SPOTLIGHT

AND NOW AGAINST THE NATIONAL FLAG

THE "Bharatiya" Jan Sangh is currently engaged in a campaign, in its own sheepish fashion, of trying to prove that it is not a communal party. Evidently it has some realization of the people's feeling of revulsion and wrath at the exposure of its recent foul role at Jabalpur and Moradabad.

But the campaign verges on the doltish and what it succeeds in achieving is not innocence but just the contrary. Because with every phrase that its Press or leaders mouth, it only succeeds in underlining its basically communal character. Their credo that nationalism in India can really mean only "Hindu communalism" stands revealed at every step.

In an article titled "What is communalism and what is nationalism," the Organizer pleads:

"It is the Congress which by putting Hindus and Muslims on par—it is like putting the camel and the camel's tail on par—is creating the wholly false issue of 'Hindu communalism' and 'Muslim communalism'. A blatant example of this is the adoption of the striped flag instead of the ancient and glorious Bhagwa Dhwaja."

The plea has already been familiarised by Guruj Govindkar of RSS fame. Only the words are different. It is that there can never be such a thing as Hindu communalism in India because India belongs to those who profess Hinduism while the other religions are aliens and traitors here. What is new and notable is the open annunciation of the National Flag.

MORE MUSLIM-BAITING

WHILE the country is anxiously debating the lessons of Jabalpur, the Jan Sangh is in jitters at the prospects of further exposure of its criminal role. It wants Jabalpur to be skipped over as speedily as possible. So Pandit Deen Dayal Upadhyaya writes:

"The Jabalpur riots have long subsided in fact they did not last for more than a few hours. But the Congress is still harping on them."

He even waxes literary. He writes of those who note in Jabalpur "the recrudescence of communalism" that they are only brandishing their swords at the wind-mill like the Knight in the Spanish story. In the same essay of his he states that "the Muslims are to be educated, reformed and nationalised." The Jan Sangh, which he says, "has a clear conception of nationalism", has essayed precisely this task. And as we have seen, it does not matter if some Muslim lives are lost as in Jabalpur.

Towards the achievement of the same supremely "national" task, the Jan Sangh carries out an unceasing campaign of vitu-

peration against the Muslims. The role of its mouth-piece the "Yugadharm" in lighting the communal blaze at Jabalpur is already well-known. The party's weekly mouthpiece at Delhi duly carries out the same task with an unceasing propaganda offensive. I will just quote here two screaming headlines from its most recent issues: GAGWANA MUSLIMS DESECRATE TEMPLE

(April 17)

CALCUTTA MUSLIMS IN A MURDEROUS MOOD

(April 10)

How odd, indeed, that such a "nationalist" party should be dubbed communalist!

HOAX OF A RESOLUTION

I HAVE already quoted in these columns the profound lesson in "sociology" that the same tabloid preached in justification of communal rioting. It argued that as "Hindu and Muslims do not inter-marry, are hardly on speaking terms (sic) 'it is but just the misdeed of a Muslim rapist' should be replied to by an offensive of the Hindu community against the Muslims." (Organiser, March 27)

Do not call this communalism, please, because the Jan Sangh, too has now passed a very pontifical resolution on "communalism" at Patna.

Only its digits are of the head-below-and-legs-above variety. "Nationalism," Pandit Deen Dayaljee has declared, "is nothing but Hinduism." It logically follows that communalism (of the Hindu breed) is not to be combated but upheld. What you have to do is to join the Jan Sangh's crusade of "educating, reforming, nationalising" and uprooting the Muslims! That is the real meaning of its resolution on communalism!

TAILPIECE

I learn from the Jan Sangh Press that Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao has taken a fancy for communal "trade unionism".

He not only took the trouble of inaugurating an annual conference of the Delhi State Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, but also gave a chat to this ragtag and bobtail of "trade unionism" whose sole and avowed aim is to sow the communal virus among Indian workers.

Dr. Rao, according to the report, called this pitiful clique, "a very disciplined organisation." I have no knowledge of the truth in this matter. All that I can say is that the manner in which the Jan Sanghites are flouting his chat does little credit to the well-known Professor of Economics and former Vice-Chancellor of the Delhi University.

—GARUDA

NEW CZECHOSLOVAKIA-16

Strong, Healthy, Lovely To Look At

Transition To Socialism Accomplished In 15 Years

During the death pangs of the Nazi tyranny a babe was born—New Czechoslovakia was born amidst wartime ruins. The child confidently built her blocks, tossed paint patterns and young ideas into the air, setting new wheels, wheels of Socialism, in motion. Now she is sixteen, strong, healthy, lovely to look at. It is an age for launching dreams to distant planets—and also for keeping one's feet on the ground.....

COULDN'T she be proud of her achievements?

By 1960, industrial production was four times more than in the most prosperous pre-war years, and it is well to note that Czechoslovakia had been one of the advanced industrial countries already before the war.

Within ten years of the two Five-Year Plans, agricultural production increased by 20.8 per cent although the agricultural population is now only half of what it had been in the pre-war period, the other half having been absorbed by industry.

For fifteen years already there has been no unemployment.

Rising Standard

This unprecedented increase in output was reflected in a rising standard of living. The shop windows testified it. During the Second Five-Year Plan ending 1960, the real earnings were raised by one-fifth through rise in wages and cuts in the prices of consumer goods.

Czechoslovak developments have already given a rebuff to those economists, who hold that the growth of industrial production drops proportionately as the industrial maturity of the country advances. The average annual growth of industrial production in Czechoslovakia during the years 1948-58 was 11.7 per cent while in the USA it was only 2.5 per cent, in Great Britain 3.4 per cent and in France 6.6 per cent.

Reduced Hours Of Work

And how will this affect the daily life of the citizen? Perhaps one of the most important prospect is the reduction of the working week to 40 hours in mining and 42 hours elsewhere without any loss of pay. For

other indigenous industries, especially machine building.

In addition to the many plants which already have been built with Czechoslovak assistance, other plants that will be built in India during the period of the Third Five-Year Plan, include one heavy machine-tools plant, one heavy electrical equipment plant, one high pressure boiler plant.

For these Czechoslovakia has granted India a credit of Rs. 23 million to be repaid in Indian goods over a period of eight years. One of these goods is iron ore of which Czechoslovakia takes one million tons a year. In the private sector, Czechoslovakia collaborates or will collaborate in the construction of a motor-cycle factory, a tractor factory, a tyre factory, re-tractor factories and many others.

Another important aspect will be the per capita rise in real earnings to one-fifth. Consumption will rise by one-third, industrial goods by 40 per cent. By 1965, one in three households will own a refrigerator; television sets will be one to 1.9 households and washing machines one to 1.5 households. During 1965 every citizen will buy on an average 41 metres of cloth and 4.5 pairs of shoes. During the course of the Third Five-Year Plan, 230,000 families will buy cars and the number of owners of motor-cycles, scooters and motorcycles will amount to 1,200,000.

Tagore Celebrations

Not only trade and economic collaboration but also cultural exchanges have brought India and Czechoslovakia closer together. People in both countries know so much more about each other and about their heritage. For instance, the centenary of Rabindranath Tagore is being celebrated in Czechoslovakia with broadcasts and television programmes reaching every family, with cultural shows and exhibition in all important towns, and with new editions of his works translated from the Bengali original.

In the quest for peace and disarmament for liberation of peoples still under colonial rule and the strengthening of the independence of those that have recently been liberated Czechoslovakia and India are marching side by side—into further years and decades of their independent life.

What changes it will bring in the life of the 1.35 crores of people of Czechoslovakia! But the Czechoslovak people will not become mere addicts to refrigerators, television sets and cars—their spiritual and cultural life grows and expands together with their material well-being. Many facts testify to this—best of all perhaps the four books that are being printed and sold per person a year, and no trash among them.

Socialist Republic

In only fifteen years—the shortest space of time so far—Czechoslovakia has accomplished the transition from capitalism to Socialism. In July last the National Assembly adopted a new and fully Socialist Constitution and accordingly Czechoslovakia now bears the name of "Czechoslovak Socialist Republic".

In Czechoslovakia's trade with India, machines and equipment represent a fully 80 per cent of the total. The mutual relations between Czechoslovakia and India, particularly in the economic sphere, have expanded by leaps and bounds. The greatest export undertaking in all the history of Czechoslovakia is the foundry forge plant in Ranchi which after completion will be comparable to the famous Skoda Works but—naturally—even more modern. It will be the basis for several

Aftermath In France

THREE questions need answering about the abortive fascist coup in Algeria and in France.

First, why did the fascist generals strike at this particular moment? Second, why did the coup collapse so suddenly? Third, what is the immediate perspective?

It is clear enough that de Gaulle's proposal to conduct negotiations with the Algerian Provisional Government was only the immediate pretext. The real impulse to revolt came from the policy of tolerance and acquiescence adopted by de Gaulle towards the conspirators.

De Gaulle's Inaction

All the conspirators had made their positions known publicly for quite some time. General Salan had publicly stated that the army would "move" against the policy of "surrender" in Algeria. General Challe, as long ago as December 1960, had revealed his attitude of defiance to the Government during the trial of the leaders of the Algerian revolt in January 1960. It was an open secret that the paratroop battalions of the French army were restive following the dismissal of Massu. Repeated warnings were sent to de Gaulle, from unimpeachable sources, that a mutiny was in the offing towards the end of April.

Yet, the Government remained inactive. Why? As the New Statesman (April 28) commentator, Paul Johnson, puts it: "the fact remains that the responsibility for inaction must rest on de Gaulle's shoulders."

And the reason for de Gaulle's inaction is also very correctly stated: "It must be remembered that it was precisely the disaffected officers, who placed de Gaulle in his present position. If de Gaulle had smashed the embryonic conspiracy thoroughly, he would have destroyed the army as an entity and thus made possible a resurgence of the essential civilian force of the Left. Without the army de Gaulle's position would depend entirely on the support of the French people and he does not trust his fellow citizens."

American Inspiration

But apart from de Gaulle's policy, a major factor encouraging the rebellious generals was the European section of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the same gang which directed the U.S. invasion of Cuba. General Challe, the leader of the mutiny, after being relieved of his command in Algeria towards the end of 1960, was for some time commander of NATO's Central European forces.

The CIA and General Challe considered that de Gaulle was not being "tough enough" against the Communists and was not playing his proper part in the NATO plans worked out by the U.S. Supreme Commander in Europe, General Norstad, and the Nazi generals who now occupy leading positions in the NATO higher command.

So General Challe asked to be relieved of his post in NATO and retired to prepare the plot against France in Algeria. The CIA assured General Challe that he would have U.S. support against de Gaulle.

It is significant that in his statement over Algiers Radio on April 23, General Challe went out of his way to sing the praises of "the young and sympathetic President Kennedy" while the rest of his speech was devoted to denouncing the so-called "Communist danger in North Africa."

While Algiers was cut off from the rest of the world, ways were found to enable two Americans to go to the radio to sing the praise of General Challe to the U.S.

The CIA, as is its normal practice, had miscalculated the amount of support that the fascist rebels had in the French armed forces. Thus, it was that President Kennedy had to rush in with his message of support at the last minute to de Gaulle.

That this deception of the role of the CIA is no product of "Communist imagination" is made clear by the following extract from the despatch of K. S. Shelvankar to the Hindu from London: "There have been persistent rumours which cannot, by the nature of the case, be verified that General Challe had the secret backing of the American Central Intelligence Agency."

"General Challe, a NATO commander, had contacts with the Americans; also he and his associates made much of the 'Communist danger' in Algeria and it is known that de Gaulle's attitude towards

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

NATO is not popular with the U.S. Administration.

"All this is considered at least to make it possible to put it no higher—that General Challe might have got it into his head, rightly or wrongly, that the Americans would not be sorry to see de Gaulle pushed out." (April 30)

Collapse Of The Coup

This brings us to the second problem—the collapse of the coup. Here again, many factors were responsible. There was the factor of the basic soundness of the bulk of the French armed forces, who are conscripted mainly from among the workers and peasants, as against the treacherous and politically ambitious top echelons of the officer corps and the fascist indoctrinated paratroopers and Foreign Legion (over half of the latter are former members of Hitler's Wehrmacht). The lack of response among the armed forces to General Challe's appeals undoubtedly demoralised the mutineers.

Second, there was the fact that de Gaulle decided not to yield to the pressure of the rebels but to fight them. The rebels had the sneaking belief that given the prospect of a civil war de Gaulle would climb down and accept some of their demands, at least.

Third, there was the fact of the U.S. change of front and the open support of de Gaulle by Kennedy. Obviously, the Cuban catastrophe must have somewhat sobered the U.S. President and made him chary

of supporting reckless gamblers.

People Halt Fascism

But the most important factor of all was the upsurge of French democracy. The French people have a great tradition of mass democratic action. It was, after all, the French workers, with the Communists in the vanguard, who showed the way to the world on how to fight fascism by the tactic of the Popular Front. It was these united forces of the people that once again halted fascism in its tracks.

The New Statesman (April 28) observed that the crucial factor in the situation "was, quite simply, the elementary democratic and republican instincts of the French people. In May 1958 these instincts were never brought into play... Indeed, it was this civil passivity in 1958 which led Challe and his colleagues into their crucial miscalculation—the assumption that metropolitan France would, at worst, refuse to take sides and at best, actively support them."

"It may seem a hard thing to say, but if the response to this week's crisis had been solely in de Gaulle's hands, Challe might have been proved right....

"De Gaulle was not willing to arm the population; he wanted to remain the embodiment of the French people, not its instrument; he had taken power from the people, and he did not want to hand it back. Fortunately, during

Sunday night, control more or less passed out of his hands. "At five o'clock on Monday afternoon, ten million French workers observed a token strike—perhaps the greatest in history. By that evening, Challe must have known that the game was up. He could not land his aircraft and it was clear that even if he succeeded in getting troops to France, they would be resisted. "His bluff had been called...."

The immediate future—our third question—will be largely taken up by the struggle between two forces to reap the benefits of the anti-fascist victory—the democratic forces and de Gaulle.

A huge propaganda campaign is already under way in France to present de Gaulle as the "Supreme Saviour" and to depict the victory as due to his "personal influence."

Simultaneously de Gaulle is doing his utmost to enhance his already immense dictatorial powers. He has already used these powers to seize all the copies of L'Humanite, daily of the Communist Party of France, of April 27. He has refused to give up the powers which he had taken upon himself under Article 16 of the French Constitution.

Consolidate The Victory

In the meantime the papers that had openly supported the rebels are able to continue with impunity. Four rebel regiments in Algeria have "disappeared" and all de Gaulle's forces are not able to find them! Fascist generals, Salan, Zeller, Jouhaud and Gardy were more or less allowed to escape. The extreme Right-wing leaders such as Soustelle, Bidault, General Massu and others are staying freely at home or with friends.

As against this trend, the French Communist Party is waging a sharp struggle to consolidate the anti-fascist victory in favour of democracy. Jacques Duclos, Secretary of its Central Committee, has put the matter in his usual succinct manner:

"The Government carries a large responsibility for these developments, for on that Saturday it did nothing. The people of France now know this and will not forget it."

"The situation is still serious. We are calling for unity and mass action, and pointing out that it is not by looking to a supreme saviour that the country will be protected from fascists."

"We are calling for the suppression of all fascist organisations, a purge in the army and police, disbanding of the Foreign Legion and special units like the paratroops, and for the people to take the lead in restoring democracy in France."

"Above all, we are calling for an end to the war in Algeria and the opening of peace talks with the Algerian Provisional Government."

"It has now been shown that it is this war which has nourished and sustained fascism and has been the basis for three fascist plots in the past few years."

—HOHIT SEN (May 4)

IT WAS A SPACE CONQUEST MAY DAY THIS YEAR

NEW DELHI

by O. P. MEHROTRA

MAY DAY — the day of international struggle, solidarity and unity of workers all over the world — was celebrated in an impressive manner in Delhi this year. Throughout the day, and as a matter of fact even a day earlier on April 30, trade union leaders in Delhi were very busy. More meetings were organised this year than in the past and many more attended the functions this time.

THE number of these meetings and of the workers participating in the celebrations, impressive by themselves, were overshadowed by the mood and spirit of the celebrations. This time it was a more militant demonstration, perceptible in it was a higher level of consciousness, a spirit of victory and advance and, more than that, an optimism of a glorious future.

May Day this year was being celebrated against the background of the glorious struggle of the Central Government employees, solidarity actions on the question of Congo and Cuba and rejoicing on the conquest of space.

The All-India Trade Union Congress had directed its branches that this May Day should be celebrated as "Trade Union and Democratic Rights Day".

The Delhi branch of the AITUC in cooperation with a large number of the local trade unions gave the call for a procession and a central rally on Gandhi Grounds.

Besides, workers in different establishments organised separate celebrations on the day.

The New Age Printing Press workers had the privilege of having amidst them top Party leaders of the Communist Party like Comrades Ajoy Ghosh, S. V. Ghate and P. C. Joshi who along with Delhi trade union leaders B. D. Joshi, Prem Sagar Gupta, A. C. Nanda and others addressed the gathering. Tea and songs followed and finally a documentary film on Lumumba's life. Manager of the New Age Printing Press D. P. Sinha presided over the function organised by the Press Workers' Committee.

In the evening, scores of demonstrations with Red flags, banners, festoons and some with musical bands and drummers, too, gathered on the Ramilla grounds to form the massive and gay demonstration that marched through Ajmeri Gate, and the crowded bazars of Old Delhi to terminate in the public meeting on Gandhi Grounds.

Throughout the route of the demonstration the Message of May Day was transmitted to the people through the slogans: **Workers of the World, Unite! Long Live World Peace! Down with Imperialism! Long Live the Independence of Cuba, Congo, Algeria!**

But it was not by these slogans alone that the mood of the marchers was conveyed. There was something spontaneous and touching. How could the workers forget the great martyr Lumumba

or the brave hero of Cuba, Fidel Castro, or man's conquest of space. Zindabad for Lumumba and Castro was one of the most-raised slogans of this May Day's demonstration. So was a slogan on the conquest of space. Somebody formulated the two most popular slogans spontaneously:

Poonjiwad Mitayengey! (We shall abolish capitalism), Duniya Nai Banayengey! (We shall make a New World), Chand Ko Chhoo Kar Aayengey! (We shall go to the moon), Bharat Ko Swarg Banayengey! (We shall make India into a paradise), Yeh Birla Tata Jayengey! (These Birlas and Tatas shall go).

It was this sung in a chorus of slogans that moved the men in the streets, hundreds of whom were watching this May Day demonstration.

MOSCOW

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MAY Day this year became the first spring holiday of the cosmic era. In the flood of rainbow happiness, youth and beauty that passed in an unending stream through Moscow's age-old Red Square, the theme of space conquest dominated.

The Soviet people dedicated their magnificent space triumph to the coming 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and mass emulation to achieve still greater victories in the cause of human happiness, Socialism and peace, the other happy refrain of yesterday's celebrations.

Along with Khrushchov, other leaders of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government and Marshals, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia, Aidit, was present on the tribune of the Mausoleum between the Soviet Premier and Klement Voroshilov.

And of course, the space hero Yuri Gagarin was there next to Khrushchov and Brezhnev. Proud, modest, shy and youthful, he was still a centre of admiration for the young and old.

Opposite the Mausoleum on the other side of the Red Square, there were three huge portraits on the building of GUM — Marx, Engels and Lenin in profile on a bright red background and the words "Forward To Victory of Communism." In front of them the flags of all the 15 Union Republics waved proudly in the breeze.

At one place the INTUC had put up a water distributing centre. When the demonstrators saw it they responded again in a louder chorus: **Duniya ke Mazdoor Ek Ho** (Workers of the world unite). When the demonstration was passing near another May Day meeting separately organised by the UTUC and others, again the slogans of unity rent the air.

Other slogans of the May Day demanded cut in taxes, withdrawal of restriction on trade union activities, recognition of trade unions and other trade union rights. An important slogan of the May Day Committee was: **Defend Democracy.**

The mammoth meeting at Gandhi Grounds was held under the chairmanship of Comrade Ram Chandar Sharma and was addressed by speakers belonging to different trade unions.

By a resolution the meeting criticised the continuation of Section 144 in Delhi. Amongst other resolutions one which invited Gagarin to come to India was acclaimed with loud and continuous applause. Urdu Poet Niaz Haider recited his poem on May Day to the great appreciation of the audience. The meeting was followed by a cultural programme.

The demonstrators carried many Sputnik models, placards announcing their production victories, slogans in support of Cuba and the struggle of the colonial peoples and demanding peace. There was a long procession demanding world disarmament and demonstrators carried huge pictures of bombs and war destruction and suffering crossed out with bold red lines and the words: "This must not repeat itself."

A highlight of the day was the moment when a streamlined shining model of a long rocket with glass windows and a shining glass nose tip drove in on four wheels. It was really something between a spaceship of the future and a comfortable modern bus and had the words "Vostok" and "USSR" written over it.

This vehicle stopped in the centre of the Square under a high canopy of flags topped with a huge multicoloured globe and the word "Peace" written on it. The door of this

BERLIN

BY CABLE

In Berlin the capital of the German Democratic Republic, 250,000 people took part in May Day celebrations on the Marx-Engels Platz.

Opening the celebration, Alfred Neumann Pem stressed the need of a peace treaty with both German States and the formation of a free and neutral city of West Berlin. The demonstration began with a march-past of the units of the National People's Army. It is really thrilling to watch

fantastic rocket opened and lots of children in space-suits and plastic helmets emerged with flowers in their hands. A roar of cheers and laughter greeted them as they rushed to the tribune and presented their bouquets to the Soviet leaders and guests.

Demonstrators carried models and pictures of up-to-date machines and instruments and the latest products of Moscow's plants and factories. Raised over the human sea were the pictures of Soviet leaders and of Yuri Gagarin. There were many calls to fulfil the Seven-Year Plan ahead of time and welcome the Party Congress in a fitting manner with new achievements.

Marshal Malinovsky, the Soviet Minister of Defence, who inspected the march-past of the military forces earlier emphasised the enthusiasm and moral and political upsurge of the Soviet people for the forthcoming 22nd Party Congress, which will be a new milestone in the advance of the country towards Communism.

The Soviet people could not disregard the fresh war preparations of the Western Powers, Malinovsky said. They are watchfully following the manoeuvres of the imperialists and taking all the necessary steps. The Soviet armed forces were equipped with the "most up-to-date means of warfare which are superior to anything any army ever had."

And as a living proof of his words came the mighty weapons of the Soviet forces rumbling past the tribunes during the military parade. There were ground to air missiles capable of hitting high altitude targets and rockets and bigger rockets and still bigger rockets. The superlong-range missiles, each a few dozen metres long, drew applause and admiration from the crowd. This was the mighty arm of the world capable of teaching a lesson to any aggressor.

The celebrations on the streets continued all day and late into the night and go on today. At 9 in the evening, a salute of multi-coloured fantastic fireworks boomed out over the gay capital.

These last days have been almost a continuous rejoicing and celebration. The triumphant space flight, Cuban victory, defeat of the ultra-fascists in France, all these were people's victories and gave colour to this year's May Day. Now we go over to the Centenary celebrations of Rabindranath Tagore.

the soldiers of the first peace-loving German State being cheered by Germans and foreign guests alike. For the first time in the history of Germany, soldiers are being trained to defend the achievements of their working class and not to commit aggression against their neighbours.

Then all of a sudden the square was full of young pioneers who brought bouquets for the leaders on the tribune and for the cheering public.

PEACE PRIZE WINNERS

AT a meeting held at the Constitution Club in New Delhi, on May 4 to felicitate Srimati Rameshwari Nehru on the award of a Lenin Peace Prize, a large and distinguished audience warmly acclaimed Srimati Nehru and the different speakers stressed the manifold activities in which she has been long engaged in the service of the people and of world peace. The function presided over by Delhi Mayor Sham Nath was addressed among others by Soviet Ambassador Benediktov, Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali, Chowdhury Brahm Prakash, Smt. Raksha Saran, Clovis Maksoud and Romesh Chandra. Along with Srimati Nehru other recipients of this year's Lenin Peace Prize are Fidel Castro, Sekou Toure, Mikhail Sadovenou, Antoine Tabat, Ostap Dinstsa and William Morrow.

Privilege Motion Against New Age Withdrawn

READERS will recall that in its April 2 issue, New Age had analysed PSP Member Hem Barua's attack on the Minister for Oil and Mines K. D. Malaviya in connection with the Hindustan Times' baseless report of a mishap at Rudrasagar and the tactics employed in the attack. We had then commented that it was sheer prejudice that blinded some people and made them stoop to the lowest level of mendacity to defame national policies and persons connected with those policies. The PSP member took strong objection to the comment and brought it up as a motion of privilege, and the Speaker of the Lok Sabha wrote to the Chief Editor of New Age.

In his reply, the Chief Editor of New Age pointed out that while there was no intention of obstructing any Hon. Member of Parliament in the discharge of his duties, still it was necessary to point out the tendency to distort facts that was involved.

Surprisingly enough, when the matter came up before the House Sri Hem Barua, still unhappy over the fact that no regret had been expressed, chose to withdraw his privilege motion out of "magnanimity."

Such "magnanimity" towards the Communist Party's journal on the part of a PSP member of Sri Hem Barua's standing we thought was rather unusual but then it is not for us to explain why Sri Barua chose this course. We, however, hope the chapter is now closed.

For over three hours workers and peasants, artists and members of the intelligentsia, young and old, demonstrated for peace and international solidarity of the working class.

There were thousands of workers from West Berlin who were greeted with the most enthusiastic applause. They proved that in spite of the disruptive policies of their Social-Democratic leadership they are united with their brethren in GDR in the fight for a better Germany.