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Good Get-Together For National Integration

By Our Political Correspondent

The communal riots in Jabalpur and other places, the Assamese-Bengali conflict in Assam, and similar suicidal events brought to the fore the issue of fraternal amity and national unity, the very foundations of our national independent existence and peaceful progressive development.

THE basic instincts of the mass of the Indian people are healthy. They were correctly expressed by the Vice-President in this year's National Day message, "there is a yearning for greater understanding and goodwill among the people in the country". But there are anti-national reactionary, communal and separatist elements in our country who have been indulging in rabble-rousing, creating darkness, producing tensions. They have brought about a situation that our democratic system and national fabric is in danger.

The most effective initiative to meet this new disruptive offensive of Reaction, to reforge national unity by rekindling the best in our common people, was aptly due from the ruling Party, the Congress. The Communist Party leadership was the first to demand and promise support to such an initiative. There were influential elements inside the Congress leadership, as also in the country outside, who felt its necessity and urgency.

Hopes were aroused when Union Home Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri, promised to convene an All-Parties meeting to consider the grave situation. Again when the National Integration Committee was formed under Smt. Indira Gandhi's leadership and it was forecast that it will seek the cooperation of all other secular elements. It became a hot and live issue at the time of the Muslim Convention. But no such initiative was unleashed, producing frustration, perpetuating drift. The disruptive and mischievous elements felt emboldened.

Tragic Mistake

The real reason for this tragic miss lay in the serious and mounting resistance from inside the top Congress leadership itself. It was thought inside the Congress High Command that if during the election year the mass of the people saw that the ruling Party has to seek the cooperation of other parties to face the communal situation, it would not be good, either for the Congress prestige or for vote-catching. As a logical consequence of the above some also felt that it would enhance the prestige of the Opposition parties and above all the Communist Party and as such it was a big political risk. It was also argued that such an All Parties Conference ran the danger of having to face charges and counter-charges, both from the minorities as also the majority community, that it might thus further heat up rather than cool down the situation.

All these were false fears,

and the outlook disclosed defeatist, irresponsible, as also narrowly partisan. It could not obviously last long. Neither the situation could permit it nor the good sense within the Congress itself hold on to this impossible and unreasonable position, defiance of national tradition, urgent necessity and obvious duty.

The welcome change, a new initiative, came on August 13, through a meeting held in the Prime Minister's House. It was formally a meeting of the National Integration Committee which had invited various other secular elements interested in strengthening National Integration.

Welcome Change

Among the invitees, besides leading Congress members and some Ministers, were Communist leaders Dr. Z. A. Ahmad and Prof. Hiren Mukerjee, Independents like Acharya Kripalani and Dr. Kunzru, educationists like the Delhi Vice-Chancellor Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao and so on. Asoka Mehta found "a previous engagement" more important and the PSP went unrepresented. Representatives of parties like the Jan Sangh were not invited because it was felt that they belonged to the opposite camp.

The Prime Minister addressed the meeting and explained at length the decisions of the latest Chief Ministers' Conference on National Integration, the language rights of the minorities in particular and how to solve the language problem with a view to achieving greater national unity through mutual understanding and respect for each others' rights. The decision of the Chief Ministers' Conference were broadly endorsed by the gathering.

In the general discussion that followed Dr. Ahmad briefly outlined the historical background and roots of the problem. He pointed out that the ideological content of the traditional national movement was weak and hence after the impelling factor of foreign domination disappeared the forces of the old order began to raise their heads. No new ideological ferment had been generated in the post-Independence period to help the patriotic elements solve the new problems. The political forces that stood for democracy and Socialism were much too divided. The unevenness of economic development had enabled Reaction to make a mass appeal, get organised in a big way and become a national menace.

The Congress leaders who heard Dr. Ahmad themselves recalled that the Prime Minister at the Durgapur AICC

meeting last May had also stressed the weak foundation of our nationalism while speaking on the Assam situation.

There was a round of general discussion, which revealed points of contact and common understanding among the participants. It was widely felt that the concrete recommendations of the National Integration Committee, which had already been endorsed by an earlier Chief Ministers' Conference, cannot be successfully implemented unless they enjoy the wholehearted and active support of broad national opinion. The inescapable conclusion was drawn that the administrative measures could be effective only if popular support was mobilized for them by various secular elements together and on a national scale.

It was decided that the next meeting should be a business like conference which should pinpoint the actual problems facing the minorities, which should be discussed factually and in their proper national perspective.

All-Parties Meet

Such an All-Parties Conference will be held sometime by the middle of September. The official release states, "there was a general realisation that all parties which believe in secular values should cooperate to tackle the problem on a non-party and non-partisan basis."

Among the parties which are likely to be invited to this next conference are the Con-

gress, the Communist, Praja Socialist and Socialist Parties. However, parties like Jan Sangh and the Swatantra are not likely to be formally invited. Eminent individuals in the fields of education, social work, Arts and Sciences will of course be invited.

The next All-Parties Meet will be called upon to squarely face the historic responsibility of our generation, understand the just grievances of the minorities and find principled solution, forge national sanction through the unity of all the secular forces. The problem of problems is to make the September conference a success and fruitful. This is the only way to save India's good name and consciously and unitedly resume the nation's march to its great destiny.



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25 nP.

"ALL KASHMIR IS INDIAN" SAYS KHRUSHCHOV

FROM MASOOD ALI KHAN

Your correspondent has had unusual good luck these past few days. To be in Moscow, to paraphrase Wordsworth, is bliss these days but to get a message both from Khrushchov and Titov in the course of a few days is very Heaven.

NIKITA Khrushchov, the Soviet Premier told your correspondent at a glittering reception on August 14 that the Soviet Government still considered the whole of Kashmir to be an inseparable part of India.

Khrushchov in a relaxed mood replied to journalists' questions in the presence, among others, of the President of the State Council of the Rumanian People's Republic, Gheorghiu-Dej, who was on a State visit to the Soviet Union.

Khrushchov began by a Russian proverb "When I eat, I am deaf and dumb", but later he invited us to an informal talk and answered some of the questions.

I asked him that when he was in India he had declared that the Soviet Union thought all Kashmir to be Indian territory and whe-

ther this was still the view of the Soviet Government.

He categorically declared: "Yes, it still is".

titov saw our beautiful mountains

Major Titov, the Soviet cosmonaut was also among the chief guests at the reception. Naturally enough the big bunch of journalists jostled and pushed to get a scoop. He was charming in his modesty but more than deft in the handling of us all. And it was the second big moment when he turned and talked to me.

Flying over India in his spaceship Vostok II, Soviet

These words rang out in the crowded hall and must have resounded in Washington and stung the ears of Ayub Khan. It was a clear, firm and staunch support by the Soviet Union to the territorial integrity of our motherland.

Union's hero Cosmonaut Gherman Titov "saw beautiful mountains" from the depths of the cosmic space.

Cosmonaut II, who has raised the ceiling of space travel from 108 minutes to 25 hours 18 minutes and who is the only human being to have seen 17 sunsets and 17 sunrises in a day, regretted that he could not find more time

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INTO THE FIFTEENTH YEAR

On this 15th August India celebrated its fourteenth National Day and entered the fifteenth year of independent existence and development. In individual life, in our country, at fifteen childhood begins to become a memory of the past and vibrant self-confident young adult age begins. Can we say this about our post-independence national life and experience?

THE learned Vice-President acting for the sick President has harped on the right key in his Independence Day message to the nation:

"To make a new India we need not only industrial progress and political maturity, but a renewal of faith in the future of the country...."

"Our country is growing better in many ways". The labour and sacrifices of our working people throughout the country have ensured this much. But this is not the whole picture.

The Vice-President very realistically pointed it out when he stated: "There is a sense of disappointment. The old contempt and fears, the barriers of caste and communities still divide us". These evils persist not in their passive state but they have been activated by the forces of darkness to achieve their reactionary aims.

This has become such a big phenomena in the life of our nation that the Acting Head of the State had to warn the nation on the solemn day that "they are undermining our democratic system which is based on the four principles of national unity, social justice, secularism which means respect for all faiths, and peaceful social changes".

To combat these destructive forces the Vice-President appealed to the people "to organise their emotions in terms of national unity".

thought for the day

With the beginning of a new national day it behoves our countrymen to seriously think out how instead of national self-confidence, national worry about the future of the country is expressed by the Head of the State and on such an auspicious day.

The Congress, the ruling party, has after independence, begun to claim more and more the monopoly of patriotism and political wisdom. "The claim is not only historically false, but narrowly partisan. It is only meant to hide the weaknesses of official policy", of its growing compromise with the social forces which stand behind the evils of casteism, communalism and separatism, which have now become bold enough to bare their teeth.

These unjust compromises and unholy alliances, during the post-independence period, not only went against the best national tradition of the past, but also ousted the declared policies of the Congress itself.

In such a situation all-round rot, ideological, moral, political and organisational, could not but spread and go on spreading inside the ruling Party. And this has gone on,

NOTES OF THE WEEK

power to exercise all the functions of the leader in the latter's absence. It was, however, approved by 87 votes to 74. A very large number remained neutral or were absent from the meeting.

encourage intrigues and manoeuvres, with every one trying to push himself forward, and disrupt both discipline and unity".

MURDER— A NEW WEAPON

ALIGARH in U.P. has been a traditional Congress strong-hold. It is faced with a spate of murders, 54 last year and 46 up-to-date this year. This came out in answer to interpellations, from U.P. Home Minister, Charan Singh, who stated that while the Panchayat elections were responsible for many of them, factionalism within the ruling party was also a serious contributory factor.

A similar tale was told by the Andhra Chief Minister, on August 13, on the floor of the Legislative Council, "Panchayat elections have resulted in the revival of factions and rivalries leading to an increase of murders".

The type of "democracy" that is being encouraged under the existing set-up is producing gangsterism and murders, at the lower levels, as political weapons. The Congress President himself admitted, before a Congress workers meeting, in Raipur on August 7, that the original strength of the Congress had got sapped.

"The Congress President said that despite the increase in membership the Congress today was much weaker than what it was in pre-independence days. Personal rivalry had weakened the organisation".

just demand

This is the way to ensure that the Punjab Suba will not be bossed by the Sikh communalism but, unitedly run by the Sikhs and Hindus together in a truly democratic, secular spirit.

Punjab Communist leaders have already met the Prime Minister and also Master Tara Singh but drawn blank.

The alternatives are sharp and clear enough for all who can read the sign of times aright.

Their own linguistic Suba cannot be denied to the Punjab as it could not be to the Maharashtrians or the Andhras.

If the Suba comes through the self-immolation of the Akali leader then Sikh communalism will rule the roost.

If the Suba comes through a wise timely declaration by the Union Government, based on learning from the bitter past and drawing the correct lesson from the same, for the future course of action then the Punjab Suba will become a new bastion of Indian democracy, and secularism, based on Sikh-Hindu fraternal co-operation.

The land of Bhagat Singh must not be permitted to be toyed with by the Kairons and Tara Singhs, nor the notorious Maharaja of Patiala and Asoka Mehtas allowed to fish in its troubled waters.

—P. C. JOSHI

AUGUST 20, 1961

third plan and big business demagoguery

The week following the publication of the final version of the Third Five Year Plan has witnessed the most unusual spectacle of our country's monopoly dominated press espousing the cause of the common man. The obvious drawbacks of the Plan, its faulty policies in respect of prices, resources, etc., all have been exploited by these new champions of the have-nots to hit hard at the planners, and ingratiate themselves in the eyes of the common people.

THUS, the Indian Express, the organ of the Goenkas, dramatically asks "Why is it that despite this considerable achievement in the industrial field the common man has remained apathetic to this record of economic growth?" and then answers, because the "development seems to have been achieved at the cost of the living standards of the vulnerable sections of our people". The Free Press Journal goes a step ahead to point to the "chronic problem of all our planning: a fatal inability to prevent middle class frustration".

Monopolists' manoeuvre

What, however, lies at the back of this metamorphosis, which has made these and other organs of the have-nots, evolve concrete guarantees to ally just Hindu-Sikh fears and go all-out to unite the Punjabis, both Hindus and Sikhs, through united efforts of all secular and democratic elements, above all Congressmen and Communists.

The lead in this respect is naturally taken by the organ of the British interests in India, the Capital, which is also the most forthright in stating what it regrets the Plan lacks. Straightaway it attacks the basic strategy of the Plan, "its continued concentration on heavy long-term projects in the public sector" which it calls the "Soviet-style".

The shortcomings in the implementation of the public sector projects in the Second Plan, and their overbearing dependence on foreign aid have been exploited by it to dub this strategy as constituting the "main danger to stability" and impediment to "progress".

Inflation, clearly an offshoot of the absence of a definite price policy, is ascribed by it to "the loss in private sector economic activity represented by the insupportable weight of taxation and borrowing required to finance development projects which will inevitably be long-term in their yield".

From this general assertion about the emphasis on the public sector alone being the reason for dependence on external aid, for inflation and other obvious maladies, it is not far for the Capital to conclude that to obviate these evils "it is essential that disparity in investment targets between the private sector and the public be scaled down to something more commensurate with the capabilities of each".

Emboldened by its successes during the Second Plan—when

it overshot its investment target by Rs. 900 crores—the private sector now boastfully talks about its capabilities, but it forgets that this triumph of its was not of its own making, but was rather the result of the policy of concessions adopted and implemented by the right-wingers in the Government itself.

In what spheres precisely can these capabilities be utilised is made explicit by Commerce. "In the sphere of both solid and liquid fuels" it writes "the planners could have given a larger responsibility to the private sector than they have done".

Questioning the "socialist doctrinaireism and out-moded beliefs" it asserts that "in the matter of power generation and distribution, too, the private sector could have been given

greater scope". Shipping and road, transport which are at present preponderantly in private hands, are canvassed as deserving a higher priority, as also cotton mills, which are pitted against handlooms and powerlooms which have a large potential for employment.

The monopoly press is, thus, not averse to having a big plan. In fact, it is all for it. What it is against is the policy of giving a sizeable place to the public sector in the Plan and to giving to it important projects. It is also against the Plan's resource pattern which lays emphasis on increased taxation and borrowing. These this section of the press frowns upon.

"The burden of taxation", laments the Indian Express, "increases unconsciously with the weight of each successive plan". The Commerce, too, is apprehensive about the possibility of "adequate resources" being available for the private sector "especially as great stress has been laid by the planners on the need for a strict check over the growth of bank credit".

The same view has been expressed not through a press comment but directly by the President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, Karam Chand Thaper, who has said that the "diversion of savings to this large extent" to the public sector "may dry up an important source of finance to the organised private sector".

The FICCI, as the most representative exponent of India's big business, and the press over which the big business has its sway, has showered encomiums on the Plan. They have acclaimed it as a "land mark" and have vociferously pledged their support to its overall targets.

In pointing to its shortcomings, too, they have referred to all the facets which strike the people and the nation. The short-fall in exports, the lack of a decisive price policy, the lacunae in implementation, all these they have spotted out with a gusto.

And yet, theirs is a sham protest, since all it aims at is to win the people's good will, to cash on their grievances, to build their own case for the reversal of the Plan. Instead of a big public sector, in lines vital to the country's future progress, they want a bigger private

sector with its feet firmly planted in every sector. No line should be closed to it, according to them, for that would imperil the nation's growth. They even bandy phrases about their socialistic faith, which to them should have a billet for them too. All this is a part of their design to hoodwink the people, who have their own scores to settle against the planners.

Such is the dangerous state of public opinion on the morrow of the Plan. The big business, with its vast resources, has already fired its first salvoes at the aims and objectives of the Plan. The people—the large mass of them—smarting under the inequities of income distribution, and the frustrations resulting from the denial to them of the fruit of progress, are sullen and discontented.

Here is a challenge to the planners to fill in the blanks in the Plan, to give it a firm price policy, directed against the hoarders and speculators, and a democratic orientation in distribution, and to the democratic sections of the people, too, to clearly understand what the Plan lacks, and mount up a campaign in defence of the objectives enshrined in it.

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ESSEN

Young Workers' Conference

by SARADA MITRA

THE Second Conference of All India Youth Federation, held in Hyderabad from May 19 to 21 last, decided to hold a conference of young workers in cooperation with the trade unions. The decision for holding such a conference followed the discussion on the major weaknesses of the present youth movement.

The report of the last two years' activities of the AIYF had revealed that even in the big industrial cities we could not draw in vast sections of young workers into the youth movement.

Limited Participation

From time to time, on general youth activities around festivals or anti-imperialist campaigns, we have been able to mobilise a good number of young workers through the trade unions. But such participation had its limited value and did not help us in spreading the youth movement among the young workers.

Besides the common features and aspirations which distinguish the young generation from other sections of the population, every section of the youth has its own problems and desires which stem from the position it occupies in society and from the conditions in which it lives and works.

A young worker, as any

other youth, desires to learn and develop his talents. Facilities for such a development particularly for a young worker is extremely limited in our country.

Thousands of young people, who in their early age were deprived of any facilities for education or even to learn the alphabet are forced to join the ranks of unskilled workers to earn their living. These young workers, after joining the factories, find no possibility for general education.

Their desire for learning a trade remains only a dream, as in the industrial enterprises there exists no scope for professional training for the young workers. As a result most of these young workers never get an opportunity for technical qualification, in their life time.

Just because they are young, they are subjected to various types of discrimination. In most of the industrial enterprises an equal wage for equal work is still not granted. There exists no job security for them. They become the first targets at the time of retrenchment.

Scanty Opportunities

The facilities for apprenticeship training are still very limited. Though it has been a demand of the trade unions for a long time, yet such facilities are available only in few industrial enterprises.

Even those who are fortunate enough to get the ap-

prenticeship facilities, after finishing their training do not have their job as guaranteed. There exists no law for safeguarding of young workers' rights. The law regarding the employment of adolescents is extremely inadequate and that, too, is often disregarded by the employers.

Opportunities for leisure and recreation for the young workers are not considered as essential. Till the other day some used to think sports and cultural activities to be a luxury for the young workers. Of late workers recreational centres have been set up in some industrial centres. But often these centres are used by the employers to keep workers out of labour movement.

Obstacles Ahead

These are some of the important problems which our young workers face in their life. The youth movement, if it has to rally lakhs of working youth in its fold and become an effective force in society, has got to take up these problems specific to this section of youth and strive for their solution.

What are the difficulties of the leadership of the existing youth movement, in doing so? It is not so much because of lack of desire to accomplish this task, as it is due to two big practical hurdles.

Firstly, a unified youth movement comprising the major sections of the youth in our country, is still in an infant stage. It has no long standing traditions from which to draw lessons.

Secondly, at present, vast

sections of young workers are organised only in trade unions—the organisations which fight for the rights of entire working people. Without the active support and cooperation of the trade unions it is impossible for the present youth movement to extend its activities among the young workers and effectively to take up their burning problems.

By helping to organise the young workers in the youth movement the trade unions will, in fact, be better able to clinch the task of activating and educating the most militant sections of workers. Young workers, by participating in the youth movement will develop as conscious organisers.

By developing the youth movement among the workers the trade unions will also widen the sphere of trade union activities, which are now mainly restricted to the economic struggle. Beside bringing the above mentioned specific demands of the young workers to the forefront the youth movement can greatly help in fighting the influence of obscurantist ideology, cultural backwardness, illiteracy and social prejudices among the workers.

Trade Unions Approached

These are a few considerations which led our conference to approach all the national trade unions for co-operation in holding the young workers' conference. No doubt these do not exhaust all the problems related to the participation of young

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GOA BROOKS NO DELAY!

Editorial

VERY APPROPRIATELY, on the eve of the National Day, the Lok Sabha unanimously and amidst resounding applause passed a Constitutional Amendment Bill incorporating Dadra and Nagar Haveli into the Indian Union. They are tiny bits of territory but their solemn and formal union with the rest of India was like the long-lost son and daughter coming back home, into the bosom of the awaiting mother, India.

Very naturally Goa, yet in chains, stood uppermost in the minds of all. When the Prime Minister stated that some one would one day present a Bill incorporating the remaining Goa, Daman and Diu into the Indian Union, several MPs spontaneously cried out "You will yourself do it, Sir". The MPs, thus, vigorously expressed not only the nation's most fervent desire but also clearly acknowledged the fast changing situation which can lead to its consummation if all of us do our bit to liberate our motherland from the foul remnants of Portuguese colonialism.

The rest of the Portuguese Empire is afire. In the Lok Sabha foreign policy debate India's Prime Minister denounced the "horrible" atrocities of the Portuguese and paid a tribute to the Angolan patriots for being able to carry liberation struggle against all odds.

The uplifting example of the Angolan fighters could not but inspire our Goan brothers and Goa is afloat. Their commands, with their very first armed actions, have created a panic among the Portuguese occupationists. Large-scale arrests have been made, one Goan patriot killed, to prevent Goan demonstrations on the Indian National Day.

The selfless example of independent African States giving all-aid to Angola could not but make Indian official circles rethink on their passive policy towards Portuguese usurpation and Goan liberation.

The new wind from the Afro-Asian countries as also from within our own Goa could not but influence, for the better, Indian official policy.

The best news of the week is that the Indian Government is no more sticking to its old posture, of sitting tight over Goa.

The first clear evidence came when the Union Deputy Minister for Home Affairs Mrs. Alva warned the Portuguese that the Government of India might have to reorientate its policy if murders of political suspects continued and that Angola will not be allowed to be repeated in Goa. She stated this on the auspicious Independence Day, speaking in Belgium, bordering on Goa.

The second and more authoritative announcement came from the Prime Minister himself on August 16 speaking in the Rajya Sabha, that steps to be taken for the liberation of Goa could not be considered "as closed chapter" but would be reviewed from time to time.

More, he did not rule out the use of the Indian Army for this purpose at an appropriate time.

Still more, as if countering those who talked of non-violence to disown the growing guerilla struggle in Goa, he stated "I have no moral objection to people with guns fighting for freedom".

He put himself in tune with the national sentiment by stating that he could "well understand the frustration in the minds of many about the Goan problem".

The remnant of earlier hesitation and weakness came up when the Prime Minister did not relish Bhubesh Gupta's suggestion to permit Indian volunteers, whether armed or unarmed, to go in and fight shoulder to shoulder with their Goan brothers.

S. A. Dange advanced the most apt slogan for the day when speaking on the foreign policy debate and hailing the Angolan struggle he urged: Open the second front in Goa! The Goan liberation struggle is India's first front, the intensification of the struggle and all-out support and solidarity from the rest of India will transform it into the second front for Angolan liberation as well.

A very thoughtful and truly Indian expression of the new spirit is embodied in the decision of the National Federation of Indian Women to observe the week prior to the Raksha Bandhan day this year, which falls on August 26, as Goa-Angola Freedom Week.

In Delhi a big contingent of women, from various women's organisations, will present Violet Alva a special Goa-Angola Rakhi and then go round tying these Rakhis on others pledging them all to do their best for Goa-Angola liberation.

— All for Goa!
— Everything for Goa!

Such is the clear call of our motherland and it brooks no delay. It will be our greatest solidarity contribution to the vast Afro-Asian upsurge for freedom. It will be the end of Portuguese colonialism and one more nail in the coffin of world imperialism.

(August 17)

* FROM FRONT PAGE

to observe India from outer space as at that time he was busy in work.

He opened the porthole once over India and saw our lovely mountains. Titov regretted that he could not travel to foreign countries for some time as he had to stay under constant medical observation.

He was in good spirits and looked as healthy as any inhabitant of the earth could possibly wish to be. He was wearing his new pilot-cosmonaut's badge Hero's Gold Star and the Order of Lenin. "I saw Africa very well and Latin America at night and then Mexico and North America. I saw Europe very clearly, too." He mentioned that while over Mexico he saw a very beautiful bay. But England was as usual under cloud.

His good-looking wife, looking sunburnt and wearing a black evening dress remarked that she would like to accompany her husband into space, "But he won't take me".

"Things are so comfortable in cosmos that it is sometimes better to be without your wife" came the quick reply from the naughty cosmonaut.

As the orchestra played Rumanian jazz, Tamara said her husband danced very well but did not like modern dancing.

Next day Titov's press conference was held in the glittering Convocation Hall of the Moscow University. All the 1,500 seats were occupied and people crowded the corridors. Apart from local and foreign press and radio correspondents, diplomats and scientists also attended this extraordinary press conference. Delegates to the International Bio-chemical Conference were also present.

MOON-NEXT SPACE TARGET

Mstislav Keldysh, President of the Soviet Academy of Sciences said in his opening remarks that the flight of Vostok II was "the greatest achievement" of Soviet science, technology and the entire Soviet people. "The Soviet Union had placed its tremendous achievement in the field of rocketry at the service of peace and human progress," Keldysh said.

Flights of Soviet space-ships showed that the time was not far off when voyages to the moon and other planets would become a reality. "The new phenomena which we shall encounter there will be employed to better the life on earth".

Vostok II had all the necessary equipment for a prolonged space flight (up to 10 days — it was disclosed at the press conference later). It is controlled automatically but can also be controlled manually by the pilot who can make all the manoeuvres required for scientific observations and land at any point on the globe.

The flight had yielded extremely valuable scientific information which will be published after processing and will become the possession of all scientists of the world.

a cosmic day

Gherman Titov was greeted by an ovation when he rose to speak. The first impression of weightlessness was that he found he was flying legs up, he said, but later he found the normal position easily. The ship obeyed the controls beautifully and he could turn it any way he liked and could send it in any direction. "I felt myself complete master of the ship and it obeyed my will", Titov said.

He said that the view out there was extraordinary: "All colours of the rainbow" and sometimes it seemed the globe was hanging above one's head. The condition inside were better than in towns as the air was purer.

Titov said that the design of the ship allowed for two ways of landing—in the ship's cabin or by parachute, using the ejector seat. Titov preferred the second way and came to earth on parachute from a small altitude. Prof. Vladimir Vozdovsky said that Titov's prolonged stay in conditions of zero gravity had produced some changes in the vestibule's apparatus which sometimes led to unpleasant sensations.

PLEA FOR DISARMAMENT

Major Titov said that constant observations of the sun were continuing all through the flight; therefore, there could be no surprises but even if something happened, he could have landed the ship any time.

"Moreover, the ship is protected both against radiation and against meteorites", and, headed, smilingly "If you decide to fly on this ship into space, have no fears. Everything will be all right".

Titov said he could work in flight. He had made entries in the log book and even signed some autographs up there. He declared "The time is not far off when ordinary people will be able to go into space on their free-day or for a vacation as they now go to the Crimea. I think people will feel as well in space as they do in the Black Sea health resorts".

Earlier at a reception in the Kremlin, Khrushchev made a passionate plea for an end to the arms race and warned of the terrible consequences of war in today's conditions. He was speaking at a happy occasion toasting the cosmonaut but he digressed to a sombre note and spoke in no uncertain words.

FOR BENEFIT OF ALL

"We want peace for ourselves and all others. Understand us when we say that in order to have peace, we must have a German peace treaty and no threats will stop us. We, the Soviet Government, believe that after the peace treaty there will be no war. Only mad-men would reply to a peace treaty by war", he said.

However, when the cosmonaut assumed the initial collected position and made no sharp movements his head, these sensations disappeared. After sleep the changes were felt considerably less and disappeared entirely when the braking system was switched on. There were no changes in the cosmonaut's health after the flight and now all his physiological functions were the same as pre-flight.

To attack the Soviet Union will be tantamount to suicide as the Soviet Union will have to use its rockets and atomic weapons. He said scientists had told him they could make a bomb equivalent to 100 million tons of TNT while the rocket men said they could deliver it.

"Is that the picture of the future? Fools! Think what you are doing" he said with passion. "We would like to throw all these bombs into the ocean and the money saved could be used to develop science and to aid the underdeveloped countries. That would be a great happiness for mankind and that is our aim", he said.

Coming back to the celebrations of the day, Premier Khrushchev proposed a toast to the health of the cosmonaut and the Soviet scientists. "The Socialist system is the launching pad from which our rockets are launched into space", he proudly declared.

Major Titov was decorated by President Brezhnev and a gala concert followed. A group photograph was taken of the cosmonaut and his wife, parents, sister and other relatives. Khrushchev, Brezhnev and others joined the group.

At night a salute of twenty guns was fired, scattering rainbow colours of the fireworks all over the Moscow sky.

Aligarh University In Danger

The recent discussion in the Parliament about the affairs of the Aligarh University has aroused considerable interest in diverse sections of Indian public opinion. With the growing awareness in the country of the dangers of disruptive trends like communalism and with the increasing realisation that universities should develop as centres for the development of national integration, the interest aroused was quite natural.

WITH the exception of Prakash Veer Shastri and Balraj Madhok, who represent the Hindu communal lobby and for whom the very word "Muslim" is anathema, all other speakers, representing secular parties, were in one way or the other moved by the desire to help the University outlive its pre-47 past, develop along the general lines laid down by Dr. Zakir Hussain under his term of Vice-Chancellorship and become a centre of secular-democratic ideas and scientific education inculcating amongst its students a feeling of oneness with the Indian people.

Prakash Veer Shastri had, however, his own axe to grind. Even though the Enquiry Committee had gone into all the charges levelled by him against the University and had found most of them baseless, he presented a list of ill-founded "charges" once again. He found time to abuse senior teachers of the University like Prof. Habib, Prof. Suroor and Prof. Aleem, who, unlike Shastri himself, have never been tainted by communalism.

It is not accidental that forces of Muslim communalism that were lying low in the University raised their ugly heads and became vocal only after the Congress-League alliance had given an aura of respectability to this anti-national trend in our political life.

They have become bold enough to demand, as Prof. Rasheed Ahmad Siddique has demanded in a journal brought out by the University funds, that the Muslim University should be respon-

sible to the Muslim nation (quam).

Muslim communalists of all varieties—ranging from the Jama-eti-Islami to disgruntled Congressmen—have joined hands to proclaim in a widely distributed pamphlet that Islam should be declared the "ideology of the University" and that those swearing by Karl Marx or Vinoba Bhawe are "atheists and rationalists" and should be shown the door.

With "Defend the Islamic Character of the University" as their chief slogan, the communal elements are desperately trying to derail the academic life of the University and to undo the valuable work done by Dr. Zakir Hussain.

The University Grants Commission, with a view to develop regional specialisation in various universities, encouraged the setting up of institutes for that purpose. Africa was allotted to Delhi, South East Asia to Banaras, Far East to Calcutta and West Asia and North Africa to Aligarh.

It is for this purpose that the Institute of Islamic Studies was established in Aligarh. But immediately after Dr. Zakir Hussain's departure from the scene, the communalists started a virulent campaign to transform the Institute into a centre for the study of Muslim theology and of modern problems from "the Islamic point of view". The Director resisted these attempts. Hence the ire of the

lms in which the Khilafat-e-Ras idea lives and works" (Pakistan, apparently)!

Muslim communalists are against the Head of the Department of History and Prof. Habeeb because they resist the use of the University funds for "historical research" of this kind. The learned Shastri is naturally in their august company.

Urdu "Studies"

Allgah Muslim University is a major centre of Urdu studies. The Head of the Department of Urdu Prof. Suroor is a progressive democrat, who, while tirelessly working for the progress and development of Urdu language and literature, does not permit the department to be used for the propagation of separatist ideas under the cloak of defending Urdu.

Muslim communalists cannot stand him because they have come out openly as advocates of what they call the "Urdu Samaj"—or the old wine of "Muslim nation" in a new bottle. It is in this context alone that Shastri's attack on Prof. Suroor can be properly understood.

Dr. Zakir Hussain established a cultural committee in the University to enable the students to develop their artistic talents and to foster emotional integration among young men and

women coming from different parts of India.

Muslim revivalists have unleashed a virulent campaign against plays and songs presented by the students for such activities, they say, are "un-Islamic".

In the year of grace 1960 in the secular Republic of India, the students of the Aligarh University committed the crime of presenting Mollere's "La Tor-tuffe" on the stage. The communal lobby in the University came in motion. The script was referred to the Dean of Theology. He declared it un-Islamic and the staging of the play was banned. Are we living in 17th century France where the same play was banned by the Church and the Court?

Anti-Communist Barrage

Such are the implications of the slogan "Defend the Islamic character of the University" in terms of the various branches of University life. The issues are clear—obscurantism versus progress, secularism versus communalism. Communalists of all hues from Shastri to Dr. Yusuf Hussain Khan stand on one side and democrats who believe in secularism and progress on the other.

In order to cover their real face, the communalists, as usual, use the tattered mask of anti-Communism. Of course, there are Communist-minded teachers in the University. With the growing

From Our Correspondent

is an important element of the growth of communalism in the country as a whole. But the man to whom most credit goes for restoring communalism to the dominating position in the University is Dr. Yusuf Hussain Khan the present Pro-Vice-Chancellor. This gentleman has an interesting past.

He had won the favour of the Nizam by writing a biography of Nizam-ul Mulk I, full of eulogies for that despicable dynasty and promising eternity to its rule. He became such a confidant of the Nizam that he was sent to Paris in 1948 to plead the case of the Nizam against India at the UNO.

From there he went to Pakistan. Since his return (now he was allowed to do so in shrouded in mystery) he has traded the name of his elder brother and has succeeded in obtaining the Pro-Vice-Chancellorship of the Aligarh University.

On assuming the office, he immediately took up the leadership of the remnants of the old Muslim League gang whose members had been thrown into the background by Dr. Zakir Hussain. By bestowing favours right and left, he has been able to build a strong factional group which controls the various bodies of the University.

It was under the pressure of this group that the Executive Council of the University rejected, in the main, the re-

secularism threatened by hindu-muslim communalists

commendations of the Enquiry Committee.

The democratic recommendations of the Enquiry Committee, if accepted, would have rendered the rigging of selection committees very difficult and would have, in many other ways, weakened the iron grip of the communal group in the life of the University. Hence, arose the peculiar situation when a University refused to accept the recommendations of a Committee set up by itself!

Democrats Must Act

It is the task of democrats inside and outside the University to unitedly raise the demand that the recommendations of the Enquiry Committee be accepted. That will create the pre-conditions for defeating the conspiracy of Hindu and Muslim communalism and for developing the Aligarh University as a centre for national integration and scientific education.

International Socialist Miscellany

Editors: S. A. DANGE and G. ADHIKARI

A collection of studies by leading experts in various fields from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Each number will also contain accounts of developments in different branches of the economy and of knowledge taking place in the socialist camp.

The first number is scheduled for publication by August 21.

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Khrushchov Tells The World :

A meeting devoted to the Soviet-Rumanian Friendship was held at the Grand Kremlin Palace. Over two thousand representatives of Moscovites attending the meeting cordially welcomed First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party, Chairman of the State Council of the Rumanian People's Republic Gheorghiu-Dej and members of the Rumanian Party and Government delegation.

NIKITA Khrushchov and other leaders of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government were present at the meeting. The meeting was opened by Pyotr Demichev, First Secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU. Nikita Khrushchov addressed the meeting.

He said that the visit of a Rumanian Party and Government delegation to the Soviet Union, the talks in Moscow and the delegates' meetings with the working people were convincing manifestations of the Soviet people's sincere respect and cordial friendship for the Rumanian people.

Stressing that with the victory of the people's revolution in Rumania the relations between the Soviet and the Rumanian peoples have turned a new page, Khrushchov said that the two countries are now united by a wide road of friendship which no one can bar. "The Soviet-Rumanian friendship, founded on the principles of proletarian internationalism, is strong and inviolable," he declared.

Khrushchov said again that the Soviet Government proposes to the governments of the Western powers to settle together all questions on which they disagree but which cannot be left unsettled as they produce frictions between states and cause tensions in the world.

"In this connection I would like to say a few words about the talks I had with Prime Minister of Italy, Fanfani and Minister of Foreign Affairs Segni. These talks were useful. In the course of these talks we felt no friction which is possible at meetings of representatives of states with different social systems."

Peace Treaty Will Be Signed

"And now when the ruling quarters of the United States and Adenauer," continued N. S. Khrushchov, "are increasing tension and threaten to unleash war if a Peace Treaty with Germany is signed, we are threatened on behalf of the entire bloc, on behalf of all NATO countries. Consequently we are threatened with war even by such countries as Greece, Italy, Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, not to speak of such European countries as France, Britain and West Germany."

"We shall, of course, sign a Peace Treaty with the German Democratic Republic. If the imperialist states unleash a war they will force us, in self-defence, to strike crushing blows not only at the territories of the principal countries but also at the military bases located on the territories of other countries belonging to the North-Atlantic alliance."

"Our country, our people, the countries of the socialist camp," the Soviet Premier

said, "are threatened only because we will sign a Peace Treaty. And they declare that they would fight allegedly for the freedom of Germans in West Berlin. But this is a fairy tale. West Berlin has two million inhabitants, but if war is unleashed hundreds of millions might die."

"What person in his senses would find such arguments of the imperialists convincing? Under the pretext of defence of freedom, upon which no one is encroaching, imperialists want to test our determination. They want to do away with our socialist gains. Your hands are too short, Messrs imperialists!"

Socialist Strength

"The struggle for a Peace Treaty with Germany," said N. S. Khrushchov, "is the struggle for abolishing the remnants of World War II, for the consolidation of

"we shall not be the first to press the buttons on our rocket installations"

peace and the security of the peoples. May those who are threatening us know that His Majesty the working class of the Soviet Union, of all socialist countries, has assumed power, has created such states with which imperialists colonialists must reckon, must treat with respect the peoples of the socialist countries, their interests!"

"Let us return to the question of military bases and of the responsibility of those who surrender the territories of their countries for these bases. In case war breaks out, the Soviet Union in defence, to protect itself, will be compelled to strike at all territories of the countries of the military NATO bloc on which military bases are located."

"Now, more and more frequently, we hear talks from statesmen and military leaders, specifically in the United States, to the effect that they are developing a neutron bomb. The neutron bomb, as conceived by its creators should kill everything living but leave material assets intact."

So comrades, this is what these people are thinking. They are acting as robbers, who want to murder a man without staining his suit with blood so as to be able to use this suit.

"This is what the neutron bomb means, in effect. It is talked about in the United States Congress and in the press. Even at a press conference the President was asked openly: What is your attitude towards the development of such a bomb. But the President side-stepped and gave no answer."

"Communists prize material and spiritual riches created by man's labour and genius. But above everything else we prize man himself, who by his work created all the riches on earth. Therefore we want to defend not only the fruits of man's work, but in the first place, man himself, to defend the peoples. This is our philosophy, our ethics. This is genuine communist humanism."

"We consider it necessary, first of all, to remove from the relations between states the fragments of World War II and to give scope to the establishment of friendship and the development of co-operation with all states."

"Conclusion of a Peace Treaty with Germany would benefit all the parties to it, all who really strive for peace and build their policy in the interests of peace. The Soviet Union has submitted comprehensive proposals on this question. At the same time, we are ready to hear out and consider any constructive proposals by the Western powers."

"We say to the Western powers: Do not seek in our position the things that are not there. The Soviet Government does not seek to prejudice anybody's interests. It does not threaten anyone. We proceed from the real facts and we want to bring the relations among all states

drawn from recognition of the fact that the capitalist countries are unable to force their philosophy, their way of life on us, cannot compel the socialist countries to turn back. It is necessary to follow a reasonable policy on our essentially small planet which man can now circle 17 times in 24 hours."

"The Soviet Union does not threaten anyone. In our atomic age it is madness to threaten to start war. We say: Let us remove the remnants of the last war, let us conclude a Peace Treaty with Germany for peace. The Soviet Government does not claim any foreign lands. We propose to record in legal form the frontiers which have been established and which have existed for many years."

West Berlin—The Solution

"We only want to deprive the revanchist circles of the possibility and temptation to start a new war for a revision, so to speak, of the results of World War II. The Soviet Government is pressing for the establishment of conditions for a stable and enduring peace in Europe and throughout the whole world."

"Of course, West Berlin is not an easy legacy of the

may have acquired such speed and momentum that even those who had set it revolving will be unable to stop it.

"West Berlin lies in the territory of the German Democratic Republic. The Government of that state has displayed a deep understanding of the interests of the world. To help relax the tensions and establish normal relations in post-war Europe, it has agreed, when it signs the Peace Treaty, to recognize West Berlin as a free city, to respect its sovereignty, to ensure to it the freedom of communication with the outside world by agreement with the governments."

"The Soviet Union proposes that the free city status of West Berlin be ensured by reliable international guarantees. We have mentioned various possible variations of such guarantees. They can, for instance, be provided by the four powers—Britain, France, the USA and the Soviet Union."

"There can also be other variations. It is possible to produce conditions and guarantees that would ensure non-interference in the affairs of West Berlin and a free access to West Berlin for all states on the basis of the existing international practices and international law."

"Such are our clear-cut proposals. We want the German Peace Treaty to be finally concluded, and we will secure peaceful settlement together with the countries which are ready to strengthen peace and

"we shall not be the first to press the buttons on our rocket installations"

last war. But I would not say that the question of West Berlin is in itself so difficult of solution. If the other side wished to cooperate, if it did not turn the question of West Berlin into a trial of strength, agreement would certainly be possible."

"The Soviet Union does not encroach on West Berlin, on the way of life of its population. We propose to bring the status of West Berlin in accordance with peace-time conditions and the situation that actually exists in Germany and Europe."

"The Soviet proposals submitted by us to the Western powers give a reasonable way out to both sides. Nobody's prestige will suffer, nobody will become stronger at the expense of the others."

"It is necessary to extract the decayed tooth and enable mankind to live without fear but the President of the United States of America paints a sombre picture in his speech and, in conclusion wished his listeners a good night."

"Which man can sleep calmly when threats are invoked upon him, when he is made to fear that atomic war will be unleashed? War hysteria shall lead to nothing good. There must be sense of proportion and military passions should not be fanned up."

"If the feelings are let loose and they predominate over reason then the fly-wheel of war preparations can start revolving at a high speed. And even when reason prompts that a brake should be put on, the fly-wheel of war preparations

friendship among nations. If the Western powers will not want to cooperate in this important undertaking, the Soviet Union and the other peace-loving states will be obliged to sign a Peace Treaty with the German Democratic Republic only."

"Today I have read a report about President Kennedy's press conference. In reply to a question about the threat of a military conflict in connection with the conclusion of a German Peace Treaty, the President declared: 'We hope that we shall be able to achieve a peaceful settlement of the problems.'"

"Such a statement is to be welcomed. It is precisely for a peaceful settlement that the Soviet Government is striving. But in order to ensure a peaceful settlement it is necessary to conclude a Peace Treaty with Germany. It is only in this way that the remnants of World War II can be removed."

Reason Must Prevail

"We should like to believe that reason will prevail in the responsible circles of the West, and first of all the United States of America, and that sabre-rattling will give way to a sober and unprejudiced view on things."

"We hope that the governments of the Western powers will finally arrive at the conclusion that agreement, taking account of the existing situation in Germany, Europe, and throughout the world, would

* SEE FACING PAGE

AUGUST 20, 1961

bulgarian communists—70 years

On August 2, seventy years ago, was held the First Constituent Congress of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party. This Congress marked the beginning of a new stage in the development of the socialist movement in Bulgaria. The socialist groups which existed earlier and were isolated from one another came together to form the Social Democratic Party.

TOGETHER with this, the first steps were taken towards combining scientific socialism with the newly emerged working-class movement in Bulgaria. The credit for the creation of the Party goes to Dimitar Blagoev, who was the most consistent follower of Marx and Engels in Bulgaria and the Balkans during the end of the last and the first two decades of this century.

The major task that Dimitar Blagoev and his colleagues faced during the early period of the development of capitalism in Bulgaria, when the waves of petty-bourgeois spontaneity influenced the young working class and socialist movement of Bulgaria from all sides, was to keep the Marxist banner of the Party spotless and to build up a proletarian class party not only in the composition of its membership but also by virtue of its programme, tactics and organisation.

"narrow socialists"

They fulfilled these tasks in uncompromising struggle against the non-Marxist views of the Populists as well as against the reformism and revisionism of the followers of Bernstein in Bulgaria, who wanted to lead the Party away from the working class and place it at the service of the bourgeoisie.

In 1903 there was a split inside the Party. The right-opportunist and reformist elements were removed from its ranks. With this, the Social Democratic Party, which was founded and led by Dimitar Blagoev, grew into a revolutionary-Marxist detachment of the Bulgarian proletariat.

This party, known in the history of the Bulgarian working class movement as the party of the "Narrow" socialists, possessed many positive qualities, which brought itself close to the Bolshevik Party of Russia. It stood out with its deep faith in Marxism and proletarian internationalism, with its unwavering faith in

the strength and the future of the working class and its conscious iron discipline. These virtues of "Narrow" socialists were brilliantly reflected in their mighty struggle against bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism during the Balkan and the First World Wars, and in their fervent defence of the victorious socialist revolution in 1917.

soviet revolution

The "Narrow" socialists with all their energy spread the slogans of the Great October Socialist Revolution both at the front and the rear during the Imperialist First World War and called upon the working people of Bulgaria to follow the example of their Russian brothers.

As a result an armed uprising of Bulgarian soldiers took place in September 1918 under the slogans of "Peace", "No War", "For a Republic". Though the uprising ended in defeat, it played a great role in raising the revolutionary spirit of the Bulgarian soldiers and in creating a political crisis in the country.

With the victory of the October Socialist Revolution and under its beneficial influence, the party of the "Narrow" socialists moved along a new path of development—the path of Leninism. The Party joined the Third Communist International, formed by Lenin, and at its Congress in May 1919 changed its name to the Bulgarian Communist Party. The Party also adopted a new programme based on struggle for the victory of socialist revolution in Bulgaria.

A brilliant manifestation of the correct path that the Bulgarian Communist Party followed after the October Socialist Revolution, was the popular anti-fascist uprising of September 1923, which was organised and led by the party.

In this uprising the Party, with Georgi Dimitrov and Vassil Kolarov at its helm, called to the people to fight under the slogan of a united

front to overthrow the fascist dictatorship and establish a workers-peasants government. The political line of the Party during the September uprising for building up a united front of all the working people was the only correct one under the conditions of fascist dictatorship.

This line meant that first of all the most reactionary, the most chauvinistic and the most imperialistic section of the finance capital in Bulgaria had to be pulled down from the seat of power. This task was not a socialist one. It had a democratic, anti-fascist and anti-imperialist character. But in following it consistently to the end under the leadership of the working class lay the path of victory for the socialist revolution in Bulgaria.

This line was finally crowned with success on 9th September, 1944 when the Bulgarian people, united under the banner of the Fatherland Front and led by the Bulgarian Communist Party, rose in insurrection and, with the brotherly help of the Soviet Army, freed themselves once for all from the yoke of fascism and capitalism.

In their struggle for socialism the Bulgarian people have achieved considerable successes with the brotherly

aid of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. From a backward agrarian country in the past Bulgaria has turned into a socialist industrial country with large-scale and mechanised co-operative farming.

Socialist production relations have become completely dominant both in the town and village. Exploitation of man by man has been done away with in Bulgaria for

holding high lenin's flag

The Bulgarian Communist Party, in whose ranks the revolutionary virtues of her past are still alive, holds high the banner of Leninism in its struggle for socialism.

It stood united behind the decisions of XX and XXI Congresses of CPSU, as well as the decisions of the first and the second meetings of the Communist and Workers Parties in Moscow, making its real contribution to the struggle against contemporary revisionism, which is the main danger to the international working class movement. At the same time the Bulgarian Communist Party does not leave its vigilance and

The day breaks brighter tomorrow

WHERE a child laughs with eyes like the clear rays of sunlight, and the strength of thunder in his limbs...there is a home. In a home dawns the man of tomorrow. A tomorrow that will bring a little less of care, a little more of joy.

Today and tomorrow...Hindustan Lever serves the home with soaps, foods, toilet preparations.

NEW AGE

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Sadiq Ali Distorts C.P.S.U. Programme

Sadiq Ali is, perhaps, the first leading Congressman (he is one of the General Secretaries of the AICC) to have put down his views on the Draft Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in writing. For this reason, if for no other, his article captioned "The New Moscow Programme" in the August 7 issue of the AICC Economic Review would merit some attention.

ONLY one wishes the AICC General Secretary had given a little deeper and unprejudiced thought to this historic document which, as he himself says, "has aroused widespread interest in many countries of the world".

Let us examine some of his observations in the order in which they occur in his article. He writes: "There is also the same neat division of the world into communist countries and capitalist countries... The States in between which have just freed themselves from foreign yoke but have not yet become communist but are struggling to solve their problems in a democratic framework are treated slightly differently but basically they are classed as capitalist countries".

The Draft Programme put these newly liberated countries in the category of capitalist countries not in the sense Sadiq Ali seems to think but in the sense that "they constitute that part of the world which is being exploited by the capitalist monopolies", and "have not yet broken free from the world capitalist economy even though they occupy a special place in it". Evidently Sadiq Ali is touchy about this broad categorisation, and we can understand the reason.

PEACE ZONE

But he should not miss that the Draft Programme makes a significant distinction between those capitalist states that belong to the system of the imperialist states and those others that do not belong to it. Of the latter the Programme says: "Young sovereign states have arisen, or are arising, in one time colonies and semi-colonies. Their peoples have entered a new period of development. They have emerged as makers of new life and as active participants in world politics, as revolutionary forces destroying imperialism".

Referring to the significance of these non-socialist countries, the Draft Programme further adds: "A vast peace zone has taken shape on earth. In addition to the Socialist countries, it includes a large group of non-socialist countries that for various reasons are not interested in starting a war. The emergence of those countries in the arena of world politics has substantially altered the balance of forces in favour of peace".

Is that only a "slight" differentiation? The great historical significance that Marxism-Leninism attaches to the positive, revolutionary role of these newly liberated, non-aligned nations like India in the world-wide struggle for peace, against colonialism is well-known.

It should not be news to Sadiq Ali that particularly since the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, some five years

ago, the Soviet Union and its Government led by N. S. Khrushchov have always held high this role of India and other non-aligned, peace-loving countries and worked for strengthening friendship and cooperation with them. And happily for mankind this great initiative has also been met with a positive response in countries like India, Indonesia. The broad camp of peace has arisen in stature as well as in strength.

The CPSU Draft Programme should inspire all forces of peace and panch sheel into yet greater cooperation and joint efforts for safeguarding world peace, for ending colonialism. The Draft Programme immensely enhances the possibilities for this.

The AICC General Secretary notes the emphasis in the CPSU document "on the need for the coexistence of different social systems and non-inevitability of war", but then goes on to say, "there is also the same clarification that this coexistence should not mean the discontinuance of the efforts on the part of international communism to change the shape of things in 'capitalist' (!) countries so that they also went the communist way".

Here again Sadiq Ali misses the position of the CPSU Draft Programme and of the world communist movement and creates confusion. Does he want to convey, as the ideologies of reaction often do, that while standing for peaceful coexistence, the Soviet Union and the socialist countries stand for imposing socialism on other countries from outside or for interference in their internal affairs?

However, the standpoint of the world communist movement and of the socialist countries is clear as crystal. In section V of the Draft Programme dealing with "The International Revolutionary Movement of the Working class", it is stated:

NO EXPORT OF REVOLUTION

"The proletarian revolution in a country, being a part of the world socialist revolution, is accomplished by the working class of that country and the masses of its people. The revolution is not made to order. It cannot be imposed on the people from without... The victorious proletariat cannot impose any felicity on another people without thereby undermining its own victory".

The Statement of the Moscow Conference of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties to which he makes some reference says:

"The choice of social system is the inalienable right of the people of each country, socialist revolution is not an item of import and cannot be imposed from without." About the new liberated countries, the same Statement declares,

"which course of development to choose is the internal affair of the peoples themselves".

About these nations the Draft CPSU Programme, too, again emphasises, "it is for the people themselves to decide which road they are to choose".

So imposition and interference from outside have no place either in Marxist-Leninist thought or in the practice of the world communist movement or in the foreign policy of the socialist countries.

Interference is the business of the US and other imperialists who send their troops and tanks, their warships and marines, their combat planes and parachuters to crush national liberation struggles.

It is the US imperialists who brazenly provide for, in their budgets, hundreds of millions of dollars to organise their assassin gangs and wreckers in other peoples' lands. Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Cuba prove these crimes.

PEACEFUL COMPETITION

Of course, peaceful coexistence does not mean that ideological and political struggle between capitalism and socialism on the international arena is given up. Only that struggle proceeds in a different form. War is not needed to resolve that dispute.

In the peaceful competition between the two systems of which peaceful coexistence is a basis, millions and millions of people are attracted to the superiority of the ideas of scientific socialism. This is what the Draft Programme says: "When the Soviet people will enjoy the blessings of Communism, new hundreds of millions of people on earth will say: 'We are for Communism!'".

If the breath-taking achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are revolutionising the thinking of the working people in the capitalist countries, Sadiq Ali, we hope, would not call it imposition or interference.

Has he or any one come across such confident declaration in the programme of any bourgeois party or from the platform of any political movement of the communist movement? Can any programme of the bourgeois ever speak in these terms about the force of attraction of their system or its achievements? Never. On the contrary, many bourgeois leaders today have to use socialist slogans and Sadiq Ali knows it better.

"In the popular mind" observes the AICC General Secretary, "war and violence have been associated with communism and the effort international communism should make to rid the world of capitalism in whichever corner of the world it might exist".

If he wants to borrow fabrications about communism from the gutters of imperialists and reactionaries, no one can, perhaps, stop him. But he had better not try to palm off these fabrications as if their authors are the people!

In the current century we have had two world wars. Who

brought them about? If Sadiq Ali is not sure of the answer we would only refer him to his leader Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Autobiography and Discovery of India. Does Nehru blame "communism" or something else?

Who started in the recent period the aggressive wars in Egypt or launched the invasion in Cuba? Who are responsible for the war in Algeria that is now going on?

Sadiq Ali is not unfamiliar with the facts of history and he should know that it is imperialism and imperialism alone that starts aggressions and wars. Communism stands against all such wars; its mission is to banish war from the life of society. It stands for peace. As for violence, history, again, shows that it is imperialism and reaction that trades in violence.

If the Communists have been forced to take recourse to violence in some situations, it is only to repel aggression of imperialists or meet the violence of reactionary exploiting classes to suppress the will of the people or rob the masses of their revolutionary gains.

One thousand million people who today live under socialism and many millions who are attracted towards socialism should not be lost to his sight. At least this outstanding reality should tell Sadiq Ali how people think about communism.

Further, the CPSU Draft Programme states: "The working class and its vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist Parties—prefer to achieve the transfer of power from the bourgeoisie to the proletariat by peaceful means, without civil war".

Sadiq Ali doubts if "the far-reaching implications" of peaceful coexistence have been realised by the Communist countries. The Draft Programme itself which breathes the spirit of unshakable loyalty of the Soviet people to the principles of peaceful coexistence and dedicate that mighty country to the realisation of this noble objective, should remove all his doubts and give him confidence that they are the staunchest allies in the struggle for peaceful coexistence.

PEACE AND COMMUNISM

As for the socialist countries generally, the Appeal unanimously issued by the Moscow Conference of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the five continents including all the countries of the Socialist camp declares:

"We Communists consider it our duty to do everything in our power to deliver mankind from the horrors of a modern war. Acting upon the teachings of the great Lenin, all socialist countries have made the principle of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems the cornerstone of their foreign policy". Not one imperialist state has accepted Panch Sheel but all the socialist countries are its adherents. What else does Sadiq Ali need to assure himself in this matter?

Coming to the task of Communist construction but dealing with them in a very superficial and perfunctory manner, he says "We should accept the possibility that this abundance is realizable in the Soviet economy granted certain world conditions".

MATERIAL ABUNDANCE

But immediately he proceeds to misinterpret the position of the CPSU Draft Programme and N. S. Khrushchov. He remarks: "What we doubt, however, is the conclusion that the Soviet Premier draws from this abundance of abundance as an infallible test of the superiority of the Soviet system to the capitalist or the so-called 'capitalist' (!) system".

There is no doubt that the abundance socialism has already created in the Soviet Union is a clear proof of the superiority of the socialist system. For only under socialism can so much material wealth be created and such unprecedented progress made in a span of 43 years and that, too, in a country which, before the proletariat took power, was a backward one.

BHUPESH GUPTA

Answers A.I.C.C.'s General Secretary

Capitalism can never dream of bringing about such rapid, all-sided progress in so short a period. But that is not the only test. Here in the Soviet Union, it is abundance in a classless society, where exploitation of man by man has ended once and for all, where there are no exploiting classes to expropriate the fruits of labour.

In the Soviet Union where socialism has completely and finally triumphed, abundance means free distribution of more and more necessities of life to the people in the years that immediately follow. By 1980 "Soviet Society will come close to a stage where it can introduce the principle of distribution according to needs".

Thus, it is abundance for the people—for a continuous upsurge in their material and cultural well-being, for their boundless happiness and joy of life!

Contrast this with the abundance in that paradise of capitalism—the USA where shocking, ever widening inequality divides the handful of multimillionaires and exploiters from the vast masses of people, where side by side with the colossal affluence, extravagance and wasteful luxury of the rich, their exists mass unemployment and underemployment of the millions of the American working people.

There that abundance is for the exploiters, for preparation of aggressive wars, for the exploitation of other

countries; for entangling nations through so-called economic aids with US war plans.

Taking world capitalism as a whole, despite the "colossal growth of the productive forces and of scientific progress" in the twentieth century, "capitalism has not put an end to the poverty of millions of people, has not provided an abundance of material and spiritual values for all men on earth" (Draft Programme).

It is not being fair either to the Draft Programme or to Khrushchov or even to Sadiq Ali's own intelligence and knowledge when he writes: "It seems to us that the concentration of Khrushchov on the importance of the rate of increase in production and of total volume of production as the supreme test of superiority of his system is misleading".

Let there be no under-estimation of the historical significance of the high rate of production as well as the volume of production under socialism. Between 1957-59, the annual average rate of growth amounted to 17 per cent for all the socialist countries taken together, as against 3.6 per cent for the capitalist countries. The

culture, literature, art, science—and moulding of the new man of communist society.

The document says: "Communism makes the elementary standards of morality and justice, which were distorted and shamelessly flouted under the power of the exploiters, into inviolable rules for relations both between individuals and peoples... Communist morality encompasses the fundamental norms of human morality which the masses of the people evolved in the course of the millenniums as they fought against vice and social oppression."

NEW MORALITY

The Draft Programme lays down "man is to man a friend, comrade and brother" and it stresses "honesty and truthfulness, moral purity, modesty and guilelessness in social and private life fraternal solidarity with the working people of all countries, and with all peoples".

If Sadiq Ali is thinking of scientific and cultural pursuits, in that sphere the Soviet Union is already in the lead in the world today. And

tation of man by man", as the Draft Programme puts it, "with its chauvinist and racist ideology, with its moral degradation, its rampage of profiteering, corruption and crime, is defiling society, the family and man". Its contradictions and negative features have further aggravated.

CAPITALIST "FREEDOM"

Another discovery by Sadiq Ali is that capitalism does not rouse active opposition or hatred of the working class is just flying in the face of facts—perhaps, due to his new fangled ideas of "modified" capitalism. But the reality is that the working people are waging intense class struggles in the Western countries and are we to understand that the great strike waves in France, Italy, Belgium, Spain and other countries in the recent period escaped his attention? Or was he in such state of ecstasy about his "modified" capitalism that he missed all that!

He sings the praises of "freedom" in capitalist countries (he puts capitalist within quotes) and finds no freedom under socialism. "There is hunger for this freedom", he writes "in communist countries—however much one might wish to conceal it". So we are back to the drum-beatings about the so-called "free world". The AICC General Secretary should not have assumed the role of a drummer for the imperialist West.

Does he really think that the massive advance in science and technology, industry and agriculture, education and culture has been made in the Soviet Union, while suppressing freedom and democracy?

The Draft Programme says: "Socialism has granted the working people the broadest guaranteed rights and freedom. Communism will bring the working people further rights and opportunities". And it makes the declaration: "In terms of internal conditions, the Soviet Union no longer needs an army".

One would like to hear some bourgeois rulers in the so-called "free world" saying this. But are there any? The truth

is that socialist democracy has always been superior to bourgeois democracy. The Draft Programme elevates it to a still higher level. Were it not for expansion of democracy for the people their creative powers could have never been so released in the Soviet Union as we see today.

Even in the mightiest of all capitalist countries—the USA—the right to work does not exist. At this moment there are well over five million unemployed there, besides many more million underemployed.

Apart from the basic limitations arising from social conditions, the press, radio, cinema, television are in the control of the monopolies, who have the power to corrupt elections. To be frank, the people in the capitalist countries have little real opportunity to express their will freely and on an equal footing with the exploiting classes.

DEMOCRACY SUBVERTED

It has been seen how the freedom in the western capitalist countries has meant freedom to exploit the working class and other sections of the working people at home and subjugate and plunder countries abroad.

It has also been seen how the bourgeoisie throws to the wind its democratic pretences when the working people seem likely to use bourgeois democratic institutions in the service of the exploited.

One of the latest, glaring examples of this is France where the Fourth Republic itself was subverted to rob the working people and their Communist vanguard (the first Party in France) of the fundamental, democratic rights and block their road to peace, democracy and social progress.

"The bourgeois state, whatever its form", the CPSU Draft Programme very correctly reminds us, "is an instrument of domination of labour by capital". Freedom there even its best, is very formal and limited.

In the concluding words of his article, Sadiq Ali writes: "These remarks are offered in order to emphasise our basic

approach that the world is too big and unevenly developed to have room for one doctrine only. This approach alone and the attitude of mind it symbolises will make for genuine coexistence". We assume he has in mind the panch sheel. But here again he mixes up things and misses the crux.

As far as the Communists are concerned, their entire concept of peaceful coexistence is based on the recognition that two different world social systems exist today and that they can and must live in peaceful coexistence.

But if the communists are convinced that the complete triumph of socialism is inevitable, that does not mean that they want a war for this. Rather the Communists are convinced that this triumph can be achieved in peaceful competition between the two systems, without a war. "Peace is ally of socialism" is what they say.

They come to their conclusion about the inevitability of the victory of socialism because of the inescapable objective laws of social development. This conviction on their part as well as their loyalty to Marxism-Leninism make the Communists the most resolute fighters for peaceful coexistence. "Socialism and peace", says the Draft Programme, "are inseparable".

UNITY FOR PEACE

Communists never say one must necessarily have to accept their ideology, their comprehension of the laws of social development in order to make genuine contributions to the cause of peaceful coexistence. Neither should Sadiq Ali think that the acceptance of his above views is the only correct approach.

People with different ideologies and political and other beliefs so long as they are devoted to the cause of peace can all make for—as indeed they are doing—genuine peaceful coexistence.

To cast doubts on the bonafides of the socialist countries or the communists in this matter would, to put it mildly, be a disastrously wrong attitude and approach!

August 14, 1961

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Moscow News, 31 Special Supplement

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World youth forum unfurls panch sheel banner

Moscow,

August 12

The World Youth Forum which met for ten days here in Moscow was an event unprecedented in the history of the international youth movement. There were Socialists and Liberals, Communists and Catholics, Muslims and Buddhists, in short young men and women of all possible beliefs and political ideologies, representing all races and continents, from 111 countries and 332 organisations of the youth of the world. Nearly a thousand representatives by way of delegates and observers took part in the Forum.

The whole proceedings of the Forum eloquently showed that it was open to all who cared to participate and everyone was free to air his views, express his doubts and criticisms.

It was a gathering of eager young people, alive to the serious problems facing the world today, determined to discuss, understand and find a solution, conscious of the imperative need of preserving world peace, and ready to play their part in full measure to influence the trends and directions of the fate of the world.

"The younger people of the world are a mighty and dynamic force which is actively taking part in mankind's struggle for a better future," declared Khrushchev in a message. "Upholding the cause of peace the youth defend their rights and interests against all encroachments by the reactionary forces," he said.

"Today the people of the world are capable of stopping the madman who wants to plunge mankind into a catastrophe. Lasting peace can be ensured if all the youth of the world fight for it. To multiply the efforts and the united actions of young men and women of all countries in this struggle — this is the noble task which life itself has posed before the young generation."

"The stronger the voice of youth for peace the sooner shall arrive the time when all weapons will be destroyed and people will work peacefully without fearing the outbreak of a nuclear devastating war."

During the plenary session of the Forum a number of detailed reports were made by different delegations dealing with the most important problems facing the youth today: "Youth, Understanding, Cooperation and Peaceful Coexistence" delivered by the Soviet youth representative; "Youth, their Rights and Duties in Society", by the Chinese representative; "Youth and Disarmament",

***** From *****
* MASOOD ALI KHAN *

by Poland; "Youth, Struggle against Colonialism and Imperialism, for National Independence and Problems of World Peace", by Cuba; "The Role of Youth in the Struggle against Colonialism and Imperialism, and for Peace", by Algeria; "Youth and their Rights in Society" by Ghana; and many others. All these reports covered a wide field of problems.

Later the participants split into 14 commissions for a more thorough discussion, the

most important being the commission on cooperation and peaceful coexistence, on national independence and reconstruction, disarmament, cooperation and contacts between the youth, problems of rural youth, problems of young workers, youth and culture, scientific and technical progress in modern society and others.

There was a Club of the Forum where the young people met informally and enjoyed themselves, everywhere they talked and discussed and gesticulated, shouted and agreed and disagreed. The Africans and Latin Americans were the most excited and full of fire, determined and outspoken and ready to give all and everything for freedom.

For some coexistence had no meaning as long as colonialism and imperialism existed. Others, (from Britain, France, Belgium etc.), wanted only an exchange of views on problems and some even declared that they saw no difference between the Soviet position on disarmament and the position of the West, for them it was the same arms race.

But after a lot of discussion common ground was found and a final document emerged which accommodated different views without compromising the main and important points. This very fact is significant and a promise of hope for the future. The Message to the Youth of the World was adopted unanimously by the final plenary session of the Forum in an atmosphere of happiness and enthusiasm and the different commissions presented their separate agreed concluding reports.

India's 15 member delegation to the Forum consisted of the following: All India Youth Federation — five; All India Youth Conference — four; All India Students Federation — three; and Fedind — three. It was led by P. K. Vasudevan Nair MP, the president of the AIYF. The Indian delegates took an active part in the work of 13 commissions.

They pointed out that peaceful coexistence was a help in the struggle of national liberation and reconstruction and made it more fruitful and effective. They brought out the role of the disinterested aid given by the Socialist countries to the under-developed nations. To show the advantages of a peaceful foreign policy they pointed out the contrast between India and Pakistan.

It was regretted that the All India Youth Congress decided to absent itself from this fruitful forum of world-wide discussion. If they had participated they would have been quite satisfied with the opportunities of free discussion offered to everybody who cared to speak.

One of the highlights of the Forum was the gay reception given by the Soviet youth to the youth of the world in the Kremlin gardens, where there

MESSAGE

We publish below extracts from the message of the participants of the World Youth Forum to the World Youth.

WE, the representatives of youth, organisations from all corners of the globe, have gathered at the World Forum in Moscow. We were drawn to this meeting by the feeling of responsibility for the destinies of the young generation of the mid-twentieth century.

We strive for a lasting world peace. To achieve this it is necessary to make independence for all the peoples a reality, to end colonialism, to ensure peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems, to realize complete, total and controlled disarmament.

Mankind has never known rest from wars in the entire history of its existence. In our age alone imperialism has drawn mankind into monstrous wars that took the toll of dozens of millions of lives.

And today the fire of war kindled by the colonialists and maintained by their henchmen and sponsors is blazing in Algeria, Angola, Congo, Tunisia and other parts of our planet, threatening to develop into a world atomic war.

The unsettled issue of Germany and West Berlin is fraught with tremendous danger for world peace. We are not only fully conscious of the need for struggle for peace but we know that the young generation together with all peoples have all the possibilities and strength to avert a world war, to exclude it from the life of society. We must do all our best to ensure peace on earth.

Peaceful coexistence must and can become the only form of relations between countries with different social and economic systems. Our conscience, our feelings are burning with anger and hatred towards racialism and discrimination, the most abominable manifestation of colonialism.

All people irrespective of the colour of their skin, walks of life and level of economic and cultural development, have a natural right to a free and independent existence. We vigorously condemn any attempt at suppressing with arms the strivings of the peoples for freedom and independent development.

We condemn aggressive interference of imperialism in the internal affairs of countries, establishing military bases and occupation

of territories for military purposes against their will, as it takes place in Cuba, Laos, Tunisia, Western Iran, Taiwan, belonging to China etc.

The armaments race heightens international tension and threatens world peace. That is why we, the young people of the world, demand universal, complete and controlled disarmament. We demand that all the military bases on foreign territories must be abolished!

We consider it our responsibility to see that the young people of the world over should be brought up in the spirit of humanism, in the spirit of hatred for fascism and racialism, in the spirit of loyalty to democracy and to progress.

The UNO must ensure peaceful coexistence and realization of decision on the end of colonialism, on universal, complete and controlled disarmament. The UNO structure and activities must reflect the grand changes which have been taking place all over the world.

We remind that the modern culture and scientific progress have made the new generation more conscious of its essential rights.

In many countries the right to democratic liberties, the right to work and human conditions of work, to equal pay for equal work without discrimination by race, age or sex, the right for those who cultivate the land to possess it, the right to free and democratic education, to paid holidays, the right to possess a home worthy of man, the right to health services, possibilities for recreation and for sports still constitute unsolved problems.

Even in the period of the greatest international tension the young people of different countries found a common language and ways for cooperation. Congresses, assemblies, conferences, festivals, meetings, discussions, seminars held on a national, regional and international scale, exchange of delegations, tourists, cultural groups, sportsmen, students, exhibitions, literature, films and last but not least, our World Forum — these are various forms of such cooperation that help to overcome prejudices in relations between different countries and different organisations.

With full determination and hope we appeal to you, the young people of the world, to strengthen the unity of your ranks, to develop in every way international cooperation.

offer to mankind. They visited many factories, farms and establishments and went to different parts of the Soviet Union for a more detailed acquaintance. The Forum coincided with the publication of the world-shaking draft of the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and it had the same tremendous impact on the young debaters as on everybody else.

The opportunities of quick progress Socialism offered to the underdeveloped lands of Asia, Africa and Latin America were obvious for every thinking individual and the new document raised the hopes of peace and prosperity throughout the world.

The youth of the world had ample opportunities to see what Socialism had to

refugees still not settled

from j. b. moitra

The Union Government has decided to wind up the Central Rehabilitation Department by March 31, 1962 on the ground that the rehabilitation of East Pakistan refugees, except those who are still in camps, has been completed. The West Bengal Government fully agrees with this view and is now resorting to force, including police repression, to implement this decision.

BUT, what is the actual position? Has the refugee problem been really solved? According to the official estimate, 32 lakh refugees have come over from East Pakistan to West Bengal. This figure does not, of course, include over eight lakh refugees who did not get themselves registered and as such did not secure official recognition as "displaced persons".

The refugee population in West Bengal may be broadly divided into the following categories—those who have been resettled in the colonies set up by the Government, those who have settled down on their own in what is known as "squatters' colonies" and those who are still in transit camp awaiting rehabilitation.

Very Few Rehabilitated

In December 1957, the State Rehabilitation Minister stated in the Assembly that a total of 23 lakh refugees, had received rehabilitation benefits, but only 50 per cent of them have been partially resettled. He further pointed out that a sum of Rs. 60 crores would be needed to rehabilitate them fully.

It need hardly be mentioned that not even a small fraction of this amount has been spent since then. Little wonder that

the position has sharply worsened during the last three and a half years.

A rapid sample survey carried out by the West Bengal Government Statistical Bureau in January this year revealed a serious state of affairs. It showed that of the 170,000 families surveyed, as many as 120,000 families or about 70 per cent had not been properly resettled. This means 16 lakh or more than 70 per cent of the 23 lakh refugees referred to by the State Rehabilitation Minister in 1957 require a good deal of assistance from the Government to settle down.

There are about 50,000 refugee families living in squatters' colonies. The Government had repeatedly given assurances that it would "regularise" these colonies and confer title deeds for the land. But none of these pledges have been kept.

The refugees wanted to buy the land at the prices obtaining in 1939. But the Government was more keen to safeguard the interests of landowners and fixed the prices much higher.

Dandakaranya Failure

The owners are now obtaining decrees from law courts for compensation from refugees for

occupying their land for the last 13 or 14 years. In some cases, the amount of compensation is as much as Rs. 10,000. Police repression has also begun for realisation of these sums.

As regards the camp refugees about 18,000 families are yet to be rehabilitated. In 1958, it was proposed to take 35,000 families to Dandakaranya for resettlement. But now this number has been brought down to about seven thousand only. Then what will happen to the remaining 11,000 out of 18,000 families? The Government is discreetly silent on this point.

The Government has resorted to the most brutal measures to force these families to go to Dandakaranya. The doles of nearly 80,000 men, women and children have been stopped. Facilities for medical treatment in the camps have been withdrawn; tubewells, which are out of order, are not being repaired; primary schools have been closed; even the tents in which the refugee families live, have been sold to the contractors.

Specious Arguments

On top of all this, police repression has been launched to throw out the camp families. Only a month ago, four refugees fell victims to police firing.

The specious plea trotted out by the Government for forcibly sending the refugees to Dandakaranya is that there is no land

in West Bengal to rehabilitate even a single camp family.

But in 1958 it was admitted in an official publication that the total amount of cultivable fallow land under the possession of the Government in nine out of 16 districts of the State, was 1,29,378 acres. It was further stated that 15,000 agriculturist refugee families could be settled on this land.

Again, on November 16, 1960 West Bengal's Minister for Agriculture admitted in the State Assembly that cultivable fallow land amounted to 11,64,490 acres. Yet the Government goes on repeating ad nauseam that there is no land in West Bengal.

Muslim Refugees

Besides these categories of refugees, there are hundreds of Muslim displaced persons. They crossed over to East Pakistan after the partition of the country in 1947. Shortly afterwards they came back to West Bengal but found, in most cases, that their houses, etc., had been occupied by the refugees.

It is, thus, abundantly clear from what has been pointed out above that the refugee problem in this State has not yet been solved. The task of rehabilitation of camp refugees should no doubt be given the topmost priority. But this question is only a minor one compared to the problems of the resettlement of more than four lakhs of partially rehabilitated families, thousands of refugee families in squatters' colonies, private houses, bustees and barracks,

hundreds of Muslim displaced person, etc.

Curiously enough the Government however has come to the conclusion that the refugee problem in this State has been, in the main, solved. There is, therefore, no other alternative now left to the refugees except building up "a united broad-based and peaceful movement" with a view to bringing about a change in the Government's present policy.

Resistance Commences

The United Central Refugee Council (UCRC) the most representative organisation of the refugees gave the call for an all-Bengal Protest Day on August 3. The day was observed in different parts of the State. In Calcutta a big rally was held under the auspices of the UCRC

The resolution adopted at the rally pointed out that proposal to wind up the Rehabilitation Ministry "is fraught with grave consequences" and demanded that "an assessment of the magnitude of the problems of rehabilitation be made by some responsible authority and the Ministry of Rehabilitation be maintained for attending to the vital needs of the refugees till the problems of all sections of refugees are satisfactorily solved".

When the meeting was over, a big demonstration marched to the office of the Union Rehabilitation Ministry. It was stopped by a police cordon. The leaders of the refugees then met the Union Rehabilitation Minister to submit a memorandum, who agreed to receive a deputation.

death road to badrinath

One hundred and two precious lives have been lost within a period of only 47 days through the plunge of buses along the hilly road that skirts the Alakananda. The first accident occurred at Pali in Tehri district on June 4 where seven lives were lost; the second, at Rudrapur on June 10 killing nine; the third at Chomoli on June 13 killing 29; the fourth on June 24 at Tolaghot killing 33 and the fifth on July 21 at Kaliyaspur Srinagar killing 25. Why these deaths? Who is responsible—these are the questions put by all.

BADRI-KEDAR and Gangotri-Yarnoutri are the sacred shrines situated in the Himalayas which through the centuries have been centres of attraction for people all over the country. It is not only the ordinary man who goes there. Only a year back the President went to Badrinath on an official tour and public money was spent upon his tour to the tune of hundreds of thousands of rupees.

Hardly a few months back the Governor of U.P. also visited the shrine accompanied by an entourage of 75 all at Government expense. According to a reliable source close to Rs. 125,000 were spent upon his yatra and his entourage.

The Congress Government which can afford to spend such huge amounts of money on its VIP's yatra does not worry itself about improving the conditions of the pilgrims' roads for travel. Private motor companies have the monopoly to ply

Some social workers of the town took the injured passengers to the hospital of the Mani town of the district, where unfortunately no doctor was available that day. Two private medical practitioners, Dr. Bodoni and Dr. Gairola, went to the civil hospital and took charge of the 26 injured passengers. The civil surgeon was informed at 7 p.m. but he seemed to be too busy engaged in work at his residence at Marendra Nagar, 40 miles from Tehri, and started only the next day.

Milk, food and fruits were supplied to the unfortunate

By
V. S. Nautiyal

victims by the people of Tehri and not by the hospital authorities or the motor company. The police went to the spot late at night after repeated requests by the citizens and came back only the next day with two dead bodies. They are alleged even to have taken away all the costly belongings of the ill-fated victims, including cash.

The same happened at Kaliyaspur, eight miles from Srinagar where the bus fell into a khud. Policemen on duty there are alleged not to have left a single

naya paisa in the pockets of the passengers, dead or alive. A lady passenger from Madhya Pradesh told pressmen at Rishikesh that while she lay seriously injured in the khud the guardians of law and order approached her and started taking off her jewellery. Her screams could not deter them and they took away all her jewels, including a bundle of three hundred rupee notes from her pocket.

The District Congress Committee of Tehri held its political conference at Uttarkashi during the last week of June which was attended by C. B. Gupta. The Theri Garhwal Motor Owners' Corporation paid a sum of Rs. 5,000 to the Congress fund and also arranged the free passage of all Congress workers and leaders attending the conference.

Each year the State Congress receives a good amount of money from the Theri-Garhwal Motor Owners' Corporation, which has become a centre of corruption. Most of the motor owners are Congress workers and influential at different levels from Minister and MLAs to the village pradhan. They get motor permits in the name of political sufferers. It is these gentlemen who have been consistently opposing the slogan of nationalisation of the bus services along the pilgrim routes. On June 24 C. B. Gupta ad-

ressed a public meeting at Tehri. As he approached the dias news reached that a bus had fallen in to the Alakananda river with all its passengers at Tolaghoti. C. B. Gupta did not find time to go to the site of the incident but rushed back to Lucknow.

After the fifth accident at Koliyaspur U.P.'s Transport Minister went to Srinagar to find facts for himself. His tour was arranged by the Private Motor Company. He ate their food and drank their tea and upon his return gave a statement at Dehradun blaming the drivers for the accidents and not the owners.

The Badri-Kedar routes are our national highways. The U.P. Government has constituted an Enquiry Committee after the death of 102 persons under C. B. Sharma, now a Minister. We have little hope that the Committee will give an impartial report for the fact is that the private motor companies and their touts do not and will not allow any body to approach the people to find out the facts. Nothing less than nationalisation of the routes can solve the problem. But that recommendation can scarcely be expected from C. B. Sharma since nationalising the motor transport industry there would lose the Congress organisation its main source of income.

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Birlas Challenged In Pilani — Popular Unity Forged

It is far from my intention to malign the Congress. But facts cannot be suppressed. Very often Congressmen themselves rush to the capital and publicly wash their dirty linen.

THESE anecdotes are not always so demoralising. There is some silver lining to the clouds. I came across two Congressmen from Pilani recently, who related to me a sorry tale in anguish and yet with boldness and courage.

Pilani—the famous town to which Birlas belong—is situated in Tehsil Chirawa, District Jhunjhunu. With a population of 11,559, it has a municipal board. First constituted in 1944, the members of the board were not elected but nominated by the then Jaipur Government. The nominated members who were the Birlas' yeshmen controlled it for four years. Even when as a result of popular demand an elected municipal board came into existence the Birlas' henchmen dominated it.

CONGRESS WINS

Gradually political parties, especially the Congress came on the scene. The awakening of the masses alerted the Birlas. Conflicts between pro-Birla men and the popular forces of Pilani grew day by day. In 1957 Congress came out victorious and the board headed by its young chairman Madanlal ended the overall domination of Birla's mercenaries.

But this victory of the energetic and young Congress workers created numerous problems for the Congress leaders of Jhunjhunu and Rajasthan. How could Birlas tolerate this victory which meant end of their monopoly of power? How could they agree to subject themselves to the municipal laws and taxes? So they hatched a conspiracy to get the board dissolved.

Faced with numerous obstacles in the smooth running of the board, on the advice of some Ministers of Rajasthan, the chairman and other Congress members of the board submitted their resignation. The municipal board was superseded and First Class Magistrate Chirawa was appointed as administrator to exercise and perform all powers and function of the board.

The memorandum submitted to the Local Self Government, Rajasthan by the Mandal Congress Committee, Pilani puts it in these blunt words:

"In Pilani fundamental differences exist between the vested capitalistic interests protected by the employees of Birla and the urge in the common man to rise from age-long serfdom and slavery of capitalists and to breathe free air. Due to the conflict between those two kinds of ideologies—the retrograde and the progressive ideologies—a very healthy convention could have been established had the progressive group received the co-operation from the Government and higher Congress leaders."

Unfortunately this did not happen. The bureaucratic

machinery of the Government fell in line with the Birlas. A number of allegations about officials' favouritism to the Birlas are contained in the memorandum a copy of which was handed over to me. I do not wish to reproduce them here for reasons of space.

But there is another important aspect of the story for which 65 year old Dr. Jawala Prashad has undertaken a fast since July 31 this year.

The Birlas having succeeded in getting the board dissolved wanted time to reassert themselves. In the first place the elections to the board which were scheduled to take place on May 5, 1961 were postponed. The date was cancelled by the then Collector, Jhunjhunu, on the specious plea of some technical defects and irregularities in the election plan.

Another date was fixed—July 17, 1961. This time not only were nominations filled but polling booths were established, election staff was fixed and in one constituency even a seat was captured by the group opposed to Birlas since at the eleventh hour one Birlas' henchmen withdrew from the contest.

The Birlas having seen for themselves the wrath and opposition of the people brought pressure on the Government. The elections due on July 17 were postponed by a Government notification of July 1. This time the grounds for postponing the elections were astounding.

The Pilani municipal limits according to the memorandum, were notified in the Rajasthan Gazette of July 29, 1958 for holding general elections in the year 1961. The Pilani municipal area was divided into 10 wards and the Rajasthan Government invited objections to the formation of wards. Vide letter No. F. (I) 99 LSG/60 of 24-5-1960. No objections were raised and the wards were finally published by the order of the Governor vide No. F(1)LSG-DLB/60 of 27-10-60.

CHANGING LIMITS

Half a mile away from Pilani town is a colony known as Vidya Vihar where the students and teachers of the Birla-run educational institutions reside during term-time. Although the total population in this colony is only 3,500, the Government has conferred upon them the status of a municipal board. The Birlas, having failed to control the Pilani municipal board, want to create their kingdom in Vidya Vihar by annexing certain areas of the Pilani town municipality.

My Congress friends showed me a map of the town and said that the Birlas want that important roads, schools and colleges and houses on one side of certain roads be transferred for administra-

tion to the Vidya Vihar municipality.

The Birlas, the great donors of the Congress, under whom in Pilani and elsewhere relations and nominees of cer-

by O. P. Mehrotra

tain Congress leaders are given fat salaries and allowances, how could their demands be rejected? And so their wonder drugs of money, influence and power worked.

ELECTIONS POSTPONED

The Collector of Jhunjhunu in an order of July 1 cancelled the date for general elections to the municipal board of Pilani. The reason assigned for this is precisely the same as desired by the Birlas, viz., "to exclude a substantial area from the municipality of Pilani". The Birlas have won their point.

But this is not the end of the story. The people have launched a glorious struggle. Congressmen, Communists and other democratic elements are unitedly fighting this onslaught on their rights.

As referred to earlier 65-year-old Dr. Jwala Prashad is on hunger strike. Every day meetings are being held and demonstrations of 4,000 to 5,000 people are taken out. The Police has challaned eight persons under various Sections of the Penal Code. But what is strange in this struggle is the attitude of the State Congress leaders.

The District Congress leaders suspended the Mandal Congress Committee, Pilani. They do not want that Congressmen should fight against the Birla stooges. But the attitude of the energetic and young Congressmen of the town is clear: they are determined to fight against the monopoly stranglehold of the Birlas on civic life of the town.

The people of Pilani want that the unjustified demands of the Birla Vidya Vihar to encroach upon the limits of Pilani municipality be rejected and the elections of the municipality of Pilani be immediately held without any further delay.

NEW AGE

POLITICAL MONTHLY OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

Editor: B. T. Ranadive

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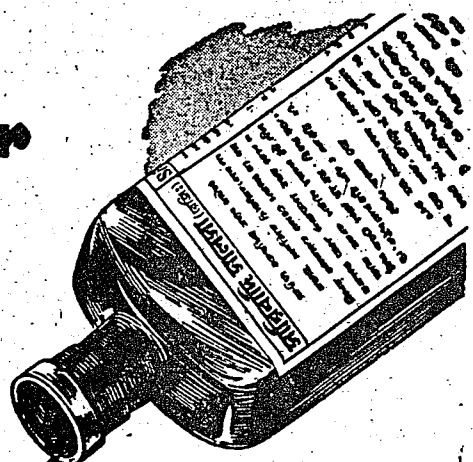
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NEW AGE

AUGUST 20, 1961

Berlin—West's Plot Frustrated

The cry of rage that rang out in the West following the sealing of East Berlin's borders was a good indication that the measure was timely and well-directed. It has blocked a major source of "accidental" war and impelled the entire situation further forward to negotiations and a demarche in the troubled heartland of Europe.

LET us first be clear about the measures themselves. The screaming headlines and the frantic editorials (a typical case is the Hindustan Times of August 14) might give the unwary reader the impression that the whole of Berlin has been blockaded and that the blessed "freedom" of West Berlin has been encroached upon. Nothing could be more false.

The order of the Government of the German Democratic Republic explicitly states: "This decree in no way revises former decisions on transit traffic between West Berlin and West Germany via the German Democratic Republic". Thus, the measure in no way infringes upon the sovereignty of other States. It is simply an exercise of the sovereign power of the German Democratic Republic.

The decree says: "To put an end to the hostile activities of the revanchists and militarist forces of Western Germany and West Berlin, such control is to be introduced on the borders of the German Democratic Republic, including the border with the Western sectors of Greater Berlin, which is usually introduced along the borders of every sovereign State."

"Reliable safeguards and effective controls must be ensured on the West Berlin borders in order to block the way to subversive activities. The citizens of the German Democratic Republic may cross these borders only with special permission. Until West Berlin is turned into a demilitarised neutral free city, the citizens of the German Democratic Republic will have to have a special permit for crossing the border to West Berlin."

As for entry into West Berlin, it says: "Peaceful citizens of West Berlin may visit the capital of the German Democratic Republic (Democratic Berlin) on presenting West Berlin identity cards. Revanchist politicians and agents of West German militarism are not allowed to enter the territory of the German Democratic Republic."

"As regards visits to Democratic Berlin by the citizens of the West German Federal Republic, former decisions on control remain valid. These decisions do not affect the visits of the citizens of other States to the capital of the German Democratic Republic."

Emergency Step

The measure, sane and just in itself, is undoubtedly an emergency step. Why then had it to be adopted? Why did the Warsaw Treaty Powers request the Government of the German Democratic Republic to adopt these new controls? Who will be affected by these measures?

Primarily, and above all, the new controls had to be imposed in the interests of

scotching a very big Western provocation. It will be recalled that there had been an increase in the flow of persons crossing over into West Germany via West Berlin. The reasons for this we shall come to later.

The Western game was to do all in their power to further their step up their propaganda, their intimidation and enticements and, thus, create an atmosphere of uncertainty among the more unstable citizens of the German Democratic Republic.

The aim to be reached was to foment what the US press calls "an uprising" in the German Democratic Republic. This was the theme of a dispatch in the New York Times of August 10. It referred to the possibility of "riots" and asked whether the West Germans could refuse to respond to "appeals for help" from East Germany.

Take advantage of the "right" of unrestricted access to Democratic Berlin, create some sort of panic among those who want to leave the German Democratic Republic and then ask for the Bundeswehr to move in—this was the tactic. Needless to say, if the Bundeswehr had moved the result would have been no German civil war, but would have sent the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty and Nato powers into mortal combat.

It was the activities of these madmen and the possible frightful consequences that made necessary these new control measures. It was the scotching of this latest plot against peace that has made the imperialists, with the West Germans in the van, so thoroughly sore.

Refugees To GDR

It is, of course, natural to ask why Western propaganda and capitalist allurements do attract some of the citizens of Germany's first Socialist State. To answer this question, it is necessary to give a little background material.

Before the Second World War it was quite usual that people from the mainly agricultural Eastern provinces of Germany moved into the predominantly industrial provinces in the West to find employment there. As a result of the war, many people had been displaced, had been sent by the Nazi authorities as evacuees to districts less exposed to bombardment. In the last stages of the war, moreover, people were forced by the Nazi authorities to retreat into the Central provinces when the allied armies crossed the German borders.

The situation became still more confused when, following the orders of the Allied Powers, sections of the German population were resettled from the former Eastern territories and when

the prisoners-of-war were discharged from the camps. Millions of families were disrupted and it took very many years for many of them to come together. This explains, partially, the shift of population.

For it is a fact conveniently brushed up by the Western press and duly ignored by the bulk of the Indian papers as well, that there is a steady stream of people going East, whose number runs into tens of thousands.

Apart from those who come to the German Democratic Republic for family reasons, there are three other groups: young men who do not want to serve in the West German Nato armies, especially the escapees from conscription; those who had left the German Democratic Republic and return sobered; West German workers with their families who cannot resist such blackmail and report to the authorities. Others lose their nerve and give in.

Bonn Nazis

Among the more notorious among such agencies are those set up by influential West German industrial concerns, e.g., I. G. Farben, AEG, Siemens, Nobel Dynamit AG, etc. These firms had branch plants in East Germany, which have been duly nationalised. The former owners are anxious to do their best to cause the maximum amount of disturbances at these works. One of the methods is to use former personal contacts to make some expert or another to leave his job.

Despite this, it has to be admitted that the flow to the West is larger. Why? First, because Germany was—and the major portion of it still is—an imperialist State for 60 years and a Nazi State for over 12. It should never be forgotten that there never has been such a mind-conditioning and perverting apparatus as was possessed and fearfully used by the Nazi State. Those mentally and emotionally damaged run into millions, to say nothing of their children whom they have also influenced.

These continuing Nazis find the German Democratic Republic a most un congenial country. For this is a German State with a difference. Not only has it ended the economic basis of Nazism—monopoly capital and Junker landlordism—but it has launched a powerful ideological offensive against Nazi barbarism. It is determined to make its citizens ashamed and horrified at what the Nazis made the Germans become.

While this will eventually produce whole new generations of Germans true to the noble traditions of Marx, Beethoven and Goethe, it does make the continuing Nazis most uncomfortable.

Why should they suffer this discomfort when by a walk across the Brandenburg Gate they are back in their world, where their leaders are back again at the helm and where the old imperialist German vulture flaps again its wings?

The third factor making for the larger flow to the West is the difference in the raw material and human resources of the two German States. The Federal Republic has a population of 54 millions as compared to 17 millions who reside in the German Democratic Republic. The main industries of Germany were situated in the iron-ore and coal-rich Ruhr valley, which is in the Federal Republic. Then there have been the exceptionally large amounts of dollars that helped the former industrial empires to their feet and gave them the necessary first impulse.

It is this accident of geography and demography that has given the Federal Republic an initial lead over the German Democratic Republic. It has enabled it to build up a monopoly dominated economy with a fairly high standard of living, however, temporary this might prove to be. But this lead is likely to be quite short-lived.

As a matter of fact the Socialist Unity Party and the Government of the German Democratic Republic had set before the people the task of catching up with the per capita consumption of industrial and agricultural commodities of West Germany by 1965.

One final Western argument needs to be disposed of, i.e., that the German Democratic Republic has no legal right to adopt the measures that it has. To this the straight-forward answer must be that the exercise of sovereignty by any State which does not infringe on the sovereignty of any other state, can never be illegal. The borders of the German Democratic Republic, including those in Berlin, are its own concern.

Negotiations Likely

What should we expect now from the West as a counter move? Judging from the impotent rage and the open cracks in the Western alliance a fresh aggressive thrust may not immediately be tried. It seems that the bait of negotiations is to be dangled for a time, at any rate.

The Time (August 18) commented: "The Berlin crisis continued moving closer to the long talk as opposed to the big bang. Reporting to President Kennedy after his return from Paris, Dean Rusk seemed convinced that the Berlin crisis would next move to the conference table, not the battlefield."

But negotiations about what? And who is to take the initiative? As the London Economist (August 12) correctly wrote: "The Western Foreign Ministers talked vaguely about the need to negotiate about Berlin but studiously avoided what a layman might consider the logical next step: a proposal for some kind of conference."

"As a result, they left the impression of having been more precise in discussing the military and political measures they might have to take if things went wrong over Berlin, with perhaps apocalyptic consequences, than in considering how to stop things going wrong."

But after the rebuff at the Brandenburg Gate the West will have to put more seriousness into what at present may justly be called a pose of negotiations. The alternative is total war, in which they have no earthly chance of victory. And to scramble to success over shambles is not the way of socialist States. Hence, the survival of peace and the prospect of its consolidation.

MOHIT SEN

(August 17)

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

NEW AGE

PAGE THIRTEEN

Socialist Rumania's Jump To Prosperity

From Our Correspondent

Bucharest

THANKS to the establishment of people's power, the Rumanian People's Republic has achieved important successes in the development of its national economy. The most significant result of the country's industrialisation is the radical change of structure of both the national economy and industry. It has a great bearing on our own country's race to self-sustained growth. As we salute its people, Government and Workers' Party this August 23, we should study its experience.

In 1938, the share of industry in the national income amounted only to 19.9 per cent, while the share of agriculture was preponderant.

Creative Labour

By 1960, due to their creative efforts, the Rumanian people set up an industry the specific weight of which represented 57 per cent of the national income (transport and construction included). The high rate of growth of Rumanian industry is ensured by the predominant role played by heavy industry. In 1959, the share of heavy industry in the gross industrial output was 60.3 per cent as against 45.5 per cent in 1938.

By consistently applying the policy of the country's socialist industrialisation, it became possible to achieve very high rates of growth in all the fields of social and economic life. Between 1951 and 1960, the annual average rate of growth of the industrial output was over 13 per cent, whereas in 1929-38 it amounted to four per cent only.

Due to the rapid rate of development achieved in 1951-60 the industrial production of Rumania registered a five-fold increase over the pre-war level (i.e., the production of the machine-building industry—10 times, that of the ferrous metallurgy about seven times, of the chemical industry 11 times, etc.).

Rumania's industrialisation is being carried on not only through an incomparably higher rate of growth of industry as a whole, but particularly through a higher rate of growth of the main branches of heavy industry. Thus, between 1951 and 1959, the annual average rate of growth of the output of means of production amounted to 14.6 per cent, whereas that of the consumer goods' industry was 10.2 per cent.

Heavy Industry

Likewise, if one compares the rate of growth of the main branches of the heavy industry, one would observe that the highest rates are attained by electric power output as well as by the machine-building and metal-working industries.

Set up and developed after the Second World War, the machine-building industry became a genuine pivot of heavy industry, the main source for the equipment and reequipment of all enterprises belonging to the other industrial branches, providing its national economy with most of the machines and equipment necessary for its development.

Engineering Goods

From 1951 to 1959, the average annual rate of growth of the engineering industry went up to 19.2 per cent, considerably exceeding that achieved by heavy industry as a whole. In the chemical industry, possessing a rich raw material base in Rumania, the rate of growth amounted to 20.9 per cent.

Owing to the high rate of growth of the industrial output, labour productivity increased two-fold in 1959 as against 1950, the average annual rate being nearly eight per cent. This rate was higher in a number of chief industrial branches: 12.8 per cent in the machine-building and metal-working industry, 10.4 per cent in the chemical industry, etc.

The rapid rate of growth of the national economy of Rumania was ensured by achieving of a corresponding rate of growth of capital investments. Between 1950 and 1959, this rate was about 14 per cent per annum in the entire national economy.

The 1960-65 Six-Year Plan provides for the increase of the industrial output amounting to about 210 per cent, in 1965, as compared to 1959 and for a corresponding increase of industrial production by 70-80 per cent. The rapid rate of development is a sure guarantee of the fulfilment of the Six-year Plan targets.

Agriculture Advances

The high rate of growth of industrial production ensure a rapid mechanisation of agriculture. By 1960, the tractor fleet increased 12 times over the 1948 figure, which contributes to the achieving, in 1955-59, of a total annual wheat output which was on an average 582,000 tons higher than the 1934-38 output, the maize output exceeding by 1.1 million tons that obtained during the same period (1934-38).

By the end of the Six-Year Plan, Rumanian agriculture will have at its disposal about 100,000 tractors, i.e., three times more than in 1959. The level of the technical equipment of agriculture will be raised: from one tractor for every 270 hectares in 1959, to one tractor for every 100 hectares in 1965. The amount of chemical fertilisers received by agriculture will be over eight times bigger.

Concurrently with the high rate of growth of production in all the branches of the national economy, it became

possible to achieve a corresponding increase in the standard of living of the people and, in the first place, of national income. In 1960, national income was 2.6 times that obtained in 1951, the share of industry in this increase amounting to 70 per cent.

Real wages increased in the last ten years by 85 per cent. By 1965, the national income will increase about 4.10 to 4.34 times as against 1950 so that by 1965 on the basis of the rapid increase of national income, real wages will increase by 40-45 per cent as against the level attained during the latter half of 1959, while the real incomes of the peasantry will increase by about 40 per cent.

The consumption of food-stuffs and staple goods which in 1960 already was two to three times that recorded in 1938, will increase considerably in 1965 owing, in the first place, to the increase of the national income—1.8 to 1.7 times as against 1959. The volume of goods sold by State-owned and cooperative commercial units will increase two times during the same period.

Housing Improves

Housing conditions will considerably improve, thanks to a higher rate of housing construction. About 300,000 flats will be built in the urban and rural areas from 1960 to 1965 alone, i.e., over three times more than in the last six years.

The fulfilment of the provisions of the Six Year Plan constitutes the first stage of the long-term programme according to which, in as short a period as possible, the Rumanian People's Republic will attain the level of the most advanced countries in the world as regards the per capita production and consumption.

GREETINGS

New Age takes great pride in sending ardent greetings to the Rumanian people, Government and the great Marxist-Leninist Rumanian Workers' Party on August 23, their national holiday. Having won socialism through militant struggle and with the fraternal help of the Soviet Union, the Rumanian people are speeding ahead to their bright destiny.

Their socialist creative labour and their anti-imperialist spirit are fully manifested in the great assistance that they are rendering our country to establish our national oil industry, so vital for our independent development.

The unity of the Rumanian people and our own in the cause of world peace must be constantly reinforced and our bonds of fraternity be made ever firmer.

SPOTLIGHT

Again On Rampage

THE notorious Jan Sanghite publicist who wrote that perfect piece of communal propaganda "Sense and Nonsense About Jabalpur" is on the rampage again. We find him sprawling over two pages of Organiser's August 15 special number, firing the foulest epithets at India's national, secular ideals.

Nehru and the entire non-communal Indian press and the "integration-wallahs" are again his special targets. Last time he described Nehru as a man "who has not revealed any streak of love for his culture, his people or their ethos". This time he calls him "a typical futurist", one "addicted to planning" and a "megalomaniac".

About the Indian press which condemned the outbreak of communalism at Jabalpur, he said that it suffered from "naivete" and was guilty of "artless" and "artful artlessness". This time he has gone hammer and tongs against it for reporting Nehru's secular views.

He describes it as "our adulatory press which sinks on its knees before taking down notes when the Prime Minister speaks". He asks it and the country: "Let us give up the habit of listening to Nehru's senile patter on our knees, in an attitude of adoration since 'he is inspired by a cruel and false materialistic doctrine of imaginary progress'".

Finally, he goes at what he calls the "integration-wallahs". In "Sense and Nonsense About Jabalpur" he had propounded the thesis that communal division was a justifiable reality; that a rape or murder involving a Muslim criminal was the responsibility of the whole Muslim community; that the Muslims were a community which specialised in rapes; that the Hindus should not wait for the law to take its course in the case of a rape being committed by a Muslim against a Hindu but should start massive retaliation.

In his latest essay he has reverted to the same subject of "stopping this raging business" as he styles it. The crux of the problem of national integration, according to him, is not "establishing sweet relations between communities" but to bring home to the Muslims as a community "the crime of rapism" and, of course, giving them a "direct" deal for this.

Bitterly attacking the National Integration Committee, this Jan Sanghite ideologue of communal rioting says:

"Has this Committee ever made a tally of the number of outrages suffered by the Hindus at the hands of the Muslims?"

To take a census of Muslim rapes of Hindu women is, according to this Sanghite scribe, the crucial national issue. And he wants the data collected to be used for punishing the Muslim community, i.e., for fanning the flames of communal rioting. Says he:

"The technique of covering up this issue" (rape cases by Muslim males) "by calling such persons indiscriminately goondas and ruffians is a patented ruse of the integrators, but in a realistic assessment, the responsibility of the community that tends to specialise in this kind of offence cannot be ignored".

Here is a blunt avowal by the Jan Sanghites of not only their communal faith but also of their criminal designs. It is evident that their prescription of Hindutva for national integration only means establishing Hindu communal supremacy by trampling down the others. Hence it is accompanied inevitably by a hymn of hate for the non-Hindu communities.

It speaks volumes for Dr. Sampurnanand's own ideological degeneration when he gives this anti-national criminal gang a chit for "unbending nationalism". He forgets that communalism is the very antithesis of nationalism.

Senile Scribbler

AND how do we describe the scribe who has produced this consummate piece? Don't his own epithets of a "megalomaniac" and "senile pater" fit him to a T? I am glad the Organiser has this time introduced this splendid specimen of a skunk to the reader. We are informed that he is one M. Verma, M.A.Ph.D., Head of the Department of Education, Gorakhpur University. I present him to our Minister of Education. An "educationalist" of this calibre can straightaway be recommended for award of the straitjacket.

Tailpiece

"Caste is not a drag on our economic progress" (Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya, General Secretary, Jan Sangh)

"Any day cow worship is far superior to power worship" (A. Rama Rao, President, Jan Sangh)

GARUDA

catch them young!

WHO can question the right of Congress leaders to attract 'new blood' for their organisation? The need for young workers for a political party on the eve of a general election is much more imperative. More so, for a party that is pledged to build the "socialist pattern of society". So Congress leaders decided to do it by observing a day.

All over the country the Youth Congress celebrated August 9 as Youth Day. In Delhi they had a novel idea of holding a public meeting which was to be addressed by Prime Minister Nehru and a celebrated film actor, Dilip Kumar. 'Crowds, both to listen to the Prime Minister's message and "see" and hear the film hero, they guessed would be very big.

And so it was. Despite the overcast sky and the drizzle the gathering in Ramleela grounds was really impressive. There was a snag though.

The spirit of the Youth Day, as the Congress leaders would have desired, was very much missing. Even when the Prime Minister was speaking a section of the crowd was restless. Many in the meeting were looking for the "hero".

The lads who were mobilised for the day themselves seemed to be inattentive. When the film actor came on the stage there was a virtual stampede in the meeting. Most of the youngsters vied with each other for securing vantage positions to

have a "look" at the hero, Dilip Kumar.

The police had to use lathis to push the crowds back. Pandit Nehru thought it desirable to leave the meeting after formal introduction with the film star. But when the hero of the day started reading his written speech in Urdu a section of the crowd, probably RSS inspired Jan Sanghite hooligans, shouted "Hindi, Hindi!" Late in the evening the rally dispersed.

Youth Congress leaders can very well claim that their programme in Delhi was a grand success! Indeed, they were successful in attracting a big crowd. The trouble, however, with such a crowd is that they look for their heroes in the film world instead of Youth Congress leaders.

What about other places? In Kanpur Ajit Prasad Jain, President of the UPOC, addressed the meeting organised to celebrate the Youth Day. But he was shocked to see that "young people were absent from a function organised by the youth".

That is an irony for the Congress. Youth in particular are not attracted towards it. In old days the national leadership imbued them with a sense of purpose, and by examples of their own selfless work inspired the younger generation.

Today's youth is not inspired by the empty phrases of the Congress leaders because there is yawning gap between the precepts and

SCRAP-BOOK

practices of these leaders. Observing any number of days in the name of youth will not solve the problem.

murderous politics

IN Uttar Pradesh Congress factionalism has reached new height. Old methods of carrying on factional struggles inside the Congress are giving place to new ones.

Recently in the State Assembly U.P.'s Home Minister Charan Singh admitted that the factionalism of the ruling party has created an atmosphere in which murder were possible.

The Minister who was speaking on a "calling attention" motion admitted "that political murders have become a matter of daily occurrence in Aligarh district".

There is yet another sign of the intensification of groupism in U.P. Recently some writ petitions came up before the Allahabad High Court in which the story of Congress factionalism is repeated.

The Tribune's U.P. correspondent has narrated some in one of his dispatches. In one of the writs according to this correspondent: "The President of the Aligarh Municipal Board who is a Congress-

man, belonging to the ex-Ministerialist group, also recently challenged in the High Court no-confidence motion against him.

"He alleged that C. B. Gupta, Chief Minister, told him either to resign or face a no-confidence motion. This was being done the petitioner said on flimsy grounds.

"The High Court in this case admitted the writ petition and stayed proceedings of no-confidence against the petitioner till further orders."

This is how position stands in the U.P. Congress. And yet C.B. Gupta, the strongman of U.P. Congress, says that there is no groupism in the U.P. Congress now!

essential qualification

I HAVE received an interesting item for these columns. In order to keep its originality I am reproducing it just as it is:

By a Central Government Undertaking under Defence Ministry situated in Bangalore. A Traffic Checker, Salary—Starting Rs. 130 Plus Rs. 20 D.A. Promotion: Rs. 30 jump within 3 months. Qualification: Ordinary Matriculate. Experience: Nil. Essential Qualifications:?

Besides the above salary a fine scooter will be provided free of all charges.

In these hard days of acute unemployment, will not any one lick his lips reading this advertisement. Just like a delicious but forbidden dish! Sensible persons may dismiss such an advertisement as a fantasy. No advertisement really appeared. But, in fact a vacancy existed and a person was also appointed. Unlike other unemployed he had an answer for the question mark. He had the essential qualification—Minister's relation.

Shankarappa, the brother-in-law of Marappa, Finance Minister of Mysore, was appointed in Bharat Electronics. His qualification, salary, etc. are all the same as shown in the imaginary advertisement.

To protest against this, the well qualified and experienced office staff who were denied even normal increments took strong action—a pen-down strike—in the last week of July. The Management had to bow down to the pressure of the employees. In the absence of the General Manager, now in Japan, the Deputy General Manager vested with limited powers, deferred the "jump increment". Lesson: Concerted action puts down favouritism.

—AGRADOOT

Big Response To Goa Campaign

From RAMESH SINHA

Lucknow

THE visit last month from July 23 to 28 to U.P. of Mrs Berta Braganza, editor, Free Goa and one of the leaders of the National Campaign Committee for Goa, has helped to rouse once again the people of the State against the atrocities of Portuguese Salazarists in a part of our land.

she had a talk with the Chief Minister of the State also.

The response to her stirring call for freeing Goa from the stranglehold of Portuguese fascists was deep and immediate. People were moved by the stories she told them of the terrible life that our kith and kin are having to face in Goa.

She also told them of the silent struggle that has never ceased there against the foreign rule despite the most brutal repression. These stories of the bravery of our people, common man and women, of their fortitude, of their inflexible determination to join the motherland were extremely touching and found an echo in the hearts of her audience wherever she went.

Nobody believes the Portuguese can resist even our volunteers, leave alone our army or police. Mrs. Braganza's pleadings, therefore, for a "new orientation in the policy of the

Government of India," pleadings for a "more positive policy" were convincing. The sincerity of approach of this illustrious daughter of Goa made the issue look of urgent and immediate importance.

She was presented small purses wherever she went, in Lucknow, in Jhansi, in Varanasi and the Corporators of Kanpur have promised her to send Rs. 500 for the National Campaign Committee for Goa. Collections were made in public meetings in annas and paisas and they were not too bad. She was given Rs. 115 by the Bar Association in Jhansi.

COMMITTEES FORMED

Pushkar Nath Bhatt, M.L.C., a prominent Congress leader, presented her Rs. 101 on behalf of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.

In Lucknow, Jhansi and Varanasi representative committees of citizens have been formed to carry on the work inaugurated by Mrs. Braganza. Congressmen, P.S.P.s, Communists and lots of independents constitute these committees.

The State Council of the Communist Party is issuing a call for celebrating 15th August as also GOA FREEDOM DAY.

Young Workers' Conference

* FROM PAGE 3

workers in the youth movement. There is another important question which will come up as soon as we start working in this direction—the organisational pattern.

Whether this should be a part of the trade union organisation with a separate committee or the young workers should form units of youth organisation in their factories? In that case what should be the relation between the youth unit and local trade union?

It is difficult to predict the exact organisational shape which the young workers' movement will take in our country without gaining some experience. If one studies the experiences of other countries it will be seen that the latter practice is most common.

In Indonesia, where the youth movement is strongest compared to other non-socialist Asian countries' units of youth organisation exist in factories.

Young workers are members of trade unions as well as of the local youth organisation. The Youth unit in a factory is represented in the factory trade union com-

mittee. Youth activities among the workers, though conducted by the youth organisation, get the full support, moral and material, from the trade union. At the time of trade union struggle specific tasks are assigned to the local youth organisation. It is the responsibility of the youth unit to mobilise the young workers for the fulfilment of the specific assignments.

Whatever be the organisational form we choose in India, the main points that must be borne in mind, are: Firstly, for unleashing the initiative of the young workers and for the development of their own organising capability, they should have the necessary freedom to decide their own affairs and to choose forms of activities which correspond to the desire of youth. Secondly, the organisational form must provide for the opportunities to establish and develop close friendly ties and joint activities between the young workers and other sections of the youth.

Finally, it must serve the main task of taking the youth movement forward, which has its due role to play in our society.

sound views on germany

Prime Minister Nehru's two speeches in the Lok Sabha initiating the foreign affairs debate and concluding it have immensely helped to put India's record straight on vital issues affecting world peace and national security. And, for the first time in its history, the Indian Parliament has heard an exposition of their views both from the Prime Minister and the leader of the Opposition on the key question of world peace, namely the German question.

IN forthright terms Nehru declared that the existence of two German States was an objective fact—a fact which the imperialists refuse pig-headedly to recognise. Although balancing the "fears" on the two sides, Nehru said the Soviet Premier had offered adequate guarantees for free access to West Berlin and the East European countries with their experience of two wars had every reason to be concerned over the revival of militarism in West Germany, which was now "a very important member of the Nato." There was no other way—if war was ruled out—except to seek agreement and rapprochement between the two German States and between the two "blobs".

Dange, while agreeing with the Prime Minister on these points posed the question "whether the Government of India's policy is based really on a position of neutrality in relation to Germany." He proceeded to say:

"We know that in the olden days, the Congress Party, and the Prime Minister particularly, were vehement opponents of Nazism and when Nazism came to power afterwards and tried to overthrow Republican Spain, all the sympathies of our nationalist movement were against the Nazis and for the liberation of the Spanish people.

"During the war, our position was very clear. After the war, when the two German States came into existence, consistent with our neutrality, what should have been our position? It could not be that of one-sided recognition of West Germany and non-recognition of East Germany" Dange said.

w. german militarism

Despite earlier agreements among war-time allies, Dange pointed out, "militarisation had taken place in West Germany; all the armament firms have been revived and all the Nazi generals are back again there.

"This is the position when the other powers are still technically at war with Germany because they have not signed a peace treaty. Still, West Germany has been admitted into the Nato Pact... A sentiment was expressed (by the Prime Minister in his speech) that the Nato States were not behaving properly in relation to the liquidation of colonialism but are encouraging the suppression of such movements. West Germany is a member of such an alliance. Yet we continue to recognise

that State and we allow it to have an Embassy here."

Dange castigated the Government of India for thus "showing preference for a State which is frantically and frankly becoming a Nazi State, a State which is rearming itself and helping in the suppression of the colonial freedom movement and a State which is training its troops on the soil of Britain and France."

He further said: "Sometimes I hear an argument that West Germany is a very prosperous State. There are many prosperous States. Perhaps, Portugal also is a very prosperous State in its own way. But there is no reason why we should have feelings or special consideration for a State which is reviving Nazism and carrying out militarism and making a hotbed of war on its territory and suppressing other people."

bait of "aid"

"There is mention of economic aid and that is the tempting thing which persuades some of our friends to be friendly with West Germany. What is the example of economic aid, after all? One dominant, single, outstanding aid which we have received from West Germany is the Rourkela plant, a plant which limps every seventh day, which breaks down every month and which does not fulfil the quota, and where, we do not know, what these technicians are doing to our technicians and what they are producing. It is the most outstanding example of German technique, West German aid to India—to rebuild its own economy.

"Is it for such limping aid that we are favouring West Germany and not recognising East Germany? Do we not know that East Germany is capable of giving aid?"

Trade and cultural relations did exist between India and the GDR, but that was not enough, Dange said. In the matter of international relations, he added: "Consistent with our neutrality, we ought to recognise both East Germany and West Germany."

Turning to the German question as such, Dange said Berlin was never conquered by the Western Powers. They had no right of conquest over it as they claimed. It was only "in order to reunify Germany and establish a democratic regime there, that all these powers which had attained victory (had to) have one

common centre." When the Western powers went back on those aims and created a separate West German State, the basis for their being in West Berlin was knocked out.

In regard to the Peace Treaty, Dange said, "Is it not a wonderful and funny situation? Fifteen or sixteen years after the war ended, there is no peace treaty with Germany; and who is preventing the peace treaty? It is the British, the French and the Americans who are preventing a peace treaty. When the Americans wanted it, they signed a peace treaty with Japan, even without caring to know whether the other countries approved of it or not. If a peace treaty with Japan, which treacherously attacked America could be signed in 1951, why should not a peace treaty be signed with Germany even in 1961?"

Dange pleaded: "The Government of India should exercise its influence so that a peace treaty with Germany is signed by all the powers immediately, with both the German States.... When a peace treaty is signed, what happens? West Berlin today is an occupied city under the heel of the capitalists. The moment a peace treaty is signed, it ceases to be an occupied city, it becomes a free city... all occupation forces have to go out. The civilian people can remain, trade can remain, entry can remain. This is the simple thing that the Soviet Union has proposed. And yet now it is said that there are growing tensions. They are only re-

gularising the position and restoring the whole thing to normalcy. Actually, they are being called names as if they are now instituting spots of tension."

Dange said that, while the Prime Minister's policy was on the right lines, he should take up the question of peace treaty. "I am sure, he is not opposed to the peace treaty and I am quite sure that he is not opposed to West Berlin being a free city. There can be no quarrel about that, but the question comes in regard to his being cautious. What was the caution which permits him or persuades him to recognise West Germany alone... I cannot understand this position of neutrality. A position which holds against militarism, against Nazism and so on should have led to opposite results."

recognition of g.d.r.

Reverting to question of West German economic aid Dange sounded a note of warning saying that when the British joined the Common Market "they will be more in the pockets of West Germany and if we are going to run behind the British with our usual trade relations, gradually we may be drawn into the whole vortex of Nato. There is that dangerous position also but I think with our position of neutrality we would be cautious about that."

In course of the debate a forthright speech was made by

Congress member Brajeshwar Prasad who also called for recognition of German Democratic Republic (East Germany) and for India's full support to the Soviet position on German and West Berlin questions. He said German militarism had twice devastated Europe and its revival again posed a threat to world peace.

Nath Pai of the PSP while manifesting confusion on the West Berlin issue called for the revival and acceptance of the Rapacki Plan for creating a nuclear free zone in Europe.

Only the Swatantra Party spokesman Mohammad Imam repeated West German propaganda on the question and in his reply the Prime Minister made it specifically clear that he disagreed with that stand in every respect and the Swatantraite stood all alone.

The Prime Minister, winding up the debate said that the one-sided recognition of West Germany was a continuation of the war and pre-war situation. After the war when unification was still considered possible India thought that East Germany's recognition might come in the way of that. However India had relations with East Germany and had de facto recognised it. The Prime Minister even said that East Germany had a Consul here. It appeared that with the changing situation, as on other issues, the Government of India would reconsider its stand on this issue as well.

U.S. "PROTECTION" PROTESTED

A MONG issues directly affecting India naturally the pride of place went to extension of U.S. military aid to Pakistan and threats emanating from that quarter. The Prime Minister traced the genesis of Pakistan in its leadership's opposition to India's freedom struggle and the class character of its rulers—big landlords—though he hastened to add that he had nothing against them on that score.

While the whole House agreed with that part of the analysis when it came to the Prime Minister emphasizing the enhanced friendliness that the US had shown to India in recent months Dange was constrained to point out:

"I wonder whether the sign of greater friendliness is the supply of greater number of supersonic aeroplanes to Pakistan and whether friendliness is measured by such instances."

However, the gloves had to be off on August 17. When he had to reply to the debate the Prime Minister was confronted with Chester Bowles' statement seeking to extend USA's "protection" to India. Nehru, choosing his

words carefully, showed up what Chester Bowles' attempt amounted to. It was like what Seato had done a few years ago—extending protection to certain countries which were not its members.

Whatever US rulers may have in mind, India would have nothing to do with such "protection", Nehru made it clear. It militated against and infringed upon India's non-alignment policy. Once India accepted this position, she would cease to be non-aligned.

Nehru also showed up Chester Bowles' mendacity in making out that it was nothing new that he had said, it

was only a reiteration of what Eisenhower had told India when the latter had protested to USA in 1954 against military aid to Pakistan. Nehru recalled that Eisenhower in reply to the protest had offered similar military aid to India and Nehru had had to tell him that such an offer amounted to adding insult to injury. The same by implication applied to Chester Bowles' present statement.

The Prime Minister in course of the reply also agreed with the members who had suggested that India should seek and acquire arms from whatever source it may be necessary.

GOA-HEARTENING STAND

The heart-warming highlight of the debate—which came as a culmination of days of prodding in both Houses—was the Prime Minister's declaration that India was not bound for ever to seek the solution of Goa's liberation through non-military means. It was the discussion on the bill to integrate Dadra and Nagar Haveli that started focusing Parliament's attention on Goa's liberation and the obstructions placed by the Government of India in the path of the people's struggle to liberate Goa.

Powerful plea was made for urgent action in the Lok Sabha by Dange and in the Rajya Sabha by Bhupesh Gupta. It was an inspiring sight to see both Houses unanimously vote the solemn proposal for merger of the two former Portuguese enclaves. The Prime Minister's dignified declaration in the Lok Sabha in reference to the Portuguese Government's note that they still considered themselves masters of Dadra and Nagar Haveli was greeted with applause.