

HOW LONG MORE MUST THE EMPLOYEES WAIT?

Left to itself and its conscience, the Congress Government never keeps its promise to the people especially the working people. Even a clear accepted obligation it will not fulfil, unless—and let us mark that 'unless'—the people get angry and shout at the Government and show signs of a movement. Even then it will not move until it has had a few victims to vent its anger on.

Take the case of the dearness allowance of the Government employees. The Second Pay Commission in its recommendations was very subservient to the Government. It said:

"If during a period of 12 months the index remains, on an average, ten points above 115, the Government should review the position and consider whether an increase in dearness allowance should be allowed, and if so at what rate."

The subservience is clear on the face of it. If prices go up and persist in going up, the Government employees must undergo the fall in real wages for twelve months—that is show patience and sacrifice.

Even after that, is Government asked to give D.A.? No. It should review the position and consider whether an increase should be allowed.

Commission's Subservience

If it is allowed, how much should it be? The learned gentry of the Commission, which spent pages on discussing the height and breadth and calories of the Indian worker and how to cut them, refused to state the rate at which the increase in D.A. should be allowed, if allowed.

The employees knew the profound vagueness of this recommendation. Hence while negotiations were going on be-

-Asks S. A. DANGE

fore the strike of 1960, union leaders wanted to know if Government will increase dearness allowance even in terms of this clause and what would the rate be.

Government spokesmen gave the promise that they would interpret the clause as an obligation to increase the D.A. and would not take shelter behind the vagueness which allows them to consider and not give the increase. As to the rate, they were silent.

Since October 1960, the average consumer price index has remained 10 points above 115 for the twelve month period up to October 1961 and even afterwards.

It is six months since then. A new budget, though of a temporary nature, has been presented. Yet Government is showing no signs of keeping its promise to increase the D.A. Question is—will they do it when the full budget is presented in the new Parliament?

During the elections, many a minister and many a leading Congressman made promises to Government employees,

victimised during the last strike or otherwise, that their cases would be reviewed. Many were promised reinstatement, since on the face of it, their victimisation was sheerly vengeful and not justified. The people suffering under the Audit Czar were also given some assurances.

Even though other Government employees' organisations had their recognition restored, the bosses of the Audit and Accounts refuse to abide by Government promises or accept norms of employer-employee relations. Audit claims

NEW AGE

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to be above law, above constitution, above all morals. Elections are now over and the promises too are likely to be forgotten because those elected cannot be dis-elected or recalled even if they do not keep the promises.

Hence, once again the truth is borne out by history that unless the working people, the employees move, the Govern-

ment will not keep its promises.

The employees have moved a little by holding a conference and reaffirming their demand. Let us hope the Government will not remain deaf and dumb as it did in 1960 and as it always does—unless, yes, unless, the people act.

(April 4)

CABINET MAKING

No Move Forward

The Capital is still hectic with rumours about the shape, size and look of the new cabinet. The candidates as always outnumber the vacancies and there is a feverishness about them all. With the Prime Minister's return to health this fever, too, will subside—replaced by elation or chagrin.

It is impossible and unwise to predict the exact contours of an event that is so soon to be, by the week's end to be precise. Yet everybody who knows anything at all is now of the opinion that any drastic change is unlikely. There is an universal feeling that in most important respects the new Cabinet will not differ particularly from the old.

There had been a great deal of speculation about clipping the wings of Morarji by reducing the Finance Ministry to a mere budgeting organisation. There was talk of removing, or at the least demoting, S. K. Patil. There was no end to the rumours that this time the Cabinet would be much pinker in shade, with the Rightists reduced in stature.

The McCarthyite press had, some weeks ago, shown signs of alarm. From alarm they and their patrons soon enough changed over to the attack.

Intense Lobbying

Personal meetings with those likely to be influential, and even with Nehru himself, were frequent and pressing. Letters poured in, often enough of a poison-pen character, to stress the point that the Congress—and the country—could not stand the strain of any great change.

But, of course, there was more than the usual deluge of flattery that, with the P.M. remaining the P.M. nothing needed to change.

It should be noted that this powerful offensive was not only conducted by the Right within the Congress but quite as vehemently by the Right outside.

As against this the coun-

tervalling forces were weak and disorganised. There were some attempts made to carry forward the North Bombay spirit but these did not persist. Blitz and Link exhorted the Prime Minister to make a break and infuse radical men into a Government intended to implement radical policies.

But it has to be said that, as is now far too frequent and unfortunate a trend, the Left in the Congress and outside did not mobilise, let alone crusade. There was a lack of intervention at a moment of important political consequence. It looked almost as if the composition

after all. The key passage of the letter is: "It is the policies and programmes of the Congress that count and not the personalities." As for the rest the Congress needed only "a broad harmony of outlook and an earnest desire to achieve the objectives for which we have pledged ourselves to the people of India."

Morarji's Manners

There was an attack on casteism but no more than that. One missed in the letter the fire and the passion of the election speeches and the forthright declarations that there would be an emphasis on implementation of policies and declarations.

What was missing was precisely what K.D. Malaviya had so fiercely called for: "The job that awaits us today is not that of a purveyor of phraseology or the writer of librettos for our political operas but to go ahead on the path of a socialist society..."

Let us, therefore, annihilate all the forces that have come up as a result of our hesitant attitude towards the forces like the Jana Sangh and Swatantra Party. Let us go wholehog to face that challenge not in a defensive but in an offensive way."

And he concluded by stating that reaction could be defeated "only when the Congress is bold enough to take care of the weaknesses that have crept into it and decides to unite the progressive forces not only of its own but also as far as possible from without. Can this be done? Yes, it can be done and for God's sake let us do it."

One would not like to conclude that even for God's sake this has not been done as far as the new Cabinet is concerned. One would like to hope that the P.M. even at

By MOHIT SEN

of the Cabinet was a matter of little consequence or about which the Left could do little that would be of any consequence. A lamentable passivity that needs rapidly to be overcome.

As it is the shape of things to come was rather aptly metaphorised in the manner in which the proceedings of the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting were conducted on April 3.

Morarji Desai without so much as a "may-I-please" sat upon the President's chair in all senses of the term! Then as the Hindustan Times reports (April 3) he read out Nehru's message:

"In a covering letter Nehru had stated that he would like Sinha to read out the message at the meeting. But it was Desai who read it out."

And, if we are to go by the contents of the letter, the reader was not so indecorous,

69 On April 9 GREETINGS TO RAHULJI



(See Page Thirteen)

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C.P.I. TAMILNAD EXECUTIVE

Statement On Election Results

The Tamilnad State Executive of the Communist Party has released the following statement on the results of the general elections:

THE State Executive of the CPI conveys its heartfelt gratitude to the thousands of voters who have exercised their franchise in favour of the Communist candidates and those whom it supported.

It sends its warm greetings to the thousands of workers, who worked day and night against heavy odds and despite ever so many difficulties, untiringly for the success of the Communist candidates in the General Elections.

The Congress has once again come to power in Madras State. However its strength has been reduced from 151 seats to 139. Its strength in Parliamentary seats from Tamilnad has also been reduced.

The Congress Party pursued highly anti-democratic means to secure even this reduced strength. It had collected very large sum of money from big business, bus owners and companies in return for the

permits and privileges the Congress Government had given them. Many of the Congress candidates themselves were either millowners, bus owners or big landlords.

The Congress did not hesitate to utilise the power of money and the state machinery in its hands as well as communal organisations for its election victory.

The Congress Party while preaching democracy in words has in practice done everything to undermine it. It is clear, therefore, that the election victory of the Congress is not a victory for its declared policies.

Matter Of Concern

On the contrary, the fact that a majority of voters have given their verdict against the Congress is a clear indication of the growth of mass

discontent against the ruling Party.

The fact that a party which had the privilege of leading the national movement and also of ruling the country for the past 15 years could win the elections only by basing itself on the big exploiting classes and only by pursuing undemocratic methods is a matter of great concern to all those who are concerned about the democratic life of the country.

The Communist Party contested 68 Assembly constituencies and 14 Parliamentary constituencies in Tamilnad. It has polled about 9.75 lakh votes and 12.75 lakh votes respectively in the Assembly and Parliamentary constituencies. However, the Communist party could win only two seats to the State legislature and two seats to Parliament. These were seats secured mainly by the independent strength of the CPI against much opposition.

It can be proudly said that the Communist Party is the only Party among the main political parties which did not purchase the votes. The Communist Party is the only Party which did not use the communal considerations and other undesirable methods to win seats. The Communist Party fought the elections on the basis of its policy.

The election experience has shown that in order to defeat all kinds of corrupt practices and pressures it is the urgent task of the Communist Party to win the hearts of more and more sections of the people by untiring and continuous work among them and the further strengthening of its own organisation and the raising of the political consciousness of the masses by close association and consistent work among them.

The DMK has emerged as the main opposition in the State legislature having secured 50 seats. The anti-Congress sentiment of the people has primarily benefited the DMK and helped it to secure so many seats.

Further the DMK did not hesitate to get the support of the Rightist Swatantra Party. The DMK co-operated with the Swatantra Party whose Election Manifesto contained slogans diametrically opposite to those of the DMK Election Manifesto. The DMK entered into an electoral pact of mutual support with the communal Muslim League. The DMK did not bother about utilising the benefits and votes accruing from such wrong alliances.

DMK's Bogus Claim

After the elections the DMK leaders now claim that the votes polled by their candidates are votes for their separatist slogan. When the DMK entered the election campaign it based itself for victory only by appealing to the anti-Congress sentiments of the people on various issues, and the people also voted for them only with that understanding.

This is known to everybody in our state.

Moreover, the other organisations which co-operated with the DMK in the elections are parties which do not accept their separatist policy. It is strange that under these circumstances the DMK should now claim that the votes cast for it are votes for separatism.

The DMK-Swatantra co-operation continues even after the elections. The Swatantra policy is quite contrary to the policy as regards people's issues raised in the DMK Election Manifesto. It is, therefore, clear that the DMK will have to subject its policies to the Swatantra policy if it persists in its present relationship with the Swatantra.

On the other hand if the DMK comes forward to implement its declared policy on people's issues as contained in their election manifesto the DMK will find that the Swatantra which appeared as an ally during the elections will now show its face as an

enemy of the DMK face to face.

As for the Communist Party it assures the people that it will do its best to build and to extend the democratic movement of the Tamil people. The Communist Party will work to defend all sections of people from the miseries resulting from the anti-people policy of the ruling Congress party in each and every issue on the basis of practicable and democratic alternative solutions.

The Communist Party is prepared to extend its sincere cooperation to all parties, groups and individuals who take a democratic stand on such people's issues.

The State Council of the Party is meeting at Tanjore from April 7 to 12.

Through another statement the Executive Committee has characterised as baseless the reports appearing in a section of the press (i.e. Indian Express, March 26) about differences inside the State unit of the Party.

PUNJAB EXECUTIVE STATEMENT

THE Executive Committee of Punjab State Council of the Communist Party of India met at Jullundur on March 31 and April 1, 1962. It reviewed the results of Third General Elections in the State and the post-election situation and adopted a Review Report to be placed before the meeting of the State Council to be held at Jullundur on April 15-17.

It expressed condolence at the sad deaths of Baba Harnam Singh Dharamgarh and Comrade Rurka Singh—both veteran tenant leaders of District Sangrur and Hoshiarpur respectively and Sham Singh Bhangali and Kartar Singh Dhilwan.

The Executive appealed to the people to rise in a protest movement against such methods employed by the ruling Party and safeguard democracy and purity of public life.

"Broad-Based" Ministry

The Executive protested against undue expansion of Punjab Ministry which has met with widespread disapproval among the people at large irrespective of political affiliations. This measure which has been adopted to overcome crisis inside the Congress will not mitigate but on the other hand accentuate it.

The Executive called upon the State Government to implement recommendations of the 25 member Betterment Levy Committee and stop collections of the levy amount.

The Executive wished success to the meeting of All-India Peace Council to be held at Delhi on April 8-9 preparatory to Moscow Peace Congress and appealed to all peace-lovers to attend it in large numbers.

SOCIALISTS WALK INTO JAN SANGH PARLOUR

★ FROM RAMESH SINHA

One can say without the slightest fear of contradiction that never before in the annals of the U.P.'s State Legislature had there been witnessed such an open and large scale purchase and sale of votes of the legislators as during the recent biennial elections to the Raja Sabha from State Assembly constituency.

IN these elections Sita Ram Jaijuria, Managing Director of the Pioneer and one of the owners of the Swadesh Cotton Mills of Kanpur, topped the list of successful candidates with 40 votes. Atal Behari Vajpayee of the Jana Sangh, who had been defeated in the general elections both at Lucknow and Bahram-pur, came out second with 38 votes. These two were the joint candidates of the Jana Sangh, which has 49 members in the house and the Swatantra Party, which has got 15 members in the Assembly.

Together these parties control 64 votes, but their candidates, thanks to the help given by the Kanpur mill magnate, were able to secure 78 votes in the elections. Thus, at least 14 votes had been arranged from outside, that is from the ranks of either the independents or other parties, or from the ranks of both.

To complete the picture, the Congress with its strength of 249 members, annexed 8 seats; the PSP with its 38 members 1 seat; the SP with its 24 members 1 seat; and the Communist 1 candidate, Kall Shankar Shukla lost to the Socialist candidate by 4 votes after having received 26 votes (the strength of the CPI in the Assembly is 14). The Socialist candidate Gaure Murhari won because the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party candidates gave him 631 votes!

There was one more industrialist from Kanpur, Ram Singh, sponsored by the 8 member group of the Republicans. He got 13 votes; 5 of these too had come secretly from somewhere else.

There were three other candidates, including Eridaya Nath Kanuru. They lost their deposits, Kanuru getting only 4 votes.

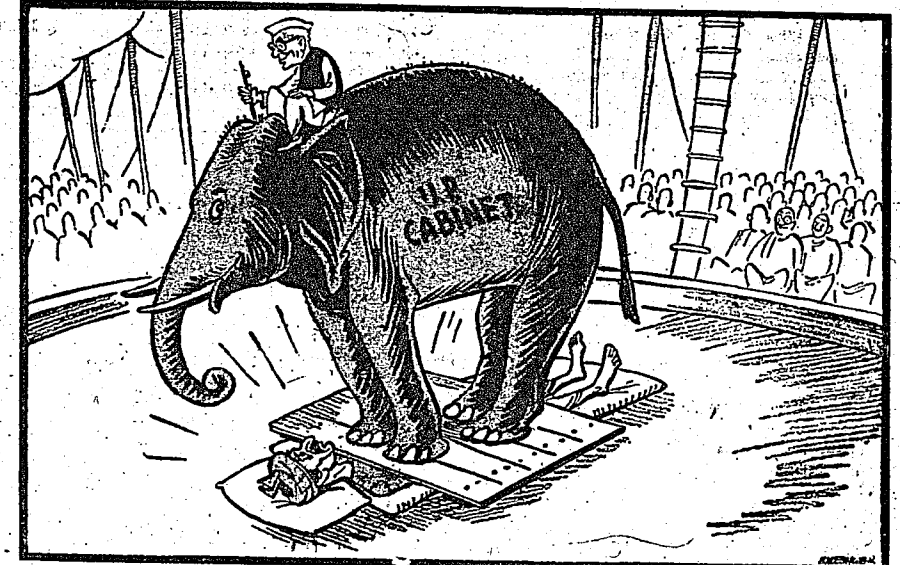
SHOCKING METHODS

But a thousand times more shocking than these results was the way in which these results were secured.

Days before the polling both the industrialists of Kanpur had hired big suites of rooms in Carlton, the most posh hotel of the capital and opened their offices there. Jaijuria arranged some of the most extravagant parties seen in Lucknow in his hotel and elsewhere. Whiskey is reported to have flowed like water.

During the day the corridors of the Council House and in the mornings and evenings in the spacious verandahs and rooms of the newly elected legislators in Darul-shafa, official residence of the legislators, were crowded with the most up-to-date agents and canvassers of Jaijuria. Jai-

GREATEST SHOW ON EARTH



Courtesy: National Herald

puria himself was there throwing his rather heavy weight about.

In front of Darul-Shafa fleets of big streamlined limousines, cars and jeeps could be seen standing or snaking about with their cargoes of legislators. Those who shied of going out to the rendezvous of parties in the expensive saloons in the sight of hundreds of bewildered spectators, were taken out in rickshaws.

All over the city were being discussed the latest rates of the individual and collective voters.

Rightly or wrongly, various sums were being mentioned which had been donated by Jaijuria to the Jana Sangh, the great party of "Indian Culture", and the Swatantra Party, which has self-proclaimed to be born to eradicate evil and corrupt practices from our political and public life, in lieu of their support to his candidature.

It was inevitable that these happenings should find an echo in the State Assembly, though it is a pity the question has not yet been taken up by any democratic opposition Party.

Making a pointed reference to these shameful events Revenue Minister Hukab Singh said, "In the wake of the Raja Sabha elections—a disturbing topic was being discussed by many—the topic of 'the buying and selling of votes on a wholesale as well as a retail basis.' He named in this connection a certain party..." (Pioneer, March 31).

MINISTER'S TAUNT

Hukum Singh twitted the Socialist Party by saying that he "wanted to know whether some of the political parties wearing a socialist label owed their support to capitalists or workers." (Ibid).

His taunt was unfortunately perfectly justified this time. In this state, it is obvious now that the Jana Sangh and partly the Swatantra Party have adopted the Socialist Party. Jana Sangh sponsored Lohia's candidate against Pandit Nehru and put all its strength in support of him in Allahabad.

It had worked for many other candidates of the Socialist Party also in the general elections. For instance, it had openly worked for Maha-

raj Singh Bharati, SP's candidate for the Lok Sabha from Meerut.

Recently Lohia had long parleys with the Jana Sangh satrap, Nana Deshmukh in Lucknow after which the latter had issued a communique praising Dr. Lohia as a great thinker and as a fearless politician and announced that they had common views on important national issues!

Probably the deal for the Raja Sabha election was also

climbed during that meeting. The Jana Sangh had issued a regular whip to all its members to cast their second preference votes for Jaijuria and all their third preference for too, have adopted the Socialist Party.

Similarly, the Swatantra Party too had issued a whip to all its members to cast their second preference votes for Atal Behari Vajpayee and third preference votes for Murhari. But for their 631 votes which Murhari got, he would have been squarely defeated by Kall Shankar Shukla.

The Jana Sangh leader, Nana Deshmukh has in fact said that "not two, but three of his candidates have won" in the Raja Sabha election, while congratulating Mur-

hari (Tarun Bharat, March 31, 1961).

This is another sinister development in the political life of Uttar Pradesh. On the one hand, the Rightist capitalist and feudalist reactionaries, emboldened by their successes in the general elections, are now casting all decorum and democratic pretensions to the winds and coming out unashamedly in the manner described above.

On the other, frustrated Lohia and his lieutenants,

Strange Spectacle In Raja Sabha Elections

A few days before the polling another Kanpur millionaire Ram Ratan Gupta, now a Congress MP, and his equally illustrious brother, Ram Gopal Gupta, a Swatantra Member of the Raja Sabha, also came down to Lucknow to help people in the elections.

Ram Ratan Gupta was not seen much, but his more enterprising brother, who has some two years back similarly donated his way into the Raja Sabha with the help of the Swatantra group of MLAs, was very much in evidence everywhere. Ostensibly he was interested in Ram Singh's success, but many people said that he was also helping the eighth candidate of the Congress, who needed some 13 or 14 votes to be elected.

The rates went up higher and higher as the day of polling approached and it is said that on the night previous to the polling day individual votes fetched prices upto Rs. 17,000! The bidding was carried on often fairly openly. Some people bragged why they should not sell their votes.

The same nauseating spectacle was seen even inside the Library Hall of the Council House where the polling was taking place. Last minute deals were being clinched there in whispers and people were seen moving to and fro slyly.

For days this has been the only subject of discussion in the political and intellectual circles of the city. Some people have remarked bitterly that if this sort of thing is allowed to go on in the name of democracy, the day may not be far when some powers

Madras Port Workers' Powerful Demonstration Of Solidarity With Japanese Dockers

ON March 27, there was a total boycott of Japanese vessels in the Port of Madras. It was not only dockers directly connected with imports and exports, but also shore-workers whose operations in anyway however, remotely were linked to Exports or Imports that went on strike. About 4,000 workers were involved in the boycott of Japanese vessels.

The Port authorities did not plot into the Harbour a number of Japanese vessels which were made to wait outside. There was the Japanese Cargo vessel "s.s. YAMAKIYO MARU" which had already been berthed in the Port. Here no worker turned up and the boycott was a total success.

In the evening a very effective demonstration was held. Thousands of workers carrying placards and flags, went round the main roads shouting:

- "Long Live the Workers of Japan!"
- "Victory to the struggle of workers of Japan!"
- "India-Japan Workers Unity—Zindabad!"
- "Long Live the Solidarity of Pacific and Asian Dockers!"
- "Long Live World Peace!"

There was a very huge mass rally of workers in the heart of the town where dockers live in thousands. On a tastefully decorated platform, the leaders of the working class and of dockers were seated. In the centre of the dais was a Red Banner with the inscription:

MADRAS DOCKERS AND PORT WORKERS GREETINGS TO HEROIC STRUGGLE OF DOCKERS OF JAPAN 27TH MARCH 1962

This Banner was garlanded by M. Ramaswami, himself a Dockerman and the President of the Madras Harbour Workers' Union.

This Banner, It was announced at the rally would be sent to Japan, to serve as a memento from India of the unbreakable friendship and solidarity of the workers of India and of Japan, in general and of dockers in particular.

A. S. K. Speaks

The mass rally was presided over by Comrade A. S. K. Iyengar, who in his speech said that it was a great day when port workers of Madras had demonstrated their solidarity with their Japanese brothers.

"Today several hundreds of thousands of workers all over Japan are fighting and demonstrating for democratic rights, for normalising relations with People's China, for breaking away the shackles of the military pact with America and for World Peace.

"Today 100,000 dockers of Japan are battling away for a living wage and decausulation. Dockers of the Pacific region and of Asia, dockers of America and Australia; New Zealand and Hawaii; Indonesia and India; China and Russia, stand shoulder to shoulder with workers of Japan in general and dockers of Japan in particular," expressing their solidarity."

NEW AGE

Political Monthly Of CPI

MARCH-APRIL ISSUE

M. THOREZ :	TWENTY-SECOND CONGRESS :	CPSU
CC OF CP OF FRANCE :	RESOLUTION :	
T. ZHIVKOV :	TWENTY-SECOND CONGRESS :	CPSU

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GUJARAT ELECTIONS

Reviewed By Dinkar Mehta

The General Elections of February 1962 have yielded unexpected results. The Congress leadership expected to win 95 per cent of the Assembly and Lok Sabha seats. A day prior to the elections, they officially conceded to the opposition maximum 15 seats only in the Gujarat Assembly (out of 154). The following are the actual returns:—

Party	Seats	Lakh Votes	Votes Per Cent	Seats%
1. Congress	113	26.45	46.94	74.2
2. Swatantra Party	28	12.92	22.92	16.1
3. Independents	7	9.77	7.50	4.5
4. E.S.P.	7	4.18	7.42	4.5
5. Janata Parishad (including Communists)	1	3.00	5.00	.75
6. Jana Sangh, etc.	—	2.39	4.5	—

Thus, the Congress secured about 75 per cent seats for 47 per cent votes. Swatantra Party 17 per cent seats for 23 per cent votes. PSP 4.5 per cent seats for 7.42 per cent votes. Independents 4.5 per cent seats for 7.5 per cent votes and Janata Parishad (including CPI) 0.75 per cent seats for 5 per cent votes. Parties like Jana Sangh secured no seat receiving about 4 per cent votes.

We had expected the Swatantra Party to secure 20 seats; the PSP 6, Janata Parishad 6, and Independents 8. The PSP itself had expected to secure 25 seats and come up as the first opposition party. The Swatantra had expected to secure a majority and form the ministry. Hence it had set up 108 candidates. The PSP had set up 55 candidates, Janata Parishad had set up 31 candidates, including 15 Communists.

Expectations Went Wrong

How did all these expectations go wrong?

The Congress had believed that after the formation of the separate state of Gujarat, popular discontent against it had died away and the Congress had again attained unchallenged hold over the people. Believing this they recklessly indulged in group rivalries and Morarji Desai sought to re-establish his shaken position, by seeking to remove from power those whose loyalty to himself he doubted. He wanted to install in power his own henchmen.

This factional rivalry cost the Congress a number of seats, particularly in Kheda district, where the Swatantra secured both the Lok Sabha seats and a dozen Assembly seats.

And all the three persons whom Morarji wanted to install into ministerial gaddis in place of Dr. Jivraj Mehta and others, were defeated in the election. This happened because of the internal factional quarrel within the Congress, of which the PSP reaped the advantage.

In fact, the discontent against the Congress had not diminished but increased due to long-term factors, like growing poverty and unemployment, rising cost of living, administrative corruption, repression, etc.

But in Gujarat, left forces were very weak. The entire Congress remains rightist. The PSP leadership is also rightist, following Asoka Mehta. Their entire offensive was directed against the Janata Parishad and Communist Party.

The Janata Parishad was

it was partially reflected (Porbandar-Bhavnagar).

In three other constituencies it won good vote without securing seats (part of Ahmedabad & Palitana). Only one

Communist secured a seat, mainly due to pro-Janata Parishad feeling in the constituency, local work and personal popularity. The influence and prestige of the Janata Parishad and Indulal Yagnik had survived among the middle classes in Ahmedabad, where Congress relied upon working class vote due to the hold of INTUC—Majur Mahajan. This time the working class showed greater awakening and courage than in 1957 and came very much near the middle class, which had revolted against the Congress in 1955 in course of the Maha Gujarat movement.

The INTUC leader Vasava had hoped to overwhelm the middle class anti-Congress vote by the huge working class vote, which he believed was in the INTUC's pocket. But this time the working class revolted and defeated Vasava and returned Yagnik to Lok Sabha. It also gave considerably large vote to Dinkar Mehta, who lost by a narrow margin.

The middle and working classes in Ahmedabad continued their leftward progressive march and returned Manu Palkhiwala to the Assembly against combined Congress-PSP offensive. Ahmedabad which was dominated by textile mill capitalists and their friends of INTUC and Congress, has been developing anti-Congress, anti-capitalist outlook consistently since 1958 and that spirit strengthened during 1962 elections.

The Congress and Swatantra Party resorted to same sort of tactics of utilising casteist sentiments, indulging in heavy spending to secure votes of poor and backward people, false propaganda, intimidation, etc. The PSP did not lag very much behind though it could not always match with the Congress and Swatantra.

The anti-Congress discontent was used by Swatantra Party in a reactionary direction in most places. But in a number of places people voted against Congress without political or programmatic discrimination. In rural areas the opposition successes were mostly of Swatantra Party while in the urban areas some Independents, PSP and Janata Parishad candidates secured seats. The swing in the rural areas was more in favour of Swatantra Party due to casteism, money, political backwardness and weakness or non-existence of leftists or even PSP.

The Kisan Sabha had become very weak and inactive in Gujarat during the last few years. This was reflected in the elections. Only in two constituencies in Adivasi areas, could Kisan Sabha make very good showing. The weakness of the non-Congress or non-INTUC trade union movement also was clearly felt in the voting.

Whereas the PSP had developed a few (3 or 4 only) constituencies of its own from which it secured the Assembly seats, the Communist Party had failed to do so. Its influence had spread in a dispersed manner in wider areas. Only in one constituency its working class activity was markedly reflected in the elections (Jamnagar) and in the others

very much weakened due to the hostility of the PSP and opposition of Swatantra Party. Practically the entire press was dominated by Congress. On occasion it gave some publicity to Swatantra and PSP but generally backed out the Janata Parishad, not to mention the Communist Party.

The Swatantra party had set up a number of princes and formed casteist alliances. All the princes won. In Kutch they secured all the five Assembly seats and one Lok Sabha seat. Its candidates divided the votes in a number of constituencies in the rural areas.

As a result of such tactics of putting up rival candidates by the Swatantra Party and the PSP, about 15 seats were lost by the opposition parties, to the Congress. A few of these would also have gone to the Swatantra Party and PSP, but at least half a dozen would have gone to the Janata Parishad.

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rally to achieve disarmament

Editorial

THE WORLD IS IN danger from the dirty stalling tactics adopted by the imperialists at Geneva. Every attempt is being made by them to prevent even the smallest measures of advance with regard to disarmament or the relaxation of international tension.

The U.S. decision to conduct nuclear tests in the Pacific towards the middle of this month is to be implemented with diabolical energy. President Kennedy has announced that he abides by the deadly doctrine of preventive nuclear war. He has gone so far as to say that in "certain circumstances" the U.S. will not hesitate to go ahead and deliver what he calls a "devastating" nuclear blow against the Soviet Union and be the first to do so.

The excuse given for rushing ahead with the armaments race is the threadworn one of so-called Soviet reluctance to accept international inspection and control. The Soviet Union at Geneva has once again made it clear that it is ready for any measure of control and inspection proposed by the West, provided this was coupled with actual measures of disarmament. Moreover, it has stated—and recent events have only confirmed the statement—that the national means of inspection available to any nuclear power are more than adequate to detect any kind of nuclear tests, whether in the atmosphere, under water, or underground. The U.S. imperialists themselves have had to admit that they were able to detect an unannounced underground Soviet nuclear explosion only the other day.

It is quite clear, therefore, that the U.S. harping on the need for extensive inspection, before the ending of nuclear tests or any degree of disarmament, is only intended to spy out Soviet bases within the Soviet Union so as to deliver accurately the "first nuclear blow."

This evil intent became only clearer when the U.S. delegate at Geneva, immediately backed by his British colleague, vigorously opposed Krishna Menon's suggestion that monitoring stations be set up in neutral States. Here was a proposal that would strengthen the means of detection of nuclear tests, apart from those already available in the home territory of the nuclear powers. But it was rejected only because it would not aid the U.S. game of espionage in the Soviet Union.

The imperialists, however, are living in a fool's paradise. The Soviet Union has declared that it now possesses the global rocket. This not only means that the Soviet Union can deliver nuclear war-heads to any U.S. city or base from any direction but that it can do so from anywhere at all in the vast regions of its country. Sabre-rattling is something that goes ill with the present capacities of the imperialists in the field of decisive military action.

The Soviet firmness in the face of all these bellicose threats is, as always, combined with the most flexible proposals and policies so that some advance is registered in the vital field of disarmament. But it is not enough for the Soviet statesmen together with their colleagues from other Socialist countries and the representatives of neutral nations, to press ahead with their work at Geneva. Imperialist obduracy will not be ended with this pressure alone.

What, above all, is required is a mighty mass movement for disarmament that should sweep the globe and save it. What is required is that the most diverse sections of the population come together and demand that immediate results be achieved at Geneva.

It is in this context that supreme importance attaches to the Congress on disarmament and peaceful co-existence to be held in Moscow this July. All friends of peace, all lovers of the freedom of all nations, all believers in Panch Sheel must rally their forces and do their utmost to make this Congress a veritable avalanche, which will crush all those who oppose disarmament. This alone can ensure progress at Geneva and bring a measure of stability to life on this earth.

The All India Congress for Disarmament and peaceful co-existence, which will prepare the participation of India in the Moscow conference, is meeting as we go to press. We hail this conference and wish it all possible success. We are confident that India will in Moscow, no less than in Geneva, pull its full weight in the noble cause of disarmament.

ple's grievances. Efforts are being made to develop the new awakening which has shown itself amongst the working classes in Ahmedabad. Work among the city middle classes also will have to be better organised. The situation in the rural areas will have to be, particularly re-evaluated and Kisan Sabha and other activity will have to be planned accordingly.

The rightist swing will have to be halted and turned back. The vast majority of the poor, middle and landless peasantry who voted for rightist candidates will have to be aroused, organised and made conscious of their class and political interests. All this presents an uphill task for the radical forces in Gujarat who are not very large or strong.

It may be that the present situation may be the last opportunity for the rightists, the dark hour before a new dawn. The leftist forces have to work with this hope, since, despite all the victories of the rightists, the discontent and miseries of the mass of the people are growing and the rightists have not succeeded in sowing anti-Communism among the people.

WILL P. M. HAVE THIS MCCARTHYISM STOPPED?

Two young advocates were properly selected by a selection body including a Judge of the High Court for the posts of Munsiffs to be shortly filled in Kerala. They were, however, denied appointment on the ground that, on "verification of their character and antecedents", the Government came to the conclusion that they do not deserve the trust which the Government is to repose in them if they are to be appointed.

HAVING been practising lawyers for a few years, they have been subject to the disciplinary provisions applicable to the legal profession. If the Bar Council, constituted for enforcing the norms of conduct for lawyers, finds the "character and conduct" of any lawyer to be unworthy of the profession, it would immediately take action including the extreme action of removal from the rolls in serious cases.

It should, therefore, be presumed that any lawyer, who is on the rolls and is practising, has his character and antecedents cleared by the very fact of his name being on the rolls and his being engaged in the profession.

It should also be borne in mind that, when the names are being scrutinised by the selection body, a certificate of good conduct and character is produced about which the selection body is satisfied. It is after such a process of screening by their professional colleagues and by the selection body that the Government says that the two candidates selected for the Munsiff's posts "do not deserve the trust to be reposed in them".

The only reason for the denial of appointment in these two cases can be that one of them was connected with the Communist Party before applying for appointment, while the other happens to be the brother of a person who stood as a Communist candidate for the elections. Their colleagues in the Bar, the judges in whose courts they are practising, their clients, everybody knows that, barring this one "disqualification", there is absolutely nothing against their "character and antecedents".

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He did not disclose as to how many were denied even provisional appointment, but, according to some sources, the number would be not less than 500.

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PEACEFUL

COEXISTENCE

Adopting its new Programme, our Party solemnly proclaimed to all mankind, from the platform of the historic 22nd Congress, that it regards the chief aim of its foreign policy to be not only to prevent a third world war but also, during the lifetime of the present generation, to banish war from the life of society forever.

PROCEEDING from Lenin's teachings, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union indicated an effective way of reaching this goal, namely, the principle of peaceful co-existence of states, and it is consistently following this principle. The Leninist principle of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems, says the Programme of the CPSU, was and remains the general principle of the foreign policy of the Soviet state.

The most aggressive imperialist groups snarply attack the theory and policy of peaceful co-existence. For example, the American Air Force Association, which is supported by America's rocket and aircraft kings, recently demanded, in a report to President Kennedy, that complete extermination of the Soviet system should be made the national goal of the United States. Chancellor Adenauer continues to rant that "co-existence of people is an illusion."

The efforts to torpedo the policy of peaceful co-existence are dictated by class hatred. A whole pack of reactionary sociologists, philosophers and lawyers are trying to justify these efforts by opposing the policy of peaceful co-existence to the world revolutionary process now taking place. Peaceful co-existence and revolution, they claim, are incompatible.

The principle of peaceful co-existence is also being attacked from the other side, from the "left," so to speak. The dogmatists and splitters

with the Albanian Party of Labour at the head brazenly accuse the Communist Parties of the socialist countries, including our Party—which are consistently pursuing a policy of peaceful co-existence—of nothing less than "underestimating the revolutionary struggle" and a "lack of understanding of the aggressive substance of modern imperialism!"

Strange though it may seem at first glance, their objections to the policy of peaceful co-existence coincide in certain measure with those of the Western reactionaries. Enver Roxha and Shehu also claim there is no such thing as the Leninist theory of peaceful co-existence and say the principle of co-existence cannot be the general line in foreign policy. Behind their resounding phrases about revolution, however, lie sluggish thinking, a poverty of ideas, and a lack of understanding of Marxist dialectics.

The relationship between peaceful co-existence and revolution is one of the key issues in the ideological battle between socialism and capitalism. Marxism-Leninism proved long ago that revolution does not hinder peaceful co-existence, while peaceful co-existence facilitates development of the class struggle and revolutionary process. The new CPSU Programme, the reports by N. S. Khrushchov, the proceedings of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, and numerous statements by fraternal Communist Parties leave no doubt about this.

I. REVOLUTION IS THE OBJECTIVE LAW OF THE MODERN ERA

OURS is the most revolutionary era in man's history. Revolutions, diversified in nature and objectives, are taking place today in more and more countries and continents.

"Socialist revolutions, anti-imperialist national-liberation revolutions, people's democratic revolutions, broad peasant movements, popular struggles to overthrow fascist and other despotic regimes, and general democratic movements against national oppression—all these merge in a single world-wide revolutionary process undermining and destroying capitalism," says the Programme of the CPSU. The striving of the broadest masses of the people to achieve a basic, revolutionary reconstruction of capitalist society has assumed such force that even statesmen in the West cannot deny the need for changes. Circles close to the United States President, for example, often speak of the inevitability of an "independent revolution" as a "meaningful reform" carried out from above by the ruling groups to consolidate their position.

But they completely deny the need for a genuine revolution, a fundamental break-up of the old relations by the revolutionary masses of the people at the present stage in the development of bourgeois society.

President Kennedy takes it

upon himself to declare that "the free peoples in all parts of the world refuse to accept that a communist revolution is historically inevitable." In his book "Outmoded World Revolution," E. Schieweck, spokesman for West German business circles, undertakes to "substantiate" that false thesis. Since, he says, the Western countries have attained a high level of prosperity and political freedom the need for revolution has disappeared. (E. Schieweck, Die Überholte Weltrevolution, Dusseldorf, 1959.)

Chiming in with the imperialists, the Right-wing Socialists also claim that further changes in the world can be made without revolution, which, they say, has ceased to be "objectively necessary." The programmes of the majority of the socialist parties in Western Europe do not regard, as P. Ramadier, French Socialist leader, notes with satisfaction, "the prospect of revolution and a socialist society" as obligatory. (P. Ramadier, Les Socialistes at l'Exercice du Pouvoir, P., 1961, p. 110.)

From these and similar "theoretical" premises the conclusion is drawn that since revolution is not obligatory the communists should, in the interests of peaceful co-existence, dispense with revolutionary struggle, and if they do not do so it means they offer appeals for peaceful co-

existence are no more than a tactical manoeuvre.

Reasoning of that kind is the result of ignorance or else is a deliberate distortion of the facts. The entire history of human society is convincing proof that no matter how developed the premises for the armament of a new social system and no matter how favourable the conditions for it, the transition takes place only through revolution.

The old system does not disappear by itself, inasmuch as it is backed by social classes which do not wish to surrender their ruling positions voluntarily. Social and liberation revolutions are a law of the development of society and not the result of the arbitrary actions of persons or political parties.

The revolution that opens up the epoch of socialism is as inevitable as the rising of the sun that proclaims a new day. Only the victory of socialism and the transformation of socialism into a decisive factor in the development of mankind created conditions for solving the basic problem of modern times—delivering the present generation and future generations from the threat of a thermonuclear war.

Imperialism has always tried to make war a permanent factor of international life. Two world wars in the life of a single generation and dozens of local wars—such as its latest results and crimes. The wars it unleashed have cost mankind fifty-five million in killed plus tremendous losses suffered by the civilian population. If the imperialists succeed in unleashing a new world war it would bring mankind incalculable suffering.

Even today when war is cursed by the peoples and officially banned, imperialism is waging criminal colonial wars in Algeria, Laos and Cuba. Only fear of the socialist camp prevents it from undertaking still more sanguinary ventures.

Under imperialism, militarism has increased to an unheard-of degree. The tycoons of the war-industry monopolies and the leaders of the armed forces, who are connected with them in the closest possible way, today decide the main home and foreign policy problems of their countries.

It is they who insist on maintaining enormous armies in peace time, and it is for their profit that fantastic sums are spent on rockets and aircraft—all these being scrapped in two or three years time only to be replaced with newer and still more expensive models. Never has history known such a monstrous expenditure of human labour and resources as is taking place today in the militarized countries.

years subsidized the reduction of crop areas.

For centuries imperialism has retarded progress in the greater part of the world. Today it is striving to perpetuate backwardness on whole continents by preventing the industrialization of the countries there.

The inevitability of social revolution is inherent to the very nature of the capitalist system, which is bogged down in its own contradictions. Its greatest enemy is the proletariat. But every year capitalism increases the size of the working class, both at home and in the dependent countries.

In order not to lose out in the economic competition with socialism, capitalism must expand production at a rapid rate. The rates of development, however, barely outstrip the growth in population and are impeded by the permanent underloading of production capacities. The drive for high profits stimulates capitalism to make technical progress, but capitalistic relations of production are too narrow for the scientific and technical revolution that has set in. Automation increases exploitation and leads to unemployment and a lowering of the living levels of the working people, while technical progress sends more and more sections of small businessmen to the bottom.

Thus the development of science and engineering does not change and cannot change, as N. S. Khrushchov noted in his replies to Professor Hans Thirring of Austria, the essence of capitalism as a social formation, and has not eliminated antagonistic classes and class contradictions in capitalist society.

Modern capitalist society daily offers evidence that the contradictions caused by social development cannot be resolved without revolution.

Take, for instance, the problem of abolishing colonialism and its consequence. It is generally admitted that destruction of the disgraceful, bankrupt, colonial system is a matter that brooks no delay. It is more than a year now since the 15th General Assembly of the United Nations has passed a death sentence on colonialism by adopting

2. PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND CLASS STRUGGLE

THE problem of peaceful co-existence does not consist only of maintaining peace between countries. The concept of peaceful co-existence, as N. S. Khrushchov points out, is something more than simply the absence of war. It includes, as well, all the other relations that take shape between the two antagonistic social systems, the socialist and the capitalist. Peaceful co-existence is characterized not only by a resolute rejection of war as a means of settling disputes between states, but also by a specific form of struggle between the capitalist and socialist systems.

The specific feature of this class struggle, which takes place in the international arena, is primarily that it can

at the initiative of the Soviet Union, a declaration on the granting of independence to the colonial countries and peoples. Yet, the colonial powers, evidently deciding to fight the times, have done nothing to fulfill the Declaration.

The fact that the Western Powers have given certain colonies independence is due only to the pressure of revolutionary struggle in those colonies or in neighbouring countries. That forces the peoples to win their independence by revolutionary means. The flames of anti-colonial revolution are raging in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. India had to use force to regain from Portugal lands that have always belonged to India, and Indonesia is preparing to do the same to regain Western Irian.

With the fury of the doomed, imperialism resists all social and national progress. Historical experience teaches us that the Gordian knot of the contradictions of capitalism can be cut only with the sword of revolution, whether peaceful or non-peaceful.

Only socialism is capable of solving the problems that now face mankind. Accordingly, the Programme of the CPSU, stating the objective necessity of revolution, declares that "the peoples can reach socialism only as a result of a socialist revolution and accomplishment of dictatorship of the proletariat."

Referring to this scientific thesis of the historical inevitability of revolution, critics of the Programme attempt to hold the Soviet Union responsible for the revolutionary actions of the popular masses in any part of the world and accuse it of violating the principle of peaceful co-existence. That is the same as taking the weather bureau to court for losses incurred as a result of a crop failure because it predicted a drought.

Revolution is an objective law in all eras of transition, including the era of transition from capitalism to socialism. To demand an end to revolutions as a prerequisite for peaceful co-existence is tantamount to deliberately rejecting peaceful co-existence. The world revolutionary process is something no one can stop.

and must be conducted by non-military means. The reason why a struggle between capitalism and socialism continues under conditions of peaceful co-existence is not because that is what the Communists want, but because the class struggle, whether in a separate country or on a world-wide scale is an objective law of the development of a society consisting of antagonistic classes.

It is in viewing peaceful co-existence as a specific form of class struggle that the Marxist interpretation of this policy differs fundamentally from the revisionist interpretation. The revisionists say peaceful co-existence should lead to the disappearance of contradic-

tions between the two camps, to subsidence of the class struggle, to social peace. Under the guise of the fight for peace they thereby disarm the working class and condemn it to inactivity.

Something of the same kind is said by spokesmen for those groups of the imperialist bourgeoisie which detest the idea of peaceful co-existence but realize they cannot attack it openly. They, therefore, endeavour to thrust their own interpretation of the concept of peaceful co-existence on the world.

The Communists attach an entirely different meaning to the word "co-existence" than we do, Lord Home, the British Foreign Secretary, declared at a meeting of the Conservative Party in Buckinghamshire. What meaning do Lord Home and other Western statesmen attach to this concept? They want the socialist states to guarantee the eternal existence of capitalism, that is, to give the West assurances that, in the first place, there will be no revolutions in any of the capitalist countries and, secondly, that they themselves will stop the class struggle in the international arena.

However, peaceful co-existence is a result of the emergence in the international arena of the socialist states, which are peace-loving by their class nature, a result of the actual balance of power between socialism and capitalism in the international arena, while the class struggle in the capitalist countries is a result of internal factors, such as the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production, the presence of exploitation, the oppression of other nations, etc.

In other words, revolutions and class battles are called into being by capitalism itself and are carried out by the classes and peoples of the capitalist countries. Therefore the principle of peaceful co-existence is not applicable to the relations between the classes of separate countries. The class struggle of the people against their oppressors, against reactionary systems, cannot be abolished by international agreements. This struggle can be stopped only by doing away with its causes, and that means doing away with capitalism and colonialism.

Equally senseless is the stand taken by imperialism with respect to the class struggle in the international arena. The imperialists believe that by maintaining an atmosphere of tension and war hysteria in the world they will be able to slow up the development of revolution and postpone the downfall of capitalism. Imperialism is striving to prevent its own social death at the expense of the physical death of hundreds of millions of people.

That is why the Western Powers are impeding the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, settlement of the Laos question, an agreement on general and complete disarmament, and similar measures. By doing this, however, the ruling classes of those

countries are increasing the danger of thermonuclear war which would lead to their destruction both in the social and the physical senses.

This circumstance has a highly sobering effect on the bourgeoisie. Maniac though he was, even Hitler would not have kindled the flames of war if he had known he would burn to death in the cellar of the Reich Chancellery a week before it ended.

The implementation of measures to relax international tensions, chiefly general and complete disarmament, would eliminate the threat of thermonuclear death and assure the two systems of prolonged peaceful co-existence.

The policy of peaceful co-existence will triumph even if not all the rulers of the imperialist countries understand it. The Western Powers are compelled to agree to such a policy under the pressure from the combined efforts of the peace-loving forces: the socialist camp, the neutralist countries, and all the movements and groups that support peace.

A specific form of the class struggle, peaceful co-existence presupposes a struggle between the two systems in the political, economic and ideological spheres.

The political struggle which the socialist camp is waging in the international arena is, first and foremost, a struggle for peace and disarmament.

To achieve these goals the socialist countries are heightening the vigilance of the peoples, exposing imperialism and its aggressive policy, arousing the sacred wrath of the working people against the warmongers and colonialists, drawing ever new sections of the population into the ranks of the fighters for peace, and strengthening collaboration with all countries that do not want new wars.

In the course of the political struggle the socialist countries give extensive moral and political support to the peace forces; to the international movement of the proletariat and its separate detachments, to the national-liberation movement, and to other progressive movements.

It is in the economic struggle between socialism and capitalism that the competition between the two systems finds its most striking expression. Under present-day conditions, a prolonged competition, not restricted to any definite forms, is the only way of peacefully settling the great historic dispute of our time, the dispute over which is the better system, capitalism or socialism. In the final analysis, victory will be won by the system which provides people with a better life, that is, satisfies their material and spiritual requirements most fully.

Our Party, regarding economic competition as the "main arena" of struggle between capitalism and socialism, is confident that socialism will win. It proceeds, in this, from Lenin's well-known thesis that socialism will win in the long run by assuring a higher productivity of labour than capitalism and that, as time goes on, socialism will come more and more to exert its greatest influence on the world revolution through its economic policy.

Indeed, the amazing achievements of the Soviet

of the West, says a book compiled by staff members of Pennsylvania University's foreign policy institute (R. Strausz-Hupe, W. Kintner... Protracted Conflict, N. Y., 1959), is direct ideological influence on the citizens of the socialist countries by popularizing the Western way of life by all possible means—exchanges of tourists and students, radio propaganda, etc.

Such measures as well as demands that the ideological struggle be stopped are links in an imperialist policy aimed

at the virtual destruction of Marxism-Leninism. This policy is as hopeless as it is absurd.

Antithetic ideas, political theories, ideologies and world outlooks reflect the antithetic position of the classes in a given society. Marxism arose not today but more than one hundred years ago. It appeared as an expression of the profound contradictions of capitalism, as a recognition of the historical mission of the working class.

If the bourgeoisie is unable to destroy it before the

Interpretation of peaceful co-existence as a specific form of the class struggle does not by any means signify it is a "policy of veiled war," as is claimed, for example, in a book by the Overstreets, an American couple who are zealous apologists for imperialism. (The War Called Peace, by H. Overstreet and B. Overstreet, N.Y., 1961, p. 299)

The "cold war" is a worsening of relations between countries along all lines. The Soviet Union, proceeding from the principles of peaceful co-existence, strives to improve and expand business-like relations with all countries.

The Leninist principle of the peaceful co-existence of countries with different socio-economic and political structures, as N. S. Khrushchov emphasized once again in his replies to professor Thirring, "presupposes the maintenance of friendly economic and political relations between these states, and provides for the establishment and development of diverse forms of

peaceful international cooperation." This proposition is recorded in the Programme of our Party, which says that peaceful co-existence presupposes, in particular, "the promotion of economic and cultural cooperation on the basis of complete equality and mutual benefit."

The Soviet Communists are realists. They believe that without the development of mutually advantageous business-like relations between countries, without mutual consideration of interests, peaceful co-existence would be

rise of the world socialist system it would be foolish to think it can do so today, when Marxism and its truth have been confirmed by history, by the victory of socialism in the USSR, by the achievements of socialism in the other socialist countries, by the entire course of the working-class and national-liberation movements.

An irreconcilable ideological struggle is continuing and will continue as long as antagonistic classes exist. Progressive ideas will defeat reactionary

The ideological struggle is the third form of the class struggle between socialism and capitalism. Under the pretext of "creating conditions" for peaceful co-existence the imperialist bourgeoisie is stubbornly trying to get the socialist countries to stop this struggle as well. "To give up at least a part of the communist faith," as Dulles once put it, is a cherished desire of the bourgeoisie to disarm the working class and Communist Parties ideologically.

Although it demands that the socialist camp stop the ideological struggle, the imperialist bourgeoisie has no intention of stopping it itself. It still hopes that by spreading tendentious propaganda and slandering socialism it will be able to undermine the existing system in the socialist countries and divert the masses from a socialist revolution in the capitalist countries. A major strategic task

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AND

REVOLUTION

A "KOMMUNIST" ARTICLE
By G. Starushenko

ideas in this struggle. That always has been and always will be the case. We Communists believe in the triumph of our ideas but we do not demand that the bourgeoisie give up its ideology, its faith in the "eternity" of capitalism. Then why does the bourgeois



A year ago, in April 1961, the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of India, met at Vijayawada. It was the last Congress of our Party to be guided and led by our wise and beloved leader, Comrade Ajoy Ghosh. On this anniversary of the Vijayawada Congress, we reproduce here some extracts from the concluding section of Ajoy's speech as adopted by the Congress, as well as the final chapter of the Political Resolution.

SHARP ALTERNATIVES FACE OUR NATION TODAY

Despite the advance made by the democratic movement in several States and despite the increase in the influence of our Party, the negative features that have appeared in our economic, political and social life hold out grave dangers to our country—to our independent and peaceful foreign policy, to all-sided growth of our economy to the well-being of our people and to Indian democracy.

There is, of course, no ground for panic. Nevertheless, complacency too, would be unwarranted. Ahead of us lies a difficult period—a period of acute conflicts, of sharp changes in the situation, and even crisis....

It is necessary today to shed all complacency. It is necessary to realise that sharp alternatives, face our nation.

Either the democratic forces unite, isolate and defeat the forces of right reaction, arrest the shift of the Government to the right and bring about a shift to the left, i.e., towards democratic advance.

Or forces of reaction, pressing on with the offensive and aided by their allies in the Congress and the Government, bring about an all-sided shift to the right.

Conditions, despite the negative features I have narrated, are extremely favourable for the forces of democracy. The character of the new epoch, the new balance of world forces, the role played by the socialist system and its mighty vanguard, the USSR, are drawing people towards socialism. Our party, despite its many shortcomings, has attained a big position in our country. The living experience of the last thirteen and a half years has taught our people many lessons—above all, it has taught them the necessity for struggle and unity.

The process of rethinking has started among Congressmen and Congress supporters who are getting apprehensive by the rise of right reaction and by the growth of fissiparous tendencies and who want the Government to implement its progressive declarations.

The growing radicalisation of our people and the increasing discontent and frustra-

tion generated by the Government's anti-people policies could not but have their impact inside the Congress as well. The increasing grip of vested interests, the influx of landlords and other reactionary elements into the Congress, the growth of corruption and the decline of those values which the Congress once cherished, the resort to oppression and repression of the people, the never-ending wrangle over offices and patronage—all this combined with the impact of the mass movement gives rise to disillusionment and differentiation inside the Congress.

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

Unity—For A Shift To The Left

For what? Immediately, for democratic reforms, for defending and strengthening all that is progressive in the Government's policies, for opposing those policies which harm the people and retard the pace of economic development, for the reversal of those

policies, and for bringing about a shift to the Left.

Of great importance in this context is the establishment of unity of action to defend the vital interests of the working people and to improve their living conditions.

Which are the forces that have to be united for this purpose? No difference exists inside the Party as to which classes will constitute the democratic front....

As regards the parties, we are all agreed about the role of the Praja Socialist Party and the Socialist Party. The leadership of these parties, especially that of the PSP, is in many respects more rightist than the Congress. At the same time, the ranks are, broadly speaking, left and socialist-minded.

Hence the need, while waging a sharp ideological struggle, for correct approach towards these parties so as to draw them and especially their following, wherever possible into common activity and struggle.

What About The Congress?

The Congress has been and is an extremely important factor in the political life of our country. This is not, surprising in view of the role it played in leading the struggle for national freedom and in taking measures to consolidate independence under Nehru's leadership.

The influence of the Congress, though less than it was in the days of freedom struggle, is vast and extensive. It extends to all classes—including big sections of the working class, the artisans, the intellectuals and others.

Nehru's influence is even wider. We cannot build the national democratic front by ignoring this big reality of the Indian situation.

That is why the Fourth Congress of our Party stated that the division between the masses that follow the Congress and the masses that

follow parties of the democratic opposition is the most important division in the democratic camp. Does that situation continue? It does. And, in some States, with the decline in the influence of the PSP, the most important division has become the division between the mass following of the Congress and the CPI. I have in mind the States of Kerala, Andhra and West Bengal.

Does it follow that a general united front with the Congress is possible today—that is with the Congress as it is? No. Our relations will inevitably be one of unity and struggle. The Congress is the organ of the national bourgeoisie as a whole—including its rightwing.

Moreover, after independence, it has been joined by many reactionary forces that opposed the national struggle—landlords and others. Many of the old leaders have got corrupted by their links with big business. Many new people have come in who had nothing to do with the national movement. All this finds reflection in many of the practices of the Congress and its Governments.

many leaders of the left parties.

Can we defend India's foreign policy, can we defend the public sector, can we defend the parliamentary system—without forging links with Congressmen and winning their support? Can we fight communalism effectively except in co-operation with them?

Evidently we cannot. It follows, therefore, that an approach has to be adopted which takes into account the loyalty of Congressmen towards their organisation and their sentiments. Time and again direct appeal will have to be made not only to Congress masses, Congressmen but also to Congress Committees—taking into account the issue concerned and the concrete conditions in the locality.

Against Communalism

An urgent and important issue on which broad unity can be forged is that of opposition to communalism. A correct approach and fraternal appeal for practical unit-

launched an attack on Krishna Menon and when Nehru stood firm—if at that time we had organised mass demonstrations supporting Nehru? Would not that have helped us to forge unity with democratic minded Congressmen and also help to fight reactionary moves of the Government itself more effectively?

Take another example. Proposal came from high circles about sale of shares of industries in the public sector to private individuals. Sharp conflict developed inside the Congress leadership on this issue. Should we not have played a role in this?

Theoretically, perhaps few comrades would object to any of these suggestions. But there is hesitation to act.

I maintain—and that is one of the main things that I want to stress—that in view of the need to broaden the base of our struggles and in view of the critical nature of the period ahead, it has become more necessary than ever, that strenuous efforts are made by us to forge links with democrats inside the Congress and with masses under Congress influence. We

conditions of India and the world and how these policies stem from the attempt to develop a capitalist society in India and that too without taking firm measures against foreign capital, without basic agrarian reforms in the interests of the mass of peasants and by giving big concessions to monopolists.

Conscious of the tremendous and growing attraction of the ideas of socialism among our people, including their own followers, the Congress leaders have formally accepted socialism as their objective. But their entire practice shows that this is meant to distort the real ideas of socialism and keep the masses away from struggles for democratic reforms.

We should, therefore, patiently and continuously explain to the people and to Congressmen that there is not a grain of socialism in the theories, policies and measures of the Congress and its Government. We would also explain to them what socialism really means and how it can be achieved.

In a vague and general way large number of our people have come to accept soci-

PATH OF NATIONAL ADVANCE

The general objectives to realise which the national democratic front has to strive have been narrated earlier.

THEIR main contents are: strengthening national freedom; elimination of foreign monopoly capital; rapid building up of national industries; extension of the public sector and democratic control over it; genuine agrarian reforms; extension of democracy in political, economic and social life. Formulating concrete slogans on each of these issues, our Party will develop countrywide mass campaigns for their realisation, seek co-operation of patriotic elements in every party.

It will wage struggles in defence of the interests of the people in the context and as an integral part of such a campaign.

Such a campaign, if sufficiently sustained and broad-based, sufficiently militant and powerful can help the people win their immediate demands, bring about changes

in the Government's policies, foil the attempts of Right reaction, expose and isolate it. It can alter the correlation of forces in our country in favour of democratic forces and lead to a situation when it becomes a practical possibility to raise the slogan of the establishment of a Government of the national democratic front—a Government representing the fighting alliance of all democratic forces in the country and pledged to carry out a genuine national-democratic programme.

Govt. Of National Democratic Front.

Such a government, if formed, will be an organ of struggle against reactionary forces, a government which will pursue a consistently peace-loving and anti-imperialist foreign policy, eliminate the hold of foreign capital on vital sectors of our economy, carry out agrarian reforms which really benefit the peasantry, severely

curb monopoly capital, rapidly expand the state sector so as to make it the decisive factor in national economy, extend democracy and bring about such changes in the state structure as enable the mass of people to influence and shape governmental policies. The formation of such a Government will enormously strengthen the position of the toiling people in all spheres and facilitate the transition to socialism.

Advance along these lines would correspond to the best interest of our country and our people. Conditions for such advance are more favourable today than ever before. Our Party fervently appeals to all national and patriotic forces to come together so that the vast possibilities that are opening up are fully utilised and our people speedily realise their cherished ideals. (Political Resolution adopted at Vijayawada: National Democratic Front for National Democratic Tasks, Pp. 47-48.)

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

The complexity of the situation arises from the following facts:

1) Policies and measures which are hitting the masses, giving rise to discontent and frustration are the policies of the Congress and its Governments. It is this discontent that is utilised by right reaction to mislead the masses and strengthen itself.

At the same time, these policies cannot be fought effectively either by our own strength or even only by the unity of the left forces: the broadening and deepening of the struggle against these policies requires the drawing into it of a big section of the people who are in the Congress and loyal to it.

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

It is true that many Congress leaders do not genuinely support the foreign policy of peace and non-alignment. But it is equally true that most of those people who support it, who want it to be defended, are to be found inside the PSP or any other "left" party but inside the Congress or among those under Nehru's influence.

Again, take the public sector. Many inside the Congress assail it. But it is also true that the largest number of those who want it to be defended and extended are also in the Congress.

As regards communalism—it is correct to point out how deeply communalism has penetrated the Congress. But, let us not also forget that not only Nehru but also many other Congressmen were far more distressed by the happenings in Jubbulpore than

ed activity will get response from all healthy elements including many Congressmen. This has become a vital necessity especially after the Madhya Pradesh riots and the incensification of the activities of the Jan Sangh—especially in the Hindi speaking areas.

We must look upon democrats inside the Congress and the mass of Congressmen as our friends and potential allies in the struggle for consolidation of political independence, defence of parliamentary democracy, of foreign policy, public sector, ag-

alism as a correct objective. They have seen what socialism has achieved in countries where it has triumphed. They have seen how it has done away with the anarchy of capitalism, put an end to the staggering contrast between the wealth of the few and the poverty of the many, eliminated unemployment and launched the country on the path of speedy and continuous advance. Hence they get drawn towards socialism.

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

All that I have said about democrats in the Congress does not, for a moment, mean that there are no progressives and democrats in other parties and also among those who belong to no party. On the contrary, they, too, constitute a vast number. While a big section of the masses owe allegiance to the Congress, there is also a big section which either follows parties or are not attached to any particular party. We have to make every effort to draw all of them into common activity.

3) Wage a resolute and uncompromising battle against right reaction and against parties of communalism, against their policies and their slogans. This will help to draw towards us honest Congressmen.

4) Even when opposing and fighting policies of the Congress and Government, concentrate fire wherever possible on the rightist elements.

5) Conduct patient explanatory campaign among Congressmen and Congress masses. They are worried about the situation that is developing—especially the growth of fissiparous tendencies. The basic causes of this—especially the absence of a really inspiring objective due to the class policies of the Government, have to be laid bare.

While seeking to develop common activity with Congressmen and the masses following the Congress, our Party should, at the same time, carry on a campaign of patient explanation in order to point out to them how the basic policies of the Congress are themselves totally inadequate in the present day con-

ditions of India and the world and how these policies stem from the attempt to develop a capitalist society in India and that too without taking firm measures against foreign capital, without basic agrarian reforms in the interests of the mass of peasants and by giving big concessions to monopolists.

Conscious of the tremendous and growing attraction of the ideas of socialism among our people, including their own followers, the Congress leaders have formally accepted socialism as their objective. But their entire practice shows that this is meant to distort the real ideas of socialism and keep the masses away from struggles for democratic reforms.

We should, therefore, patiently and continuously explain to the people and to Congressmen that there is not a grain of socialism in the theories, policies and measures of the Congress and its Government. We would also explain to them what socialism really means and how it can be achieved.

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—Ajoy Ghosh

We Are A Major Force

The question, comrades, is not whether we have to wage struggles. The question is how to wage it, with what slogan and tactics so that it may be waged on the broadest possible basis and successes are won.

We are approaching a crucial period. We shall be called upon to play a big role in that period. This should give us a sense of urgency.

Today we are a major force in the life of our country. Perhaps the biggest development in Indian politics since the achievement of freedom is the emergence of the Communist Party as the second Party of the country and the formation of Kerala Government. Even our enemies have to recognise it. Question is—how do we go forward? How do we extend and deepen our influence? How do we intervene effectively in the political situation so as to be able to shape events? I feel that

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Towards National Democracy

Ours will be a positive approach, a political battle, on the basis of our alternative policies which strengthen our independence and our economy, which gives land to the peasants, which improve the conditions of the masses and strengthen democracy in our economic, social and political

Strengthen The Party

... without overcoming the serious ideological and organisational weaknesses which exist, without re-unifying our Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of a correct tactical line and on the basis of strict adherence to discipline, we cannot go forward and cannot discharge our national political tasks. I hope that we shall emerge from this Congress more united than before, conscious of our great responsibilities so that we can effectively discharge our duties towards our country and our people.

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countries of the world socialist system have succeeded in frustrating the military provocations of the imperialists and preserving peace for their citizens and the peoples of the world. That is the best possible proof of the correctness of the general line of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

To sum up, peaceful coexistence is a specific form of the class struggle between socialism and capitalism in the international arena. At the same time, it presupposes the establishment of co-operation and mutually advantageous business-like relations between countries in the economic and cultural spheres. Peaceful coexistence cannot, therefore, be opposed to the class struggle, as the overt and covert bourgeois and dogmatist opponents of this principle do.

Precisely because the socialist countries' policy of peaceful coexistence is a specific form of the class struggle, it not only delivers mankind from the horrors of a world war, but creates favourable conditions for the development of socialist and national-liberation revolutions. The struggle for peaceful coexistence is a struggle for the revolutionary mobilization of the broadest masses of the people in the name of peace, freedom and socialism.

Splendid Success

By preventing the bourgeoisie from passing off its specific class interests as the interests of a nation, peaceful coexistence helps to uncover the class contradictions of capitalist society and fix the boundaries between social forces. At the same time, by drawing numerous non-proletarian segments of society into working for peace, it broadens the social foundation of the general movement for democracy; it helps new sections of society to take the side of the proletariat.

Finally, it makes it more difficult for the monopolistic bourgeoisie to obtain the help of reactionary forces abroad in its fight against the working people of its own country.

The revolutionary movement of the proletariat has achieved splendid success under the peaceful coexistence of today. The anti-imperialist revolution in Cuba, in immediate proximity to the United States, that citadel of modern imperialism, has grown into a socialist revolution.

In recent years the strike movement in the capitalist world has reached a height typical only of such turning points in the history of the working class movement as postwar years. A total of 53,600,000 people went on strike in 1959 or four times more than in 1958. Moreover, the majority of the strikes bore a political stamp.

The strike movement assumed still broader scope in 1961. According to far from complete figures, more than 30,000,000 people took part in political strikes alone in the first six months of 1961 as against 41,000,000 throughout the whole of 1960.

The struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence is also of paramount importance to those peoples who are fighting to win and consolidate their national independence. The peace movement calls for the disarmament not of the oppressed peoples, as some think, but of the colonial powers, together with abolition of their military bases and strongpoints, the removal of armies of occupation, and annulment of military pacts. Hence, it is easier for oppressed peoples to fight for their emancipation under conditions of peaceful coexistence.

Peace Necessary for Young States

Only under peaceful conditions can young states that have recently achieved political independence work successfully to consolidate it and gain economic independence.

PEACEFUL

Only under conditions of peaceful coexistence can the socialist countries increase their aid to those states. With the two systems existing peacefully side by side, the anti-imperialist movement has been victorious in many countries. The struggle for peace and the struggle for national independence are inseparable, as the World Peace Council correctly pointed out in a resolution adopted on December 19, 1961.

That is why the Programme of the CPSU has every reason to record that peaceful coexistence "affords more favourable opportunities for the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries and facilitates the struggle of the peoples of the colonial

and dependent countries for their liberation."

The great revolutionary opportunities which peaceful coexistence offers are obvious to every educated Communist. That is why the anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist pronouncements of Albania's leaders are beneath criticism. They attack peaceful coexistence as the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist states because they claim, it leads to entrapment of the class struggle.

No, it is not the interests of the world socialist revolution that those men have at heart when they cast doubts on the principle of peaceful coexistence. They do so in order to justify in the eyes of their own people their internal difficulties and failures

and their departure from the democratic principles of the socialist system.

Not only in theory, but in practice as well, the present-day leaders of Albania are undermining peaceful coexistence. They frustrated the proposal to create a "zone of peace" in the Balkans. If the socialist countries and the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries were to adopt such a position, it would make it easier for the imperialists to torpedo peaceful coexistence.

War would inflict irreparable losses on humanity. And although a war would be sure to put an end to capitalism, mankind would have to pay too dearly for the eradication of this system which has already outlived itself.

3. NO EXPORT EITHER OF REVOLUTION OR COUNTER-REVOLUTION

SUBSTITUTING result for cause, the ideologists of imperialism claim that the class struggle, the national-liberation movement and the revolutionary actions of the masses are due only to the activities of the Communist Parties. The premises set forth in the CPSU Programme, concerning the inevitable victory of socialism, are claimed by the defenders of capitalism to be proof that the Soviet Union is "exporting revolution" and, thereby, "undermining" peaceful coexistence.

The conviction of Soviet Communists that in the final analysis socialism will triumph throughout the world "runs contrary," says W. Kulski, an American sociologist and paid slanderer, "to the principles of peaceful coexistence" (W. Kulski, Peaceful Coexistence, Chicago, 1959, p. 133). Commenting on the draft Programme of the CPSU, the New York Times said that under the guise of "peaceful coexistence" Soviet strategy was continuing to foment revolution and communist "war of liberation."

The imperialist bourgeoisie makes these thoroughly false claims to justify their rejection of the policy of peaceful coexistence. A socialist revolution in one or another form, to be followed by the building of communist society, is indeed the goal of the Communists in each given country. But the Communist Party of a country makes that its goal only when the life in the given country puts it forward, when the country is prepared for it through the logical process of internal social development, when the people themselves demand and accomplish a socialist revolution. Any other approach is a reckless venture that runs contrary to Marxism-Leninism.

In keeping with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, Communists are against "pushing" a revolution, considering such a policy anti-Marxist and harmful to the cause of the working class.

Marxist-Leninists do not believe revolution can be imposed upon a people, especially from abroad. A

proletarian revolution is not a ballistic missile to be shot across an ocean.

But revolutionary processes that arise through a country's internal development cannot, as we have said above, impede peaceful coexistence.

Communists understand and sympathize with the objectives in the name of which peoples rise up to make a revolution. True to the principle of proletarian internationalism, our Party sincerely welcomes and approves of socialist revolutions and gives them broad moral and political support.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union likewise considers it its internationalist duty, says the Programme, "to assist the peoples who have set out to win and strengthen their national independence, all peoples who are fighting for the complete abolition of the colonial system."

False Concepts Of Legality

Defenders of capitalism slander the internationalist policy of the CPSU, claiming it is interventionist and unjust; they accuse the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries of violating the U.N. Charter and the principles of peaceful coexistence. The opponents of revolution deliberately try to put the question of the nature and permissibility of supporting revolutionary movements on a formally legal plane. Comparing revolutionary changes and "honest" bourgeois elections, President Kennedy attempted, in his interview with the editor-in-chief of "Izvestia", to represent revolution as an illegal action.

But the essence of a socialist revolution is that it smashes anti-popular bourgeois legality, which has outlived itself, and establishes a new legality instead, one that is in keeping with the new conditions of the life of society and the basic interests of the people. Revolution, both peaceful and non-peaceful, is the fullest and most objective expression of the will of the

absolute majority of the people. It is a hundred times more objective than the most democratic elections in a bourgeois country.

It is enough to recall that Hitler, bitter enemy of the German people, came to power through "honest" elections, while the government of Fidel Castro, which reflects the hopes and aspirations of the entire Cuban people, was established as a result of revolution, in the face of the reactionary laws of the American stooge Batista.

That is why the yardstick of bourgeois legality cannot be applied either to revolution or to the question of whether it is permissible to support it.

As far as the principles of peaceful coexistence and the U.N. Charter are concerned, the Soviet Union not only strictly observes them itself but works persistently to have them observed by the Western Powers as well. Here the USSR proceeds from the obvious fact that peaceful coexistence, as the Soviet Government pointed out in a message to the Government of the United States, "is possible only if countries with different social

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COEXISTENCE AND REVOLUTION

structures obey international laws and recognize their highest goal to be the insurance of world peace."

The imperialist powers always have tried and will try, of course, to undermine the principles of peaceful coexistence. Today however, when the socialist camp is superior in strength to the imperialist camp and the capitalist countries should be more, rather than less, interested than the socialist countries in removing the danger of war, there is a real possibility of forcing the imperialist powers into a position in which they will have to observe those principles.

The growing might of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp as a whole is a guarantee that the policy of peaceful coexistence will be pursued today and will triumph once and for all tomorrow.

True to the principle of proletarian internationalism, the Soviet Union has given and is continuing to give moral and political support to revolutionary movements (public actions, support in the United Nations, etc.). Unlike the imperialist countries, which organize undermining activities against lawful governments (for example, the United States against the government of Cuba); the Soviet Union does not send armed forces into other countries, does not set up arsenals in other countries, nor call for the overthrow of the existing systems there.

The USSR does not use such methods because it regards them as impermissible in relations among countries. "We do not recognize the right of a country to wage a war to liberate another country," N. S. Khrushchev told the American newspaperman Sulzberger. Only the imperialists employ the false watchword of "liberation" to justify intervention in the affairs of other nations.

While emphatically condemning imperialist wars and all predatory wars in general, the Socialist countries recognize wars of national liberation, just wars waged against colonialists or aggressors, such as the war which the Algerian people are waging against French imperialism. "We recognize the right of a people to fight for emancipation," N. S. Khrushchev has pointed out. These are sacred wars waged by the people against slavery, against the colonial system, against imperialist oppression. Such wars do not run counter to the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Intervention Will be Repelled

"Together with the other Marxist-Leninist parties," says the Programme, "the Communist Party of the Soviet Union regards it as its international duty to call on the peoples of all countries to rally, muster all internal forces, take vigorous action, and, drawing on the might of the world socialist system, forestall or firmly repel imperialist interference in the affairs of the people of any country risen in revolt and thereby prevent imperialist export of counter-revolution."

Recognised By U. N. Charter

While outlawing wars of aggression, the U.N. Charter recognizes the right of a nation to fight for emancipation. Aid to peoples fighting wars of liberation strengthens peaceful coexistence. That is not only the right but the duty of all peace-loving countries.

Consequently, the policy of internationalism pursued by the socialist countries in relation to revolutionary and national-liberation movements is just in its objec-

tives and lawful in its methods. He who upholds a righteous cause does not need to violate the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Another reason why the Western Powers slander the peace-loving policy of the socialist countries is to justify their policy of interfering on a wide scale in the internal affairs of peoples who have taken the path of revolution. In the past century and a half, for example, the United States has organized fifty military interventions in the Latin American countries alone. "Pronunciamento" inspired from without took place in thirteen out of the twenty countries in Latin America in the first decade after the war.

U. S. rulers drowned the republic of Guatemala in blood in 1954, and organized an invasion of Cuba in 1961.

They recently rejected the Brazilian proposal that principles of peaceful coexistence between Cuba and the other countries of the Western hemisphere be drawn up, and are trying illegally to apply collective sanctions against Cuba.

The United States is attempting to put down the democratic movement in the Dominican Republic; it is extending the intervention in Southern Viet-Nam and giving armed support to the Boun Oum-Phouml Nosavan group in Laos.

Naturally, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union cannot look on indifferently as the imperialists violate the principles of peaceful coexistence and attempt to drown revolutionary movements in blood. True to the principles of proletarian solidarity and peaceful coexistence, the CPSU fights resolutely against the policy of intervention, against the exporting of counter-revolution.

The measures adopted in that direction are, to all intents and purpose, measures of collective defence, the justice of which is obvious.

The Soviet Union has already helped to avert or to repel export of counter-revolution several times, and in each case it was to the advantage of peace. In 1956, 1957 and 1958 the Soviet Union prevented the gains of the national-liberation revolution of the Arab peoples from being wiped out; in 1961 it joined with other peace-loving countries to help the heroic people of Cuba to repel the invasion of their island.

Export of counter-revolution is a heinous international crime, an act of aggression. And when Communists rally progressive forces everywhere to prevent or repel export of counter-revolution they are upholding the principles of peaceful coexistence, are consolidating world peace, and are thus rendering all

SAVE WORLD FROM NUCLEAR DESTRUCTION

THE revolutionary process throughout the world can be successfully completed only if the world is saved from devastation by thermonuclear weapons. The Communists, who have always upheld the cause of peace, have made the struggle for peaceful coexistence a general principle of their policy. They are true to their revolutionary doctrine: the spearheading of the struggle for peace against imperialism—the only source of war—objectively promotes the world revolutionary process, which is anti-imperialist in content.

The violent attacks by the imperialist bourgeoisie on the principle of peaceful coexistence show, incidentally, that the bourgeoisie understands the revolutionary as well as

as the anti-war meaning of that principle.

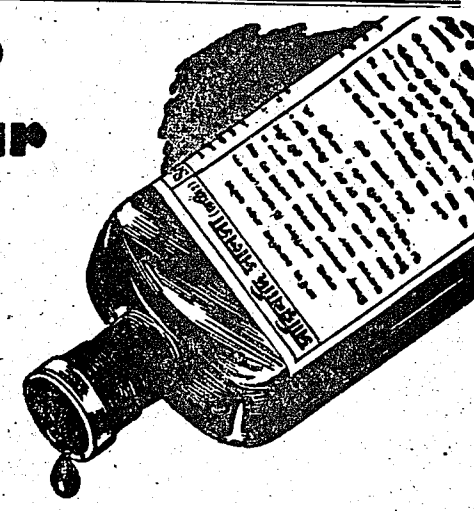
In spite of the efforts of reaction, the slogan of peaceful coexistence has become one of the most popular political slogans of our time. The rapid growth of the zone of peace, which consists of countries belonging to the two opposite world systems, and consolidation of the great peace movement, which unites men and women of differing ideologies, are both evidence that the imperialists' attempts to create, under the pretext of fighting against the world socialist revolution, a united front of aggression and war has failed scandalously.

The peoples realize that the interests of peaceful coexistence are immeasurably higher than the class interests of the reactionary bourgeoisie; they realize that the danger to peace stems not from the world revolutionary process but from attempts to halt it.

("Kommunist" No. 2, 1962)

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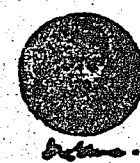


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goa's workers demand



Gerald Pereira addressing the rally.

RESTART NAVAL DOCKYARD

Over 2000 workers marched in an orderly procession on March 27, in the most impressive demonstration so far held in Goa, demanding that the Naval Dockyard should be restarted immediately. It has remained closed since the day of liberation.

The procession which was organised by the Goa Naval Dockyard Workers' Union carried a tricolour in front, and beautiful and attractive banners and placards. Large crowds of people cheered the processionists as they chanted: "Pandit Nehru Zindabad—Salazar Murdabad"; "Krishna Menon ki Jai"; "Down with Portuguese Quislings"; "Restart Naval Dockyard"; "Our Demand—Work for all"; "All-India Defence Employees' Federation Zindabad".

Hundreds of people cheered the processionists and the whole city of Vasco-da-Gama wore a festive appearance. A special feature of the demonstration was the participation of over 200 women workers including Kunbis.

The procession was led by Gerald Pereira, General Secretary of the 3000 strong Marmagoa Port, Dock and Transport Workers' Union. The 500 workers of the Naval Dockyard are supported in their just demand by the workers from the Railways, Burmah-shell and Stanvac Oil Companies, Airport and the Port Workers.

Lathi Charge

The workers of the Naval Dockyard had been lathi-charged by the Police on March 1 when they had organised a sit-down strike in front of the Naval office, demanding the salary for the months of December and January. Eighteen leaders of the Union had been arrested and detained at the Police station. Subse-

Rebuff To Quislings

The reactionary elements had put up a gentleman by name Milicio Fernandes who was also dealt similarly by the workers.

The massive response of the workers to the call of the Naval Dockyard Workers' Union which enjoys the 'de facto' recognition from the Naval authorities was a great victory of the trade union movement in Goa.

The half a mile long procession of the workers after moving through the streets, lanes and gulleys of Vasco-da-Gama, and the working class sector of Marmagoa Harbour, wound its way to the city market where lies fallen (and broken into pieces by the people on the Liberation Day)

patriotic and treacherous attitude of some of the private Companies like M/s. Damodar Mangalji & Co., V. M. Salgonkar & Bro. Ltd., V. S. Dempe & Co. Ltd., V. S. Dempe & Co. Ltd., who in order to sabotage the work in the yard, have failed to pay their dues to the Naval Dockyard amounting to over two lacs of rupees.

The Portuguese Government too he said, shamelessly had robbed us and taken to Lisbon over four lacs of rupees from the account of the yard. Gerald Pereira in his forceful speech lashed out at the half a dozen business families and other half a dozen Zamindars who 'ruled' Goa during the Portuguese regime and who still dream of dominating the political and economic life of Goa by donning Gandhi caps.

Gabriel Coutinho, one of the leaders of the union stressed the need for unity and welcomed the solidarity shown by the workers from the other companies. Antonio Fernandes stated that Goa is free and part of our great India, and as such we must enjoy the full rights enjoyed by the rest of India. He also thanked the Naval authorities for having granted 'de facto' recognition to the Union.

Ganpat Agapurkar, the General Secretary of the Union explained how the Union was born and put before the rally its future plans. We must be prepared, he said, to face responsibilities in order that our Goa may prosper and people become happy.

A memorandum addressed to V. K. Krishna Menon, the Defence Minister was unanimously adopted amidst cheers. The memorandum states that the Naval Dockyard which was started by the Portuguese in 1957 on a very small scale should be enlarged by the Government of India, and in fact made one of the best Naval Dockyards in India. It also demanded its re-planning so as to fit it in with our Third Five-Year Plan.

The memorandum calls upon the Defence Ministry to restart the Naval Dockyard without any further delay and to pay the workers their salary for the months of February and March 1962. The memorandum stresses that liberation should also mean economic emancipation to the people.

The several speakers who spoke at the rally ardently hoped that the Government of India and the Military Governor would take the necessary measures to see that the employees of the Airport, Portuguese Overseas National Bank, Military Ordnance Depot and other semi-government concerns who are now unemployed are given adequate jobs.

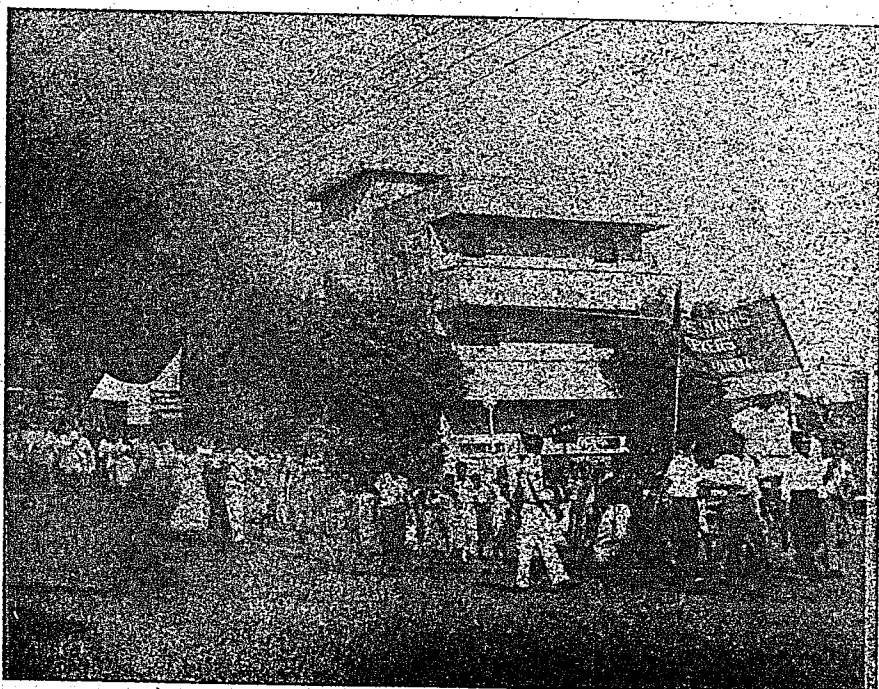
Traitors Active

All the unions in Goa refused to heed the call for a general strike in Goa on March 19, given by the pro-Portuguese elements. The two bomb explosions on March 19 at Vasco-da-Gama and the placing of bombs on railway lines was severely criticised by the workers and the people of Goa.

The Government was called upon to deal severely with the traitors who, taking advantage of the semi-critical situation, wish to exploit the masses for their own selfish ends.

The massive rally ended with shouts of "Naval Dockyard Workers' Union—Zindabad"; "All-India Defence Employees' Federation—Zindabad!"

A 2,000-strong procession of the Naval Dockyard Workers' Union at Vasco da Gama, Goa on March 27, 1962.



NEW AGE

APRIL 8, 1962

RAHUL SANKRITYAYANA Scholar And Patriot

We join all our people in offering sincere and heartfelt felicitations to Mahapandit Rahul Sankrityayana, great scholar and beloved comrade, on the occasion of his 69th birthday on April 9, 1962.

India has few scholars to compare with Rahulji. One of the greatest authorities on Buddhism he was awarded the Sahitya Academy award on his monumental work Madhya Asia Ka Itihas (in Two Vols.) which is a testimony to his work in the field of history. Author of well-known works viz. Darshan Digdarshan, Buddha Darshan, Vaigyaniik Bhaatikvad, Volga se Ganga, Satami Ke Bachehe, Jaya Yodheya, Sinha Senapati, Meri Europe Yatra, Rus Men Pachhis Maas, Yatra Ke Panne, Meri Jeevan Yatra, Soviet Bhumi (two Vols.), Soviet Madhya Asia, Tumhari Kshaya, Bhago Nahin Duniya Ko Badlo, Naye Bharat Ke Naye Neta, Karl Marx, Lenin. Rahulji has also compiled, edited or added his commentaries to Majsim Nikaya, Deeggh Nikaya, Vinaya Pitak, Dhammanada, Vievanti-Matradasidhih, Adhiwhar-ma Koshak, Pramana Vartikam, Pramana Vartik—

Vritthi, Pramana Vartik Swavritti Teeka, etc. During the British rule, surmounting all difficulties, he managed to go to the great Soviet Union and later on, through his books he popularised the land of Soviets in the remotest corners of our country, particularly in the Hindi speaking region. Along with this he spread the message of socialism. For his great learning and his services our people, with deep gratitude, bestowed upon him the most befitting title Mahapandit and affectionately call him Rahul Baba.

It is indeed a sad commentary on the state of affairs in our country that a scholar like Mahapandit Rahul Sankrityayana could not be provided with a respectable job, and lies ailing at the house of one of his friends in Calcutta today. Lately his condition had deteriorated so much that he was unconscious for days together and virtually lost his memory.

And yet, the great 'champions' of Socialism at the Centre as well as in Bengal turned a deaf ear to all that was reported in the press about his deteriorating condition.

Tributes were paid to Nirala, of course, at the

highest level—but after his death. Our people are determined to see that callousness to our national poets and scholars is stopped forthwith. Rahulji must be saved from the clutches of illness. His life is too precious for the country.

Rahulji has been one of our greatest soldiers in India's struggle for freedom. He worked hand in hand with Babu Rajendra Prasad and other old Congress leaders in Bihar and other places for the emancipation of our people from the imperialist-feudal yoke. He participated in Gaya Congress, in the Gauhati Congress, organised peasants, led their struggles, courted arrest, completed prison-terms in Buxar jail, Hazaribagh Jail and Deoli Camp, and finally joined the Communist Party.

"I would work to the last day of my life, I would be dead, the day I am not able to work"—that is his motto.

While offering our heartfelt felicitations to Rahulji we call upon the Congress Government to awake to the need of proper care of and help to our respected poets and scholars.

—MUNSHI

MADHYA PRADESH WRANGLING OVER CABINET POSTS

From Our Correspondent

Mutual mud-slinging and group politics continue to dominate M.P. Congress in spite of serious reverses suffered by it in the third general elections. Fight for ministerial gaddy is on. Both the wings are dissatisfied at the formation of the cabinet. Both the groups are giving threats, ultimatums and challenges to each other.

RECENTLY this inner struggle became public when Sri Gautam Sharma, a Congress MLA who is connected with a Hindi daily threatened to withdraw his cooperation if the cabinet was not expanded according to his wishes. In a letter to the Chief Minister Mandloi, he voiced his grievances in the most unbecoming way. It is alleged that Sri Deshlahra was behind the rebellion of Gautam Sharma.

As yet no representation has been given to Muslims and Harijans in the Mandloi cabinet. Messrs Anant and Siddiquee who represented Harijans and Muslims in the Katju cabinet had been dropped from the Mandloi cabinet. They are still occupying the government bungalows and using the cars in the hope that ultimately they might succeed in retaining them.

There is also widespread dissatisfaction over the allocation of portfolios among the ministers. The ministers belonging to the PCC group complain that almost all the important departments which include Home, Education, Forests, Finance and Public Health have been taken over by the ex-ministerialists. Some of the ministers belonging to the PCC group virtually threatened to quit the cabinet if the portfolios were not dis-

tributed according to their wishes.

Moreover, there is considerable speculation about the future of the Congress government itself in this state. As yet the Congress has not acquired necessary majority in the House of 288. Although there are reports that some Independents have joined the Congress but neither the Congress have given out the names of those who have come to their fold nor the Independents concerned have confirmed the news.

HINDU SABHA'S MISCHIEF

GOONDA elements in the city under the leadership of the Hindu Mahasabha tried to create communal trouble on the Rangpanchmi Day.

Although they failed in their objective, they did succeed in looting some shops belonging to the minority community. The way they started their operation gave the impression that the whole thing was pre-planned.

After their failure on Holl in disturbing the communal peace in the city, they were determined to create some

trouble on the Rangpanchmi Day. But thanks to the vigilance of the police and also the alertness shown by the secular elements they could not succeed in their evil design.

The hooligans in the garb of Holl revellers did their worst to vitiate the joyful and happy atmosphere of the Rangpanchmi day. Provocative slogans against the minority community were raised. Abuses were hurled at the Communist leaders including Shakir Ali Khan MLA and Mohini Devi.

These events were not isolated. They had a background. From the day Shakir Ali Khan won the battle of the ballot the Hindu Mahasabha was trying to poison the atmosphere of the city. They never accepted their defeat gracefully and instead let loose a very dirty campaign against the Party and Shakir Ali Khan.

The Hindu Sabha persists in its theory that Shakir Ali Khan has won only on the basis of Muslim support. They are not prepared to understand the fact that the real cause of the victory of Shakir Ali Khan is the service which he, as a true soldier of the Communist Party, has rendered to the people of Bhopal.

It is only the Hindu Sabha which conducted its election campaign on communal basis and got the votes on that basis. Any impartial observer will concede the fact that the best secular and democratic elements in both the communities have voted for Shakir Ali Khan.

In a statement to the press the Communist Party has depicted the incidents of the Rangpanchmi Day and held the Hindu Sabha responsible

HOMAGE TO A GREAT MARTYR Bannerji's Resolution In Lok Sabha

The last day of the last session of the Lok Sabha will long be remembered. It will be remembered not only for the leave-taking and the valedictory speeches, but also for a very significant non-official resolution brought forward by the member from Kanpur City, S.M. Bannerji.

Bannerji sought through his resolution that March 25, should be declared and observed every year as National Integration Day. On this day, 31 years ago, a great son of India—Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi—laid down his life in the streets of Kanpur for the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity and communal harmony.

Warm tributes were paid to the memory of Ganesh Shankar by Communist as well as Congress members as also by the Socialist member from Kanpur district, Jagdish Awasthi.

The Jana Sangh members, however kept themselves strictly aloof on the occasion and had nothing to say.

S. M. Bannerji in his speech told the outgoing Lok Sabha that during the recent election campaign when the Jana Sangh had tried to rouse communal passions, he and his supporters had called upon the people to recall the supreme sacrifice of Vidyarthi. "We told the people that we would not allow Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi's city to be turned into the city of Nathuram Godse. And we shall never allow it to become that."

He said that when Gandhiji Deputy Home Minister Datar associating himself with the sentiments of the resolution expressed the hope that the National Integration Council would take adequate and necessary steps.

POX EPIDEMIC IN ASSAM

SMALL-POX has broken out in certain parts of Assam in an epidemic form. The sub-division of Dibrugarh, in Lakhimpur district, is the worst affected till now, though the epidemic has spread to other parts of the State also. The death of as many as 117 persons till the last part of March was officially admitted.

The matter was sought to be discussed in the Assembly by Opposition members who tabled an adjournment motion for the purpose. Though the adjournment motion was ruled out by the Speaker, the Health Minister made a statement giving out the official version of the extent of the toll taken by the epidemic.

The epidemic has assumed so serious a turn and the Government's effort to tackle it has been so inadequate that while giving his ruling on the adjournment motion in the Assembly, the Speaker also had to observe that while under the 3rd Plan a provision of Rs. 2 crores had been made for eradication of small-pox, "it does not behove the Government that so many people were victims of this di-

for them. The local press has also condemned these attempts of the fanatics to incite communal trouble in the city. It was also raised by Shakir Ali Khan in the Assembly, who urged stern action against the culprits.

had heard of Vidyarthi's martyrdom, his words were:—"The death of Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi was one to be envied by us all."

And proceeding, Bannerji reminded the House that seventeen years later Gandhiji himself laid down his life for the same cause.

He demanded that adequate steps to commemorate Vidyarthi's memory, to make the facts of his life and death known to the newer generations, should be taken. Above all, now that communalism had become a serious menace to our national existence itself, a supreme united effort by all secular democratic forces should be made to root out the evil.

Another Communist MP Sadhan Gupta supporting the resolution said that communalism was the principal hindrance to national integration and serious note must be taken of the fact that communal parties had done so well in the elections.

Indrajit Gupta recalled what Jawaharlal Nehru has written in his Autobiography about Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi and his martyrdom. He said the monster of communalism had raised its head again and all possible ways to educate the people and particularly the youth in the ideals of Gandhiji and Vidyarthi should be adopted. Sarjoo Pandey also supported the resolution.

Deputy Home Minister Datar associating himself with the sentiments of the resolution expressed the hope that the National Integration Council would take adequate and necessary steps.

sease in the course of the 3rd Plan period."

He reminded the Minister that pox was a preventible disease and said, "I think in future the Public Health Department will be vigilant enough to prevent this disease instead of depending on Municipalities and others."

By now nearly every district of Brahmaputra valley has been affected by pox and already two districts have been officially declared pox affected areas. Actual number of deaths, according to unofficial sources, is far greater than what has been officially admitted. While the cases in the urban areas are to some extent reported, those in the rural areas are seldom noticed.

It is now officially also admitted that preventive measures were not taken as effectively as ought to have been done. The Municipal authorities complained of lack of adequate staff for vaccination work on a mass scale. There was also complaint of lack of supply of lymph for vaccination. The slum areas, which according to the Health Minister, are one of the sources of the disease are still not cleared.

While the Municipality is reported to have said that it cannot undertake the task unless the Government came forward with assistance, the Government maintains that it is the task of the Municipality to do the work of clearing the slum of filth and dirt.

ABSENCE OF ORGANISED

FROM MADHUSUDAN BHATTACHARYA

With a large number of police posted at different strategic places of the city, the newly elected State Assembly began its first session here on March 23. Since the stormy days of October, 1960, it has become a "normal feature" to post huge number of police at different places of the city whenever the State Assembly is in session.

THAT democracy has always to be guarded by police in this fashion is considered indicative of the abnormal political situation that is prevailing in this state even now.

The eleven-member Hill Leaders' Conference group in the State Assembly was conspicuous by its absence on the first day of the session when the newly elected members took oath whereafter the Governor inaugurated the session with his formal address. The Hill Leaders' Conference (HLC) which stands for a separate Hill State secured 11 out of 15 Assembly seats from the autonomous Hill districts of Assam and is the biggest organised Opposition group in the House.

The seventh session of the HLC that began here on March 20 directed its MLAs to abstain from participating in the Assembly session pending their resignation in pursuance of their earlier decision.

The HLC, after a strenuous effort at preserving its unity, reiterated its decision to call upon its MLAs to resign their Assembly seats from the date to be decided by the Council of Action of the HLC. The Council of Action will meet on May 9 to decide the date of resignation of its members from the Assembly.

Hill Leaders Seek Path

Meanwhile, it will send a memorandum to the Government of India, through the Governor, restating its position and urging upon the Government of India to come to terms with the HLC in deference to the wishes of the Hill people as expressed through the ballot box. The HLC resolution points out that the last general election was contested by it on the demand for a Hill State and by electing an overwhelming majority of the candidates of the HLC the tribal people of the Hill districts of Assam have expressed their desire to have a Hill State.

The Government of India, it states, should now respect the wishes of the people by taking steps to create a separate state comprising the autonomous Hill districts.

It is understood that while the extremists wanted immediate resignation of the members elected to the State Assembly on the ticket of the HLC, the moderates wanted to shelve the question of resignation for the time being. After a prolonged discussion, the two sides evolved the resolution allowing time to explore other means.

While the extremists were reportedly opposed to any further attempt at negotiation with the Government, the moderates wanted to give it another opportunity to settle the matter by negotiation. The suggestion of the moderates to send another delegation to New Delhi had to be modified and now the final decision is to send, instead, a memorandum.

State in the out-going year and give an account of the "achievements" of the Government in various spheres.

It has, however, been noted that in the assessment of the situation of the State a realistic appraisal is lacking in many a sphere. A few instances taken at random will be enough to bear it out. The address records certain development works in the autonomous hill districts and the "progress" achieved in these.

Congress Failure

But in the context of the existing political situation in these districts, reflected in the election and the post election situation as indicated by the action of the HLC it is considered idle to talk about "development works" in these districts.

It may be argued that if there is no indication about how the political stalemate that has been developing in these districts will be solved, it is because the address covers only the past period and does not outline the future

able developments on this score in this state that has already suffered much as a result of communal discord.

The address makes a bold claim about the steps that the Government has been taking to evict "encroachers" from Government land. But it is silent about any step for proper settlement of the landless cultivators.

The assessment of the situation in the Naga Hills-Assam border given in the address is also far from realistic. It has been noted that the address itself gives out the shocking incident of the burning of six villages of North Cachar hills by Naga rebels. Though it took place as early as March 15, the news was kept a secret till March 22.

It is felt that the Government wants to cover its own failure to give protection to the law-abiding people in this border by trying to create a false sense of security.

The Finance Minister's Budget speech made on March 24 is a studied attempt to draw a re-assuring picture of the financial position of the state. That the serious deficit will

ous. It has failed to evoke any enthusiasm.

Lobby circles feel that in the absence of the organised Opposition in the House, the serious weaknesses of the Governments' policies are hardly likely to be exposed. The numerical strength of the non-Congress members is not insignificant. But the political quality of the Opposition is much weaker than before.

The debate on the Governor's address that was initiated on the second day of the session indicated that while attention would be drawn to the problems of the minorities, by a section of the present Opposition in the Assembly, though it may fail to suggest such solutions as will help strengthen national integration, there is hardly any chance of its being able to voice popular feelings on the floor of the House.

The major Opposition, the 11 member HLC group, will not be participating in the deliberations of the House. The second big group has been formed by the lone member elected on the ticket of the Banga-Bhasa-Bhasi Samiti with its allies all of whom were elected as Independents, numbering five. This group has styled itself as "Progressive United Opposition". How far this group will be able to voice the grievances of the common people remains to be seen. But there are certain indications that are not at all encouraging.

In the amendment on the motion of thanks to the Governor tabled by the main leader of this group the Government is sought to be criticised for failing to "give effect to the rulings given by the Hon'ble Supreme Court of India against the monopoly granted in favour of co-operatives".

Incidentally this leader is one of the big rice mill-owners of the State.

If this group begins to function with bias against co-operatives and the like, it is obvious that it cannot champion the cause of the common people.

Internal Opposition

The absence of the organised Opposition is felt also by the sober elements in the ruling party. One of the top leaders of the HLC expressed this feeling and wished that at least the Communist group leader of the out-going Assembly had been returned.

The factional rivalry in the Assam Congress was temporarily patched up by offering a share to the anti-Challu

SHARP CLASHES IN W. BENGAL ASSEMBLY

From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

THE arrogance and isolation of the ruling party because of having been able to retain its monopoly of power in face of the challenge from the Left forces in West Bengal was once again reflected in Chief Minister Dr. B. C. Roy's speech in the State Assembly on March 27.

The routine debate on the Appropriation Bill, 1962, developed into sharp clashes between Jyoti Basu the Opposition Leader, and the Chief Minister. From the very outset the atmosphere in the House was tense, and a tumultuous uproar prevailed in it for some time.

The Government literally reeled under the fire of devastating criticism from the Opposition. Using choicest expressions and carefully marshalling his facts and figures, Jyoti Basu tore to pieces the tall claims made by the Government and nailed down, point by point, the utter failure of its policies. It was one of the best speeches heard on the floor of the House.

Initiating the debate on the Appropriation Bill, he said that the Government had not yet replied to the questions raised by the Opposition since the commencement of the present session of the Assembly. Had it been proper on the part of the Congress to appeal to religious sentiments in its election manifesto, he asked.

Vendetta Against People

It had been further stated in the manifesto that development work would be stopped in all those areas where the people voted for Communist candidates. In West Bengal, the Congress had polled 45 per cent of the total votes cast. Did this mean that the Government would not do anything now for the majority of the people?

The Communists had polled 65,000 votes more than the Congress in the Lok Sabha seats from Calcutta. Did that mean that the people of the city would now be deprived of electricity, water, etc?

Quoting instances to show how the Congress misused its position as the ruling party, Jyoti Basu mentioned the case of a railway employee who had been charge-sheeted for being an alleged "Communist supporter", while another railwayman, who had openly worked for the Congress went scotfree.

Shankar Prasad Dalvi, son of the newly elected Communist MIA from Midnapur, Nagen Dalvi, was a teacher of Rajnagar Union Higher Secondary School. He was discharged on March 27 on the basis of "secret" police report. But the Headmaster of the same institution, who was the Congress candidate against the elected Communist MIA, Mrigen Bhattacharya, still continued in service!

Jyoti Basu then referred to the case of Debabrata Sett. Although he was selected by the Public Service Commission for the post of Assistant Controller of Weights and Mea-

sures, his appointment was cancelled on secret police report that he was connected with the CPI.

But, Jyoti Basu pointed out, Debabrata Sett had ceased to be a member of the Party in 1956. There was, however, no bar to Congress people being appointed even as judges, he remarked pateringly.

He further said that in Britain a single incident of telephone tapping had created a furore. When the Congress Government had learnt many things from Britain, it should try to follow some of the principles of parliamentary democracy practised there.

Pointing out that the Communists had basic differences with the Congress Party, he said that it was a well-known fact that the budget of the Congress Government would not bring about any radical improvements in the condition of the people. The masses would have been grateful even if they had obtained some benefits from the Government.

There were none except lunatics who would not co-operate in every constructive work undertaken by the Government for the welfare of the people. But the Communists would never offer their co-operation for fleecing the people and making the rich richer.

Referring to the Chief Minister's plans for the development of Greater Calcutta with U.S. money and experts, Jyoti Basu wanted to know whether the domination by U.S. imperialists had begun in place of their British counterparts. "I request the Chief Minister not to call in the Americans to establish their stranglehold on this state", he added.

He then nailed down, point by point, the Government's claims of achievements, and finally referred to the threats held out to the CPI by Dr. Roy.

On March 23 Communist leader Harekrishna Konar had raised the issue of the brutal murder of Aftab Ali Mollah, a Communist worker of 24 Farganas district, and had strongly criticised the callous attitude of the Government about the incident. He then wanted to know whether the people should infer from the Government's inaction that it was unable to maintain law and order and that they would have to protect themselves.

Khagen Roy Chowdhury, another Communist MIA and Secretary of the 24 Farganas District Council of the CPI, had also spoken in the same vein.

Dr. Roy's Distortions

But Dr. Roy twisted their speeches to "prove" that the CPI had threatened to indulge in violence! While speaking on March 27, he deliberately overlooked the specific cases of goondalism by Congress members and supporters and threatened the Communists that "the arms of law and administration are more powerful than the CPI".

Referring to this threat, Jyoti Basu said: "The Chief Minister should bear in mind that we are here, that we do exist and continue to grow. He had banned the CPI in 1948. Many of our Party members and sympathisers were shot dead; many more were imprisoned; there was a talk of wiping our party out of existence within a short time. But despite all his efforts, the CPI could not be wiped out of existence. We returned to this House with renewed strength. So there is no use in holding out threats to us, we are not shaken by such threats."

"The police knows the assassins who murdered Aftab Ali. Why is it, then, that they have not yet been brought to book? If the miscreants are not muzzled, we have got to defend ourselves. The right of self-defence is one's birth right. We know how to defend ourselves."

Rising to reply to the points raised by Jyoti Basu, the Chief

Minister tried to wriggle out of what he had said on the previous day and pointed out that as individuals everybody had the right to defend himself, but one must not give a fighting challenge organisationally. He further said that the arms of law would take action against offenders irrespective of their party affiliations.

Referring to Jyoti Basu's criticism that the Congress election manifesto had exploited religious sentiments against the CPI, he said that he had nothing to do with the writing of the manifesto. But he found nothing wrong in it. Moreover, the CPI had a foreign ideology, a foreign flag and received instructions from Russia (At this time Jyoti Basu was heard saying, "Rubbish").

As regards the banning of the CPI in 1948, he maintained that his Government had taken the step because the Party indulged in violent activities in Kakdwip and other areas.

Referring to the case of Debabrata Sett, he said that he was connected with the CPI till 1961. He further said that he found nothing wrong in taking action on police reports against Government servants who should not have any "objectionable" political antecedents.

And, in order to justify the gross discrimination practised by his Government, he opined that he was sure that if the CPI came to power they would "drive out all Congressmen from the administration!"

Speaking after him, Communist member Narayan Chaudhary wanted to know why Dr. Roy's strong arms had become weak when it came to taking action against the murderers in 24 Farganas district.

Referring to the plea trotted out by the Chief Minister for banning the CPI, he pointed out that the Party was outlawed in 1948 while the Kakdwip incidents took place in 1949.

Govt. Employees And Electioneering

WHAT happens to a Government servant if he attends a public meeting held under the auspices of the Communist Party? One would think that in a democratic country he has the freedom, like any other citizen, to participate in such gatherings.

But not so in our country. Here, under the benign dispensation of the Congress, he is penalised for the crime of having "associated himself with the activities of a subversive party!"

If, however, the political party in question happens to be the Congress? Then, of course, a totally different yardstick is adopted.

Take the case of one G.S.N. Murty, an employee of the South-Eastern Railway at Kharagpur. He translated the speech of Sanjeeva Reddy, former Congress President, in a public meeting at Kharagpur in April, 1961. It was a clear case of "participation in political activities."

But as yet no chargesheet has been served on him—and, it may be taken for certain that it will never be issued. The matter was raised in the Lok Sabha by Communist MP Renu Chakravarty. But the Government wriggled out with an evasive reply.

During the recent elections scores of Railway employees were openly pressed into the service of the ruling party in this State.

To cite a few glaring instances, one Nirmal Kumar Ghose, a Railway employee, issued a leaflet under his signature in support of Sajo Kumar Mukherjee, Congress candidate from North Howrah constituency and now a Cabinet Minister.

Similarly, Bejoy Krishna Mukherjee, a Railway employee and Secretary of the South-Eastern Railwaymen's Congress, issued a leaflet in support of K. K. Chatterjee, the Congress candidate from the Howrah Parliamentary constituency.

Now come to Kharagpur, Chief Electrical Engineer of the S.-E. Railway who is posted here, was transferred

red to the North-Eastern Frontier Railway in January this year. His wife happens to be the President of the local Mahila Samity, a body sponsored by the Railway authorities and financed from the Staff Benefit Fund.

The Samity worked actively for the Congress in the elections. Smt. Dogra was the leading light of the Samity and was considered to be indispensable for the Congress in the election campaign. So, as the transfer of Dogra would have meant the going of Smt. Dogra also, there was panic in the Congress camp.

Frantic telegrams were sent to the Railway Board to cancel the transfer order or, at least, to defer it till the elections were over, but the Board was not prepared to reverse its decision.

Officers' Wives

A deputation of women, mostly Railway officers' wives, then went to the Patna Session of the Congress. It was led by one Smt. Benjamin, wife of a Foreman at Kharagpur Railway workshop and an important figure in the Mahila Samity. They caught hold of the big guns of the Congress and told them that the going away of Smt. Dogra would seriously weaken the Congress position in the elections at Kharagpur.

Immediately after that, the transfer order was cancelled by telephonic instructions, although the officer who was to relieve Dogra had already arrived at Kharagpur!

Under the Service Conduct Rules not only a Railway employee but also those dependent on him are prohibited from taking part in political activities. If any of his dependants engage in such activities the employee has to inform the Railway authorities about the matter.

Yet, Railway officers' wives, all of whom are members of the Mahila Samity mobilised the mothers, wives and daughters of rank and file railwaymen, many of them against their will, to work for the Congress in the elections.

They even went to the length of bringing out a procession of railwaymen's wives and daughters on February 17, under Smt. Benjamin's leadership. One of the main slogans raised by the processionists was: "Gai Chouhey, hal hal!" (Narayan Chouhey was the Communist candidate who was re-elected from Kharagpur constituency).

Not merely the Mahila Samity but the entire brood of local railway officials, especially the corrupt ones, took an active part in the election campaign of the ruling party.

But while these gentlemen go scotfree, railway employees suspected to be supporters of the Communist Party are victimised on the most flimsy grounds.

Take the case of Sarojendranath Rakshit, a railway employee in Kanchrapara. He has been charge-sheeted and suspended for his alleged participation in a meeting held in 1957 to celebrate the victory of the Communist candidate from the area in the second general elections!

Similarly, three railway employees of Kharagpur have been suspended under the National Safeguarding of Security Act. The charge levelled against one of them is that he attended the meeting of a "subversive" party meaning thereby the Communist Party—a legal organisation and the second biggest and the main opposition party in the country.

Another employee of Chittaranjan Railway Workshop has had the same experience.

The victimised railwaymen have challenged before the Calcutta High Court the validity of the suspension orders served on them.

OPPOSITION FELT

the two phases of the movement.

It is felt here that by sending their memorandum, the HLC will be giving another opportunity to the Union Government, more particularly to the Prime Minister who still enjoys great respect and confidence of a good section of the leadership of the HLC to take the initiative for a settlement of the problem. It is also pointed out that personal contact may be of much help in the matter, especially because, the demand for separate state apart, the HLC leadership has practically little difference with the Congress leadership.

As a matter of fact, to this day the HLC has not had any economic programme for the solution of the problems of the Hill people.

The Governor in his inaugural address to the Assembly indicated that a full-scale session of the Assembly would be held some time in June next when he would outline the policies to be pursued by the Government in various spheres. The current session may, therefore, be said to be an in-

course of action. Even then, it may be pertinently asked if the present situation in the Hill districts of Assam is not the creation of the Congress Government itself.

In the matter of development works also, it may be mentioned that roads that were proposed to be constructed in the Hill districts during the First Plan period are yet to be completed and the Government earlier sought to excuse itself by saying that these could not be completed for dearth of technical personnel. This is an argument that will convince none but the Government and the ruling party.

The unpalatable fact is that the development of the Hill districts has been badly neglected and the money spent in the name of development has gone to serve the interest of the ruling party.

The Governor's address claims that the Government has taken and has been taking steps to prevent Pakistani infiltration into Assam. But it ignores the mounting communal tension in this state on

be "wiped out" and eventually a nominal surplus of about Rs. 16 lakhs would be created during the current financial year will fail to create any optimism among those who have noted the Finance Minister's observations that a sinking fund will have to be created to refund the loan received by the state from the Centre.

What will be the extent of that sinking fund has not been mentioned by the Finance Minister; perhaps he will disclose it during the June session. But from all indications, the estimated nominal surplus will be more than unbalanced by this single item.

The Finance Minister himself is perhaps aware of it and hence he himself says, "While it is the intention of the Government to avoid any undue increase in respect of non-development expenditure, it is anticipated that an additional expenditure programme would nevertheless have to be taken up in this regard in the course of the next year, which fact would inevitably entail further efforts to increase the state revenues dur-

ing the next year. It is necessary to recognise, therefore, that the expenditure programme for the next year is likely to be somewhat higher than the figures in this first estimate."

It is, therefore, apprehended that in the June session the Finance Minister will come out with some proposals for further taxation on the people of this State where the burden of taxation is the highest. What is all the more significant is that this additional taxation if any, will be required for non-development expenditure.

Even in the ad hoc budget the indications are omin-

IN ASSAM ASSEMBLY

termin one for obtaining an ad-hoc grant for three months only. The Finance Minister also explained in his budget speech that he was only seeking an interim grant of Rs. 20.54 crores for the first quarter of the ensuing financial year. The Finance Minister further explained that the newly elected government did not yet get time to formulate its policy and examine the budget proposals in the light of that policy.

In view of the above position, the Governor's address does not contain any statement of policy for the coming period. It, however, attempts to make an assessment of the situation obtaining in the

this account. While it has so far failed to take any effective step to stop infiltration of Pak nationals through unauthorised routes, it has also failed to ascertain the actual number of such illegal immigration.

On the other hand communal elements, even inside the ruling party, have been exploiting this to fan communal tension, diverting the wrath of the people against the minority community as a whole, while, even according to one Congress member of the minority community, innocent Muslims are put to harassment by police. In fact, all sober observers are apprehensive of deplor-

group in the new Ministry. Another stalwart of the anti-Challu group has been elected the Speaker. The only stalwart of the anti-Challu group who has not been accommodated "bombshelled" the House by making a trenchant criticism of the Government for its failure in a number of spheres. The ruling clique not only refused to accommodate him, it tried to put him in a "derogatory position" by allotting a back bench to him in the House.

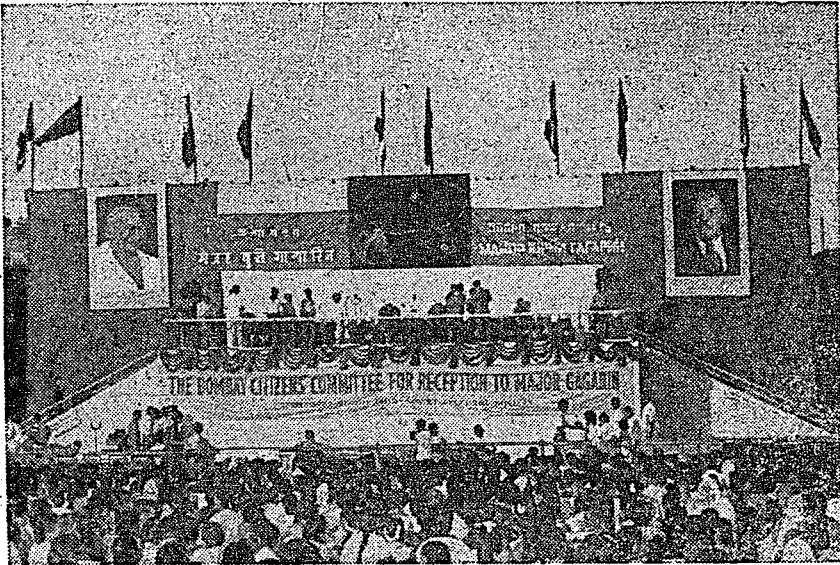
Some were heard in the group led by this Congressman that will function as the "real opposition" in the House.

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Greetings To Gagarin FIRST MAN IN SPACE

April 12—First Anniversary
Of First Manned Flight



Above: Rally in Bombay's Shivaji Park to welcome Gagarin when he visited India a few months ago.

Right: Yuri Gagarin at the rally.



Buses Without Conductors

If you enter a tram, bus or trolley bus in Moscow these days you would find nobody to take the money or sell you the ticket. They work without conductors.

Dadoo Here for Disarmament Congress

Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, well-known leader of Indians in South Africa is in Delhi and will participate in the All India Congress for General Disarmament and Peace.

The three-day Congress will open in New Delhi on April 6 and will be inaugurated by Sardar Hukam Singh, Deputy Speaker of the previous Lok Sabha.

Other notable personalities who will take part in the Congress are historian Dr. Tara Chand MP, Smt. Rameshwari Nehru, Kaka Sahib Kalelkar and Sri S. A. Dange. Congress MPs like Chaudhry Brahm Prakash, Sri A. M. Tariq, Sri Jai Narayan Vyas, Sri D. C. Sharma and Sri H. C. Heda are also participating in the Congress.

The citizens of the Socialist State moving towards Communism have to be honest and socially conscious to an extent that they would not think of cheating the State even of the little sum of fare money. After all, if they do that they would be cheating only themselves.

To move into Communism people have to develop a higher sense of public duty, responsibility and social honesty without any compulsion from outside. Only then a society based on the principle "From each according to his ability and to each according to his need" will be established on this earth.

And the introduction of public transport without conductors is just one more step in the direction of creating those moral reflexes and behaviour patterns suited to a higher society.

At first this system was introduced only in a few trams and buses on an experimental basis, and there were the sceptics who thought it would have to be given up because of the inevitable financial loss resulting from the frailties of human nature. People will not pay or will not pay fully if not forced to do so by some representative of law and order; the sceptics said.

Well, the facts of life

have shown them to be wrong. Not only the system has not been given up; it has practically grown to cover nearly all routes of Moscow's surface transport.

You enter the bus, tram or trolley bus and drop the coins into a tall metallic box with a transparent plastic upper compartment and tear yourself a ticket. Every now and then the bottom of this upper compartment swings down under the weight of accumulated coins and they drop into the lower metallic section.

This elaborate arrangement is well thought-out to curb the lurking little dishonesties of the few mildly dishonest passengers if they happen to be present. For the coins do not disappear immediately into the bowels of the treasury but remain lying there in public view for some time and if somebody does not pay the full fare he is liable to be caught.

By whom, you would ask, as there is no conductor? The answer is the public, the people, the society, the passengers themselves. Now they are the active authority and another example would bring the point home.

Moscow transport sells monthly tickets which are

valid for different means of transport and are very convenient at rush hours. They had to be shown to the conductors on entry. But now with their disappearance who is to take their place in exercising this control? The people, of course.

So now you come into the bus and show your season ticket to fellow passengers and it is they who look after the interests of Moscow's public transport now.

The passengers also give you small change if you have big coin or you can buy a book of vouchers and just tear and drop one instead of money and take your ticket.

In spite of everything, there must be the incorrigible dishonest cheats you would say.

Unfortunately they are still with us but even on them the weapon of moral stigma is pretty effective. In a bus you sometimes find a small notice with the photograph, name, address, place of work, etc., of the citizen who tried to cheat the public transport.

The bus carries it all over the town and hundreds see it and laugh. Try and be dishonest after that

This is how public transport trains the people to be the citizens of tomorrow's Communist society. You can almost say when you enter a bus in Moscow and pay your own fare and tear your own ticket yourself you are taking a bus to communism.

—Masood Ali Khan

CABINET

* FROM FRONT PAGE

this last hour decides to make a break with those whom he had told "to go to Hell". One would like to hope that even at this very moment of decision some pressure and persuasion would be attempted by those who seem so far to have remained above the battle. But this appears, at the time

of writing, to be a forlorn wish.

Forlorn for this very specific moment and issue only. Many more such issues and moments will emerge tomorrow and the day after. The battle must go on with the Left more united and energetic in its intervention on all national issues to redeem the promise that is India.