

# CHINA MUST RESPOND

## CPI Council's Call

**THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA HAS VOICED THE HOPE CHERISHED BY HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF INDIANS THAT THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT WILL RESPOND POSITIVELY TO THE EFFORTS BEING MADE BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA TO PREVENT ANY FURTHER WORSENING OF THE SITUATION ON THE BORDERS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES AND FOR CREATING APPROPRIATE CONDITIONS FOR STARTING NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WHICH WOULD RESULT IN A WORKABLE ARRANGEMENT.**

The 110-member Council which is the highest organ of the Party between its two congresses concluded a week-long session in Hyderabad on August 20. It adopted several resolutions on burning issues facing the country and the Communist movement. The text of the resolution on the present state of the India-China border question and the way forward to its solution reads in full as follows:

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses great concern at the developments on the India-China border situation in Ladakh. The armed forces of the two countries are so poised against each other that there is always danger of clashes taking place between them any moment. One incident has already taken place in which personnel on the Indian side were injured which has justifiably evoked resentment from the Indian people.

The National Council supports the policy of the Prime Minister of India Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, of making all efforts to bring about a peaceful negotiated settlement of the border question even while taking necessary measures for the defence of the borders of the country.

The Council notes with satisfaction that the Government of India is taking steps to prevent any further worsening of the situation and to create appropriate conditions for the starting of negotiations between the representatives of the two Governments. Leaders of the Government have made it clear that in accordance with India's policy, they will strive always to settle the present dispute not by methods of war, but by peaceful means, through negotiations at the appropriate time and under necessary conditions.

The Council appreciates the steps taken, in accordance with this policy, to maintain contacts with Chinese Government spokesmen such as the recent meeting between India's Defence Minister and China's Foreign Minister at Geneva.

The Council notes further that the Chinese response to India's initiative has been positive, inasmuch as in a recent note, the Government of China expresses the willingness to start negotiations on the basis of the reports submitted by the officials teams. The recent statements of Chinese representatives that the boundary question should be treated as a local dispute and should not be allowed to develop into a major conflict between the two countries, and that peaceful settlement

through negotiations remains the aim of the Chinese Government are also hopeful signs.

### Difficulties Noted

The Council is conscious that the process of starting

and continuing the negotiations is beset with difficulties. The very presence of the two armed forces so close to each other creates difficulties in the way of a calm and dispassionate consideration by the two sides of the basic issues in dispute. It, therefore, appreciates and supports the efforts being made by the Government of India to ease the tension on the border and thereby to create appropriate climate for further discussions.

The National Council hopes that these efforts being made by the Government of India would be responded to by the Chinese Government and result in a workable arrangement with the Chinese Government.

The Council, however, notes that efforts are, on the other hand, being made to put pressure on the Government to reverse its policy of negotiating a settlement. Certain political parties and groups in the country are carrying on a vicious campaign against the

## AJOY GHOSH MEMORIAL FUND

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India resolves to launch a countrywide public campaign for an "Ajoy Ghosh Memorial Fund" of Rs. 5 lakhs which will be used for the construction of a Central Party Headquarters building to commemorate the memory of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh.

The National Council calls upon all Party members and friends of the Party to participate actively in organising collections from all those who revere the memory of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh as an outstanding leader of the Indian people's movement for independence, democracy and socialism.

Defence Minister and Prime Minister in particular, to the effect that they are trying to barter away the country's honour and integrity.

Those who carry on this attack on the Government's policies are in reality attacking the entire foreign policy of the country, the policy of peaceful settlement of international problems and of non-alignment with military blocs. For what they are advocating in the name of safeguarding our

frontiers is the abandonment of the method of peaceful negotiations and the adoption of a policy of aligning our country on the side of imperialist powers.

The Council hopes that all patriotic citizens of the country would rally themselves against these efforts and support the Government of India in its efforts to start negotiations with the Government of China in a calm and peaceful atmosphere.

# NEW AGE

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## CARRY FORWARD

# ANTI-TAX-INCREASE MOVEMENT

Opposing the Government of India's taxation and price policies, the National Council of the Communist Party has called for a reversal and basic reorientation of these policies. "Before imposing new burdens of taxation on the people, the Government should make sincere efforts to reduce unnecessary, avoidable or extravagant expenditure", says the Council's resolution reviewing the anti-tax-increase movement in the country.

HAVING taken all such steps, says the resolution, the Government should begin by taxing the rich, and only then, if resources are found to be inadequate, can the Government ask the people to tighten their belt as it is doing now.

Follows the text of the Council's resolution on the anti-tax-increase campaign:

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India congratulates Party units all over the country for having responded to the call of the Central Secretariat to observe the Anti-Additional Taxation Day in June.

Party units in some states followed up the observance of the Day by staging demonstrations, organising picketing and other forms of protests against the increase in railway fares on July 1. The Madhya Pradesh state council of the Party took the initiative in launching satyagraha before the Assembly in order to register the people's protest against the new burdens of taxation.

Demonstrations in Gujarat and Andhra, too, were orga-

nised by the Party on a big scale.

The call given by the Party Centre and the response given to it by Party units all over the country, went parallel to the calls by the leaderships of other opposition parties, such as the PSP, the Socialist Party of India, Jan Sangh, etc. Observance of protest days, staging of demonstrations and other forms of protest were adopted by them also.

Sections of Congressmen joined in this Anti-Tax-Increase movement in several parts of the country while in the Punjab former Congressmen, who are now in the opposition under the leadership of the State Opposition leader Devlal took the lead in forming joint committees to protest against increased tax burdens.

### Reactionary Parties' Game

The Council notes that some opposition parties like the Swatantra joined the anti-tax-increase movement with their own approach to the problems of national economic development to which neither the Communist Party nor other parties pledged to the

programme of planned development of the country can ever subscribe. Parties like the Jan Sangh are also trying to utilise the mass discontent which is growing against the increasing tax burdens in order to popularise their disruptive policies. The Party cannot have anything to do with the objectives with which these parties start their own anti-tax-increase movements.

The Council, however, notes that the masses who are rallied behind such parties are far from being moved by the objectives or policies guiding their leaders in organising the movement. They are on the other hand, moved purely by the sense of discontent against the anti-people policy of the Government and the desire to see that sufficient pressure is put on the Central and State Governments to force them to reduce the tax burdens. It is this desire of the masses that has led, in several places, to united actions participated in by masses owing allegiance to various opposition parties, as well as sections of Congressmen.

While noting these developments with satisfaction and directing all Party units to make the anti-taxation campaign as broad-based and united as possible, the Council exhorts all Party units, friends of the Party and democratic people in general to be vigilant against the efforts of parties like the Swatantra and Jan Sangh to utilise the anti-taxation movement for reactionary or disruptive political purposes.

Opposition to the additional taxation levied by the Government should not be allowed to become opposition to the planned development of economy as the Swatantra Party would like to make it. On the other hand, the Communist Party and other progressive elements in the political life of the country should go on making it clear that the country cannot take the path of progress unless it improves the method of planned development.

Nor can they allow the Jan Sangh and other disruptive parties and organisations to use the platform created by the anti-taxation movement to propagate their obscurantist and disruptive slogans and policies.

The Council desires to repudiate the charge levelled by the Congress leaders that anti-taxation-increase movement is in effect a movement directed against the whole idea and programme of planning. The Communist Party is committed not only to the idea of planning in general, but planning with its emphasis on industrialisation with heavy industries as its core.

The Party will, therefore, do its utmost to co-operate with the Government in securing the financial resources necessary for the implementation of the Plans.

The Party is not opposed to all taxes; as a matter of fact, one of the major criticisms which the Party is levelling against the Government is



# national council resolution

Following is the text of the resolution on the 22nd CPSU Congress adopted by the National Council of the CPI which met at Hyderabad between August 14 and 20:

1 The National Council of the Communist Party of India hails the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union adopted at the 22nd Congress of the Party. This Programme for building a communist society invests the Congress with special importance and value. The 22nd Congress has underlined the important decisions already taken by the 20th Congress and the 81 Parties' document in regard to a number of cardinal questions facing the international working-class movement and all mankind.

The 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which will find its place in history as the Congress of the builders of communism, will for ever stand as a beaconlight in the creative development of Marxism-Leninism. The Congress opens up new vistas and radiant perspectives for humanity's triumphant march to its cherished goal—the goal of peace and communism.

## A Brilliant Summing Up

The Programme of the CPSU brilliantly sums up the rich experience of socialist construction by the Soviet people under the leadership of their beloved Communist Party. It generalises the great and varied experience of the international Communist movement. In this historic document, which is a new, invaluable addition to the treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism, there emerges vividly an impressive picture of the communist society in which all men are free and every one is called upon to give according to his capacity and receive according to his needs.

The great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin are being concretised. The new Programme gives a clear picture of the new world that is emerging. The Communist society as visualised by the founders of communism, enables mankind to translate its dreams into reality.

The targets and objectives set in the Programme are not only staggering and gigantic; they will further change the balance of forces in the world in favour of the people.

In the current decade itself (1961—1970) the Soviet Union, in creating the material and technical basis of communism, will surpass the strongest and richest capitalist country—the USA—in production per head of population; the people's standard of living and their cultural and technical standards will improve substantially; everyone will live in comfortable circumstances; all collective and state farms will become highly productive and profitable enterprises; the demand of Soviet people for well-appointed housing will in the main be satisfied;

hard physical work will disappear; the USSR will have the shortest working day.

The material and technical basis of communism will be built up at the end of the second decade (1971—1980) ensuring an abundance of material and cultural values for the whole population. There will be a gradual transition to one form of ownership. The principle of distribution according to need will be introduced.

## Exhilarating Declaration

With its gigantic targets of full-scale communist construction, the Programme of the CPSU makes the most exhilarating declaration of our time, namely that the "present generation of the Soviet people shall live under communism." For the first time in human history, the building of a communist society is set as an immediate practical task.

"Communism accomplishes" proclaims the Programme of the CPSU, "the historic mission of delivering all men from social inequality, from every form of oppression and exploitation, from the horrors of war, and proclaims Peace, Labour, Freedom, Equality and Happiness for all peoples of the earth."

No wonder that the Programme of the CPSU has been rightly described as the greatest document of our age, for the international working-class movement and for all peoples fighting for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. This charter of communism has a tremendous international significance.

The Programme forcefully demonstrates the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the superiority of socialism over capitalism. The very announcement of the Programme stirred the imagination of all men in every part of the world. The Programme immensely enhances the force of attraction of the ideas of scientific socialism and wins the minds and hearts of millions of people throughout the world.

The fulfilment of the great Programme by the Soviet people who are already on the high road to socialist world, changes the world balance of forces in favour of the people and helps the forces fighting for peace, democracy, freedom and socialism. The Programme is right in its expectation that when the Soviet people enjoy the blessings of communism, new hundreds of millions of people on earth will say: We are for Communism. The road to Communism along which all peoples will sooner or later traverse has seen newly and majestically paved.

2 The Programme is permeated with the spirit of the world-wide struggle for

peace and of promotion in the fullest measure of liberty and equality for man. Indeed its implementation depends on the maintenance of world peace and the continued extension of socialist democracy and on the boundless initiative of the entire Party and the Soviet people.

3 The Programme sums up the experience of socialist construction and the first phase of transition to communism, in the land which ushered in proletarian dictatorship. It draws on the varied experience of the other countries of Europe and Asia, which took to the path of socialist construction after the end of the second World War. It tries to solve the most important and basic problems of economic construction, social and cultural regeneration and the development of socialist democracy.

4 The Programme is not a substitute for an independent study and working out of the national problems of each country by its Marxist-Leninist Party with a view to evolving its own national path of advance. Socialism can be accomplished and transition from socialism to communism effected only by following the road of scientific socialism. But this does not mean a mechanical transplantation of the Soviet experience to other countries.

## Programme—A Guiding Star

The universal truths of Marxism-Leninism, which are confirmed and enriched by the Soviet experience, must be integrated with the peculiarities and specific conditions of other countries. For, each country has its own national traditions, social and economic institutions with their distinct national features, the stage of literary, scientific and cultural development peculiar to itself. Only by taking account of all these national peculiarities of each country can a Communist Party draw up its own Programme and successfully work for its fulfilment.

In doing this, however, the new Programme of the CPSU will undoubtedly act as the guiding star for all Communist and Workers' Parties in the world, since the Programme combines what is specific to the Soviet Union with what is common to the international working-class movement as a whole.

5 The perspectives of communist construction, as outlined in the new Programme, stand in marked contrast to the continuing crisis which has gripped the entire capitalist world. Despite the boastful talk indulged in by the leaders and spokesmen of the capitalist world regarding "welfare state", "people's capitalism", etc. with which they are trying to deceive the people, the capitalist system is being exposed before the whole world as utterly bankrupt, as has been once again evidenced in the recent Wall Street crash and in its

reactions in all capitalist countries.

As Comrade Khrushchov says in the Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the 22nd Congress—"Although there has been some growth in production, the economy of the capitalist countries has become still more unstable and reminds one of a man sick with fever, so often do its short-lived recoveries give way to depression and crises.

## Capitalist Economy More Unstable

"The USA, the chief capitalist country, has experienced two critical recessions in five years, and there have been four such recessions in the post-war world as a whole. The crisis of 1957-58, involved countries whose share in capitalist industries' output amounts to almost two-third of the whole.

"With the incomes of the monopolies increasing to a fabulous degree, real wages of the working people have increased very slightly and far more slowly than the productivity of labour. The social gains achieved by the working-class in the past are gradually being reduced to naught. In general, the condition of the working people, especially in the underdeveloped countries, is growing worse."

It is against this background that the inspiring targets of all-round, continuous and uninterrupted increase in production, remarkable improvements in the living standards of the entire people, and tremendous cultural advance are being laid by the CPSU.

In the present condition when the world is divided into two systems, the capitalist and socialist, the scientific technical revolution is leading to two opposite results. In the socialist system, the revolution is leading to greater happiness of the people, accelerating the transition towards communism, while in the capitalist system it is leading to militarisation of economy, worsening of people's conditions and economic crises.

The perspective of the Programme is, however, not of the people of the Soviet Union alone. What is to happen in the USSR by 1980 will eventually happen to all countries if only they are freed from the enthralling grip of the exploiting classes.

6 The Communists, Socialists and other progressives in India will find in the new Programme a powerful weapon with which to demonstrate the superiority of socialism; to combat bourgeois ideology and expose the claims of the capitalist class in our country that they are building a socialist society; to win over the broad sections of our people to the positions of scientific socialism and for fundamental social transformations.

The achievements of the Soviet Union and the Programme of the CPSU are a convincing proof that only

under socialist planning can the people march forward rapidly towards all-round advance and universal happiness.

Communist construction in the Soviet Union and the more or less simultaneous transition of the socialist countries to communism offer to the newly-liberated nations like our own, abounding and ever increasing source of disinterested economic and other assistance for their rapid, independent development and for strengthening their freedom. It is, however, for the peoples of these under-developed countries to draw upon this assistance and use it in the correct way in order to go forward along the pathway of all-sided development.

7 The materials of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU give a generalised picture of the two paths of development before the recently-liberated and former colonies and dependent nations. Basing itself on the intense discussions that have taken place in the international Communist movement—discussions in which our Party too, made its own contributions, in which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union played the leading role—the new Programme of the CPSU says:

## Which Road Of Development

"One of the basic questions confronting these peoples is—which road of development the countries that have freed themselves from colonial tyranny are to take, whether the capitalist road or the non-capitalist.

"What can capitalism bring them?"

"Capitalism is the road of suffering for the people. It will not ensure rapid economic progress nor eliminate poverty; social inequality will increase. The capitalist development of the countryside will ruin the peasantry still more. The workers will be fated either to engage in back-breaking labour to enrich the capitalists, or to swelling the ranks of the disinherited army of the unemployed. The petty bourgeoisie will be crushed in competition with big capital. The benefits of culture and education will remain out of reach of the people. The intelligentsia will be compelled to sell its talent.

"What can socialism bring the peoples?"

"Socialism is road to freedom and happiness for the peoples. It ensures rapid economic and cultural progress. It transforms a backward country into an industrial country within the lifetime of one generation and not in the course of centuries. Planned socialist economy is an economy of progress and prosperity by its very nature. Abolition of the exploitation of man by man does away with social inequality. Unemployment disappears completely. Socialism provides all peasants with land, helps them to develop farming, combines their labour efforts in volun-

tary co-operatives and puts modern agricultural machinery and agronomy at their disposal. Peasant labour is made more productive and the land is made more fertile.

## What Socialism Provides

"Socialism provides a high material and cultural standard of living for the working class and all working people. Socialism lifts the people out of darkness and ignorance and gives them access to modern culture. The intelligentsia is offered ample opportunities for creative effort for the benefit of the people."

8 The National Council is of the opinion that our Party should carry out the task of widely popularising the glorious perspective of communist construction as outlined in the new Programme of the CPSU. The Programme of the CPSU will enable the Party and the advanced sections of the working class to explain to the broad masses of our people in concrete, living terms the superiority of socialism over capitalism, and draw them increasingly closer to the ideas of scientific socialism.

9 Basing itself on intense discussions and conclusions of the international communist movement, the 22nd Congress of the CPSU

geists in those colonial, one-time colonial and dependent countries where it is not connected with the imperialist circles, is objectively interested in accomplishing the basic tasks of an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution. Its progressive role and its ability to participate in the solution of pressing national problems are, therefore, not yet spent.

"But as the contradictions between the working people and the propertied classes grow and the class struggle inside the country becomes more acute, the national bourgeoisie shows an increasing inclination to compromise with imperialism and domestic reaction.

"The development of the countries which have won their freedom may be a complex multi-stage process. By virtue of varying historical and socio-economic conditions in the newly-free countries, the revolutionary effort of the masses will impart many distinctive features to the forms and rates of their social progress."

It is, therefore, of the utmost importance for our Party to seek to build the broad national democratic front of anti-imperialist, democratic forces including the national bourgeoisie, while keeping in view the dual character of the bourgeoisie and the necessity of unity and struggle with it. The alliance of the working-class and the peasantry

Right opportunism, which is a reflection of bourgeois influence, is the chief danger within the communist movement today.

## Revisionists Renounce Marxism

"The revisionists, who mask their renunciation of Marxism with talk about the necessity of taking account of the latest developments in society and the class struggle, in effect play the role of pedlars of bourgeois reformist ideology within the Communist movement. They seek to rob Marxism-Leninism of its revolutionary spirit, to undermine the faith which the working-class and all working people have in socialism, to disarm and disorganise them in their struggle, against imperialism.

"The revisionists deny the historical necessity of the socialist revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They deny the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, undermine the foundations of proletarian internationalism, and drift to nationalism. The ideology of revisionism is most fully embodied in the programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

"Another danger is dogmatism and sectarianism, which cannot be reconciled with a creative development of revolutionary theory, which

ists, as well as dogmatists, to mean that the basic class standpoint of Marxism-Leninism on these questions has to be abandoned. The above documents make it clear that all this is nothing but distortion and departure.

The concept that a world war is not inevitable and a world without arms can be realised even before capitalism is eliminated from the face of the earth is no negation of Marxist-Leninist standpoint that imperialism is the source of war in the present-day world. It should be noted that the imperialists stubbornly refuse to accept the proposals for disarmament and are feverishly continuing their war preparations. Hence arises the imperative need to maintain vigilance.

But for the first time in history the possibilities of preventing a world war and bringing about general and complete disarmament have arisen even before imperialism is finally wiped out. But this possibility can be made a reality only by the combined efforts of all peace forces—the socialist camp, the newly-liberated nations and the peoples fighting for national independence, the international working-class movement and all other peace champions.

The Programme adopted by the 22nd Congress of the CPSU is vitally and insepar-

development of class struggle in capitalist countries and for strengthening the struggle for national independence in the colonial countries. This policy is the basis for peaceful competition between socialism and capitalism on a world scale.

This policy, therefore, isolates the most reactionary and warmongering section of society in imperialist countries and helps the growth of progressive democratic peace-loving forces in all parts of the world.

## Peaceful Coexistence

As for peaceful co-existence, it is not a denial of political and ideological struggle that takes place between the bourgeoisie and the working-class on a world plane. Peaceful co-existence serves as a basis for the peaceful competition between socialism and capitalism on an international scale and constitutes a specific form of class struggle between them.

It actually means that the forces of aggression are prevented from intervening in the internal affairs of other countries and that the basic controversy between capitalism and socialism on a world plane must not be settled through recourse to war between states. Victorious socialism, as Lenin long ago

pointed out, exerts its influence on the world developments mainly through economic achievements.

The Programme of the CPSU opens great perspectives for peaceful competition between two systems and of the tremendous impact that full-scale communist construction is going to have on the course of world development.

The 22nd Congress of the CPSU in conformity with the 81-Parties Statement once more emphasised the desire of the working-class and its effort for a peaceful socialist revolution. "The working-class and its vanguard seek to accomplish the socialist revolution by peaceful means". This meets with the interests of the working-class and the people.

In the conditions prevailing at present, in some capitalist countries, the working-class led by its advanced detachment has the opportunity to unite the bulk of the nation, win state power without a civil war in cooperation with different political parties. "The working-class, supported by the majority of the people and firmly repelling opportunist elements incapable of renouncing the policy of compromise with the capitalists and landlords can defeat the reactionary anti-popular forces, win a solid majority in Parliament, transform it from a tool serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie into an instrument serving the working

forces of peace, which are growing ever stronger in all parts of the world, can prevent the unleashing of a new world war. In fact, the rising strength of the forces of socialism and peace over that of imperialism and war have given rise to a situation which creates the possibility of eliminating world war from the life of society even before the world-wide establishment of socialism.

The complete victory of socialism will forever eliminate the causes of war and it is the mission of communism to establish permanent world peace and banish for all time the spectre of war. The 22nd Congress reaffirmed that the policy of peaceful co-existence creates conditions which are most favourable for the political and economic reconstruction of socialist countries, for the

\*SEE PAGE 14

# on 22nd congress of CPSU

also gives a clearer picture of the way in which Communist and Workers' Parties in the newly-liberated underdeveloped countries can help the struggle of their people. The Programme of the CPSU states:

"The young sovereign states do not belong either to the system of imperialist states or to the system of socialist states. But the overwhelming majority of them have not yet broken free from world capitalist economy, even though they occupy a special place in it. They constitute that part of the world which is still being exploited by the capitalist monopolies.

"As long as they do not put an end to their economic dependence on imperialism, they will be playing the role of a 'world countryside' and will remain objects of semi-colonial exploitation."

And further on it says: "Imperialism thus remains the chief enemy and the chief obstacle to the solution of the national problems facing the young sovereign states and all dependent countries.

"A national liberation revolution does not end with the winning of political independence. Independence will be unstable and will become fictitious unless the revolution brings about radical changes in the social and economic spheres and solves the pressing problems of national rebirth."

The Programme points out: "The national bourgeoisie is dual in character. In modern conditions, the national bour-

must form the core of the broad national democratic front and the extent to which the national bourgeoisie will take part in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle will depend in a considerable measure on the solidity of the alliance of the working-class and the peasantry.

## Tasks Before Party

But to build such a broad democratic front, our Party has to pay urgent attention to the tasks of working out the Programme of our Party, defining our road to socialism, basing ourselves on the experience of our own people and on the broad perspective of development as envisaged in the 81 Parties' Statement and the CPSU Programme, discussing such concepts as national democracy and non-capitalist path in relation to our conditions.

The Party has to carry on systematic and continuous struggles against the dangers of revisionism and dogmatism, against which warning has been given in the documents of the international communist movement. The 22nd Congress of the CPSU once more focusses attention on the fight for maintaining the purity of Marxism by calling for a struggle against revisionism and dogmatism and sectarianism. It states:

"The communist movement grows and becomes steered as it fights against various opportunist trends. Revisionism,

leads to the dissociation and isolation of Communists from the masses, dooms them to passive expectation or incites them to Leftist adventurist actions in the revolutionary struggle, and hinders a correct appraisal of the changing situation and the use of new opportunities for the benefit of the working class and all democratic forces.

"Dogmatism and sectarianism, unless steadfastly combated, can also become the chief danger at particular stages in the development of individual parties.

"The Communist Party of the Soviet Union holds that an uncompromising struggle against revisionism, dogmatism and sectarianism, against all departures from Leninism, is a necessary condition for the further strengthening of the unity of the world Communist movement and for the consolidation of the socialist camp."

10 The materials of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, of the two Moscow Conferences of the International Communist movement (1957 and 1960) and of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU are sufficient, if they are correctly studied and adhered to, to effectively fight and eliminate revisionism and dogmatism on such questions as the struggle for peace and disarmament, peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems and different forms of transition.

The new concepts on these questions have been sought to be interpreted by the revision-

new vistas and radiant perspectives for humanity's

triumphant march to its goal of peace & communism



## FOR FURTHER STRENGTHENING THE PARTY

### Editorial

THE HYDERABAD meeting of the National Council has adopted resolutions which will bring satisfaction to all friends of the Communist Party and the democratic movement.

Quite contrary to the speculations that had been made by the opponents of the Party and reflected in the general press, the Council has come to decisions which will help the unification of the Party and further strengthening of the democratic movement in the country.

The Party is going to launch mass campaigns on such important issues as the additional burdens of taxation which are being imposed on the common people, the necessity for earnest efforts to bring about a negotiated settlement of the India-China dispute, the urgent importance of a nuclear test ban treaty which will ultimately lead to general and complete disarmament, support to the people of former French and Portuguese territories for democratic rights and other democratic issues. These mass campaigns will enable the members and friends of the Party to join hands with other democratic elements in securing the legitimate demands of the people.

The Council also decided to launch a drive for the collection for the Ajoy Ghosh Memorial Fund. This will again help the members and friends of the Party to approach those broad democratic sections of the people, who, though not Communists, have great affection and respect for our departed leader and who recall his life-long service to the Indian anti-imperialist and democratic movement. The money collected will help the all-India leadership of the Party to construct a building for the Party office with a well-equipped library and to run a permanent Party School to train the active cadres of the Party.

The above-mentioned campaigns among the people will be accompanied by a systematic inner-Party ideological campaign which, it has been correctly assessed by the National Council, is necessary if the Party is to discharge its historic responsibilities. A beginning in this direction was made by the Hyderabad meeting of the National Council through its resolution on the 22nd Congress of the CPSU.

Underlining as the resolution did the major conclusions arrived at in the two international meetings of the World Communist movement (those of 1957 and 1960) and two Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (20th and 22nd) it called on the Secretariat and Central Executive Committee to "pay urgent attention to the tasks of working out the programme of our Party, defining our road to socialism, basing ourselves on experiences of our own people and on the broad perspective of development as envisaged in the 81 Parties Statement and the CPSU Programme, discussing such concepts as national democracy and non-capitalist path in relation to our conditions".

This would naturally involve intense and serious inner-Party discussions on several important issues of theory, basic strategy and current policy. These discussions will draw not merely leading cadres at the top but the entire Party ranks. They will be free and frank but organised. Unorganised discussion is

as much against Party interests as the absence of discussion.

The National Council was therefore careful to point out that the Party cannot afford to relax, even to the slightest degree, on the strict observance of Party forms, both in the day-to-day work of Party members, as well as in the forms and methods of inner-Party discussions. Organised discussions under the leadership of the central organisations of the Party; constructive approach to the content and forms of discussions, so that common understanding and unanimous decisions can be reached on as many issues and as quickly as possible; business-like methods of discussions so that unending and protracted discussions are avoided; willingness of the minority (in those cases where unanimous understanding is not possible) to submit to the majority; united mass work even while there are some theoretical or political issues on which complete unanimity has not been arrived at—such are the principles which the National Council has adopted as the guiding lights for the entire Party in the present period.

The Hyderabad meeting of the National Council had some serious and intense discussion on the state of the Party organisation today and ways and means of improving and further strengthening it. A series of suggestions have been made to further improve the relations between the central leadership of the Party and its state units as well as between the Central Secretariat, the Central Executive Committee and the National Council. Certain basic principles have also been laid down in the matter of improving the relations of the State Councils and the units working under them. These decisions will be explained in an article which will appear in the *New Age*. We earnestly hope that members and friends of the Party will seriously ponder over these decisions and will help to have them carried out, so that the organisational as much as the ideological work of the Party can be strengthened.

The mass campaigns to be launched by the Party, the inner-Party discussions on ideological and political questions that will be undertaken under the leadership of the Party Centre and the task of improving the organisational work of Party leaderships at various levels are all inter-connected. For, in accordance with the conclusions drawn in the Report on organisation approved by the National Council, "continuous and sustained mass activity, serious and principled discussion of all the ideological and political problems facing the Party and the struggle for the strict observance of the norms and principles of Party organisation should all be combined."

It is therefore to be hoped that the broad conclusions arrived at, and the concrete decisions taken, by the National Council will be followed by serious work at all levels of the Party organisation in order to implement those decisions. This is the only way in which the Party will be able to play its rightful role in the present political situation of the country and to overcome the difficulties facing it.

(August 22)

## NATIONAL COUNCIL RESOLUTION ON

### Political Prisoners

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India notes with satisfaction that the Government of West Bengal has released all long-term political prisoners in that state. The Council sends its warmest greetings to the released comrades and welcomes them back in our midst in the service of our people and the nation.

The Council also records with appreciation the humane and wise action of the Chief Minister of West Bengal, Sri P. C. Sen, and his Government.

The National Council notes with regret that while the long-term prisoners in Tamilnad and West Bengal have been lately released, the Governments of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Punjab should have thought it fit to ignore the popular demand for the release of the long-term prisoners in their states.

### Training To Kill Communists

A news item appearing in the *Indore Press* on August 17 says that the S.A.F. organised a mock riot drill at the Police Training Centre there. In the drill demonstrators carrying red flags and belonging to the Communist Party were shown as having violently attacked the police party, throwing stones, etc. whereupon the police had to resort to firing, "killing" three comrades.

While one can have no objection to mock riot drills, it is certainly highly objectionable that the rioters were shown as belonging to the Communist Party and carrying red flags. The Communist Party is a perfectly legal and constitutional party enjoying the status of an All-India party and functioning peacefully and legitimately. To show the rioters as belonging to the Communist Party is scandalous and defamatory. Such shows tend to prejudice both the ordinary policemen and the public to believe that the Communist demonstrators behave violently and organise violence against the police. The vivid description of the event appearing in the local press too was highly objectionable.

Homi Daji, MP, has asked the police authorities to explain why such defamatory demonstrations are held and publicised. He has demanded that in future, such mock drills shall not attribute rioting to peaceful political parties or trade unions.

### Anti-Tax-Increase Movement

\* FROM FRONT PAGE

that some of the most effective means of raising financial resources for the Plan are not being utilised, some of the specific forms of taxation whose burden will not fall on the mass of the common people are not being levied. There is, therefore, no question of the Party opposing all forms of new taxation. What it opposes is such taxes as impose undue burdens on and thereby depress the living standards of the mass of working people.

The Party would like to point out that before imposing new burdens of taxation on the people, the Government should make sincere efforts to reduce unnecessary avoidable or extravagant expenditure on general administration, construction of buildings, payment of high salaries to Government officials, etc. It should also cut such "developmental" activities as are either unnecessary or can wait till better times.

Having taken all these steps to bring about economy in expenditure, the Government should begin by taxing the rich.

Only if the resources mobilised by these methods are inadequate can it ask the common people to tighten their belt as the Government is at present doing.

The Council calls upon all Party units in the country to widely popularise the positive stand of the Communist Party, and, on the basis of such a stand, to approach the mass of Congressmen with a view to draw them into the anti-tax-increase movement. The Party must prepare its campaign on these questions on its own initiative.

The Party should, at the same time, join hands with such elements, groups or parties from issue to issue in such a way as will not permit the strengthening of reactionary influences and will at the same time permit of greatest mobilisation of masses and their unity and the building of a countrywide movement against the burdens of taxation. (Resolution on prices on page 13)

## West Bengal Newsletter

### Political Prisoners Back Among People

Defying inclement weather and heavy rain, thousands of people drawn from all walks of life, gathered at Alipore Central Jail gate, Calcutta, early on August 15 morning to give a heart-warming reception to the 25 long-term political prisoners who were released on Independence Day.

THESE prisoners had been sentenced to 20-25 years of imprisonment in Kakdwip, Dum Dum-Bashirhat and Jessore cases. They had already served 12 to 14 years of their sentences. Eighteen of them belong to the RCPI and seven to the Communist Party.

Shortly after their release, they were taken in a colourful procession to a nearby public park, where they were given a reception by the Prisoners' Release Committee. They were profusely garlanded on behalf of the left parties and innumerable mass organisations.

Rakhi threads, traditional symbol of brotherly love, were tied round their wrists, by Gita Mukherjee on behalf of the West Bengal Mahila Samity.

Niranjan Sen, M.L.A. (CPI), Hemanta Basu, M.L.A. (FB) and the leaders of other left parties conveyed their greetings to the released prisoners.

Responding to the welcome given to them, Pannalal Das Gupta, one of the released prisoners and a leader of the RCPI, made a touching reference to the campaign for their release.

After a brief reception at the house of an RCPI leader, they were taken to the office of the 24-Parganas District Council of the CPI, where they were given a hearty reception jointly by the West Bengal State Council of the Party and the 24 Parganas District Council.

### A Big Public Reception

A big public reception was given to the released prisoners at the Calcutta Maidan on August 17 on behalf of the Prisoners' Release Committee. Vivekananda Mukherjee, Editor of *Yugantar*, presided.

The released prisoners were garlanded on behalf of the West Bengal State Council of the CPI, RCPI and West Bengal Mahila Samity.

Introducing the released prisoners to the gathering, Bimalananda Mukherjee, of the RCPI expressed the hope that they would be with the leftist parties in the struggle to win the demands of the people.

Niranjan Sen, M.L.A. (CPI), also expressed the same hope. The leaders of other left parties conveyed their greetings.

In a short speech, punctuated with emotion, Vivekananda Mukherjee said that the sacrifices made by the released patriots and the sufferings undergone by them would continue to inspire the youth of our country.

Pannalal Das Gupta and Manik Hazra of Kakdwip replied to the ovation accorded to the prisoners.

The meeting adopted two resolutions. Through one it urged the Union Government

to direct the State Governments to release immediately all long-term political prisoners. Through the other the meeting requested the West Bengal Government to release all prisoners convicted in connection with the food movement of 1959 and to withdraw warrants of arrest against all other alleged political offenders.

### People Rejoice At Soviet Success

THE reaction of the people here to the simultaneous girdling of the Earth by two Soviet cosmonauts has been one of wonder as well as of jubilation.

Leading scientists and people prominent in public life have also expressed their unstinted admiration for this breath-taking achievement of Soviet science.

Dr. Sisir Kumar Mitra, National Professor, said in Calcutta on August 13 that this latest achievement of the Soviet Union was an indication of the tremendous advance made by its science and technology, the vast financial resources at its disposal and the marvels of its engineering skill. It was only in 1857 that the first Soviet Sputnik had been launched into space.

Pointing out that he had said at the Science Congress in June 1960, that man's "flight to space will begin in the near future", Dr. Mitra stated that the latest achievement within such a short period was really amazing. The accuracy of mathematical calculations revealed in the speeding up of one space vehicle after another within a short distance of each other, was no less amazing.

He further said that the active help of the Governments to science and technology in the Soviet Union and the USA had rendered unprecedented successes in space flights possible. International cooperation in this field was necessary. There should be now international laws and agreements governing space flights, Dr. Mitra concluded.

Dr. B. D. Nag Choudhury, another leading scientist, said that the success of the two Soviet cosmonauts had brought the day of man's flight to the moon nearer. The possibility of establishing space stations had also arisen. It would be possible, in his opinion, to send a man to the

moon within the next two or three years.

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, famous linguist and chairman of the West Bengal Legislative Council, said that the mastery that Soviet science had established over Nature was really amazing. In their achievements, the Soviet cosmonauts from Gagarin to Popovich had left all countries behind. Their feats had enriched the store-house of human knowledge, had immensely widened man's knowledge about the universe. Man could utilise this knowledge for his own benefit, Dr. Chatterjee concluded.

Vivekananda Mukherjee, Editor of the largely-circulated Bengali daily *Yugantar*, said: "The newest wonder—the simultaneous flights of two Soviet cosmonauts in two Vostoks—has once again proved that Soviet socialism has not only triumphed on the earth, it is winning victories in space."

### Mercantile Employees Protest

SEVERAL thousand employees working in banks and mercantile firms situated in the Dalhousie Square area, the Commercial hub of Calcutta, brought out a demonstration on the afternoon of August 17 in response to the call of the Dalhousie Square Coordination Committee of the employees' trade union organisations to protest against the offensive launched by the employers.

In course of the past one year, over 300 employees have been retrenched from different mercantile firms. Recently, 27 employees of Hoare Miller Co., were sacked. The working hours of 207 employees of Voltas Ltd. have been increased to 8½ hours per week. Both Hoare Miller & Co. and Voltas Ltd. are growing concerns, and the volume of business handled by them has been steadily increasing.

The mercantile employees realise that if the attack by these two concerns is not effectively resisted in time, the organised employers will launch the offensive in a planned manner in one office after another.

The employees, therefore, met in an anti-retrenchment and anti-rationalisation convention in the first week of this month. The demonstration on August 17 was held in pursuance of a decision of this Convention.

This was the fourth time in the past nine years that such a big united and militant demonstration of the mercantile employees was witnessed in the Dalhousie Square area. The first was in 1953 when, under the joint auspices of the BPTUC and the Federation of Mercantile Employees' Associations, the employees took out a big demonstration to protest against unemployment.

★ From Jnan Bikash Moitra

In 1959, they expressed in this way their solidarity with the struggle of the bank employees. The year 1960 again witnessed such a demonstration on the eve of the strike of the Central Government employees.

Immediately after office hours were over, employees from different mercantile offices assembled in front of the Bank of India. Then they went round the area and demonstrated before the Office of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, the organisation of British Finance capital in Eastern India.

After the demonstration, they held a meeting which was addressed by the leaders of the Dalhousie Square Coordination Committee, Federation of Mercantile Employees' Unions, Petroleum Workers' Federation, Bengal Provincial Bank Employees' Association, Overseas Insurance Employees' Federation, Association of Employees' Unions and Insurance Employees' Association.

Narrating how the different Indian and foreign concerns were making preparations to launch an offensive against their employees, the leaders pointed out that many of these companies were setting up new firms under new names and were evading income tax. They urged the employees to build up a united movement to stop the offensive.

Over 4,000 workers of different factories situated in Kidderpore, an important industrial centre in Calcutta, participated in a demonstration, which was organised by eleven trade unions of the area to protest against the increase in the work-load of the employees of Voltas Ltd., by 8½ hours per week.

### Attack On T. U. Rights

TWO employees of the Eastern Railway at Howrah, Nanigopal Chakravarty and Tapan Chatterjee, have been discharged from service by the General Manager of the Railway in exercise of the special powers conferred on all general managers under the notorious Rule 149.

The discharge orders which were passed with ulterior motives, constitute a brazen-faced attack on legitimate trade union activities.

Nanigopal Chakravarty was closely associated with trade union work from the very beginning of his service career, and he took an active and leading part in every movement of the railway employees. He was the Assistant General Secretary of the Eastern Railwaymen's Union, and is at present a member of its Central Executive Committee.

After the strike of the Central Government employees in 1960 he was singled out by the railway authorities as a target of attack. He was suspended from service. Later on, the order was withdrawn; but he was transferred from Howrah. But these "disciplinary measures" did not pre-

vent him from continuing his legitimate trade union activities.

Tapan Chatterjee was also an active trade union leader. One would like to recall in this connection the categorical statement made by Prime Minister Nehru in the Lok Sabha that the special powers could be invoked only in the following cases:

(1) if a subordinate railway employee assaults or abuses his superior; (2) if the person empowered by the General Manager comes to the definite conclusion that the employee concerned is involved in corruption, and (3) if an employee is guilty of gross negligence in regard to movement of trains.

None of these conditions is applicable in the case of either Nanigopal Chakravarty or of Tapan Chatterjee. On the contrary, Nanigopal Chakravarty has established his reputation as an efficient and conscientious employee and was recently promoted to a higher post.

A big meeting of the workers and employees of the Eastern Railways' Loco shed at Howrah was held on August 13 to protest against the arbitrary and vindictive discharge of the two trade union leaders.

### Mass Deputation Of Peasants

ABOUT 1,000 peasants from different villages of Haroa Police Station in 24 Parganas District came in a procession to Calcutta on August 13 to submit a memorandum to the Chief Minister against vested interests who had established fisheries in about 30,000 acres of paddy land in the area.

They had to cover 40 miles on foot to reach the city. On being stopped by a police cord on their way to the Secretariat of the State Government on roadside pavements, Niranjan Sen M.L.A., Communist leader, Surhid Mallik Chowdhury (Marxist FB) and the leaders of the Kisan Sabha went there to greet the peasants.

A deputation of the processionists, led by Bhabu Behari Ghose, met the Chief Minister, who discussed the demands made in their memorandum and gave an assurance that he would give due consideration to them.

After the leaders had reported on their talks with the Chief Minister, the processionists dispersed. Arrangements for their food and stay in the city for the night were made by the Calcutta District Council of the CPI.

Among other things, the memorandum demanded removal of fisheries from the paddy land and effective measures for starting cultivation of paddy on the land, rebuilding of an embankment in the area, setting up of three sluice-gates and stoppage of police oppression.



## Kerala Agrarian Relations Act

# NO PRO-LANDLORD AMENDMENTS

★ E. Gopalakrishna Menon  
Joint Secretary, Kerala Karshaka Sangham

The Special Conference of the Kerala Karshaka Sangham, held at Palghat on August 9 and 10 and attended by 507 delegates from all the nine districts of the State, concluded with a mighty demonstration and rally.

JULY and August are monsoon months in Kerala—months of heavy and intermittent rains. They are also the months when the common people, specially the peasants, have to face extreme economic hardships.

No conference of a State-wide character is ever held during these months. Yet if a conference was held and that too so successfully, that is an index of the peasantry's awareness of the danger they are facing. And in the conference itself, declaration was made of the Kerala peasantry's determination to organise, resist and defeat the landlord offensive against them.

Ten days before the date of the conference, rains began pouring down heavily and continued till after the conference. Popularising the conference became a difficult job and the Karshaka Sangham cadres themselves were difficult at the beginning.

But the moment they went out with the message of the Conference, so 'encouraging was the response from the peasantry that all their doubts vanished and self-confidence took their place. The peasants in Palghat and surrounding areas alone contributed Rs. 3,000 towards the Conference expenses.

### More Than Expectation

The big landlords and their friends were happy, they were sure that the rains would prevent a big mobilisation and that the conference would fail. Even the organisers of the Conference underestimated the enthusiasm of the Kisans. They expected only less than 400 delegates to participate in the conference.

All these calculations were upset. Buses and trains arriving at Palghat in the morning of August 9 brought batches after batches of delegates and when the session began there were 507 delegates present.

Next day again, when the rain was its heaviest, fears were expressed that the whole programme of the demonstration and rally might be washed away. The enthusiasm of the peasants belied these fears also.

By three in the afternoon, militant processions of peasants and agricultural workers began converging on Palghat town from all parts of the district. They came walking fifteen and more miles, shouting inspiring slogans. Drenched in rain yet defying it, they came led by leaders of the Karshaka Sangham and members of the legislature.

Later all these processions merged into one and with the delegates marched in a de-

monstration to the meeting place. The meeting place was full of slush and puddles but that did not prevent over ten thousand people sheltered under umbrellas from participating in the rally which lasted for over four hours.

What made so many people face such difficulties to make the Conference a success? The answer is very simple. The Agrarian Relations Act, which the peasants had won with a quarter century of heroic struggle and numberless sacrifices, was in danger, they knew that to save it they had to again get ready for struggle and the conference for them was the occasion to demonstrate their determination and show their organised might.

### Some Old Campaigners

A high-power campaign of the landlords, has been going on for sometime, led by Man-nath Padmanabhan, leader of the notorious "liberation struggle" with the demand for the virtual scrapping of the Agrarian Relations Act.

Many leaders of the ruling parties in Kerala, including some of their legislators, are in the campaign and the Ministers instead of fulfilling their responsibility to implement the Act, are issuing statements expressing sympathy with the demands of the landlords.

A prominent Congress leader and legislator, R. Raghava Menon, has already given notice of a bill to be moved in the September session of the State Assembly, to amend the Agrarian Relations Act in line with the demands of the landlords. And reports are current that the Government itself has prepared such a bill and will introduce it in the Assembly.

The amendments which the landlords are pressing for are for granting them the right to make evictions and resume up to ten acres of land for self-cultivation, denial of the Act's benefits to certain categories of tenants, fixing of fair rent at not less than 75 per cent of the contract rent, imposition of ceiling not on the family but on individuals, removal of lands belonging to religious institutions from the purview of the Act, etc.

If these amendments are accepted, not only will the peasants lose all benefits from the present Act, they will be also deprived of even those benefits they had won earlier and the peasants and the State itself would be thrown back by half a century.

It was the realisation of this danger that made the successful conference possible amidst all the difficulties and

with just ten days of preparatory work.

The resolution adopted by the Conference after detailed discussion declared the determination of the peasants to render any sacrifice to resist the attempts to amend the Agrarian Relations Act in favour of the landlords.

It strongly protested against the dilatory tactics of the Government in the matter of properly implementing the Act while at the same time Ministers were making statements expressing sympathy for the landlords.

The resolution called on the Government to declare unequivocally that no pro-landlord amendments would be made to the Act and that immediate steps would be taken to remove the difficulties which have cropped up in the course of the implementation of the legislation.

The conference devoted quite some attention to these problems connected with the proper implementation of the Act. The Working Committee of the Kerala Karshaka Sangham had framed certain concrete proposals regarding this question which were before the Conference.

Many activists of the Sangham who have been appearing before Land Tribunals on

behalf of peasant petitioners narrated their experience to spotlight these difficulties.

The Conference has adopted a programme of action to defend the rights of the peasants from landlord attacks. Formation of broad-based "Defend Agrarian Relations Act Committees" in every village and collection of five lakh signatures on the memorandum to be submitted to the Government opposing pro-landlord amendments to the Act are the main items of the programme.

Organisation of united kisan demonstrations and rallies, activation of Karshaka Sangham Committees at all levels, enrolment of three lakh members in the Sangham for the coming year etc., are also among the directives of the Conference which also entrusted the Karshaka Sangham Central Council with the task of formulating new programmes to lead the movement when fresh developments take place.

The Conference fervently appealed to all sections of the peasantry and other peasant organisations like the Kisan Panchayat, Kisan Congress and the Malnad Karshaka Union to join hands on the basis of a concrete programme to defeat the danger that threatens the Kisans and the State.

K. A. Keraleeyan, Vice-President of the Kerala Karshaka Sangham, presided over the Conference. All-India Kisan Sabha President A. K. Gopalan, who is undergoing medical treatment, sent a message to the delegates' session and his tape-recorded speech for the public rally.

In his message, Gopalan referred to the offensive launched on the peasantry by the big landlords and other reactionaries speaking in the name of small holders and religious institutions, and to meet this offensive, he stressed the need for the peasantry to organise a mighty movement in alliance with their comrades-in-struggle, the agricultural workers, and convincing the small holders that it is the peasantry which really champions their cause.

Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri, General Secretary of the All-India Kisan Sabha, who participated in the two day conference told the public rally: "The anti-peasant policies pursued by the Kerala Government have already provoked two mighty struggles in the course of the last one-and-a-half years—the struggle against the eviction in Amaravati and following it the struggle organised by the Kerala Karshaka Sangham for a number of demands in which tens of thousands of peasants participated and courted arrest."

He advised the Government not to provoke a third struggle with its policy of surrender to the landlords. If, in spite of everything, the Government persists in its present policies and provokes such a struggle, he declared that lakhs of peasants in the other States of India will rally behind the Kerala Kisans.

He explained that the All-India Kisan Sabha had always sympathetically considered the problems of small holders and called on the peasants, landless labourers and small holders to make united efforts to break the land monopoly that exists today.

The big landlords will never defend the interests of the small-holders, he said and appealed to the small holders not to be misguided by their false propaganda.

## UTTAR PRADESH

From Ramesh Sinha

# People Determined To Resist Tax Measures

LUCKNOW: A further step has been taken towards the launching of the Satyagraha movement in the State against the now-almost-certain enhancement of land revenue by the Communist Party and the Praja Socialist Party by their fixing up September 10 as the day for a central demonstration before the Council House in Lucknow.

THE decision to hold the demonstration on that day were taken separately by the two parties. In fact, the PSP had announced its decision to the press earlier, while the Communist Party was still waiting for its approval by its State Council which had been called to meet in Lucknow on August 8 onwards.

But while sanctioning its own demonstration on September 10, the State Council, anxious for utmost unity on this vital issue, made it a point to ascertain whether the leaders of the PSP would still like the synchronisation of the two demonstrations.

Only when it was assured that they would welcome it, they would welcome the salutary effect such a separately-made but united effort would have all over the State, did it finally fix the date.

Anywhere between ten to twenty-five thousand people, mainly the Kisans, are expected to converge at Lucknow

of 11 formed by the Communist Party includes, among others, Dr. Z. A. Ahmed, Kali Shankar Shukla, Jal Bahadur Singh, M.P., Sarjoo Pandey, M.P., Maulana S. S. Yusuf, M.L.A. and Rustom Satin. It also includes the Western U.P. leader, Shanti Tyagi.

Both the parties have, to begin with, given a call for the enrolment of 10,000 Satyagrahis who would court arrest and go to jail. Both the parties have sent out their representatives to the districts to help streamline preparations for the coming battle. There is little doubt that both the parties will be able to more than fulfil their quotas.

Since its decision earlier to resist anti-people imposts, specially the imposts imposed on the State's rack-rented peasantry, the units of the Communist Party have been holding local meetings and consultations with other parties and groups everywhere.

The Communist Party's line has all along been that all democratic and progressive parties, groups and elements must be approached to join in the common struggle.

At a number of places, such as Ghazipur, Gorakhpur, etc.,

\* SEE PAGE 11

AUGUST 28, 1962

Ever since the Constituent Assembly wrote into the Constitution of the country the principle of secularism, our legislative, executive and judicial organs are supposed to be free from all religious influences.

THEY are supposed to do nothing which will amount to interference in the internal affairs of religious institutions. For, secularism means nothing more or less than a complete ban on the interference of the State into religious affairs and of religious institutions into political and administrative affairs.

Unfortunately, however, these principles have remained on paper. There are innumerable examples of the State being associated with the observance of religious functions.

Representatives of the Government have been publicly identifying themselves with religious functions. One could understand this if they were doing so in their capacity as private citizens.

There are, however, occasions when heads of States, Ministers and other representatives of the Government participate in public functions, such as laying the foundation-stone for a public building, inaugurating a developmental project, etc.

Their participation in such functions is indisputably in their capacity of the posts which they hold, and not in that of private citizens.

These functions are arranged in front of cosmopolitan audiences. Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, etc., as well as those who have no faith in any religion, join these functions. Their faith has nothing to do with their presence at these functions.

### Public Functions And Hindu Religious Rites

Yet, these public functions are accompanied by the performance of Hindu religious rites, such as the offering of Pooja to a Hindu deity, the ceremonial breaking of a cocconut, the lighting of lamps according to Hindu religious custom, etc.

These are sometimes done by the dignitary who is laying the foundation-stone, inaugurating a developmental project, etc. They are also sometimes performed by some priest specially called for the occasion.

There is, therefore, no room for doubt that the rites performed are the religious rites in accordance with the Hindu faith. And yet the authority of the State is associated with them.

These breaches of the principle of secularism have, however, so far been confined to the realm of practice. Even while the symbols and representatives of the state are associated with these religious rites, the state as such is, in theory, considered to be secular. It has, therefore, been a case of contradiction between the theory of secular state written into the Constitution and the day-to-day practice of those who represent that state.

Even this position will not remain if the recommendations reported to have been made by the Hindu Religious Endowments Commission to the Government are accepted and implemented.

For, the various proposals made by the Commission would amount to such a close association between Hindu religious institutions and the legislative, executive and judicial organs of the state as is incompetent with the secular character of the State.

The fact that the Commission came to be constituted by the Government of India itself raises the propriety of that step. For, the secular principle incorporated in the Constitution would not allow the state to associate itself with or interfere in the affairs of religious institutions; how to remove the abuses and malpractices prevalent in their management (if any), etc., are questions which should remain purely within the jurisdiction of the community for whose religious purposes those institutions have been established.

The state would have to deal with these institutions exactly in the same way as it would deal with any other (institutional or individual) owners of property. Was it, therefore, in keeping with the secular spirit of our Constitution that the Government of India appointed a Commission which went into the details of the working of these institutions and made recommendations to the Government on how to improve their management and working?

The recommendations made by the Commission were a logical culmination of the process that started with the appointment of the Commission. If they are accepted and implemented by the Government, it would transform the secular state into the patron of religious institutions and make it participate in their day-to-day working and management.

Among the recommendations made by the Commission are that—

● The Commissioners of Religious Endowments (who will be entrusted with the responsibility of executive administration of the institutions) should be appointed by the State Governors. (To this is, of course, added "in their individual capacity". This however, is meaningless. For the right of appointing Commissioners is not conferred on any private citizen, but on that person who at the moment happens to be the State Governor. It is thus nothing but the utilisation of the authority of the head of the state in the appointment of the most responsible executive officers of religious institutions.)

● The Commissioners thus appointed by the Governor are given the function,

among other things, of "passing orders in cases of dispute relating to the religious usage" of a particular institution. These orders are subject to

the ultimate jurisdiction of a tribunal "consisting of five or more members belonging to the Hindu faith and including at least a judicial person, a senior administrative officer and a person specially conversant with Hindu scriptures and religious practices".

● The state laws should specifically provide for the regulation and control of the activities of the "Pandits"; there should be compulsory registration of the "Pandits"; and disciplinary jurisdiction over them in case of misconduct or extortion should be invariably laid down.

● Every State Government should set up "schools or institutions wherein Archakas, Poojaris and Pandas are given instructions in Agamas, Archana, Pooja, Paddhati rituals, etc., according to a prescribed syllabus with provision for both elementary and advanced training".

All these suggestions relate to amendment of existing legislations or enactment of fresh legislations through which the state institutions and religious institutions will be closely linked together.

This, however, is not all. The Commission proposes a certain amendment of the Constitution with a view to facilitating "the revival and regeneration of the Hindu world, the inauguration of an era of faith and tolerance, the resuscitation and, by all practical and legislative means, re-establishment of the root idea underlying the institution of temples and of mathas".

"We are constrained to observe", the Commission complains, "that the above idea has not always been kept in view either by Governments or by Courts in dealing with affairs of temples and mathas; and we are, therefore, recommending that, even if it be necessary to amend the Constitution for the purpose, steps should be taken to place the matter beyond controversy".

### State And Religion Linked

If the above recommendations of the Commission are accepted and sought to be implemented by the Government, it is obvious, the state will cease to be secular in character. One of the functions of all State Governments would then be to see that religious institutions of a particular community, of the Hindus, are properly managed.

It is true that the Commission recommends that legislation should provide for similar control over the religious institutions of all communities like Muslims, Christians, Parsees, Jews and Sikhs.

# Report Of Hindu Religious Endowments Commission

This recommendation, it may be argued, would if accepted and implemented by the Government, make the state associate itself not with any particular religious community, but with all of them without any discrimination.

Now, it is doubtful whether non-Hindus would like their religious institutions to be managed by executive officers appointed by the Government.

For, in their case, it is not just interference by state into religious affairs, but interference by persons belonging to the majority community into the affairs of minority communities.

But even if non-Hindus do not object and religious institutions belonging to all communities are included, the violation of the secular principle would still remain.

For, secularism does not merely mean a non-discrimi-

atory attitude, but a complete separation between the spiritual and temporal institutions of society.

Right up to the adoption of the new Constitution of India, most of the then princely states were the opposite of the secular state. The rulers of those states exercised not only temporal authority over their subjects, but control over the spiritual life of the religious community to which they belonged. The British rulers of pre-independent India too had exercised some sort of authority over the church of their country.

The recommendations now made by the Religious Endowments Commission would, once again, revive the link between the state administration and religious institutions which was put an end to by the adoption of the new Constitution.

They would make the State Governors combine in their person the position of heads of State as well as supreme authority from whom the executive organs of religious institutions originate.

The executive officers who are to manage these institutions should be appointed not by the State but by the beneficiaries of the trust. With regard to the resources lying at their disposal their utilisation should be governed by appropriate laws and regulations governing the utilisation of resources lying at the disposal of non-religious institutions.

It is by no means impossible to work out legislations on these lines, guaranteeing against all malpractices and providing for the utilisation of idle funds lying at their disposal without associating the state authority with the management of these religious institutions.

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by **E. M. S. Namboodiripad**

to find out whether this can be done.

It, however, appears that the Commission has rejected this. It has come out very strongly against the idea of utilising the resources of these institutions for any thing other than religious purposes.

While thus opposing the utilisation of the financial resources for secular purposes, they at the same time want the state to be associated with the management of religious institutions.

It is, therefore, necessary that the whole question be reconsidered from the point of view of the principle of secularism. Whatever legislation is to be adopted to prevent malpractices and to have proper supervision over the management of these religious institutions should be on the lines of any other legislation governing the working and management of non-religious trust properties.

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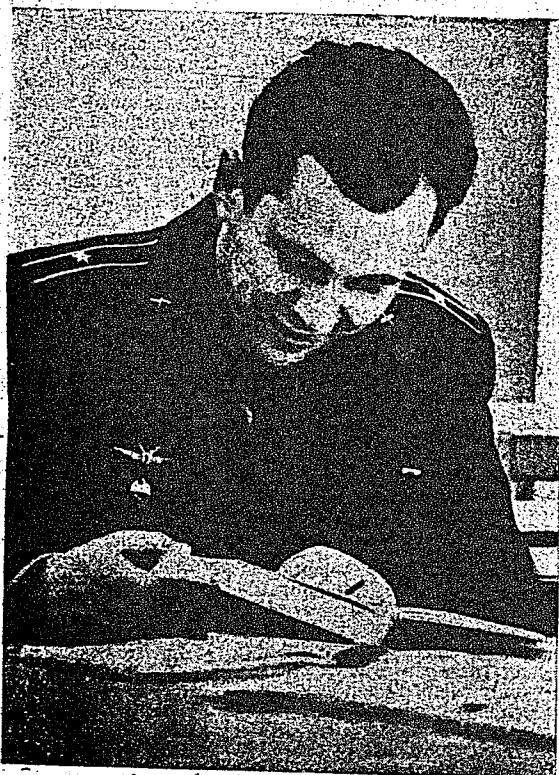
It is by no means impossible to work out legislations on these lines, guaranteeing against all malpractices and providing for the utilisation of idle funds lying at their disposal without associating the state authority with the management of these religious institutions.



# KHRUSHCHOV EXPLAINS SOVIET STAND

Much ink is being wasted these days by editorial writers and commentators on world affairs on speculations regarding the significance of the latest scientific achievement of the Soviet Union for world peace, for the future course of international developments. This sort of thing has happened in the past and it is happening again.

From downright denial of the tremendous significance of the first group flight in space and of Soviet lead in the realm of science generally over the capitalist world, this extends to attempts at sowing panic by representing that the Soviet lead in science bodes ill for world peace. Hints are thrown that the Soviet Union is somehow going to use this lead in order to try to impose its solutions of international problems



Pavel Popovich at Study

on the rest of the world and even to impose the socialist system on other countries.

And this bogey of their own creation is sought to be demolished by Western military and political leaders and commentators who interpret their minds by bragging of Western strength. Those who have proclaimed all these years their desire to be able to dictate to the socialist world from "positions of strength" and who have lately been planning their entire military strategy on the basis of "nuclear strike first", project

the same to the Soviet Union and seek to frighten their own peoples and the rest of the world with some vague sinister Soviet designs.

Khrushchov's speech at the Red Square meeting celebrating the latest Soviet achievement provides ample refutation to these insinuations. Once again the Soviet Premier makes a moving appeal to the statesmen of the world to bring about general and complete disarmament to ensure peace so that the achievements of science may become universal and bring happiness to entire mankind.

In the hour of the latest and biggest Soviet scientific feat, he makes a powerful plea to the leaders of the opposite camp to accept peaceful coexistence of states of different systems and their peaceful competition as the firm principle which would guide international relations in the age of the hydrogen bomb.

He makes once again the most reasonable proposals for the solution of the most explosive international problem—that of West Berlin and European security—only to be told once again by spokesmen of Western Foreign Offices that there is "nothing new" in his proposals.

We give here extracts from Khrushchov's August 18 speech to keep the record straight and help Indian opinion to judge for itself.

We live in an age marked by the unprecedented flourishing of scientific thought, when scientists are penetrating ever more daringly and deeper into seemingly impenetrable, innermost mysteries of nature. In our time the mighty force of science exerts an ever greater influence on the development of production and the entire life of contemporary society.

● If directed towards destruction, this force can bring untold calamities to mankind. If used for peaceful creative purposes, it can and must step up social progress to a tremendous extent.

● In our country of victorious communism, science has been raised to a tremendous height. The Soviet people stint no efforts and means for the development and flourishing of science.

Our latest achievements in the exploration of outer space are of a profoundly peace-loving and genuinely humane nature. And no matter how bourgeois pen-pushers may outdo themselves, they will not be able to prove the opposite.

At the present level of the development of science and technology, all peoples can be happy, can live in peace and be well provided for. To achieve this it is necessary, above all, to maintain and consolidate peace on earth.

We believe that the transition to socialist principles in social affairs would be the greatest happiness for all the peoples of our planet. But the questions related to social system are settled by each people independently. The peoples of all states, irrespective of their socio-political order, need the maintenance and consolidation of peace.

### For Great Benefit To Peoples

Peaceful co-existence, the maintenance and consolidation of peace will be of great

benefit to the peoples. The efforts of the peoples will be directed not towards the creation of means of destruction, but towards the development of the economy, the creation of means of production. It cannot be tolerated that tremendous efforts of the people and colossal expenditures should continue to be used for creating means of extermination, means of destruction, the annihilation of people—the creators of all material and spiritual values.

### We Firmly Stand For Peace

We firmly stand, and will stand, for peace, concentrating our means and forces on peaceful creation, on safeguarding the security of the peoples, on raising the living standards of the working people.

What is needed to safeguard peace? For this purpose not only a correct understanding of the ways of consolidating peace by our people, our state, our government and the governments of the socialist countries is needed. It is necessary that this be also understood by the opponents of socialism, the governments of the countries of capitalism.

The opponents of socialism should understand that no force, no efforts of reactionaries can now bring back the old times of the undivided rule of capital. No one will succeed in liquidating the socialist system in the states where it has triumphed and is successfully developing. It is high time for the representatives of the old world to understand at last the lessons of history.

To enable people to live freely without any worry over the morrow, it is necessary to do everything step-by-step to strengthen peace and achieve general disarmament under strict international control. It is necessary to remove from the road leading to disarmament all roadblocks not yet removed, all obstacles not yet eliminated.

And, above all, it is necessary to put an end to the vestiges of World War II, to sign a German peace treaty. This would furnish a sound foundation for a solution of the disputes which exist and are fraught with the danger of the outbreak of World War III.

### THE GERMAN PROBLEMS

AMONG the ripe but unsolved international problems, there are such urgent ones as the recognition of the two German states and their admission to the United Nations; the liquidation of the occupation regime in West Berlin on the basis of the signing of a German peace

treaty; the liquidation of the NATO military bases in West Berlin, the evacuation of the troops of the Western powers from West Berlin.

Much has changed in the 17 years after the surrender of defeated Nazi Germany, and the right to the presence of the troops of the Western countries in West Berlin has long since assumed a different nature.

The troops of the Western powers are now troops of the aggressive NATO bloc, and the revenge-seeking forces of Western Germany are becoming the mailed fist of these troops. That is why the imperialists cling so tenaciously to the presence of their troops in West Berlin. They want no peace, no disarmament and are building up forces for another war.

The representatives of the Western powers are assuring in every way that they stand for peace, for disarmament. But how can one square these assurances with the fact that they are preserving the occupation regime in West Berlin, are girding the socialist states with NATO military bases? They need all this not for peace, but for the preparation of another war.

### Social System—Peoples' Choice

The imperialists are shouting that the occupation troops are allegedly necessary to enable the West Berliners to keep their socio-political system. This is an obvious lie, because no one is encroaching on this system which exists in West Berlin, no one is threatening it.

We have declared more than once and declare again that we recognize the rights of all people to choose their socio-political system, that we have not intervened and will never intervene in the affairs of other states. The Soviet Government has repeatedly declared that the West Berliners are guaranteed the choice of such socio-political system that the West Berlin population wants to have.

The population of West Berlin, of course, must have normal communications with all countries of the world.

The imperialists assert that for a free choice of their social system the West Berlin population needs guarantees in the form of the presence of occupation troops. We regard this as an absurd argument. We agree to guarantees, but these guarantees must be ensured by the signing of a peace treaty.



Left to right: Gherman Titov, Yuri Gagarin, N. S. Khrushchov, Andrian Nikolayev and Pavel Popovich at the Mausoleum Stand, Red Square, on August 18

and the Netherlands under which West Irian, in May 1963, will be transferred to Indonesian administration, thus putting an end to the colonial domination by the Netherlands in Indonesia.

### Only Way—Peaceful Solution

These two instances eloquently show that international problems can and must be solved not through the threats of another war, but through a peaceful settlement. The Soviet Union has always supported and supports such a solution of intricate problems, regarding this approach as the only right one, consistent with the interests of peace.

We believe that the problems of the signing of a German peace treaty, the admission of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations; the establishment of the status of a free city of West Berlin, could be solved by following such a pattern. This would make a big contribution to the strengthening of the cause of peace, would create favourable conditions for talks on the main issue which concerns all mankind—the question of general disarmament under strict international control.

### Effective Results Possible

Recent experience has shown that, given a desire to solve intricate international problems on the basis of co-operation, and given mutual consideration for the interests of all sides, such co-operation produces its results. In this context I should like to cite two instances.

● For a long time the events in Laos threatened to develop into a major war. Positive results in an adjustment of the Laotian problem, as is well known, have been recently achieved.

● No less acute, fraught with war, was the question of West Irian. In the last few days an agreement was reached between Indonesia



Nikolayev and Popovich with N. S. Khrushchov at Vnukovo airport. Natasha Popovich, happy and proud, is holding the hand of the Soviet Premier.

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# Beyond Arctic Circle

★ Masood Ali Khan

(FROM PREVIOUS ISSUE)

Why do people live here at all? Why do they go to settle down on this "edge of the world" and face such harsh climatic conditions of the Arctic region? How could Murmansk grow into such a big city and an industrial and cultural centre of the north?

ONE of the main reasons is the fishing industry, of which, I have spoken before. The catch that the huge fishing fleet brings all the year round to Murmansk needs a big industrial base to deal with it, and huge shipping yards are needed for the upkeep of the fleet, and transport is required to send the fish to the interior, and a subsidiary industry grows for the welfare of those who work in the other sectors.

There are the material incentives which I mentioned earlier—the 150 per cent bonus and the 10 per cent increase every year which comes to two or three times the earning in other areas etc.

## Romance Of The North

And there is the "romance of the north", a sense of adventure and courage in doing what the country and the people need, a pride in being at the most difficult economic front for the good of the socialist motherland, building communism even here in the polar regions.

And even the nomads of the icy-north, the Saami, Komi, Nentsi, Chukchi, Koryaki, who had been leading a primitive life, have now jumped over all the intermediate stages of social development and are going into Communist society along with all the other Soviet people.

And the Tundra lands were found to be concealing rich treasures which could be profitably used for building the country. Here on the Kola Peninsula the geologists found the valuable mineral apatite, "the stone of fertility" rich in phosphorus, 90 per cent of the world's known deposits of which are here.

It is a big item of export too. Apatite is one of the best sources of phosphorus fertilisers and is used in metallurgy etc. Nefeline which is the raw material for the production of aluminium, glass, dyes and enamel, and iron and copper and nickel—all these riches awaited under the ice and snow for millions of years for the Soviet man to arrive.

The world of vegetation in the north is a study in itself, and the botanical gardens at Kirovsk on the Kola peninsula are the northernmost in the world, I was told.

northern hemisphere. It has a big influence on the climate of Europe and Asia so far south as the Ukraine and the Black Sea, and Siberia and Central Asia, and Canada on the other side.

Thus the study of the arctic is very important for many reasons. What happens in the arctic, influences weather conditions in huge areas and has direct economic consequences. Agricultural planning is possible only if the weather conditions are known in advance.

And better knowledge of the arctic would make possible longterm weather forecasts for the period of a few months and even years. For this purpose it is necessary to know the processes of the formation of the arctic ice, laws of the drift of ice-fields, characters of the flow of water between the Atlantic and the Pacific through the central regions of the arctic study the make-up of the arctic atmosphere and a lot more.

The Soviet Union has a big plan for the study of the arctic and has done much in this field. Soviet scientists and explorers go out far into the north to establish observation posts and meteorological stations on the drifting ice-floes of the Arctic Ocean.

## Manned

### Research Stations

Some of the stations are manned by courageous explorers who live out there isolated from the world for months and send information regularly by radio, do valuable research work and keep constant watch in the arctic. There are innumerable automatic stations, too, which send meteorological information all the time to the centres inland.

The legendary flights of Chapayev and Gromov across the Pole to America, the first drifting station of Papanin and his comrades on the ice of the Arctic Ocean, when they spent nine months there and drifted from the Pole to the south-eastern shores of Greenland for more than two thousand kilometres, and the series of such manned stations (the "North Pole" series) which came later, all this has been a part of the storming of the arctic by Russia which has been going on for quite some time.

One of the important steps in the conquest of the arctic regions has been the opening up of the great northern sea route to the east. Lomonosov had dreamed of ships sailing through the ice of the north along the arctic coast line, and a famous Russian admiral, S. Makarov had declared that Russia looks northward, with her facade on the arctic sea, and it must not be reduced to a back-door.

The Tsars did little to open up the northern route. Only during the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5 when the Baltic fleet had to be sent to Vladivostok to reinforce the Russian navy there and took a long time reaching the far east round Europe, through the Mediterranean and Suez, across the Indian Ocean into the Pacific, only then its importance was realised.

The distance from Archangelsk to Vladivostok sailing east is 1,237 kilometres, and from Leningrad to Vladivostok by sea is 23,700 kilometres

or more than double of the northern sea route.

Secondly, all the great Siberian rivers flow into the Arctic Ocean thus forming a natural outlet for transport in that direction. River transport is cheapest too and so, for the development of the great natural resources and mineral wealth of Siberia, the northern route acquired more and more significance.

The timber, gold, nickel, lead, coal and fur of Siberia, sometimes found in areas far from railways, can be best taken out by rivers and by way of the northern sea route, and needed supplies also come the same way.

Earlier many brave people had tried to conquer the northern route, many expeditions were sent, and ships got ice-bound and had to wait for months for summer to release them from the grip of ice. Individual attempts could not succeed here, the resources and backing of the whole state were needed for a task like this. And only in Soviet times this became possible.

Powerful ships were needed which could cut through the ice and avoid getting stranded in the winter in the arctic seas. Their armour had to be strong so that they were not crushed by the tremendous force of moving fields of ice. The ice-breakers were the answer, ships which could lead caravans of other ships, making way for them in the ice and coming to their aid whenever required.

(To be continued)

In 1932 the first ship went all the way along the northern sea route from Archangelsk to Vladivostok in one navigation. It was a Soviet ice-breaker Sibiriyakov. Two years later regular navigation on the route began.

But the hazards of the journey were still great. In 1937, for example, 26 ships including a number of ice-breakers were caught in the ice and had to spend the whole winter there. More power and better ships were needed.

In 1954, 3 powerful diesel-electric ships and 3 ice-breakers were ready. The 20th Congress of the CPSU decided that an ice-breaker with atomic energy be built and the 16,000 ton "Lenin" with engines producing 44,000 horse power was built in 1959.

The stronger the ice-breaker, the earlier in summer it opens navigation on the northern sea route, and can keep the way clear longer before winter sets in. This is of great economic advantage not only for the country's internal transport but also for foreign trade, for many foreign ships visit the northern ports for the valuable timber and other produce of Siberia. And here, in increasing the navigation period the atomic ship plays a decisive role.

## Bhilai Fulfils Its Promise

The following joint Indo-Soviet Communiqué on the achievement by the Bhilai Steel Works of its rated capacity was issued in New Delhi on August 13:

THE Agreement for the construction of an integrated steel works at Bhilai for the production of one million tons of steel, which is an outstanding example of Indo-Soviet co-operation in the economic field and a symbol of Indo-Soviet friendship, was signed on February 2, 1955.

This Agreement was implemented fully and in good time due to the close co-operation between the two Governments and the devotion and purposefulness of the Soviet and Indian experts. The Bhilai Steel Works was completed with a capacity of one million tons of ingot steel per annum and a Joint Communiqué was issued to that effect on March 3, 1961.

It is a matter of great satisfaction to both the Soviet and the Indian parties that the Bhilai Works has achieved, in the first half of 1962, the installed capacity for which the plant and equipment were designed, while in some shops even that capacity has been exceeded. This is a significant event in the economic life of India which has been made possible by the friendly co-operation between the Soviet specialists and Indian engineers, technicians and operatives at the plant, with whom the Soviet specialists have fully shared their technical experience and knowledge. It is a matter of justifiable pride that the Indian specialists and

workers within a short space of time, mastered the full productive capacity of the plant with the help of their Soviet colleagues and are successfully working the equipment with all its complex technology.

Work is under way for the expansion of the Bhilai Steel Works to the capacity of 2.5 million tons of steel per annum with Soviet assistance. It is expected that the expansion of Bhilai Steel Works which is being carried out according to the Agreement will further strengthen the economy of India and will be completed in scheduled time.

## NEW AGE

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AUGUST 26, 1962

# WORLD APPLAUDS SOVIET FEAT

Nikolayev and Popovich were given a tremendous reception at Red Square of Moscow on August 18 by the Soviet People. All the four Soviet Cosmonauts were present at the ceremony. They were received by Soviet Prime Minister Khrushchov and other high-ranking Government officials.

Meanwhile the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government in Moscow are receiving numerous messages from statesmen of different countries, expressing congratulations on the occasion of the successful launching in the USSR of the two spaceships and the exploit of the Soviet Cosmonauts Nikolayev and Popovich.

They include messages from the leaders of the People's Republic of China—Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Communist Party of China, Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and Chou En-lai, Premier of the Government Council. "In connection with this the Chinese people feel boundless enthusiasm," this message reads in part.

The leaders of the Hungarian People's Republic Istvan Dobi and Janos Kadar in a message to Leonid Brezhnev and Nikita Khrushchov wish further successes in space exploration.

On behalf of the Mongolian people, Y. Tsendenbal, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic, greets the Soviet people.

Ho Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, sent a cordial message to Khrushchov.

## Message From Cuba

A warm message was received from the Cuban leaders—President Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado and Prime Minister Fidel Castro.

On behalf of all population of the GDR the peoples of the Soviet Union are congratulated by Walter Ulbricht and Otto Grotewohl on the occasion of the new scientific achievement—the first group space flight and the heroic deed of the brave Soviet cosmonauts.

Josif Broz Tito, President of Yugoslavia, also acclaims the Soviet people's new achievement in outer space.

A congratulatory message was also received from the people, the Party and Government of Guinea. It was sent by Sekou Toure.

Prime Minister of Italy, Amintore Fanfani, conveys cordial congratulations from the Italian Government and himself personally.

AUGUST 26 1962

of the Soviet Union in this field are nothing but "clever Soviet propaganda tricks."

Naturally, they have nothing to say now.

The Sunday issue of the Washington Daily News made

General Ne Win, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Union of Burma, conveys congratulations on behalf of the Revolutionary Government and the people of Burma.

Habib Bourgiba, President of the Republic of Tunisia, points out in his message that the brave Soviet cosmonauts, as well as the Soviet scientists and technicians, are making a decisive contribution to science, to the cause of world peace and man's progress.

Messages were also received from Mohammed Zahir Shah, the King of Afghanistan, and Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana.

While the US President has sent a congratulatory message, American press openly declares that gloom reigns in Washington.

"The President greeted the feat, the capitol dejected over Soviet superiority," reads the headline over a New York Times dispatch on official Washington reaction to Vostok III and Vostok IV flights.

## Surprise To United States

The launching of two spaceships by the Soviet Union within 24 hours came as a complete surprise to Washington officials who, according to the New York Times, believe that Russians were using only one launching ramp for such flights and that the preparations for launching a second ship would take some time.

Dejection reigns, the correspondent writes, also in NASA headquarters.

The Congressmen are playing mum. To judge by teletype tapes of American news agencies, not a single Senator had uttered a word about their attitude to Vostok III and Vostok IV flights. Usually most verbose, where Soviet "shortcomings" are concerned, the Congressmen obviously cannot get over the state of shock and dejection into which they have been plunged by the events of the past three days.

And how could it be otherwise! Is it not a fact that in recent weeks many of the people of the Washington Capitol, on the basis of "reliable information" supplied by Pentagon and other government agencies, made public statements of quite a different sort. The Russians, they contended, are not too far ahead of the United States in space flights and rocketry in general. All the talk about the tremendous achievements

itself a laughing stock. The newspaper printed the report on the launching of Vostok III under the heading "Russians claim they orbited third man."

"Space twins"—under this headline today's Washington Post and Times Herald published an editorial on the flights of Soviet spaceships. By any yardstick, the newspaper writes, the orbiting of two spaceships at such a close distance that the astronauts can see each other's ships and communicate with each other by radio, is a wonderful achievement.

This fact, the newspaper notes, indicates that Soviet conquerors of space have achieved a high degree of accuracy in the launching of their spaceships. Scientists have concluded, the editorial article goes on, that this suc-

cessful enterprise has brought the Soviet Union much nearer to sending a man to the Moon. The flight of Soviet space twins, the editorial stresses, requires great courage as well as technical skill. The scientists who developed the spaceships and prepared the cosmonauts who are flying in them deserve to be congratulated cordially.

In an article entitled "Can the United States Catch Up in the Race to Moon?" the New York Post writes that most Western scientists believe that the United States is now two years behind the Russians in the race to put a man on the Moon.

The New York World Telegram and Sun printed a similar article entitled: Lag in Space Again; Reds Two Years ahead of us.

## Preparations For State-Wide Satyagraha

★ FROM PAGE SIX

it has already set up with others joint committees and action councils for the struggle. Hundreds of more such committees are expected to be formed in the rural areas in the coming weeks.

But, the Communist Party has taken care to scrupulously exclude the Jana Sangh and similar elements from these committees and councils. In its resolution on struggle the State Council of the CPI has again made its position on this question abundantly clear. The resolution, inter alia, says:

"The State Council of the CPI is fully aware that there is opposition to the enhancement of taxes from another direction also. The Jana Sangh and the Swatantra Party, which have declared their opposition to any planned development of the country, are also trying to utilise the widespread discontent of our people to further their own nefarious anti-people policies.

"The State Council regards their opposition to the increase of taxes motivated by reactionary and anti-national intentions.

## UP State Council Outlines Policy

"The State Council of the CPI is therefore of the firm opinion that the reactionary representatives of the ex-Rajas, ex-zamindars and big capitalists who constitute the leaderships of these parties have no place in the united struggle of the people against taxes."

The Party has announced that it will have no joint committees or joint demonstrations, etc., with these communal and reactionary organisations. Addressing a press conference immediately after the State Council meeting, Dr. Ahmed made it even more clear.

Appealing for joint agita-

tion by the opposition parties (the PSP and the SP along with the CPI) in the State, Dr. Ahmed said that "the only condition his party would like to lay down was that the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra Party should not be included in such a joint front." (Statesman, August 12)

The Party has further made it clear that C. B. Gupta's propaganda that the CPI is against the Plan is not only utterly false, but against national interests.

The Party is being, in fact, forced to go into struggle because it wants the Plan to be successfully implemented, because it wants the State and the country to develop and grow strong.

These are the two bogies that have been raised by C.B. Gupta and others of his ilk.

So far as the common people and the kisans are concerned, they have no misunderstanding about any of these things and they have now made up their minds to go into the struggle.

The Socialist Party is still involved in its own problems of what to do and what not to do (having squandered a lot of its fighting stamina in adventurous and stupid go-it-

alone campaigns and struggles) and is found issuing contradictory statements and indulging in illogical actions, but it is hoped that it will ultimately fall in line with the other two socialist parties of the State and throw its weight in the joint crusade against the satanic taxes.

There are undoubtedly elements in the PSP too, as there have always been, who are disruptive and insanely anti-communist. But notwithstanding them, the movement for joint struggle is going forward and there seems to be no power which will be able to stop it—such is the swing of the people.

The people are irrevocably poised for struggle now. Only the abandonment of the proposed taxes will be able to prevent them from going into one of the biggest movements this cradle of so many peasant movements has seen.

The agitated debates, quarrels, walkouts, suspensions and the no-confidence resolution that was moved in the State Assembly on August 10 and discussed on August 11 and 13—all these have to be seen in the background of the rising tempo of the people's movement. They are the first skirmishes of the struggle.

(August 16)

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# Anniversary Of Berlin Anti-Fascist Wall

From P. Kunhanandan Nair

**BERLIN, August 18:** THIS week, as the whole world was watching with excitement two Soviet cosmonauts blazing the heavenly path in history's first group flight in outer space, in Berlin imperialist inspired revanchist organisations marked the first anniversary of the anti-fascist wall with intensified violence and provocations launched from the front line city on the other side of the wall. 185 miles southwest of Berlin, on the GDR frontier with West Germany, an officer of the GDR frontier guards was shot dead by FRG (West German) frontier police who violated the border.

But Berliners, who were called upon by West German leaders to "demonstrate their protest" against the erection of the anti-fascist defence wall, largely ignored them and flocked to woods and lakes in the holiday resorts on the outskirts of Berlin tuning transistors for spacehip news.

Willy Brandt, West Berlin Lord Mayor and West German President Heinrich Lübke had asked Berliners to observe "minutes of silence" on 13th noon. In order to achieve this silence of protest, West Berlin authorities and monopolists stopped the public traffic run by them at noon. But there were thousands of private cars and vehicles plying on the streets not heeding to the call of silence.

When the authorities found the call was not responded to, they ordered police to switch off traffic lights and signals and give no clearance to racing vehicles. In this way a partial realisation of the "protest" was achieved.

## A Big Flop

The organisers of protest also called upon the people to keep off the streets between eight and nine in the evening to "observe an hour of protest". But in Berlin normally most people are indoors at this hour looking at television or in cinemas, listening to radios or minding their own business and private affairs at home.

In short there was no mass upsurge as claimed to be seen by Western politicians and the protest call was a big flop.

Peace-loving citizens of Berlin who hate war and wish to live without shooting and killing, wall or no wall, passed their Monday evening pleasantly and calmly without giving any heed to provocations.

Yet unlike common Berliners, leaders of the West, Dean Rusk, and retired General Clay from United States, Willy Brandt and West German President Lübke in West Berlin, made war-like speeches on this day inciting people against GDR and its legal frontiers. To participate personally in this provocation Lübke paid a state visit to West Berlin, illegally crossing GDR terri-

tory, misusing the air corridor granted only to service allied troops in West Berlin. Herr Leubke has been a war profiteer, a partner and superintendent of a Berlin firm under Hitler, had enriched himself (according to an ADN report) on the construction of great armament plants directed under Hitler's chief armament architect Minister Albert Speer. Now as President of West German militarist state this former captain of a fascist army battalion wants to unify Berlin under him "by force if necessary".

Inspired by provocative speeches and broadcasts of Western leaders, fascist organisations operating in West Berlin indulged in an orgy of violence against the state frontiers of the GDR. On the morning of August 13 a group of West Berlin youth in uniforms resembling the banned Hitler youth organisations began throwing stones across the wall from the French occupied sector.

Three bogies of GDR suburban train running through West Berlin were set fire to. A West Berlin correspondent

Propaganda vehicles of West Berlin fascist organisations fitted with powerful loudspeakers approached check points and broadcasted provocative messages to East Berlin asking the people to revolt against the socialist State.

Unemployed hooligans hired by Western revanchist organisations, hurled soda water bottles across the border at GDR guards protecting state frontiers. 24 men were injured.

At Bernauer Street, West Berlin police opened tear gas fire on East Berlin guards.

The Soviet Intourist (Travel Agency) in West Berlin was attacked.

Stone throwing across the border by organised provocateurs destroyed more than a hundred street lamps in East Berlin.

Three bogies of GDR suburban train running through West Berlin were set fire to. A West Berlin correspondent

of the GDR news agency, ADN, who was collecting on the spot reports was arrested by West Berlin police. His camera with exposed films of West Berlin provocations and diary were confiscated by West Berlin police. He was let off only in the evening.

Provocateurs had planned disorders in a big way on August 13. But the breath-taking news of the Soviet cosmonauts spinning on orbit dominated the radio, TV and newspapers even in West Berlin. Everyone, no matter whether he or she supported or opposed the wall was so happy and overjoyed, none was bothering at all about repeated calls and exhortations of West German leaders asking people to demonstrate against the wall.

The stern warning given by GDR, an urgent meeting of Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin in Washington with Secretary of State Dean Rusk that morning and powerful defence measures taken to strengthen the state frontiers had helped to prevent provocative violence of fascist organisations from flaring up into a major armed clash in Berlin on the first anniversary of the defence wall.

Next day a very serious incident happened on the East-West German frontier. On August 14 West German frontier guards violated the bor-

der, entered GDR territory and shot dead an officer of GDR border guard in Viesendorf village, 185 miles away from Berlin. According to reports reaching here, on 14th early morning West German frontier police forced their way to GDR territory, were challenged immediately by East German border guards. This time two West German policemen went back. Again they came after having some consultations with a civilian who was giving instructions to them. The GDR border guards again challenged them. Immediately one of the West German policemen opened fire from his sub-machine gun hitting Captain Rudi Armstadt of GDR police and killing him. Only the calm and sober-minded behaviour of GDR border guards prevented an armed clash of unpredictable consequences.

Deputy Foreign Minister of GDR Paul Wandel in a vigorous protest note to FRG Government denied Western reports that the fire was first opened by GDR police. He said that maps and photographs of the frontier incident clearly showed that the attack was deliberate and the Western guard opened fire after entering GDR territory. The Deputy Minister warned against serious consequences of repetition of such acts and demanded punishment for those who had committed the crime.

## A Whole Series Of Scientific Wonders

# Reason For Soviet Successes

How is it that the Soviet Union has been the first to achieve a whole series of scientific wonders, latest of these being the first group flight in space. It has a profound connection with the social system that has taken firm root in the Soviet Union.

Speaking of this at the celebration meeting held in Moscow's Red Square on August 18, to welcome space-heroes, Flier-Cosmonauts Andrian Nikolayev and Pavel Popovich, Soviet Premier N. S. Khrushchov had the following to say:

The source of our successes is the socialist system, the socialist mode of economy, the socialist structure of our state.

The Soviet people know that all the successes in the development of their country, its economy, science, and culture are inseparably linked with the name of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, with the efforts of the Communist Party he had created.

**LENIN** had accomplished the most daring flight in the future that a human being could effect. In 1917 he advanced the slogan of the socialist revolution, the slogan of overthrowing capitalism and establishing the power of the working class; of the working people, he advanced the slogan of struggle for peace and happiness of the peoples.

Yes, it was an unfathomable flight of a genius's thought, broad scope of revolutionary action, based on deep faith in the people, in their creative potentialities, their inexhaustible might.

The October Revolution unfettered the peoples, who were shackled by the old system. As a result of the victory scored by the Socialist Revolution, the people have become masters of their destinies. Under the leadership of the Communist Party they transformed the once backward country, rebuilt the entire life of society on new socialist principles, ensured a mighty upswing of the

economy, science, technology and culture.

We have made such a huge stride forward, we have achieved such heights, that even the enemies of communism are compelled to speak of the Soviet Union's successes, of its grandeur.

The Soviet Union has achieved these successes in a historically short space of time—in only 45 years. What is more, many years of this period were spent on wars, which had in no way contributed to national development, but, on the contrary, devastated the country's economy, throttled our advance.

## No Riddle Behind Success

In connection with the new flight of the cosmonauts, many representatives of the capitalist world again ask the question these days: why was this done first by the Soviet people, by the Soviet Union? Some believe this to be a riddle. Don't look for riddles,

gentlemen, there are none.

The Soviet Union was the first to do this because it had embarked first on the road of socialist construction. It was the first to overthrow the capitalist system; it had developed broad opportunities for every Soviet man and woman to put into play their talents, their movements.

The Soviet people heaved a deep breath, squared their mighty shoulders, and showed their tremendous strength. Our country has not only caught up, but outstripped many countries, which formerly regarded themselves as advanced nations. They did not even allow for a minute that the peoples of former tsarist Russia could achieve after the Revolution such brilliant heights in their development.

The great achievements of the Soviet Union in the building-up of socialism and communism show the strength of our ideas, the strength of Marxism-Leninism. Our people have been and are being brought up and are being brought up on these noble ideas. The Hero-Cosmonauts Gagarin, Titov, Nikolayev and Popovich are worthy sons of our people—the builders of communism—worthy sons of our great Leninist Party.

And today, when we fetter our cosmonauts, our scientists and designers, engineers and workers, in connection with the new victory, we are fully aware that their triumph, their glory, is achieved, thanks to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the ideas and genius of our great Lenin.

Warning against complacency and conceit, Khrushchov said: Celebrating the new victo-

ries, we must not become conceited, we must not rest on our oars. We know that there are still many difficulties ahead of us. We have to accomplish many things yet in order to raise still higher the living standards of the people. The Soviet people understand this well, they realise that the country now possesses all the means necessary to solve this task.

We must only muster still better our efforts and work, work-and-work in order to fulfil the great Programme adopted by the 22nd Party Congress.

High level of organisation, clear awareness, perseverance and persistence in our work will permit us to carry out the envisaged plans in a short space of time.

Let the various capitalist fortune-tellers croak, the fortune-tellers who raise such a noise when some shortcomings appear in our practical work. There were quite a number of such fortune-tellers after the October Revolution! Where are they now? They have been swept into the dustbin of history.

And our country is confidently advancing along the Leninist road—it is developing, growing, stronger and gaining ever new strength, multiplying its wealth, staggering and surprising the world by its discoveries and victories. And our people, our country will work even greater wonders!

All nations have great talents. The point is only to create conditions for tapping these talents; to use the creative forces of one and all in the interests of the peoples, in the interests of progress and peace.

## CPI NATIONAL COUNCIL DEMANDS

# Reversal Of Present Price Policy

The Council's resolution demanding reversal of present price policy reads as follows:

**THE National Council of the Communist Party of India** expresses its grave concern over the spiralling prices of food grains and other articles of daily use of the common people. During the last three months alone, wholesale prices of these articles have risen by four per cent. Retail prices have risen still more.

This never-ending rise in prices depresses the living standards of the people on the one hand and enriches a handful of speculators and profiteers and monopolists on the other; it increases the cost of our Plan projects, makes even the inadequate targets of our Plan difficult to realise and breeds apathy and indifference among the people to the Plan itself.

The National Council is amazed at the apathy of the Congress Government towards the hardships and privations of the people due to this price rise. Many of the ministers, who during the elections, expressed concern over the rising prices have changed their tune after the elections. They proclaim that price rises are inevitable in a developing economy.

## Price Rise Not Inevitable

The National Council declares that price rises are not inevitable in a really democratically planned economy. The enormous rise in prices is due to the fact that in the decisive spheres of economy and especially in the vast field of production and circulation of consumer goods affecting the basic needs of the people, it is not the state sector but the private profiteering interests of the monopolists, bankers, landlords and speculators are in control.

The prices of such essential goods as cloth or sugar have not risen because, as is alleged, wages have risen. In fact the proportion of wage cost in the total has been falling. The cost of food has not risen because the agricultural workers or peasant cultivators are getting more for their work and produce.

Prices of these essentials of life are rising because of the grip of the big monopoly interests, the bankers, landlords and profiteers who control the major lines of production and the market.

Large landholdings lying still in the hands of big landlords, the grip of moneylenders on the peasant producers and the hold of the banking interests on the wholesale markets not only prevents the peasants getting a fair price for their products and labour; it dictates the high price of food and raw materials to the country as a whole. The private ownership of banks placing vast assets in the hands of a few rich groups facilitates these operations still further.

Instead of breaking this monopoly, when the Government in the name of gathering resources for the plan schemes of development im-

poses heavy excise duties and sales taxes, it further worsens the situation, enables the capitalist market to shoot up prices and fleece the consumers.

Foreign monopoly capital operating in important fields like oil, mining, engineering, jute, etc. is allowed to export its vast profits, dictate their prices of supplies to us even in such essential things as drugs and medicines. This also has its large share in the rise of prices.

The National Council declares that only by reversing these policies and by thoroughgoing land reforms, by Government taking over the big banks and foreign trade and by resorting to state trading in foodgrains and essential articles of consumption, can the prices be stabilised and continuous improvement in the living standards of the people be ensured.

Reactionary parties like the Swatantra Party and others seek to utilise the discontent of the masses over the price rise to push forward their reactionary programme. They allege that the price rise can be arrested not by a reversal of the basic policies of the Government but by giving up planning itself. The Communist Party warns the people that the slogan of these parties would lead to unrestricted exploitation of the people by the monopolists, landlords, and profiteers and not to arresting the price spiral.

The National Council demands the following immediate urgent steps to relieve the people:

(1) Supply by the Government of rice, millets and wheat through a wide network of fair price shops at the rate

of one shop for every 500 families. Similar arrangement to be made in rural areas also wherever necessary at rates within the reach of the poor and middle class people. Government to procure foodgrains from landlords and hoarders.

(2) Prices of all essential articles of consumption to be fixed by Government and these articles to be supplied from the cheap price shops to the people.

(3) Minimum price for the agricultural produce to be fixed and ensured to the peasants by Government undertaking to purchase them at the price whenever offered by the peasants at convenient places.

(4) With a view to encourage the peasants to grow more food Government should assist them by supply of agricultural implements and fertilisers at even subsidised rates and by provision of cheap credit for agricultural families. All big landlord families to be denied such Government assistance.

(5) Abolition of taxes on foodgrains and other essential articles of consumption by common people.

People all over the country have been struggling during the last several years in various ways against the policies of the Government which have led to the phenomenon of spiralling prices and the Communist Party in various states has led many of these struggles on its own or in co-operation with other parties and organisations.

The fact that the Government still persists in these policies and refuses to take any effective steps for bringing down prices is a proof of the grip of the profiteering sections over the Government. Nonetheless, this very apathy of the Government has led

to still more resistance of the people to these policies. The announcement this year of the Central and State Government's budget proposals of heavy taxation and the consequent increase in prices was marked by struggles, demonstrations and movements in several States.

The National Council is of the opinion that it is an

urgent task of the democratic movement to launch an all-India campaign for the realisation of the urgent and immediate demands stated above and for a general reversal of Government's policies and directs the Secretariat to work out appropriate forms of this campaign in consultation with State Councils.

# Communist Murdered

From Our Correspondent

A Communist worker, Shamsuddin, was shot dead by the police on August 14 at 5 p.m. in front of his house in Doharra, Lalitpur division in Jhansi District and his brother Ramzan badly wounded by bayonet.

The Communist Party unit of Lalitpur took out the funeral procession with red flag dipped in front and another covering his body, in which even his opponents, Congressmen, contractors and all the prominent persons took part. In the night the Party under the presidentship of Chanching, Secretary District Council of Jhansi, held a public meeting which was largely attended. Through a resolution they expressed great sorrow and demanded the arrest of the policemen involved, in the matter.

The police officers and the magistrate of Lalitpur went to Doharra and arrested the policemen and put them under jail lock-up.

The story behind this murder is strange. Shamsuddin's brother has a mill for grinding flour. On August 14 there

was some rush in the mill. Two policemen went there to get their wheat ground. But in their haughtiness they started to quarrel and to tease women workers of the mill. Anyhow the matter subsided and they went back with their flour. But after that they returned with their arms and attacked the two brothers in their home killing Shamsuddin. Ramzan was also badly wounded.

Shamsuddin was member of the District Council of Jhansi unit of the CP. He was loved and known all over for his selfless service to the cause of the labourers. He was friend of the exploited masses. He took part in the social activities of the village, who gathered in hundreds at his house to pay condolence with their tears to the bereaved family. He has left behind a widow and seven children.

During enquiry a woman with tears in her eyes told Shaker Ali Khan, M.L.A., "Our Kumbhakaran will not rise again". Shamsuddin had taken part in the Ramllia and acted as Kumbhakaran.

# Production Cut In Telco Due To Dependence On West Germans

From Our Correspondent

**JAMSHEDPUR:** The production of diesel trucks and buses at Telco has recently been cut down to 850 per month from 1,000. The plea trotted out for this cut by the management was the alleged non-availability of imported components due to restrictions in foreign exchange.

THIS cut has directly affected about 3,000 workers employed in the automobile section of Telco and compelled them to remain idle for one day in every week. The reduction in output has affected the transport industry as well, besides offsetting the meagre income of workers vis-a-vis the ever increasing prices of commodities.

The reason given by the management, though, it sounds quite plausible on the face of it, hides a vital fact. It is that the West German associates of Telco, Messrs. Daimler-Benz, despite their ten years association with the project, never helped Telco to set up a full-fledged unit to produce all the components of the motor trucks and buses.

It is also understood that though a number of indigenous components are otherwise available in Indian market, the West German firm continued to supply these parts and thereby took away a considerable sum of money in foreign exchange.

It is surprising that though Telco manufactures all the 38 items of iron castings necessary for automobile manufacture, the full potential of its plant is not utilised. Even while cylinder blocks or heads, oil cooler etc. are progressively being manufactured in Telco, the German collaborators insist on goods being imported from Germany. Similarly out of 22 items of malleable casting, necessary

for automobile manufacture, 12 items are available in our country and so also all the 3 items of aluminium castings. But all these castings are imported from Germany.

Same is the case with regard to the 127 items of forgings required for automobiles.

Even in the case of sheets and plates, which can be easily manufactured at Rourkela; or the pipes and tubes, which can be manufactured in Indian Tube Company; or the sparing flats which India produces in plenty and so on, Telco has to depend on German supply and in 1961-62 alone, it has purchased material worth Rs. 2.2 crores from West Germany.

The Telco plant, insofar as manufacture of automobile parts is concerned, is almost entirely under the control of West German engineers. The Indian engineers are not allowed to take up any operation on their own. If a machine requires even a minor change, the German engineers do not allow the Indian engineers to handle it. Consequently, new lines of produc-

tion or change in design, etc. cannot be undertaken.

Now the chairman of Telco, J. B. D. Tata, has meant the "parity of foreign exchange", which is presently about 35% of the entire foreign exchange allotted to the automobile industry as a whole by the Government of India, but he forgets to state that for this infantile stage of Telco plant, his German friends themselves are responsible.

Kedar Das, President of Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union in the course of a statement has explained that the amount of foreign exchange allotted to Telco was quite sufficient and it was imperative in the interest of nation that indigenous production of these imported items be started at the earliest. And with that end in view, it is necessary that a probe be made into the affairs of the automobile section of Telco by a committee composed of, among others, members of Parliament.

Meanwhile the cut in production should also be restored.



# Consequences Of Personality Cult

people, launch a broad mass struggle outside Parliament, smash the resistance of the reactionary forces and provide the necessary conditions for a peaceful socialist revolution.

Further, it also notices the possibility of a non-peaceful transition to socialism where the exploiting classes resort to violence. It correctly states: "Leninism maintains and historical experience confirms that the ruling classes do not yield power of their own free will. Hence the degree of bitterness of the class struggle and the forms it takes will depend not so much on the proletariat as on the strength of the reactionary groups' resistance to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people and on the use of force by these at a particular stage of the struggle for socialism".

On the question of transition to socialism, the advanced sections of the working-class need to properly assimilate in its entirety the conclusions of the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and of the Moscow Statement of 1960.

The position taken by the CPSU and the international Communist movement on these questions is thus not a negation of the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism with regard to class struggle, mass action as the only means of bringing about social changes, the class character of the state, necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, etc. On the contrary, it is a creative application of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism in the new historical context.

## Transition Less Painful Than Before

What the CPSU and the international Communist movement does is to point out that, in respect of all these questions, the position of the working-class movement in the world as a whole, and in each individual country, separately, has become far more favourable than ever before and that it has now become possible to make the transition from one social system to another less painful than before. It is the task of the advanced sections of the working-class to fully use the favourable conditions for this purpose.

The 22nd Congress further carries forward the discussions initiated at the 20th Congress on the restoration of the Leninist principles of Party organisation, which were violated in the CPSU in the later years of Comrade Stalin's life.

Not only does it throw more light on the harmful consequences of the cult of Stalin's personality, which led, in innumerable ways, to the suppression of the initiative of Party members and Soviet citizens in socialist construction. The 22nd Congress also elaborates the "tasks of the Party in the spheres of state development and the further promotion of socialist democracy in the period of Com-

unist construction". It lays down the lines on which certain specific guarantees of inner-Party democracy are to be provided in the Rules of the CPSU.

The overcoming of these negative consequences of the cult of Stalin's personality is essential for developing collective leadership, for releasing the initiative of Party ranks and the masses for successful accomplishment of the task facing the world Communist movement. The struggle against the cult of personality and the elimination of all its consequences conform to the interests of the international working-class movement, of socialist construction and of transition to communism.

## Individual Role Not Denied

Marxism-Leninism never denied the role of individual leaders in history, but the personality cult is completely alien to it.

Stalin was doubtless an outstanding Marxist-Leninist of exceptional talent and abilities and his positive role as a leader will not be questioned. He upheld the teachings of Lenin against deviations and developed Lenin's teachings in several spheres. He made valuable contribution to the building of socialism in the USSR and towards the growth of the world Communist movement.

All these facts cannot be erased from history. But then he had his negative sides, too, which found concentrated expression in the growth of his personality cult.

Towards the later period of his life, the negative side of his character developed and the phenomenon of the cult of personality went from bad to worse. Impermissible departures from Leninist Party standards, as well as grave violations of socialist legality occurred. Excesses and even crimes took place in the period of the cult of personality.

The 20th Congress of the CPSU began the struggle against the cult of personality and for the restoration of the Leninist Party standards and socialist legality. Life itself has underlined the essentially beneficial results of the struggle for the elimination of all traces of cult of personality.

The need for this fight against the cult of personality is acknowledged by the entire international Communist movement. The 22nd Congress of the CPSU has only carried forward this process of elimination of the harmful consequences of the personality cult.

## Personality Cult Never Again

The National Council of the Communist Party of India is of the view that conditions must be created in the international Communist movement so that the personality cult shall never grow again. However, in the conduct of

the struggle against the cult of personality of Stalin, it is always necessary to keep in view both aspects of Stalin's character and role — positive as well as negative — so that the struggle is conducted in a balanced, objective manner and without giving in to subjectivism. In view of the fact that the fraternal Parties, especially in the capitalist countries have not had the same direct, bitter experiences of the cult of personality, it is also necessary to take into account in advance the possible repercussions in such parties that particular steps in the struggle against the personality cult may cause.

The negative and harmful consequences of the cult of personality were by no means confined to the Soviet Union and the CPSU alone. The personality cult became a ramified international phenomenon affecting in one way or another a number of other Communist Parties and this includes Parties in the capitalist world. The personality cult of Stalin and its impact and influence on other Parties obstructed the creative development of Marxism-Leninism and gave rise to abortive malities in the relations of fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties.

The struggle against the personality cult started by the 20th Congress was an act of exceptional courage and significance on the part of the leadership of the CPSU in order to bring about a radical break with the past methods and theories which had become shackles on the advance of Soviet society towards the goal of communism. The result has been the restoration of socialist legality, re-establishment and growth of inner-Party democracy, a powerful blow to bureaucratic practices and habits and a great unleashing of mass initiative in the sphere of socialist construction.

## A Powerful Influence

This struggle, which was developed further between the 20th and the 22nd Congresses of the CPSU, exercised a powerful influence on the course of development of the entire world Communist movement. The Moscow Conference of 81 Parties fully endorsed the importance and urgency of developing this struggle and eliminating the harmful consequences of the personality cult.

The Communist Party of India congratulates the CPSU on its great achievements in this historic battle against the cult of the individual.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India recognises the need for the fight against the cult of personality and complete elimination of its consequences from the ranks of every Communist Party. The struggle against the cult of personality has proved beneficial to all fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties and it facilitates the normalisation of their relations according to

Marxist-Leninist standards. It has removed obstacles for the enrichment of Marxism-Leninism by all fraternal Parties.

In this connection, the National Council of the Communist Party of India, however, considers it necessary to state that the violation of the Party standards and socialist legality and the excesses that took place during Stalin's life-time, cannot be adequately explained merely by attributing them to the cult of personality. More objective and more self-critical examination of the emergence and the growth of personality cult, as well as of all relevant conditions, circumstances that contributed to these violations and excesses need to be comprehensively studied and examined.

This is necessary not only for a proper appraisal of the cult of personality but also for creating such guarantees in the sphere of the state and in the Party life that would once and for all prevent the reappearance of the personality cult.

## Fundamental Superiority Indicated

The National Council of the Communist Party of India does maintain that these violations of socialist legality and the excesses do not detract from the superiority and vitality of Soviet society. On the contrary, the fact that Soviet society could make such unparalleled progress in all spheres of life despite the growth of the personality cult underlines all the more the fundamental superiority of the Soviet system and the inexhaustible creative powers of the Soviet people which socialism has released. Those who question this superiority of the Soviet system do so either from ignorance and prejudice or from a deliberate design to malign socialism.

The struggle for overcoming the harmful consequences of the cult of Stalin's personality and the exposures made in this connection by the CPSU caused a measure of confusion within the ranks of our Party. This has hampered serious and useful discussions on the outstanding contributions and decisions of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India holds the view that it is not necessary for us to endorse every statement made by the CPSU leaders in the course of exposing the harmful consequences of the cult of Stalin's personality. We may have our differences on this or that aspect of the criticisms made by the CPSU leadership. We may also have our reservations on the way in which certain specific decisions were taken.

There is, however, no doubt that, even if we differ with the CPSU leadership on some of these specific aspects, we appreciate and welcome the basic departure which they have made in the methods of leadership inside the Party and in state affairs. Whatever temporary confu-

sions were created in our Party by the 20th Congress exposure of the distortions of inner-Party democracy and socialist legality made by Comrade Stalin in his later years or by the 22nd Congress decisions to remove Comrade Stalin's dead body from the Mausoleum and to change the names of cities, we have to recognise that the CPSU leadership has done a distinct service to the entire international Communist movement by revealing the dangerous consequences of violations of the Leninist principles of inner-Party democracy. The chapter of the new Programme of the CPSU on "The Tasks of the Party in the Spheres of State Development and the Further Promotion of Socialist Democracy", together with the new Rules of the CPSU adopted at the 22nd Congress, are examples of the creative development of Marxism-Leninism in the sphere of state-political and inner-Party relations.

It is, therefore, for our Party to make a thorough study of the significant departures that are being made by the CPSU in state-political and inner-Party relations and to use them for re-organising inner-Party relations in our own Party.

It is understandable that such tremendously significant developments in the field of theory and practice as arose from the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement and the 22nd Party Congress could not be made without differences inside the international Communist movement.

## Unjustified Stand Of Albania

However, it is regrettable that these differences should have led to open conflicts as between the Albanian Party of Labour and the CPSU. The fact that the Albanian Party of Labour has come to the position of repudiating the commonly agreed propositions of the 81-Parties Statement to which they had lent their signature, calling the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union revisionist and levelling unfounded charges against the CPSU, is still more regrettable and highly unjustified.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India hopes that brother Parties will make every effort at resolving the differences that have cropped up in friendly and fraternal discussions between brother Parties. The Statement of the Moscow Conference of 1960 provides the ideological basis and also lays down the practical methods for resolving the differences. The international Communist movement cannot afford now to have the mutual relations between different fraternal Parties strained as they appear to be. Nobody but the imperialists and reactionaries in the various countries of the capitalist world will profit by the continuance of the state of affairs which exists now.

# National Council Mourns The Demise Of DR. K. M. ASHRAF

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India records its deep sense of grief at the demise of Comrade K. M. Ashraf, a veteran Communist, a scholar who played an outstanding role in the freedom movement of the country.

Coming from a poor peasant family, Ashraf in his younger days faced extreme hardships. But with his remarkable courage, grit and capacity, he managed to educate himself and became one of the most distinguished students of the Muslim Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh. He joined the non-cooperation movement and left his studies at the age of 19 and soon came to occupy a leading position among the mass of Muslim youth who were drawn into this struggle. After the collapse of the movement, he rejoined the Aligarh University and became the leader of the nationalist section of students of the University.

With a revolutionary and restless mind, he read extensively about freedom struggles in other countries and began to be drawn towards the ideas of socialism. Due to his outstanding academic merit he was given a scholarship for studying abroad by the Government of the Alwar State. In London he soon came in touch with the Communist movement and became one of the founders of the first Communist Students' Group in England.

While in England, he also distinguished himself as a scholar of medieval Indian history and his thesis for the doctorate on "Social and Eco-

# For United Mass Action For Disarmament And Peace

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India reiterates its conviction that the struggle for general and complete disarmament is becoming the prime duty of all peace forces and all organisations, groups and individuals in all countries, who stand for the maintenance and promotion of peace.

The urgency for worldwide action by the peoples to ensure the early signing of a disarmament treaty has been underlined by recent events by the persistent sabotage by the US Government and its supporters of all efforts for agreement made by the Socialist and non-aligned countries at the conference of the 17 nations, now meeting in the Disarmament Committee at Geneva; by the carrying out, just at the time when negotiations had begun at Geneva, of a new series of atmospheric tests, including the most perilous high altitude "rainbow bomb" test, by the US Government over the Christmas Island in the Pacific Ocean; and by the fresh spate of provocative incidents

and outrages in Berlin committed by the West German militarists, with the support and on the initiative of the Western imperialist powers, creating serious international tension, which can lead to disastrous consequences.

With all its efforts at agreement spurned by the imperialist powers, after even the compromise proposal for a test ban put forward by India and other non-aligned nations at Geneva, has been rejected by the USA, which has continued its tests and secured consequent military advance — the Soviet Union has been compelled, regretfully to begin a new series of nuclear tests, (taking care to reduce the resultant radio-active fall-out to the very minimum) in the interests of its own defence and of the defence against imperialism of all people. This has further underlined the necessity for mass action for a disarmament agreement.

The World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace held at Moscow from July 9 to 14, 1962 — an event of great historic significance for the peoples of this age —

## COMMEMORATION VOLUME

A memorial volume dealing with the life and work of Dr. K. M. Ashraf is being shortly brought out. Readers who may be in possession of Dr. Ashraf's photographs, letters, articles or any other material are requested to kindly send them to the following address to help make the volume comprehensive:

S. M. TONKI  
NLI CHATRI  
FORT ROAD,  
ALIGARH (U.P.)

omic Conditions of the People of Hindustan from the year 1000 A.D. to 1528 A.D." is still considered to be the best work on the subject and is prescribed for post-graduate studies in many Indian Universities.

On his return to India in 1931, Ashraf plunged into the national struggle and also joined the Communist Party of India. He soon came to occupy a very important position in the Indian National Congress and was looked upon at that time by the mass of Indian people as a Nationalist Muslim leader, in stature and importance next only to Maulana Azad.

Despite his tremendous mass popularity as a national leader, Ashraf remained a humble and loyal worker of the Party. When he was called

ed upon by the Party to leave the Congress, he did so without any hesitation and took up the work of editing the Party's Urdu weekly at the Party Headquarters in Bombay.

Ashraf also played a prominent role in the building of the Kisan Sabha in the earlier stages. With his rich experience of national movement, Ashraf made very valuable contributions to the development of various mass organisations in the country.

After the 2nd Congress of our Party, Ashraf began to suffer from indifferent health and became a victim of tuberculosis of the stomach. In 1949 he went to England for treatment and lived there for a few years, but could not regain his health. Therefore, on his return to India in 1953, he decided to withdraw himself from active political work and took to academic life and research.

Even in this field, Ashraf remained a loyal member of the Party and formed teachers' and students' groups to propagate Communist ideology.

Last year he was invited by the Humboldt University, Berlin, to occupy the Chair of Indian History which he did with great distinction.

Ashraf has left behind him thousands of men and women who admired and loved him during his life time as a brave and honest man, a great patriot, a revolutionary and a good Communist.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India sends its heartfelt condolences to the bereaved family.

## National Council Demands

# RELEASE GIZENGA

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India is gravely concerned at the news of the hunger strike and the danger to the life of the Congolese patriot and leader Antoine Gizenga.

Since his illegal arrest and detention, protests have been made all over the world, warning against the conspiracy of the imperialists and their henchmen to murder Mr. Gizenga, in the same foul manner as they murdered the great Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba.

The National Council demands that the Government of the Congo immediately guarantee the protection of his life.

Despite repeated appeals, the United Nations Command in the Congo has done nothing effective to secure Mr. Gizenga's release or even to ensure his safety. At this grave moment, the National Council once more demands that the United Nations Command intervene to prevent

a repetition of the terrible tragedy which overtook Congo, Africa and the world, when Lumumba was assassinated.

The National Council appeals personally to the Secretary-General, U Thant, to use his authority in such a manner that the life of Antoine Gizenga is saved and he is released to serve his people once again.

The National Council urges Prime Minister Nehru to act without delay to impress upon the Congolese Government and on the UN Secretary-General and the UN Command, under which Indian troops are working, the urgency and necessity for immediate and effective action to save the life of Antoine Gizenga.

India cannot and must not be a passive spectator of the dastardly conspiracies of the imperialists in the Congo. Let the Indian people's voice be heard in solidarity with the patriots of the Congo, in their courageous struggle to uphold the banner of the immortal Lumumba.

# New Set-Up For Former French Possessions

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India rejoices with all our people on the completion of the *de jure* transfer to India of the former French colonial possession of Pondicherry, Karaikal, Mahe and Yanam. The *de facto* transfer of the areas brought about in 1954 by the heroic struggles of the people of French India together with the anti-imperialist movement of the entire Indian people has now been followed up by the *de jure* transfer which officially records complete severance from all French control.

The National Council of the Communist Party greets the people of Pondicherry, Karaikal, Mahe and Yanam on this happy occasion and salutes the memory of those brave martyrs, who in the course of a long struggle laid down their lives so that the people of French India might win freedom and unite with their brethren in the rest of India.

The question of the integration of these territories with the Indian Union and status to be conferred on them is now under the consideration of the Government of India. The National Council of the Communist Party of India is firmly of opinion that whatever the status to be so decided, the commitments of the French Government to the people of these former French Indian Territories, such as pension rights, etc. should be duly protected by the Government of India. The agreement of May 23, 1956 between France and India has in clause (10) guaranteed the implementation of such safeguards.

The National Council is of the opinion that the proposal of a separate state for these four areas urged by the Congress councillors of Pondicherry state will hamper such a democratic advance and is wholly inappropriate. Nor will it be proper to continue to administer these territories as Union Territory, as the Government of India is doing.

The National Council, therefore, calls upon the Government of India to take early steps for the integration of the above former French Indian territories with corresponding linguistic states of Indian Union.



# PRESS CONFERENCE OF SPACE TWINS

★ From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW, August 21: At a mammoth Press Conference in the White Column Convocation Hall of the Moscow University the two Space Heroes Andrian Nikolayev and Pavel Popovich reported to the world about their recent great cosmic journey.

LOOKING healthier than most of the people present in the huge Hall, beaming with smiles and in excellent spirits the two sat besides Gagarin, Titov and a number of Soviet scientists facing floodlights and hundreds of cameras while the proceedings were watched by millions of viewers in East and West Europe over the Intervision and Eurovision networks. The Press Conference was also broadcast over the Radio.

President of the Academy of Sciences Keldysh in his opening speech declared that the flight of the two Cosmonauts on the spaceships Vostok 3 and Vostok 4 in which they had covered a distance three times that of the journey to the moon and back were a new milestone and took us a step nearer to interplanetary flights. The group flight, the first of its kind, was highly important from the point of view of building interplanetary platforms or intermediary stations in space and would help in building even better spaceships.

## UTMOST PRECISION

Keldysh pointed out that all instruments and the whole system had worked with the utmost precision, the landing had been faultless and in the pre-planned target area. An extensive network of radio and TV stations was used to keep contact with the spacecrafts and had worked excellently. Short wave link was kept up to ten thousand kilometres. Powerful beam systems were used which were continuously redirected by the help of computing machines.

The data obtained on the effects of space conditions on human organism was of the greatest scientific value. It was being carefully processed and results will be made public and will be a new important contribution to world science. But it was already clear, Keldysh said, that conditions can be created for ensuring the health and safety of man and for his normal work during long flights in space. This was the beginning of coordinated group action of man in outer space and showed that it was possible to fly freely in the cosmos. The possibility of flights of greater complexity and duration and later to other planets had been opened up.

This had been an outstanding feat of Soviet scientists, workers, designers and engineers, a feat of courage and splendid organisation and had been done for the entire human race. It showed that a big contribution to world civilisation was being made by the socialist world.

Professor Vladimir Yezdovsky spoke of the physiological

and biological effects of space flights on the human organisms and the extensive research work done in the Soviet Union to select and train space-fliers. The flow of scientific information on the health conditions of cosmonauts was much more extensive during this flight.

## INFORMATION OF GREAT VALUE

Much biotelemetrical information of the greatest value had been received. By radio and television observations were made of movements, postures of fliers, their working capacity, speech and precision in carrying out operations in space. They endured the boost period of take-off well and soon their pulse and breathing became normal.

The effect of no gravity on human organism will be studied still further but the space orientation of the two cosmonauts was good when they moved about in weightlessness; they retained their ability to work, slept well, had normal appetite and chewed and swallowed without difficulty. Their rations had been prepared in accordance with their tastes and consisted of natural foods.

The two men carried out a programme of biological research and this was the first time human beings did experimental scientific work in outer space.

Academician Blagontavov spoke of the amazing accuracy and dependability of the thousands of machines and instruments involved and the high quality of all the equipment. He spoke of the logical sequence of Soviet space research, the constant development and elaboration of previous achievements. They had a single purpose. The peaceful exploration of outer space excluded all such experiments which impeded progress or polluted outer space. The question of reaching the moon now ceased to be a dream and became a real scientific task.

The Soviet space programme would go on. Flights of automatic stations will be undertaken and the work of experimental astronomy will continue. Every new success helps to improve and expedite these plans. The new steps will also be just as important and will amaze the world.

Andrian Nikolayev spoke of the thorough training Soviet cosmonauts go through in which all possible emergencies are taken into account. The training is difficult, so the flight becomes easy. The familiar voices of fellow cosmonauts were in touch with them all the time from ground stations and imparted them confidence in space.

His flight had lasted 95 hours and it would require as much time to relate all his impressions — they were so many. "The Vostok 3 was my home for four days and I constantly felt the presence of a friend nearby", Nikolayev said.

He had expected some discomfort with regard to the vestibular system but in fact he moved about his head and felt normal. "I even rotated round my longitudinal axis in weightlessness but felt no discomfort".

When the retro-rocket is switched on to put the brakes on for landing the ship the deceleration forces at their height press hard and without training on the earth one would have a difficult time of it. The ship's outside first begins to eject smoke due to air friction at tremendous speed, then it becomes a ball of fire and yellow, red and blue flames envelop it on all sides.

"When the outside begins to burn you hear crackling sounds and you wonder what if a piece of the outer covering dropped away. But I knew it could not happen. I sat quietly and thought, let it burn."

"When I came lower, I felt as if I were in a cart travelling on a bad road. Soon I landed by parachute besides my ship, and my first desire was to kiss mother earth". The Soviet space ships were very clever machines, Nikolayev said. He felt pride and admiration for those who had created them. They epitomise everything progressive and new in science.

Popovich said they had formed the first Soviet collective or team in outer space. The flights, he

said, were no pleasure trips but required laborious preparation and excellent health. "Each one of us felt the shoulder of a friend by his side and work went better. I saw the Vostok 3 like a small moon and I shouted Andryusha: I hear you splendidly, I feel excellent I can see you, how are you".

The communication between the two spaceships was excellent all the time and the minimum distance between them had been about five kilometres.

It was a most pleasant sensation to float about freely and to turn round one's own axis, Popovich said. In a half filled flask of water the air did not keep on top in weightlessness, but came to the middle and the water encircled it all round.

The earth looked most beautiful in a blue halo. Towns, even big streets, could be seen. Coast-lines and contours of continents were clearly visible. Islands had a beautiful emerald halo around them. The full moon which looked like a globe made a wonderful sight and could be seen each time they entered the shadow of the earth on each round. The microclimate of the ship was like on a sea resort: the air was fresh, the temperature and pressure normal and pleasant.

Popovich made an appeal for peaceful cooperation in space research between all countries. If all resources in rocketry and space techniques were pooled how fast cosmonautics would develop, he said. "Let us have an international cosmic expedition", he proposed.

Answering questions Popovich said they had landed about 200 kilometres from each other. Asked what he considered to be the most fantastic experience of his flight he said, "The most fantastic thing I thought was that here I was in orbit, flying round and round the earth."

He said that a study of the data obtained would show whether it was necessary to repeat such flights or to go further. His Vostok 4 could fly again, he said and given permission he would like to make many more flights on it. The weight of the two ships was about five tons each, he said.

The flights were no threat to the West or anybody. "We are very peaceful people; we sent messages of peace and friendship and goodwill to all the inhabitants of the earth".

Those who think that the socialist system and Communist Party had nothing to do with the successes in cosmos are mistaken. Before the revolution Russia had talented scientists but what could they do. "The socialist system is our launching pad", he said.

Nikolayev said he had taken movie pictures of the earth, moon, sunrise etc. The results will be known when the film was developed. During TV broadcasts to earth he had tried to show weightlessness by floating objects like binoculars, camera, book, pencil, etc. An American asked whether he could carry a nuclear bomb on his ship. Nikolayev answered that the ship was made for peaceful purposes and bombs could be delivered to wherever required by missiles the Soviet Union had.

He called for a treaty of general disarmament for the benefit of all and said the cosmos should be used for peaceful purposes.

One correspondent asked whether Western observers could see the next launching of spaceships. Keldysh answering declared that if Western Governments could be persuaded to sign a treaty of disarmament before that it could be possible. Rockets are still a weapon of war and a military secret, he said.

## Pulling A Fast One

Between the two of them, Hem Barua, the Don Quixote of the anti-China lobby, and Hindustan Times, Birla's rag devoting itself principally to baiting Krishna Menon and denigrating Nehru, have tried to pull a fast one on Parliament and the people.

AN innocent poster published in Swadhinata, the Bengali daily of the West Bengal Council of the CPI, calling for worker-peasant alliance to defeat foreign capitalists, Marwari monopolists like Birla and their Gandhi-capped agents like Morarji Bhai, has been misrepresented as having some connection with India-China border issue — all because the peasants in the drawing wear Chinese like straw hats!

Hindustan Times reproducing the drawing insists that the peasants definitely have Chinese features while any one can see for himself there is no difference in features of the workers and peasants shown. Both workers and peasants shown reaching out to each other are Indians.

Very few had seen the drawing till Hem Barua brought his calling attention motion on August 22. Home Minister Shastri apparently accepting Hem Barua's interpretation seemed to support the anti-Communist stand. Later in the day when the drawing was circulated, the Speaker allowed Hiren Mukherjee, deputy leader of the Communist Group in the Lok Sabha to make a statement.

Hiren Mukherjee said that it was a complete misunderstanding which led to the calling attention notice being raised, in the first place, and the Home Minister giving the sort of reply which he did, in the second place.

He said that to any Bengali reader of this paper, who looks at this pictorial representation, there

will not happen even the slightest impression that this has any treasonable content; he will not even imagine for a moment that it has any reference to the border or the border dispute.

He will find two sets of people, peasants on the one side, and industrial workers on the other side, the peasants having put on a thing which in Bengal we call the Toka, which is something like a mat which is put on during the period of heavy rains, to protect them from the downpour, and the peasants have put on this Toka and they are putting out their hands from one side with some sheaves of corn, and the working people, or the industrial workers, on the other hand, are having their hammer as representing their section of the working people, while the peasants have the sickle.

The peasants have the sickle, and the industrial workers have the hammer, and they are coming together. And their coming together leads to, according to this cartoon, the elimination of big money interests who are exploiting them.

And there are three figures; one refers obviously to foreign capital, another figure has a turban associated with Marwari millionaires, and the third represents the other sections of the industrial magnates, who according to them, rightly or wrongly, are today the exploiting class.

There is no reference to the border at all. There are flags, of course, and these flags are the

flags of the international working class movement, the flag with the hammer and the sickle inscribed on it.

On both sides, it is the same flag. On both sides, it is the same type of people represented. Their faces are the same. They are bare-bodied, and they are bare-footed, and they are moving towards a unified kind of activity. This is what is sought to be represented.

Hiren Mukherjee explained that "if the picture is seen in its proper perspective, there is no question even of any hilly territory in this. Because the flags are there — it is a black and white drawing — in order to get the flags to be seen by the reader of the paper, a black background has to be given, and that is all that is put here."

"There are no hilly territories at all. One set of people is just rushing on to meet another set of people, the working people or the industrial workers on the one side, and the peasants on the other."

Besides, this cartoon, or whatever you call it, has no caption, but it is put exactly over an article which is a translation of an article in English on national integration by the Secretary of the Communist Party of India, E. M. S. Namboodiripad.

So, there is no reference at all to anything like a border question. There is no suggestion in this picture, as far as I could understand it, of Indians and Chinese coming together; there is nothing of that sort at all.

(The Hindi Swadhinata, a weekly edition of the paper, reproducing the same drawing gives the caption: "Worker-Peasant Alliance only Way to Progress".)