

NEW WAGE

CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

Vol. XII No. 46 New Delhi, November 15, 1964 25 Paise

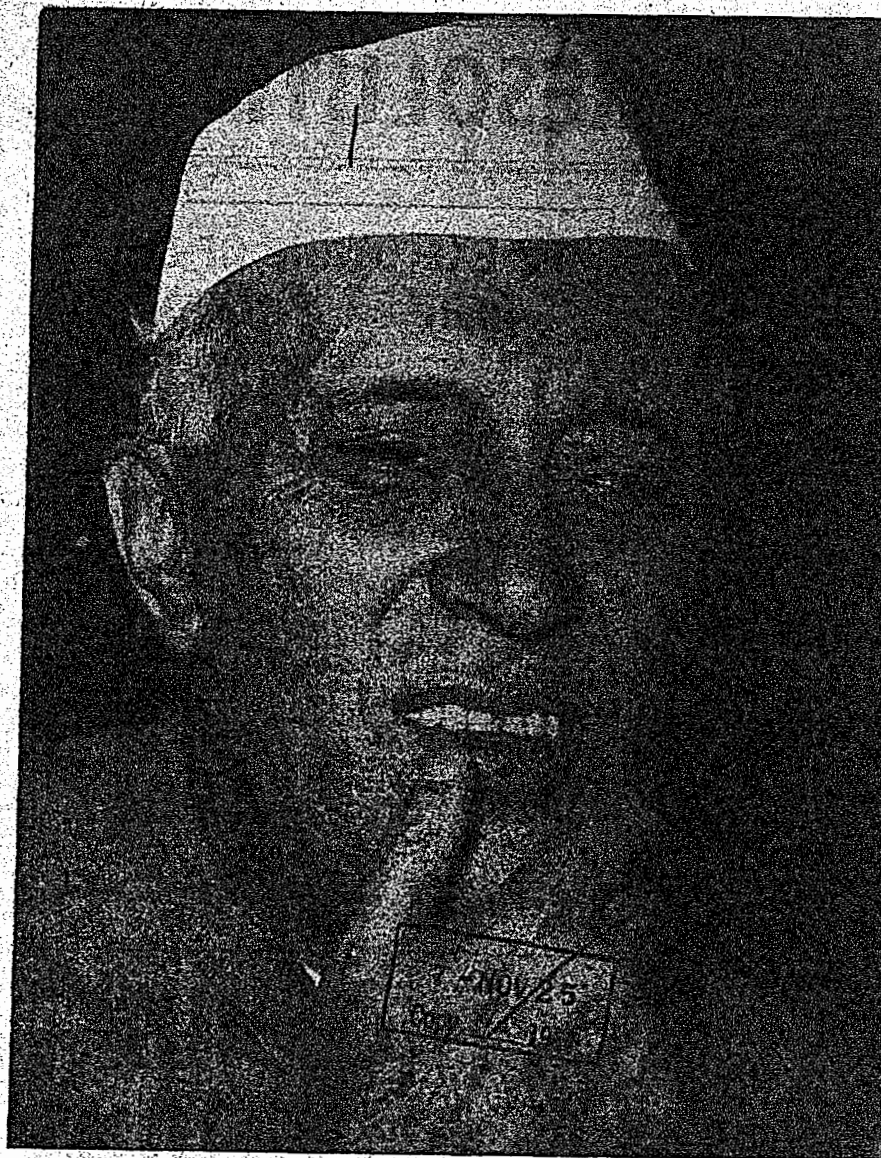


Photo: VIRENDRA KUMAR

NOVEMBER 14

It is right and proper that the nation should observe the birthday of Jawaharlal Nehru with the pledge to redouble efforts to complete the battles which he left unfinished. And as one looks back over the decades during which Jawaharlal stood at the centre of the Indian political scene, one sees the vast panorama of his contributions to India's advance and at the same time, the weaknesses of his policies and the failures, which held up that advance.

Of the fruits of the failures we can see abundance in the soaring prices and the food crisis, and the hunger and poverty and unemployment which stalk this land...

But on November 14, when we take our pledges to carry forward the positive policies which came to be associated with him and to fight the reactionary forces, fed by the imperialists and monopolists who seek to blacken his name... we recall all that he gave to this nation, his contributions and not his weaknesses or failures...

And these contributions were many and varied, and they are treasured by the people.

Kerala: People Act for Food

Statewide Demonstration Against Bunglings of Adviser Regime

TRIVANDRUM: People of all strata including students have come out on streets on the state capital and other places in the districts demanding food after waiting for weeks in queues before ration shops.

INFORMAL rationing in towns introduced on November 1 has proved a total fiasco since stocks were inadequate and machinery to distribute available stocks could not cope up with the job. Long queues waited for one week all over the state and villages while rationing was to be introduced from November 15. Meanwhile private trade had been frozen forcing people to face starvation and the crisis became more acute since the Adviser's regime failed to secure adequate stocks from the Centre and gear-up any machinery for distribution with popular cooperation.

As the resolution of the National Council of the CPI pointed out it was in fact mishandling of food situation. An emergent meeting of the executive committee of the Communist Party met jointly with the National Council and condemned the way the Adviser's regime was handling the crisis.

They called on the entire people to go into organised action, to the taluq offices and district collectorates and bring pressure on central and state administrations to give food to the people and the working class to go on a one-day strike and all political parties to stand together as one body to prevent starvation deaths and misery.

In Trivandrum over 3000 Communist volunteers marched in a militant procession on the 8th and converged into a mammoth meeting which was addressed by CPI chairman Dange, Rajeswara Rao and M. N. Govindan Nair. They appealed for popular unity and organised mass action to secure food for people.

On the 9th and 10th all over the state the hungry people went into action, students spearheading the movement. In Quilon and Trivandrum students pa-

raded the streets and demanded rice. In taluq offices and in other districts before collectorates, hundreds of men and women squatted.

An all parties' action council was set up in Trivandrum under the Mayor which decided on a sustained mass action for food. As first step all Corporation Councillors headed by the Mayor went on a

bags of rice from whole-salers' shops and distributed them.

Having failed to give any assurance or confidence, the adviser's regime appears to have decided on maintenance of law and order as its first job. The Police resorted to lathicharge and beating up of people entering colleges, libraries in search of students. Their mad orgy was put an end to by popular leaders' demands.

From S. Sharma

One day hungerstrike before the secretariat on Tuesday. The same day students boycotted schools and colleges and brought out big demonstrations in all centres. Having failed to give food the police resorted to brutal lathicharge, and tear gassing in Quilon to disperse students' crowds. Students had also waylaid lorries transporting paddy and rice and pulled out 400

The Governor at a meeting with party leaders sought their cooperation and appealed for restraint. Leaders of all political parties have appealed to the people to continue mass protest and movement but not to indulge in activities likely to defeat and disrupt the movement. Communist Party conferences being held in taluqs and districts

in the coming two weeks will take up the food crisis as the main issue and to go into action jointly with all parties and people.

A week of popular action has compelled the complacent Adviser's regime to wake up and the Union government to realise the gravity of the situation. But 12 ounces of food for deficit Kerala's people can be ensured if the Centre takes over stock and guarantees emergency steps to reach food to state and popular cooperation is secured for proper distribution.

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NATIONAL COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS

ON INDO-CYLON AGREEMENT

The following resolution was adopted by the National Council of the Communist Party of India in its session on November 8 at Trivandrum:

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India notes the fact that after years of fruitless discord and seemingly insoluble differences, it has been possible for the governments of India and Ceylon to reach an agreement on the question of "stateless" persons of Indian origin residing in Ceylon.

For decades, this vexed problem has threatened to disrupt Indo-Ceylon friendship and has been utilised by all manner of vested interests both in India and Ceylon to incite racial bitterness and tensions.

On many occasions the age-old traditional friendship of these two neighbouring states, both of whom were for long under colonial domination and emerged almost together as independent countries, was in danger of breakdown over this unresolved dispute regarding status of nearly one million settlers of Indian origin in Ceylon.

The Communist Party of India considers that firm friendship between India and Ceylon—two of the leading nonaligned states of Asia is very necessary for promotion of peace and national independence in this region.

Hence the recent agreement between the two governments in so far as it promotes this friendship and despite its unsatisfactory features, should be welcomed by all persons standing for Indo-Ceylonese friendship and solidarity in the joint interests of both countries against imperialist intrigues and efforts to extend the cold war to this region.

The overwhelming majority of "stateless" persons in Ceylon comprise of plantation workers who began to migrate from India during the last century due to their economic hardship and unemployment. Their status at that time was virtually that of indentured labour, tolling on the plantations under primitive condi-

tions and mercilessly exploited by British, Indian and Ceylonese plantation owners alike.

Migration to Ceylon by poorer sections of the people from Tamilnad has continued in subsequent years. They have contributed by their labour to the economic prosperity of Ceylon and the profits of the planters, have organised themselves in trade unions to defend their own

See also pages 3, 5, 6 for National Council Resolutions

interests and living standards as workers, and have also been agitating for citizenship rights for those who are qualified to earn them under the laws of Ceylon. While many have become citizens, others remained "stateless".

The National Council appreciates the fact that under the recent agreement, an additional three lakhs of the affected Ceylonese citizenship while the status of another 1.5 lakhs will be taken up for consideration later. As against this, 5.25 lakhs will be repatriated to India by a phased process extending over 15 years.

The National Council hopes that both governments will take care to see that within the framework of the overall agreement, all those who can legitimately claim citizenship according to the provisions of Ceylonese law will be given priority in this respect.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India urges upon the Government of India and the state government of Madras in particular, to draw up a comprehensive plan immediately for the effective resettlement and rehabilitation of the repatriates, so that they may be wel-

comed back to the motherland and assimilated smoothly in our socio-economic life as useful citizens.

There is no reason why these repatriates should be regarded as unwelcome additions to our existing manpower in a developing economy for whose planning the government is mobilising enormous resources by way of taxation and deficit financing. If a truly socialist economy was being built up in India, our citizens living abroad would be assured of absorption of their talents and labour for the service of the country.

It is therefore of the greatest importance for the government to assume full responsibility for providing the repatriates from Ceylon with all necessary rehabilitation facilities including employment in socially useful work as self-respecting and self-supporting citizens of India.

The National Council considers this to be the crucial immediate task which the government is called upon to discharge and for which it should enlist popular cooperation wherever necessary.

ON EXECUTION OF SOUTH AFRICAN PATRIOTS

The National Council of the Communist Party in its meeting on November 7 at Trivandrum adopted the following resolution:

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India has read with indignation the execution in Pretoria Central Jail on November 6, 1964 of three South African patriots, Vuysile Mini, Wilson Khayinga and Zinakele Okabu, all of them harbour workers.

They had been under sentence of death for some time, during which appeals for commutation were made from all parts of the world and all quarters including the Secretary General of the UNO. But the white racist regime of South Africa has rejected all appeals made in the name of humanity and has carried out its coldblooded executions.

The National Council expresses its strong protest against this latest example of the

South African government's fascist methods of crushing the growing struggle of the South African people against "apartheid" and for democracy and freedom.

The National Council pays respectful homage to the memory of these martyrs whose young lives have been taken on the plea that they were working for "violent overthrow of the South African government. The National Council is confident that their sacrifice has not been in vain.

The National Council appeals to all governments and peoples of the world who cherish human rights and the cause of equality to render all possible assistance, moral and material, to the liberation struggle of the South African people.

ON FORTHCOMING KERALA ELECTIONS

The following resolution was adopted in its concluding session on November 10 by the National Council of the Communist Party of India at Trivandrum:

FOLLOWING the defeat of the Sankar Ministry in Kerala through a no-confidence motion, the state is faced with a general election early in 1965.

The Congress-PSP-League coalition ministry that came into power as a result of the election in 1960 following the ill-famed "liberation-struggle" was an unprincipled alliance of reactionary communal forces whose only cementing force was anti-communism.

It is no wonder that such an alliance without any positive programme began to break down the moment it began to tackle the problems of the state. First the Muslim League and then the PSP were driven out of the alliance and the Congress assumed the monopoly of power. Owing however to internal differences the Congress itself split with the result that dissident Congressmen joined hands with the opposition to bring down a Congress Ministry.

Through all these shifts and turns the ruling clique assiduously maintained the interests of the school managers, the landlords and other reactionary, and communal forces in the state.

The vast majority of the people who had voted this reactionary alliance into power swept off their feet by the flood of anti-Communist hysteria that was unleashed by the "liberation struggle" have come to realise their mistake and are eagerly awaiting for an opportunity to give their verdict against the Congress which had been instrumental in bringing about this reactionary combination and in

Muslim League or the rebel Congressmen because it feels that will defeat the very purpose of this united front which is the bringing about of unity of progressive forces on the broadest possible basis.

It should rather be our endeavour to expose before the masses that the inner-party crisis in the Kerala Congress is facing is the direct result of their bankrupt and unprincipled policy of allying with communal reactionary forces to defeat progressive forces and thus emphasise the need to augment the independent strength of left alliance in the Assembly.

In this context the National Council feels that the stand that the SSP has taken is not conducive to the strengthening of the democratic forces inside the state. It is prepared for adjustments with all opposition parties with a view to ensure avoidance of contest between SSP and such parties without any commitment to join government of progressive democratic forces.

The National Council notes with satisfaction that discussion on the minimum programme between the CPI, RSP and Left Communists and certain individuals prominent in the political life of the state has already reached a broad measure of agreement with regard to the programme.

The National Council hopes that full agreement will be reached soon on this matter as well as on other important matters.

The National Council wishes to assure the people of Kerala that it will be the endeavour of the state unit of our Party to give its utmost for this unity in a spirit of utmost cooperation and fraternal accommodation consistent however with a principled stand on certain issues of basic importance.

The Council for instance cannot agree to the inclusion of reactionary communal forces in the alliance such as the

National Council Statement On Recent Changes In Soviet Union

The National Council of the Communist Party of India, meeting at Trivandrum on November 9 issued the following statement on the recent changes in the Soviet Union.

THE news of the resignation of Comrade Khrushchov from the secretaryship of the CPSU and the post of Prime Minister of the Soviet Union on grounds of health and age came as a surprise and shock to progressive world public opinion. The Communist Party of India, as also many brother Parties in the world, shared this feeling.

Comrade Khrushchov has come to be identified as the leader and spokesman of the collectively worked out policies of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Party Congresses of the CPSU, which have had such profound influence on a world scale, on questions of peace and peaceful coexistence, relations of friendship with and aid to newly-liberated countries, the national-liberation movements, the problem of liquidating the remnants of colonialism and fighting neo-colonialism, the paths of transition to socialism and class struggle, the question of disarmament, easing of international tension and solution of disputes through peaceful negotiations, etc.

Comrade Khrushchov's role, as the leader of the CPSU, was particularly known in the working out of the decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU in the matter of fight against the personality cult, the norms of socialist democracy and clarification of the ideas of the new epoch which later formed the basis of the documents of the World Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties.

It was also in the period of his leadership that the friendship between India and the Soviet Union grew deeper and remained unshaken despite the India-China border conflict.

The period of the last ten years was full of world-shaking events and the role that the CPSU and the Soviet Union played in them was of decisive importance for the benefit of all mankind, especially for the working people of the whole world.

And as leader of the CPSU and the Soviet Union, Comrade Khrushchov came to be identified with all these events in a personal way also. The rigidity and cold aloofness of

of India. Several Parties, including those of the Socialist countries, found themselves in the need to know the true position. The National Council feels the change which was felt so necessary by the CPSU should have been made with better attention to its repercussions on world opinion.

No doubt the question of changes in the leadership of the Party and the government is an internal matter of the Party concerned. But insofar as these matters reflected on world policies and parties in other countries and affect the lives of millions, they legitimately become a matter of concern for the whole world and all Parties.

The smallest things in the CPSU and the Soviet Union have their reverberations in the whole world and it should be so in view of the position that the CPSU and the Soviet Union occupy in world affairs and its destinies.

The CPSU is the Party which carried out the first successful Socialist revolution in one-sixth of the world, built a socialist society, saved mankind from fascism, helped to establish a world socialist system and is now building the first Communist society. A change of the Premier of such a country and the First Secretary of such a Party is bound to be a matter for world concern.

The Government of India received an assurance from the Government of the Soviet Union that its policy of friendship with and aid to India should continue to be implemented, Governments of other countries also received appropriate assurances on matters affecting them.

These policy statements and assurances served a great deal in allaying the anxiety felt by Communist Parties and friendly countries over the most important questions of policies and the basic line.

Nevertheless, the National Council feels that the manner and method of the change of leadership once again highlighted the question of the functioning of socialist democracy and the need for further discussion on the subject.

Very soon the world Communist Parties will meet to review the progress made since 1960 and further clarify and elaborate the principles and understanding of the 1960 Statement. The Communist Party of India will make its own contribution to the new

up their own schism took up this line with special zest.

The exit of Comrade Khrushchov, combined with the explosion of their first atom-bomb by the Chinese government was used by the reactionary parties in India to draw public opinion to the view that now the Soviet Union and China would make up their differences and that would deprive India of any Soviet aid that she was getting. Hence India now more than ever before should align openly and fully with the American camp for its protection and military aid.

But this game did not go very far and could not be pursued for long. The CPSU leadership made policy statements to the Communist Parties of the world, maintaining that the policies of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU which were worked out collectively by the CPSU and in which Comrade Khrushchov made his contribution, remained valid and true, that the Declaration and Statement of 1957 and 1960 worked out by the world Communist and Workers Parties remained valid and true and would be pursued and implemented by the CPSU and the Soviet Union.

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world Conference on the basis of Indian experience and will learn from the experience of others.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India will continue to determine its programme and policies on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the Moscow documents of 1957 and 1960, and the experience of the Party and the people in the historical conditions obtaining in our country.

While learning from the experience of other countries and Parties, our Party has to devise its own ways and means, its own tactics and forms of struggle, as are suited to the genius of our people and the conditions and peculiarities of our own country.

While maintaining unity and solidarity with the world Communist movement and its vanguard, the CPSU, our Party will adhere to the policies worked out from time to time in the National Council and Party Congress in the fulfilment of the tasks of the democratic revolution.

The Seventh Congress of the Party, which is due to meet in December will be an important milestone in the Communist and democratic movement in our country.

Since its Congress in 1961, the Party has fought many battles in the defence of the interests of the people and the country and has given correct lead in times of crisis and has refused to be swayed either by reformism or dogmatist adventurism. It has made several gains for the working-class and the people and has made advance on the road to the completion of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution.

At its seventh Congress of the Party meeting at Bombay the Party will draw the lessons of this experience and chart the road forward, in unity and solidarity with the world Communist movement and the revolutionary experience of the Indian people, its working-class and toiling masses, in order to maintain world peace, liquidate imperialism, abolish the remnants of colonialism, rid India of the anti-people policies of the Congress and pave the path towards democracy, socialism and prosperity.

SEVENTH CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA BOMBAY, DECEMBER 10 TO 20, 1964

NEW AGE

(POLITICAL MONTHLY OF CPI)

Volume 1 Number 7 (New Series) November 1964

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Splitter's 'Congress' in Calcutta Ends

Extreme Left Trend Emerges Mollified

CALCUTTA: While all three trends among left Communists which emerged in their Congress which has just concluded, have reasons to feel satisfied at the successes scored by each one of them, the surprise last-minute victory gained by the extreme left trend is likely to prove the most important and lead to far reaching consequences for the future of the left Communist Party, reports IPA.

The centrists represented by Ramamurthi, Basavapunniah and Surjeet can congratulate themselves as they have been able to pilot their draft programme through the Congress and it has emerged unchanged in its essentials after surviving onslaughts from extreme left and so-called right. The so-called right trend represented by E. M. S. Nambudiripad probably draws consolation from the fact that it has been able to prevent a leftward revision of draft and has been able to squeeze in some of its amendments.

While E. M. S. Nambudiripad has no doubt had to drop his demand for acceptance of national democracy as objective and his amendment about the possibility of sections of big bourgeoisie co-operating with the united democratic front under certain circumstances has been defeated, he has been, it appears, successful in getting a formulation about unity of all patriotic forces in the democratic front accepted by the steering committee. This can be interpreted by him in his own way while the others can always say that the big bourgeoisie which is collaborating with imperialism is certainly not among the patriotic forces of the nation.

The extremist section has, of course, had to suffer in silence defeat of most of its amendments even though one of its points about further underlining the dangers of penetration of foreign capital and the effects it is already having on economics and politics of the country has been accepted. But it has cause to rejoice over the election of P. Sundarayya as general secretary of the Central Committee of the party. This is a key post in the new set up accepted at the party congress and assures that through him the control over the party organisation will be with the extreme left.

Factional Struggle

A new party of the left Communists is certainly not going to be a homogenous monolithic party and there are sufficient indications that factional struggle within it have already started. With Sundarayya at the helm there is little doubt that it is the extreme left that will consolidate itself and extend its influence in days to come.

The rather unexpected election of Sundarayya is the product of a number of interesting factors reflecting the currents at work in the new party. Till last minute the general expectation was that the choice was limited between Basavapunniah and Ramamurthi. The former had begun to assume airs of general secretary from the very beginning and the acceptance of his draft by congress had to all appearances clinched the issue in his favour. The fact that he was selected to present report of the congress at open rally at maidan, further strengthened the feeling.

But behind his back search for alternative had, it now transpires,

been going on all the time. Not only the extreme lefts, but rank and file of other trends also were apprehensive that Basavapunniah as general secretary would spoil the image of the party before the people. Even those who agreed with him politically felt he was hardly very presentable and expressed desire for an alternative.

E. M. S. or Jyoti Basu might have been considered for this post, as any one of them—particularly the former—as general secretary would have given prestige to the new party. But as they are both regarded as vacillators, the majority of the left ranks would not be prepared to accept them. Nor were either of them at all keen on getting the post. E. M. S. is looking forward to a bright future in Kerala and his ambitions seem to be confined to that state for the present.

Compromise Formula

Taking advantage of unwillingness of many delegates, even though expressed in undertones, Ramamurthi and Surjeet, it appears, took initiative to hold consultations with Andhra delegates and it is from there that the proposal finally emerged that Sundarayya be made the general secretary. At the Central Committee meeting held on Sunday to elect secretary and Politbureau, a report was placed that Andhra delegates had decided to spare Sundarayya for the centre. After this it did not take long to come to a decision and no other name was proposed or pressed.

An interesting feature of the left Communist Party Congress was the rather crude opportunism that was displayed by the leaders. The Congress that was called "The Congress of Struggle Against Revisionism" adopted on opening day a resolution on Nehru lauding his role not only in struggle against imperialism but also in work of reconstruction after independence.

At the press briefings Basavapunniah and Ramamurthi both repeated that they wanted to build the party as an opposition party for fighting elections as immediate task. This was probably due to their anxiety to avoid further attacks by the government. At the press briefings left Communist leaders laid stress on nonaligned character of the government's foreign policy and criticised attempts to describe it as pro-imperialist.

At the mass rally, however, speeches had a different character. Mass rally was an impressive affair with a number of huge processions converging to the maidan. Attendance at meeting exceeded the one lakh mark. Basavapunniah in his report of the congress besides usual tirade against the official CPI—which he termed as "Dangeites"—said that India's foreign policy represented play between war and peace and was only a shadow of

that it was for the government to find a way out and not for them to suggest a formula as they were not in the government. All they could say was that prolongation of the deadlock was harmful to the country and to Asia and Africa; so the government must take the initiative and resume negotiations with China. No mention of Colombo Proposals was made in the speech.

A significant point was that left Communists have elected 35 members in their "Central Committee" but their constitution provides for three more members. The left

leaders are keeping places vacant for further entrants to their fold; they are expecting, will join as a result of impact of this congress.

The creation of new party brings into the political arena a new force which can certainly not be underestimated. Uninhibited by any consideration as to whom they should ally with and guided by only one idea—to strike at the Congress Party, they will undoubtedly score electoral and other successes in the short run in alliance with others including the rightwing parties.

Except Firm Stand Against Atom Bomb

AICC Session Hardly Achieves Anything

From Mohit Sen

HYDERABAD: The AICC session was one of the most lavish shows Andhra has seen in a long while. General estimate is that close to rupees seventy lakhs have been spent on a most vulgar display of all the crude taste of tobacco magnates.

It was most unbecoming of a supposedly business-like top policy-making body of Congress to have such a display. Even more unashamedly, the state machinery was fully pressed into service including bulldozers and technicians from Nagarjunaagar for this purpose. The Minister for Municipalities in Andhra more or less camped at Guntur for weeks together prior to AICC session.

What was worst of all was the use of police with steel helmets on to check passes and to maintain order in general. It had even to resort to lathi-charge right inside the pandal where the AICC was meeting under the very noses of topmost Congress leaders who were not moved an inch.

Another disgusting episode was that of Atulya Ghosh publicly announcing his inability to release souvenir of Youth Congress because of his indisposition due to over-eating. An interesting contrast to what was supposed to have been a gathering of leaders to consider what to do about terrible food crisis throughout India!

The big positive achievement of the session was the decision to adhere to the policy of remaining a non-nuclear armed power in spite of Chinese provocation. Speeches of Krishna Menon and Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri were strong and dignified rebuttal of argument of those who wanted to go in for *swadeshi* bomb as well as those who wanted to rush under Johnson's umbrella. The concerted offensive of the first day was thus soundly rebuffed.

No Moral Right

Still it would be as well to remember that even some progressive Congressmen were on the side of atom bomb advocates. A telling argument of theirs was that no socialist country nor any of Afro-Asian states had condemned China. Shastri stated that India would have no moral right to try to mobilise such states if she also went in for bomb or nuclear umbrella.

As a result of this pre-occupation, the AICC could not consider other important international problems. Formal reiteration of Cairo declaration was all that took place. Food debate was a total disap-

pointment. Malaviya openly rebuked the AICC for discussing this urgent issue only in a spirit of frivolity. Even as he and other speakers tried to make their points the shouting of so-called invitees became so intense that the debate could scarcely proceed.

Only few speakers took up the position that some sort of state-aided and procurement essential. Subramanian referred to these matters in a very guarded manner since he knew that many of his central colleagues as well as many Chief Ministers were opposed to these ideas and were banking on the fact that that reported bumper harvest might ease the position.

Malaviya and Reddy and one or two others took up question of nationalisation of banking. The question of agrarian reforms was not touched though Shastri referred to the problem of security of tenure as being essential to provide incentives to peasants to produce bumper crops. It can be said that the AICC utterly failed to give any sort of lead to Chief Ministers who are due to meet in a week's time.

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NATIONAL COUNCIL RESOLUTION

ON FOOD SITUATION IN KERALA

The National Council of the Communist Party in its meeting on November 6 at Trivandrum adopted the following resolution:

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India views with grave concern the alarming food situation in Kerala and condemns the callous indifference, the utter inefficiency and bureaucratic muddleheadedness with which this has been handled by the Central and state governments.

When the ill-conceived scheme of fixing maximum prices without controlling stocks in any way proved an utter failure and prices shot up to twice their original level, the Food Minister, after his visit to the state, announced that informal rationing would be introduced in Kerala by November 1. This was received with a sigh of relief

by the common people because, although the ration announced was only 12 ozs. per adult per day, it was felt that that was the only way to meet the present situation. But the way in which this announcement has been implemented in practice is a standing monument to bureaucratic inefficiency and utter callousness towards the sufferings of the people. As November 1 approached it was announced that informal rationing would be introduced only in towns and that it would start in villages only on November 15. Even in the towns, the issue of cards, registration of the same in appropriate shops, selection of shops, etc. had not been completed.

Orissa Student Agitation

GOVT. STILL REFUSES TO ACCEPT DEMANDS

From NANDAKISHORE PATNAIK

CUTTACK: After perpetrating wanton killing and bloodshed at last the Government of Orissa had to bow down before the unprecedented upsurge of students and people almost all over the state.

It was a long battle for 35 days, a battle unprecedented in the present period against the police attacks that began on September 27, 1964. A judicial enquiry commission has now been set up and the arrested students have been released.

Police had opened fire in a number of towns, e.g., in Bhubaneswar, Berhampur, Bhowanipatna, Baripada, and the towns of Banki, Jagatsingpur and Binjhorpur in Cuttack district, taking a toll of five lives.

Army had been called in to stand by and hundreds of army-men of different platoons were deployed throughout the state. Lathi-charges and teargassing had become a very ordinary affair with the police during the last month and wherever there was a

like wildfire into the interior of the state. In all the 13 districts of the state, the students supported by masses raised their voices against the corrupt and anti-people policies of the government. Effigies of Biju Patnaik, Biren Mitra, Nilamony Routray were burnt in hundreds of places and this expressed people's wrath against the ruling class. This was followed by random acts of hooliganism.

A number of leaders of CPI, SSP and even some Congress leaders were arrested under DIR. Gurucharan Patnaik, secretary of the Orissa state council CPI was detained under the DIR. In all the districts Communist leaders were arrested. Srinivas Misra, Raghunath Misra, editor of AJIR SRAMIK Weekly; Ajit Roy, TU leader of Rourkela; Advocate R. B. Misra and Sritikantha Patjoshi; Guruprasad Delluri; and Baishnab Charan Parida, the leader of Oriya students in Calcutta and N. K. Jena and Yudhishthir Rout and many others were held in custody. The SF secretary, Prafulla Chandra Mahanti, a law student was also arrested under DIR.

The state committee of the CPI congratulated the peaceful actions of the students and com-

the terrible mess that has been brought about. The National Council of the Communist Party of India strongly condemns the inefficient and callous handling of the food situation by the Central and state governments. It urges upon the Central government to compulsorily procure enough rice from surplus states and rush stocks immediately to Kerala to prevent widespread starvation and famine throughout the state. Imported grain from abroad should be directed to this state immediately. A ration of 12 ozs. of rice per adult per day must be ensured and wheat must be provided in the ration shops for whomsoever wishes to

buy. Committees consisting of people's representatives must be set up at all levels in order to supervise the implementation of the rationing machinery. The National Council takes strong exception to the way in which the offer of co-operation from panchayats and other people's organisations was turned down by the government and demands that this policy be revoked. The Communist Party of India calls upon all political parties and mass organisations to unite and build a strong and continuous movement in order to bring pressure upon the government to get these demands implemented.

demned the highhanded and undemocratic actions of the government and police. It condemned the police firings and the killing of innocent students and people and demanded resignation of the government.

The Communist Party gave a call for hartal in protest against the police actions, and observed October 26 as a Black day when it organised one huge mass rally and demonstration in Cuttack.

The state council of the CPI in a resolution demanded the fulfilment of the students' demands and decided that in case the demands are not fulfilled within November 1, the Communist MLAs would offer satyagraha on November 2. This was subsequently postponed in view of the announcement of a judicial enquiry and the negotiations between students and government.

The Communist Party has now demanded that all students should be released forthwith and the cases instituted against them be kept in abeyance till the findings

of the judicial enquiry are out. It urged upon the government to release all non-students including the SSP and CPI leaders.

But the other demands of the students have not yet been met according to a PTI report from Bhubaneswar.

The Chief Minister Biren Mitra told newsmen on November 10 evening that he received an ultimatum in the morning from the Students' Action Committee and eleven other towns saying that unless government issued a Press communique within 24 hours accepting three of their demands, the students would follow their "own course of action".

Mitra said the government had rejected the ultimatum. One of the three demands is that all non-students arrested in connection with the agitation be released unconditionally within 24 hours.

The ultimatum also wanted all the cases against them withdrawn and further arrests stopped.

DISCUSSION PAMPHLETS

(For Party Members Only)

NO. 1

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ASSAM PREPARES FOR STATE CONFERENCE

From M. BHATTACHARYYA

SHILLONG: Local and district conferences of the Communist Party in Assam are over. Enthusiastic preparations for the 7th state conference are going on now. According to the programme drawn up by the state executive, a meeting of the state executive will be held on November 10 and 11, followed by a meeting of the state council on November 12 at Gauhati. From the afternoon of November 12, the 7th state conference will begin, it will be concluded on November 16.

The meeting of the state executive and the state council will finalise the reports to be placed before the conference. From November 9 the Audit Commission will be in session to audit the accounts.

According to available reports, in the branch, local and district conferences the Draft Programme and the Ideological document were thoroughly discussed. In most

of the conferences, majority of the delegates participated in the discussion. Some amendments to the Draft Programme were suggested by these conferences which adopted the Programme together with the amendments. Besides electing new committees and councils at the respective levels, these conferences also elected delegates to the state conference. The basis of delegation was

fixed at one for every 10 members.

About 20 sympathisers applied for Party membership at the time of the conference of Raidangoria branch of Nowgong district. Their applications were accepted by the conference. Seven sympathisers applied for Party membership at the time of the Kaziranga branch conference of Golaghat Party district. Two Party district units were organised only recently—one in Garo hills and the other in Mangaldai. These two new district units are also reported to have held their respective conferences in the mean time.

The Kamrup district council of the Party will be the host of the coming state conference. The Kamrup DC has been collecting money and other necessary materials to meet this responsibility. Volunteers have already been recruited by the Kamrup DC.

National Council Resolutions

The National Council of the Communist Party of India adopted the following resolutions in its session on November 4 at Trivandrum.

ON FIRING UPON AND MASSACRE OF STRIKING WORKERS IN KHULNA

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its great sense of horror and resentment at the news of the recent wanton killing of about 400 striking jute mill workers at Khulna in the Khulna district of East Pakistan.

It is reported that 1500 hired hooligans of the employers made an armed attack on the workers' quarters and carried out the ghastly massacre which was later completed by police firing upon the strikers. Such organised barbarity is unprecedented in the annals of the labour movement. It sheds a lurid light on the fascist character of the Ayub regime which is exposed as the bloodstained accomplice of capitalist violence against the working class.

Leaders of the Pakistan Federation of Labour and other prominent citizens of Pakistan have voiced their protest against and in condemnation of the Khulna

massacre and have demanded immediate appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry, punishment of the murderers and full compensation for the victims.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India wholeheartedly supports these demands. It sends its sympathies and condolences to the workers of Pakistan and assures them of the warmest feelings of solidarity of the Indian working people in their heroic and difficult struggles for their minimum democratic rights and demands.

The National Council hopes that various international trade union organisations, the Human Rights Commission of the UNO and the ILO of which Pakistan is a member, will take due note of the inhuman repression against the Pakistani workers and will take necessary steps to render them whatever relief and assistance is possible.

ON MISUSE OF DIR BY GOVERNMENT

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its indignation and protest against the continued misuse of the Defence of India Rules by the government for arresting and detaining without trial persons belonging to opposition political parties and leaders and workers of the democratic mass movements in different states.

A number of Communists continue to be in detention since November 1962 when they had been arrested in the name of national emergency created by the Chinese aggression on India's borders. Subsequently, the DIR has been used recklessly to put down even peaceful and constitutional agitations by the people on burning economic issues like food scarcity and rising prices and workers' struggles for bonus, DA, trade union recognition etc.

Thus 35 leaders and workers of the Maha Gujarat Samgrah Samiti are still being held in detention for having organised the "Gujarat Bandh" of August 5, 1964. A large number of arrests under the

DIR were carried out on the occasion of the recent "Bharat Bandh" call by the SSP on September 25 and the peaceful general strike in West Bengal on the same day. Earlier, during the all-India food satyagraha organised by the Communist Party in August, the DIR was used in several states to arrest and prosecute satyagrahis. One of them is in detention to this day in Bihar. So are three Communist workers of Vidharbha.

Over 30 workers of the Heavy Electrical Plant in Bhopal are still being detained in jail after the workers' struggle for trade union recognition was suppressed. The DIR has even been used to arrest and prosecute prominent journalists of opposition papers in Kerala. Today, in Orissa, where the police has run amok in the name of student "violence" people are being arrested right and left and Com. Gurucharan Patnaik, a veteran Communist leader is one of the victims of detention without trial.

The latest example of the Congress government's misuse of these powers for purely political purposes is the large-scale arrests made in Calcutta on October 30 and 31 of "left" Communists of West Bengal. The government has offered no explanation for these sudden arrests and has adduced no evidence to justify the detention of these persons without trial.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India emphatically protests against all these lawless arrests and detentions and demands immediate release of all the persons involved therein. Government's action continue to demonstrate that the sweeping powers assumed by it two years ago in the name of national defence against external aggression are more and more shamelessly being used to crush its political opponents and to suppress the democratic mass movements of the people for their legitimate demands.

The National Council reiterates its earlier demand that in the changed conditions of today, the proclamation of "national emergency" should forthwith be withdrawn and the Defence of India Act and Rules should be revoked without delay.

ON POLICE FIRINGS

IN the past few months precious lives have been lost and hundreds injured in police firings throughout the country. In Ahmedabad the police resorted to firing on August 5 to suppress the Gujarat Bandh movement against rising prices. In Marjapur and Guntakal of Andhra Pradesh, in Bellary of Mysore state, in Coimbatore of Tamilnad in Kishanganj of Bihar state firing was the answer to the people's just demand for food.

In Bhubaneswar, where students had put forward their demands, far from investigating into them and seeking a fair solution to them, the police was brought in and it resorted to indiscriminate firing, thereby aggravating the situation.

In Mahendragarh in Madhya Pradesh, police firing was resorted to against mine-workers. And again, in Yeotmal in Maharashtra, Adivasis agitating for their demands peacefully were fired upon.

All these repeated instances of firing throughout the country which show that government's policy has been one of resorting to brutal violence and repression constitute a danger to the most elementary democratic rights of the people.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India strongly condemns these police firings and extends heartfelt sympathy to the families of the victims. The National Council demands that judicial inquiry must be instituted in every instance of firing and punishment meted out to those responsible. We further demand that just compensation be paid to those injured and the families of those who have lost their lives in these firings.

The National Council calls upon all democratic forces to untidely raise their voices in support of these just demands.

DISCUSSION ON DRAFT PROGRAMME OF CPI A BASICALLY CORRECT PROGRAMME

The Draft Programme drawn by the National Council is a basically correct document, requiring certain important modifications. Such is my approach. On all the important questions facing the Indian revolution and the controversies that have engaged the attention of the CPI, the Draft Programme gives us the basically correct points of departure. The nature of India today, the class alliance for the future, the programme of action to make that future through bringing into being that class alliance—all these essential themes the programme provides the correct guide-lines.

It is necessary to categorically state this position in view of the kind of attitude adopted by Comrade Bhupesh Gupta in his note of dissent. As far as one can make out his objections are: certain gaps in the treatment of the process of the winning of independence; some statistics he finds are misleading; the character of state is somewhat defective; and the national democratic state is named as such.

On this slender basis and a great deal of rhetoric he comes to the conclusion that it is "the right, opportunist trend inside the National Council which has found its satisfactory reflection in the present draft. In fact, the right reformist trends have been consolidated in the document".

Simultaneously, he advocates a tactical line for the CPI in certain circumstances, which is right opportunism par excellence. He objects to the Draft Programme making the categorical statement that there is no question of building a general united front with the Congress as a whole. He says "it need not also be ruled out that the Congress may be thrown out of power

counted out" and its authors have missed the point that "the unifying aspect of a Draft Programme in the present situation is a singularly important consideration". Hence, the Draft Programme is defective.

This is nothing else but an appeal for eclecticism. He wants the Programme—the most basic document of the CPI for a whole strategic period—to be a hodge-podge of the views of all the trends inside and outside the Party so that everybody feels that "something is his" in the Programme, the interpretation of which can be left to that supreme eclecticism—the so-called centrist.

Obviously, all views must be listened to prior to formulating the Programme. There must be the fullest and freest discussion. But each formulation, subsequent to such discussion, must be clearcut and unequivocal without any compromise. Compromise is possible in matters of tactics and issues not involving basic principles with comrades who hold opposing view-points. But on a Programme there can be no compromise. Here, as Lenin long ago told us, the lines of division and demar-

the concept of national democracy.

In his note one searches in vain for a categorical statement as to the class character of the Indian state. The two references are that it is a "dictatorship of reactionary, exploiting classes camouflaged by parliamentary democratic form". And "the present state is the organ of the richest and most powerful sections of the ruling classes." Such formulations may pass muster in the platform oratory of confused radicals but one least expects it from a mature Marxist out on the hunt against revisionism.

All one can say is that the general drift of his note gives one the impression that Nambodiripad feels that the present Indian state is a neo-colonialist one, from which even the monopoly Indian bourgeoisie is excluded and where the imperialists are in some sort of disguised control.

While the analysis is sectarian the operative slogan flowing from it is right opportunist—no class or stratum can be excluded from the national democratic front. What is advocated is, really a general national united front appropriate for the stage of the revolution prior to the attainment of freedom.

Obsessed with his wrong understanding of the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism, Nambodiripad denies the fact and potentiality of independent capitalist development in India, thinking that any recognition of the actuality and possibility of such development converts one into an advocate of capitalism.

His second theoretical error is separating the national democratic state from non-capitalist development. He schematically argues that first the national democratic state is established, including the monopolists and the landlords, and then a struggle begins for the non-capitalist path.

Obviously, there can be no question of a national democracy as the state form of the non-capitalist path if the monopolists and landlords also share power in it. Hence, his concept of the national democratic front as a virtual cockpit of conflict and conflict alone and not one of unity as well as struggle to implement democratic non-capitalist programme.

With such fundamental flaws in his theoretical framework, it is only natural that he finds himself in basic disagreement with the Draft Programme. Unless he overcomes these serious theoretical errors he cannot be expected to agree with it.

While agreeing with the basic approach and formulations of the Draft Programme and disagreeing with Bhupesh Gupta and Nambodiripad, I hold that certain important modifications are essential.

I find that the draft programme presented to the Vijayawada Party Congress by Dange, Adhikari, and Joshi more correctly presents the features of the period of the removal of British imperialist rule and the first phase after Independence upto about

1955. There the compromising character of the bourgeoisie and the role of mass struggles in inducing a change are more clearly etched.

While the grave mistakes of the CPI in this period cannot be glossed over nor the leading role of the national bourgeoisie overlooked in the partial progressive reorientation of the policies of the Indian state, yet this does not mean that the compromising aspect of the national bourgeoisie or the fact of mass upheavals should be underplayed.

Sections II and III should be amalgamated and brought under the title "Independent Capitalist Development", so as to avoid repetition and to prevent lop-

5 The class character of the state needs to be reformulated thus: the Indian state is the organ of the class rule of the national bourgeoisie and the capitalist landlords, with the national bourgeoisie playing the leading role. The monopoly bourgeoisie exercises considerable pull over the state but neither dominates it nor leads it.

The failure to mention the capitalist landlords as part of the ruling combine would prevent a proper understanding of many state governments, while the leading role of the national bourgeoisie alone can explain the general trend of all-India development.

In addition, in this section we have to bring in the 1959

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sidedness in the presentation. In this amalgamated section, apart from correcting factual errors (into which Bhupesh Gupta also falls in his effort at correction), certain gaps have to be made up.

The danger of the PL 480 counterparty funds to the independent and progressive development of the national economy has to be brought out. The Indian monopolists' collaboration with the foreign monopolists has to be stressed through mention of the increasing trend towards joint operations on a financial and technical level between the two. The wide growth of the non-monopoly Indian bourgeoisie has to be noted. The public sector's specific features in India and the sharp class struggle around it has to be brought out.

3 In the section on the condition of the people it should be mentioned that the struggles of the people have prevented the tendency towards absolute impoverishment while relative impoverishment has taken place. The rich have got richer while the poor have not been relieved of poverty. Any exaggeration here would lead the Party to miss the specific dynamics of mass discontent in India today, which certainly does not arise from ever-lowering standards of living.

4 In the "Agrarian question" section, two points need greater stressing. One is absolute clarity and emphasis on the pivotal slogan of "land to the tiller" in the present stage of the Indian revolution. This tends to get somewhat obscured in the detailed presentation of the agrarian problem.

The other is a clear-cut class line of the Party in the countryside—relying on the agricultural labourers and poor peasants, uniting with the middle peasants and winning over the rich peasants against the feudal, semi-feudal and capitalist landlords. The elements of such a class line are scattered throughout this section but they need to be brought to focus at some point.

Kerala experience; the character and composition of the armed forces; the growing menace from right reaction to the democratic system; the defence of the existing democratic system combined with the struggle to give it mass dimensions and make it an effective instrument for rapid economic advance.

6 In the section on foreign policy mention has to be made of the weaknesses that developed even in the period prior to the Chinese aggression, which were sharply accentuated by it and which remain to be fought. At the same time a more positive assessment has to be made of the great contribution this policy made not only to consolidating India's independence and raising its international stature but also to the cause of peace and anti-colonialism on a world scale.

The time importance of preserving and consolidating world peace in the world of nuclear weapons and India's important role in this regard has to be more sharply emphasised. The struggle for peace as first duty of all Communist Parties is not adequately reflected in this section, nor, indeed, elsewhere in the Programme. Hence, a relative failure to underline the importance of protecting and developing the present basis of the foreign policy of India.

7 The section on the national democratic revolution has to be cleared of ambiguities and rid of extraneous material, which should be left for the current political resolution.

There are many passages which clearly indicate that the monopoly bourgeoisie is excluded from the national democratic front and that a differentiation has taken place in the national bourgeoisie, which is deepening and crystallising both economically and politically. It is quite evident that the authors of the Draft Programme do not envisage a sharing of power and

Amritsar Conference Discusses Party's Draft Programme

Several Modifications Suggested By Delegates

The Amritsar district conference of the Communist Party of India discussed on November 1, among other subjects, the Draft Programme of the Party.

SATYAPAL Dang made a report on the Programme, emphasised the points of differences as compared to the draft programme of the splitters. Twenty comrades took part in the discussion that followed.

Avtar Singh felt that the Draft Programme underestimated the influence and share of the monopolists in the present state as also the influence and share of the feudal landlords. He made the additional point that the Programme should also include a demand for nationalisation of textile industry also as the textile magnates were pro-imperialist.

Gurdip Singh Wadala expressed the view that the Programme should take note of a shift towards the right which has taken place in the policies of the government after Lal Bahadur Shastri became the Prime Minister—a point with which the conference agreed.

He also made the point that though it was possible that national democratic front might come into existence without the hegemony of the working class in it, leadership of the working class in it is necessary. He sought to distinguish "leadership from hegemony". Wadala also had the doubt that some people in the Party might be holding the view that in India a government of the national democratic

front might be possible even without the Communist Party.

Pritam Singh Parwana felt that the Draft Programme rightly emphasised that the main enemy was right reaction. Discussing the question of foreign policy, he expressed the view that India's foreign policy had passed through two phases and was now passing through the third. He opined that the Draft Programme dealt properly and fully with the positive aspects of the foreign policy but did not do justice to the weaknesses and vacillations. The conference felt that this criticism was correct.

STATES' AUTONOMY

He made two other points:

One, the programme to be implemented by the government of the national democratic front should include "full and greater autonomy to states." He also said that the Centre should have no power to dismiss a state government.

Second, while the second chambers in the states should be abolished, Parliament should consist of two houses—one representing the people and the other states.

Brahmi Dutt wanted a sepa-

rate detailed document on land relations and land problem in India.

Surjan Singh raised the question as to how the masses following communal parties could be brought in the national democratic front and what attitude the government of the national democratic front would adopt towards communal parties.

Purduman Singh felt that the first part of the programme was one sided as it did not deal with the compromising tendencies of the government during the period immediately after independence and the role which the mass struggles played in that period.

The conference agreed with this point as well as his second point also—that the growth of the public sector was over-emphasised and the statistics in this regard were misleading.

Purduman Singh also felt that the share of the monopolists in the state power was underestimated by the Draft Programme—a view which the delegates shared.

Gopal Singh Saidon was strongly of the view that it was wrong to talk of any progressives inside the Congress. No other delegate supported him in this or when he said that the Party wanted to form a general front with the Congress. He also made the point that the Party must stand right now for *muz-doo-hisan raj*.

Makhan Singh said that the Draft is silent regarding wide

spread corruption that has spread in the government as well as the Congress. The conference agreed that there was weight in this criticism.

Vimla Dang, among other aspects, pointed out that the Programme did not so much as mention the formation and dismissal of Communist-led Ministry in Kerala. She felt that this could not be regarded as accidental.

Other comrades who took part in the discussion included Mohinder Singh, Harzara Singh, Dewan Singh, Chaman Lal Sharma, Mohan Singh, Kirpa Singh, Ujjagar Singh and Veer Bhan.

The conference was of the unanimous view that generally the Draft Programme was on correct line (as against the draft of the splitters) but needed corrections and improvements.

By MOHIT SEN

by the forces of extreme right. Is it then to be maintained that even in such a situation there should be no truck with the Congress under any circumstances, no common front to defeat and oust a Right reactionary government whether in a state or at the centre?

Obviously, his understanding is that the Congress as a whole has no right reactionary elements, that the right is consolidated outside the Congress alone. Hence, he visualises a possibility when the CPI may have to join hands with the Congress as a whole to defeat the right. The right inside the Congress, its powerful entrenched position therein, is overlooked. Hence, the objection to the Draft programme ruling out any general united front with the Congress as a whole.

Bhupesh Gupta, who accuses the National Council of reformism, can scarcely afford to make such an outrageously right revisionist formulation. Actually his vehemence against the Draft Programme has its source in a totally wrong approach to what role a Party Programme should play.

He feels that certain views advanced by the splitters, by E. M. S. Nambodiripad and himself have been "virtually

caution must be clearly drawn. Anxiety to act the unifier should not lead one to denounce with equal vehemence basically correct position and basically wrong one. Programmatic unity and the defence of creative Marxism cannot be accomplished in this manner. It would be better to abandon altogether the effort of drafting a Programme.

As a matter of fact, it is quite evident, as Rajeswara Rao has shown, that Bhupesh Gupta essentially agrees with the Draft Programme but feels he should not say so as otherwise who will act as the mediator and unifier?

E. M. S. Nambodiripad, of course, goes one better. He finds that the Draft Programme is "out and out revisionist!" Simultaneously, he pleads for its amendment so that the monopoly bourgeoisie and capitalist landlords can also be included in the National Democratic Front and state! And yet such a front, including monopolists and landlords, has to be under working-class leadership! If this is not the grossest revisionism, then what is?

Nambodiripad's chief theoretical errors are his failure to analyse the present Indian state in class terms and his reformist understanding of

W. Bengal Discusses Party Programme

CALCUTTA: Discussions are now going on among the Party members in West Bengal on the Draft Programme of the Communist Party of India.

BRANCH conferences have begun in many districts including Midnapore and 24 Parganas which have the largest number of membership in West Bengal. In those conferences and in meetings of various branches of Calcutta the Programme is being discussed.

In Calcutta, two general body meetings of Party members and candidate members were held. One was for Bengali-speaking comrades which was addressed by Bhowani Sen and other for Hindi-speaking comrades addressed by Indrajit Gupta.

On October 31 and November 1, an extended meeting of Calcutta district council was held along with local committee members, branch executives, secretaries etc. More than a hundred comrades attended the meeting which discussed the Draft Programme. More than a dozen comrades including many members of the DC secretariat took part in the discussions which helped to sharply bring out the salient

points of the Draft Programme on which opinions in the conferences at various levels should be taken so that a clear cut programme emerges out of the Party Congress. Some of those points are:

- Whether non-capitalist path is a pre-requisite of national democracy or a programme to be undertaken after achievement of it. In a state of national democracy what will be the characterisation of the state sector?
- Whether landlords have any part in the state leadership?
- Whether any crisis of the present state and economy is envisaged, if so, how and if not, then why should we give a call for its overthrow?
- What is the role of the Indian bourgeoisie in the national-liberation struggle in India and after independence, has there been any qualitative change in the role of the bourgeoisie after independence?
- Has any differentiation taken place among the peasantry?
- Has there been any differentiation among the bourgeoisie and if so, what is the role of monopolist sections and of the big bourgeoisie. Should the monopolists be treated as strategic enemy?
- Whether there is any element of national democracy in the present state in India, if so how much and what is the crucial element among the many enumerated

Whether non-capitalist path is a pre-requisite of national democracy or a programme to be undertaken after achievement of it. In a state of national democracy what will be the characterisation of the state sector?

Whether landlords have any part in the state leadership?

Whether any crisis of the present state and economy is envisaged, if so, how and if not, then why should we give a call for its overthrow?

The speakers dealt with many of these points in their speeches. Some branches are making elaborate arrangements for discussion on the draft. The Belgatchia branch of Calcutta has arranged for five lectures on (1) introduction of the Draft Programme, (2) peasant problem, (3) foreign policy of India, (4) peaceful transition to socialism, National Democratic Front and non-capitalist path of development and (5) present situation and the Programme of the Communist Party of India.

Whether there is any element of national democracy in the present state in India, if so how much and what is the crucial element among the many enumerated

BIHAR STATE CONFERENCE Dates Announced

PATNA: Preparations are afoot to hold the Seventh Bihar State Conference of the CPI in Muzaffarpur from November 27 to December 3.

THE state executive of the Party, which met here last week, has finalised the programme for the state conference.

A schedule has been prepared to conclude the local and district conferences of the Party by the end of the third week of November. The conferences at various levels will discuss the Draft Programme of the Party and the ideological document which have been circulated by the National Council.

The state executive has taken much care to provide full opportunity to the Party members to take part in a free and frank discussion on the draft programme and other documents. Members of the state executive have been specially deputed to conduct the discussion at various levels.

Apart from discussing the Draft Programme and the ideological document, the state conference will adopt the political and organisational reports, which will be presented by the state council.

While considering the activities of the splitters in Bihar,

the executive recorded its appreciation that only a small minority of about 14,000 Party members have fallen victim to the splittism of the anti-Party elements.

The splitters have claimed that about 2,700 members had joined their Party. But a close scrutiny of the Party membership by the district councils has established that their claim was exaggerated. Estimated strength of the splitters will be about 1,500 only.

Meanwhile, several Party members who had joined the splitters, have started to come back to the Party fold. They have expressed regret for having been misled by the splitters. During this period hundreds of new militants have applied for Party membership. Many of them participated in recent food satyagraha.

The state executive has decided to enrol at least 3,000 new members before the state conference. The district councils have already begun work in right earnest to meet the target fixed by the executive.

Non-Capitalist Path Of Development

* From Overleaf

leadership in the national democratic state with the monopoly sections of the national bourgeoisie.

Therefore, it should be made clear that the non-capitalist path in India means the liquidation of the present Indian monopoly groups and the prevention of any further development of monopoly. The aspect of the restriction of capitalism as an integral part of the non-capitalist process needs highlighting. In our conditions there can be no non-capitalist development which does not smash at the outset Indian monopoly capital and regulate the further development of capitalism.

Correspondingly, where the question of the sharing of power and leadership in the national democratic state is answered, the exclusion of the monopoly bourgeoisie must be made quite explicit. And, on this question of sharing leadership, it should be made clear that this is a real possibility in India in the new epoch because the tasks of the national democratic revolution can be carried out even prior to the establishment of proletarian hegemony.

It is also a necessity in India because of the economic and political power of the non-monopoly national bourgeoisie which, in today's relation of class forces, will unite with the working class only on the basis of sharing power and leadership.

Further, there should be no confusion about the strategic objective, i.e., a national de-

democratic state qualitatively different from the present bourgeois democratic state and the product of a revolutionary mass struggle. The question of imposing left shifts in government policies, which is an important tactical objective, should not be confused with the strategic objective.

The Programme must not be tied down to concrete details of how the strategic objective is to be attained, since these will be determined by the very course of the mass struggles of today and tomorrow and we cannot work out a rigid pattern for them now. Similarly, possible changes in the composition of the present government must not be confused with the winning of a national democratic state.

Congress Right

In the section on political parties there is insufficient recognition of the power and influence of Right reaction inside the Congress, as well as of the influx into it of the enemies of the national democratic front since the winning of freedom.

Further, the SSP does not seem to be a sufficiently stabilised entity to warrant mention in a Programme.

In the concluding section there should be some elaboration of the historic contribution that the CPI has made to the freedom struggle of our people and in the post independence development of India. This should

be soberly done, without glossing over of our inadequacies and mistakes to give ourselves a legitimate sense of pride.

In addition, the independence of the CPI, even as it struggles for the unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of creative Marxism, should be clearly mentioned. We should not com-

mit ourselves to categorical and complete support of the 1957 and 1960 documents, except in a broad sense. There are quite clearly erroneous and obsolete formulations in both these documents which do not rob them, however, of epochal significance.

It is a great merit of the CPI that, despite all the tremendous odds, it has been

able to draft a basically correct Programme. The modifications suggested above do not detract from this great accomplishment. On the basis of the finalised Programme, the CPI must initiate a great upsurge of Marxist investigation and study of the details of India's reality and, thus, establish the guiding role of our ideology.

AMBALA DIST. CONFERENCE PLANS MASS AGITATION

CHANDIGARH: The Seventh Conference of the Ambala District Council of the CPI which concluded at Kurali on November 1, resolved to launch an agitation in conjunction with other progressive forces in the district for the achievement of the three long-pending demands of this district for its development, namely (i) the provision of irrigation facilities to the unirrigated land in the district comprising, about 90 per cent of the total cultivated land, (ii) the development of the ravine-ridden submountainous backward 'GHAR' area which constitutes one half of the district, and (iii) the fixation of Sugar cane price at Rs. 3 per maund and exemption of one acre of grown sugar cane under the compulsory procurement order.

The conference decided to launch direct action if the new ministry does not ensure the fulfilment of these demands. A series of conferences followed by signature campaign, demonstrations and hungerstrikes and other forms of struggle, if necessary, were decided upon.

The political-organisational report presented by Gurbax Singh Dewan, secretary of the council pointed out that the Party had improved its influence in the district and had, besides snatching a seat in the Punjab Assembly itself, helped to defeat Congress candidates in two other constituencies in the district.

The Party played commendable role for national defence against Chinese aggression as well as for mass campaign against rises in taxation and prices. The conference decided to continue the struggle for reduction in prices, 25 per cent wage increase of workers, tax reduction, nationalisation of banks and state take-over of wholesale food trade etc.

The conference condemned the disruption by the so-called leftists and expressed its desire to work for reunification of the Communist movement. It condemned the arrest of leftist leaders in West Bengal and demanded their

unconditional release and also appealed in a resolution, to the Calcutta gathering to reverse the split.

In another resolution, the conference welcomed the announcement by the Government of India that it would not join the atomic race in spite of Chinese Atomic Bomb and called upon the governments of the world to sign an early agreement banning all atomic tests and bombs and work for disarmament.

The district conference elected a council of 33 members and an executive of 15 members. Gurbax Singh Dewan was re-elected secretary and Shamsher Singh Josh M.L.A., Tehu Ram, president of the district Kisan Sabha, Hukam Chaud Sharma and Giani Dayal Singh were elected to the secretariat.

Other members of the district executive were Manmohan Kant, Dhani Ram, M. C. Kurali, Shankar Bhan, Jang Singh, Anup Rai, Mal Singh, Ran Singh, Inder Singh, Balbir Singh Bindra and Ujjagar Singh.



Nehru made his first trip to Moscow to participate in the Tenth Anniversary celebrations of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

ZIAUL HAQ

a critical and creative approach.

Many were the occasions when Nehru found himself in sharp disagreement with Soviet policies of the moment, and yet he never allowed these passing disagreements to affect his basic appreciation, understanding and sympathy for the "Soviet experiment" nor to cloud the fundamental identity of interests which he had discovered early between India and the Soviet Union. For, even in 1927 he had come to the conclusion that the Soviet Union was the mightiest force against imperialism and the most powerful bulwark of peace.

He warned India even then not to fall prey to the anti-Soviet propaganda of the Imperialists, particularly the British Imperialists, at that time.

Against Fascism

At every step later on he led the Indian National Congress, entire progressive Indian opinion and the broad Indian masses to oppose the imperialist policies which aimed, according to him, at "encircling and strangling" the Soviet Union. He made anti-fascism the cause of the Indian people.

It was this advice of Lenin's that he wanted to see adopted and applied in his own country. Except for the first few years after his return to India and then during the middle thirties, unfortunately he found that this was not the case.

Faced with such a situation he chose for himself then the path of pushing forward to the goal of independence and socialism through the Congress, however inadequate an instrument it might be, relying on a direct approach to the masses over whom he had come to acquire a tremendous hold, thanks to the fact that he voiced their aspirations as no one else did.

He presided over the creation in 1938 of the National Planning Committee, about whose efforts he later wrote: "Constituted as we were, not only in our Committee but in the larger field of India, we could not then plan for socialism as such. Yet it became clear to me that our Plan, as it developed, was inevitably leading towards establishing some of the fundamentals of the socialist structure."

It was his vision which made him see right from the beginning that there was no future for India in following the capitalist path. In socialism alone lay the salvation of India, he realised and pro-

We are too near his time to be able to assess in its full magnitude the merit and contribution of Jawaharlal Nehru; we were much less in a position to do so while he moved in our midst.

TIME and time again we were constrained to describe him as an enigma, confessing thus to a bankruptcy and failure of our own ideological equipment. He would not let us fit him into one of the straitjackets that our understanding provided us at that time. So much the worse

for him, we thought, and tried to go forward, trying to pass him by. But he was still there refusing to be bypassed, taking us by surprise by some sudden move of his which we least expected.

Now that he is no more we try to sort out his legacy and join the rest of our countrymen who cherish his memory in order together to carry to our people a deeper and fuller understanding of what he stood for, to make it the lever for striving to achieve what he strove all his life to accomplish in his own way.

after Chauri-Chaura and its diversion by sly and unconscious tools of imperialism into channels of communal disruption, left Jawaharlal Nehru, along with the vast majority of the activists of that struggle, groping for firm ideological moorings which would help them find the direction. Not till he undertook his 1926-27 trip to Europe did this groping end for Jawaharlal Nehru.

Anti-Imperialists At Brussels

It was a Europe that had felt the full impact of the Great October Revolution and was still living through that impact. Jawaharlal was inevitably drawn into this maelstrom.

Attracted To Socialism

He was attracted towards socialism from the earliest days he could recall. In his Autobiography Nehru speaks of his "vague socialist ideas of college days" and of "my growing drift towards Extremism" in the years of the first world war, when "fresh readings were again stirring the embers of socialist ideas in my head." It was in this background of "stirring" that the post-war upsurge arose in India under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership.

The movement for national independence was transformed for the first time from a drawing room gossip and petition-mongering affair into a recurring and spiralling struggle of the masses with tens of millions peasants participating in it.

ing months he noticed that wherever he went people asked him about Russia; all around he found a pervading "fascination of Russia".

"Fascination Of Russia"

"Since my return from Europe," he wrote in the first of the series of newspaper articles which were later published as a booklet, "I have been frequently asked about Russia.

"In spite of limited knowledge of the subject, I have gladly responded, for I have welcomed this spirit of enquiry and this interest in a country which has many points of contact with ours, and which has launched on one of the mightiest experiments in history. All the world is watching her, some with fear and hatred, and others with passionate longing to follow in her path..."

"For us in India the fascination is even greater, and our self-interest compels us to understand the vast forces which have upset the old order of things and brought a new world into existence."

Subsequent events showed that as far as he himself was concerned the "fascination of Russia" was no passing fancy. With him it was never a case of a god falling, for he never made it into a god. It became an abiding attachment as it was based on a profound understanding and

When he was attacked by Rightists inside and outside the Congress for this stand, he addressed a rejoinder "To My Friends and Critics", saying:

"I believe in the basic economic theory which underlies the social structure of Russia. I think also that Russia has made the most remarkable progress: culturally, educationally and industrially, and even spiritually, if I may use the word in its real sense."

Confidence Vindicated

Unflinching in the face of these critics' attacks he did a tremendous amount of work in popularising the ideas of socialism and its embodiment, the Soviet Union, in those years. At the same time he reiterated again and again that he did "not accept or approve of everything that has taken place in Russia and therefore do not propose to follow blindly the example of Russia."

In a letter written to his daughter from prison in February 1933, he cited Lenin's warning against Marxism being turned by its adherents into a dogma. Appropriately he quoted the following passage from Lenin: "We think that it is especially necessary for Russian socialists to undertake an independent study of Marxist theory for that theory gives only the general guiding ideas which can be applied differently in England, for instance than in France, differently in France than in Germany, differently in Germany than in Russia."

Nehru And National Liberation Movement

Jawaharlal Nehru has left a deep imprint not only on the life of his country and people. His selfless struggle against colonialism and consistent efforts for peace and the relaxation of international tension have ensured him a top place of honour among the outstanding leaders of the 20th century.

LIKE any really great person, Jawaharlal Nehru was extraordinarily many-sided. The story of his life is to all intents and purposes the story of the struggle of the Indian people for their independence. Jawaharlal Nehru played an outstanding role in this struggle. We know that

the Soviet people for always having been a friend of the Soviet state, for having understood and appraised the role and significance of the Great October Revolution in the world historical process, for always having supported the peace initiatives of the Soviet state.

V. V. Balabushevich

Gandhi always regarded Nehru as his successor.

The peoples of India and other countries will always remember Jawaharlal Nehru as the first Prime Minister of independent India, who guided his country's home and foreign policy for 17 years on end, ensuring it an outstanding place on the world arena. Nehru is especially dear to

The fact that firm friendly relations and mutual understanding now exist between India and the Soviet Union and that the friendship between us is continuing to develop and consolidate in the interests of the peoples of both countries, in the interests of peace the world over, is much to the credit of Jawaharlal Nehru.

These are but a few of the many aspects of Nehru's many-sided activities. Personally, I would like to dwell on Nehru's role in the national-liberation movement of the Indian people. It goes without saying that this problem can and, undoubtedly, will serve as a topic for countless researches. Here, however, I will only touch briefly upon some of its aspects.

First of all I would like to stress that, throughout his

Prof. Balabushevich is a well-known Soviet Indologist and at present he heads the Indian department in the Institute of the Peoples of Asia, USSR Academy of Sciences. He personally knew Jawaharlal Nehru very closely.



Nehru with Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan during one of his visits to the land of the Pakhtoons.

life, Jawaharlal Nehru wrathfully exposed colonialism and ardently championed the freedom of his people and the oppressed peoples of other countries. Passionate patriotism, belief in his people and in their bright future, exposure of the reactionary role of the imperialists stand out in all his published writings, public addresses, and practical activity.

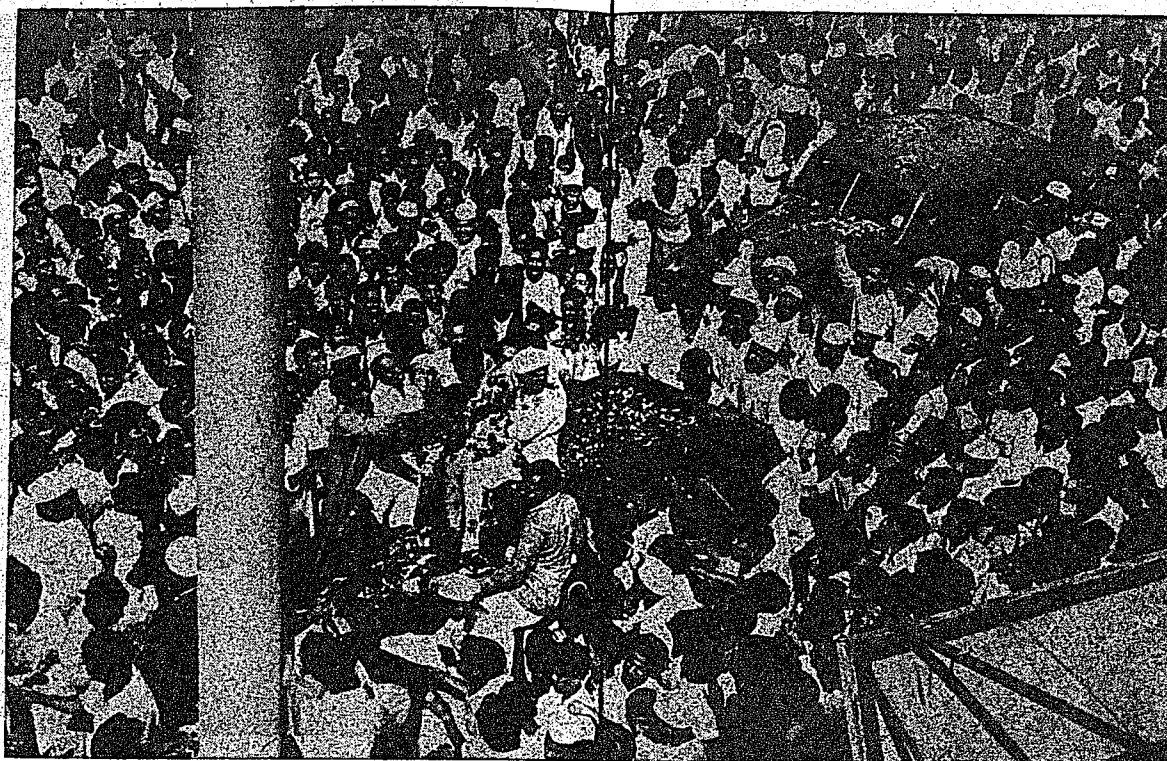
Jawaharlal Nehru spoke with bitterness and wrath about the dire consequences of the rule of the colonialists in the East. In the chapter of his "Autobiography" devoted to the consequences of British rule in India, he noted that the 175 years of alien domination were detrimental to the economic, social, political, spiritual and other most diverse spheres of life of India.

The British colonialists obstructed India's industrial development in every way, thus retarding social progress and preserving vestiges of feudalism. If industry still and at all did grow to some extent, Nehru writes, it was because of the force of events and not the goodwill of the British, as the apologists of imperialism claim.

Debunking The Raj

Nehru indignantly refuted the allegation of the British imperialists that they had brought India peace and progress. Debunking the myth about certain "beneficial consequences" of British rule, about the alleged unity and peace "granted" India, Nehru indicated the methods the colonialists used to retain their domination. Their arsenal included both ruthless police suppression of actions of the masses and the policy of artificially fanning discord between diverse religious communities, between diverse peoples and ethnical groups.

Exposing colonialism, Nehru came out resolutely against the distortion of Indian history by British historians who were apologists of imperialism. He writes that the histories of India which most of them had occasion to read, penned mainly by British, were usually verbose, vindications of and eulogies to British rule and a thinly veiled



Jawaharlal Nehru on being released from Ahmednagar Fort in 1945 is given a tremendous welcome by the people of Delhi.

disdainful description of what had taken place in India in the course of the preceding millenniums. Even the history of the period during which the British held sway was distorted, with a view to glorifying their rule and virtues, he pointed out.

It is to a considerable extent due to the influence of Nehru, that Indian historians are now carrying out the big patriotic task of creating the real history of their country, of revising the concepts of colonialist historiography. I had the opportunity of seeing this for myself when I attended the regular session of the Congress of Indian Historians in December last year.

Having profoundly realised the disastrous consequences of British rule for his country, Nehru dedicated all his strength and energy to the struggle against colonialism, to the cause of liberating his Homeland. He actively joined the national-liberation movement immediately after returning from England, where he received an education in Cambridge. He became a vigorous participant in all the civil disobedience campaigns organised in India under the leadership of the National Congress Party and Gandhi.

But Nehru immediately occupied a special place in the national-liberation movement and in the Indian National Congress Party. He formed and headed the

left wing in the Congress, which put forward the demand to grant India full independence, whereas under the official programme of the Congress in those years the goal was to attain Swaraj, which could be interpreted in different ways, including the status of a dominion under British rule.

It was to a considerable extent under the influence of Jawaharlal Nehru, who sensed the mood of the masses much better than the moderates in the Congress, that the Party's annual session, held in Madras in 1927, at his proposal adopted for the first time in its history the demand to grant India complete national independence. Therein lies Nehru's great service to the national-liberation movement of India.

The outstanding place Nehru took up in the national-liberation movement of India was to a great extent due to his striving to be closer to the people, to understand the needs of the broad masses. You will find some splendid statements dedicated to the Indian peasantry in his writings. In the "Discovery of India," he wrote that the Indian peasant is India more than anyone else and that the visits he paid to the Indian peasantry were for him "a real voyage of discovery".

"And," he wrote, "while I was always painfully con-

* ON PAGE 12

POSITIVE NATIONAL POLICIES

* FROM OVERLEAF

structure" that Nehru spoke of have certainly been established, though maybe not exactly in the same way as he originally thought they would be.

Whether Nehru could have advanced the cause of socialism in India by adopting some other course for himself is a hypothetical question. In answering that question one would also have to apportion responsibility partly to those who imposed secta-

rian and dogmatist policies on the international Communist movement and on the Communist Party of India.

What we are concerned with now is the fact that the consciousness of the people has been moulded during the last forty years under the powerful impact of Nehru's ideas and his campaigning for those ideas in all the four corners of the country. To take only a few of these: rejection of capitalism, sponsoring of socialism, strengthening Indo-Soviet cooperation — these ideas are a great asset of the

Indian democratic and progressive movement on which it can base itself in the next stage of its advance.

Neither the vituperations of Right reaction nor the pooh-poohing of it by the extreme Left should be allowed to destroy or belittle this great asset and legacy which the Indian people have inherited and which they need so much in charting their advance along the non-capitalist path of development towards a fully socialist structure of economy and social organisation.

It was my exceptional privilege to be invited to organise a chair of Islamic Studies at the University of Santiniketan and I could stay for three years (1929-32) in India.

DURING this period I extensively travelled across the sub-continent and had opportunity to meet many of the prominent thinkers and Indian patriots. Rabindranath Tagore was the head of the unique institution of Santiniketan and I was fortunate to listen to his wise talk on literature, art and music.

I was happy to get into the presence of Gandhiji in his ashram at Sabarmati, and also met the great heroes of Indian independence, Sardar Patel, Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru.

The impression which I gained on meeting Nehru, this outstanding personality was overwhelming. His talk in the most elaborate English and his soft voice betrayed the deep thinker and the self-sacrificing patriot of his mighty people. In 1930 the struggle for Indian freedom was at its highest and the political constellation of the world was not favourable to a sudden change for the independence of India.

Confidence In Future

Mahatmaji started his campaign of gaining salt from the sea, but the demonstrations in the streets brought only brutal repression. Jawaharlal Nehru, however, was strongly convinced that time and its natural evolutionary force will ultimately bear results.

"We have many illnesses," he once told me, "we must conquer ourselves first, cure our diseases, and free ourselves from superstitions, which are alien to the nature of India. It is our philosophy based on truth which will help us to overcome our differences."

His words were the words of a sage, a politician and a wise pundit and his prophecy has turned out true.

It was in 1958, twenty-eight years after the above sentences were spoken, that I again met Jawaharlal Nehru. This time it was not at his home at Allahabad, but at the residence of the Prime Minister of India in New Delhi that we met. He graciously received me together with my wife.

We stepped through the living wall of guards into the spacious reception-room. Behind a huge writing table a slim gentleman stood up and acknowledged our namaskar. He made the impression

MAN WHO THOUGHT FOR THE PEOPLE

they finish their studies, and the workers, artisans, businessmen in the state-owned factories, respectively in the few private enterprises.

"And the beggars?" The clear, thoughtful eyes looked searchingly for a reply.

"There are no beggars. The invalids receive regular subsidies or are placed in special homes. Everybody who has uninterruptedly worked for at least ten years or more enjoys a corresponding pension. Those who are ill receive free medical treatment and provision. The National Health Service, the state hospitals and the medical research institutes fight heroically for the improvement of public health."

The inquisitive look increased in tension. "How can the government provide for all these immense expenses?"

"Excellency," I answered, and my reply elicited a benevolent smile. "I am an orientalist and not a mathematician. But the fact is, that everybody works strenuously and with a sure confidence for the common cause. Nobody wants to exploit his fellow-man and all the surplus income flows into the government treasury, from which it is fairly distributed. Consequently, we are saved from misery, and have no haughty rich and abject poor. I confess that this is a hard task, but our people grasped the meaning of justice to all and the system works well."

Cultural Life

Nehru's face regained its usual serenity.

"How is your life of culture?"

"Scientific research and the publication of books have reached an amount unknown before. There are no illiterates and every village has electric light and a public library. Twenty years ago the publication of 4,000 copies of a novel was considered a success, now novels appear at the rate of 30,000 copies. Scientific works reach the number of 10,000 copies. Our universities of science and arts draw many foreign students and post-graduates."

"Yes," he said corroborating my statement, "We, Indians also received invitations, but I am sorry to say, the Hungarian language seems to be an obstacle." He paused for a while.

"I shall send some post-graduates to Hungary," he said promisingly and really after some years a number of Indian students started their studies in Hungary, under the guidance of experts in agriculture, veterinary surgeons, archaeologists and metallurgists.

"What is your view about the development of the Arabic language? Some scholars in Pakistan suggested it to be introduced as the official medium, as it is the language of the Koran."

I took up the question with alacrity, as it touched my most intrinsic line of study.

"Excellency," I answered, "I am aware of the importance of the Arabic language to all Muslims, without regard to their native tongue. I also know that the sometime official language of Moghul-ruled India, Urdu, has a large number of Arabic words, still these words, whatever their number may be, do not lead to the perfect understanding of an Arabic text based on the Arabic grammar. I think the obligatory enforcing of the Arabic language upon the Muslim population of any non-

Arab country is an unaccomplishable dream."

"Well, Professor," was the next question, "you are a historian, what do you think of the possible future of mankind?"

"I think that personal jealousy and vanity must disappear behind the real interests of peoples. No people on earth has ever wanted war without the artificial irritation created for some personal or sectarian profit. In war passion obscures common sense and pseudo-

who suddenly noticed the tiny notebook in her hand. He laughed aloud as if catching the dumb request and a sweet smile lingered on the noble face while he wrote his autograph in Hindi and English.

Rich with an extraordinary experience immortalised by his hand, we stood up and took leave, leaving one of the greatest men of our age to continue his indefatigable care and work for mankind.

A. K. Julius Germanus

patriotic slogans inebriate the multitude which rushes blindly into destruction.

"We all must obstruct such slogans and instead teach from the elementary school up to the university and through the press that war has not solved any problem, it brought only annihilation to human, material and spiritual values. I hope, however, that the devastating power of modern weapons will scare the politicians from running amok once again."

The handsome face showed an expression for a moment which slowly went over into sadness, accompanied with a deep sigh. He surely was the most responsible statesman who felt the burden of wisely governing his people and save the world from a cataclysm.

My wife and I sat silently before him, deeply touched by the magnitude of the moment. Some more questions followed and the tension gradually lessened. A short pause broke in, and my wife cast a timid glance at the Premier,

The guards presented arms as we passed by to meet our secretary, who anxiously waited for us during the long interview which lasted for more than an hour.

India has lost one of her great sons; his ashes scattered over the soil will hallow the earth of India and exhort the Indian people to follow his noble example. We, far away from India, will ever respect his memory and derive benefit from the high spirituality of India he has embodied.

 Eighty-year old Dr. Julius Germanus is one of the noted Hungarian Indologists. He was a professor in the Shantiniketan for three years. He is now a professor in the Budapest University. In this article, he recalls one of his meetings with Jawaharlal Nehru.



Nehru with George Bernard Shaw during one of his visits to England.

SAGA OF GOAN FREEDOM

STRUGGLE



The history of the Goan freedom struggle is a long one. It is one of the longest of anti-colonial resistance. And it is as old as the Portuguese colonial aggression in India. It is a long, long story of centuries of savage oppression, of untold sufferings and sacrifices and many a gallant feat of heroic resistance.

THE forcing of the gates of India by the Portuguese invaders to Western imperialism is certainly one of the ghastliest episodes in human history. The occupation of Goa by Afonso de Albuquerque and his pirates is a sordid tale of bloodshed, rape and loot, a tale of fire and sword, guile and treachery.

resistance put up by the Goan people. Very significant too is the fact that it took the intruders a good three centuries to conquer the 1309 sq. miles of territory that is Goa.

The barbarity of the methods of subjugation, inspired by rapacity and religious fanaticism culminated in the instauration in Goa of the Court of the Inquisition, that monumental ignominy, which condemned its victims to

be burnt alive after the most unimaginable processes of sadistic humiliation and torture. And this iniquitous institution functioned in Goa for well over two centuries.

Encountering a highly civilised society, whose culture their barbarian minds failed to understand, the Portuguese colonialists, in order to consolidate their aggression, set to destroying all that could inspire the people to rise against their domination. Tyrannical laws made everything native to the people a crime. Language, religion, art and culture, habits and customs, everything became a target of bestial persecution. Temples, books, homes and heroic hearts were all, in the name of Christianity and "civilisation"

consumed in flames. Whole sections of the population abandoned their homes and fled to find the right to live and peace elsewhere.

But even long after the colonialists had succeeded in firmly establishing their domination and the initial savage frenzy had abated, when the

about 35 revolts from a martial community, the Ranes. These were mainly agrarian in character and the result of confiscation of lands by the Portuguese rulers. Many of the Ranes were treacherously murdered and many others deported to Africa and Timor from where they never returned. Some

By BERTA BRAGANZA

position of their long and brutal process of denationalisation and mental enslavement had corroded into their victims, mainly of the privileged classes, armed revolts kept them permanently on the alert.

of these revolts lasted from one to four years. Most of them were ruthlessly put down, with armies brought for the purpose from the Portuguese colonies in Africa and Lisbon.

But in several cases the rebels were able to force their demands. For the most part, however, treachery and brutality put an end to the rebellion and the valiant fighters, Babu Rane, Custoba Dessai, Dado Rano, Morio Saxon, Gil Saxon and Quixoto are names that have come from those gallant fights into many a Goan folk song and tale.

If that was true of armed struggles not less courageous and assertive of national dignity and pride were other fights for rights and reforms carried on constitutional lines in the 19th century and in which shine names like that of Bernardo Peres da Silva, Fr.

ism, for peace and the relaxation of world tension?

Nehru's participation in the Brussels Congress of Oppressed Peoples, which brought together representatives of the colonial countries and of the left wing of the working-class movement in Europe and which had as its aim joint struggle against imperialism, testifies that, back in the first period of his political activity, he already understood, the importance of uniting all the progressive forces for successful struggle against the common enemy. Recalling his participation in the Brussels Congress, Nehru emphasized that the ideas about the need for some sort of joint actions of the oppressed peoples, and also of the joint actions of these peoples and the left wing of the working-class movement enjoyed great popularity.

It was becoming ever clearer, he noted, that the struggle for freedom was a com-

mon struggle against a common enemy—imperialism and that for this purpose it was desirable jointly to work out a plan of action, and also, as far as possible, to undertake joint actions.

These are some of the aspects of the activity of Jawaharlal Nehru, one of the outstanding leaders of the national-liberation movement. Nehru dedicated all his strength, all his tremendous talent to the great cause of struggle for the freedom of his Homeland, and his leadership was an important factor contributing to the successful culmination of this struggle.

It is painful to realize that Jawaharlal Nehru is no longer with us. But what he did for his Homeland can well be envied, for it is hard to do more for one's country and one's people.

NEHRU & LIBERATION MOVEMENT

*From Centre Pages

scious of the failings and weaknesses of my people, I found in India's countryfolk: something difficult to define, which attracted me. That something I had missed in our middle classes."

Nehru was also associated with the working-class movement and was even Chairman of the All-India Trade Union Congress for one year. He believed that it was the people who "played the main role" and decided the destinies of history. This understanding of the role of the masses in the national-liberation movement, in the historical process is a most important feature of Nehru's activity as one of the leaders of the national-liberation movement of India. In this respect, he went farther, to my mind, than his teacher Gandhi, who also did a great deal to draw the masses into the struggle against colonialism.

From the very beginning of his activities, Jawaharlal Nehru worked vigorously for the full national independence of India. However, he understood, very well that political independence, political freedom was only the first step in the right direction. He realized that, without profound social and economic transformations, the country could not wipe out the consequences of the long years

of colonial rule, could not ensure an improvement in the living conditions of the toiling masses.

Hence his conviction that capitalism had exhausted its progressive potentialities and that the only key to the solution of both world problems and the problems of India was socialism.

Of course, Nehru's understanding of socialism differs from the way Marxists understand it. But the very fact that Nehru resorted to socialist theory testifies that he realized perfectly well the fallaciousness and the doom of the capitalist road of development and sought a way out in another direction.

Nehru's quests undoubtedly also reflected the spontaneous refusal of the Indian people to accept capitalism, their striving to create a just society free of exploitation.

SOVIET EXAMPLE

Two circumstances played a big role in Nehru proposing socialism as the only road for India to take in its further development, namely, his study of the works of Marx and Lenin and the practical achievements in socialist construction of the Soviet Union. He mentions this again and again in his writings and public add-

resses. He invariably spoke with great cordiality and warmth about the Soviet Union and highly appraised the achievements of the Soviet people in building a socialist society.

He wrote that he was attracted by the sweeping changes taking place in Russia. He called our country a "herald of hope." Nehru said that "the Soviet Revolution had advanced human society by a great leap" and that if the future was full of hope, this was due in the main to Soviet Russia and everything that it had done.

OVERCOMING ISOLATION

One of the most vital and deplorable consequences of British rule, Nehru maintains, was India's isolation from the other countries of Asia and from the progressive movements in Europe. Nehru highly valued the unity of the Asian peoples, so necessary for successful struggle against colonialism. In his "Discovery of India," he wrote that world events and common interests compel the countries of Asia to turn to one another once again. Is it any surprise, then, that Nehru subsequently became one of those who spared no efforts and energy in uniting the young countries of Asia and Africa for the struggle against colonial-

ing to accede to the wishes of the people while, on the other, he surreptitiously sent for troops from Portugal.

Soon, thousands of European and African troops poured into Goa and with that began a right royal fascist repression.

The first victim was T. B. Cunha. He was arrested while walking on the road and whisked away to the military prison Fortress of Aguada. He was then court-martialled, and deported to Portugal to be imprisoned in the Fortress of Peniche, where lan-

The World Conference for Peace and International Co-operation, now in session in NEW DELHI, is discussing one of the most important subjects in today's world—the struggle for national independence, against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The liberation of Goa, the elimination of the last vestiges of Portuguese imperialism on the soil of India, is an outstanding landmark in the struggle for national liberation. The world conference will be holding a special meeting of solidarity with the freedom struggle of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and other Portuguese colonies on November 17.

The present article traces the background to the liberation of Goa in this context.—Ed.

quish the heroic Portuguese resistors to the Salazar Dictatorship.

But nothing daunted the Goan patriots. The fight went on. The lock-ups and jails filled up. Military trials took place of whole groups of prisoners. The Fortress of Aguada was overcrowded with sentences ranging from 3 to 28 years imprisonment. Others were deported to join T. B. Cunha in Peniche and some years later still others to the inhospitable regions of Angola and Cabo Verde.

When the civil liberties movement began in 1946, India's independence from British domination was still to come. But it was on the threshold and it seemed a certainty that with the exit of the British, the Portuguese would also go the same way.

AFTER INDEPENDENCE

India's independence came. Its advent was celebrated with delicious joy in Goa in the teeth of the raging Portuguese colonialists. But India failed to seize the opportunity to clear its soil of Portuguese colonialism. The Indian leadership not acquainted with the nature of fascism and nursing undue confidence in the British imperialists adopted a legalistic attitude which only gave a longer lease to the Portuguese colonialism in India.

Dictator Salazar aided and abetted by his Anglo-American allies grew in arrogance. Repression mounted. Following slops and armies came the P.I.D.E., the Dictator's Gestapo, with its debasing processes of espionage, of denunciation, of savage torture.

But in the face of it all, the movement took on volume. The initial civil liberties movement of the days prior to India's independence developed into a clear, active and full-fledged movement for freedom from colonial domination and re-unification with India.

By 1951 the movement had grown to such proportions that

Salazar, alarmed, took refuge in legislative jugglery. Overnight "Colonies" became "Overseas Provinces". The Colonial Act was conveniently modified to suit the situation and incorporated in the Dictatorship's Constitution.

Then Portugal joined the NATO and NATO weapons came to Goa. Goan and Western mercenaries prostituted their pens to serve the Dictator's propaganda, painting Goa as a paradise of plenty and happiness and about the filial devotion of the Goan people to the colonialist rulers. And Salazar's

braggart mounted, his stubbornness increased and he proclaimed that Portugal would never negotiate with India, that Goa could only be taken by force and that the Portuguese soldiers would fight to the last. Of course, we know

what happened when the Indian army did march into Goa.

On the other hand, the Goan and other Indian vested interests who had found in gold smuggling into India, which was one of the main sources of the colonialist government's revenue, a profitable trade went all out in support of the colonialists. And across the border, Indian reactionaries and lackeys of the Western imperialists played havoc with the sufferings and sacrifices of the Goan patriots and people. Ignorant bureaucrats and careerists inspired by the lessons they had learnt from their erstwhile British masters only sowed dissent and division in the ranks of the freedom fighters, who had escaped from Goa and setup headquarters of the movement in Bombay and the border town of Belgaum.

But in face of it all, the movement went on. In Goa, the underground workers continued to keep the colonialists in a permanent

state of alarm. All great dates in the Indian national struggle and other dates connected with the Goan struggle were celebrated with planting of the Indian flag on houses and tree-tops, posters and slogans and distribution of leaflets. On occasions, open demonstrations also took place. The jails and lock-ups were permanently over-crowded. Police raids on homes and villages, attacks on women by soldiers, espionage, permanent fear of suspicion and all the expert technique of physical and mental torture by the FIDE was the order of the day. In free India, the Goan patriots carried on a two-pronged fight: one, against the colonialist rulers and the other, against the internal enemies of Goa's freedom.

GOA ACTION COMMITTEE

T. B. Cunha who had in 1953 returned to India after a spectacular escape from Lisbon was the indisputable leader of the freedom forces outside Goa. The Goa Action Committee formed by him was a coordinating body of the various groups and parties engaged in the struggle.

It brought together on a common platform dissenting groups and was a thorn in the flesh of the elements interested in hampering the movement by keep-



Liberation Army personnel guarding Secretariat (Dec. 19, 1961).

ing up dissensions among the groups and parties. His fortnightly journal, the FREE GOA carried on a relentless fight against the props of colonialism—both international and national and for a revision of the Indian policy, for the need to view the question of the liquidation of Portuguese colonialism as an Indian national problem to be solved by the Indian government setting aside all unnecessary scruples inspired by the Western imperialists. It called upon the Indian leadership to mobilise their forces to bring about that change.

His efforts did not go in vain. In 1954, started a close cooperation of the Indian political parties and the Goa Action Committee.

(To be Concluded)

NEW AGE

Subscription Rates

Inland: Yearly	Rs. 12
Half-yearly	Rs. 6
Quarterly	Rs. 3
Foreign: Yearly	Rs. 20
Half-yearly	Rs. 10

All cheques, drafts etc. are to be made payable to T. Madhavan and not to New Age

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New Delhi
Phone: 271002 & 271794

Bumper Harvest, Better Prospects

MOSCOW: On the eve of the celebrations of the 47th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, newspapers are full of reports of successes on the production front. The grain harvest this year has beaten all previous records. Successes on the earth are matched by the recent astonishing feats in space.

A number of articles have appeared on the world significance of the first victorious socialist revolution and the role of the Soviet Union in accelerating the tempo of historic developments of society towards socialism. Articles bring out the great changes that have taken place in the world during the last 47 years. Articles, pronouncements, discussions of Communist Parties and foreign visitors made it clear beyond doubt that the basic Soviet policies of the last decade are to continue. Although the Soviet Union has taken the initiative in stopping all direct criticism of the Chinese leadership, it has once again reiterated with clarity and reaffirmed all those principles of basic internal and external policy on which strong differences with the Chinese leadership exist.

I understand on good authority that in the recent discussions which led to the change in leadership here no charge of revisionism against Khrushchev was brought forward, nor was there any criticism to suggest that the basic foreign policy line was being violated by him.

Indira Gandhi's visit at this time has also been very useful in bringing clarity in Soviet-Indian relations and removing any possible doubts that might have arisen or fostered by interested propaganda.

Premier Kosygin in a one and a quarter hour meeting with Mrs. Gandhi is believed to have emphatically said that reports to the contrary in foreign press were entirely false. And President Mikoyan repeatedly told her that Nikita Khrushchev's policy of friendship towards India was not only his policy but the policy of the whole leadership and will continue. Soviet-Indian friendship was not a bargaining counter and could not be exchanged for the friendship of any other country.

Assistance To India

The Soviet Union is continuing assistance to India for the defence of her sovereignty and integrity. In this connection, the recent visit of the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Navy, Rear-Admiral Samson was also significant. I understand that the Soviet side is not only going to abide by all commitments but has shown willingness to extend cooperation in the sphere of India's defence needs.

Indian experts have been very much impressed by the quality of Soviet equipment

offered; and the fact that the Soviet Union is willing to give India the most up-to-date and big things whereas Britain had always given obsolete equipment has also been much appreciated by them.

It seems that our visiting naval experts are all for accepting the Soviet offers but pressures on the Indian government from other sides, USA and Britain in particular, are still in the way. All delays and hesitations seem to come from the Indian side in this matter. The visits of defence experts to Britain and Chavvan's visit there are indications of this state of affairs. The futile hankering after British submarines is also against India's economic interests. The Soviet equipment offered is not only better, brand new and latest in design but is offered on credit and for rupee payment.

Indian Stand Welcomed

In recent talks with Indira Gandhi the Soviet leaders appreciated India's declaration that India intends to use atomic energy for peaceful purposes although her nuclear capability was well known. Making the bomb would be useless expenditure and the Soviet side could not conceive of anybody ever using it.

There is no admiration for China here for her bomb and it is believed that it does not make much difference to the overall situation. Since China and France did not join the Moscow partial test ban treaty they were expected to conduct tests. Absence of public condemnation of China at this stage for exploding the bomb and polluting the atmosphere seemed to be dictated by the desire not to worsen relations, and, if possible, help in improving them.

In talks with Indira Gandhi the India-China border conflict also came up and the Soviet attitude seemed to be that conflict should not be aggravated, tension should be eased by all possible means and the matter should be settled peacefully. Mrs. Gandhi said that this conflict could not affect Soviet relations with India.

Indira Gandhi was given to understand that the Soviet Union feels it had a right to attend the proposed Afro-Asian conference and would be glad to be there but it did not want to thrust itself upon others. Soviet leaders expressed appreciation of India's efforts to defeat attempts to alienate Soviet Union from Afro-Asian community.

Mikoyan is understood to

have told Indira Gandhi that it was not that Khrushchev was unfriendly towards China; Khrushchev too wanted good relations with China and so does the present leadership. The other side had to show the same desire.

It is clear that the basic line towards China has not changed. A new and important article in Pravda published on November 1 entitled "Great Banner of Builders of Communism" reiterates all basic policies developed under Khrushchev's leadership.

Although the article does not mention China directly it now seems quite clear that for re-establishing unity and understanding and for narrowing the breach the Chinese leaders will have not only to reciprocate the goodwill but also change much of their rigid policies which they and their followers have been propagating with such stubborn passion and fanaticism.

The article says that the new Programme of CPSU adopted at 22nd Congress is premeated with fidelity to the Marxist-Leninist teachings, with ardent revolutionary spirit and faith in

masses; and the fraternal parties consider it an outstanding document of creative Marxism-Leninism. Lenin's ideas have been further developed and substantiated in the Programme.

The Programme "draws a profound conclusion about the conversion of the Soviet state which arose as a state of proletarian dictatorship into a socialist state of the entire people in which the working class plays the leading role into an organ expressing the interests and the will of the entire people."

The Programme, the article says calls for an all round spread and improvement of socialist democracy, strict observance of socialist legality, signifies the utmost freedom of the individual and the rights of Soviet citizens.

It says that the CPSU continues to actively advocate the convocation of the international meeting of Communist Parties to discuss urgent problems. And it has been indicated here that the preparatory meeting of December 15 will take place unless some last minute developments make it advisable to postpone it.

"The main purpose of the activities of the CPSU in foreign policy is, in the words of the Programme, to abolish war and establish everlasting peace on earth. Peaceful co-existence is the sole alternative to war," the article says.

The Soviet government has initiated important measures for disarmament, European security, for strengthening United Nations and easing tensions. "The struggle of peoples for normalising the international situation has

yielded positive results—as shown in particular by the conclusion of the treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in three spheres and its signing by the overwhelming majority of states. This is the beginning which should be followed by measures designed to prohibit nuclear weapons and to achieve general disarmament."

The article reiterates as highly important the conclusion of the 20th Congress and subsequent documents that it is possible to prevent another world war and to banish world wars from the life of society even before the complete triumph of socialism on earth.

The article states that the Soviet government highly values the policy of non-alignment pursued by a number of states and it supports Afro-Asian Solidarity and cooperation of all revolutionary forces. It reiterates the possibility of non-capitalist path for the newly free peoples and the diversity of ways for transition to socialism. The article stresses the need for the alliance of world socialism and the national liberation movement and unity of all anti-imperialist forces.

The Party resolutely condemned the cult of Stalin's personality, says the article, and the Party Rules and Programme envisage a number of measures against the excessive concentration of power in the hands of individuals. It calls the principle of collective leadership "the greatest treasure of our Party."

The article also deals with problems of economy and economic management.

No-Confidence Move Against Andhra Government

Other Parties Follow CPI's Initiative

From MOHIT SEN

HYDERABAD: Moves and countermoves are the order of the day with the decision of the state executive of the CPI to direct the Communist MLAs to move a no-confidence motion against the government. Not only have the splitters' Party given notice of a similar motion but the Swatantra Party has also belatedly decided to go in for one, in the fear that it may otherwise too clearly reveal its class affiliations.

PILLALAMARI Venkateswara, the leader of the Opposition, told NEW AGE that he had already done some preliminary work in connection with the implementation of the decision of the state executive. He had already begun talks with the leaders of other opposition parties and groups to try to work out a suitable form for the no-confidence motion so that the required 60 members might support it and enable it to be moved. The contacts he had so far made left him in an optimistic frame of mind.

He felt that the motion could take two forms. One was a simple one sentence expression of no-confidence in the Ministry. The other could be a more detailed one focussing on the thorough mishandling of the food situation, the failure to concede the just demands of the government workers and employees, the refusal to abolish or reduce the enhanced land revenue and the refusal to speedily implement the resolution for the distribution of banjar lands to the agricultural labourers. Naturally, the second

form would be better from the angle of the democratic movement and it would be his endeavour to secure the necessary support for it.

In this connection, he stated that the splitters had addressed a letter to him conveying the text of their no-confidence motion. It was not clear, however, whether it was sent to him in his personal capacity or as the leader of the opposition. The motion itself was not comprehensive enough but he felt that he could pursue his mission of persuading them to agree to a proper motion.

Put Govt. In Dock

He was of the opinion that the main point was to put the government in the dock, to express on the floor of the House the agony and the aspirations of the masses. It was essential to show, therefore, a readiness for adjustment and compromise in order to attain this primary objective. He hoped that the splitters

and other opposition members would rise to the occasion.

In this background, the Congress bravado in connection with the coming AICC session at Guntur becomes all the more empty. It seems that the Andhra Congress bigwigs are now poised to leap to new heights of vulgarity. All along the route from Vijayawada to Guntur the trees are being given an enamel coating with what purports to be the Congress tri-colour. Roads are being remade and the hardware merchants are having a gala-time with the huge demand for corrugated sheets.

As reported last week, popular indignation is growing at the way in which the tobacco magnates are being wooed to act the host to the all-India leaders and Ministers. A memorandum of protest is being sent to the Chief Minister by some prominent citizens of the town.

They are especially angry that one of the biggest tobacco-wallahs had only some weeks ago in a semi-drunken condition abused and slandered Pandit Nehru and Indira Gandhi and yet this worthy gentleman had been scheduled to act as the host of Lal Bahadur Shastri himself. These facts had been brought to the notice of the top Congress leaders in Andhra and it may be that he will no longer be the Prime Minister's host but he will remain one of the moving spirits of the Reception Committee.

Absolutely no attempt has been

ON FACING PAGE

NOVEMBER 15, 1964

The marvel of modern science and technique—the electronic computer—is beginning to acquire of late some significance in our country also. The white collar trades are particularly affected by it. Their trade union leadership has already begun to look askance at these job-savers—or the "men-eaters" as they call it.

THREE major sectors are at present actively involved in disputes of the future—the oil company offices, the sprawling network of the Life Insurance Corporation and the major banks. The managements have already embarked on the electronic age, without advance preparation and in any case before the employees are prepared for it.

It is indeed an alluring prospect to contemplate—if some of the down-to-earth problems were not so acute—that "computers can design in a few hours new chemical plants that would take platoons of engineers a year, monitor space vehicles on their way to the moon, coach baseball players, govern switches and signals on 95 thousand miles of railroad track from a single remote-control centre, collect eggs in electronic henhouses, refine oil, issue insurance policies, operate acres of industrial machinery, and provide the guidesposts for billions of dollars of corporate decisions."

In the life insurance sector where the debate over the computers is matter of sharp controversy at the moment, it is said that a few magnetic tapes, half-inch wide, two to three thousand metres long, can store all relevant particulars of one crore of life policies. The machine will maintain all accounts of premium payments, prepare premium notices and keep track of inventory position to the smallest detail.

With the aid of these computers, life insurance companies in the United States handle over 120 times more business than the LIC, with only four times the employee complement. In terms of labour productivity, this means that one US employee handles with the aid of the computers, the work at present discharged by 30 LIC employees.

The All-India Insurance Employees Association has, on

this basis, estimated that if the machines are introduced in our country, it would result in 29 out of 30 being declared redundant in the LIC or, in other words, one-third of the present complement would be needed for the present volume of business.



A similar prospect is threatening the employees in the banking industry. Several thousands of accounts which a large bank handles can be centrally maintained, requiring the minimum of skilled labour.

In the oil company offices, the IBM computers have already been installed and the dispute over job security has become very acute.

In several other offices, including government offices where a large number of middle-class employees are engaged for work of a routine, clerical nature, the white collar trades face a new challenge from the computer. The Provident Fund Organisation in Bombay has decided to experiment with the computer. The Railways with their vast accounting problems may also go over to the computer.

It is evident, therefore, that industrial relations in these sectors, would be considerably affected by the prospects of automation in offices—the magnetic tapes eating away actual or potential jobs as fast as they gobble up host of vital data.

The trade union opposition to the introduction of the electronic

age in offices is based on the cardinal question of principle—whether our economy is ripe for the introduction of such revolutionary technological changes. It is argued that our economy which has not yet even progressed into the "take-off" stage would suffer from large-scale imbalances if the electronic computer is super-imposed on an underdeveloped level of techniques.

It is conceded that in the present growth rate in such sectors as banking and insurance, and commercial activity in general, there is no immediate prospect of displacement of labour. But the problem of re-adjustment and largescale transfers of employees will nevertheless have to be faced.

It is pointed out that when planning in this country had not resulted as yet in solving the unemployment problem and each successive plan is burdened with sizeable and increasing backlog of unemployed, the creation of job opportunities is of extreme importance. The introduction of computers, it is therefore asserted by the unions, will narrow down the scope of employment in the white collar trades.

According to the All-India Insurance Employees' Association, the LIC, during the last eight years, has been able to provide jobs for 24,000 new entrants into the employment market. The LIC had in 1956, only a little over 20,000 employees and this number grew to 40,000 as the business in force progressed from Rs. 1374 crores to Rs. 3188 crores between 1957 and 1962. Such a rate of growth in employment accompanying the expansion in business will not be maintained and, in fact, will be slashed considerably if the LIC goes in for the computers.

The LIC management as well as the Union Finance Minister has assured that there would be

create scenes, however, when resolutions were passed calling for negotiations between India and China on the basis of the Colombo proposals and on the general disarmament. For some odd reason this foursome squad felt that there was some ulterior anti-China purpose behind these resolutions—the conference passed another resolution calling for the seating of China in the UNO—an raised a noise.

One of them went so far as to call Khrushchev, Kennedy and Nehru as traitors to the cause of peace since they had inspired the Moscow test ban treaty. But the other delegates present protested vehemently and the President had to call the speaker to order. With this episode over, the convention passed on to business like consideration of the important issues confronting the world today.

The inspiration for such unseemly behaviour was quite clear. Only a few days earlier M. Hanumanth Rao, one of the champion splitters in Andhra, had addressed a public meeting at Mangalagiri where he had stated that China had given a lead in exploding an atom bomb which India would do well to follow. He said he would feel quite proud when Indian scientists showed the world that they, too, knew how to make an atom bomb! It was no use relying on the US or Soviet Union, India must herself become an atom-bomb power. Such is the logic of split and blind adoration of all the "bellecose" posturings of adventurist China. (November 2)

MEN-EATERS ON RAMPAGE

By A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

no retrenchment in case the LIC eventually goes over to automation in its offices. But the employees are not satisfied with this assurance. The stoppage of recruitment and the important changes which will follow the introduction of computers is bound to considerably affect the promotion prospects—a factor which heavily impinges on the white collar employees in their quest for job satisfaction.

The movement among LIC employees against the electronic machines has a wide support and sympathy from other white collar trades. Being relatively better organised, the trade unions in banking and insurance have tended to determine the standards of wages and working conditions in commercial offices. It is apprehended that if the LIC eventually switches over to the computer, it will not be much long before other larger offices resort to the same techniques and thus produce a chain reaction, affecting job security all round.

According to indications, the trade union centres are likely to demand that a convention

should be laid down by tripartite agreement on this vital issue within the general framework of a national employment policy and job security. The country cannot obviously afford to spend huge sums on lavish retirement benefits to ease out the employees from their jobs to facilitate automation as has been done in the western countries. Nor can the present level of economy sustain large-scale imports of electronic machines, for which hard earned foreign exchange has to be paid.

Economies of scale and mechanisation in accounting operations cannot be brushed aside if we are to catch up with the modern techniques, it is readily conceded. But since we have chosen to plan our economy, it is possible to have a phased programme of switchover to modern methods within possibilities provided by our manpower and resources. If a balance is not struck in this matter, there is every likelihood of industrial relations in white collar trades being marred by acrimony and disputes.

W. BENGAL JUTE WORKERS TO STRIKE FOR BONUS

The 2,50,000 jute workers of West Bengal will go on strike for a day on December 1 on the demand of payment of bonus according to the formula of the Bonus Commission.

ALL the central trade unions have decided to call for the strike on the same date though the strike call will not be issued jointly. The TU centres have agreed to strike jointly while marching separately.

But the Bonus Commission specifically rejected the plea of the jute mill bosses and held that the bonus to jute mill workers must also be paid according to the formula of the Commission had decided in general. But in spite of this the jute mill bosses have paid according to Wage Board formula which is much less than the Bonus Commission formula. At the call of the AITUC and HMS unions more than a lakh jute workers boycotted bonus payment for a day as a protest against this unlawful action of the owners. The discontent was widespread and now the unions and federations affiliated to AITUC, INTUC, HMS and UTUC, all have decided on the token strike on December 1.

D.A. ENFORCED UNDER DIR

The Government of Assam by a notification under the Defence of India Rules has ordered payment of ad hoc cost of living allowance of Rs. 10 per month to all workers drawing pay upto Rs. 400, reports IPA.

THE action under DIR covers eleven industries: (1) rice, oil and flour mills; (2) engineering; (3) chemical; (4) maintenance and repair of automobiles, employing 20 or more workers; (5) plywood and veneer mills; (6) petroleum and petroleum products; (7) textile mills; (8) cargo handling in railway stations for and on behalf of the railway administration; (9) generation and distribution of electricity; (10) motor transport undertaking excluding State Transport undertaking; and (11) inland water transport. The cost of living allowance payment was made effective as from September 26, 1964.

The Assam government has followed the West Bengal go-

vernment's example in knocking DIR to order a general increase in DA. But it represents an advance on the West Bengal step which covered only one industry. The Assam government's action covers eleven major industries in the state.

The largest employment in Assam is in plantations and in this case, the Wage Board has already recommended a second instalment of interim relief. While welcoming the government's intervention, trade unions have stated that the quantum of rise in emoluments was not sufficient to offset the steep rise in prices. Nevertheless, the Assam government's action had provided some immediate relief.

CONGRESS IN A GULE-POT

FROM FACING PAGE

made by the Congress anywhere in Andhra to explain to the people what exactly the AICC meeting is about, what issues are going to be discussed and what policy matters are coming up.

This time there will be no Pandit Nehru to act as a magnet for the millions and so the Congress bosses here are at their wits' end on what tamasha to provide.

It is not that there are no democrats and Congressmen socialists among Congressmen here. They do exist but the overwhelming peasant atmosphere in the state finds them in a condition of more than usual confusion and complacency.

Factional Squabbles

In addition there is the fact that the more conscious and democratically oriented among Congressmen are also tied up with the factional squabbles that are a chronic condition in the organisation. Even plans to have a convention of socialist Congress workers, along the lines of the one organised in Delhi in September, have got bogged down in these factional quarrels.

If the socialists and democrats among the Congressmen are to become a real national force, they cannot afford to leave Andhra blank. They have to begin the work of patient and widespread education on

the content of their radical democratic programme. The AICC session would appear to be as good a time to begin as any.

In Andhra, as in the rest of India, a curious lethargy seems to have descended upon the top Congress leaders in the matter of celebrating the seventy-fifth birth anniversary of Pandit Nehru. Enquiries at Gandhi Bhavan left the impression that the Congress officials could not care less.

At the same time, political observers in Andhra's capital have not failed to notice the fulsome manner in which Sardar Patel's birthday was observed. The tributes that were paid by Chief Minister and others emphasised that the Sardar was "free of fads" and a "strong man" who was an "Indian to the core". It was quite evident with whom the contrast was sought to be drawn. Sycophants are not lacking who do not hesitate to present Sanjeeva Reddy as cast in the Sardar's mould!

This situation gave added significance to the Andhra Peace Convention organised at Vijayawada on November 1 to send a strong delegation of 35 to the international peace conference held in Delhi on Nehru's birthday. Vallala Gopalkrishnaiah presided over the convention, which was inaugurated by the famous Sardar's day leader popularly known as Gora.

On all accounts the convention was a great success. Some four delegates present tried to

SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA STRIVES AHEAD

Flying from Irkutsk to Tashkent—about seven hours—the Aeroflot's modern jet airliner touches Novosibirsk and Alma Ata. Crossing the steppes and pine forests of Siberia the plane courses to the south over the virgin lands of Kazakhstan for the Central Asian desert and plateau and gradually descends into the fertile Ferghana valley.

THE weather changes for the sub-tropical warmth and time lags. In Tashkent you set your watch three hours ahead of Moscow, but in Irkutsk it had been five hours. The size of the Soviet Union is so big that as you go east-west you have to change your time not by a few minutes but by hours. From east to west the USSR stretches about 10,000 km, that is, approximately one quarter of the length of the Equator and the country has 11 time zones. When it is 5 a.m. in the extreme north east, it will be only 7 p.m. of the night before in Moscow.

changed greetings and talked for a while.

Later, after about half an hour, when our flight was announced and we came out, the Chinese friends were still sitting in their bus unmindful of a blazing sun. They sat looking glum as the two African friends waved us good-bye from their midst.

At the Tashkent airport, the first thing to notice was a row of planes with Indonesian markings, ready to fly to Jakarta. They were planes which the Soviet Union had

musums speak for the very ancient culture and traditions of the Uzbek people. These are carefully preserved and the talents of the skillful artisans rewarded and encouraged.

We spent a whole morning in the Institute of Oriental Studies with the Dean, the Head of the Indian Department, and other members of the staff and students. Established 30 years ago, the Institute today has a foremost place in research and study of the life and languages of the peoples of the East. The repository of the Institute contains more than 80,000 ancient manuscripts, one of the world's biggest collections including rare copies of works by great thinkers, scholars and poets of Central Asia.

The Institute has Chairs for Indian philology, Iranian and Afghan philology, Arabic philology, Chinese philology and for history, economics and geography of Eastern peoples. Of the 306 students at present about 100 are in the Indian section. Teaching is done in Russian and Uzbek languages and there are 22 nationalities among the students. The work of the Institute has expanded and got considerably strengthened in recent years.

Whereas in the beginning scholars from Moscow and Leningrad had worked here, now more than 80 per cent of the professors, including the Dean himself, are from among the local people. Apart from the work of teaching, the professors also do important research work on problems concerning the languages, history and culture of the countries of the East. The Institute has to its credit a number of publications and it prepares text books for schools, universities etc.

PROGRESS AFTER REVOLUTION

The material and cultural development of the colonial peoples of tsarist Russia after the Great October Socialist Revolution is demonstrated by the great progress of Uzbekistan and the position of Tashkent today as the industrial, cultural and scientific centre of Central Asia. Tsarist Russia was a prison for the various nationalities who suffered the oppression and exploitation of both the Russian and their own landlords and bourgeoisie. But the October Revolution and the advent of the Soviet power wrought the miracle of changing the life of these peoples.

Before the October Revolution, Uzbekistan was a land of total illiteracy with the exception of tsarist officials and the local exploiting classes of kulaks and clergy etc. Only 5.6 per cent of the male population and 1.2 per cent of the female population living in the territory of the present Uzbek Republic could read and write. But today illiteracy has been wiped out from the life of the Uzbek

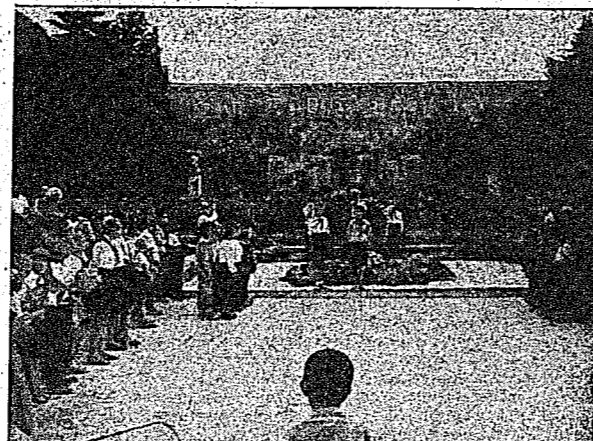
people. The level of education of the Uzbek people is the same as the average level of education for the USSR as a whole. In 1961-62 there were 8,000 schools with an enrolment of more than 1,700,000 in the Republic and in Tashkent alone there are more than 40,000 students.

Among these are prospective engineers, doctors, teachers, scientists, historians, orientalist philologists and artists. Before the Revolution there were no specialists among the Uzbek people. Whereas now

ed and the death rate has come down. The death rate is less than half that of 1940. At the same time birth rate has increased.

The rate of natural increase is more than double that for the USSR.

Tashkent, the capital city with a population of one million is an oasis city situated in the Chirchik River valley. Cotton is the principal crop of the region and Tashkent has the biggest textile mill in the USSR. Industrially backward before the Revolution,



Admission of new members into the Pioneer organisation.

there are about a hundred thousand specialists with higher or secondary specialised education employed in the national economy. The number of students graduated from specialised secondary schools and higher educational institutions average yearly 30,000.

Tashkent has a number of research centres including an Institute of Nuclear Physics. There is the Republican Academy of Sciences which is the principal centre of scientific work. There are 17 colleges, seven theatres among which is the famous Navoi Uzbek Opera and Ballet Theatre, an observatory and a conservatoire. The Tashkent University founded in 1920 by a decree of Lenin was the first University in Central Asia.

There were no public libraries in the territory of the present Uzbek Republic before the Revolution. But now their number runs into hundreds. Similar is the stride made in the publication of books in native languages. In 1913 there were 90,000 copies of books in native languages, but in 1960, the figure reached 15.52 million.

To first appearance the city seemed to be under excavation. There was so much of digging around going on for construction of new buildings, repairs and concrete surfacing of roads. In the new residential area of Chilanzar are modern flats into which have already moved 1,25,000 people. The pace of new housing construction is such that 170 families get new flats every day.

NEWSPAPERS AND JOURNALS

We had meetings with the journalists in Tashkent who bring out three major Republican newspapers with a circulation of 500,000. There are also journals fully devoted to literature, art and culture, sports, education, and for youth as well as for children. And the circulation of these varies from 15 to 40 thousand in each case. Besides, there are a number of other magazines.

Whereas in 1913 there were only 128 doctors in the whole of the territory of the present Uzbek Republic, now there are about 12,000. As a result of the growing living standards and improvement of public health and medical care, the average life expectancy has increased

Tashkent today has 300 industrial plants.

The gross industrial output of the Uzbek Republic in 1961 was 21 times greater than that of 1913 and 4.5 times more than in 1940. The gross yield of cotton increased six times and the present output is nearly four times greater than what was produced in all the cotton-growing areas of Russia in 1913.

PACE OF HOUSING

Like other Asian cities, Tashkent also has an old city and a new city. In the former, one comes across old style dwellings and huts with mud walls, very similar to the dwellings in our own villages and suburbs. Many of them have been demolished and their residents moved to new flats in multistoreyed buildings.

One of our visits was to the Polar Star collective farm which was established in 1937 and which is run by a communist of Koreans who have settled three years ago. The farm has got 5,500 hectares (1 hectare=2.471 acres) now but it had a small beginning. The area was all jungles which were cleared and the land made fertile by the collective farmers and step by step irrigation was developed. Only rice was grown in the beginning (200 hectares) and there

* ON PAGE 16

"Will economic development of the poor countries in its turn help world peace?"

THIS question has been asked in a recent issue of The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists by the renowned physicist and mathematician Dr. Abdus Salam.

The eminent scientist who aspires for what he calls world security has also provided a simple answer: "unless there comes a revolution of thought among us, increased prosperity will not make the slightest difference to the conflicts of the poor among themselves.

Dr. Salam's timely article has provided enough food for thought at a time when the dark clouds of radiation fall out from China are continuing to approach towards our frontiers.

The nuclear explosion of China has shaken the conscience of Indians and no wonder that a large number of policy makers—some out of sheer bravado and adventurous spirit, while others tempted by over-enthusiastic nationalist tendencies—have started rethinking over the possibility of India manufacturing its own A-bomb.

Though the AICC resolution at Nehru Nagar has silenced the protagonists of the bomb, there is need to understand the threat caused by the nuclear weapons in its true perspective.

The administrators of our country should develop the right scientific attitude to assess the value or futility of a bomb in place of making bold pronouncements about its likely cost, the estimates for which give deviations that baffle the statisticians. A commonsense understanding of the scientific principles

behind the bomb and the likely damage due to its use is the need of the hour.

An atom has as its heart and soul something called nucleus. Centred round the nucleus are neutrons and protons which are surrounded by an orbit of electrons which can be represented on a sheet of paper by an outer concentric circle with the nucleus as the centre.

The energy preserved in the nucleus can be utilised in practice, if some condition is created in which a considerable proportion of all the nuclei of the substance are involved. Or else a source of particles millions of times more intense than those produced in the accelerators can be contrived. Such a source has now become available with the discovery of fission.

The breaking up of a heavy nucleus, or fission to be technical, can be achieved by adding a neutron to the nucleus. The extra energy of the neutron causes fission. As a result, a nucleus breaks up into two fragments of nearly equal weight.

Both the fragments being radioactive carry too many neutrons which cause a similar decay in the new nuclei and a chain reaction follows.

Every neutron born at fission can be made to hit another nucleus, causing further fission which emits more neutrons and so on.

Uranium-235 is the only fissile material occurring in nature, in which a chain reaction can be set up. But two other materials, namely plu-

Why Humanity Opposes Atomic Weapons

GRIM PROSPECTS OF NUCLEAR BOMBS

Plutonium-239 and thorium can be artificially utilised for fission. Plutonium-239 does not occur in nature and it has to be produced atom by atom. Thorium itself cannot be utilised for fission; it has to be transformed to Uranium-233 which is a fissile material with properties identical to Uranium-235 or Plutonium-239.

The principle of an A-bomb is simple to understand. Two pieces of fissile material are to be brought together at a particular desired time. Since the assembly of the fissile materials has to be rapid, the usual procedure is to shoot the two parts of the fissile material together with the aid of ordinary explosives. Such a procedure was used for the bomb dropped over Hiroshima.

It is generally believed that the Chinese bomb was exploded by a more recent technique of implosion (inward-striking detonation) and not the usual shooting of the fissile material in an apparatus like a barrel).

The Chinese bomb has left us thinking about the possible type of the device (fission or fusion) used. Even if they used the fission device which is technically inferior than the fusion device utilised in Hydrogen bombs, the results of the radiation fall out may be dangerous.

The most deleterious products of a nuclear test are

Strontium-90, Caesium-137 and Carbon-14. Carbon-14 decays very slowly and has a half-life of 8070 years and will continue for thousands of years to have disastrous genetic effects.

According to the estimates given by Dr. Linus Pauling (NO MORE WAR) if all the nations—and this excludes China—were free to carry out tests, each year of testing, will cause the 'birth' of 2,30,000 seriously defective children and 420,000 embryonic and neo-natal deaths.

Strontium-90 has serious somatic effects though limited to the exposed organism. Caesium-137 has strong genetic effects affecting the offspring of the exposed individuals. Strontium-90 can cause bone cancer and leukaemia and caesium-137 may be instrumental in causing genetic defects in succeeding generation.

An idea of a single day's bombing over India by we-

apons having a combined yield of 2,500 megaton can be had from some identical estimates made by the Federal Civil Defence Administration (USA) for a probable bombing over United States.

According to the FCDA estimates, on the first day 36 million would be dead and 57 million injured and by the sixtieth day there would be 72 million dead and 21 million injured, leaving 58 million uninjured.

The above figures were estimated for the US population considering the 1950 level. All the figures should be multiplied at least by three to get the desired estimates for India.

It is only to be expected that in any nuclear war there would be bombing for more than one day.

Can then the damage to humanity be really estimated?

—(IPA Service)

PREPARATIONS FOR MYSORE CONF.

BANGALORE: Preparations for state conference of the CPI in Karnataka is well under way. A 101-member reception committee has been constituted under the chairmanship of C. B. Motiah for the conference scheduled to be held in Bangalore from November 26 to 29.

MEMBERS for the reception committee are drawn from all sections of the people. M. S. Krishnan has been elected secretary of the Reception committee.

After discussion on these two documents, the conference took up organisational and political report moved by the Party secretary M. S. Krishnan. The report was adopted by the conference with some minor changes.

The conference in a resolution on the food situation in the state, particularly in Bangalore city, severely criticised the policy of the government and demanded strict measures on hoarders. The conference called upon all sections of people to come together to fight against the food policy of the government, and to demand immediate introduction of state-trading in foodgrains and nationalisation of banking industry.

In a resolution adopted on the civic elections in Bangalore, the conference decided not to have anything to do with the united civic front recently formed by disgruntled Congressmen, SSP, Jan Sangh, DMK and other groups, including the splitters of CPI. The conference resolved not have any truck with communal and reactionary parties to fight civic elections.

The conference also adopted a resolution condemning the recent atom bomb blast by China as an act opposed to wishes of peoples of the world.

The conference elected nine delegates and six observers to the state conference and a 15-man district council with a secretariat consisting of I. Maridas, M. S. Krishnan and P. Raman. I. Maridas has been elected as the secretary.

DURG DISTRICT PARTY CONFERENCE HELD

RAJNANDGAON: The third conference of the Durg district council of the CPI concluded here on November 1.

The conference was attended by 74 members from various parts of the district representing industrial workers, kisans and middle-class people. P. K. Thakur, a member of the state secretariat, Sakir Ali Khan, MLA and Srisidhar Mukherjee, members of the state executive committee attended the discussions of the conference.

A presidium comprising of P. K. Thakur, Mahadeo Bomley and Jiban Mukherjee was elected and the conference passed a resolution paying homage to the memory of the recently departed leaders of the international Communist Movement.

P. K. Thakur, introduced the draft document of the CPI on the ideological question and the Draft-Programme of the Party, which are being circulated now by the National Council of the Party as the basis for discussion for the forthcoming seventh Congress of the Party. While introducing, Thakur pointed out the vital controversial points in these documents in respect of national and international questions.

A number of delegates took part in the discussion. The con-

ference, while agreeing with the main formulations of the Draft Programme also suggested some modifications to make the Programme more specific and an effective one.

The second part of the conference was devoted to the political and organisational report of the district and the immediate programme to be taken in the various fields by the Party. This was presented by Ganga Chaubey, secretary of the district council.

A similar political and organisational report of the Rajnandgaon Tahsil unit and the programme of future activity was placed before the conference by Bajirao Shende, secretary of the town council.

The conference elected 17 delegates and three observers for the forthcoming state Party conference. A district Party council of 23 members and an executive committee of nine members were elected unanimously in the conference. Prakash Roy was elected as the secretary of the district council.

Resolutions

In a resolution the conference strongly condemned the failure of the government to check the price of the daily necessities of life and demanded immediate increase in

NEW PPH TITLE

INDIAN ECONOMY YESTERDAY and TODAY

By V. B. Singh
pp. 224 Rs. 7.50

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE
RANI JHANSI ROAD, NEW DELHI

Forward To New Victories Of Communism

CPSU Reaffirms Its Policies

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: All over the vast land of the Soviets people celebrated the 47th anniversary of the Great October Revolution and the founding of the first socialist state. "Forward to New Victories of Communism," was the main slogan on this grand occasion.

A MILITARY parade on Red Square manifesting the mighty power of latest Soviet weapons and rockets, a mass demonstration of the people of Moscow which lasted two hours—these were preceded by a celebration meeting of 6,000 in the Kremlin palace of Congresses on November 6, where Leonid Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee made a report which was a programme speech dealing with the important aspects of Soviet internal and foreign policies.

Brezhnev's report was a detailed reaffirmation of basic policies developed during the last decade. He called for a step by step solution of unsettled international problems and step by step advance towards the unity of the world Communist movement through concrete and effective measures. Apart from Albania, top representatives of 12 socialist countries, heads of Party and government delegations and a number of leaders of fraternal Communist Parties sat in the Presidium of the meeting. Many more representatives of fraternal Parties were in the hall.

Chou En-lai, leader of the Chinese delegation and Vlahovic, leader of the Yugoslav delegation sat in the same row. Poland's Gomulka, Hungary's Kadar, Czechoslovakia's Hendrych, GDR's Ulbricht, Cuba's Guevara, Rumania's Maurer, Korea's Kim Il, Vietnam's Pham Van Dong, Mongolia's Tsedenbal, all sat along with Soviet leaders.

"The general line of Soviet Union's foreign policy as defined by the decisions of the last Congresses of our Party and its programme is consistent and unchanged," Brezhnev declared in the meeting.

"The Soviet Union had been pursuing and continued to pursue the Leninist policy of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems. The purpose of this policy was to prevent a thermo-nuclear war, settle disputes by negotiations and respect the right of each nation to chose its social and state system in its own, Brezhnev said.

Peaceful Coexistence

The policy of peaceful coexistence provides a foundation for mutual understanding and profitable cooperation between states and it promotes the success of the liberation struggle and the attainment of the revolutionary goals of the peoples.

"Soviet people sincerely desire that the initial relaxation of international tension will continue and solutions will be found for the basic international problems on which the peace and security of nations depend."

liness and friendship with India and other neighbours was traditional and immutable, the Soviet leader said.

The struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism had spread to all continents and imperialism was losing one position after another. The formation of the world system of socialism was the greatest gain in this struggle, Brezhnev said. In their relations with the socialist countries, the CPSU and all Soviet people were guided by the principles of socialist-internationalism by the desire to strengthen fraternity, friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance on the basis of full equality, independence and a correct combination of the interests of each country with the interests of the entire community.

Brezhnev welcomed the result of the American presidential elections. In all countries people demanded consolidation of peace and the American people were tired of the cold war. The defeat of the ultras in USA was a good lesson for all advocates of the policies of adventure and reaction.

War Is Not Inevitable

The CPSU like other Marxist-Leninist Parties proceeded from the fact that a world war was not inevitable, Brezhnev said. It could be averted by a vigorous joint struggle of the socialist states, the international working class, peoples who have liberated themselves from colonial yoke and all forces working for peace. "Peace on earth can be secured."

But the Soviet Union had to remain vigilant as there were also aggressive forces in the world interested in aggravating the atmosphere, engineering crises, whipping up the arms race and pushing the world toward war.

Brezhnev reiterated Soviet support for the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia and Latin America. The fraternal alliance with peoples who have shaken off the colonial and semi-colonial yoke was one of the cornerstones of Soviet international policy. "We understand the feelings and aspirations of the newly free peoples, their desire to consolidate their independence and to bring to a successful conclusion the struggle against imperialism and colonialism."

The imperialists were trying to drive into different channels, socialism and the national liberation movement, which had merged into a single revolutionary current. But the people of young national states were beginning to distinguish between real and reliable friends and enemies.

Soviet people were glad to see that countries which had shaken off the fetters of colonialism were playing an ever greater part in world politics. The recent Cairo conference had graphically demonstrated their will to abolish all forms of colonialism. The last colonial regimes must be wiped off the face of the earth, Brezhnev said.

Soviet policy of good neighbour-

In 1960. A meeting to discuss urgent problems, pool experience, exchange views and agree on joint action for common aims was needed. A better method could not be found, Brezhnev said.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union will do everything it can to achieve unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, Brezhnev declared.

The presence of Chou En-lai here has been generally welcomed and it is hoped that some real response from the Chinese leadership would be forthcoming to bridge the gulf or narrow the gap. All attention is directed towards them to see whether they also take any step towards narrowing the rift.

A Glum Chou En-Lai

But in the meeting Chou En-lai sat glum and with a sullen expression on his face. He did not applaud with the representatives of other Parties and the audience on the above important and fundamental statements of policy. It was a demonstration of selective clapping: NO to disarmament or Moscow test-ban treaty, NO to relaxation of tension or international cooperation, NO to world conference of Communist Parties etc. etc.

But he raised his hands high and clapped when the might of the army was mentioned or when Brezhnev said that Taiwan should be returned to China. It is not yet clear whether Chou has got anything up his sleeve or whether the visit is just an effort of going through the motions for propaganda sake to pretend that "we also tried for unity." Time alone will show. The dying tone of polemics has certainly created an atmosphere for the conference to

begin. Now it remains for the Chinese leaders to come to the table.

There was a reference in Brezhnev's report to the recent changes in leadership although Khrushchov's name has not been mentioned, nor was he seen anywhere during the celebrations. Brezhnev made it clear that the changes were not a step away from the lines of the 20th Congress, but an application of it.

Brezhnev's report declared that the Soviet state is "a state of the whole people which is a natural development of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Soviet state expresses the will and defends the interests of all Soviet citizens. It would be recalled that the Chinese had earlier strongly criticised this definition of the Soviet state.

The outstanding successes of the Soviet Union in the economic, scientific and cultural fields were vividly brought out in Brezhnev's speech.

At a gala reception to celebrate the October anniversary in the Kremlin palace of Congresses along with Soviet leaders and celebrities many leaders of the Socialist countries and fraternal Parties were present. A change which was immediately noticed was that whereas earlier only one leader Khrushchov used to propose all the toasts (he sometimes proposed eight or ten different toasts) now the task had been divided between the leadership.

Kosygin spoke of the significance of the day and proposed a toast to the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia, to the builders of communism. Podgorny to the unity of Party and people. Brezhnev to the mighty Soviet armed forces. Suslov to the fraternal Parties, to the unity of the Communist, working class and the national-liberation movement which he said was the main condition of the victory of peace, democracy and socialism in the world, to the unity of socialist countries and Communists of all the world.

Mikoyan proposed a toast to peace in the world, to the health of the representatives of foreign guests present at the reception. Malinovsky declared that the armed forces were always ready and vigilant and always loyal to the people, Party and government.

U.S. Presidential Election in Retrospect

By ZIAUL HAQ

FAR-REACHING MANDATE FOR PEACE

Communists Call For Struggle To Secure Implementation

Results of the election held in the United States on November 3 have far-reaching positive implications for the whole world. It was no ordinary election like other periodical elections held in any country having a two-party system. This time in the US the election acquired a character it has rarely had in that country.

It was no mere contest for office between the Democratic and the Republican Parties. This election was actually a great people's referendum on the basic and urgent issues facing the American people in which the rest of the world is only too keenly interested.

It was a referendum above all for peace and against the reckless policies of brinkmanship advocated by one of the contestants in this dangerous age when war means nuclear war and nuclear war means annihilation.

The outcome of the elections showed overwhelming support for forces of peace.

It was a sharp repudiation of those who continue to resist the legal, political and moral rights of 20 million Negro Americans to full and unqualified citizenship and opportunity for jobs, housing education and all else that makes for a full life.

The American people gave Goldwaterism and the Republican Party a smashing defeat and handed the winning democratic Party candidates a far-reaching mandate for peace externally and for equality and economic security internally. Of the 68,488,203 popular vote that had been counted till November 5, President Johnson had received 42,038,243 and Goldwater had received 26,449,960.

In the electoral college vote the Johnson-Humphrey ticket got 486 votes from 44 states and the District of Columbia, with Goldwater getting only 52 from five states of the deep South and his own state of Arizona.

The record majority won by President Johnson was attributed by US Democrats to six million Negro voters, who as it were, arose unitedly to register their protest against Senator Goldwater's opposition to the Civil Rights Bill, and his whole stand on the race issue.

UNANIMOUS NEGRO VOTE

The great Negro turnout prompted commentators to talk about this being the "nearest thing to a unanimous vote of any one community."

In Washington, the only major American city with a Negro majority, about 54 per cent of the population, the voters supported Johnson by more than five to one. The local Republican party chairman said: "We were not only defeated. We were also slaughtered by as much as 300 to one in some precincts."

The Johnson landslide showed that the vaunted "white backlash" had failed to materialise in support of Goldwater. Voters in the North ignored Republican appeals to vote against the Democrats because they had made a beginning on the granting of Negro rights.

TERROR IN THE SOUTH

The picture in the five Southern states that went for Goldwater is in fact deceptive. Here the victory of the ultra-Right racist coalition was fashioned with faggot, bomb and terror, and the criminal perversion and subversion of the democratic electoral process, which the Administration proved incapable and unwilling to stop.

In Alabama, no voter had the chance to vote for the Democratic ticket. In Louisiana, most of the Negro people were denied the right to vote. The same was true in South Carolina.

In Georgia, the Goldwater victory was achieved through the suppression of the Negro's right to vote in the rural areas and the appeal to racism among the economically frightened and terrorised poor whites.

In Mississippi, the terror against the Negro citizen was at its greatest, with only a tiny segment being permitted to vote.

The probability is therefore that if a true referendum had been taken in those five Southern states, Goldwater and his ultra-Right-racist coalition might have ended up with only one state, Arizona, and that too by the narrowest of margins.

The significant fact was that the vote in the majority of Southern states was a repudiation of the racist, anti-civil-rights programme of the Goldwater Republicans. Goldwater's perspective of victory was based wholly on a solid victory in all the Southern states, and most of the border states. Instead the Democrats took a majority of these states, with the total vote for all the Southern states giving the Johnson-Humphrey ticket a majority of at least one million votes.

In this Democratic victory in the majority of the Southern states the Negro vote was the decisive factor.

The Rev. Martin Luther King, winner of the 1964 Nobel Prize, commenting on the Negro vote said that it had minimised the white backlash issue. Director of the Congress of Racial Equ-

ity (CORE) agreeing with Dr. King, declared that the Negro vote in this election must be considered the "beginning of the genuine and effective political action by the Negroes".

While the majority given to the Johnson-Humphrey ticket was the greatest in US history, the turnout of voters was not. Apparently many anti-Goldwater Republican voters, rather than vote for Johnson, preferred to stay home.

The Johnson-Humphrey victory was forged by a loose coalition of labour, the Negro people, the Mexican Americans, the Puerto Ricans, the farmers and the multiplying category of white collar workers and professional people including technologists and scientists.

LABOUR IN THE LEAD

It is important to note that in this presidential election for the first time probably, it was not the professionals of the Democratic Party that engineered the victory. It was basically the groupings in the coalition operating independently that encompassed the triumph of the Democratic Party at the polls.

The role of organised labour was probably the key to the Johnson-Humphrey victory. All segments of labour, even those headed by nominal Republicans, were united in the objective of defeating Goldwaterism. They organised and mobilised at all levels to bring out the largest out-pouring of unionists to the ballot boxes in American history. It would appear that the overwhelmingly Democratic vote cast by labour gave the Johnson-Humphrey ticket the majority of its votes.

Within the Democratic Party itself the independent movements and groupings played an increasing role in such key states as California, Texas and Illinois, or through the Reform movements in such states as New York. In other states such as Michigan, the role of the labour forces within the Democratic Party and their alliance with the Negro people's movement was the decisive force. In Mississippi, the Freedom Democratic Party was the main force supporting the Johnson-Humphrey ticket.

Only because of the disfranchisement of millions, in the first place of the Negro people in a number of Southern states, and the failure of the Administration to provide protection to the people against the Dixiecrat terror, was

Goldwater able to carry Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia and South Carolina.

Another significant factor in this election was the role played by the Communist Party of the United States. The Party influenced the election beyond its numbers.

For more than three years the Party had alerted Americans to the peril from the ultra-Right. More than a year prior to the Cow Palace spectacle, the Communist Party had pointed to the inroads of the ultra-Right within the Republican Party.

This year many of the non-Communist Left who had previously followed a policy of abstention from the main progressive currents, joined in the struggle to defeat Goldwaterism. Those who continued to hold on to barren sectarian policies were largely isolated.

STOP WAR IN S.E. ASIA

Speaking of the perspective now, the CPUSA's organ The Worker, says: "Goldwater has been defeated. Goldwaterism has suffered a severe blow. But the menace of Goldwaterism has by no means disappeared even though not all who voted for Goldwater were consciously voting for Goldwater policies.

MENACE REMAINS

One should not expect that the Goldwater vote, which is sizeable despite his defeat will not be used in attempts to pressure Congress and the Administration in favour of the measures demanded by the ultra-Right and which are

opposed to the demands of the people.

"Nor can one assume that all those who contributed to the defeat of Goldwater in this election will fight for carrying out the people's mandate or even that the Johnson administration will, without pressure from the people, carry out that mandate. Undoubtedly one of the motivations of such groups as the Hearst chain which endorsed the re-election of President Johnson was twofold. On the one hand they feared the reckless and irresponsible policies of Goldwater from the point of view of their own class and imperialist interests. And for the same reason they embraced Johnson, to be in a better position to prevent the implementation of the people's mandate after the election.

LABOUR IN THE LEAD

"Furthermore some of the policies of the Administration endanger peace, as in Southeast Asia. Failure to implement the civil rights law in such states as Mississippi encourages the Dixiecrats to continue their resistance. And the inadequacy in economic policies, on unemployment, taxes etc., brings frustration and disillusionment to the most needy, and makes them the possible prey of fascist and ultra-Rightist demagogues.

"There is only one way to undermine the basis of the ultra-Right in the country", says the Worker. "That way", it says, "is to carry out the mandate for peace, for equality, for democratic liberties and for social and economic advance."

UZBEK PEOPLE'S PROGRESS

* From Page 16

were to begin with 100 families. Now there are 5,000 people in the farm.

By using machinery land was prepared gradually for other crops and in 1949 cotton was sown over 16 hectares. At present cotton is grown on 1,658 hectares. Then there are other crops like wheat, maize, etc. and also fruit gardens and sericulture etc. The farm has got 78 tractors and 40 vehicles. The average yield of cotton is 33 centners per hectare and of rice 60 centners. "This year we are expecting a yield of 70 centners per hectare", the Party secretary said. Along with the development of agriculture has also been developed cattle breeding and poultry farming.

The average profit of the farm per head is 80 rubles per month and the farmers live quite well. Last year the total income was 2 million rubles. Apart from the collective property, every family has got its own land (0.13 hectare) for kitchen gardens, as also own poultry, pigs, sheep etc. The farmer has got radio, television and a number of them have cars also. Every year 30 flats with all

amenities are constructed and in three years' time these houses become the property of the farmers themselves.

The collective farm has got its own hospital with 25 beds, drug store, clinic, shops, stadium, mill, a telephone exchange, auditorium, five clubs, five creches, six kindergartens and six schools of which one is a ten-year school. The parents do not pay anything for the upkeep of these kindergartens, where for every 25 children there is a teacher and the children play and learn their first lessons.

The rows of tiny cottages, the large number of toys and the laughter and joy of the children at play in the vast halls and garden of the kindergarten would delight the heart of any visitor. Here as well as in the Pioneer Palace in Tashkent, we were in the happy company of children who are the hope of the future and for whom is being built the new Communist society by the peaceful labour of Soviet citizens. As has often been said, the children are the privileged citizens of the USSR. And in them is reflected the achievements

and ideals of the socialist society.

Yet another great aspect of the fundamental social transformation in the life of the Uzbek people under socialism, for which a visitor is full of admiration, is the liberation of women from backwardness and domestic slavery. At the Tashkent Pottery Plant, along with the Director to receive us and explain the technical details of the plant's work was the woman chief engineer, Munavvar Khadriyeva got her education at the Tashkent Polytechnic, started working as a shop steward and rose to become the chief engineer of the plant. She is a people's deputy also.

The socialist society has created many like her. The veil which covered the faces of the Uzbek women disappeared along with their bondage. Today they have access to all professions and work as skilled technicians, engineers, managers, teachers and specialists side by side with the men in the development of their national economy and culture.

(To be continued)

Correction: In the previous article of this series (New Age dated November 1, 1964, page 18) the figure 65,000 was appearing in column 3, line 8 should read as 556,000.



Nehru inaugurating the Seminar on International Affairs and World Peace, December 1963, New Delhi

WORLD PEACE MEET IN DELHI

In a few days from now, the World Conference for Peace and International Cooperation will open in New Delhi. Already as we go to press, delegates from 25 countries and a number of international organisations have arrived in the capital. As many more are to arrive in the next forty-eight hours.

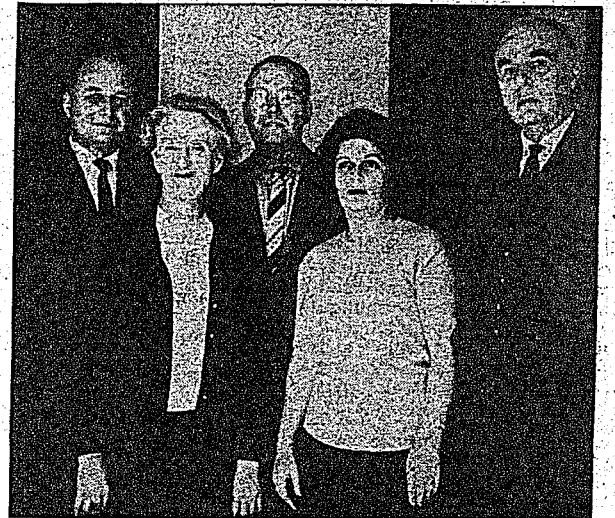
as the first delegates arrive in the capital (the photographs of just a few of them taken a random by our photographer are published on this page). What is it that interests them most?

(Photos: Virendra Kumar)

THE presence of nearly fifty national delegations and eight international organisations' representatives testifies to the immense suc-

cess of the call of the conference. The all-embracing agenda of the conference has found universal acceptance.

First and foremost, the question which they ask of all is this: Will India continue and strengthen the policies of nonalignment and peaceful coexistence which are associated with the name of Jawaharlal Nehru? The world conference will be a powerful blow in favour of the continuation of these policies, it will lead to their strengthening.



GDE Delegation



E. M. ZHUKOV (USSR)

The conference is in a way the culmination of years of tireless work by the Indian peace movement...the high-point in its efforts to unite all the forces of peace in the country. The Indian Preparatory Committee brings together the widest sections of men and women who stand for peace. Never before has such a broad spectrum of progressive opinion in the country come together for the cause of peace.

Against Atomaniacs

To play host to an international conference of such broad dimensions is also a unique honour and privilege at a time like this. What will the conference achieve? What will be new about it? There

The "Make-the-Bomb" lobby, which lifted its head so defiantly at the Guntur AICC session will also undoubtedly receive a blow as a result of the deliberations of the conference. For it is clear that this world gathering will go

nonaligned conference. But it will be the first world conference which will discuss in detail the important issue of the contribution of nonalignment to world peace.

Large delegations are coming from nearly every state in the country. (Nov. 11)

By Our Special Correspondent



Madame FARGES (France)

are a hundred answers to this question, which will become clear as the conference unfolds.

Outlines of Achievements

But one can see the outlines of these achievements already

on record in appreciation of those governments, which refuse to be provoked into joining the nuclear club, and in deploring the actions of those who defy world opinion and continue to seek to develop bigger and bigger bombs.

This conference is not a

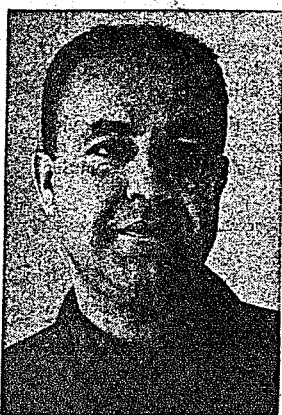
The World Conference starts on the strong anti-imperialist foundation already built for all nonaligned countries by the Cairo Conference. It will carry the Cairo spirit forward.

Deep Interest

The Indian people will watch the deliberations of the conference with the deepest interest and enthusiasm.



MAYERAT (Switzerland)



OMAR SBAI (Syria)



Mongolian delegation



KEKKONEN (Finland)



SIRKHOVSKY (Austria)