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NAMASTE, GAGARIN!

An atmosphere of gay, jovial informality prevailed over the Palam. Expectantly, smilingly, sauntered about VIPs, foreign and Indian, representatives of a number of social and cultural organisations, pressmen, spectators.

AND then at the scheduled hour, there appeared on the clear blue sky, a silvery bird, coming as it were from the vast expanses of outer space, reflecting the glory of a thousand suns.

It grew in size as it approached the aerodrome. The contours of the dazzling Soviet turbo-jet, Ilyushin 18, with the world's first cosmonaut on board, bathed in sunlight, became clearly visible.

The plane landed perfectly and soon taxied down the tarmac. A wave of joy swept over the airport. And a scramble to be as close to the plane

as possible, threatened to sweep the photo reporters with their ladders, away from it.

All smiles, the Soviet cosmonaut followed by his wife descended from the plane, on our soil. Hurrah for Gagarin. A burst of applause drowned all other noises, as well as all cordons in an instant.

Gagarin was received by Indira Gandhi, Humayun Kabir, Lakshmi Menon and introduced to those who had come to receive him officially. But many, many were those who succeeded in finding their way to him and to shake

hands with the conqueror of space.

Within an hour of his arrival in Delhi, Gagarin was present at the tastefully arranged press conference, and, with his charming personality, ready wit and modest demeanour struck a note of celestial music in the hearts of all those who were present there.

Earth is the cradle of wisdom, but you cannot always live in cradle, said the Soviet cosmonaut, quoting Tsiolkovsky.

To Venus—was the call of Soviet science, technology and advance, conveyed through this messenger who had soared into the cosmos.

But his feet were firmly planted on the earth. It does not mean that we are laying any "territorial claims" out

there, he clarified. It only means: "We are ahead, so catch up", he declared.

His visit to our country is a tribute to Indo-Soviet friendship. Gagarin wished for further strengthening of this friendship, for peace, for happiness of mankind.

Many were the questions put to him. All of them he handled with disarming frankness and informality, with remarkable flourish of knowledge and grasp, not only over problems that were cosmic but also over those that were very much earthly.

With the light of the stars in his eyes, he described the beauty of the earth that he saw from the Vostok.

With striking modesty, he answered the question as to why he was chosen to be the

first Cosmonaut: "But someone has to be the first, after all!"

With good-humoured wit, he replied to the question regarding the prospect of commercial flights to outer-space in our life-time: "As I am not a commercial man myself, I had not gone into that question".

But he was quite sure that it will be possible to reduce the Delhi-Moscow flight time from 7-8 hours that it is today, to 40-45 minutes in our generation.

A shining example of the Soviet youth that is bringing a Communist society into being, he declared his wish with a corresponding daring: To fly to Venus.

Venus will no doubt yield.

—RAZA ALI

Border Dispute—Lies Nailed



VOL. IX, NO. 49

DECEMBER 3, 1961

25 nP.

The truth about the situation on the Northern border, which was sought to be swamped in a new campaign of exaggeration, was squarely placed before Parliament and the country by the Prime Minister when he spoke in the Lok Sabha on Tuesday. As has happened on many earlier occasions, the Hindustan Times once again came out on the very morning of this Parliamentary session, with a highly exaggerated story of recent developments on the India-China border, of "new areas annexed" by the Chinese and so on.

AND these promptly became the subject matter as usual of adjournment motions on the opening day of Parliament as planned. The whole issue right from the beginning was given a twist to prove that the country's defences, under the present dispensation, had been so grossly neglected that despite categorical assurances that "not an inch" of fresh Indian territory would be allowed to be occupied by the Chinese, thousands of square miles had been annexed.

It should also be recalled that this fresh move was but the continuation of the sustained campaign against India's Defence Minister, initiated in the United States by the State Department and enthusiastically carried on in this country by the unholy triple alliance of the PSP-Jana Sangh-Swatantra, that has formed around Acharya Kripalani.

From denouncing Krishna Menon, Nehru and the Government of India for being partial to the Soviet Union on the nuclear tests issue, the unholy Trimurti, prodded by the US-subsidised right-wing press launched its new round of attack on them for almost having opened the northern frontier for the Chinese to march in.

They hoped that as a result they could so inflame public opinion and raise

such an amount of hysteria as would bring about almost a swing to the Right in the coming elections and enable them to ride on its crest to victory.

Unfortunately for them, they had this time built their case on such sandy foundations that it could hardly stand the touch of the slightest breeze of truth.

Replying spiritedly to the interruptions of stalwarts of the unholy trimurti like Hem Barua, Acharya Ranga and Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the Prime Minister on Tuesday declared:

"I hope this House will never compel me to speak lies to this House because they consider that lies are good for this country".

The regrettable establishment of three new posts by the Chinese on the frontier

of India's Ladakh region, which had been inflated into a fresh occupation of 2,000 square miles of additional Indian territory by the Right-wing press and politicians, was put in correct focus by the Prime Minister.

Two of these new posts, "one at Dambuguru and the other Nyagzu in the Kongka, La-Khurnak Fort sector of Ladakh", the Prime Minister

BY ZIAUL HAQ

said, "are practically on the international frontier between Tibet and Ladakh".

He further added, "I am talking of the real frontier, not where the Chinese have come in. They are actually on the international frontier... To consider or to think that, as has been said, a large area—I do not know how much, thousand or two thousand square miles—have been further occupied is not a correct statement".

The mere establishment of these two posts even on the international frontier was nevertheless objectionable, said the Prime Minister, be-

cause, according to him, it showed "aggressive mentality behind it" and was "not in keeping with the assurances given to us".

The third, a more important post, put up during this last summer in the northern part of Ladakh area near the Karakoram Pass, being "a little away from the old frontier" must be put, according to the Prime Minister "in a different category". "To this post", he said, "our objection is greater because it has moved West two miles.

"But even that", he added, "does not imply that the Chinese have taken possession of any large area.

"A post is just a post at that point, to the right, to the left, or to the east, they are not in possession, nobody is in possession except any armed force that goes there for the time being".

The Prime Minister also made it clear that at none of the posts in this area, whether Chinese or Indian, could the strength at any time be more than between 40 and 60 armed personnel. He also made it clear that there was no question of there being any large Chinese force anywhere on the Indian frontier.

The trimurti had been proclaiming that as many as 50,000 Chinese troops were concentrated at some sectors of the Indian frontier. The Prime Minister stated that not only was there no truth in these assertions, but it was physically impossible. Inside the Tibet region of China, in its interior, he confirmed there were over 50,000 Chinese troops.

The Prime Minister also gave revealing facts of what had been happening on the Indian side of the border. Ever since independence, and more so since 1950—"because of the fact that at that time the Chinese came into Tibet, we were alerted by this fact, although nothing had happened against us so much directly"—India has been consolidating the north-east frontier, by military and other steps.

"In fact we succeeded not only in bringing a large part of the North East Frontier agency in a system of regular administration and communications, but in establishing many posts there, which have done good work and which have, in fact, prevented any incursion there...

"We attached importance to the NEFA border for various reasons, and we have succeeded in protecting it adequately. We are now building up a system of roads right up to the border".

In the period of last two years when China had built up its three above-mentioned posts, India had built half a dozen or more in the Ladakh region of the border. One of these like the latest Chinese one is within ten miles of the Karakoram Pass at a place called Daulatbeg Oldi. Besides this the building of strategic roads was going on at a brisk pace.

Insinuations pointedly made by Hem Barua of the PSP a few days earlier that there had been some incursions in the eastern sector also had been refuted at that stage itself.

In his statement on Tuesday the Prime Minister made it clear that since they evacuated Longju a long time ago, the Chinese have never attempted to re-occupy it, nor has the Indian side done so although it is part of Indian territory.

Despite the trimurti's persistence, the Prime Minister firmly insisted that it was not important to either side from the military point of view and India was not contemplating the occupation of Longju, although that step may not be ruled out forever.

It was earlier in the question hour when the Prime Minister strongly defended Krishna Menon's reported statements in New York that there was "no active hostility" on the northern border. It was not at all a situation where armies were facing each other as though poised for a showdown, said Nehru.

* SEE PAGE 13

HORDES DESCEND

New Delhi is famous for the visits to our Capital city of the numerous Heads of States, especially in this season. It is also infamous for the numerous political scandals about our internal life which the enterprising press correspondents fish out from the various Ministries.

THE biggest-ever political scandal of the last two weeks however is the arrival of the mass of Congressmen, big and not so big, who have descended upon New Delhi, veritably like a swarm of political locusts out to feed of the fair fields of Indian democracy.

The Central Election Committee of the ruling party is busy finalising the selection of 2835 candidates for the State assemblies (other than Kerala and Orissa) and 496 for the Lok Sabha. With this as the number of candidates, the number of their rivals to be multiplied, and the supporters of both to be added, and the end-result is that anyone who counts for anybody in the affairs of the Congress is here in Delhi.

The revelations they are making against each other are unprintable, their manoeuvres and counter-maneuvres are unpredictable. The truth is coming out that the internal life of the Congress is based on the propaganda method of mind-slugging against each other and the organisational weapon of incurable factionalism. This is inevitable in a party that acquires a split political personality, with pledges to the people being one but actual performance very different, if not opposite.

In such a situation the Congress can only intensify its demagogic campaign among the people to get their votes and suffer never-ending factional struggles for power within. Its leaders are currently engaged in the vain effort of putting the Congress house in order to be able to face the electorate in the coming months. A few examples will illustrate this.

Gujarat's Disgrace

In Gujarat Morarji has inherited the mantle of the Bardar had kept the Congress thoroughly regimented under his leadership. As Dhebarbhai realised that Morarji's succession to Panditji was not guaranteed he began moving away and so did the Gujarat Chief Minister.

This was behind the controversy of the 10-year rule that broke out in the open some weeks back. The Express reported that all differences inside the Gujarat Congress had been ironed out and forecast a unanimous list from Gujarat.

This, however, failed to happen. The High Command ruled out the 10-year rule and cut four nominees of the Morarji Desai-dominated GPCC though the ministerialists wanted over 20 of their supporters to be nominated from above, and on an appeal from below, on the ground that the 10-year rule was palmed on them as the imperative from the High Command.

Chief Minister Dr. Jivraj Mehta is reported to be "dissatisfied" though Morarji Desai has been humbled for the first time in the affairs of his own home

NOTES OF THE WEEK

year of the creation of Rajasthan and of Congress rule, stand witness to a hidden sense of guilt that the party has not done for people what was expected of it?

With such an ugly state of affairs inside the ruling party the antics and the aggressiveness of the Right opposition to it can easily be imagined and they have spelt out their tactics these last two weeks.

Swatantra—Mask Off

THE Swatantra Party held its National Convention this week at Agra, with a mile-long procession and public meeting of 40,000 according to the Times of India, and 60,000 according to the other papers.

Swatantra General Secretary M. R. Masani formulated the tasks before the party thus:

"The first is to achieve the position of opposition in Lok Sabha, then providing an alternative Government to the country. Secondly, to secure the best possible representation of the party in the State Assemblies" (Hindustan Times, November 24).

The Swatantra Party, ever since its birth, was suspected of U. S. political parentage. To prove its national parentage it took pains to declare its adherence to the national policies of coexistence and non-alignment and pleaded that it was only critical of its implementation.

It is a measure of the exasperation of this U. S. political offspring, with the present world developments and the current Indian foreign policy that the Swatantra have thrown off the mask of being Indian and national so far as foreign policy is concerned.

Their attitude to the Plan, their pleas for the private sector had already damned them as being of the U. S. monopoly brand, so far as India's internal development was concerned.

It finalised its election manifesto in this convention which stated: (Hindustan Times, November 26) that "the abstract concepts of coexistence and non-alignment have lost their meaning, and our foreign policy needs to be reviewed and brought into closer relation to the realities of the international situation".

The demand voiced in the manifesto, for "a firm and vigilant policy to dealing with the Chinese aggression" was further buttressed by a separate resolution which demanded breaking off diplomatic relations with China.

The Swatantra has banked, along with its allies, to stoke up the anti-Chinese hysteria during the coming election campaign to an extent as to flout national sentiment over Goa. Its very blind and deaf boldness is alien to Indian national feelings and interest.

"The present martial talk about Goa is an attempt to divert public attention from the indefensible errors in Government's China

policy on the eve of the General Elections. There is nothing new in the Goa situation in respect of which no effective action has been taken all these years".

Our readers will recall that we took note of a similar statement of the Jana Sangh during its General Council meeting last week.

A party that openly declares: cast aside coexistence, break with China, and leave Goa alone, how can it claim to be an Indian party? It stands self-condemned as an American party and must be wiped out of Indian political life during the coming elections.

It is not only in natural life that birds of the same feather flock together. Masani from his Convention platform appealed to the opposition political parties "noticeably the Jana Sangh, PSP and the Socialist party to join in a 'grand electoral understanding' to defeat the Congress" (Hindustan Times, November 27).

"We will try for mutual adjustments and understanding with all opposition parties except the Communists" (Statesman, November 28).

The Swatantra Party obviously seeks to canalise and exploit anti-Congress discontent in the interests of Indian and Western reaction.

Jana Sangh—Haram & Halal

THE Akhil Bharatiya Jana Sangh, from its General Council meeting blared that it will not "form a joint front or enter into election alliances with any other political party." It was obviously afraid of its ideological pretensions being questioned by its own following and its political ambition of emerging as the main opposition party in Parliament not being taken seriously by the voters.

The Jana Sangh leadership however, is realistic enough to realise that it cannot achieve much electorally, all on its own. It is, therefore, out for "electoral adjustments with democratic and nationalist elements".

It is interesting to note the parties with whom such adjustments are ruled out. They are the Congress, the Communists, the Muslim League, Akali Dal and the D. M. K. Throughout the country, its main appeal is based on stirring Hindu communalism and, therefore, opposition to the League, in the Punjab where there are no Muslims, it has naturally has to appeal against the Akhis, and so far as the DMK is concerned, the Jana Sangh hardly exists in Madras.

Therefore, the real political opposition of the Sangh is to the Congress and the Communists.

It is still more interesting to note the parties which the Jana Sangh is out to court or be courted by. They are the P. S. P., the Socialist Party, the Swatantra Party, Hindu Sabha and some other smaller parties and indepen-

dents". The triple alliance against Krishna Menon in Bombay is no exception but in line with the tactical alignment the Jana Sangh seeks to build so. The Sangh's most loudly proclaimed enemy No. 1 remains our Party.

PSP And The Peel

THE Praja Socialists have also concluded their electoral confabulations this week and declared that they are going to contest 900 State Assemblies and 125 Lok Sabha seats. Asoka Mehta without a blush stated at his New Delhi Press conference that his party was "confident of not only maintaining and improving its position as the premier Opposition party in the country but also simultaneously becoming the principle Opposition in Parliament".

As if he and his party were political dispensers of the country, Asoka Mehta, also declared that his party will "put up no candidate against the Prime Minister. This is a token of our respect".

The P. S. P. has not the ghost of a chance against the Prime Minister, its not contesting the Prime Minister is an obvious plea for Asoka Mehta to be allowed to enter the Parliament uncontested by the Congress as before.

He also re-affirmed that the PSP "welcomed electoral co-operation with like-minded parties. According to the Times of India, November 27, he also claimed "there was no question of any arrangement with the Communists, the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra Party".

About the Communists he is right. About the hardly-veiled flirtations of his party with the Sanghis and the Swatantra he is lying and for obvious reasons. This political unchastity is public knowledge in almost every constituency where the PSP is out with its candidate.

Asoka Mehta tries to be original in his expressions. This time he minted the phrase that his was not "a banana peel party" meaning thereby having only a nuisance value or making its rivals "slip" without having the capacity to supplant.

Realistic political observers, leave aside the fighters for the people's cause, are, however, looking out for the PSP to prove a 'banana peel party for itself, because of the unprincipled ambitions of its leaders and their utter unscrupulousness in the affairs of the nation.

As the election campaign is getting going, the spontaneous feeling among the thinking sections of the electorate is growing that this time the Congress should be cut to size and parties like the Swatantra, Jana Sangh and the PSP routed, if India's future is not to become cloudy. These exactly are the electoral aims of our Party.

—P. C. JOSHI

KERALA KISANS—ON THE EVE

From Our Correspondent

November 26

Brisk preparations for tomorrow's picketing before the offices of the collectorates in the nine districts of Kerala are proceeding apace as the day approaches—November 27. All the district headquarters witnessed huge meetings this evening where a send-off to the first batches of picketers were given. Batches of volunteers ranging from 21 to 101 will go into action tomorrow.

VETERAN 70-year old kisan leader Vishnu Bharatiyan will lead the picketers in Cannanore, M. K. Kulu at Calicut, legislator E. P. Gopalan at Palghat, ex-Minister P. K. Chathan at Trichur, and younger kisan leaders Govinda Pillai, Madhavanmathan Purushottam Pillai, Gopala Krishnan and Janardhan Nair will lead the batches in Ernakulam, Alleppey, Kottayam, and Trivandrum Districts.

A visit to the Trichur volunteer camp tonight showed that the volunteers from all the centres and block committees had arrived and the block committees had found it difficult to stop more batches from coming here to be the first pickets. They belonged to all groups from 25 to 72 and hailed from all castes and communities—Christians, Muslims, Harijans and Caste Hindus. Confident of the outcome of their cause and the victory of

the kisans and determined to face all trials and tribulations, these sons of Kerala's soil were competing to be the first to answer the call of the Sangham.

A. K. Gopalan, who was camping in the headquarters due to indisposition, has issued a rousing appeal to the kisans of Kerala, exhorting them to stand united, firm and peaceful and carry on the struggle till the demands were conceded.

He appealed to the kisans rallied under the Congress flag and the flag of the kisan panchayat, to compel their leadership to give up their opposition to the demands placed before the Government and to tell them to use their good offices with the Government to concede these demands. A. K. Gopalan, speaking to your correspondent stated that he will begin his yatra from Kottiyur on December 4

and reach Trivandrum on December 13 with a batch of Kottiyur peasants to picket the Government Secretariat.

WHY THIS STRUGGLE?

WHY this struggle is a question posed from all quarters inside and outside Kerala. The following are the demands placed by the Sangham before the Government:

- 1) Preparation of a record of rights of the tenants without documents.
- 2) Increase the number of land tribunals on the basis of one per 2,000 petitions for quick disposal.
- 3) The provision regarding cancellation of arrears of rent to be brought up to April 15, 1961.
- 4) Cancellation of the measures of collection of arrears of rent and other levies from tenants in revenue and forest lands and the lease of these lands to owner tenants up to a 15-acre limit and ensuring of rehabilitation measures, before eviction is carried out for the purpose of construction projects or development of the national highways.
- 5) Cancellation of the lease of the Kottiyur temple

land to the Nair Service Society and of the measures being taken for leasing lands belonging to other temples in the same way.

6) Withdrawal of the notification of the Government increasing the commutation rate in regard to Jenmikaram lands.

7) Legislation in regard to ensuring the collection of basic tax rates and other rights of tenants in such tenures as Shreepadam, Pandaravakka and Tiruppuvaram.

8) Relief measures to tenants affected by the floods to be expedited.

9) Cancellation of the rights of the Travancore-Cochin Devaswom to collect arrears of rent as per the Revenue Recovery Act.

10) Immediate implementation of certain of the unfulfilled assurances regarding the Amravati settlers. Relief to those evicted from Ernanall and Kambanadu.

11) Cancellation of the orders of eviction of peasant settlers in the name of rubber plantation development.

12) Preparation of a record of the Kudikiddappukars and protection of their rights.

13) Survey of the land in possession of the Adवास at Atappadi and allotment of the same to them.

14) Reduce the burden of taxes on the kisans.

15) Enforce all the provisions of the Agrarian Relations Act of February 12, 1960.

16) Withdrawal of all cases connected with issues relating to the kisans.

OIL—SORDID PLOT

From Ramesh Sinha

THE sordid conspiracy of foreign Oil Companies against Oil India and the development of a national oil industry in our country is not confined to undercutting of prices, refusal to refine crude oil, coming in the way of prospecting, etc., but is also directed to prevent its reaching the market.

Some days back the local National Herald reported how these companies are using every possible means to corner not only all the dealer-owned petrol pumps, but also all the best sites in Lucknow to prevent Government of India's Indian Oil Company from entering the local market in any effective manner.

First of all they are buying up all the possible places where petrol pumps can be installed by the Indian Oil Company. Price is no consideration for them.

Even for lease land they are reported to have paid as much as Rs. 4 per square foot. In Delhi, Bombay or Calcutta this may not be a very high price, but for Lucknow it is almost fabulous. At the same rate, free-hold land can be bought almost anywhere in Lucknow.

Secondly, they are luring the owners of those petrol pumps which they do not control already to lease the pumps to them at fancy prices.

The fact that this thing has been going on for at least ten months in a very systematic manner should indicate that it is a well-organised move. And since more than one foreign Oil Company is involved in these shady manoeuvres it seems apparent that it is a concerted, top-planned effort of all or several foreign-owned Companies against us.

It is in this connection that it is reported that the U. P. Government had to take the drastic and unusual step of black-listing one of these Companies. This Company will now not be allowed any facility of lease for installing its petrol or diesel pumps anywhere. The order to this effect has been passed by the Public Works Department of the State.

—AJIT ROY

Under Congress Raj

Steady Advance—For Monopolists!

The Second Five Year Plan "set forth larger goals and a long-term strategy for economic and industrial advance based on the socialist pattern of society."

"It meant the establishment of a technologically mature society in the framework of a socialist economy."

"(Congress) has aimed at a progressive socialised economy in which all can share and there are no great disparities . . ."

(Congress Election Manifesto.)

THE Congress Election Manifesto, it will be obvious from the above, stakes its claims on the country's progressive advance towards some variety or other of socialism. Nothing would be happier if this were true.

Let us see if there is even a grain of truth in this claim.

"Evolutionary" or revolutionary, "democratic" or "totalitarian", the concept of socialism, unless it is political double-talk, must signify a social system in which the means of production are not private property, but owned by the society as a whole, and hence the appropriation of surplus value by the capitalist class is progressively restricted, if not totally precluded.

According to this, the only correct definition of socialism, India is not by any means approaching the goal of socialism, but

more and more receding from it inasmuch as private monopoly capital—foreign and indigenous—has been extending its net of exploitation on an ever-widening scale.

Private foreign business investments according to the estimates of the Reserve Bank of India more than doubled in the decade between 1948 and 1958 from Rs. 256 crores to Rs. 671 crores. According to the same source in the six years between 1954 and 1959, the foreign controlled companies in India earned net profits after taxation totalling Rs. 240 crores.

In recent years the spate of penetration by foreign capital has gathered further momentum as will be seen from the increasing number of schemes of foreign private collaboration approved by the Government in recent years: 24 in 1957, 109 in 1958, 182 in 1959, 358 in 1960 and as many as 304 in the first nine months of the current year.

The tentacles of Indian monopolistic formations have assumed no less, if not more staggering dimensions. For instance, between 1947 and 1957 industrial production has become increasingly concentrated in the hands of a small number of establishments. In 1947, 7.2 per cent of the total number of factories were responsible for 48.4 per cent of the total gross output as against 7.5 per cent and 53.7 per cent respectively in 1957.

Similarly, between 1949 and 1960 the aggregate

deposits held by about a dozen of the topmost private banks, with deposits of over Rs. 25 crores each,

	1955	1959	% Increase (Amount in Rs. crores)
Total Assets	1434	2077	44.5
Total Income	1624	2293	41.2
Profits after tax	68	102	51.4
Dividends	39	64	65.0
Dividends as % of paid-up capital	8.9	11.8	

of these companies, in other words, the increasing rate of surplus value appropriation by them:

That doyen of Indian big business, J. R. D. Tata paid his tribute to this Congress pattern of socialism, when in the course of his statement to the shareholders of the Investment Corporation of India, he said that: "The growing pace of industrial production and profits during 1960 and the protective benefits to a large number of industries of import restrictions coupled with a broadening of investment interest in shares, particularly in new issues and all contributed to maintain the buoyancy of investment markets during the period."

"Businessmen in India and abroad had realised the vast opportunities for industrial enterprise (read: profit-hunting) that existed in a developing economy with an enormous protected market and... effort to attract foreign capital had borne fruit in a large number of collaboration agreements with foreign entrepreneurs culminating in an unprecedented flow of capital issues by newly formed companies". (Indian Express, Nov. 23, 1961)

The following figures, relating to 1,001 representative large and medium joint stock companies, published in the RBI Bulletin, September 1961, reveal the sharp and continuous increase in profits and assets

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

PROBLEM OF ENDS & MEANS

QUESTION:

What is the Communist stand on the question of ends and means? Does it believe that all is well which ends well? (C. B. Upadhyaya, Jyoti Press, Bankura).

ANSWER:

ALTHOUGH this question has been posed afresh, it is actually as old as the Communist movement. Even much older in the sense that it is always directed at those who work for social change, all who wish to upset the established pattern of existence. Surely, it should also be addressed to those who seek to perpetuate the status quo and who have to use all manner of means to do so.

It is often said that the national movement in India led by Gandhiji managed to solve this question, that Gandhiji by his emphasis on means no less than on ends gave morality to a mass movement. Similar claims, with even less justice, are made by various religious movements.

Let us take Gandhiji's position. His contention was that bad means would spoil even a good end; in particular the adoption of violence in any form would tarnish the brightest eyes of social or national objectives. Hence, he advocated non-violent satyagraha as the right means to attain the noble end of Swarajya.

We shall leave aside for the moment, the glaring inconsistencies in Gandhiji's position—the volunteer work in the 1914 war, the refusal to support the non-violent action of the Garhwal battalions in Peshawar, the sanction to the despatch of armed forces to Kashmir and so on. After all, the flaws in practice do not necessarily vitiate the soundness of any theory.

Appropriate Method

We shall try to approach the problem on the philosophical plane. Any means that are adopted which tarnish the end sought to be achieved are obviously not the appropriate means. Ends never justify means which do not bring it about in its entirety. This is a principle applicable to Communists, Gandhians or anybody for that matter.

Means can never be treated as absolute categories; by their very nature and definition they are relative. The whole argument on means hinges essentially around the question of effectiveness. The mistake lies very often in losing sight of the end, and in taking a short-term point of view.

Gandhiji had said that by the exclusive use of non-

are not pragmatists and do not believe that success, short-term and superficial, is all.

Thus, the Communist approach to the problem of ends and means can be briefly summarised thus:

- Ends and means are an organic whole. Clearly defining the end, scientifically analysing the situation which has to be surmounted to reach that end, the Communists work out the means that are to be employed.

violence he would take our country to the heaven of plenty and goodwill and mass freedom. Yet when national independence dawned, it came with the sea of carnage which was Partition, while plenty and goodwill have yet to come for the vast majority.

No wonder the Mahatma cried out in agony during the last days of his life. The means he adopted had not led to the desired end and cannot, therefore, be justified.

The means were inappropriate because the end, in this case had never been clearly defined and because there was lack of courage in working out the path. And yet precisely because they have made a regular cult and fetish of the means, the Gandhians have never held their Twentieth Congress!

And we have yet to see the followers of Gandhi, who rule the land, make any kind of introspection after all the blatant violations they indulge in of their own creed. Nehru talks lofty morals, but the daily violation of all ethics, of all comradeship in front of the AICC office today, to give one example, seems to leave him cold.

Careful Scrutiny

With us, Communists, it is quite a different story. We have never at any time anywhere said that the end of socialism justifies any means employed. We have always made the closest scrutiny of our actions: to see whether they are helping developments to take the right shape, to bring into being the bright reality of socialism.

We have defined scientifically and precisely the goal of socialism—the end of exploitation, the rule of the toilers, the material and spiritual advance of all humanity. And it can be said, without any vanity, that no movement in all the epochs of history has succeeded as has our movement in realising its aims.

After such success it would have been quite easy to sit back and justify each and everything that was done in the period of such titanic achievements. Yet the Party that so boldly led all these pioneering feats itself has denounced certain dark doings and big mistakes that occurred simultaneously with these shining deeds. It was an act of very great moral courage.

It is quite wrong to say that we Communists believe that very little attention needs to be paid to moral questions when deliberating on the means to our goal. In practice it has happened that some Communists have brushed aside these moral considerations and with disastrous results to our cause. We

nuclear tests —new approach

Editorial

WHEN THE SOVIET UNION, out of urgent military necessity and with the utmost regret, resumed the testing of nuclear bombs a regular clamour was raised by reactionaries all over that war had now become the declared policy of the mightiest socialist State.

There was an amount of confusion and dismay even among a large number of people who were anxious to preserve peace. They felt that such resumption would only lead to a heightening of tension and increase the possibility of calamity.

It has to be conceded that both groups have had their ideas upset by recent developments.

Finding that the people and a very large number of non-aligned Governments were not taken in by their hypocritical howls, finding that the Soviet tests had placed them in a position of uncomfortable military inferiority, the imperialists were compelled to halt in their track, however, temporary this may turn out to be.

And no sooner had the tests been concluded, then the Soviet Government did not use their demonstrated superiority for anything other than imposing negotiations on the imperialists. Those friends of peace who had doubts on this score should have the honesty now to acknowledge their mistake.

The confusion in the imperialist camp over the Berlin question and the German peace treaty is one manifestation of this truth. The utter chaos following the famous Kroll talks with Khrushchov clearly shows that while the desire for aggression fully remains, the lack of means has led to a certain sobering down.

The most spectacular manifestation, however, of this truth is the resumption of the test-ban talks at Geneva. Of course, nobody would even dare predict that much progress will be achieved. But the fact remains that the talks have begun again.

It should be noted that the Soviet Union has not gone empty handed to the Conference table. It has gone there with fresh proposals, containing new initiatives and demonstrating still greater flexibility.

In a note released on the eve of the conference it has reiterated that realisation of general and complete disarmament "ensures the most dependable solution of the question of ending nuclear weapons tests for all times".

But since "the Soviet Union believes in the force of ideas and not in the force of arms" it has decided to go again to Geneva and try to bring into being a ban on nuclear weapons tests even prior to agreement on general disarmament.

It has categorically stated: "Can one in the obtaining situation nevertheless solve the problem of ending nuclear weapons tests in order to take a real step towards the accomplishment of the main task—general and complete disarmament? Yes, one can".

It has gone on to make proposals, fair and sane, which would make this possibility a reality:

- No side should seek to take unilateral advantage of the test ban. This means that France, as an important member of Nato and a nuclear power, should also be a party to such a ban.

- That all nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, outer space and under water should immediately cease.

- That to observe the carrying out of this ban the parties to the agreement should use their national systems of detection, which everybody concedes is quite adequate for the purpose, pending the establishment of a comprehensive international control system.

- The parties to the agreement pledge not to hold any underground nuclear weapons tests, even prior to the establishment of a fool-proof detection system.

To ensure that the imperialist powers are not able to indulge in any kite-flying on the question of controls, the Soviet note emphatically reiterates "the Soviet Government has pointed out more than once that it is ready to accept any control proposed by the Western powers if they accept general and complete disarmament".

It has been confirmed, however, that the reasonableness and conciliatory nature of proposals is no guarantee whatsoever that the imperialists will advance even an inch towards accepting them.

Having been brought back to the conference table primarily by Soviet strength and flexible diplomacy, they can be made to advance towards an agreement only by the maximum possible mass pressure.

It is only fair and just to ask the Government of India, particularly Pandit Nehru, which had protested against the Soviet tests to publicly express its support of the new peace initiative that the Soviet Government has now taken.

There should be no difficulty for the Indian Government to take such a position, since its own proposals for a moratorium on nuclear tests do not essentially differ from the latest Soviet note.

Failure to do so, however, would mean that it has shifted from non-alignment to a position of passive observation, at least on this cardinal issue. Such a shift is bad for India and for world peace. Such a shift can and must be prevented.

(November 29)

—MOHIT SEN — INTO — BATTLE

IT is always a pleasure to be able to report that we have kept our promise. Ajoy Ghosh's comprehensive article on the elections published in this issue can well be called the opening salvo of the all-India ideological offensive of our Party on the electoral front. It is a salvo that will create quite a breach in the enemy ranks.

This time Assam and Tamilnad have responded to our call and given us a succinct account of the election line of the Party in those two States as well as the number of seats we are contesting.

Apart from our regular features, we have also stabilised a new one. Ajit Roy will shoot with sniper's aim each week at one after another of the pompous pledges contained in the Congress Election Manifesto.

AND NOW SOME REALLY BIG ANNOUNCEMENTS:

RAJESHKAR REDDY HAS SENT US A FULL-PAGE ARTICLE ON THE ANDHRA ELECTION SCENE;

AJOY GHOSH WILL TAKE SOME THREE PAGES NEXT WEEK TO REPORT ON THE TWENTY - SECOND CPSU CONGRESS.

Rush your orders!

NEW AGE

SPECIAL TRAIN FOR THE BIRLAS

● Jaan Bikash Moitra

The Congress has again exposed itself through its actions in the Hind Motors, the biggest plant in the country for the assembly of motor cars. Situated about eight miles from Calcutta, the factory is owned by the Birla Brothers, one of the biggest donors to Congress coffers.

ABOUT three months ago, 6,000 workers of the factory had demanded six months' wages as bonus for 1951, because the concern had been making fabulous profits. In course of four years alone (1947-50), net profits leaped from Rs. 11 lakhs to two and a half crores!

The workers wanted only Rs. 18 lakhs as bonus out of Rs. 2.50 crores. But the Birlas were not prepared to pay a single naya paise more than what they had doled out in previous years.

Confident of the full support of the Government, especially when they had a faithful friend in the Chief Minister himself, the multi-millionaires launched the offensive.

An illegal lock-out was clamped down on the factory on October 10. As expected, the State Government did not raise its little finger against this blatantly illegal action. But the workers heroically fought on for one long month.

The Birlas realised to their chagrin that they would not be able to break the unity of the workers or dictate terms to them. So they decided to adopt other means. The Government referred the dispute to a tribunal obviously at the suggestion of the employers themselves. The lock-out was then withdrawn.

The Union was willing, from the very beginning, to come to an honourable settlement. When the lock-out was lifted, it was prepared to ask the workers to go back to work, provided the question of payment of wages for the lock-out period was also referred to the tribunal and three months' bonus was paid, pending the disposal of the demand for six months' wages by the tribunal. But the employers would not concede a single demand, even partially.

The workers, therefore, had no other alternative but to go on strike from November 11. The Government immediately came down upon them with a heavy hand.

Over 500 policemen were concentrated in and around the factory. The Hind Motors Railway station, which was built some years ago to serve the factory, was turned into a police barrack. The whole area looked like an armed camp.

But when it became evident that the strike would continue despite this show of armed might, the Government decided to take "stronger" measures. In the evening of November 19, truckloads of additional police were brought to the factory and at 1 a.m. a special train carrying blacklegs arrived at Hind Motors Station.

It sounds rather incredible that when lakhs of daily passengers have to come to Calcutta perching precariously on foot-boards and hanging like cats from door-handles of over-crowded suburban trains, special trains could be provided to the Birlas for importing blacklegs and hoodlums to break a just strike!

But all this is possible under the Congress raj especially when one of the pillars of their society is involved!

The workers, who had previous information of this dirty conspiracy, were prepared for all eventualities. As soon as

W. Bengal Govt.'s Shameless Suppression Of Motor Workers

the special train steamed into the station, thunderous slogans of "Inquilab Zindabad", "Workers' Unity Zindabad", rent the uncanny stillness of midnight. Nothing could break the strike or demoralise the workers.

Maddened at their own discomfiture the police fell upon the workers, beat them up, smashed some volunteers' camps and arrested nine workers.

At midnight on November 20, blacklegs were again brought in a special train. But the attempt, to take them inside the factory was frustrated by the workers' firm determination and the train went back to Howrah with its precious load!

Next day, police terror reached its peak. At about 5-10 p.m. a local train halted at Hind Motors Station; and many passengers got down.

Suddenly and without any reason whatsoever the police attacked them. Eight rounds of tear-gas shells were fired.

The police then entered the nearby bazaar area, looted some shops, threw away furniture and articles from many others and assaulted several shop-keepers and local residents.

At dead of night, they systematically attacked one volunteers' camp after another, razed them to the ground and set fire to some of them. Monoranjan Hazra, Communist MLA and leader of the workers was arrested together with 98 others.

Since the strike began on November 11, a loudspeaker fitted at the factory gate has been blaring out unprintable abuses against Monoranjan Hazra.

With a control room and a wireless centre set up inside the factory, with hundreds of steel-helmeted policemen swarming all over the place and all types of police vehicles parked there, the factory now looks like the operational headquarters of an army unit in action.

On several occasions goonda elements were seen brandishing knives at workers near the factory gate, with policemen egging them on from behind! Attempts to smuggle blacklegs into the factory continue even to this day.

A complete hartal was observed on November 22 by all sections of the people in the eight-square-miles area around the factory in protest against police barbarities on the previous day. A largely-attended meeting, held after the hartal, condemned the police action. The students of Uttarpara college went on strike and brought out a demonstration. Another big meeting was held near the factory on November 24.

Speaking at an election meeting in Calcutta, Communist leader Jyoti Basu strongly criticized the State Government's action in relation to the Hind Motors workers and asked: "Is the over-zealousness of the Government due to the fact that the Birlas have promised to contribute Rs. 20 lakhs to the Congress Election Fund?"

The glorious struggle has gone on for 47 days. The workers are determined to con-

tinue it till the Birlas climb down and agree to come to an honourable settlement.

The 6,000 workers have decided to march to Calcutta on December 2 to submit a memorandum to the Prime Minister, who is coming to the city on that day.

POLICEMEN DISSATISFIED

RESENTMENT among the common policemen of West Bengal over the pay-scales suggested by the Pay Committee has caused embarrassment in the official circles here particularly on the eve of Police Centenary to be held here from November 26 to 31.

The deliberations of the recent annual meeting of the Police Association have caused concern, too. Several speakers, ranging from lowest rung of the ladder to sub-inspectors, voiced their criticism against the Committee's alleged unfair and unjust treatment. Some are stated to have threatened serious repercussions if the genuine grievances were not soon alleviated.

The most important feature of the deliberations is reported to have been certain speakers' suggestion that the policemen should no more be utilised beyond their normal duty of preserving law and order.

A reference, in this connection, is also reported to have been made to the practice hitherto of using policemen to make enquiries against teachers and others and collect their political antecedents.

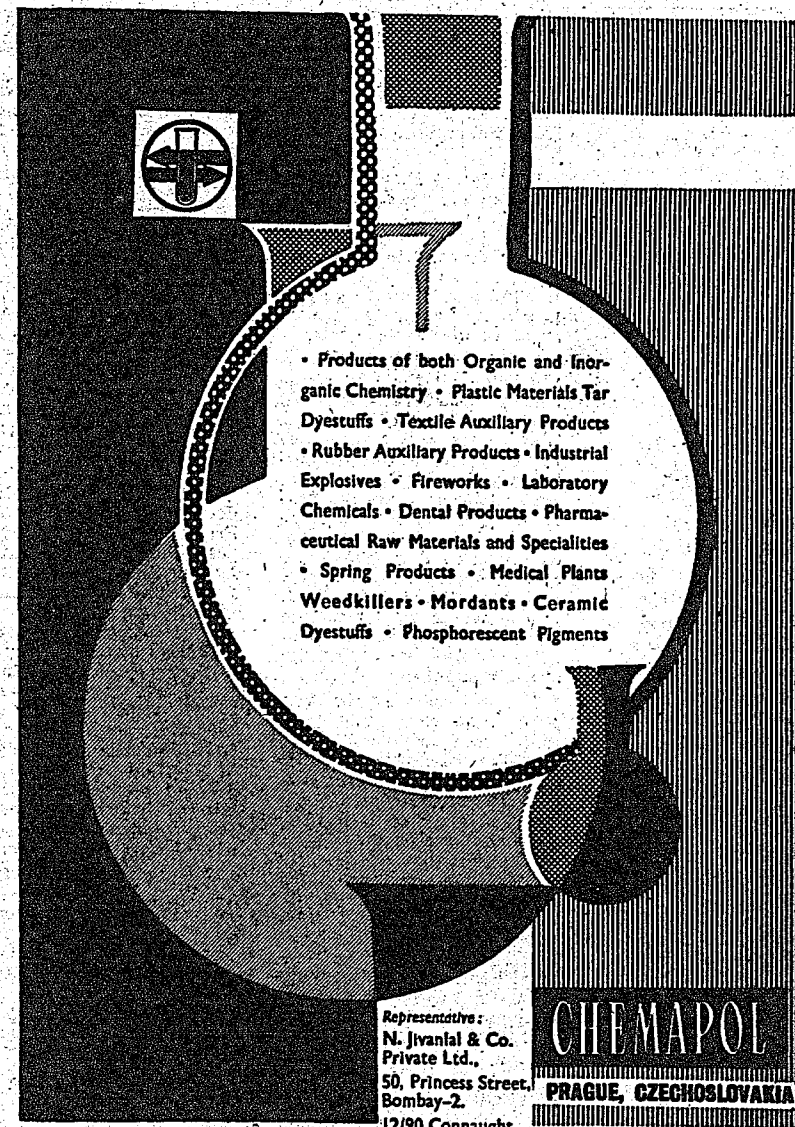
EXPENSIVE EXPERT

LAVISH expenditure by the State Government for Sir John Sargent's stay in West Bengal is causing not a little murmur among a certain sections of the official circles here.

The former Educational Commissioner to the old British Government of India, who is better known in this country for his report, commonly known as the Sargent Report, aimed at integration of all education in India, is being paid Rs. 2,000 per week plus air-conditioned hotel charges and car allowance.

As a Colombo Plan expert, Sir John has been entrusted by the State Government to review the educational programme carried out in West Bengal during the Second Plan in relation to what has to be done during the Third. His special study will be, it is stated, in university or techno-university level.

The main object of the State Government to engage the former British official is to forestall any enquiry by appropriate bodies to go into the current growing problem of higher education, lack of integration of secondary and higher secondary education and the mounting crisis in college and university education.



VISIT THE CZECHOSLOVAK PAVILION AT THE INDIAN INDUSTRIES FAIR, NEW DELHI.
NOVEMBER 14, 1961 TO JANUARY 1, 1962.

NATIONAL-AC 641 A

LET us leave for the moment the major tussle in the Assam Congress and take up the Hill Districts. In the Hill Districts of Assam the Congress was not able as yet to adopt a uniform policy for the election battle. In Mikir Hills the ruling party enjoys a comparatively easy position—the major chunk of the Mikir leaders themselves being in the Congress. The peculiar situation of Mikir Hills gives this advantage to the Congress there.

In the Garo Hills which is one of the three strongholds of the Hill State agitation the Congress has an organisation for a fairly long time. The Garos compare favourably with the Mikirs who are said to be the most backward of the Hill tribes of Assam; but the Garos are more backward than the other tribes of Assam Hills.

In the Garo Hills the Congress has been able to create a social base for the party while that attempt did not succeed much in the other Hills.

The position of the Congress in Mizo district is rather peculiar. Until recently the Congress had no organisation of its own in that district.

The major political party of the district, the Mizo Union, which was born in the

wake of the post-war period struggle all over the country, fighting a mass battle against the semi-feudal tribal Chiefs known as "Sliots", allied itself with the Congress in all the parliamentary activities.

The Congress never tried to form an organisation of its own in that district lest that alliance should break. That alliance, however, broke in the language disturbance of the State last year.

In fact, the Mizo Union decision to break away from the alliance with the Congress was taken even earlier than the actual outbreak of the language disturbances and political circles to this day can hardly explain this break. The Mizo Union leaders themselves could not give any convincing explanation.

The Mizo Union eventually joined the All Parties Hill Leaders Conference, the present platform of the Hill State agitation. Later when the Nehru proposal of Scottish pattern of autonomy came, one section of the Mizo Union leadership accepted this proposal and joined the Congress. It was this section that formed, for the first time, a Congress organisation in that district.

While the Mizo Union and its present ally, the Eastern India Tribal Union—both are now constituents of the All Parties Hill Leaders Conference—maintain that the new converts of the Congress in

their district have no standing among the Mizo people, the Congress, on the other hand, claims that it will be able to give a "tough fight" to the protagonists of Hill State movement.

In Khasi-Jaintia Hill district, the district Congress Committee earlier nominated three candidates for three of the five seats. But it did not or could not nominate any candidate for the seat from the Jaintia area, there being two equally powerful candidates seeking Congress support.

But the Congress has faced its real difficulty in deciding its nominee for the Shillong constituency. The Assembly seat from the State capital is an unreserved seat, though it is in Khasi Hills. Nearly two

From Madhusudhan Bhattacharya

candidate for Congress nomination for this seat. There is a strong group inside the District Congress here that does not like to put up any candidate for this seat. Afraid of facing the All Parties Hill Leaders Conference, this group now maintains that this seat should be left open for a candidate of the minority communities to contest as a "good gesture".

Messy Business
PREM Bhasin, the all India Secretary of the PSP came here sometime back to help his comrades in this

provide them with that platform. The name of a former Minister who was dislodged and disgraced is mentioned here as the chief architect of this move. He is reported to be moving round the State trying to induce his old associates to join the Swatantra party. The Assam chief of the Swatantra party has already, it is said, established contact with this new "convert". But the response from the old Congressmen, it is said, has not been very encouraging till now. With the offer of big purses from the Swatantra headquarter for the

● hill districts' tangle
● psp's chauvinist line
● swatantra's bad start
● cachar election tussle

thirds of the voters in this constituency are non-tribals. Congress is almost sure to lose the seat, whoever may be its nominee.

None is, therefore, willing to contest this seat as a Congress candidate. A regular hunt started for finding a

State work out their election tactics. The State Executive of the PSP meeting with Prem Bhasin declared that the party would contest seventy Assembly seats and a number of Lok Sabha seats.

Soon after this, the State PSP chairman declared in a public meeting which was attended by Bhasin also that the party expected to win about 30 Assembly seats. This claim of the PSP has been taken seriously by none other than the PSP leaders themselves. At present the party has seven seats in the Assembly.

It is learnt that PSP has been making a frantic search for persons willing to take its ticket; but until now little response came. The party does not have an organisation in this State wide enough to give it seventy candidates, not to speak of winning 30 seats.

Its Cachar unit was dissolved when all the PSP members of that district resigned over the issue of language. There were a few more desertions also in the Brahmaputra-valley districts.

The political line, set probably by Prem Bhasin himself, for the PSP's election campaign in this State was mainly a chauvinist appeal to the electorate; in addition to the attack on the foreign policy of the Government of India coupled with their usual anti-Communism.

The section of Assam Congress that has fallen from grace and is now known as the anti-Ministerialist group, it appears, has surpassed even the openly branded communalists in their communal campaign.

Castelism that was imported into Assam politics by one of the stalwarts of the Ministerial group has now been seized-upon by the anti-Ministerialists also who are trying to turn it into good account for themselves in their struggle against the Ministerialists.

Poor Response
SOME of the "penalised" Congress leaders, it is learnt, has now been trying to organise a separate platform of their own and the Swatantra party seems to

party's election campaign some people may be induced to join the party and it will cause little surprise if some of them happen to be former Congressmen.

Risky Decision
THE recent decision of the All Assam Bengali-speaking People's Association (Nikhil Assam Banga Bhasa-Bhasi Samiti) to participate in the election from its own platform bids fair to keep the language issue alive in the election battle.

This Association was formed after last year's language disturbances by some former PSPers, some Congress leaders and some businessmen. It had no political objective at that time. It was thought that this Samiti would remain a platform for safeguarding the language and culture of the Bengali speaking people of the State.

Its decision to turn it into a political platform has not been viewed with favour even by many of its supporters. One of the Congress leaders of Cachar who was its President resigned after the said decision was taken by the Samiti. This Congress leader is already under disciplinary action for resigning her Assembly seat without taking prior permission of the High Command and she would not risk herself further by associating herself with this Samiti when it was decided to put up candidates in selected constituencies where it is bound to contest Congress candidates.

The general feeling in political circle here is that this decision of the Samiti will only expose the Bengali speaking people of the State to some amount of risk, if not physical, at least political.

CONTRIBUTE LIBERALLY ON ARMED FORCES FLAG DAY (DECEMBER 7) FOR THE WELFARE OF EX-SERVICEMEN AND THEIR FAMILIES

EXPOSURES by O. P. MEHROTRA

CORRUPTION EPIDEMIC

Bihar is another eloquent example of Congress misrule. Corruption like an epidemic stalks all over the State. Even the present Chief Minister, Binodanand Jha, is on record with the admission that "of late cases of defalcation, misappropriation and misuse of Government money had assumed disquieting proportions".

ACCEPTANCE of guilt, however, does not absolve the guilty. Besides the record of even the present Ministry is not very clean. Even if corruption in the administration is left out for the moment, there are other serious charges of corruption against Congressmen.

A glance at the reports of the proceedings of the State Legislature reveals how serious charges have been cynically dismissed by the treasury benches, simply because the Congress rulers had a push-button majority.

On May 26 and 27, 1958, a no-confidence motion was discussed against the Congress Ministry led by Dr. Srikrishna Sinha. The leader of the Jharkhand Party (which is now aligning itself with the Congress for the elections) at that time hurled a series of charges against the then Chief Minister. He alleged that:

- The Chief Minister had placed his son and friend of a son in the mica business and the Chief Minister's son was earning lakhs of rupees.
- While the people were clamouring for cement, the Chief Minister took eleven wagons for his personal use.
- A former minister, who was defeated in the general elections, was appointed Chairman of the Bihar Khadi Board.
- A retired Chairman of the Bihar Public Service Commission managed to get a job as the liaison officer of the Tatras and he was helping a Congress Minister's friend by securing job for his son.
- The bamboo interests of Palamau and Chotanagpur had been leased to Messrs. Sahu-Jain of Dalmanagar for 12 years without calling for tenders. The lease of the Rohas forests had also been given to Messrs. Sahu-Jain on a tender of Rs. 3½ lakhs as against the tender of Rs. four lakhs by another party.
- The Government had destroyed the forest wealth of Chotanagpur. The member pointed out that a case instituted against the Laha company for cutting down forest trees in 1953 had been withdrawn after four years.
- Other members pointed out that starvation deaths were taking place in some parts of the State, labour instead of getting its dues was getting bullets (reference was to Jamshepur firing), lawlessness had increased in the State and over and above these, the Congress leaders of Bihar were indulging in "communism, provincialism and casteism".

An independent member, Ram Charitra Singh, had pointed out that Government had not punished the officials found guilty of police firing on students in August 1956, by the Das Commission.

That was in 1958. Since then the charges against the Congress misrule have only multiplied. In 1959, the Bihar State Committee of the Communist Party in cooperation with other democratic elements launched a movement against increased taxes and high prices.

It was calculated then that the per capita burden of taxation in Bihar had risen from Rupees fourteen, annas nine and nine pies, in 1950-51 to Rupees twenty, nine, annas three and eleven pies. Over and above this an additional burden of Rs. 1.50 per head was proposed to be imposed in 1959-60. The burden of taxation, since then, has anything but increased. The prospects for coming days are no better.

Another important charge against the Agriculture Ministry was substantiated by a report of the Bihar Legislative Assembly's Estimate Committee. A Hindustan Times report of November 24, 1960 said:

"The oft-repeated charges, levelled inside as well as outside the State Legislature, against the Agriculture Ministry that it has persistently indulged in a sort of statistical jugglery to dish out highly inflated figures of food production have now been fully substantiated by the latest report of the Bihar State Assembly's Estimate Committee.

"The Committee in its 325-page report which is a serious critique and a sad commentary on the working as well as physical achievement of the Ministry concerned, has severely censured for its 'utter failure' to achieve the desired results, saying that 'the production of foodgrains has gone down from year to year while the expenditure on the department has gone higher and higher' and that 'the target fixed for increased production, though shown on paper to have been achieved, has in reality never been achieved'.

How has the situation changed since the formation of the new Congress Ministry after the death of Dr. S. K. Sinha? The situation has if anything changed for the worse. While Bihar Congressmen are busy with their increasing factional quarrels, the suffering of the people is increasing. The State Government is succumbing to the vested interests to ensure their support for the Congress in the coming general elections.

On September 12, 1961 the Legislative Assembly discussed the no-confidence motion moved by the Opposition members in the Assembly.

Lest We Forget ...

IN its 35th Report, the Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha reiterated the need for an enquiry to fix responsibility for "selling disposal stores at rates lower than those prevailing in the market" which, according to it had resulted into "huge loss" to the exchequer. (Report in Statesman, December 12, 1957)

AT least 18,370 major and minor financial irregularities involving a total loss of more than Rs. 47 lakhs to the public exchequer were listed in the Audit Report of the Railways for the year 1956. (Times of India, December 28, 1957)

THE Public Accounts Committee of the Lok Sabha in its reports for the year 1956-58 said that it was distressed at the manner in which the Government of India entered into a deal with a Japanese firm relating to the purchase of cloth.

The Government of India, according to the report, had purchased 80 million yards of Japanese cloth at a cost of about Rs. 6 crores in 1947, at a time when there was cloth shortage in India. The cloth, however, could not find market in India due to its high prices and it was exported. The transaction caused a loss of Rs. 55 lakhs. (PTI report, May 22, 1958)

POST and Telegraphs Department lost Rs. 9.03 lakhs worth of copper wire in 1955-56, according to the report of the department. The report said that 787 cases of defalcations or loss of public money involving Rs. 5.9 lakhs came to the light in the report year. (Statesman, May 28, 1958)

THE Hindustan Shipyard Directorate appointed a three-man committee to investigate into the irregularities and deficiencies in construction of cargo-cum-passenger vessel, Andamans, built for the Home Ministry and a Survey Vessel built for the Calcutta Port Trust. (Based on Hindu, October 17, 1958)

THE report of the Committee on Plan projects set up under the auspices of the Planning Commission and headed by Balwantray Mehta, MP gave a rude shock to many enthusiasts and publicists of the community development projects.

The Committee revealed that all-India average of additional food production in community development and national extension service areas was only 10.8 per cent as against the figure of 20.25 per cent quoted by the official spokesmen till then. This was followed by the sensational disclosure of the investment of Life Insurance funds in the shares of Mundhra group of concerns which later led to the resignation of the then Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari.

The same report said: "Since 1937-38, the strength of police officers and constables in the State has increased four and two and a half

Surrender To Rangarh Raja

RAJA Bahadur of Rangarh (a leader of the Janata Party, now merged with Swatantra Party) had been engaged in legal battle with the State Government soon after the abolition of Zamindaris in 1951.

Bihar Government had instituted two suits in the court against the Rangarh Estate. One of these was against the Raja Bahadur and 23 companies "seeking a declaration to the effect that 'the leases and sub-leases of mines and minerals created in favour of the companies by Rangarh Estate were sham and the state was entitled to khas possession over the entire area covered by these transfers'."

The other suit of the Bihar Government related to "the Bokaro-Rangarh Limited in respect of the 23 coal mine leases held by the Company."

Raja Bahadur, his companies and the transferees had instituted 283 cases against the Government. But these issues were decided in favour of the State Government by the Patna High Court and the Supreme Court.

Later, an injunction order was obtained by the State Government from the appropriate court, "restraining Messrs Bokaro Rangarh Limited and other companies from working directly or through any other agency, any portion of the mines, minerals and mineral bearing land involved in the case." The companies

were "further restrained from granting leases till the dispute was settled."

But the arrogant Raja's companies flouted the decision of the Court itself. Consequently, the State Government moved the appropriate court once again which asked the Companies why they should not be prosecuted for contempt of the injunction order.

Defeated in the legal battles, Raja began compromise negotiations with the Congress leaders. Harassed by his own Partymen, the Chief Minister of Bihar, Binodanand Jha entered into a deal with the Swatantra leader, Raja Bahadur of Rangarh. How would the Swatantra leader help the Congress Chief Minister, no one knows.

But how the Congress Chief Minister has helped the Raja is no more a secret.

B. N. Jha passed an order for the withdrawal of the injunction case and then a petition was filed by the Government in the same court, for vacation of the injunction order.

In the course of the debate on the no-confidence motion, on September 12 last, the Chief Minister tried his level best to defend the Government's position. But as a correspondent wrote, "his speech left everybody in the over-packed Assembly Hall with the impression that he had defended something indefensible."

LAWLESS POLICE BACKED BY GOVT.

LAWLESSNESS is another characteristic of Bihar. Even the Congress Government had to accept it.

In May 1958 the Chief Whip of the Bihar Congress legislature party had received a letter asking him not to attend the Assembly on May 28 and 27, if he valued his life.

An independent member of the Bihar Assembly from Sonbars constituency of Muzaffarpur was killed by unknown persons on January 31, 1959. Later, Mahamaya Prasad Sinha told the house that the deceased member had informed the police that his life was in danger and yet he received no protection.

The Hindustan Times' Patna correspondent's report on March 6, 1959 said: "Of late, the police have come in for all-round criticism. And though the head of the Police Department has always tried lightheartedly to brush aside such criticism as willful slander of the administration, the basic fact remains that the crime position has recorded no appreciable change for the better."

Two persons died due to police firing on a crowd of demonstrators at Dalmanagar in Sahabadi district on July 28, 1960.

times respectively. The expenditure under the head rose to Rs. 4,60,00,000 in 1958-59 from Rs. 71,00,000 in 1937-38."

* Mahamaya Prasad Sinha, moving an adjournment motion on Sitamarhi riots on April 23, 1959 said that rioting was made possible due to the absence of an adequate number of policemen. He said that the Ramanavami Mela was biggest in the State attended by nearly 200,000 persons. But only 12 policemen were posted at the mela. In the riots several persons had been injured while 14 died.

Compare this record of the police with ferocity in dealing with popular movements or sometimes erring young students.

* Firing on students of Patna in 1956 is the crudest memory of police excesses. This was followed by firing on workers in Jamshepur. On December 6, 1958, police opened fire on students at Mithari. On September 21, 1959, police lathi-charged the volunteers of the Anti-High Prices and Tax Increase Committee.

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third elections—communist challenge

Polling for the Third General Elections will begin on February 19, 1962. But already all major parties have started their election preparations in right earnest. Manifestoes have been published, names of a large number of candidates have been finalised, meetings have started being held.

EVERYONE knows, of course, that neither at the Centre nor in the majority of States, is there any possibility of a change of Government. Nevertheless, people take the elections seriously, for they know on its outcome will depend to a great extent the course of events in the coming period.

They know that while it may not be possible to dislodge the present Government from power, it is possible to influence to some extent at least, the policies that would be adopted and the methods that would be pursued.

There will be many parties and many candidates in the field. But, as in the last two elections, the main party in the field will be the Congress which, for a period of over fifteen years has had overwhelming majority in Parliament, and in almost all the State legislatures.

Enjoying a monopoly of power it has had ample opportunity to translate into practice its declarations. Inevitably, therefore, the issues that will dominate the elections will be those connected with the policies which the Congress has pursued. The

electorate will be called upon to do two things:

FIRSTLY: Express their verdict on 15 years of Congress rule.

SECONDLY: Indicate clearly in what way they want the policies of the Congress to be changed—in the way advocated by parties of the extreme Right or in the way demanded by the parties of forces of the Left.

There are people who take a cynical attitude towards the elections. All this excitement, they say, is due to nothing but power-politics and the careerist ambitions of a handful of politicians. The common man, they argue, has no interest in all this and desires only to be left in peace. Such an appraisal may seem to be very wise. It does not however, explain certain facts.

Why is it, for instance, that the "common man" who mostly belongs to no political party evinces such keen interest in the elections?

Why was it that, during the last two general elections, while a fairly large number of well-to-do people did not bother to cast their votes, polling was especially heavy precisely in those areas where

the toiling people—workers, poor peasants and agricultural labourers, artisans, office employees, etc., predominated?

The fact is—and our masses are coming to realise it more and more—that whether one likes politics or not, one cannot, in a modern society, stay away from it. Politics affects every sphere of our life.

How big will be the increase in national income and how will it be distributed? What goods will be available and at what price? What provision will be there for health, housing and education? What taxes will be imposed and on whom will fall the burden? These and a hundred other questions certainly concern the "common man".

And, the answer to them depends on what policies are pursued by the Government, what laws are enacted and how they are implemented.

Hence the importance of the elections which, in the present Indian context will essentially be a battle over policies and methods.

In our Political Resolution, our Election Manifesto and various other publications we have given our appraisal of the present situation, our criticism of the policies of the Congress as well as an outline of our alternative policies. It is not necessary to repeat all of them here. However, certain points need to be stressed and elaborated.

ries must be progressively removed so that land is owned by the cultivator himself. The principle of ceilings has been accepted and should be progressively introduced so as to bring about a better distribution of land.

Again, in December 1958, a Sub-Committee of the AICC presided over by U. N. Dhebar, after considering "the question of land reforms from the point of view of agricultural production as well as achieving social and economic justice", demanded land legislation "without any further delay". The whole thing was to be "completed in all States by the end of 1959". This was approved by the Congress.

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And, the U. P. Chief Minister, C. B. Gupta whom even his worst enemies would not call a leftist, said in a public meeting at Aligarh on June 19, 1961 that "ceiling on landholdings has failed to serve its purpose". He explained, "Before the Act could be enforced, the owners had succeeded in distributing their land among their relatives and kinsmen. Very little land is now available for distribution among the tillers".

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In the sphere of banking, the three top banks have nearly 30 per cent of the total deposits of all banks.

And if we take the entire organised private sector—plantation, manufacture, banking, insurance and trade—it would be revealed: that less than 50 Indian and foreign big business houses, firms and companies many of whom are closely connected to each other, control between themselves no less than 70-80 per cent of this sector.

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discover where the increased national income had gone. To this day the findings of the Committee have not been published, nor are they likely to be published till the elections are over—for reasons which are only too obvious. But what little has leaked out to the press is a sufficient condemnation of the Government which claims to be building a "socialistic pattern of society".

However, we do not want to say anything at this stage about the "leaked" information. The facts which are known to all are sufficiently damning.

Out of a total of nearly 28,000 private and public

area—the agricultural workers—the startling fact is that their condition has actually deteriorated. The Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry revealed that:

"The average daily wage rate of the male worker decreased from 109 naya paise in 1950-51 to 96 naya paise in 1956-57 and the average daily wage rate of adult women fell from 86 n.p. in 1950-51 to 59 n.p. in 1956-57. Child labour received an average of 70 n.p. in 1950-51 and 53 n.p. in 1956-57".

"In economic relations" said the 1957 Congress Manifesto, "there should be no exploitation and no monopolies and disparities in

income should be progressively lessened". What has happened to this promise?

At no time in India's history was there so much concentration of economic power in so few hands as today. At no time was the wealth of the few and the poverty of the many so staggering. At no time did monopolists own or control such a big sector of our economy as now.

These are not just sweeping statements. They are borne out by facts. They are admitted by all economists. Pressed to explain why was it that despite the increase in national income, the condition of the masses remains as wretched as ever—and even deteriorates, Nehru said in the Lok Sabha in August 1960:

"We have to avoid and prevent too much accumulation of wealth. If, after all this additional income, only five per cent or ten per cent of the population have benefited by it and ninety per cent have not, that is not a good result".

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Congress—What A Record!

FIRST of all—the record of the Congress. This cannot be judged in isolation from the political situation that has prevailed in our country for the last 15 years. And the most striking feature of that situation, as already mentioned, has been the Congress monopoly of power.

As our Election Manifesto stresses, few parties in countries of parliamentary democracy have had such unchallenged sway over the Government for such a long period. Few parties have enjoyed such prestige, such influence, such authority.

What has the Congress done with all this? Of course, certain achievements have been made, both in the sphere of foreign policy and in internal affairs. We, Communists, advocated many of them and we welcomed them when they came about. We do so even now. But the question is: Was this all that was possible?

In order to answer this question, we do not propose to lay down a criterion of our own. Nor do we propose to compare our record with that of countries which have taken to the path of socialism. Nor do we even want to remind Congress leaders of what progress they made in those days when they were leading the battle for freedom.

We propose to do something more modest—examine the situation today in the light of the pledges given only a few years back, i.e., at the time of the Second General Elections in 1957.

In the Election Manifesto issued by the Congress in 1957, the claim was made:

"We have made good progress and laid the foundations of the new India of our dreams".

Do facts substantiate this claim even today?

A pertinent issue in this connection is the growth of national income. Over the entire period of the two plans, national income increased only by 42 per cent or at the rate of 3.05 per cent per annum (compound). This is a rate lower than that of even many underdeveloped countries. Per capita income rose only by 16.7 per cent. in this whole period.

At this rate, we shall take many many years—and not 25 years as the First Plan calculated—to double our per capita income.

The Second Plan fixed certain industrial targets. Though modest, many of them have not been reached. Moreover, as the Third Plan Report says, "the shortfalls have occurred in some of those very industries which are of crucial importance and have deprived the economy of the benefits reckoned on for the start of the Third Plan" (p. 454).

For instance, the target for steel was 4.3 million tons. It has reached only 2.2 million. For nitrogenous fertilisers the respective figures are 290 thousand and 110 thousand tons. For cement, 13 million and 8.5 million tons. Production of machineries to produce textile, cement, and paper as well as of several other items is far behind the schedule.

Our agricultural production, on which depends the state of

our economy as a whole, remains precariously dependent on monsoon despite the expenditure of over 1,500 crore rupees. It barely keeps pace with the growth of population. During the last three years we had to import 12 million tons of foodgrains.

So unsatisfactory is the food situation that the Third Plan Report had to admit that "the relative stability of the foodgrain prices latterly has been due largely to PL 480 imports" (p. 123).

Who can, with these facts before him, assert that "the foundations of the new India of our dreams" have been laid? The claim had little basis in reality in 1957. That position has not changed substantially even today.

The land problem, the Congress always proclaimed, is of paramount importance for our country. Agriculture is the decisive sector of our economy. The relation between land reforms and agricultural production has been stressed many a time—by leading economists, by the kisan sabha and by Congressmen.

Thus, the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee, presided over by the veteran Gandhifite, J. C. Kumarappa stated: "It has been found by experience that unless land is owned by the tiller, his incentive to production does not reach the optimum".

This was as early as 1949 when the Congress had already been in power for two years. What was promised in this respect in 1957 and what is the result?

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ries must be progressively removed so that land is owned by the cultivator himself. The principle of ceilings has been accepted and should be progressively introduced so as to bring about a better distribution of land".

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by
Ajoy Ghosh

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Congress—Bias For Rich

ON whom will this stupendous burden fall?

"In the field of income tax" we are told, "the scope for raising the rates are generally limited." As regards "wealth tax, the capital gains tax, the expenditure tax and estate duty", all of which are paid by the rich, "the yield from these taxes are relatively small".

Why? No straight reply is given but it is suggested that there should be "as few loopholes as possible for evasion or avoidance of taxes"—which gives the reply eloquently enough.

Then as regards "taxation of corporate incomes", which again is paid by the rich, "a number of tax incentives and concessions are at present being given for investment". These will remain but "kept under continuous review"—which elastic phrase can mean anything, including further concessions, if past budgets are any indication.

Where then will the big sum of 1,710 crores of rupees come from? The answer is: "The Third Plan will involve a substantial increase of indirect taxation." Then follows: "Indirect taxation along these lines tends to raise the price paid by a domestic consumer. This is a sacrifice that has to be accepted as part of the Plan" (Third Five Year Plan pp. 102-104).

Nothing could be plainer. And yet they talk, in their present manifesto, of "stabilisation" of prices and of "lessening disparities of income". "Such is the contrast between the pious platitudes of the Election Manifesto and the actual proposals of the Third Plan. Yet both have come from the same party!

"Unemployment is not only bad for the individual but is a disorder injurious to social health"—opined

the Congress Election Manifesto of 1957.

The Second Plan started with a backlog of 5.3 million unemployed. The number now stands at nine million. Not only that. It was estimated by Prof. F. C. Mahalanobis, Statistical Adviser to the Central Cabinet and Member of the Planning Commission, that 20 million of our people have hardly one hour's work a day, 27 million have less than two hours a day, 45 million have less than four hours a day and so on. Our vast manpower, which in a socialist society could have been a big national asset, is becoming a chronic and ever-intensifying problem.

Undeterred by this grim reality, the new Manifesto proclaims: "The ending of unemployment is of vital importance both from the economic and social point of view".

It is not necessary to give more extracts from the 1957 Election Manifesto of the Congress and contrast them with the present reality. What has been said is enough to prove that the record of the Congress has been an unbroken record of broken pledges.

Let it be clearly understood that we, Communists, have never asserted that the legacies of nearly two hundred years of British rule can be liquidated in a few years. No matter which Government is in power, the task of rebuilding the country would be gigantic and would require time for completion.

Nevertheless, as we have stated repeatedly, those political, social and economic measures which alone can create firm basis for national regeneration do not require a long period.

It does not require a long time to nationalise the most important British concerns as well as these sectors of economy which should be

nationalised in the interest of the country.

It does not require a long time to abolish landlordism and hand over land to the peasants.

It does not require a long time to evolve a just system of taxation.

It does not require a long time to ensure that increase in national wealth gets equitably distributed.

The question is not one of time. It is one of bias in favour of particular classes—the propertied classes.

We have dealt at some length with certain economic policies of the Government and their results. We have done so because it is in this sphere that the Government makes the loudest claims. But our criticism of the Congress regime is not confined to this aspect alone. It covers a much wider field.

Take the question of corruption which has become so rampant. Congress leaders either minimise its extent or blame "everybody" for this.

They refuse to recognise that at the root of this widespread corruption

malpractices, loss of confidence. Apart from corruption of the most blatant type, there is also the practice of a large part of the allocation for social welfare being spent to provide fat salaries for favourites of Ministers and for supporters of particular Congress factions.

Congress leaders are never tired of speaking about democracy. But their actual record is one that can inspire little confidence.

Kerala Lesson

Everyone knows how the votaries of constitutionalism organised, in alliance with dark forces of communalism and casteism, the "popular upsurge" in Kerala, how the Central Government aided and abetted the "struggle" and how a democratically elected Government was dismissed because it represented a party other than the Congress and tried to serve, within the framework of the Constitution, the mass of the people.

A few months before this, a Congress leader, speaking at the AICC meeting held in Hyderabad, had warned that the "contagion" from Kerala might spread to other States.

As regards civil liberties, no less a person than, the President of our Republic, Dr. Rajendra Prasad himself, expressed the view in November 1960 at the Governors' Conference that there had been more police firings in India since Independence than during the days of British rule.

The powers of the bureaucracy and the police remain as sweeping as ever and these powers are used in the same way as in the British days. Recently, Mr. Justice A. N. Mulla delivering a judgement of the Lucknow Bench of the Allahabad High Court, remarked:

"I say with all sense of responsibility that there is not a single lawless group in the whole country, whose record of crimes is anywhere near the record of that organised unit which is known as the Indian police force".

Perhaps never in any democratic country did a Judge of the High Court utter such scathing condemnation of the police force. It should make the leaders of the Congress sit up.

Officials, with a few honourable exceptions, continue to act and behave as they did in the days of the British. They consider themselves to be not servants of the people but their masters.

Volumes can be written about the repression that the Government lets loose whenever the people, driven by misery, rise in struggle. Eighty persons were killed and over 200 injured during the food agitation in Calcutta. Eight were killed and 12,000 jailed in Punjab in connection with the anti-betterment levy agitation. The list is unending. Only recently 16,000 peasants were arrested in Madras State during the ceiling agitation.

The authoritarian and anti-democratic outlook which Congress leaders have acquired can be seen in many other spheres as well. Years of uninterrupted rule have made them intolerant of criticism even from their own ranks.

Break Congress Monopoly,

They use the power of the Government to discriminate against and sometimes even to suppress local bodies which are not under their control.

Also, funds allotted by the Government to help victims of such natural calamities as floods are often spent in such a way as to strengthen the position of the Congress party or the ruling faction inside it.

The Congress enjoys monopoly of power. It runs the Central Government, it runs all the State Governments, it controls a big majority of corporations, municipalities, district boards and even panchayats.

Such a dominant position of a single party in the political life of the country should normally prevent the growth of fissiparous, disruptive and centrifugal forces.

In reality, just the opposite has happened. The unity that existed when India won freedom has, to a great extent, been disrupted.

Forces of communalism, casteism, regionalism and linguistic chauvinism have grown alarmingly in recent years. So serious has the situation become that Prime Minister Nehru exclaimed once that he would be prepared "to sacrifice even national unity".

Lack Of Programme

This growth of disruptive forces and tendencies is due to complex causes some of which are rooted in our history. But they could not have assumed such menacing proportions if the Congress had acted correctly.

We cannot agree with the thesis advanced in the Congress Election Manifesto that "the attraction of political power led to factions and numerous political groupings" and that "the general release of energy often led people in a wrong direction" and so on. We cannot agree with this thesis for it amounts to throwing the whole blame on the people and giving an alibi to the ruling party.

It is evident that after the attainment of freedom, the unity that the national movement had built up could not continue indefinitely on the old basis. New problems faced the nation, the problems of rebuilding our country and of refashioning of our life. These problems could be tackled and national unity could be forged on a new basis only if the ruling party did the following things:

- Place before the people an inspiring national objective and take radical measures to achieve it—nationalisation of foreign concerns, land to the tiller, etc.
- Deprive reactionary classes and elements of their economic power.
- Work out and firmly implement a correct policy on languages, linguistic States and on protection of minorities.
- Take measures to overcome regional disparities as far as possible and uplift backward classes and tribal people.

Launch a powerful and sustained nationwide campaign against obscurantist forces, against communalism, casteism, etc.

Drift And Compromise

Instead of doing all this, the Congress followed policies of compromise and concessions and of drift. Inevitably, the mood of frustration and anger replaced the earlier mood of hope and enthusiasm. Reactionary forces took full advantage of this situation.

Sometimes, even the just demands of the people as regards regional development and language got distorted and given a disruptive turn by interested parties. Sometimes, the Congress itself directly helped the growth of communalism by alliance with avowedly communal parties—as in Kerala and in Punjab. Quite often, appeals in the name of caste were made by Congress candidates to secure votes.

In this way national unity got disrupted. In this way princes, landlords and extreme reactionaries who, at the time when the nation won freedom, stood isolated and discredited could, in a number of States, stage a comeback and win some measure of popular support by playing on people's discontent, by demagoguery and by fanning hatred against minority communities.

Policies that could not unite the nation could not retain the unity of the Congress either. Factionalism of the most acute type has become chronic in the Congress organisation in practically every State—factionalism based on power-politics, on the question as to which group would have how many Ministers, whose candidates will get more tickets, how contracts and jobs will be distributed and so on.

Honest Congressmen, many of whom dedicated their whole life to the service of the country, feel themselves out of place in such an atmosphere and often get pushed out or voluntarily retire.

In one State after another, the Congress is assuming the character of a loose federation of warring groups, held together by common desire to retain power and by the towering personality of Jawaharlal Nehru.

The ugly incidents that occur in practically every State Congress Committee, the squabbles based on nothing but lust for power, the never-ending intrigues that have become a marked feature of internal Congress life, the scramble for tickets that grows as elections approach—all these bring out vividly the degeneration which has set in and which defy all "solutions".

The state of affairs inside the Congress was described by Lakshmi Menon, the Deputy Minister for External Affairs, in a recent speech which she made at a meeting of Congressmen in Nagpur. "Describing Prime Minister Nehru as the only Congressman who followed Gandhian principles faithfully, she said,

most Congressmen, while swearing by the Gandhian way of life, merely represented the reactionary urges in India. She said she was charmed to find that in the nation's Parliament, Congressmen were foremost in their opposition to progressive legislation concerning overdue social reforms.

"Mrs. Menon said most Congressmen, unlike the Prime Minister, were insincere in their behaviour. Many of them donned Khadi but secretly owed allegiance to or harboured sympathies with communal organisations like the Jana Sangh or Hindu Maha Sabha or the RSS. It would be far more honest if such persons left the Congress and openly worked with those whom they agreed with" (Times of India, November 18, 1961).

Mrs. Menon did not explain why such persons are kept in the organisation and not expelled.

Further, "Mrs. Menon deplored the increasingly noticeable tendency among Congressmen and Congress Committees to go after money. It was very distressing, she said, to find that several deserving persons who had made sacrifices in the fight for freedom were ignored by the Congress Committees and discarded in favour of those who gave money to the organisation..." (Ibid).

Lakshmi Menon said plenty of more things in the same strain. Her criticism was so scathing and trenchant that the President of the Nagpur Congress Committee who presided, "appealed to Mrs. Menon to convey her sentiments to the great leaders of the organisation with whom she was in close touch, rather than 'harrying and confusing' Congressmen at lower levels" (Ibid).

No comment is necessary. Unfortunately, however, Lakshmi Menon did not probe deep enough. She did not try to lay bare the causes which have led to such lowering of morale.

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no matter at whose hands. Our attitude towards the Congress and its policies has nothing in common with the attitude of parties, groups and elements of the extreme right.

Foreign Policy

They say they, too, want to defeat the Congress. That is true. But the fact is that they denounce and oppose precisely those policies of the Congress which are of a relatively progressive character. The policies they want to impose on the country are policies of rank reaction. They want to turn back the wheels of history.

For instance, it is well-known that India's foreign policy, the policy of peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism, has raised our prestige throughout the world. India has built friendly relations with socialist countries which has helped her to strengthen her national economy and build a number of heavy industries in the public sector.

We, Communists, have voiced some criticism of India's foreign policy. We have pointed out that it is not consistent enough. We regret the failure of our Government to sharply condemn American imperialists who organised the invasion of Cuba.

We regret the non-recognition of the Algerian people's revolutionary Government. We deplore the fact that due to the half-hearted attitude taken by us in recent periods, in relation to colonialists and neo-colonialists, our prestige, especially in the African countries, has received a setback.

We strongly urge the recognition of the German Democratic Republic, whose existence cannot be ignored and which pursues a policy of peace and opposition to colonialism. We also demand action to liberate Goa.

Our attitude towards the Government of India's foreign policy is, therefore, one of general support, together with the demand that it should become firmer and more consistent.

Some people think that the line that we take in the sphere of foreign policy is self-contradictory because, whereas we demand action to liberate Goa, we, while firmly upholding India's territorial integrity, have urged that our dispute with China should be settled through negotiations. In reality, however, there is no such contradiction.

Portugal is an imperialist country with no common frontiers with India. Not even Dr. Salazar claims that there is any border dispute between Portugal and India. People who are indisputably Indian are subjected to repression and humiliation in Goa. They are denied elementary human rights and the right to unite with India.

Goa, therefore, belongs to a specific category. Our national freedom itself will not be complete till the Goan people are liberated.

Such is not the nature of the dispute which India has with China. We want that

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Defeat Right Reaction!

India's territorial integrity be defended by all means at our disposal, no matter who encroaches on it. But we also urge that every effort should be made to solve the border dispute between our country and China by peaceful methods.

Our critics may say that this attitude we adopt only because China is a country where Communists wield power. Let them remember that even in relation to Pakistan whose forces occupied a part of Indian territory by military action, whose regime we sharply criticise, where our Party is illegal, where scores of Communists are in prison and several have been killed, we have always advocated negotiations.

In this matter our position has been the same as the position of the Government of India.

Further it must be admitted that the Government of India does not act in a straightforward manner in this matter. From time to time they announce that India's air space is being violated by planes coming from China, that Chinese patrols entered Indian territory, that new checkpoints are being established by the Chinese within Indian territory.

CPI's Stand On Border Issue

When Pandit Nehru told the Lok Sabha on November 20 about the latest developments in Ladakh I issued the following statement to the press:

"I have read with surprise and regret the information given by the Government of India about the recent patrolling by Chinese soldiers in Indian territory. It is also reported that new checkpoints have been established by the Chinese even beyond the territory shown in their own map of 1958.

"Such acts, especially in the context of the dispute already existing, cannot but heighten tension, create deep resentment among the Indian people and further embitter the relation between the two countries.

"We demand that the Government of the People's Republic of China must immediately put an end to such acts. We demand also that effective measures must be taken by them to ensure that such things do not occur again."

The Chinese Government has several times denied these allegations. But let us assume these reports are correct. The question then arises: What prevents our armed forces from taking necessary action? Why are not these planes shot down? Why are the patrols permitted to enter our territory? Why are such checkpoints allowed to be established?

We, Communists, certainly desire negotiations. But we have ever asked the Government of India to sit passively and allow such things to happen? Never. Nor shall we ever do so.

Inspite of our position on the issue having been made clear repeatedly, reports are circulated from time to time about Communists carrying on a "pro-China campaign"

Inspite of our position on the issue having been made clear repeatedly, reports are circulated from time to time about Communists carrying on a "pro-China campaign"

in border areas. Not one of these reports has been substantiated.

The issue, however, is not one which concerns the Government and us alone. What we cannot ignore is that the Government is utilising the India-China dispute to attack the forces of Indian democracy and popular struggles.

Our Party, of course, has been the main target. But the attack is not directed against us alone. Several times this issue has been raised to justify repression on popular struggles.

In July 1960 took place the Central Government employees' strike—a strike not for any political ends—but with the main demand of linking dearness allowance to the cost of living.

So eminently just the demand was that all Government employees, organisations joined in deciding upon the strike. All trade union organisations except the INTUC supported the strike. Among the leaders of the strike as well as among the workers there were Praja Socialists, Congressmen as well as Communists.

On the eve of the strike Prime Minister Nehru, returning from a tour in Ladakh made a broadcast in which he spoke of "unfriendly posts on the other side" and the "fine body of young men"—the Indian soldiers—who were guarding our frontiers. Contrasting these soldiers with the Government employees, Nehru denounced the impending strike as "an attempt, deliberate or unwitting, which could only lead to the weakening of our defences..."

This was an unworthy and demagogic attempt to push the real issues to the background and to confuse the people.

We stand resolutely for the defence of the territorial integrity of our country.

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its leanings towards a particular bloc".

In other words, they too, like the Swatantra, want India to abandon the policy of peace and non-alignment. Ram Singh, the Hindu Sabha leader characterised India's support to Egypt during the Suez crisis as "height of folly".

It is also worth remembering that not so long ago, these very rightist parties were pleading for a "defence alliance" with Pakistan. Of course, they dare not speak of it today in view of Ayub Khan's sabre-rattling against India. But basically their line on India's foreign policy is the same as that advocated by imperialists—who, too, fulminate against "neutrality".

In internal matters also, the "opposition" of these parties to the Congress is a right reactionary opposition. Their words, their deeds, the classes and sections whose support they secure—all prove this beyond the semblance of doubt.

One of the main achievements of the Second Five Year Plan has been the building of certain basic and heavy industries and the extension of the public sector. This has strengthened our economy and our national independence. Imperialists have never made a secret of their hostility to this policy.

We wish he had remembered this during the "upsurge" in Kerala and the subsequent mid-term elections. Much evil would have been prevented thereby.

The Muslim League, which has been revived, in several States thanks to what the Congress and PSP did in Kerala, has not merely contributed to the further intensification of communalism, it is doing incalculable damage to the Muslims themselves by giving a pretext to Hindu communalists.

The Akalis of Punjab are another disruptive force. Distorting the democratic content of the "linguistic State demand, using Gurdwaras for political purposes, raising false issue of discrimination against Sikhs, they have disrupted the popular forces in Punjab and also given impetus to Hindu communalism.

Our Party resolutely opposes communalism of all brands and all shades—whether Hindu or Muslim or Sikh. Those who divide the masses on a religious basis; weaken the democratic movement and serve the interest of reaction. But this is not all.

Today its key slogan in relation to the public sector is "consolidation rather than extension"—the very slogan which was given by the U. S.-controlled World Bank Mission.

The Jana Sangh wants abolition of the doctrinaire distinction between the public sector and the private sector. It wants the public sector to be confined to "defence industries" and "railways, mineral oils, hydro-electrical and atomic power". In all other spheres it would give a free hand to private businessmen.

The economic policies enumerated by the Swatantra are of the same type. It "rejects the lopsided priority given to heavy industry". It wants to abolish even the present limited land reforms and "reverse all expropriatory measures which, among other things, deprive the present population of sound rural leadership"—in other words, the leadership of jagirdars and landlords.

The Swatantra would do away with the State Trading Corporation and even hand over Life Insurance Companies to the private sector. Of course, these and similar other parties know that on basis of such slogans alone

to recognise as Indians all those who are not Hindus. It was a virtual declaration of war on Muslims—a war whose pattern has been revealed in the ghastly events that took place in Bhopal, Jabalpur, Saugor, Aligarh and other places.

It is not possible to secure a mass basis. Hence, they demagogically exploit all the failures of the Congress Government.

They thunder against corruption, condemn the rise in taxes and in prices, promise a "clean administration" and so on.

But all that cannot conceal the real character of these parties. It is not fortuitous that the main strength of the Swatantra Party lies in the States where feudal relics are strong—Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, etc.; nor that the Jana Party of Bihar, a party of landlords, and the Ganatantra Parishad of Orissa, a party of former princes, have "merged" with the Swatantra.

As for the Jana Sangh, it too gets substantial support from landlords apart from what it is able to secure by whipping up communal passion.

"Communalism", Pandit Nehru said once, "bears a striking resemblance to various forms of fascism that we have seen in other countries. It is, in fact, the Indian version of fascism".

What are the slogans of the parties of right reaction on economic matters? Significantly enough, they are the same as those of imperialists. In its Election Manifesto of 1957, the Jana Sangh assailed the Second Plan not for its inadequacy but for its being "over-ambitious", for its emphasis on heavy industries. It stated that State ownership of industries was "killing democracy".

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The revision that this caused in the minds of all decent people has made the Jana Sangh leaders somewhat cautious—but in words only. In their present Manifesto, they have discreetly dropped the slogan of "nationalising all non-Hindus". On the contrary they talk of "our ideals of a secular State"; they regret the "dragging of religion into politics". They have even enrolled some Muslims in their party.

But the basic idea of "Bharatiya culture" of their own special brand is stressed in the new Manifesto as well. Moreover, their whole practice shows that they remain a party of aggressive communalism, a party of obscurantism and of opposition to all social reforms, a party hostile to democracy.

The Jana Sangh has declared that it considers our Party to be its "main enemy". Their General Secretary, Upadhyaya said that "the Jana Sangh might even support the Congress to ensure the defeat of the Communists". Also they would support PSP candidates against us for the same purpose.

We do not regret this declaration. On the contrary, we welcome it. We consider it a matter of honor that we are looked upon as enemy number one by this party and by other parties of blatant reaction.

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The attitude that big business has adopted towards parties of right reaction is interesting indeed.

The India Press Agency of September 11 reported: "J. R. D. Tata, Chairman of the Tata Iron and Steel Company had written to the Prime Minister intimating him that although the Tatas would continue to donate to the Election Campaign Fund of the Congress they felt the need for the growth of a democratic opposition and hence would be donating to the Swatantra Party since in their view, the Congress was not effectively fighting the Communist menace".

The politics behind this "double allegiance" was laid bare by us several months ago. We said at the Vijaywada session of the Congress of our Party:

"It is known that some of the biggest patrons of the Congress also back the Swatantra. They support the Congress for what the Congress has done and is doing for them. Simultaneously, they try to build up the Swatantra as a weapon to pressurise the Congress and move it further to the right".

Similar is the line pursued by some of the most reactionary monopolists in relation to the Jana Sangh.

They want parties of reaction to grow. They want still closer link between the reactionaries inside and outside the Congress. They want the Communist Party to be dislodged from its position as the main party of opposition in Parliament. Through all this they want reactionary

*** FROM OVERLEAF**

pressure on the Government to mount.

The Praja Socialists cannot be placed in the same category as these parties. The support that they enjoy in certain areas has been acquired mainly on the basis of Left slogans.

Nevertheless, it has been noted by everyone that, blinded by their anti-Communism, the PSP has been shifting more and more to the right. It often joins hand with parties and forces of rank reaction.

PSP Betrays Struggles

Moreover, in relation to numerous popular struggles in almost every State, their role has been one of betrayal and disruption. On many matters, the policies that they pursue are more reactionary than those of the Congress.

Whatever socialist pretensions they had, once, they have abandoned. In the sphere of foreign policy, they say they want a "genuine policy of non-involvement in power groups", "keeping out of military alliances". At the same time, they demand "political and defence collaboration among countries" of "South and South East Asia"—which evidently includes such reactionary regimes as Thailand, Malaya and even Pakistan.

They keep silent over India's non-recognition of the German Democratic Republic and also of the revolutionary Government of Algeria.

They had not a word to say against the U.S.-sponsored invasion of Cuba. Their whole Manifesto never even mentions American imperialism. At the same time, they criticise the Government of India for "condoning international injustice"—evidently in relation to Tibet which has always been an integral part of China.

Echoing the voice of imperialists, the PSP had once frontally opposed the building of heavy and basic industries. (See Democratic Socialism—by Asoka Mehta). They cannot do so now so openly. But that does not deter them from demanding in their Election Manifesto that "in the public sector, giant corporations should be split up". They are against what they call "modernist development".

They criticise the concessions given by the Government to "top business firms" but keep mum over the dangerous extent to which collaboration between Indian and foreign big business has grown. In fact, foreign monopoly capital is never even referred to by PSP leaders and spokesmen.

But what matters most is not what is written in the PSP Election Manifesto. Far more important is the stand that they take on various concrete issues.

Everyone knows the despicable role that the PSP played in Kerala—being the first party to enter into alliance with the Muslim League. This was justified on the plea that the League in Kerala was not "really communal".

One could understand if even that stand was adhered to. One could even appreciate if that stand was abandoned out of conviction. But as soon as the Congress decided to break its alliance with the Muslim League, and demanded that

the PSP should do the same, the PSP forgot all about the "special character" of the Kerala Muslim League and lined up obediently behind the Congress.

Again, when Pattom Thanu Pillal ran into trouble with his Congress Ministerial colleagues, he at first declared that he would not yield to their tactics of pressure. He said he was the Chief Minister and was determined to act as the Chief Minister. Asoka Mehta who visited Kerala, also backed him in his high and mighty attitude.

But then, the Congress cracked the whip again. Many expected that the PSP Chief Minister would stand by his earlier declaration. Instead of that—"After a Cabinet meeting today, Pillal told press reporters, 'I have agreed to everything that the Congress Ministers wanted, for I want this Government to continue'."

"He added that another reason for his agreeing to share powers was that the Congress-PSP alliance would have to fight the coming election to the Parliament together" (Times of India, News Service, Trivandrum, November 21, 1961).

Comment would be superfluous. But one is tempted to ask: Could lack of self-respect, could utter servility and hankering after office and seats go any further?

Such is the example set by those who are never tired of sermonising to the Congress about the need for setting a "proper standard of public behaviour".

Inside Parliament, on innumerable occasions, the PSP has taken a stand which has nothing to do with socialism or democracy.

Everyone remembers that when all democratic-minded people, including many Congressmen, reacted sharply to the shocking budget presented by Morarji Desai in March 1961, a budget which, while giving relief to the rich, heaped new burdens on the poor, Asoka Mehta indulged in glorification of the Finance Minister and "applauded him for his sound tactics".

PSP Supports Thimayya

Everyone also remembers that when General Thimayya, the Chief of the Army Staff, had the audacity to challenge the supremacy of Parliament (August 1959) and tried to blackmail the Government by his threat of resignation, the PSP leaders, unmindful of all that they had said about democracy, "congratulated" Thimayya for his action and fully backed him.

In this, as on many other issues, their position was the same as that of the Swatantra and the Jana Sangh.

It can surprise no one, therefore, that in the Lok Sabha election from the North Bombay Constituency, the PSP, the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra have joined hands to fight Krishna Menon. This shameful act is the culmination of the entire line pursued by the PSP for a long period.

In relation to several mass struggles of crucial importance—the great food movement in Bengal, the anti-tax struggle in Bihar, the food struggle in Uttar Pradesh, etc., the policy pursued by the PSP was one of betrayal and disruption.

They broke the Leftist alliance in Bengal.

Vote Communist For India's Future!

They broke the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti in Maharashtra.

By all this they aided the Congress. By hobnobbing with groups and factions in the Congress, by relying on this and on agreement with opportunists of various shades, the PSP expects that this time it would be able to do better than in the previous two elections.

Such is the fate that has overcome a party which once had the ambition of replacing the Congress in power.

Where abandonment of all principles and blind anti-Communism lead, can be seen from the present state of the PSP and the chronic crisis that plagues it—a crisis caused by no differences over policies but by the rivalry between various factions grouped round personalities.

Left Move

In contrast to the parties of the right, we, Communists, combat the policies of the Government with a view to bringing about a move to the Left—towards democracy, social advance and consistent anti-imperialism.

No party in our country has opposed the anti-popular policies of the Government as we have done—both inside the legislatures and by mass action. At the same time, our opposition to the Government is not a blind, unprincipled opposition.

Whenever and wherever the Government has taken a position in conformity with the interest of the people, we have given it our unstinted support.

This applies not only to such broad issues as foreign policy, the public sector, need for heavy industries, etc., but also to specific matters.

When, for example, in face of General Thimayya's threat of resignation and his attempt to blackmail the Government, Nehru stood firm, asserting the supremacy of Parliament, ours was the one Party to back the Prime Minister fully.

Also, we were the first to stress the need for united action by all secular parties to check the forces of national disruption—a suggestion which found partial fulfilment in the National Integration Conference held in September.

The language formula adopted at that Conference is broadly on the same lines as advocated by us for a long time. Several other instances can be given.

Nevertheless, we maintain that fourteen years of experience have proved that the path of development chosen by the Congress cannot eliminate poverty and backwardness. It cannot ensure all-sided national advance. The question is not one of minor corrections here and there. It is a question of a DIFFERENT PATH.

The alternative policies which we want the country to adopt have been elaborated in our Election Manifesto.

We advocate the ending of all exploitation of India's re-

sources by foreign monopolists, the immediate transfer of land to the tiller, curb on monopoly, expansion of the public sector, a firm price policy and an equitable system of taxation, living wage for workers.

We advocate protection of minority rights, promotion of national integration, extension of democracy and a more positive role by our country in the struggle for peace and against colonialism.

What can be done here and now in respect of all these matters, we have indicated in our Manifesto.

Socialism which has triumphed in one-third of the world has demonstrated its undisputed superiority over capitalism. Inevitably, in every country more and more people are gravitating towards socialism. India is no exception. Here, too, the ideas of socialism exercise powerful pull on the masses.

But socialism can be established only when the mass movement reaches a high stage and power passes into the hands of a Government representing the toiling people. Such is not yet the situation in India. Hence, the immediate proposals which we have put forward are not socialist. But when implemented, they will strengthen the position of the masses, weaken the vested interests and create conditions for advance towards socialism. As such, we expect all those who are sincere about socialism, to support them.

The programme we place before the people is not just a catalogue of things which we shall do if people put us in power. It is a programme of unity and action. It is a programme on whose basis all patriotic and democratic forces in our country can unite.

We appeal to people to vote for us not only because of policies which we preach but also and above all on the basis of what we have done to serve them and their cause. Our people, we know, appreciate our work, despite our many shortcomings.

Kerala's Experience

In two successive elections, they returned us as the main party of opposition in Parliament. Our votes increased from 60 lakhs to 120 lakhs.

Moreover, in 1957, in one State of India, Kerala, they gave us a majority of seats in the Assembly and enabled us to form the Government.

What that Government did against heavy odds and within a short period of 23 months was a convincing demonstration that between the words and deeds of the Communists there is no divergence.

The formation of the Communist-led Government of Kerala helped the process of radicalisation in every part of the country. It helped progressive elements inside the Congress as well. The Nagpur Congress resolution on agrarian reforms—though later sabotaged—was, to a considerable extent, due to the example set by Kerala.

It cannot be considered an accident that whereas the Congress made a PSP leader, Thanu Pillal the Chief Minister of Kerala, the entire might of the Congress was used to bring about the fall of the Communist-led Government!

Nor can it be considered an accident that, although all other forces joined hand against us, we polled 35 lakhs of votes in the mid-term elections against 23 lakhs in 1957, thereby blowing up the story that people who had supported us earlier, had moved away from us. The very increase in our influence, especially among the most exploited strata of the people, showed that we did what we preached.

In no other State did we get a majority of seats. But we championed the cause of the people fearlessly in the State assemblies, as well as in Parliament. We have ever been in the foremost of every popular struggle. Simultaneously, we have striven to minimise strikes that weaken national unity. We have done everything in our power to protect minorities—whether religious or linguistic.

Our Three Key Slogans

Dark forces of reaction are active both inside the Congress and outside to take our country backward. This can be countered not by marking time but by going forward. If the general elections result in strengthening the position of the Communist Party and of democratic forces in the legislatures—as we have every reason to believe will happen—the process of going forward will be facilitated greatly.

We enter the third general elections with three main slogans:

- 1. Weaken the Congress monopoly of power;
- 2. Rout the parties of right reaction;
- 3. Strengthen the position of the Communist Party and of genuine democratic forces.

We seek the support of workers, peasants, toiling intelligentsia, artisans and other oppressed and exploited masses whose interest we have tried to serve to the best of our ability.

We seek the support of small and medium industrialists, traders, who too suffer from numerous disabilities under the present Government.

We seek the support of all patriotic-minded Indians. We also seek the cooperation and support of Congressmen and Congress masses who are loyal to the ideas which the Congress once proclaimed.

We go into the electoral battle with confidence in our people and in their judgment. We have no doubt that as a result of the Third General Elections democracy in our country will be consolidated and further strengthened. We have no doubt that the increased strength of Indian democracy will enable India to play a still greater role in the world struggle for freedom and peace.

Swatantra circles have been claiming that they would capture power in three States in the coming General Elections. One of the States they have in mind, though not openly admitted, is Rajasthan.

AND in Rajasthan the Swatantra Party launched its election campaign in a big way with an extensive tour by its founder-leader, C. Rajagopalachari. He visited Udaipur, Dungarpur, Ajmer, Pali, Dausa, Jodhpur and Jaipur, addressing about a dozen public meetings in the stride.

Rajaji's tour got a good response from the people in the State. Many might have thronged to hear the elder statesman out of curiosity but the trenchant criticism he made of the Congress Government had also contributed to the good response he got in Rajasthan. This Government has become a permit-liaison raj, was the pet theme of Rajaji.

Though the tour left an impression because of his critical references to the Congress, another aspect of his speeches has left a bad taste. This concerned Rajaji's brief on behalf of the feudal houses. Rajaji repeatedly alleged that the "poor princes are being harassed by the Government", adding that "if Sardar Patel had been alive he would have been very much grieved to see how the holy promises he made to the princes were now being violated".

This line of argument seems

to have failed to appeal to the people in the State, who are aware that the princes are enjoying their fat privy purses, have retained property worth crores of rupees, are enjoying free water and power supply and many other facilities even today.

With all his eulogies for the princes, Rajaji could not get all the desired response from them. The tour itself was intended to rope these princes into the Swatantra fold.

It was expected that many of the princely houses would announce their support for Swatantra during the tour.

This expectation did not fructify. For example, the Jodhpur House or the Kotah Maharani did not announce any decision to join the Swatantra Party.

Since the Maharaja of Bikaner did not want to openly associate himself with the Swatantra—perhaps aiming at getting elected unopposed by the Congress—no programme for Rajaji could be arranged in the Bikaner Division.

Despite this setback, the increasing challenge which the Swatantra Party is offering the Congress in the State cannot be minimised. A large number of jagirdars in Pali and Nagaur districts have joined it and have announced their decision to

SWATANTRA Threat In RAJASTHAN

contest the elections. Many of these jagirdars are also Pradhans of the Panchayat Samitis. In Pali District alone, seven of the total ten Pradhans have joined the Swatantra Party.

This increasing influence of the Swatantra in this district has resulted in the decision that the Party's General Secretary, M. R. Masani, should seek election to the Lok Sabha from the Pali seat.

A request to him to this effect was made by the jagirdars themselves and with the blessings of Rajaji, Masani has accepted the offer.

Same is the position in Udaipur and Ajmer regions in the State. As far as Dungarpur, Banswara and Jaipur regions are concerned, the princely houses have openly aligned themselves, along with the majority of the jagirdars, with the Swatantra Party. All this adds up to one thing: the Jaipur Division, which has 50 Assembly seats, has become a strong base for the Party in Rajasthan.

Congress circles in the State are naturally worried about the increasing challenge from the Swatantra Party. But more worried are they of another development. A Swatantra-Jana Sangh electoral agreement is in the offing in Rajasthan.

But pat came a rejoinder from the office of the Maharaja the next day, stating that there were no cases to discuss in which the Maharaja was a party. The statement also disclosed that Vyas himself had requested for a meeting and the request was granted.

Vyas preferred to keep silent over this statement. Two days later, the Rajasthan Congress Chief, Mathura Das Mathur, told pressmen that probably Damodar Lal Vyas would not contest the Jaipur parliamentary seat.

However, speculations regarding Vyas' final decision continued. But these have now been set at rest by the Central Election Committee by nominating Sharda Bhargava to contest the seat.

It is understood that Sukhadia had insisted that Vyas contest the Assembly seat and remain in the State to meet the possible challenge that might come during the post-

election period from the PCO President.

Mathur, who had resigned his Lok Sabha seat to take up the presidency of the Rajasthan Congress, is seeking election to the State Assembly this time.

Whatever be the reasons which led to Vyas' withdrawal from the contest against Maharani Gayatri Devi, Swatantra Party's candidate for the Jaipur seat.

Vyas' candidature for the Jaipur seat was announced by Chief Minister, Mohanlal Sukhadia, immediately after he emerged from a Cabinet meeting. This gave the impression that the matter had been discussed at the highest level and a decision to accept the challenge thrown by Swatantra had been taken.

However, a few days later, Vyas himself paid a visit to the Maharaja of Jaipur. Congress circles claimed that the visit pertained to some pending revenue cases in which the Maharaja was a party.

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India-China—Hostility Grows

*** From the Front Page**

As for the relations between India and China having become hostile, Nehru not only confirmed it in so many words but also referred to the latest White Paper which he had placed on the table of the House.

While asserting that, "We do not want a major war" and "It is no small matter to have a war between two of the biggest countries in Asia", he did not rule out the possibility of such a tragic prospect becoming real.

The White Paper is a collection undoubtedly of documents revealing only unmitigated and unrelieved hostility. Charges and counter-charges brought by the Chinese side involving even the smallest incidents are persistently repeated.

As has been obvious from other facts also, this is no longer confined to the dis-

pute about the border or about the activities of Tibetan rebels who have received asylum in India.

Revealing is the last note in the White Paper—from India's Ministry of External Affairs to the Embassy of China in New Delhi delivered on November 10, 1961. It concerns the Chinese Government's response to India's protests against "deliberate and mischievous misrepresentations" in the Chinese press of Prime Minister Nehru's role at the Belgrade Conference.

Vice-Foreign Minister of China, Keng Pao, according to this Indian Note, denied the fact of these misrepresentations and insisted that "Chinese newspaper reports had brought out the objective truth". This is undoubtedly very much at odds with reality.

There is no doubt that the India-China dispute far from showing signs of getting nearer any solution is becom-

ing more and more hardened. The latest White Paper and statement of the Prime Minister provide ample proof. The Rightwing parties, although rebuffed in this round in Parliament, are bent upon exploiting the situation in the coming elections and ultimately for achieving a fundamental reversal of policies all along the line.

It is only the level-headedness of all progressive forces and their determination not to yield to the hysteria-mongering of the Rightists that can meet the situation.

In this context the Congress Parliamentary Party's step in demanding an explanation from Dr. Raghu Vira for publicly asking for Krishna Menon's resignation, however mild it may be, has to be welcomed. The direction they propose to take will become clearer, however, only after the discussion on the border issue which is to take place in the Lok Sabha on December 4.

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Shrieks Of Agony From Police Thanas

Since the famous, and now made controversial, judgment of Justice A. N. Mulla about the police in U.P., the spokesmen and champions of the State Government find themselves in almost a hysterical flurry of annoyance and anger.

IMEDIATELY after the judge's strictures it was loudly, almost insultingly trumpeted that the State Government would go on appeal against his remarks about their darling police. But, unable to contain their own policeman-like wrath, simultaneously they also launched a public vendetta against the judge.

Writing an article on the occasion of the Police Centenary on October 24, the State's Police Minister Charan Singh pointedly twitted the judge by remarking that he was dealing with "... the difficulties that arise out of our legal system" so that "it may serve ... the critics of the police to see the other side of the medal, at least, to some extent—to appreciate that, after all, the police, made of the same stock as they themselves, is not such a band of incompetents..." (National Herald, October 24).

The rest of this literary piece was a wallful catalogue of grievances against the poor judiciary of the State and the country's legal system which does not allow greater licence to the Mohammad Naims of the police. He was even angry that in "recent years the law courts" had shown a "tendency to grant bail liberally..."

About this same time the Chief Minister of the State C. B. Gupta, speaking in a rally of policemen, showed his impatience at the wayward ways of the judiciary which occasionally tries to stand up to the much trampled rights of the citizen.

From the tenor and terminology of his speech nobody was left in doubt that he was hitting out against Justice Mulla's judgment and thereby holding the judiciary of the State in contempt, of all persons, before policemen.

All this was unfortunate enough. But now, it seems, Justice Mulla's remarks have also earned the displeasure of such a socially conscious and eminent judge as S. S. Dhanwan of the same High Court.

In the course of a judgment, which, incidentally, disbelieved the police story and attacked the "practice of securing convictions by manufactured evidence", his lordship, in an obvious reference to Justice Mulla's remarks, commented that "no individual can claim the credit of making lone efforts to clean up the Augean stables alleged to be the police force..."

He added that such observations might draw pointed attention to the problem but they might also do more harm than good as they tend to demoralise the police force and create the impression that the judiciary was used to intemperate language. It is a pity that in this learned argument the citizen,

the man is being forgotten or is being sought to be kept from where he has been struggling to free himself from independence. The question is: how should the police behave in a democratic (I am not using the word socialistic advisedly) set up?

Must it go on with its prosecutions, which are, in the words of Justice Mulla, "... in a large measure traps and frame-ups and are supported by fabricated evidence, and by extorting confession through third degree methods and by disregarding the prohibitions contained in the Constitution of India to safeguard the rights of the citizens?"

Or must it change some of its attitude to show greater regard for the common people from whom we are supposed to derive all power?

If Justice Mulla has overnight become persona non grata with some people, here is some independent testimony from the columnist Chronicle of Nehru's National Herald:

Writing about the thanas (police stations) of Independent India in the year 1961 Chronicle says:

"The thana, especially the so-called police look-up, is a dreaded place. The entire atmosphere around it sometimes echoes with shrieks of agony. Suspects arrested in connection with reported crimes are mercilessly beaten, and are not spared until they make a confession, true or false.

"From the tradition, the policeman gets the training of delivering hard cane blows on joints, ankles, soles, palms, so that there may not be bleeding, and his victim pitifully cries like a sacrificial goat... Police mischief is at its best in extorting confessions. If the actual criminal has secured his liberty by bribing the policeman and if the case has got to be proceeded with, the police arrest an innocent man, and prepare him by beating and false promise, to make a 'confession' before the judge. The promise made to the man, utterly ignorant of law, is that they would eventually secure his release."

And what happens if there is a murder in a village? "A murder in a village becomes a terrifying event for dozens of innocent men and women... it is seldom that the police do not turn the event into a money-making proposition. Under the thrashing of the lash, the victim is made to implicate such persons as, in the opinion of the police, are in a position to gratify them with handsome amounts of money.

"Persons who were no-where in the vicinity of the spot crime, are adduced as witnesses. They are duly tutored

to appear as witnesses. It will be an exaggeration to say that all thanas behave in this manner, but the number of those that do is not negligible."

About prosecutions and evidence, he has the following to say:

"The police mainly function as a group of prosecutors of criminals. They prepare preliminary cases for trial, gather witnesses and tutor them so that in their evidence they may corroborate the version as prepared by them. They are, thus, a part of the legal machinery, and when one thinks of how they function one realises how awful is their part."

"They launch prosecutions with a vengeance, and try to discourage by holding out threats, truthful witnesses from appearing before the court. Manufacturing of evidence and tutoring of witnesses are one of the alarming duties the police have laid on themselves. THE THANAS WHERE THIS IS NOT DONE WILL BE FEW AND FAR BETWEEN..."

"During one hundred years, INCLUDING FOURTEEN YEARS OF FREEDOM, this practice has continued uninterrupted." (National Herald, 23 October, 1961)

During the British regime we rebelled against this revolting state of affairs. But now, power and positions having dulled our sense of human dignity and concern for our own people, we seem to have begun to look with unconcealed hostility all those who would dare to remind us of these skeletons in our khaddar-curtained cupboard. Perhaps we have begun to need those methods ourselves...

Justice Mulla has raised what is an important national problem, a problem of the very foundations of democracy and our economic and social progress towards socialism, a problem of the morale of our entire toiling people without whose effort nothing worthwhile can be built.

But instead of feeling grateful to him, instead of listening to his helpful advice, the rulers of this State are trying to run him down and to make him look the offender. In reality, however, this cacophony is not directed so much against Justice Mulla, because he has already had his say and he has also served out his term as a Judge of the High Court.

This display of temper, as well as bad social conscience, is then directed against the judiciary of the State against the future Mulla's of the bench... It is meant to bludgeon them, into silence, to demoralise them, to turn them, if they would, into pliable instruments in the hands of corrupted leaders.

They cannot do without their Mohammad Naims. They have, therefore, once again announced that they are now going to the Supreme Court in appeal....

SCRAP-BOOK

MASK OFF U.S.I.A.

EVIL intentions are difficult to conceal. And yet masks are used to deceive people en masse. This is specially true of the United States Information Agency (USIA). Recently an American tourist approached the Novosti Press Agency with the request that without divulging his name, it make public these facts:

Shortly before his departure from the USA, he was given some documents to read.

What sort of documents were these? Two correspondents of Novosti Press Agency (USSR) have disclosed the facts in an article. One of them is a small book on instructions with the word "Confidential" gracing its cover, published in April 1, 1960, by the office of the Research and Analysis of the USIA. It is entitled 'What Works and What Does Not Work in Communicating with the Soviet People. The second document marked "Secret" is entitled 'Introduction to the Agitators' Hand Book.

The latter book (Agitators' Handbook) harps most on the difficulties encountered by the so-called American guides. One of the questions with which, according to the guides, they were forced to contend most was, why the Soviet Union was being surrounded with military bases?

"The authors of the Handbook note that under pressure of their Soviet opponents the guides were forced to admit the 'non-aggressive' intention of the Soviet Government. The book frankly admits that talks were possible only in the event that no offensive against foreign policy was taken.

"The authors of the book have to admit in one way or another that the Soviet peoples regardless of their views, are very proud of their country's speedy industrial developments in the field of the exact and natural sciences, education, public health, literature and the arts."

"Much space in the book is taken up by a description of the way anti-Soviet agitators had to defend themselves against their Soviet opponents on questions pertinent to 'American Reality'. They were always at great disadvantage when questioned about such acute topics for the USA as unemployment and the Negro problem."

The Handbook gives instructions how the agitator (American Guide) should handle crowds. Besides this, advice is also given as to how to smuggle through the customs publications containing anti-Soviet material and how to disseminate it.

The concluding part of the Introduction to the Agitators Handbook reads: "Listen most attentively to what the audiences have to say. Their remarks will not only reflect Soviet attitudes, but may well contain elements of information which are of considerable importance to the United States intelligence efforts.... In some cases the discussions may provide an atmosphere favourable for the spotting and developing of agents."

SEATO LINK

SOME of the Indian journals have rightly noted with concern the Times of India's link-up with the Asia magazine now being freely distributed on every Sunday with the Times of India. The articles purposefully written by Asian authors pursue a definite aim—to spread cold war ideology and denounce neutralism.

In one of the recent issues I found it extolling Pakistan's dictator Ayub Khan. It presents Laos as a "complacent cold war pawn". The Indian sari is ridiculed in another issue.

Later we can expect even unvelled criticism of India's policies on national and international questions. It is clear—Asia Magazine is a Seato Powers' propaganda sheet illustrated with beautiful pictures.

The Times of India's owners have willingly but unwittingly exposed their own anti-national role—a Seato link in India.

COLONIALIST CORPS

A BATCH of 'Peace Corps' members is expected to reach our country next month. Their programme of stay in the Punjab also seems to be finalised.

The deeds of the members of the 'Peace Corps', set up on President Kennedy's initiative, in other countries needs to be more widely known here.

Members of this so-called 'Peace Corps' in Nigeria, recently, hit the news. One Miss Mitchelmore made the newspaper headlines in October last.

She started working among the Nigerian students, doing this in a very strange way, to say the least. She spoke scornfully about the Government's policy, the people, and the national traditions of Nigeria.

The Nigerians naturally could not tolerate the insulting and provocative behaviour of this American woman. Students demanded that she should leave the University.

She took refuge in the US Embassy and later flew back to the States.

These storm-troopers of neo-colonialism soon will be in India. Let our youth be cautious!

—AGRADOOT

ASSAM—Democratic Alliance To Weaken Congress Monopoly

From Madhusudhan Bhattacharya

The State Executive of Communist Party that met at Gauhati from November 20 to 22 finally selected 27 candidates for the State Assembly and five candidates for the Lok Sabha seats. At present the Party has four seats in the State Assembly and another member elected on the Communist Party ticket, who had to be expelled for his anti-Party activities during last year's language disturbances in the State.

It has been stated by the Executive Committee that the final selection of Communist party candidates has been delayed because of its endeavour to negotiate with other left parties for a joint front of the anti-Congress democratic forces in the State.

The negotiations led to some understanding with the RCFI and it is expected that there will be no mutual contest between it and the Communist Party, while each will lend support to the candidate of the other party. But the PSP would not even come to negotiate with the Communist Party, though they are not disinterested in negotiation with certain forces of a dubious nature.

Bhupesh Gupta, who attended the meeting of the State Executive on behalf of the Central Secretariat of the Party, addressing a public meeting at Gauhati on November 22, exposed the "leftism" of the PSP.

He said that the PSP formed a coalition with the Muslim League in Kerala and flirted with the Jana Sangh in U.P., but would not negotiate with the Communist Party in Assam. This, he said, showed the real nature of this party that swears by socialism but enters into alliance with communalism.

Bhupesh Gupta explained the objective that the Party has set before itself in Assam. He said that the Party did not think that the anti-Congress democratic forces in this State had attained enough of maturity to replace the Congress in the coming general election. That is why the Party did not

put forward such a slogan before the people of Assam. But what was needed, he said, was to weaken the monopoly of power enjoyed by the Congress in this State. This, he pointed out, was necessary in the interest of the people of the State. He also pointed out that the above task could not be accomplished by the PSP; the policy and practice of that party left no room for such illusions.

It was only the democratic forces that would be in alliance with the Communist Party, the consistent champion of the democratic rights of the people, that would accomplish this task, and he appealed to the people of Assam to help the emergence of that force by voting for the Communist candidates.

The Party has been considering the possibility of putting up two more candidates for State Assembly seats and equal number for the Lok Sabha seats. It has decided to support progressive independent candidates in different seats.

Of the seats to be contested by the Party four are in the Bengali-speaking district of Cachar; one in Shillong, the State capital; and the rest are in the Brahmaputra valley districts. Of the four seats held by the Party at present, one is from Cachar and the rest are from the Brahmaputra valley districts.

The decision of the Communist Party to put up a candidate for the Shillong constituency seems to have caused a flutter in the political circles here. In the first general election, the Party supported a candidate of the

general election only to demonstrate the popular support that it claims it has for its demand for a separate State and, according to its latest decision, all its elected members are to resign their seats at the call of its Council of Action with effect from such dates as may be decided by it.

Thus, this decision is likely to bring about a change in the political atmosphere in the capital, where political opportunism of different shades has dominated the scene for a long time.

TAMILNAD—Election Tactics

THE Tamilnad State Council of the Communist Party of India, which was in session here since November 15 discussed the coming general elections and the tasks of the Party therein.

The Council took note of the tremendous volume of discontent of the masses against the Congress, which during 15 years of its uninterupted rule has belied the expectations of the masses and has pursued policies which are predominantly anti-people and anti-democratic. The Party will, therefore, direct the main edge of the election battle against the Congress.

The Council decided to do its utmost to weaken the monopoly of power of the Congress Party. The Council was firmly convinced that the weakening of the monopoly of power of the Con-

gress Party should simultaneously lead to the strengthening of the position of the Party in particular, and the parties of the democratic opposition in general.

The Council took note of the fact that the brute majority of 151 of 205 seats in the State Assembly won by the Congress Party in the State was out of all proportion to its support among the people and the relative strength of the parties in the Assembly was not a reflection of the political position of the masses.

This situation was brought about because of the split of the democratic opposition votes in the elections. The Party will strive to avoid such a situation in the coming elections.

As regards electoral alliances, keeping in view the above stated objective of weakening the monopoly of power of the Congress Party and simultaneously strengthening the position of the democratic opposition, the Party cannot and will not have any truck with parties of right reaction like the Swatantra Party.

The Party will undertake talks with the DMK and all parties of the Opposition, except those like the Swatantra Party, Muslim League, Jana Sangh, etc.

The Council assessed the position of the Party in the various constituencies after hearing detailed reports from the districts and decided to contest about 100 Assembly and 20 Lok Sabha constituencies. In view of the forthcoming talks with other parties, the Council directed the Executive Committee to announce the list of candidates in the first week of December, when it is expected that the negotiations with other parties would have been completed.

SPOTLIGHT

FUTILE WHITE-WASHING

RSS-Jan Sangh continues to protest loudly that the pogroms staged in several U. P. cities against the minority community following the Aligarh University incidents was not inspired or engineered by them.

It is habitual for criminals to lie and plead "not guilty" in order to save their skins. But there is a tell-tale quality about their protestations. We find the trite tactics of "cry thief" writ large over the white-washing report prepared by Jana Sangh vice-president Pitampar Das. The report declares that "the Meerut and Hapur flare-ups were spontaneous (!) and Chandausi incidents revealed pre-planned plot of mullahs".

Glossing over the fact that the communal fires were deliberately lit in these cities by spreading categorical reports that "Hindu boys have been killed by Muslims in Aligarh university", the report glibly states: "Absence of clear reporting about Hindus and Muslims led to fantastic guess work (sic!) and, thus, tension mounted in both the communities".

Slick work indeed. Isn't it, since we know that it is one community that was worked up against another; that, to borrow the words of Guruji Golwalkar, the "Hindus who are the nation in Bharat" were worked up against "the aliens" and that the suffering in terms of lives lost and places of worship desecrated was one-sided.

A number of poor people among the Muslims, who were driven by starvation at home, to stir out in the curfew intervals, were knifed by dastardly assasins! Many mosques were desecrated.

Even the Jan Sangh "probe report" is constrained to admit that "happenings at Meerut cannot be justified" (This after having sought to justify it in the above quoted plea—Garuda). But it adds in the next breath that "it is wrong to magnify them".

What they, evidently, mean is that the nation should not dwell on such shameful tragedies in order to trace the causes and the criminals since that would prove positively incriminating for our Jan Sanghite white-washers.

NOT SAD BUT GLAD

BUT the Jan Sangh or the RSS, it is evident, has no objection to or scruples in magnifying those incidents in another way, i.e. the way Guruji Golwalkar has done. Returning to Nagpur from U.P., where Guruji

was present during the rioting, he addressed Swamy-ansevak of the local branch. In his speech he bragged the Hindus for "not always taking a beating".

He declared: "Since the time of the British it has become a familiar pattern of events that Muslims should commit aggression and Hindus should take it lying down. Because of this a feeling of hopelessness began to spread in the society. Resentment at this injustice began to grow. This found an outlet in the demonstration of students".

At another place in the same speech, the RSS Chief perorated: "Events had shown that the Hindu society can on occasion manifest indignation, that it did not always take a beating but was capable also of protecting itself (sic). If the demands of self-preservation aroused in it a feeling of self-respect, an honest Hindu should feel not sad but glad".

A complete justification of the "shameful" happenings could hardly be imagined. But Guruji did not rest content with that. He went on to "magnify" magnify Muslim "designs". He declared that "the Muslims were again attempting to have a whip-hand. These people were scheming to engineer a country-wide Muslim revolt in India in the event of an aggression on India through 'Azad' Kashmir".

It is obvious that the Jan Sangh "probe report" when it preached against "magnifying" the shameful events of Meerut and elsewhere only calculated to cover up thereby the communal gangsters' criminal traces. But, as a matter of fact, the Jan Sangh is not at all averse to the magnified communal preachings of its own Guruji.

That is the new "cultural values" the Jan Sangh intends to uphold. That is the Jan Sangh's "nationalism" for you, which Sampurnanandji has so obligingly vouched for!

—GARUDA

NEW AGE

EDITOR: P. C. Joshi
Printed by D. P. Sinha at the NEW AGE PRINTING PRESS, 5, Jhandewallan Estate, M. M. Road, New Delhi, and published by him from 7/4, Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi.

Telephone Address MARKBADI Phone 2, 25734

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stop being a hamlet on goa!

Liberty of Congress

It has been an exciting week with events that have shaken the country, from one end to the other. The White Paper was timed to produce a wind-fall against the Communist Party during the coming elections. The publication of the voluminous correspondence with the Chinese Government and the news of continuing incidents on the India-China border were supposed to influence the people in a particular direction.

THE Congress leadership had its own designs against the Communist Party but the anti-Panch Sheel pro-Western political parties and their MPs had their own plans to use the same White paper both against the Communist Party and the Congress Party as the Government responsible for the defence of the country.

The influential monopoly-controlled daily press went so wild with the White Paper that the Prime Minister himself had to step on to the stage and state that no new Indian territory has been occupied by the Chinese and the press propaganda was "exaggerated" and so on.

Thus, the neatly laid device of the Congress against the Communist Party and of the extreme Right against both mostly misfired. Besides the inherent weaknesses of their propaganda line other events helped to put the focus aright.

AGGRESSIVE MISDEEDS

The Portuguese aggressive misdeeds, outrageously enacted this week, deeply stirred the country, and brought our countrymen face to face with the existing reality. The political game of the friends of the West has been foiled by the Nato partner, the Portuguese usurpers from Goa, Daman and Diu.

All the exclusive news earlier publicised in the New Age of the Portuguese atrocities against our own kith and kin have now been confirmed by the Prime Minister himself.

He stated in the Lok Sabha: "The Portuguese authorities had resorted to large-scale arrests and torture of nationalists in Goa during the July to September this year". He also confirmed that "the repression of the nationalists was accompanied by a military build-up in the Portuguese colonies" (Times of India, November 29).

On November 23, the Government spokesman replied in the affirmative when asked whether there had been any air space violation on Indian territory from Goa since August 30, 1961.

The most upsetting and provocative have been the widely publicised two firings this week, first against the Indian merchant ship S. S. Sabarmati sailing peacefully on its normal route, Bombay-Cochin, and the second against the fishing boat on the Karwar coast, killing one innocent Indian fisherman.

In both these cases the Portuguese used the tiny island of Anjadev, just two miles from the Indian coast line as their base. This island is mostly uninhabited and is occupied by a Portuguese military outpost.

It is also used by the Portuguese-nationalised smuglers as their paradise. This weakly held and notorious island was used to violate

the sanctity of the Indian waters by the Portuguese occupationists.

The Lisbon Government first issued a statement denying all responsibility only to rapidly change over to a second version that it was the Indian side that fired first and sought to occupy the island. The Portuguese falsehood was widely broadcasted by the BBC, a gesture of Nato solidarity!

The Indian Prime Minister promptly exposed it as an "absurd proposition that the Government of India should send the country-craft or a small passenger ship to go and attack that island. It is quite absurd. If we want to attack we will take better measures to do it".

The Portuguese did not stop with the lie. The Times of India, November 27, reported the presence of "two cruisers" near Anjadev. The PTI reported the presence, at the same place, of the Portuguese Frigate, No. F-470.

These crazy crimes of the Portuguese colonialists raised a storm of indignation inside the country and this was duly expressed inside the Indian Parliament.

Even before the news of these Portuguese firings against the merchant ship and the fishing boats had become public knowledge, S. M. Banerjee's motion on Goa calling upon the Indian Government to give Portuguese colonialism the ultimatum to quit had found first place in the ballot and created the right atmosphere to express national feelings and demands. Parvati Krishnan urged the Government to accept the resolution and set a good precedent.

The same morning came the news of firing against the S. S. Sabarmati which led to an adjournment motion and numerous questions. There was another spate of the same when the news of the second firing against the fishing craft came.

BROAD FRONT

The Communist MPs did succeed in creating the widest possible front inside Parliament to express the demand for Goan liberation.

The official Jana Sangh line was to concentrate the fire against China and argue that talk of Goan liberation was only a device to gather votes for Krishna Menon.

The temper in the country and its reflection inside the House, however, compelled A. B. Vajpayee to join with the Communists, PSPers, Socialists and Independents and all demanded prompt action from the Government against the Portuguese. It is only the Swatantrite Members of the Parliament that remained silent.

The common theme of all the speeches was: how long was the Government going to drift; Indians have been

shot and the obvious thing to do was to shoot back; the demand to return the Portuguese fire was strongly and loudly expressed.

The Ministerial benches, headed by the Prime Minister, looked sympathetic but remained sluggish.

Prime Minister Nehru intervened on all occasions and repeated Hamlet-like that the affair was being "investigated"... "We are not only enquiring but taking some steps too". "We will take action at the proper time", "we shall think about it", "there are certain consequences not specific local ones but other wider consequences".

Such hesitant equivocation from the Prime Minister failed to satisfy anybody. Hence came the latest announcement from the Prime Minister "the situation is under constant review by the Government which intends adopting all possible measures for early liberation of these colonies" (Times of India, November 29).

Things have not improved from the Portuguese side but they are looking up from the Indian. The Statesman, November 29, reported from its Bangalore correspondent, "an other Portuguese naval ship was sighted at 7 p.m. yesterday between Bengo village and Anjadev island".

The Bombay correspondent of the paper added that two ships of the Indian Navy—a destroyer and an anti-submarine frigate—were today anchored off the Karwar coast.

These two Indian naval

ships are INS Rajput and INS Kirpan. The very words Rajput and Kirpan, stir the heart, the men manning them are loyal and courageous countrymen of ours, they only await the word GO from the Government.

Indian blood is not cold but warm hence the demand that the Government of India act for the liberation of Goa is growing in volume and spontaneously. This is revealed by the fact that the dead fisherman Rajaram Atmaram Koch-

by

P. C. JOSHI

rekar was given a martyr's funeral in Karwar on November 25.

His body was taken in a procession to the cremation ground. In the evening the memorial meeting, under the President of the Municipality, an appeal was made to the Government of India to take steps for the liberation of Goa.

Aruna Asaf Ali, Chairman of the National Campaign Committee for Goa has called for "urgent action, now that Indian blood has mingled with the waters of the Indian ocean". She stressed that the Portuguese authorities "had dared to fire again on peaceful Indian citizen because they probably imagined that the Indian Government will not take any effective action to oust them from the Indian soil".

An All Parties National Convention on Goa is planned to be held shortly in Bombay to consider the situation.

The demand for action against the Portuguese is not confined to the Left. Strong police action to end Portuguese domination of Goa was demanded by M. C. Chagla.

Birja's Hindustan Times is neither Left nor Centre but very Right. It writes in its editorial November 29, entitled "Time to Act", referring to the latest Portuguese provocations:

"They call for not only deterrent but punitive action..."

"The Government seemed to have an almost mystical faith in the soft answer that turneth away aggression..."

"It would seem that the only way of putting an end to this nuisance is to put an end to Portuguese occupation of the island."

Thus, every section of Indian national opinion from the Communists on the Left to the Hindustan Times on the Right demands again to liberate Goa and end all this shame and humiliation.

Time has come to ask and answer, in terms of action:

- What is the Indian Government for, if it cannot push the Portuguese out of Indian territory?
- What is the Indian Army for, if it is not sent out to liberate Goa, Daman and Diu?
- How are we a conscious people if we cannot get the obvious done by the Government and the armed forces of our country?

Kerala-Action Begins

By Telegram From Sharma

Trivandrum, November 28

CANNANORE, the cradle of the Kerala kisan movement, witnessed a 10,000 strong inspiring demonstration when the 70-year old veteran kisan leader Vishnu Bharatheeyan led 54 kisans to picket the office of the collector on November 27. This was followed by picketing by 15 Kottiyur kisans under N. J. Luke.

A mass protest meeting condemning the attitude of the Government, appealing for public support was held and addressed by K. P. Gopalan and Narayanan Namblar among others.

At Trichur, A. K. Gopalan garlanded Chathan, ex-Minister, Harijan kisan leader, who led the 101-strong contingent of kisans among whom as many as 82 were tillers of the soil and the oldest was 72 years.

Kelu and Naha led two batches of 12 each to picket the Calicut collectorate while 25 led by legislator E. P. Gopalan picketed at Palghat. At Ernakulam 25 kisans led by Govinda Pillai and at Alleppey two batches of 12 each and two batches of 10 each at Kottayam picketed respective collectorates at Trivandrum.

The picketing was most peaceful in all centres and was preceded and followed by

solidarity demonstrations and marches. Gopalan in a message of greetings to all the kisan volunteers who led the battle today hailed their action as the first Statewide action of the peasants themselves for realising a common demand.

Most of the volunteers, he said, were sons of the soil and hailed from all castes and communities and a good number of them were elderly kisans, some of them being as old as 70. This was a sufficient rebuff to those who slander this action as a political stunt. The growing support the movement was getting and the peaceful nature were guarantees of its vitality and success, he concluded.

In a signed article in Thozhikkal daily, Father Vadakkan has stated that demands of the Karshaka Sangham, whatever be the political motives of the organisers of the struggle, are most reasonable and condemned the indifferent and callous attitude of the Government representatives. He said that in regard to the demands such as rights of undocumented tenants, evictees in project areas, Kottiyur peasants, etc., advanced by the Sangham, the Government have acted more in favour of the landlords.

He warned the Government that they should not think in

terms of crushing the struggle.

Father Vadakkan also announced his intention to start a big struggle of all kisans which, in his words, will be above and beyond party and political considerations within two weeks.

Two hundred and seventy volunteers were held on November 28 while they picketed eight district collectorates. They included Communist legislator Sundaram who led the picketing at Kottayam.

Gopalakrishna Menon rebutted Home Minister Chacko's slander that most of the kisan demands had been met by the Government and picketing the collectorates amounted to subversion of the Government.

He stated that on the pressing demands, the Government had acted only on two, i.e., increase in the land tribunals by five and stay of collection of arrears of rent from revenue lands.

On all the rest Chacko's statements showed that the Government was not prepared to consider even the suggestions based on the Planning Commission's recommendations.

He added that Chacko's comparison of this struggle to their "liberation struggle" was seeing others in his own image and the kisans would call off the action if the Government conceded the demands.