

GOA THEN: KASHMIR NOW!

Despite all the fond hopes of the West within our country, the fat is in the fire. India is indignant over Anglo-U.S. moves regarding Kashmir. Honest countrymen of ours who unfortunately took the newspapers and the words of India's rulers seriously that Kennedy was India's friend, find themselves living in a fool's paradise. The writing on the wall is clear enough and one need not go far back to read it aright. The Western imperialists are out for revenge after India's liberation of Goa.

A lot of play was made about the U.S. being more considerate towards India while the U.K. was more friendly towards Pakistan, not only generally but also over the latest Pak move of raising Kashmir issue in the U.N. Even this facile understanding has proved illusory. It is easy enough to realise now that it was a case of division of roles between the two imperialist powers, close allies between themselves.

IMPERIALIST PLOT

The job of the U. K. was to befriend Pakistan and inspire confidence in the bona fides and capacity of the Western camp among its servitors in the Afro-Asian and Latin American region, the mission of the U. S. being to pretend friendship with India, despite neutralism, and lead her up the garden path. When India did not accept the U. S. advice, the U. S. and the U. K. are back to go against India.

Even Defence Minister Krishna Menon who has handled competently the Kashmir case on India's behalf in the past and knows about it, has expressed "surprise that the powers which till the other day had held the view that no useful purpose would be served in calling a meeting of the Council to discuss the issue, had now suddenly changed their stand to support Pakistan's plea".

This is being naive. As the Communist Party has been systematically and persistently explaining that our country is in for nasty surprises if we failed to differentiate between the imperialist and the anti-imperialist countries of the world in our national interests.

A good look, without the blinkers, at the world we live in should help to remove whatever illusions yet remain and help to charter India's path in the world struggle with greater realism, more boldness and the needed clarity.

It needs no stressing that India plays an important role in world affairs to the dismay and annoyance of imperialist forces represented, above all, by the U. K. and U. S.

India's independent foreign policy of peace, anti-colonialism and co-existence does not suit the U. S. and the other imperialist powers and hence its pressure against India over Kashmir now as it was over Goa earlier.

In their imperialist arrogance they think this is way to cut India to size and compel it to follow or at least not resist U. S. policies in the far-flung sectors of the world where the U. S. and other imperialist powers are faring badly indeed.

Africa is up in arms, the liberation of Goa has inspired

the Angolans to fight ever more heroically. The imperialists want to press India against extending fraternal help to Angola.

Again they want to settle Congo in a manner that Tshombe is saved and strengthened while Lumumba's heir Gizenga is sacked, imprisoned, if not shot dead like his late leader. They want India not to resist them in Africa, Congo and the like.

In Laos and South Vietnam, the U. S. puppets are going down to their doom. India occupies a strategic position as the Chairman of the International Commission. They want India not to function actively in the cause of Asian liberation when dealing with these countries.

They want India to concentrate all its fire against China. The Special Adviser of the U. S. President, Dr. Kissinger, came rushing to India to promise wholehearted support if India resorted to force against China, hoping that the Indian people would forget

Smash Imperialist West!

U. S. objections so sanctimoniously made by Adlai Stevenson against India's use of force to liberate Goa.

Besides, Sundar Kabadi had reported from London in the Sunday Standard (Jan. 28) about the Burmese Premier Nu's initiative for Rangoon as the venue of talks between Indian Premier Nehru and Chinese Premier Chou.

This was enough to make Washington desperate and act fast. Again there was a limit to Khrushchov's patience over Berlin and India has refused to line up behind West when the Berlin crisis came up last. There was obvious need in U. S. for streamlining India betimes before the Berlin crisis bursts again. India stood four-square with the USSR for complete and total disarmament. Disarmament cannot obviously be taken off the agenda, the peace-hungry world won't permit it.

POLITICAL BLACKMAIL

An attempt at disruption is the obvious way out for the U. S. Hence, the imperialist powers of the West headed by the U. S., ardently supported by the U. K., have raked up the Kashmir issue.

It is their foul attempt at the moral blackmail of India. They are out to paint India before ill-informed world public opinion as being unreasonable and unprincipled, and rely upon the servile and weak elements in Indian national life to scream that India is left friendless and, thus, force a shift in the

NEW AGE

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direction of India's foreign policy.

Just at the time needed, the U. S. Pak puppet filed a complaint against India before the U. N. Security Council, challenging the legal and historical settled fact of Kashmir's accession to India.

PAKISTAN'S MELODRAMA

True to its U. S. master's example, it hypocritically talked of upholding the principle of self-determination when no elections had been held in Pak-occupied Kashmir nor in the rest of Pakistan while India is in the throes of its third general

Indian rejection of the new U. S. move was announced:

"As long as there is a Government in the country worth its name, there will be no plebiscite to decide the future of Kashmir... Talks of plebiscite and mediation were tantamount to equating the aggressor with the victim.

"Mediation on the issue was impossible because there existed today no country in the world with power to mediate which was also impartial".

The latest U. S. poking its nose into the Indo-Pak affair has upset Indian national opinion. The ever-friendly to the West Indian newspapers and their hired scribes have

tan. Rather belatedly, the Jana Sangh Secretary, Upadhyaya advised Nehru to reject the Kennedy offer. Just as over Goa the Swatantra spokesmen acted the Western Casablanca, so now despite Kashmir, Sarvodaya JP has pleaded, Indo - Pak confederation, (Hindustan Times, January 25).

INSOLENT USURERS

Again on the very eve of Indian rejection, Prem Bhatia cabled from Washington (Times of India, January 28) that the Aid India Club members dispersed "without vot-

elections, in all of which Kashmir has freely given its verdict.

A country whose President himself lately threatened India with the use of faster-than-sound U. S. planes and guided missiles, even without any reference to its military allies of the West, has now accused India of threatening Pakistan.

It was a type of melodrama familiar on the imperialist stage, but enacted at its most ridiculous now.

India had bitter experience in the past of U.N. debates over Kashmir. To get round India U. S. offered a settlement outside the U. N.

India, a sovereign nation, could neither accept arbitration nor mediation but it was offered under a different name, "good offices".

The person the U.S. chose for the crooked operation was also familiar. Eugene Black had earlier helped to settle the canal waters issue in Pakistan's favour and retaining the monkey as the judge position for the World Bank in case of future conflicts.

Black as the World Bank President was expected to command enough authority with Indian rulers, dependent on the World Bank aid more than ever for the fulfilment of the Third Plan.

After initial hesitation and a deeper probe into the U. S. offer, India rejected it in over-polite terms. The Pakistan leak helped to reveal the U. S. plan that the Graham Report was to be brought up to date as the solution.

The Graham Report was based on plebiscite. Krishna Menon has in apt words outlined the Indian stand, after

been doing their best to mollify public opinion by idealising the U. S. President's good intentions.

It is, however, disturbing to read the Political Correspondent of the Statesman (Jan. 31) reporting "the Prime Minister, I understand, feels that President Kennedy's motivations were of the highest, even though proposals such as the mediation could not be acceptable to India for obvious reasons".

This is not only nursing but preaching illusions and that by the Prime Minister of the country. It is an intolerable situation in terms of Indian self-respect as well as national interests.

SHED THIS TIMIDITY!

Official Indian reaction is timid and out of tune with national reaction. Even pro-Western Right-wing publicists and spokesmen dare not defend the U. S. move.

The very pro-U. S. Indian Ambassador to the U. S. has stated that but for the U. N. India would have thrown Pakistan out of Kashmir (Hindustan Times, January 23). Times of India (25 January) editorially has considered it "foolhardy". Hindustan Times (January 28) editorially has pleaded that Indian offer of the cease-fire line was not "ungenerous".

The reactionary politicians of the Right who loudly champion the U. S. thesis when it comes to indulging in heroics against China are now tongue-tied over the U. S. move through Pakis-

ing any more funds for the Third Plan". Reason—"Aid India Club members were annoyed over Goa action".

Again "by contrast Pakistan has this year been treated by the same Aid India Club with unquestioning generosity. Last year, she was given only 320 million dollars of her total requirements of nearly one billion dollars for the first two years of her current Plan. Two days ago, the remainder was sanctioned without argument".

It is obvious that the Aid India Club members are so much wrapped in their own dollars, pounds and marks, etc., that they do not know India. The lack of favours from the monopolies of the West will not compel patriotic India to bend the knee.

Let the Indian voters remember that the original sin was committed by the Congress itself when its leaders took the Kashmir issue to the U.N. despite Communist protests.

Let the Indian people not forget that the parties of the Right pleaded for a Defence Pact with Pakistan, the same as Anglo-American rulers were pressing upon the Indian Government.

Rout the parties of the Right!

Cut the Congress vote as much as possible to make future Indian policy firmer, stronger!

Strengthen the Communists, who in all weathers, fair or foul, have been warning the country against U.S. moves and plots!

—P. C. JOSHI

Against False Congress Claims—The Good Fight

The Republic Day this year was preceded by a bitter cold wave throughout North India. Scores, nay hundreds, died because of lack of shelter over their heads, lack of enough warm clothing over their bodies, lack of adequate physical resistance within them because of under-feeding. The very fact that even on the twelfth Republic Day of independent India there are countrymen of ours who can be killed by mere cold should have made the ruling class, if it was honest and had real love for the people, repentant. The reality however is exactly the opposite.

THE Republic and all the achievements of our people and the nation are being claimed by the party in power as its creation while the responsibility for all the failures and shortcomings are being dumped upon others and even the people. Blatant demagoguery had become the normal stock-in-trade of the Congress spokesmen. It has become a nuisance during the election campaign.

The aged, ailing, and about-to-retire Rashtrapati wished the country a year of peace and the people prosperity in his Republic Day message.

Three days earlier, January 23, Staff reporter of the Times of India had reported: "With all its development plans Delhi will be unable to provide employment opportunities to all the three lakh persons who will be seeking jobs during the Third Plan period." This was a disclosure made at a press conference by the Director of Employment and Training, Delhi Administration. A dismal prospect indeed for the citizens of our capital city. There is an age-old proverb in Hindustani, "chiragh tale andhera" (darkness right under the lamp).

TEACHERS' STRUGGLE

If the above was sad news, uplifting news followed, again three days after the auspicious day. The Staff Correspondent of the Hindustan Times, January 29, reported that the Delhi State Teachers' Association at a general meeting decided to launch direct action against the Delhi Directorate of Education and the Municipal Corporation to press its demands. On the crucial day, February 19, when polling will begin throughout the country the teachers of our capital city will observe a token hunger-strike to be followed by demonstrations and general strike.

The teachers' main demands are elementary, the pre-conditions of human existence, for example, a revision of pay scales and payments of arrears as per Pay Commission's recommendations, the payment of A-Class city benefit, gratuity to the teachers of aided schools etc.

The press in India is very fond of playing up the festivities of Indian children with Chacha Nehru. The Indian adult, the voter, we have no doubt, will rightly opine against a state of affairs where the Panditjis and Masterjis of our children are compelled to strike and on the very eve of the General Elections. The teachers' mass action will help to dramatise Indian reality.

NOTES OF THE WEEK

gress has become unscrupulous and unprincipled, for self and power and not for service and sacrifice. This is not all.

STATES VS CENTRE

THE evil has gone so far that the conflicts between the state governments led by the Congress and the Union Government led by the same Congress threaten the future of country. This is a still more dangerous phenomenon and again arises because of their competition in appeasing the vested interests.

On the eve of the General Elections it has come up on the surface because the State Congress chiefs need big money to finance the election campaign and they want to get it easy and quick by shamelessly becoming the spokesmen of the demands of their vested interests, of their demands against whatever controls and limitations their own national leadership seeks to impose on their greed and wantonness.

ITSELF SPLIT

THE running theme of Congress spokesmen during the election campaign is that the Congress alone can take the country forward, for it alone can guarantee a stable Government. The latest incantation is from Morarji Desai, at Raipur, on January 29.

The same paper, Hindustan Times, that carried Morarji's sing-song also disclosed and in the same issue the following state of affairs inside the Morarji's party under the headline "59 suspended in Rajasthan".

"59 Congressmen including Shri Adityendra, former President of the FCC, have been suspended from the primary membership of the Congress for contesting against official Congress candidates. They included three sitting Assembly members."

For the same offence similar news appears under the headline "33 in Andhra".

On the same day U.P. Congress Chief Shri A. P. Jain suspended another 26 Congressmen for refusing to withdraw their nomination papers filed against the official Congress candidates, bringing the total of such Congressmen suspended to 93.

More similar news appeared under the headline "15 M.P. Congressmen Defy Party Warning".

Another Congress news, on the same day, appeared under the headline "Rift Over Meenon; Poll Work Ends".

All these can be multiplied ad infinitum.

For a ruling party that is itself so badly split to brag about giving a stable Government to the country—it is a sight for the gods to laugh till they can laugh no more. But it is the duty of the voters to adequately cut to size the ruling party that is primarily responsible for bringing about such instability and uncertainty in our national life, which again it seeks to exploit in its own narrow party interest, and more, it demands further confidence on top of it.

The internal unity and the moral integrity of the Congress as a national political organisation has become so seriously damaged because its leadership has compromised its proclaimed principles in actual practice while ruling the country. The solemn pledges to the people have been compromised in the interest of appeasing the big landlords and the monopolies of the private sector.

Inevitably enough the internal struggle inside the Con-

NATIONALISE COAL

HE alternative, realistic, and an effective slogan against B. C. Roy's move and the dilly-dallying of New Delhi has been unwittingly supplied by the British coal experts who were recently invited by the Indian Government to investigate the coal situation. They have recommended nationalisation of coking coal mining in our country, particularly in the Jharia and Bokaro coal fields.

In their report the British experts have pointed out that the reserves of metallurgical coal in India are limited and they must be conserved and developed judiciously which can be done only under nationalisation.

The largest reserves of coking coal are found in the Jharia-Bokaro coal fields. There, of the over 300 mines, mostly in the private sector, some are giant size producing 75,000 tons per day, others are small and uneconomic producing not more than 25 tons per day. No planned and economic production is possible under such chaotic conditions and this very situation calls for nationalisation, in the opinion of the British experts.

Another serious argument advanced by the British experts is that the present state of affairs is responsible for the underground fires in several mines which have grown into a serious problem.

The British experts were no Reds. They were from the highly respectable National Coal Board of Britain and were headed by Mr. Collins, member-in-charge of production in the Board. In their report they have recommended that the coal industry in Jharia-Bokaro at least should be nationalised as early as possible.

We have no doubt that this sane and scientific proposal which is in the interests of West Bengal's as also India's economy will be pressed home against B. C. Roy during the election campaign and pressed forward afterwards both in Calcutta and New Delhi.

NATIONAL OIL TARGET THREATENED

Similar worrying and disruptive news comes from Assam, over India's oil. The Assam Government is considering legal action to press its claim for royalty from the oilfields. The offer of the Union Oil Ministry for a share to the State Government in the Oil India Ltd., has not satisfied the Assam Government.

Assam's Congress rulers wanted to stick to the original royalty irrespective of hard facts. The experts of Oil India Ltd. argue that the cost of an oil well in Assam is as high as Rs. 50 lakhs as against Rs. 5 lakhs in those oil-bearing areas of the world which pay higher royalty.

The Assam Government is however right in protesting that the New Delhi decision to reduce royalty was taken without taking it into con-

science and, therefore, arbitrary.

But the Assam Government, however, is very wrong in not issuing prospecting licences for additional areas unless the problem is settled to its satisfaction, for the simple reason that this hold-up can and is seriously endangering our common country achieving the big targets of the Third Plan in the common interests of us all.

The Assam Communists have grown strong by resisting Assamese chauvinism. The Indian Communists have grown strong by voicing the need and championing the demands of underdeveloped regions like Assam and others.

In the election campaign our Party looks forward to gaining ever greater support by exposing the false claims of the Congress as the saviour and unifier of India.

To defend the country against parochial reactionary interests India needs an internally unified national party. It was the Congress once upon a time. Everybody knows that it is not so now.

Despite all the slanders of the Congress-leaders our people have made the Communist Party the second national party of the country. They have learnt from experience that caste, communal and provincial differences have never divided and will never divide the Communist Party internally. And they have given us growing confidence.

To strengthen the unity of India the Central Government has to be utterly just, capable of persuading the advanced to sacrifice in the interests of the backward, the privileged to bow before the rightful claims of the underprivileged and the unprivileged.

Ever larger number of the Indian people have learnt from bitter experience that the Congress leadership is not pursuing such just policies but helping the rich to become richer, ignoring the backward regions and so on.

The very fact that the Communist Party is the strongest in what were hitherto ignored and backward areas like Kerala and Andhra and also in the advanced and developed state like West Bengal, with giant Calcutta as the metropolis, shows that the forward-moving, seriously thinking vanguard of the Indian peoples from radically different areas of our country support the Communist Party because they have realised that its policy and activity are in the interest of one and all who inhabit our great Motherland.

It is right to expect that the Communist Party would do well in the coming Elections not only in Kerala, Andhra and West Bengal but in the rest of the country as well.

Our people from their own experience will acclaim the Communist Party as the most united sensible and fighting party for the unity of India and a better life for its suffering people.

—P. C. JOSHI

January 30.

Kerala Communist Appeal...

The State Council of the Kerala Unit of the Communist Party of India in an appeal issued on the Republic Day this year has requested the electorate in Kerala to exercise their franchise in the elections due in a few weeks in favour of the 14 Communist Party Candidates, the R.S.P. Candidate in Quilon and the independent candidates in the three constituencies for whom the Party has declared its support.

THE Third General Elections offer another opportunity to the people of India to pronounce their verdict against the 14½ year Congress Rule and its evil consequences.

In the States of Andhra and West Bengal where the democratic movement and the Communist Party have registered significant advances, the Communist Party has advanced the slogan of alternative Governments to be installed at the State level.

In the other states and the Centre the party will strive to weaken as far as possible the monopoly of power, enjoyed by the Congress.

At the same time the Communist Party appeals to the people of India to exercise vigilance against Right reactionary parties and forces working on communal and caste basis who also raise the slogan of weakening the monopoly of Congress-power but who are interested in carrying out more reactionary and anti-people policies than the Congress itself.

These forces have to be routed in this elections, if the people of India, have to advance in the royal road of progress and prosperity. As far as Kerala is concerned elections take place this time only to the Lok Sabha. Therefore, the question of ending the present Congress-F.P.S.P. coalition Government at State level and replacing it by an alternative Government representing Communists, Left and other democratic forces does not arise.

But the electorate of Kerala can play a significant role in weakening the monopoly of power of Congress in the Centre and sending up true representatives of Communist, Left and democratic forces to the Lok Sabha who will champion the cause of Indian democracy and Kerala's advancement.

From then onwards the Praja Socialists of Kerala have continued the tradition of readiness to do anything if only that would ensure Ministership to two or three of their top men. In 1957 and 1960 the P.S.P. declared and supported the Muslim League as a democratic party and ensured winning a few more seats.

But when it came to a question of getting into the saddle of power the moment Congress insisted on them letting down the Muslim League, they readily did it.

Those celebrities who were criticising the Congress a few weeks before for letting down the League have emerged today as champions in the fight for secularism only to continue in seats of power and ensure the Trivandrum Lok Sabha Seat for their own nominee.

The alliance that the Congress and P.S.P. forged in these elections, is as unprincipled and opportunistic as the alliance they both forged with the Muslim League in the 1960 Mid-term election. Both the parties have sacrificed all the principles they loudly swear by, so that they could ensure a few Lok Sabha seats with mutual support.

The leaders of the Praja Socialist Party claim that they are one of the parties of democratic opposition who strive to expose, fight and weaken the monopoly of power.

The elections to Lok Sabha from Kerala have an added significance this time. It is a fight against not only the Congress monopoly of power but equally against

the opportunism of both the Congress and the P.S.P. While the Congress has been using one party or the other to continue and cling to power in Kerala, the Praja Socialist Party has made a clever use of the weakness of the Congress and its lust for power and continued to share power with the Congress in the most shameless and opportunistic manner.

the opportunism of both the Congress and the P.S.P. While the Congress has been using one party or the other to continue and cling to power in Kerala, the Praja Socialist Party has made a clever use of the weakness of the Congress and its lust for power and continued to share power with the Congress in the most shameless and opportunistic manner.

Both these parties are realising day by day that this "Unity of parties" and the Government of alliance have not improved their lot a wee bit but on the other hand a rot has set in in the public life and administration of the State as a whole.

The fight for sharing the loot in which the Ministers and leaders of these two parties engage themselves has become a fight of the fish market.

Leaders of ruling parties including the Deputy Chief Minister Sankar have openly admitted that they are caught up in dealing with differences regarding appointment and promotion of officers and are not able to deal with problems affecting the lives of common people.

The open abuse of each other in which Congress President Sanjeeva Reddi and P.S.P. Chairman Asoka Mehta were engaged a couple of

months ago on the question of allocation of seats is a chapter on which their followers hang their heads in shame today.

The fact that it is in the background that an allocation of seats was arrived at is convincing proof to show that no principles were involved in this alliance and that both parties have nothing to offer to the people of the state except their blind anti-communism and vicious ugly lust for power.

Fight For Spoils

Where has this fight for sharing the loot in which these parties were engaged in the last 23 months of their rule led them to?

It has led them to a position where they have not only ignored the people's problems of our State but have acted as stooges to the reactionary interests in the Centre who have shown discrimination against our State.

The first example in this regard is the attitude that the Union Government took regarding Kerala's share in the Third Plan and the shameful manner in which the ruling Congress and P.S.P. parties of our State acquiesced in this betrayal.

All people, irrespective of caste, community, and politics are agreed that we had raw deal in the First and Second Plans at the hands of the Union Government.

Kerala's Draft Third Plan was a document prepared jointly by the Government and opposition parties and it gave expression to the deep yearning and urges of the people of our State.

In this we had demanded that a minimum of 100 crore Central share scheme should be granted to our State to make up for the earlier lapses.

The Central Congress Government instead of meeting the demand unanimously voiced by our people sanctioned only 45 crores of Central sector schemes.

If we exclude those units about which foreign exchange sanction is yet to be secured, we will be left with only a pittance of 15 crores schemes which is less than 1/6 of our Minimum Demand of 100 crores.

Communist Record

In today's crucial hour when we in Kerala have to stand unitedly and demand a revision of this share, the Congress and P.S.P. parties are telling us that we should rest content with what we have got. The leaders of the present government here have gone one step forward and even praised that the Union

Government has done justice to us!

The Communist Party has been in the forefront in drawing people's attention to the continued discrimination shown against us by the Union Government all these years.

Communist members in the Lok Sabha, State Assembly and outside the Legislature have campaigned ceaselessly for the just share of Kerala.

During the last General Election the Communist Party in its Election Manifesto demanded a 200 Crore allotment to Kerala as against 87 crore allotment made.

But our friends of the Congress poochpooched this and today they are diverting the attention of the people from the betrayal of Kerala's interests by raising issues of failure of the Communist regime in the matter of implementation of plan scheme....

While Kerala is denied the positive fruits of our developmental activity, our share of the burdens of taxation and other economic effects is on the increase.

We are not producing even today 40 per cent of our annual rice needs—if we calculate it on the basis of 15 oz. per head, rice needed for seven months a year has to be imported. We have to pay through our nose for this unguaranteed import.

Consequently and due to impact of other policies, the cost of essential articles in Kerala is higher than elsewhere. When in 1960, the cost of liv-

ing index average for the whole of India rose by 3.28 per cent, in Kerala alone the rise was between 7 per cent and 10 per cent and in 1961 it was higher still.

Unemployment figures of both the educated and uneducated category is also maximum here in our State.

The continuing crises in coal, cashew and handloom which employ a large number of hands and the absence of any new industries worth the name has aggravated the situation.

At the end of the Third Plan according to official estimates we shall have an army of 12.5 lakhs unemployed, i.e., one man for every 14.

Today we are taxed most and our national income is lowest. The Union Government and the Planning Commission have asked that additional taxation to yield 23 crores during the Third Plan should be imposed. Our Government has taxed rice and vegetables, increased the basic tax on land, and taxed commercial crops being lands above five acres. All this has squeezed the poor and the middle class to the marrow of their bone.

The difficulties that our peasantry have to face due to the pro-landlord policy of the Government needs no recount. All sections of the peasantry had to raise their voice of protest against large scale eviction, pro-landlordism etc. and as many as 75,000 Kisans had to court arrest to stop this policy recently.

It is against all these policies that the Communist Lok Sabha Members have fought ruthlessly in and outside the Parliament.

Dr. K. B. Menon and their Congress ilk were and are busy pouring anti-Communist venom while our problems were going by default. And anti-communism has become a banner to hide the anti-people, pro-landlord, pro-communal pro-vested interest policies of the rulers today....

Government have done justice to us!

National Vision

The Communist Party is not a party that fights for the problems of our State alone here. These problems of Kerala are seen as part of all India problems to the party. The advances that Indian people as a whole have to register; the just share that working people, Harijans, backward and socially oppressed millions have to get in that development; the protection that religious minorities like Muslim, Christian and Sikh should get in our land, the balanced growth which backward regions like Kerala and others should be ensured, the strengthening of our independence and raising of our prestige and role in the counsels of World Powers—these are the aims for which the Communist Party and its spokesmen in Parliament will fight tirelessly.

The Communist Party, therefore, appeals to the voters that they will vote Communist candidates in the 14 Constituencies, the R.S.P. Candidate in Quilon and the Three Independent Candidates in Trivandrum, Badagara and Tellicherry where the Party is not contesting.

The Choice Before The Indian Electorate

1962 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN INDIA, edited by S. L. Poplai. Issued under the auspices of the Diwan Chand Information Centre, New Delhi. Allied Publishers Private Ltd. Price Rs. 15.

EVERY student of politics in India—and, indeed, of Indian politics—will be deeply indebted to the editor and the publishers of this invaluable volume. Not only have the election manifestos of all the major Indian parties been brought together in one place but authoritative comments have been provided by the leaders of those parties. In addition, we have been provided with the basic policy documents of these parties for the five-year period.

It must be said that the present survey is a great improvement over a similar effort of the Diwan Chand Centre in 1957.

One of the outstanding features of the improvement is the distinguished introduction by the well-known scholar of Indian and world affairs, K. P. Karunakaran. In less than thirty pages he has mentioned and analysed most of the important political developments in India since 1957.

Packed with information, Karunakaran's introduction is simultaneously deeply analytical. It is academic in the best sense of the term and many of its formulations are likely to last out.

RADICAL NATIONALISM

In these days of a noticeable Rightist drift in certain academic institutions—pushed on, no doubt, by liberal grants from one or another of the American foundations—it is refreshing to read a political survey based on a radical national outlook, such as one associates with the trend that began in the 19th century in our country and which culminated in the Nehru of the 1930s. Shall we have a revival of this health-giving force? Karunakaran has given us hope. He has slashed the Jana Sangh, flayed the Swatantra, assailed the PSP and not failed to accuse the Congress of

falling to redeem its socialist pledges.

He says of the Congress "It is a well-known fact that the Congress has not reorganised the social and economic structure on any socialist basis. It has not even carried out land reforms in a thorough and systematic manner".

Except for Andhra, Rajasthan and Orissa he feels that the Swatantra has "only a nuisance value. Although its programme envisages a modern conservative party of an industrialised country, its support comes largely from feudal classes".

RIGHT ASSAILED

The Jana Sangh, he says, has its "base on Hindu communalism of the north-western parts of the country. Although it has made some spectacular successes in the mid-term elections in the capital and its municipal elections, it has no future as a national party. In the country as a whole, the battle for Hindu communalism is in the nature of a rearguard action".

About the PSP he rather caustically comments "The PSP cannot offer to the electorate any distinct programme. It is to the credit of their leaders that they have still continued as a separate entity in the Indian political scene... events are moving in the direction of some kind of understanding between the PSP and the parties which are to the right of the Congress".

Since there is a considerable distance yet between radicalism and Communism, Karunakaran has some quite harsh things to say about the Communist Party.

It has to be mentioned to his credit that he states that the Communist Party in Kerala, especially in the period of the E. M. S. Ministry, initiated movements and measures the total effect of which "was nothing short of a social revolution; the unprivileged classes of the people ceased to feel that they were unprivileged and began to function on the basis of that belief".

But he has failed to answer or even to raise—the question as to why the Communist Party increasingly moves into the all-India scene as the spearhead of social change.

It is somewhat sad to see so intelligent a mind indulge in clichés about the Communist Party. In most places, being a "sectarian body getting inspired and demoralised as the case may be from books and documents written and events outside the country". He also feels that "bankruptcy in thinking" prevailed inside the CPI till the Vijayawada Party Congress.

It seems to be a rather common failing, even among progressive intellectuals, to focus only on the self-critical portions of the documents of our Party. And, certainly, no other party has been as sharply self-critical as ours. They overlook, however,

that each self-criticism comes as the result of advance and prepares further progress.

It can be confidently stated that in the post-independence period no other Indian party has made anywhere near the same advance—in mass appeal no less than in new thinking—as the CPI. Certainly, nobody in our Party is satisfied at the rate of our progress, but we all believe that the coming elections will again demonstrate that nobody can challenge our progress.

We would like Karunakaran and all other radicals to ponder over the question—which party, which organised ideology has come closest in approximating to the complex and changing reality of India and the world? The questions of the need for planning, for non-alignment, of national democracy, of the nature of Indian bourgeoisie—no other party has even tried to raise these questions as urgently.

There is no question here of a superiority complex but only of a scientific ideology which guarantees a fruitful grappling with reality but not infallibility. There is no god to fall but only an outlook to aid.

In addition there are some features of the past five years which the author of the introduction has either missed or underplayed.

One is the challenge to Indian democracy. The Central intervention in Kerala, the growing authoritarian trend in the Congress, the first intrusion of the generals into politics all took place between 1957-62. There is no crisis yet but certainly dangerous protests have appeared. To combat these dangers is surely a pressing task calling for unity.

Another is the problem of national integration which exploded in Assam and in the communal riots in Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. Our Party was the first to sound the tocsin and to issue the solution of a national campaign. This problem still hangs heavy on the Indian horizon.

We would have liked Karunakaran to shed some light on these two problems which can rend India apart but through the solving of which we can all advance to a new level of achievement and promise.

A final criticism. A careful reading of the introduction would leave the impression that the author has tended to underestimate the volume and the sweep of the discontent that has accumulated against the Congress as also the bitterness and the resentment of the factional squabbles within the ruling party.

Both these factors will have an important bearing on the results of the election which are now, so to say, within touching distance.

It is difficult and, perhaps, unnecessary to review the rest of the contents of the volume, consisting as it does of the policies of the various parties and their authoritative defence. This we leave to the electorate.

—Mohit Sen

Glory To Our Martyrs!

Editorial

WE JOIN THE COUNTRY-wide meetings in honour of the national martyrs and foremost among them, Mahatma Gandhi. They died so that India may live and become free. They set the glorious example of Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and the rest feeling and acting as one, as brothers. They dreamed of a greater future ahead for our ancient land and ever-growing prosperity for our long-suffering people.

On this solemn day, it behoves us to recall that all that we enjoy is because of their struggles and sacrifices and what we lack is due to the fact that we have not carried forward their selfless and noble legacy, which calls for never-ending struggle for India's glory and people's welfare.

Independent India's present-day rulers, the more they violate the Mahatma's legacy, the more they sanctify him, just to go on demanding votes in his name to keep themselves in power.

The grossest violation of the Gandhian heritage took place in Kerala when the Congress leaders embraced in alliance the Muslim League to overthrow the constitutionally-established Communist-led Kerala Government.

The same Kerala people dramatically demonstrated that the best of the Gandhian heritage lives today not inside the Congress but the Communist Party, when the Kerala Communists headed by E. M. S. Namboodiripad, offered joint front to the Congress and the PSP to fight out the Muslim League in the coming elections.

The Kerala Communists were no exception. The Andhra Communists also offered the same against the Razakar menace reviving in a big way in Hyderabad and other Telengana districts. It was the Congress President Sanjiva Reddy himself who rejected the same offer to unite for secular forces and rout the communal.

The Mahatma was murdered by a prominent Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh leader. The R.S.S. today operates through the Jana Sangh which is carrying forward its murderous evil legacy as the whole country witnessed with horror when it staged the anti-Muslim riots in Jabalpur, Saugor and other places in Madhya Pradesh and soon after exploited the Aligarh incidents to spread anti-Muslim riots and frenzy in Meerut, Chandauli and other districts of Western U. P. The same Jana Sangh has dared to contest the elections in a big way.

Loyalty to the Mahatma's memory and the ideal of secularism demands that irrespective of other differences, the patriotic and democratic parties concentrate their fire against the Jana Sangh and wipe it out of political existence.

Pakistan is a puppet of the Western imperialist powers, in practice. More, it is serving as an imperialist pawn against India and to the neighbouring countries. Even as we bow our heads before the Mahatma's image, our blood should boil against the Anglo-U. S. efforts to stoke the 1946-47 hell-fires of communal frenzy by getting Pakistan raise the Kashmir issue.

India was partitioned for imperialist aims and as a result of the well-thought-out imperialist tactics of carrying out its traditional policy of divide and rule in the new post-world war II situation. We have seen the same policy being enacted in Korea, Viet-nam, countries of Africa and wherever else they can.

The far-seeing patriotic circles realised then that the Mahatma was murdered by the pro-imperialist plotters. The murderers of the Mahatma live in and function through the Jana Sangh.

There are others who talk the loudest in his name but function in practice as allies of the Jana Sangh, the leaders of Swatantra, PSP and the Right-wing inside the Congress.

This is so because they are all reactionaries and pro-imperialist. The forward progress of the country, despite all failings, the consolidation of Indian independence despite all weaknesses, pursuit of the foreign policy of Fanch-sheep despite all falterings do not suit the foreign imperialists and their servitors within our country and so this unholy combine has come into being.

Just as the imperialist agents murdered India's Gandhi so they did Lanka's Banda, Congo's Lumumba and they are after Gizenga now, after having failed against Indonesia's Sukarno.

Murder of the national leaders has become the weapon of imperialism through its trusted agents to behead the march of nations, they once held enslaved. Eternal vigilance is the price of national independence and on it depends the safety and long life for the nation's tallest leaders.

It is not only murder that they try, they conspire and plot through reactionary army, police and civil service chiefs. They have been fooled in Lanka just now as we fooled them when Thimmayya tried the same inside the country earlier.

Let the memory of our martyrs and the first of all, Mahatma Gandhi, inspire new thoughts among our countrymen to uphold India's honour, sovereignty, the cause of brotherhood among all Indians despite all ideological and other differences among the patriotic and democratic forces of our Motherland.

HOMAGE TO AJOY GHOSH

London Meeting

From Omeo Gooptu

"His death is a profound loss to the Indian Communist Party, the Indian people and the international working class movement. It comes at a time when India faces a crucial General Election—whose outcome will be of decisive importance, not only for the democratic transformation of Indian society for the Indian people, but also to enable India to play a still more important role in the battle for world peace, disarmament and for putting an end to the hated colonial system".

JOHN Gollan, General Secretary, Communist Party of Great Britain, was, today, speaking to a packed audience at a public condolence meeting called to pay tribute to the memory of our departed leader, Ajoy Ghosh.

Rarely in the recent history of London has one seen such spontaneous and truly genuine feeling of loss and grief at the death of a foreign Communist leader.

It was an international audience. Many had come from great distance by trains and buses—African nationalists, Pakistani democrats, West Indian freedom-fighters, Ceylonese patriots, British socialists and Communists—all paying their homage to the memory of the late leader, together with Indian workers and students in this country.

The General Secretary of the CPGB, in a speech full of warmth and dignity, said, "The close relations of friendship and comradeship between the CPI and the CPGB is something which we treasure. It was born out of a long and bitter common struggle against a common enemy—British imperialism. Nothing has ever clouded it".

This unbreakable bond was due not only to our common Marxist principles, but also to lasting admiration for the unflinching courage, devotion and personal integrity of Indian

anathema".

The next speaker was Idris Cox, Secretary, International Department of the CPGB, and, perhaps, one of the most popular of British Communists with the Afro-Asian progressive circles in this country.

In an eloquent speech, he also emphasised the unique fraternal relation between the two brother parties. Speaking with great clarity on the political role played by the late General Secretary within the CPI, he said that Ajoy—perhaps more than anybody else—represented the devotion to the cause of unification of all democratic forces in India.

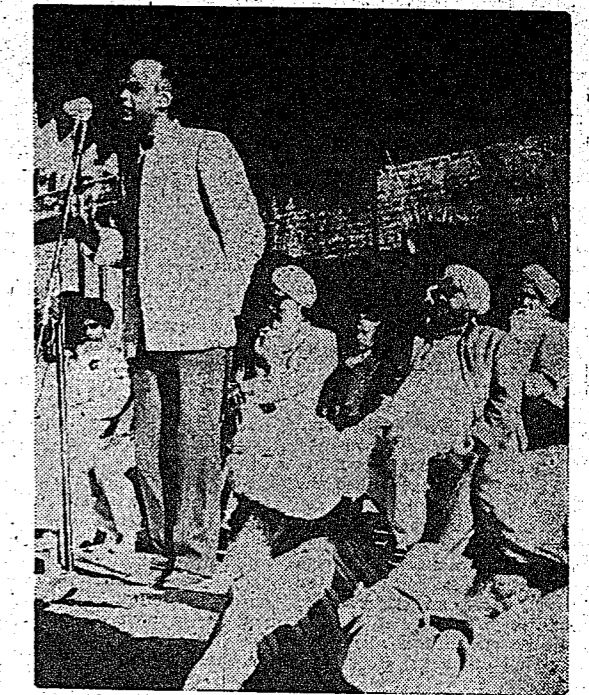
He pointed out that the running theme in Ajoy's actions and writings was a conscious and forceful endeavour to differentiate between the role of the right-wing forces within the Congress on the one hand and the progressive Congress leaders and a vast rank and file on the other, and the need for joint action with the latter to complete the process begun in 1947.

Cox was confident that the distinct role and political line pursued by the late leader would be continued and fulfilled by the Indian Party.

Another prominent aspect of Ajoy's works was his repeated assertion of the need for joint solidarity actions not only with the socialist camp, but with the national aspirations of African, Asian and Latin American masses.

This last point was further developed by Desmond Buckle, a well-known African progressive leader, now in London. He said that the Indian party worked and grew up in conditions which in many ways were similar to those faced by the Africans in their own countries.

In Ajoy, he declared, Africans saw a true inspiration in their very difficult and hard



Ajoy addresses public meeting in Punjab a few weeks before his death.

struggle, now slowly bearing political fruits, to emancipate the vast oppressed African people from penury and slavery to freedom and prosperity.

Ratten Singh, President, Indian Workers' Association, spoke briefly on behalf of his countrymen with great feeling and a deep sense of sorrow. Messages were read out from Miss Claudia Jones, Editor of the influential West Indian Gazette, Pakistani Democratic Group in London and Ceylonese Communists of this country.

A most moving poem specially composed in memory of Ajoy by a young poet from British Guiana, Mr. Jan Carou—"A Man Who Walked the Path of Thunder"—was read out, once again signifying the wide popularity enjoyed by our late General Secretary far beyond the borders of India.

The final speech was delivered by Rajani Palme Dutt, the outstanding Marxist theoretician and leader and a great friend of India, well-known to so many just as RPD. He was visibly moved and shared the grief of the CPI, the Indian people and the world Communist movement.

Ajoy had met his death "at the height of his abilities". He came from the heroic ranks of the old revolutionaries in India. Dutt spoke of the gradual transformation of the late leader from terrorism to Marxism when he realised that to defeat despotism and imperialism, one required not only self-sacrifice and organisational discipline, but also a scientific world outlook.

Marxism united the heroism, devotion and self-sacrifice of the old revolutionaries with scientific laws of society. In India, it was interesting to note that prisons had become the greatest universities for transformation from terrorism to Marxism!

The greatest contribution of Ajoy, according to RPD, was that by his sound political judgment combined with utmost patience he was able to lead the Party out of the serious difficulties it was facing in 1951. Indian independence came on the wake of popular uprising. The attitude of the ruling

Indian leadership had created new controversies, questions and doubts.

Ajoy, taking over at a most critical point in the Party's fortunes, not only unified the Party, but produced a democratic image of the Party which, no doubt, in future will help to build a broad united front in the country and satisfy the desires of the masses for true democracy.

The political decisions of the Amritsar and Vijayawada Congresses, the conception of building democratic national unity with the progressive inside the Congress, while fearlessly exposing reactionary trends in the ruling party, owe a great deal to Ajoy's sound leadership, Dutt said.

He was confident, as was Gollan and Idris Cox before him, that all Indian Communists will rally still closer in unity and behind the Communist Party to which Ajoy Ghosh devoted his life, for India's future was bound up with the victory of the ideals and policies for which he stood.

Reports on Ajoy's death have appeared in The Times (which printed a long obituary with his photograph), Sunday Times, The Observer, Sunday Telegraph and the CPGB organ the Daily Worker.

MESSAGES

DEEPLY grieved Ajoy's sad sudden demise. Country loses great patriot and I lose loved respected friend.

—D. P. Dhar, Planning Minister, J & K State.

DEAR Mrs. Ghosh, I have learnt with very great regret the news of the sudden passing away of your husband. On behalf of my colleagues in the Embassy and myself I convey to you our deepest sympathies. Mr. Ghosh's death will, we have no doubt, leave a void in the political life of India. It will be some consolation to you to know that the Soviet people and leaders are grieved at your husband's death as much as the people of India.

With kind regards, Yours sincerely, —S. Dutt, Ambassador of India in USSR, Moscow.



Ajoy with Lito at Vijayawada Party Congress, April 1961.

NEW AGE

EDITOR: F. C. Joshi

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WEST BENGAL'S WOMEN COMMUNIST CANDIDATES'

While I was sitting in a rather dark room, my thoughts drifted back to 1949. It was the year when Nachol Police Station in Rajshahi district of East Pakistan was pitchforked into the headlines.

THE rolling fields in the countryside were soaked with the blood of peasant martyrs. The painful groans of menfolk brutally tortured by the police and the military, the agonised sobs of dishonoured women, the heart-rending shrieks of helpless mothers and wives, who saw their sons and husbands being shot down before their own eyes, filled the air.

The Muslim League Government of East Pakistan had clamped down a veritable reign of terror of savagery over the whole area as a reprisal for the historic struggle of Hindu, Muslim and Adivasi peasantry for their due share of the produce.

Great Modesty

Ila Mitra was one of the outstanding leaders of this glorious struggle. Yet, when I went to her residence to interview her for New Age, she asked me: "Is there anything particularly important in my life that you should seek a special interview?"

Extremely modest and un-

assuming as she is, I had expected that query from her. I had to labour for some time before I could overcome her feeling of hesitancy.

I knew something of her political life. Who in West Bengal does not know that? But I was yet to learn that she is a doting mother and loving wife.

She is not accustomed to giving interviews. So I had to draw out of her all the incidents, events and anecdotes and to string them together into her life-story. The dominant impression left in my mind is that she is made of steel and, like steel, she is flexible; but she cannot be broken.

As I listened to her, I felt that her life-story is not just a tale of heroic deeds of an individual; it is an integral part of the immortal saga of struggles of the toilers of East Pakistan.

There was a time when Ila Mitra was a legendary figure, a household name in India and Pakistan. Newspaper flashed the stories of her heroism, of the barbaric tortures perpetrated on her. Poems and songs were written on her. Santhal women

Matchless Courage,

built a road and named it "Ila Mitra Road". Such was the people's love for one who had gone through untold privations and sufferings for their cause.

Ila Mitra was born in a middle class family in Calcutta and was educated here. She was not only a very good student; she was one of the luminaries in



Ila Mitra

the sports world from 1936 to 1942. She had the unique distinction of being the first Bengali girl to represent Bengal in the All-India Olympic games in 1940.

She started political activities in 1942, when she built up a Girls' Students Committee in

Bethune College, Calcutta where she had been studying. Shortly afterwards, she was attracted towards the Communist Party, and by dint of her hard work earned the membership of the Party in 1944.

"As you were a famous sportswoman, sports and games must have engrossed your whole attention. How did you, then, begin taking interest in political activities? Why did you join the Communist Party?" I asked her.

She replied with a smile: "That's not true. Sports was no doubt my first love. But I lived in the midst of the people, and the great Bengal Famine of 1943 left a deep impression on my mind. The selfless work of the Communist Party to relieve the distress of the hungry people powerfully influenced me. Meanwhile, I had begun to study Marxism-Leninism. I realised that the Communist Party alone could organise the people, and lead them along the correct path."

Ila Mitra had taken her B.A. degree with honours in 1944, and next year married Ramendra Nath Mitra, then one of the leaders of the Party and the Kisan Sabha in Malda district.

Noakhali district in the eastern part of undivided Bengal was the scene of tragic communal riots in 1946. Ila Mitra was one of those intrepid band of comrades who were sent there by the Provincial Committee of the Party to render relief to the people and to work for the restoration of communal peace and amity.

In the same year, she started organising the peasants and women in the area in Malda district, where her father-in-law's house was situated. After the partition of the country, in 1947, this portion formed part of East Pakistan. The members of her husband's family decided to stay on there. Ila Mitra now threw herself into the work of organising the peasantry, and within a short time she built up a powerful movement of share-croppers and landless labourers.

Of the five police stations of Malda district, which went to Pakistan and were incorporated in Rajshahi district, Nachol was one. It was here that Hindu, Muslim and Adivasi peasants wrote a new history with their own blood.

For one long year she hovered between life and death, and the Pakistan Government could not start prosecution against her and 20 other accused in the same case. Even when the case opened in the Sessions Court, Ila Mitra had to be brought to the Court on a stretcher.

No lawyer dared to defend them because of the vindictive attitude of the Government.

It was a historic scene. A slim, short-statured woman, now shrunk into a skeleton and surrounded on all sides by the enemies of the people, heroically defending the cause of the people, the cause of Communism from the stretcher! It reminds one of the famous Reichstag Fire Trial, where Dimitrov had turned the tables against his Nazi accusers and had transformed the trial into a devastating indictment of fascism.

She suddenly stopped while narrating her story and with a voice choked with emotion and tears of love glistening in her eyes, she said: "But, Comrade, what I did in the trial pales into insignificance when I remember the heroism shown by the peasants. The police brutally manhandled them to compel them to give evidence against us."

People were indiscriminately shot down. Fields and farms were filled with the dead and

the dying. But the defiant spirit of the heroic peasantry could not be crushed by such barbaric methods.

For three years a warrant of arrest had been pending against Ila Mitra. The entire police force of the Pakistan Government was hot on her trail. They had even announced a big reward for her capture. But she managed to evade the police and carry on her work, because it was the Hindu, Muslim and Adivasi peasants who did everything to save their beleaguered leader.

No less important was her personal bravery and sound sense of judgment in the face of danger. There were times when she had to jump into turbulent rivers to put the police off the track. On other occasions, she threw dust in their eyes by disguising herself as a male.

As she was narrating these and scores of such incidents, I could not but feel that her life during this period read like a thrilling drama of action and service in the cause of the people.

This time, however, Ila Mitra could not escape by breaking through the cordon, which the police and the military had thrown. She was arrested in 1950 and taken to Nachol Police Station.

Heroic Fight

Then began the nightmarish days of diabolical tortures. The object of the police was to "break" her, to extract some confession from her. But they did not know that they had to deal with a woman of steel.

Hour after hour, day after day, she was subjected to the most hellish tortures; but not one word escaped her lips. Her health was completely shattered; she could not even turn about on the bed; she was almost on the verge of death. But her indomitable will, her Communist conscience sustained her in the greatest ordeal of her life.

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But they could not get a single peasant, Hindu or Mus-

Selfless Service

lim, to prostitute himself as an approver. It is a great tribute to their revolutionary consciousness."

Ila Mitra was sentenced to transportation for life, although the Government lawyer had demanded the death sentence for her.

As the trial had not been conducted according to the law, the Dacca High Court ordered a re-trial. This time she was convicted to undergo ten years rigorous imprisonment. The so-called trial was a sheer farce.

She was removed to Rajshahi Central Jail, where her condition steadily worsened. When the news that her life was in danger reached the outside world, a powerful movement, demanding her release, rapidly developed. The students and youth of Rajshahi brought out demonstrations again and again and went round the Central Jail.

In India, too, strident voices for her release were raised. Her case was discussed in the Lok Sabha. Even Congress M.P.s. demanded her release. Arun Chandra Guha, well-known Congress M.P. said in course of the discussion in the Lok Sabha: "I appeal to the sense of humanity and to the womanhood of India to take up the case of the girl."

Meanwhile, general elections in East Pakistan was drawing near. The powerful mass agitation for her release threw the Muslim League Government of East Pakistan into jitters. It transferred Ila Mitra to Dacca Medical College Hospital and released her on parole. She was further directed to quit Pakistan. But she scornfully rejected the offer of release on any condition.

In the elections, the Muslim League was wiped out of the political life of East Pakistan, and Fazlul Huq formed the Government. He asked Ila Mitra to go to India or some other country for treatment, the expenses of which his Government was prepared to bear. But Ila Mitra declined the offer.

In the meantime, her condition was getting worse and worse, and doctors began to despair of her life. Then the Communist Party of East Pakistan directed her to go to Calcutta Medical College Hospital for proper treatment.

She had to be brought here by plane. She was so ill at that

time that the Professor of Surgery, Dacca Medical College Hospital, accompanied her all the way to Calcutta.

Fourteen years after she had passed her B.A. examination, she took her M.A. degree as a private candidate in 1958. She is now a lecturer in Bengali City College (South), a women's college. While she was preparing for the M.A. examination, she had to earn her living by translating in Bengali a number of books.

Ila Mitra is the Communist candidate from Manicktola Assembly Constituency in Calcutta city. The Communist Party could not have chosen a better candidate to represent Indian womanhood and the militant traditions of struggle of our people.

As I was leaving her house, I could not but feel no other Party can boast of such women in its ranks. It is a measure of the people's love for our Party that they give us such mothers and daughters.



Renu Chakravarty

RENU Chakravarty needs no introduction to her countrymen. The battle that she has carried on inside the Lok Sabha during the past ten years in defence of the interests of the people, her eloquence, her activities outside the legislature are quite well-known. It is not for nothing that she commands respect from all sections in the Lok Sabha.

Renu Chakravarty was born in a nationalistic (Congress) family in 1917. She stood third in the B.A. (Honours) examination of Calcutta University,

and then went to Cambridge for higher studies. There she was attracted towards the international students movement, and she was the only Indian girl to take part as a delegate in the first world Youth Congress, held in the USA in 1938.

It was at this time that she began to understand the real character of exploitation in present society and the bankruptcy of Congress policies. She then came in contact with the Communist Party.

After returning to India, she taught English for some time in the M.A. classes of Calcutta university. But she gave up the job and devoted herself to the work of organising the women. For many years she was a member of the Executive Committee of the Bengal Branch of the All India Women's Conference. When the Second World War broke out, she organised, along with others, the Mahila Atma Raksha Samity in Bengal.

A tragic famine of unprecedented magnitude overtook Bengal in 1943. It was at this time that the Mahila Atma Raksha Samiti organised a historic demonstration of 5,000 hungry women and children to the Assembly. She was one of the leaders of this demonstration.

She also worked day and night as a volunteer to relieve the distress, of thousands of famished men and women, who were then trekking to Calcutta in search of a morsel of food. In 1946, when Bengal went through the hell of communal carnage, Renu Chakravarty and other women workers rendered yeoman service to the uprooted people.

The British rulers interned her in Bengal during 1940-42. In the Congress regime also, she had to remain in hiding from 1948 to 1951.

She was elected to the Lok Sabha from Bahirhat constituency (24 Parganas district) in the first General Elections in 1952, and became the Deputy Leader of the Communist Bloc, the main opposition party in the Lok Sabha. She was re-elected from the same constituency in 1957.

She was elected vice-President of the United Iron and Steel Workers' Union, representing 13,000 workers of the big steel plant owned by Sir Biren Mukherjee.

In 1958, she led a big demonstration of women aga-

inst high prices of essential commodities and courted arrest along with 900 kisan and middleclass women.

She is at present the Vice-President of the National Federation of Indian Women and West Bengal Mahila Samiti. She is either the President or the Vice-President of some of the biggest and most powerful trade unions in the country.

She has been a member of the National Council of the Communist Party since 1959. She is also a member of the West Bengal State Council of the Party.



Nirupama Chatterjee

NIROPAMA Chatterjee is the Communist candidate from Bagnan Assembly constituency in Howrah district. Except for Bagnan, which is a mofussil town, it is an entirely rural constituency.

Born in an educated middle-class family in Kanaipur village in Bagnan police station, Nirupama joined the student movement when she was still a school student, and built up a girl students' organisation in her own school.

From 1948 she started taking an active part in the Tebhaga movement (share croppers' movement for two-thirds share of the produce) in Bagnan area. She was arrested in 1949 and was brutally beaten up in the police lock-up. After her release on bail, she was interned in her house.

The trial was held in camera, and she was sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment.

After coming out of jail in 1950, she became a member of the Communist Party. She then started organising the peasants, fishermen and women in Bagnan area.

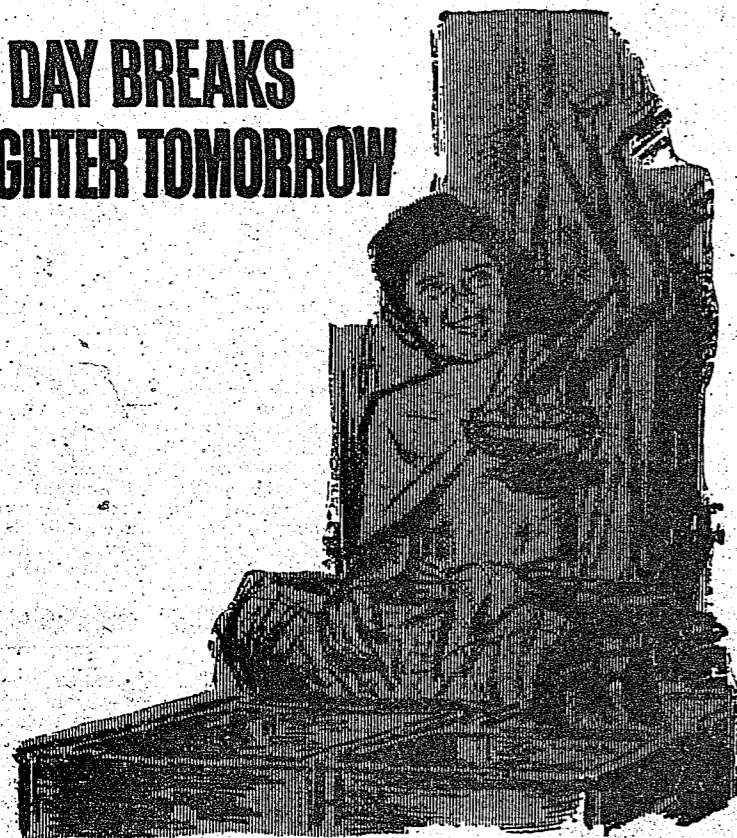
She also built up a Centre of the People's Relief Committee at this place.

She was the leader of a big contingent of women from Howrah, who braved police terror and participated in the historic food demonstration in Calcutta on August 31, 1959.

She was elected to the Howrah District Committee in 1956 and to the first State Council of the Communist Party in 1959. She is still a member of these units.

-Jnan
Bikash Moitra

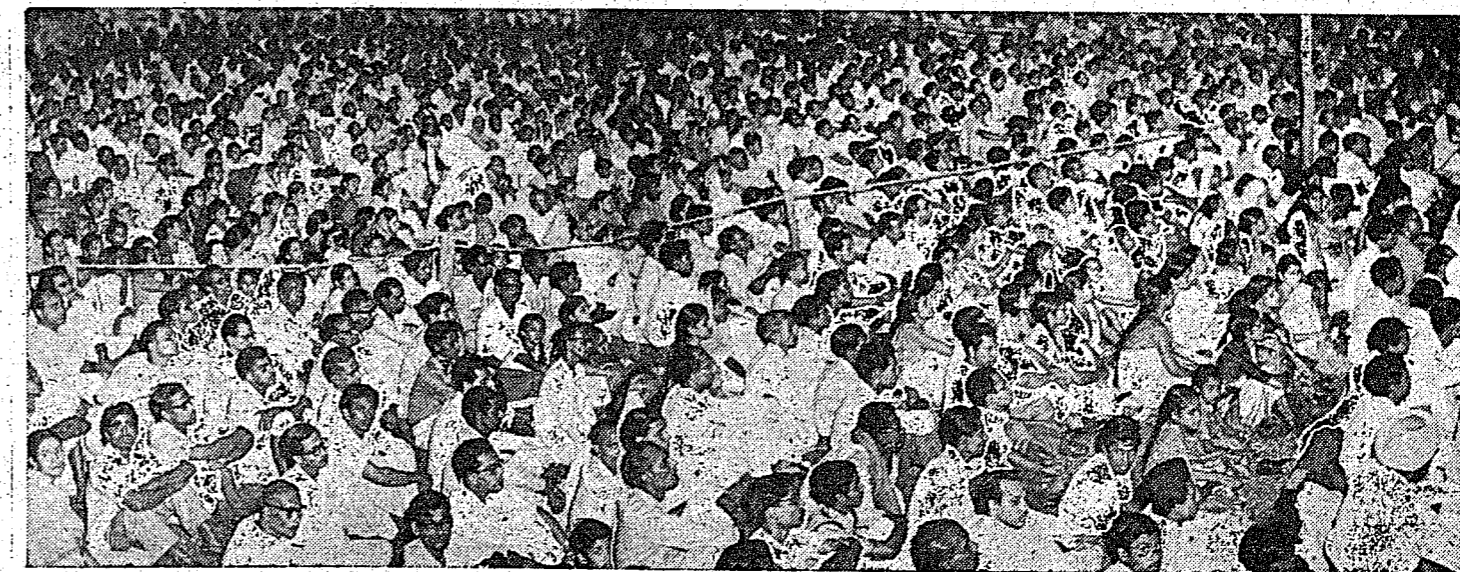
THE DAY BREAKS BRIGHTER TOMORROW



PLAY BECOMES HAPPY SERVICE.
Today's service. Today's effort. Continuous, successive.
Work-laden, face shining with a smile.
Tomorrow... a little less of care, a little more of joy.
And for HINDUSTAN LEVER, too, tomorrow begins today.
In the research laboratory; in the factory and office.
Work, patience, care
to serve tomorrow's homes and the nation's needs
with products that grow better and better.

TODAY AND TOMORROW...HINDUSTAN LEVER SERVES THE HOME
WITH SOAPS, FOODS, TOILET PREPARATIONS

Election Rally in Calcutta



PERVERTED MIND & UGLY FACE OF JANA SANGH

Two broad forces are contending today in every newly liberated country of the world. One is striving for the quick overcoming of the legacy of backwardness, consolidating the country's independence and establishing it in the comity of nations as a force for peace, freedom and progress. The other works in exactly the opposite direction; it does its utmost to blur the new consciousness among the people, derides the planned efforts at national rebuilding, and seeks to drag the country into the camp of international reaction.

In India, the latter force is spearheaded by the Swatantra Party and the chief party of Hindu communalism, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh. The Swatantra Party with its slogan of free enterprise and the Jana Sangh with its spurious slogan of "true Bharatiya nationalism" are engaged in performing precisely the same task, namely retarding the progress of new India.

They oppose or pooch-pooch the plans; try to take advantage of the wrong practices of the ruling party in order to gain popularity for themselves and fight tooth and nail the slogans of real land reforms, cooperative farming and socialism. They are also opposed to the truly Indian foreign policy of peace and amity with all

nations of the world, based on the anti-imperialist traditions of the national struggle.

They seek to distort and finish it. They are unhappy over our building relations of solidarity with other newly liberated countries and establishing friendship with the Socialist countries; they want us to be friendly with the West and hostile to the Communist world. They attack Panchsheel and wish to make the false and fatal division of the world into the so-called "free" and "Communist" worlds as the basic postulate of our international relations.

It is in the light of the above analysis that the policy, programme and ideology of the Jana Sangh will be examined in the following article.

POISONOUS UPSTARTS

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh was established at a convention held in Delhi under the chairmanship of the late Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji on October 2, 1951. It was begotten, as is well known, by the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh—the R.S.S. of doubtful fame.

With the exception of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji, who had passed over from the Hindu Mahasabha to this new party with a more solid organisational backing, all its leaders and organizers belonged to the R.S.S. And, as is quite well known, all its chief leaders and organizers, still are provided by the R.S.S.

R.S.S. control of the Jana Sangh in latter days led to several internal crises in the Jana Sangh party. A few of its stalwarts quit the party in protest against the too brutal reassertion of the R.S.S. iron grip. In several units of the U.P., Rajasthan, and Madhya Pradesh where the B.J.S. is comparatively strong, there have been revolts against the R.S.S. domination leading to the non-R.S.S. elements being thrown out or their forming rival organisations like the "Democratic Jan Sangh" formed in September, 1961, at Meerut.

But the iron grip continues. Gururji Gopalwarkar remains the guide, father and philosopher of the Bharatiya Jan Sangha. All Jana Sangh functionaries pay homage to Gururji for their arch ideology, and Gururji's words constitute the last word in Jana Sangh thinking.

The chief organisational strength of the B.J.S. also lies in its nexus with the R.S.S., because the latter provides it with a readymade corps of dis-

ciplined and determined storm troopers. Many a time the Jana Sangh has treated with supreme disdain even its most natural allies (e.g., the Swatantra Party) because the latter was not in possession of a similar body of storm troopers.

Alliances and adjustments, fervently wished for by both, have failed to materialise because while the Jana Sangha had organisational strength and cohesion, the other party presented "a welter of confusion".

Dr. Shyama Prasad had stated in his speech at the inaugural convention that the B.J.S. was not coming into existence merely to fight elections. But the fact cannot be gainsaid that the party did come into existence precisely on the eve of the first General Elections. It is indeed a very notable fact that the Jana Sangh is a post-freedom growth.

It came into existence only after freedom had been won through a hard struggle. Where was the Jana Sangh at the time of the fight for independence against the Satanic foreign government? Did it not grow up like the mushrooms which sprout up on soil prepared by the sweat of the people?

This question assumes great relevance since the Bharatiya Jana Sangh claims to be the party of "true Bharatiya nationalism". It is well known that the Jana Sangh's parent body—the R.S.S.—had kept itself severely aloof from the national struggle for freedom even though it had been in existence since 1925.

Dr. Hedgewar, its founder, left the national movement after a very brief spell of incarceration in British jails. The same was the case with Gopalwarkar, the present Sarsanchalak of the organisation.

Throwing down the national tricolour, the R.S.S. leaders raised the Bhagwa banner.

They opposed the ideals of secularism, Hindu-Muslim unity in the fight for freedom, and further development of our composite national culture. They opposed, just as the Muslim communalists did at the other end, the struggle for freedom. Together they brought grist to the mill of the British rulers who sought to perpetuate their rule by divide et impera.

The more did fissiparous anti-national and communal tendencies grow, the more did Hindu and Muslim reaction flourish. In fact, the most intransigent Hindu communalists (led by the Hindu Mahasabha in pre-freedom days) and the R.S.S., indirectly helped the Muslim League to prosper, and vice versa, so much so that a situation was created in the country when partition, which the British cherished as the last blow against the Indian movement of independence, became an inexorable eventuality.

This fact needs to be noted, emphasised and re-emphasised today because the same Hindu communalists are trying to use the historical fact of the country's partition against the nationalist forces, ignoring even such a stark fact that their own leader Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji was one of those who had supported partition.

The R.S.S. hate-campaign resulted in one of the most shameful episodes of Indian history—the foul assassination of Mahatma Gandhi soon after freedom had been achieved.

The assassin, Nathu Ram Godse, had been a leading member of the R.S.S. He was one of the chief advisers of Dr. Hedgewar when the latter had undertaken an extensive tour of Maharashtra to found the first national network of the R.S.S.

His "ability as organiser and speaker" had brought many of the present-day leaders of the R.S.S.—Jana Sangh to the fold. It is significant that Godse had parted company with Dr. Hedgewar precisely on the question of having a political organisation out of the R.S.S.—a task which has now been fulfilled through the founding of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh!

The R.S.S. suffered an eclipse after Gandhiji's assassination. As soon as it became known that the murderer was a man with former R.S.S. associations and that the R.S.S. members had, at several places, celebrated the foul deed as an event of joy, the anger of the people knew no bounds.

The R.S.S. was banned for sometime and its organisers were clamped in jails. They were, however, soon released by Sardar Patel and the ban on the organisation was also lifted after Gopalwarkar appeared in sack-cloth and ashes and gave an undertaking never to indulge in political activity!

The above facts serve to explain why the Jana Sangh leaders always anxiously disavow any connection with the R.S.S., even though, individually, they are all R.S.S. men, and the ideology that

they trumpet is an exact echo of the R.S.S. platform.

The duplicity resorted to is extremely transparent, but it shows the character of the men behind it; they will shrink from nothing to achieve their selfish ends. The fact that the Jana Sangh is only the political wing of the R.S.S. is, however, well known to the people.

The Jana Sangh claims to be the only true party of nationalism. Its leaders protest loudly when they are described as communalists. An explanatory pamphlet brought out by the Jana Sangh declares:

"A campaign of misrepresentation and vilification was started against us by the Congress and other parties of the left, particularly by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, from its very birth. Baseless charge of communalism has been hurled against us ad infinitum to give us a bad name."

The working committee of the B.J.S. even adopted a resolution on communalism last year in Patna in which they claimed to be non-communal. Not only does this party claim to be non-communal, it also claims the sole right to preach nationalism to others.

Not only the Jana Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha, too, is a non-communal party, according to Deen Dayal Upadhyaya, General Secretary of the B.J.S. On the other hand, the parties who recognised the existence of religious minorities in the country are communalists. Such is their logic.

The B.J.S. has stated in its election manifesto: "The Bharatiya Jana Sangh is opposed to the tendency, contrary to our ideals of a secular state of dragging religion in politics and of demanding special privileges on that basis. The Jana Sangh will give no quarter to such elements. The Jana Sangh considers it wrong to divide the people of Bharat into a majority and minorities on the basis of religion".

It is very interesting to note that even Pandit Nehru, who takes delight in calling others—particularly the Communists—to be lacking in patriotism, is no patriot himself according to the Sangh's perverted definition of patriotism.

A publicist of the party wrote:

"All the patriotism that Nehru ever possessed consisted of his dislike of the British rule, which was derived probably from an inferiority complex acquired at his English public school. He has not revealed any streak of love for his culture, his people or their ethos."

Another Jana Sangh publicist and a State leader of the party, Mahadevan declared:

"Pandit Nehru holding forth on patriotism is fit only for the mock heroic treatment."

The same gentleman also wrote this most amusing piece—"Do not the Prime Minister's by-fits-and-starts sallies against the Communists reduce themselves to just an impressive exhibition of theatricals and claptrap? Or, is it a clever attempt to sound as patriotic as the Jana Sangh?"

It is evident that in the

Jana Sanghite lexicon words have interchanged their meanings. "Patriotism" is "Communalism" and "Communist" is "Nationalist". If one delves a little into the Jana Sanghite philosophy, it is fully borne out that this is precisely the case with them.

What the Jana Sangh and its ideologues mean by "nationalism" is just Hindu communalism; nothing less and nothing more. Let us begin the lesson with Gururji himself. Only the Hindus are the nation in Bharat, he has been proclaiming from house-tops.

At a meeting held in the Ramilla Maidan on March 20, 1960, Gopalwarkar gave a detailed exposition of this view. "It is said that Hindus and Muslims both live here, this is a composite nation. But it must be appreciated that one is an invader while the other has been resisting his aggression."

by
GARUDA

How can these two be bundled into one nationhood? The Hindus have been living here since times immemorial. Their friends and foes have been the same.

"It is the Hindu Samaj alone that has been living here as sons of the soil. This is a historical fact. If you shut your eyes to it, and seek to initiate a new national life, you cannot succeed."

"It is this disregard of truth that has resulted in the present-day sinful, corrupt and disintegrated life. By forsaking truth one can make no progress. Let Hindu society be made to realise this truth, this eternal truth. The foundation day of a sovereign Hindu Rashtra will be our new Independence Day and

OUR HISTORY DISTORTED

Ekanath Ranade did not content himself with only an exposition. He tried to turn the wrath of his immature listeners against the present national leaders. R.S.S. General Secretary said that the "sinful" action was being continued, that an "unforgivable insult" was still being heaped by repeating the "historical falsehood". Pinpointing Nehru, he clearly insinuated.

"Why do these people do it? Are they not intelligent enough or do they not know history? They are intelligent and they know history. Some of them have even written books on history."

It hardly needs to be mentioned that the chelas of the Jana Sangh only parrot the gurus of the R.S.S. when they talk of their "true Bharatiya

mark the threshold of future glory" (Organiser, March 28, 1960).

One can hardly find a more succinct statement of the Hindu communalist credo. Here is an open call to put the clock of history back, a call which is the characteristic clarion note of fascist elements all over the world.

The onward march of Indian nationalism, its achievements and direction are being violently controverted, a partial truth is being presented as the eternal truth, the modern is being attacked to uphold the medieval, a counter-revolution—the call for a different Independence Day—is being brazenly preached.

That is the true face of Jana Sangh's "true Bharatiya nationalism"!

The same thesis was expounded by Ekanath Ranade, General Secretary of the R.S.S., at a training camp in Delhi on 25-June 1961. He said:

"In Hindusthan Hindu is not a communal but a national term. . . . But as a result of the fallacious thoughts of some spineless people during the last 50-60 years this Hindu society, living here as a nation, has come to be considered only a community. This effort to turn the nation into a community is nothing but sinful."

Again a frontal attack on the Indian national upsurge and its great leaders! The historic awakening and movement of the Indian people against foreign slavery, which gained momentum during the last 50-60 years, is described as sinful. The former exhortation regarding the national leaders, including Gandhiji, being the perpetrator of a sinful deed since he preached national integration in place of communal dissipation is revived. The celebration of Gandhiji's assassination as a joyful event is justified.

Again let us begin with the philosopher and guide himself. Gururji Gopalwarkar asserted in his above-quoted Ramilla Maidan speech that the Muslims and Christians in India were aliens and had to be regarded as nothing else "unless they come to the right path".

"It is to be understood that the Muslims have never lived as sons of this land", he averred.

Let me quote here the whole thesis which constitutes the cornerstone of the Sangh's whole approach:

"The society, traditionally known as Hindu, alone stands in filial relationship to it (the motherland). The question is raised: What about the rest? Some of these came to seek shelter and, as masters of our home, we gave them shelter; while others came as invaders and, again, as masters, we fought them. Some times we were successful, at others, we failed. What is material is that the struggle continued all along. . . ."

"Some one may say that Muslims, Christians, etc., all have been brought up here,

and, further that their ancestors too were Hindus. No doubt there is truth in this. But why remind us only about the Hindu ancestry of these Muslims and Christians? They too ought to be told that it was either out of fear or other weakness that they betrayed society."

"It would be well if they are reminded of this fact, and persuaded to redeem themselves from their earlier sin, and come to the right path."

The pivotal point in the above thesis is that Indians who embraced Islam or Christianity committed an act of national betrayal by doing so. And the operative part of this thesis is, in the words of the Jana Sangh General Secretary Upadhyaya, that "the Muslims are to be educated, reformed and nationalised" (and if they are not amenable to this diktat, they should be punished).

But we are to believe that neither this thesis nor its operative part constitute communalism of any sort; rather, it is "nationalism" of the purest ray serene!

That an unceasing campaign of calumny against Muslims and Christians is carried on through the Sunghite press and platform is but a natural concomitant of the above thesis. Even the Sikh is not to be spared if he claims an identity different from the Hindu.

Gururji seriously objected in his speech, to the national song, "Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Isai, Apas Mein Hain Bhai Bhai". His plea was that it differentiated between the Hindus and Sikhs.

The Jana Sangh mouth-piece the Organiser has described Muslims in India as "living Pakistan walking on two legs". Vehemently attacking, editorially, the National Integration Committee, describing it as the "National (Dis-) Integration Committee", it said that the "root of the matter" was to tell the Muslims of India that they were traitors and goondas. "The committee would have done well to warn the Muslims against their raping and bombing propensities", it wrote.

According to the education imparted to Sangh members, the veriest tyro among them is a greater patriot than the tallest among the Muslims and Christians of India; an ordinary R.S.S. volunteer is a higher nationalist than the tallest of the nationalist Muslims, who dedicated their whole life to the freedom struggle!

The following from the pages of the Organiser is typical of the foul communalist propaganda carried on in the Jana Sangh press:

"Our history is coloured with crimson patches of a display of medieval lust for women. . . . During the League agitations the Muslim ruffians suffered atavism and made bee-lines for the Hindi women."

"The same atavistic urge continues in the Muslims today. Hence, nothing can justify cowardly outrage on peaceful citizenry which actually arises from the atavistic urge to play the ruthless enslaver again."

"This throwback to medievalism has to be stamped out. Not all the guns that the Home Minister may threaten to flourish will prevent decent Indians from correcting those who persist in that perversity."

It is easily seen from the above that from calumny to exhortation for communal riotings, and to actually engineering these, is only one logical next step. It is not surprising, therefore, that Sangh men have everywhere revelled in the communal orgies.

At Jabalpur, a foul case of rape involving opposite communities was utilised to make a call for vendetta against a whole community.

At Moradabad a case of murder involving opposite communities was stirred into a communal holocaust.

The same sequence of events followed the Aligarh University incidents involving Hindu and Muslim students. A false rumour to the effect that Muslims had killed Hindu boys was broadcast all over the U.P. and with the help of this rumour communal fires were lit at several places.

The Organiser, it must be noted, editorially justified the Jabalpur riots. It wrote:

"That Jabalpur should have reacted strongly to the rape of an innocent girl showed that our people are basically in good health. Had they failed to organise a hartal, and quietly pocketed the insult, it would have been a case of social ill-health. It is only healthy bodies which react. It is really reassuring to find

not the caste system, he declared.

In fact, the "Hindu society" which the Jana Sangh works for is to be based on the old and obsolete pattern of the caste-system or Varma Vyavastha which modern India has found a fetter for its progress. Caste distinctions have already weakened to a considerable extent.

The undemocratic pattern, which raised barriers between Hindu and Hindu and perpetuated undemocratic inequality inside Hindu society itself, is being rejected in life. New values have sprung up, values which have little in common with the old values of the caste or Varma society. In fact, the caste system has already been found to be a great drag on national progress. Only parties of reaction vouch for it today.

But precisely the old system is to be the ideal system of the Sangh. Gururji Gopalwarkar, addressing students of the Gujarat University on 17 December 1960, recommended the Varnashrama system as "the way of life for Indians

* SEE PAGE 12

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* SEE PAGE 12

the people are quite awake, Panditji's anaesthetics notwithstanding" (Feb., 27, 1961).

It will be seen that the Jana Sangh has evolved a complete manual which can very well be titled: The Theory And Practice of Communalism.

Let it be noted here that the Jana Sangh honestly believes that such a role, played under the glorious banner of Hindu Sanskriti aur Maryada, will bring rich dividends to the party.

After the Aligarh riots and exposure of the Jana Sangh complicity in the statewide communal orgy, the Organiser challenged nationalist forces who had expressed sorrow and shame at the attempt to penalise and uproot the minorities. It wrote:

"These self-chosen evangelists of a non-existent nation may well address themselves to the exponents of this sorry secularism to appeal to the electorate on the specific disclaimer of their Hindu provenance, outlook and ethos, and see what answer the people give them" (Editorial, 30 Oct., 1961).

That is what the Jana Sanghite mind thinks—an appeal to "Hindu ethos" is more efficacious for winning over the people than the call for secular health!

It hardly needs to be added here that communal hatred and holocausts are a legacy of the British days. These play exactly the same role today which they had done in the pre-Independence Days—they retard the nation's onward march.

UPHOLDING DECADENCE

WAR CLOUDS OVER CARRIBEAN



Premier Fidel Castro with Dorcas and Che Guevara

Another shameful chapter is just now being added to the already infamous never ending story of continuous U.S. aggression against revolutionary Cuba. Utilising its entire repertoire of Tammany Hall tactics and arms-twisting of the worst type, the U. S. Government is at the moment busy pressurising the Governments of the American States at Punta del Este into agreeing, if nothing else, at least to break diplomatic and trade relations with Cuba and ostracise it from the Organisation of American States as a first step forward to renewed armed intervention.

The final outcome of the meeting of American Foreign Ministers in that out of the way Uruguayan seaside resort is as yet to become known. But enough has already appeared in the press to make it clear that the Latin American States are not at all convinced of the so-called threat to the security of the hemisphere supposed to be emanating from Cuba about which the U.S. has been crying itself hoarse all this while.

Anyone can see that it is an unwilling and unconvinced congregation in the main that the U.S. is cajoling and coercing at Punta del Este to adopt measures against Cuba.

Desperate Position

The situation as it stood on the very eve of the conference showed that such support was not forthcoming. As a consequence, the opening of the conference had to be postponed for 24 hours.

The position for the U. S. was so desperate that on January 22 the New York Times correspondent reported U.S. sources in Punta del Este as saying that "there was no assurance at this moment of the necessary fourteen votes, or two-thirds of the twenty-one member States of the Organisation of American States, to invoke sanctions".

Satellites Support

Nations opposing sanctions at that stage were reported to be Argentina, Chile, Brazil, Bolivia, Ecuador and Mexico while the Uruguayan Government was reported sharply divided on the issue.

The first thing Dean Rusk, the U. S. Secretary of State,

did on arrival at the head of a twenty-man delegation, which included many important Congressmen and top Presidential advisers W. W. Rostow and Arthur Schlesinger Jr., was immediately to make it clear that the whole 20-billion dollar programme of U. S. economic aid to Latin America as visualised in the Alliance for Progress was dependent upon the OAS agreeing to take action against Cuba.

Fascist Tactics

The next step he took was to get the Central American puppets threaten to walk out of the Conference if sanctions against Cuba were not agreed to. Besides impressing upon the unwilling ones "the strength of the U.S. Congressional and public sentiment on the need for inter-American action against the Castro regime", Rusk stressed to them "the deep misgiving of the Central American countries over what they consider a lack of solidarity among the larger Latin American nations, which with the exception of

Mexico, are geographically far removed from Cuba".

These tactics yielded results the next day when Argentina staged a somersault and abandoned its neutral position to join with the U.S. Although sudden, the development had been expected. The U.S. has recently gone out of its way to tickle the vanity of Frondizi, who seeks to arrogate to himself the position of Latin America's spokesman, and finds it much easier now after the overthrow of Quadros in Brazil.

Argentina's somersault also reportedly weakened the resistance of Chile, Ecuador and Uruguay.

Nevertheless, the original U.S. plan was still far from being within the realm of realization and Dean Rusk was reported as no longer insisting on "a mandatory collective break in diplomatic relations", as before.

He was now demanding that the OAS establish "a system for keeping a close watch on any subversive activities emanating from Cuba", as well as Cuba's suspension from the OAS and economic sanctions against her on the part of other American States.

As reiterated by the head of the Cuba delegation at Punta del Este, Cuba will never capitulate in face of any threat. The Second Assembly of the people which has been convened in Havana on February 4 will give a fitting reply to U.S. threats.

intervention through the OAS Conference.

The powerful voice of the Latin American peoples has been making itself heard in the halls of the conference itself, warning the U.S. interventionists and their would be supporters. It has been a big factor in making the full realisation of U. S. plans at the conference impossible.

The United States, while preserving in its plans, had nevertheless to be satisfied with much less than it sought. Kennedy answering a question about his expectation from the Punta del Este Conference said on January 24 that he thought that what would emerge from the conference would be "an effective statement of the concern that is felt by the people of Latin America and this country at the intrusion of Communism into... our family".

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Castro Flays O.A.S.

As for the OAS, Fidel Castro in his inimitable way described its character as long as April 23, 1961 when he was reporting to his people on the defeat of the invasion at Playa Giron. He said:

"Some people have been asking of late why is it that we don't trust the OAS. How can we trust it if... we already have the experience of what has happened to other countries of Latin America whenever the Yankee shark has decided to devour, and actually devoured, a Latin American sardine."

"The fact is that the other sardines with tears in their eyes and grief in their souls, have always let the shark devour the sardine that had tickled its appetite fearing that, if infuriated the shark might decide to devour a few sardines more!"

Over and above these concessions, the sales and transfers have been allowed for a

—ZIAUL HAQ



National Day Rally at Havana

R. L. KHANDKAR

Interviewed by O. P. Mehrotra

In Madhya Pradesh the vested interests in league with officialdom rule the State in the name of Congress. It is so because the ruling party is completely in the control of propertied classes and parasites. As a result of this open conspiracy Congress rule in M.P. has become a by-word for corruption. The State remains in its classical backwardness and the Congress administration has only perpetuated it.

This was revealed to me in no uncertain terms when I interviewed the Secretary of the M.P. State Council of the Communist Party of India, R. L. Khandkar in Bhopal on January 12. M.P. is among those States where the targets of the Second Five-Year Plan have not been completed.

He added: "In spite of this attitude of the Congress rulers some land has been distributed among landless labour it is due to the ceaseless struggles for land led by the Kisan Sabha and the Party. In Bilkhera it was on the initiative of the Kisan Sabha and the Party that an agitation was launched for the distribution of land and this opened the way for further distribution of land."

Lust For Power

"The Congress leaders prattle day in and day out about emotional integration of the various regions, but this, too, has not been achieved in the State.

"The Ministry is content by administering the day-to-day laws of the State. Those Congressmen and leaders who are opposed to the present Ministry are doing so because of their lust for power. They hardly worry for principles and policies", Khandkar said.

Referring to the various policies of the State Government he pointed out "Let us take the question of land reforms. Only as a result of pressure from various sides the State Government came forward with a land ceilings legislation. Although a ceiling of 20 standard acres has been mentioned in defining the standard acre the Government has shown its bias for the landed interest.

Discussing the problem of regional development Khandkar pointed out that discontent was widespread, the reason being the absence of any plan for balanced growth.

"People of Mahakoushal (Jabalpur, Saugor, Damoh, etc.) and Chattisgarh feel that they are not being given a square deal. In Vindhya

Communist Party Election Pamphlets

1. Election Manifesto 20 nP
2. Third Elections—Communist Challenge, by Ajoy Ghosh 25 nP
3. Release Long-term Political Prisoners 10 nP
4. National Income—distribution and rate of growth 25 nP
5. The Big Loot—brief study of foreign exploitation in India, by Bhupesh Gupta 25 nP
6. Land Reforms under Congress Raj 25 nP
7. Working Class under Congress Raj 25 nP
8. Who pays for our Plans?—An analysis of Congress taxation policy 25 nP
9. Wages since independence 25 nP
10. Big Business under Congress Raj 25 nP
11. Kerala and the ugly face of Congress by E. M. S. Nambudiripad 25 nP
12. Shame of Free India 25 nP
13. Why Women Should Vote Communist 25 nP

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Promising Prospects In MADHYA PRADESH

Pradesh, too, this feeling is there. The fact is that the industrialisation and the development according to the needs and potentialities is too slow.

"But in the name of industrialisation the Government is giving more and more concessions to some industrialists and especially the Birlas. The penetration of the Birlas is assuming significant proportions", Khandkar said. Knowledgeable circles in Bhopal talk about the connections of the Birlas in Ministerial as well as official circles. It is no secret that the Birlas are taking active interest in the elections here.

Giving an instance of a pact between the former Vindhya Pradesh Government and the Birlas, Khandkar pointed out how the latter got a lease of bamboo forests there in 1958 on the promise of setting up a paper manufacturing plant. The paper mills has not been set up even now. At some other places, Indore, Nagda, Gwalior, etc., they are already enjoying a number of benefits in the name of industrialisation.

Anti-Worker Legislation

The Government not only placates these interests but also makes laws for the suppression of workers' struggles. In this connection, Khandkar pointed to the enacting of three retrograde laws — the Industrial Relations Act, Public Safety Act and Essential Services Maintenance Act, which were dubbed black laws by the people and passed in the teeth of popular opposition.

"The Labour policy of the State Government is one of crude favouring of the INTUC and suppression of trade unions belonging to other organisations. The Labour Minister Dravid has earned the wrath of the workers", he told me.

Referring to the dacoits menace, Khandkar conceded that although in some areas the menace is not so widespread yet, it remained a big problem. Some time back, there were accusations and counter-accusations amongst some Congress and PSP leaders about their connections with dacoit gangs!

Coming directly to the election prospects in the State Khandkar said, "The Congress, although a house divided against itself, hopes to capture power again. The inter-caste group rivalry will naturally cost it some seats.

"The main reserve of the Congress in Madhya Pradesh is the backwardness of the State. Feudal and propertied interests are behind it. The Congress draws its strength from them and does not hesitate to use even parochial considerations, casteism and communalism."

The absence of organised Left forces all over the State is an additional advantage to

the Congress. The Congress leaders, he thought, would not hesitate to utilise the official machinery for its party ends in the coming elections. Large-scale transfers of officials to suit its election strategy would be resorted to.

"To the Congress the biggest challenge comes from the communal parties like the Jana Sangh, Hindu Mahasabha and Ram Rajya Parishad, because these parties approach the electorate on the caste and communal basis in a much more open and organised way. The Congress instead of fighting these tendencies itself uses them, though not so openly", he pointed out.

He referred to the despicable role of some Congressmen in Jabalpur, Sangor and other riot-affected areas. But even for the coming elections, candidates belonging to these very groups in the Congress have been re-nominated. The Madhya Pradesh Government obviously had not taken any lesson from those sad events, with the result that minority community feels insecure today.

"The Communist Party, opposed as it is to the communal parties, wants that the Jana Sangh, Mahasabha and Ram Rajya Parishad should be rejected by the people and so it would work to this end", he said.

Replying to my question about the main aim of the Party in the general elections in Madhya Pradesh, Khandkar said: "Communists in Madhya Pradesh seek to strengthen the democratic opposition to the Congress. They want to enlarge the progressive block inside the Assembly.

Further elucidating his point he said, "we welcome all those whether in PSP or Socialist Party or independents who want to fight communalism and the anti-people policies of the Congress unitedly. However, this does not imply our support to professional anti-Communists, disruptors of democratic unity and communalists of any shade and degree".

Democratic Unity

Referring to the PSP and the Socialists, Khandkar recalled that the Communist Party had proposed a platform of democratic unity to them. But true to the disruptive traditions of social-democracy, they did not agree to it.

He further pointed out: "The leadership of the PSP is in the hands of men like H. V. Kamath whose profession it is to slander the Communist Party. On many questions the PSPers find themselves on the same platform as the Jana Sangh. The PSP is a disintegrating force here.

"The Communist Party can, at best, hope that the rank and file of the PSP will learn from their own experience what unfortunate

and suicidal policies their leaders are propounding. As far as their prospects are concerned, even PSPers are not hopeful of maintaining their present position in the Assembly", I was told.

The Socialist Party had some influence in Vindhya Pradesh region but their queer methods of organisation have led to their fall. They too, like the PSP do not have any following among workers and kisans, Khandkar revealed.

Talking about the rulers of the old princely states and the position of the Swatantra Party in Madhya Pradesh, I came to know that with the exception of Bastar's Bhanj Deo (who is no more recognised as Maharaja now) Maharajas are mostly behind Congress or else are inactive. Thus, the Congress itself is a Swatantra Party for them! That is why Rajaji's Swatantra Party is not at all a problem here.

Some of the Rajas and Ranis like the Maharani of Gwalior and Raja Naresh-chandra and Rani Padmavati are contesting as the Congress candidates.

About Bastar I was told the situation is not easily predictable. Some Congressmen themselves were hobnobbing with the Maharaja of Bastar. A few others are behind Ram Rajya Parishad (Rani Prabhavati Rajee) and Jana Sangh.

Communist Challenge

As far as our Party is concerned Khandkar said we are contesting about 50 Assembly and five Parliamentary seats. Besides the Party is supporting some independents. Homi Daji is contesting a Lok Sabha seat as an independent candidate from Indore against the MP INTUC chief Ram Singh Bhai Varma.

From the point of view of the democratic forces major contests are taking place in Bhopal, Indore, Gwalior, Jabalpur and other riot-affected areas.

In all these places Communist candidates are in the field and the Congress leaders are giving greater attention to those seats. This in itself is a tribute to the growing importance of Communists in the political scene of Madhya Pradesh.

The Party candidates are also in field in Raipur, Rewa, Panna, Vidisa, Barasivni, etc. In some of these places, the fight is both against Congress and Jana Sangh. The election tempo is touching new heights.

When I asked Khandkar about the prospects of the party, his reply was "you can hope for better results".

For the Communist candidates the biggest problem is of resources. Still my own feeling is that the Communists in Madhya Pradesh will fare better this time than in 1957.

that can achieve lasting peace and happiness for man. This very thought of Gurujī was echoed by disciple Deendayal when he defended the caste-system.

Ideologues of the Sangh consider even such an essential reform in Hindu society as the introduction of widow-remarriage to be sinful. Golwalkar said: "Our saints have said that the wife of another is mother unto us. But today's law permits marrying another's wife, if she relinquishes her husband or if her husband dies".

In his Gujarat University speech, Gurujī commended another decrepit concept which is not only obsolete and outmoded but verily obnoxious because it is rooted in racial or caste superiority and inferiority.

Gurujī said: "Our forbears were not fools. In an effort to better the human species through cross-breeding the Nambodri Brahmins of the North were settled in Kerala and a rule was laid down that the eldest son of a Nambodri family could marry only the daughter of the Vaishya, Kshatriya or Shudra communities of Kerala."

"Another still more courageous rule was made that the first off-spring of a married woman of any class must be fathered by a Nambodri Brahmin and then she could beget children by her husband".

Gurujī's theory of cross-breeding of superior North Indian and inferior South Indian is strongly reminiscent of the racist theories of the Nazis; perhaps, it is worse since it postulates a chattering position for the fair sex.

Nor does the Jana Sangh stand on the cow accord with the modern outlook of the Hindus themselves. The latter believe in the protection of the cow and the prohibition of its killing as an economic proposition; but the former links it with religious sentiments.

CLASH OF FAITH

It seeks to arouse a frenzy in immature or backward minds over the cow in order to gain selfish ends. This becomes apparent from the way the issue of the cow has been utilised in election campaigns by the Jana Sangh.

In a recent Delhi Corporation by-election, Sangh members distributed pamphlets with a picture showing Nehru standing with a naked sword over a killed cow!

Economically, the real position of the Sanghite as against the nationalist stand on the cow has fairly tersely been summed up by the Jana Sangh President in the following words: "Cow worship is any day better than power worship." This maxim makes a credo of the cow to convert and oppose new India's slogan of "More and more electricity" for building national strength.

In the above context the Jana Sangh's opposition to even such a mild reform as the Hindu Code Bill conclusively unmasks its so-called "Hindu" pose.

It is evident that the content of the Jana Sangh's Hinduism is retrogressive and contrary to the times. It is even contrary to the essence of Hinduism as recognised by

Hindu reformers themselves, namely resilience and radicalism.

Very correctly Deendayal Upadhyaya has declared: "Pandit Nehru is wrong when he says we want to carry the nation two hundred years back. In fact, we want to carry it further back thousands of years".

Independent India is passing through a clash of two basic economic policies.

One is the policy of moving quickly and in a planned manner forward to wipe out the legacy of colonial rule and make the country rank among the foremost economic and political powers of the world. This is a truly independent economic policy which makes a clean break with the past.

The former rulers of the country, as is well-known, pursued the policy of keeping India as an agricultural appendage, sat down on her industrialisation and did not permit it to have a plan of industrialisation which is the sole foundation of national strength.

Needless to say, the question of aiding or assisting India in a planned economic development did not arise so far as this policy was concerned.

SWATANTRA'S COMPANION

The other basic economic policy seeks to carry out this very legacy of the foreign rules. It is against the plans, against the building of a public sector, against the big projects, against cooperative farming. It is for "free economy", against "socialism", or to use its pet phrase it is against "the doctrinaire approach".

As against the genuine interests of the Indian people, it seeks to grind the axe of those capitalistic and landed elements who had kowtowed to the foreign masters in the past, and who still seek to be their ally and protege.

"Free economy's" attack on "doctrinaire economies" is carried on under various pretexts. The ground of attack everywhere is the hardship which a quick planned growth inevitably entails. Appeal is made to the tendencies of inertia, shortsightedness or ignorance among the backward or philistine strata. If the Swatantra Party rails at "controls" the Jana Sangh talks of taking into account the peculiar "values and ideals of Bharatiya life".

Secondly they utilise the ground provided by Congress bunglings and corruption. Thus, the Swatantra Party is not the only party of "free" economy in the country. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh can also make the same claim and has actually done so in the following words:

"The success of the Jana Sangh will be the success of democratic forces, of nationalism, and above all of free and decentralised economy. (Bharatiya Jana Sangh—A Brief Introduction)".

We have already seen what is connoted by the "success of nationalism". What "success of free economy" would mean can also be easily understood in the context of the above analysis.

It would, however, be interesting to discuss, in some detail, the Jana Sangh's plank on this question.

It says that it is opposed to the plans as a "foreign pattern of economy". (D. D. Upa-

Jana Sangh—Foe Of India's Destiny

dhaya, Organiser, May 8, 1961).

"If the Government give up its obsession with 'socialism' it is possible to have a plan of bigger dimensions than proposed and also to solve the economic problems of the country", says a resolution of the Jana Sangh Council on the Third Plan.

KEY TASK OPPOSED

Secondly, it counterposes the fulfilment of "immediate needs of the people" against their long-range national interests. "The plan should aim at eradicating unemployment and improving the living standard of the peoples", pleads the resolution. It is how they talk through their hat, "fulfilment of immediate needs", "eradication of unemployment" and "improving living standards" but no planning to build up basic economy, no expansion of public sector! Such is their contradictory logic.

So, the key task—of building an independent national industrial base—is opposed. "In the present circumstances greater stress should be laid on the speedy development of agriculture and small-scale wage-goods industries," it is argued. (Ibid) Fourthly, the public sector is assailed and private enterprise is lionised.

"The Jana Sangh feels that the private sector can play a greater part in the implementation of the plans. It would be desirable if the public sector mainly plans for its consolidation rather than expansion during the next few years" (Jana Sangh, Plenary Session Resolution at Lucknow).

The above plank shows that the Jana Sangh is as great a party of "free economy" as the Swatantra. In fact, the two seem to be vying with each other as to who can hold the country back more effectively. No wonder that both recognise each other as the real "democratic" parties opposed to "totalitarianism".

In the light of the above, it is amusing to find in the latest election manifesto of the Jana Sangh many promises to the electorate which are of a veritably "doctrinaire" nature. Making labour a co-sharer in profits, assurance of a minimum salary of Rs. 125 per month, full employment and even nationalisation of basic industries have been promised in the manifesto.

This is what is called hunting with the hounds and running with the hare. On the one side, you postulate a "free economy", sing paeans of praise for "free" enterprise and take umbrage at the public sector, and, on the other, make plain promises of a socialistic character! A clear case of duplicity, one is constrained to say.

For the Jana Sangh, even a planned economy is foreign concept; it is against the Bharatiya ethos. What about the Panch Sheela? What stand does the Jana Sangh take on it?

Queerly enough, on this question, the "Bharatiya ethos" suddenly changes its colour, dismisses the complexion of "Bharatiya" and assumes a right royal foreign hue. Such a quick metamorphosis of colours takes place that the chameleon will go green with envy.

The Jana Sangh does not subscribe to the Indian policy of Panch Sheela. Let us see what alternative foreign policy it pursues.

The basic postulate of Jana Sangh's foreign policy is the artificial false and foul division of the world into "free" and "Communist". It is the same postulate which the late Senator MacCarthy had preached and lived for. It is the doctrine of the late Dulles.

The "Free World", as we know, includes such stalwart champions of "freedom" and "democracy" as Dr. Salazar of Portugal, General Franco of Spain, Chiang Kai-shek of Taiwan, the late lamented Syngman Rhee of S. Korea and, nearer home, that great "democrat" Marshal Ayub Khan of Pakistan.

On the other hand, not only the socialist countries of the world, but the whole national resurgence movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America is "Communist".

Such is the wonderful logic of this postulate. No wonder the Organiser recently published a long series of articles in order to prove the "free world" thesis that Nehru and Krishna Menon were Communists!

BOOTLICKERS OF WEST

The Jana Sangh has consistently upheld this basic postulate. Atul Behari Vajpayee, Jan Sangh M.P., paid a visit to the USA in 1960 carrying a message from Guru Golwalkar which appointed America as the "leader of the free world." The message said:

"It is not an accident, but Divine Dispensation, it seems that Swami Vivekananda proclaimed the universal gospel as manifested in the life of his Master—Bhagwan Sri Ram Krishna—first in the USA, the youngest, and, therefore, the most virile of the peoples believing in the freedom and dignity of man. By force of world events the USA has emerged as the leader of the free world and it can successfully discharge the great responsibility by recalling the Swami's prophetic words and striving to live up to them".

The message went on to note the "conflict of democracy versus Communism" and offered Bharat's enlistment in the fray. It said: "The world is torn into two sections desperately trying to establish supremacy over all the peoples. The conflict is not of democracy versus communism as appears to superficial observers. It is the age-old materialism and Dharma. Communism stands for the former".

It ended with the following call: "May the people of the USA

remember the clarion call of Swami Vivekananda, join with Bharat in bonds of inviolable friendship, and victory of the forces of Dharma is assured".

This message provides the key to the understanding of all Jana Sangh posturings on questions of foreign policy.

On the basis of it one can understand what Jana Sangh means when, for instance, it says the following:

"As regards foreign policy, the Jana Sangh stands for safeguarding enlightened national interests. The Jana Sangh is opposed to dabbling into conflicts in which India's interests are not directly involved and which therefore might tend to alienate any of our friends. Indian foreign policy, Jana Sangh holds, must primarily serve the interests of India".

On this basis we can clearly see what the Jana Sangh means when it files into the face of facts and says that "our present foreign policy has failed to mobilise world opinion in India's favour" (Election Manifesto).

And on this very basis we can realise what the Jana Sangh intends to do when it says that "the Bharatiya Jana Sangh will reorientate the nation's foreign policy to make it more realistic, dynamic and firm" (Ibid).

The Jana Sangh's twin soul—the Swatantra—has already called for India partnering Pakistan in a military pact, i.e., putting non-alignment and Panch Sheela to death. Others of the same ilk, inside various Asian and Latin American countries, are already inside West-backed. Defence Pacts for carrying on the so-called crusade against "Communism", i.e., freedom of their own people.

The Jana Sangh has already taken several opportunities to denounce anti-colonialism on the plea that the latter hurts Indian interests (by displacing the colonialist powers). The crassest example was provided by their stand on Congo. The Organiser published a violent diatribe against Nehru when some Indian soldiers were manhandled by Mobutu's rabble.

WITH MOBUTU

It wrote: "Admirers of Pandit Nehru's foreign policy have been recently furnished with a shining example of it. That it has recoiled on our own devoted heads in a most humiliating and painful manner is not as yet widely appreciated".

Analysing the causes of the "humiliation", it wrote: "We have become persona non grata with the effective elements in Congo affairs. Nehru chose to back Lumumba as the rightful representative of the Congolese, to demand the summoning of their Parliament and to let it determine the nature of their future Constitution".

* SEE FACING PAGE

SLANDERS ANSWERED

COMMUNISM AND DEMOCRACY

IN its editorial column (October 18, 1961) the Times of India declared: "A very large number of people in this country doubt whether the CPI represents a democratic force and whether it can be trusted to safeguard national interests."

"The Communists all over the world are the loudest in the advocacy of the democratic principles so long as they are in opposition; they abrogate democratic institutions as soon as they attain power. The fact is that faith in Marxism is incompatible with faith in liberal democracy".

Since we have already answered the slander about the national character of the CPI in the columns of the New Age we shall restrict our remarks regarding the accusation that the belief of the Communists in democracy is hypocritical and that the CPI is not a democratic party.

Liberal democracy is the world outlook of the bourgeoisie in its progressive phase and the Marxists, whose world outlook is based on scientific socialism, obviously cannot agree with all the tenets and beliefs of liberal democracy. But this is a truism, which hardly needs any comment.

The doctrinal difference between the liberal democracy of the bourgeoisie and socialist democracy of the Marxists is fundamental and plain enough for all to see. The former represents the emancipation of the bourgeoisie and, to some extent, peasantry from feudal tyranny. But the latter symbolises the liberation of the working class and all working people from the yoke of the capitalists and their feudal allies.

Liberal democracy in the West coexisted with colonial domination of peoples in the East within the single framework of the imperial State but the socialist democracy of the USSR at once liberated all the oppressed nationalities of the then Russian Empire and made them equal partners in a socialist commonwealth of nations.

Thus, the scope of socialist democracy is wider and its content deeper and richer than that of liberal democracy even in its most progressive phase. Moreover, it is a historical fact that all the major advances in the path of bourgeois liberal democracy have been made as a result of the struggle of the working people—a struggle in which the Communist Parties and their historical ancestors have played the leading role.

It is we, Communists, who today represent the best traditions of the French Revolution, the Chartist Movement and, in our own country, of the revolutionary nationalist movement.

The CPI, which stands for the abolition of landlordism and redistribution of land in the countryside, reflects the aspirations of millions of land-less agricultural workers and working peasants.

Our Party which spearheads the anti-landlord struggle of the Indian peasantry, obviously constitutes a tremendous democratic force in Indian politics.

Similarly, the CPI is the leading political organisation of the Indian urban proletariat. The Party, which has the capacity to

lead lakhs of workers in our country, cannot be denied its democratic basis, except in the eyes of those who would not see.

But the slanderers of the CPI twist the meaning of the term "democracy" and "democratic" when they regard all political parties which believe in the status quo or gradual reform as "democratic" and dismiss any organisation, party or movement, which stands for a radical alternative to the existing social order, as "anti-democratic" or totalitarian.

While even a fascist party in opposition such as the RSS based Jana Sangh or a reactionary and anti-deluvian party like the Swatantra deriving its support from princes, jagirdars and millionaire capitalists, or avowedly communal and casteist organisations like the Akalis, Muslim League or the Brahman Sabha or the power-hungry general's attempt to subvert our own democracy are never denounced as serious threats to nascent Indian democracy, the Times of India and other big bourgeois press of our country never fail to misrepresent even the most constitutionally innocuous activities of the trade unions and the Communist Party as dangerous to "democracy".

Democracy for them is synonymous with capitalism and "socialism" is identified with totalitarianism. It is this perverted logic which enables a section of our press to see in the dictator Ayub a friend of Indian democracy against Chinese "subversion" and represent the Congress Defence Minister, democratically elected by the

people, as a threat to our "democracy" since he happens to believe in democracy of the socialist pattern a little too seriously.

The charge that the Communists, wherever they come to power destroy the institutions of parliamentary democracy, is historically false. Parliamentary democracy was overthrown by the fascists and not by the Communists, in such elastic instances as those of Italy, Japan, Germany, Spain and Portugal, where capitalist elements aided and abetted by their feudal allies put fascist dictators at the helm of affairs.

Numerous examples can be quoted to show how rightwing elements have perpetually upturned democratic regimes in Latin America, Asia and Eastern and Central Europe, either before or after the Second World War. The most recent instance is that of our neighbour, Pakistan.

The Communists, on the other hand, came to power in lands, which had never known what parliamentary democracy was. The Soviets and people's committees were the first representative institutions established in those countries.

The Communists brought about social and economic democracy first and started perfecting their political democracy a little later. But who prevented the realisation of full political democracy in Communist countries? The defeated bourgeoisie, who invited foreign interventionists to crush socialist revolution and refused to give way without a civil war, was clearly in no mood to fight its battles democratically and constitutionally.

The Communists, in all parliamentary countries including India (see the Amritsar Congress resolution of 1958) have declared that they would allow bourgeois opposition parties to function legally after they come to power. In fact, the treatment, which bourgeois political parties would get would depend only on their own attitude to the constitution of India. So long as they abide by its provisions they will be free to oppose the Communist Party in power.

As revealed by the frequent rise of rightwing and fascist dictatorships all over the world, the faith of the bourgeoisie in the representative institutions of liberal democracy is only skin-deep.

India is no exception to this rule. When class interests are threatened, the bourgeois parties in India do not show any particular regard for the norms of democracy. The dress rehearsal of a counter-revolutionary coup of this type has already been staged in India, when a constitutionally elected Communist Government was illegally dismissed in Kerala on the wave of a fascist-like hysteria stage-managed by the local bosses of the Congress party.

On the other hand, it is precisely the Communist Party in India, as elsewhere, who stand today in the vanguard for the defence of democratic gains that humanity has made in the past.

Will our press barons, instead of doubting the bonafides of the Communists about their faith in democracy, care to address their queries to the right quarters?

—B. K. MITRA

JANA SANGH

* FROM FACING PAGE

It concluded: "Wherever we have tended to moderate extreme views, we become as much suspect as when we ride the high horse and prophecy the dawn of the golden age with the expulsion of the last unwanted European" (December 5, 1960).

The above is only one illustration. It is not difficult to discern what ethos it is; it certainly is not Indian. Why should the Jana Sangh and the Swatantraites fail to see friends where they exist? It is not difficult to see that the friendliness is feigned and feigned with a set purpose.

This "blindness" was revealed in naked form in the days following the liberation of Goa when both the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra Party continued to harp on their old tune on Indian foreign policy having rendered the country friendless in the face of the fact that all the Afro-Asian and Socialist countries had rallied to our support over Goa. Instead of being happy

and thankful over it, as the Indian people felt, the Jana Sangh and Swatantra Party pulled long faces. Instead of thanking the Afro-Asian countries and the Soviet Union for their great friendly act, the Organiser wryly commented: "Goa is the first fruit of the posturings of the Afro-Asian bloc which has pressed nationalist sentiments to subvert Communist interests".

To Soviet Union the Jana Sangh sent a "bouquet" of brickbats for her friendly turn. It questioned why the Soviet President should have been in India when, coincidentally, the Goa action took place. Not content with this, it wrote a scurrilous editorial article on the Soviet President which went to the limit of calling him a "performing animal". It is, in fact, the foreign policy of slaves or valets.

It will be seen that the Jana Sangh is one of those parties which to put the clock of history back. Not a forward march, but to take the coun-

try thousands of years back is their avowed creed.

They represent elements who kept themselves aloof from the struggle to free India from foreign rule. They have vowed to have a different Independence Day. "The foundation day of a sovereign Rashtra will be our new Independence Day", they have declared.

Against our freedom, they are also against the consolidation of this freedom by quickly finishing the task of overcoming the colonialist legacy. Their object is to fetter economic progress by championing free and decentralised economy.

They are a party begotten and actually run by that patently fascist organisation—the R.S.S. They fully bear the character of a fascist force—a force which strives violently to hold back social progress.

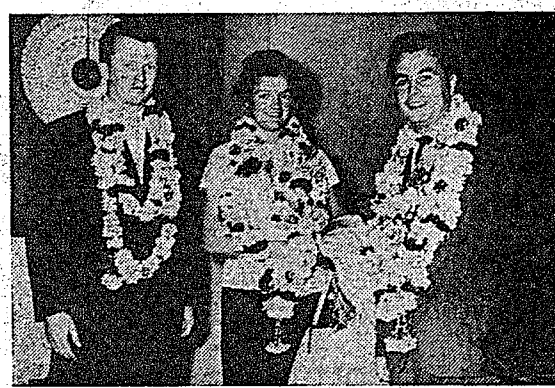
And we know that just as the urge for progress creates a healthy internationalism, the urge to put the clock of history back also gives birth to its own variety of internationalism.

Reactionary parties all over the world are holding aloft the banner of this kind of in-

ternationalism. This internationalism, which in the thirties marched under the banner of Hitler and Mussolini, now walks abreast under the signboard of the Free World with anti-communism as its

summum bonum. No wonder the Jana Sangh swears by anti-Communism. It would take the first opportunity to push India into the camp of imperialism and colonialism. That is its mind and face.

Welcome To Our G. D. R. Youth Guests



Left to Right: Egon Ehrlich; Rosemarie Ranke; Horst Macht (leader). The GDR youth leaders are on a 10-day visit in India as guests of the AITF.

Congress Base Badly Shaken In GUJARAT

Since its annual session in Bhavnagar in January, 1961, the Congress party had started its election work. Its propaganda campaign began in a big way. This showed the measure both of its fear of the people whose dissatisfaction against Congress rule was mounting, and also of its determination to overwhelm all opposition by means of its propaganda avalanche.

BUT this preparation had misfired, as it contained a strong element of internal factional conspiracy. Morarji Desai was anxious to thrust his own henchmen, led by Thakorebhai Desai, in the seats of power in order to crush all internal dissent as well as the popular upsurge.

Morarji Upset

The clay feet of Morarji were completely exposed when he had to make a number of surrenders at the Central Parliamentary Board of his party. The man who ordered the shooting down of innocent young people at Bombay and Ahmedabad in the name of anti-provincialism, stooped so low as to put Gujarat against Saurashtra, for his narrow factional games.

Several Ministers, whom he opposed, were given the Congress ticket and the arch conspirator and Morarji's crooked enemy, Dhebar also secured a Lok Sabha ticket.

All the dirty mutual anti-propaganda among the Congress leaders made them a laughing stock among the people, who had already seen its real face during the Maha Gujarat movement. All show by Congress leadership that its lost prestige had been recovered, burst like a bubble.

The discontent among the people had not diminished but increased. The Congress which had violently opposed and sought to crush the Maha Gujarat movement had usurped power in the new State due to its brute majority in the legislature.

If continued to insult the memory of the 30 martyrs who were shot down brutally and cold bloodedly under its regime. Its Government only created deep disappointment and anger among the people.

As in other States, in Gujarat also it distributed tickets to local henchmen of the leading faction and sought to bring in princelings and per-

sons of big money as well as casteist and communalist leaders.

As a part of the plan to rehabilitate Morarji as a popular leader, his tours are being extensively organised. And his election campaign is typical of his opportunist and anti-democratic outlook.

The man who had shamelessly opposed the liberation of Diu-Daman-Goa by Indian Army, now seeks votes in the name of liberation of Goa! He argues that the Congress alone is fit to govern, as the opposition parties were not contesting all the seats, seeking to obliterate the fact that his party was progressively losing popular confidence from one election to the other.

Mass Discontent

But most of the press in Gujarat is either bought up or suppressed and servile, and hence it only screeches Congress propaganda, with the result that the press is being looked upon by the people as only the obedient loudspeaker for Congress falsehood. Such a press is no longer the guardian of

democracy that it once used to be.

The situation on the eve of the third general election is far more against the Congress than in 1957, when a big popular upsurge for Maha Gujarat was sweeping through several districts. Today, all over the State, powerful anti-Congress consciousness is gripping the masses in all the districts. People feel fed up and anxious to do away with the Congress regime.

But what would be the alternative? Here the people feel baffled and helpless.

The Maha Gujarat Janata Parishad had seemed to offer the alternative, but it was dissolved in March 1961, due to the disruptive pressure of the P.S.P. and some others who later went back to the Congress or joined the Swatantra Paksha.

The people felt bitter yet disappointed. All these disruptive elements, along with the Congress kept up virulent anti-Communist propaganda in order to prevent popular unity.

In spite of all this, the Nutan Janata Parishad was born as a strong popular democratic opposition and it subsequently proved to be the most powerful opposition during the 1961 elections in several Municipalities, including Broach and Ahmedabad. In Ahmedabad today it is the main opposition in the Corporation and in Broach it is the major-

Democratic Opposition

The Nutan Maha Gujarat Janata Parishad is the leading democratic opposition contesting the forthcoming general elections. Several leading Communists as well as other popular leaders are contesting on the Janata Parishad ticket.

The list includes Indulal Yagnik, M.P., and Communist leaders Dinkar Mehta, Vajubhai Shukla, Chiman Mehta, Chandubhai Patel, and sitting M.L.A. Bhupendra Modi.

From Ahmedabad the Janata Parishad contests three seats, and supports three independents and one Republican Party man.

The Parishad has formed an alliance with the Republican Party for mutual support, all over Gujarat States.

In Saurashtra it contests eight seats, in Kheda Distt, three, Baroda four, Broach four, Panch Mahals three, Surat three, in Kutch four.

It contests four Lok Sabha seats and supports Jashvant Chauhan against Morarji Desai (Surat).

The Janata Parishad list includes 16 Communist Party members and two more Communist Party members contest on the party ticket. The Communist Party is concentrating only in areas where it has past work and good influence, unlike the P.S.P. and Swatantra Party, who contest very large number of seats.

The main attack of the Congress is directed against the Communists.

The F. S. P. has filed nominations for over 50 Assembly seats and six Lok Sabha seats, when at present it has only four seats in the Gujarat State Assembly.

It is contesting in many areas where it has hardly any influence. It had floated the slogan of defeating the Communists and was also anxious to set up a candidate against Shri Yagnik, but could find none. It is, however, anxious to see him defeated, which would result in the victory of Congress-I.N.T.U.C. candidate Vasawada.

The P.S.P. leaders also broadcast their boast to defeat the Communists. They tried to come to some agreement with the Swatantra Party. The influence of the P.S.P. is limited only to four or five constituencies.

The Swatantra Party had started boasting that it would be able to form its ministry in Gujarat after the 1962 elections. In order to justify this, it has put up more than 110 candidates (out of 154 seats) for Gujarat Assembly and a dozen for Lok Sabha (out of 22 seats). It has also put up three ex-princes on its ticket.

In Kheda and Mehsana districts it has been able to utilise the anti-Congress sentiment born during the Maha Gujarat movement. In a number of places it comes into conflict with the Janata Parishad and in a few seats with the P.S.P. and Republican parties.

In its drive to put up maximum number of candidates, it has not cared to avoid triangular conflicts, thus, helping the Congress indirectly in a number of constituencies.

It had announced that it would not put up candidates against Morarji Desai and Maharaja Gaekwad, obviously these are the nearest to their party and policies. The Swatantra Party directs its propaganda mainly against the Congress and also against the Communists.

Confused Pattern

The P.S.P. also has refused to set up candidate against Morarji Desai. In the countryside the Swatantra Party has formed an alliance with the Kshatriya Sabha, on a communal basis and set up candidates, who are not strong or well known, in many places.

The Jana Sangh, too, has set up a very large number of candidates all over the State. So also, a large number of independents have filed nominations.

The pattern that emerges is, thus, very confused and the Congress banks upon this confusion, to win large number of seats. But, in spite of all this, the Congress will lose more seats this time and the opposition will secure more seats than at present.

The proportion is likely to be 2:1. The opposition is likely to get over 50 seats, but the opposition itself will remain very much divided. The main opposition forces will be the Swatantra and Janata Parishad.

KARNATAKA COMMUNISTS' ELECTION MANIFESTO

Dealing exhaustively with the failure of the Congress Government in the State in spite of the big majority it has all along enjoyed the manifesto of the Karnataka State Committee of the CPI states that though rich in natural resources and man-power, with possibilities for all-round development of the State, due to the inefficiency and utter negligence and disregard to the interest of the State and the people the State is lagging far behind in several fields compared to neighbouring States.

SHORTAGE of electricity is a standing example of this failure. In other fields also the progress has been delayed. This can be seen in the low rates of increase in the State income and per capita income when compared to the All India figure. Even politically during the last decade the Congress has failed to assure a stable administration to the State due to its internal squabbles and greed for power. Further there has been deterioration of the administration in the State engrossed as it is in corruption, nepotism, inefficiency, etc.

It also sharply points out how the State machinery is used for the personal or group interests of the ruling party. The dark forces of communalism and casteism have been indirectly encouraged by the policies pursued by the ruling party instead of fighting against it.

CONGRESS CORRUPTION

This has resulted in the deterioration of the political atmosphere in the State. Even some of the honest Congressmen today are coming out in the open against such policies of the ruling party says the manifesto. This can be seen from charges openly made by Congressmen themselves about the corruption, nepotism and other malpractices that have set in in their organisation.

Reviewing the progress under the two plans and future held out in the third Plan the manifesto charges the Centre with neglect of regional claims and the State Government with failure to make a strong case for securing the due share of the State in regard to projects and Plan outlay.

During the last decade of planning the State allocation for industries has been very meagre and moreover even the allocated sum has not been fully spent. This has resulted in tardy growth of industry in the State.

Because of the wrong policy pursued by the Government in the sphere of encouraging and protecting the small scale industries — silk, handlooms, etc., — are in perpetual crisis.

In the matter of land reforms the policy of the Government has been one of helping the landlords. This is evident from the provisions in the land reforms Bill now pending assent from the President, which instead of giving protection to the tenant and land to the tiller, takes away some of the existing rights.

Some of the main provisions like ceiling, fixation of rent and resumption clauses go against the very recommendations of the Planning Commission.

In the field of the irrigation projects, the manifesto

says, the progress when compared with the neighbouring States has been very meagre. This can be seen from the fact that while the Centre has fixed a target that by the end of the Third Plan 25 per cent of the cultivable land must be provided with irrigation facilities the State target is only 8.4 per cent.

The manifesto condemns in strong terms the anti-labour and pro-management policy pursued by the Government. It points out the open encouragement given by the Government to Congress-sponsored INTUC unions, the policy of repression of the struggles of the workers as well as its failure to implement the decisions of the Minimum Wages Committees, bringing new legislations, utilising effectively the tripartite machinery in settling disputes, etc.

In the field of social service the achievement of the State has been very little. Even the allocations made in the Plan, however meagre, are not made full use of. The manifesto in this respect quotes a number of facts and figures. On the question of the amelioration of the conditions of the Harijans, and scheduled tribes the manifesto has charged the Congress administration with neglect of their interests as a result of which huge Central grants had to lapse.

Even after five years of the integration of the State the Government has not solved many of the problems connected with it. Though the Congress rulers are fond of calling for emotional integration of the different regions and the people, very little is done to achieve this. As a matter of fact the policies of the ruling party have resulted in producing adverse effects.

In spite of the strong urge of the people for re-naming of the State as Karnataka and for declaring Kannada as the official language of the State and also for its introduction as the medium of instruction at all levels, the Government is conveniently shelving the issue out of narrow interests says the manifesto.

Criticising the taxation policy of the Government the manifesto points out that while the Government has levied more burdens on the people it has often tried to appease the rich. It adds sarcastically that the ruling party has overfulfilled its target in the Plan only in this sphere.

Following these criticisms of the ruling party, the manifesto after briefly dealing with the position of other parties in the State details its programme which assures all-round development of the State and pledges to fight for the programmes with the other democratic forces in the State.

Briefly explaining the Party's record in the service

Give Karnataka A Better Deal!

of the people both in the legislature and outside, the manifesto calls for the unity of all democratic forces in the State in order to weaken the monopoly hold of the Congress Party and strengthen the democratic opposition. It fervently appeals to the people to return the Communist candidates to the State Assembly and Parliament in large numbers.

In the sphere of land reforms the Party demands that the present Bill should be amended in such a way as to give land to the tiller, adequate protection to tenants, proper ceilings, fixation of fair rents, etc. It strongly pleads for effective implementation of these reforms by associating the representatives of peasant organisations and people.

AGRARIAN REFORMS

It enumerates various demands of the peasantry including fixation of minimum wage to agricultural labourers, moratorium on debts, adequate credit facilities, distribution of wasteland to landless and poor peasants, for improvement of irrigation facilities, for effective and permanent measures in areas frequently affected by famine and to achieve self-sufficiency in food production.

Calling for rapid and speedy industrialisation of the State the programme calls for concerted efforts both by the

Centre and State. It calls for establishment of heavy industries like fertilisers, cement, aluminum, etc., in the State sector. It calls for adequate protection to small scale industries, in particular to silk and handloom.

The programme calls for the establishment of the Hassan-Mangalore, Hubli-Karwar and other railway lines essential for development as well as for development of ports.

In regard to the labour policy the programme calls for complete reversal of the present anti-labour policy to a progressive policy, implementation of all labour laws effectively, bringing in new legislation, extension of minimum wages to new branches of industry, speedy disposal of disputes, effective use of tripartite machinery, assuring of a decent living wage.

The programme demands special attention to development backward in communications, education, health, etc. It urges and calls for more allocations for improvement of conditions of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and, in particular, calls upon the Government to take effective measures against social injustices. The programme calls for extension of education and other facilities.

Calling for the democratisation of the administration, for effective participation of the people in development activities the programme demands, more

powers for municipal and local bodies, the separation of the judiciary, complete reorientation of the police department, effective fight against corruption, etc. It demands the abolition of Upper House in the State. The manifesto strongly urges for decent salaries to the Government employees. The programme calls for equal opportunity to women in all spheres.

NEW TAX POLICY

Opposing the communal and casteist forces the programme calls for united action to fight against such forces. It calls for the emotional integration of the people of the State. It demands that the State should be renamed Karnataka, and also demands that Kannada should be declared the official language of the State.

The programme calls for a change in the taxation policy of the Government and suggests alternate proposals, which include abolition of privy purses, reduction of salaries of Ministers and high officials, eradication of waste, curbing wasteful expenditure, nationalisation of road transport, running of State-owned industries efficiently and profitably, securing due share of grant from the Centre, nationalisation of coffee and tea plantations owned by foreigners, taking over of private forests, etc.

NEPAL'S STRUGGLE AGAINST THE KING

Possibility of Nepali Communists joining hands with the Nepali Congress for a nation-wide struggle to overthrow authoritarian regime was indicated by Pushpalal, a top-ranking Nepali Communist in an exclusive interview to IPA.

Pushpalal who is the founder Secretary General of the Nepal Communist Party and a member of its Political Bureau, is at present leading the underground activity of the Nepali Communists. There is a warrant for his arrest with a reward offered by the King's Government.

"All forces of the nation must unite in building up a nation-wide struggle against authoritarian rule of the monarchy in Nepal," Pushpalal said. "For this, it is essential that there should be an alliance between the Nepali Congress and the Nepali Communists, and I particularly appeal to the leaders of the Nepali Congress to join hands with us."

"Let me recall the glorious heritage of 1950 when the Nepali Congress took the leadership in overthrowing the Rana regime, a struggle, in which, I may humbly claim, we Communists also played a worthy role."

Regarding the character of the nation-wide struggle that he envisages, Pushpalal explained that the spontaneous

actions now taking place in various districts of Nepal have not only to be coordinated but stepped up: "We cannot reap the full harvest from sporadic actions, because the King's terror machine would put them down. Our objective today is to build up the biggest possible united front against the King's rule."

"And for building such a united front, the Nepali Congress and the Nepal Communist Party will have to forge a close alliance. Such a front will work out its own forms of struggle in which the masses of Nepal can directly participate to overthrow the present royal dictatorship," Pushpalal forecast that the number of actions against the King's rule will rise considerably in the coming months.

While characterising it as a "base slander" the official viewpoint that the resistance actions in Nepal are being helped by Government of India, Pushpalal said: "Democratic forces in Nepal have not forgotten the goodwill shown to them by friends in India in overthrowing the Rana regime in Nepal. I am sure the fund of goodwill is abundantly available for the furtherance of the cause of democracy in Nepal today."

Countering the point of view of those who hold that the Sino-Nepal Border Treaty and the new Lhasa-Kath-

mandu Road being beneficial to Nepal, the King's regime should be supported, Pushpalal said: "Isolated acts of the King do not change the stark reality of total negation of democracy in Nepal today."

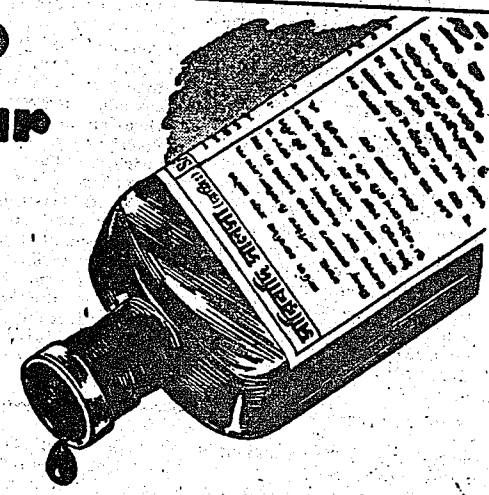
"I maintain that friendship with China should not in any way lead us to encourage forces opposed to our other friendly neighbour, India," Pushpalal declared.

"Democratic forces in Nepal want to maintain the policy of good neighbourliness. We believe not in any antipathy towards either of two great neighbours, India and China, but in friendship with them both, in consonance with the national interests of Nepal."

Asked whether he thought that the Chinese Government is helping the King in keeping up the authoritarian regime in Nepal, Pushpalal said: "There is no direct proof of that. The monarchial regime as such is an entirely internal affair of Nepal."

Pushpalal observed that the King's agents "have always thrived on slandering the leaders of the Nepali Congress" and illustrated his point: "In Nepal, they said B. P. Koirala was an agent of India; while in India, they tried to confuse public opinion by saying that Koirala was pro-China. Similar slanders have been spread about Nepali Communists too. Their game is to isolate forces resisting authoritarian rule."

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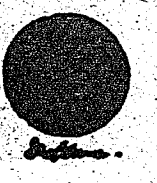


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Save Gizenga! Save Congo!

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India issued the following statement to the Press on the recent developments in Congo:

FREEDOM-LOVING mankind cannot but view with the gravest concern the latest machinations of the imperialists and their hirelings to murder Antoine Gizenga and deprive the Congolese people of their freedom.

Not only has this great African leader and Congolese patriot been illegally revoked from his post of the Vice-Premier of the Congo Republic but he has, in the usual gangster-like methods, been arrested and handed over to the same criminals who were responsible for the murder of Patrice Lumumba.

This dastardly plot against Antoine Gizenga and

other patriots constitutes the latest phase in the never-ending crimes of the colonial powers and their placemen in flagrant violation of the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations as well as of international law.

The U.S.A. and other imperialist forces are backing up such criminals as Tshombe and the foreign mercenaries. Discontinuance of the U.N. military operation against them has directly encouraged and helped them in their criminal activities.

Now again the U.N. authorities are conniving at and, indeed, permitting activities including preparation for the murder of Antoine Gizenga.

In some ways, the U.N. authorities are acting as mere accomplices of these foul enemies of Congolese independence. All this is being done in open defiance of the purpose for which the U.N.

troops have been sent to the Congo.

In this critical situation of treachery and fraud, violence and murder plots, great responsibilities naturally devolve on the Government of India, if only because Indian troops occupy a special position in the U.N. forces in the Congo.

Nothing would be a greater tragedy and shame if, with the Indian troops there, the colonialists and their hirelings were to succeed in their plan to assassinate Antoine Gizenga and other crimes.

We urge upon the Prime Minister of India to take all necessary steps so that the hands of the assassins are stayed, Antoine Gizenga is immediately released and his life saved.

If the U.S. and other imperialists are out to interfere in the internal affairs of the Congo to thwart its independence and its unity, it be-

comes all the more the duty of the Indian troops and our Government to do all in their power to ensure that the U.N. resolutions for the expulsion of the foreign mercenaries and for the unification of the Congo are strictly and speedily carried out.

Our troops cannot be allowed to become play-things in the hands of the imperialists, who are trying to use the U.N. as cover for their monstrous crimes and the Government of India must act firmly and quickly in this situation.

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India fervently appeals to all sections of our people to raise their voice against this plan to murder Antoine Gizenga and against other criminal activities of the colonialists and mobilize public opinion for vigorous and prompt implementation of the U.N. Resolutions.

Our Deepest Gratitude

THE Office of the National Council of the Communist Party of India received many messages from all the parts of the country as well as from outside on the passing away of our dear Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of India.

We are, of course, writing individually to all those who have been kind enough to send these messages.

It would involve heavy pressure to similarly write to the Party Units and the individual members of the Party who have sent their messages. We, however, take this opportunity to thank all these Units and comrades for their messages to the Party Centre.

We also take this opportunity to acknowledge receipt of many condolence resolutions passed by various organisations at public meetings throughout the country and thank all those concerned for their sharing our sorrow.

SECRETARIAT,
NATIONAL COUNCIL, CPI.

Cuba Will Never Capitulate!

HEAD of the Cuban delegation and President of the Republic of Cuba, Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado speaking at the Conference of the Organisation of American States (OAS) in Punta del Este Uruguay, declared on January 26 in course of a three-hour speech that it was the inalienable right of the people of Cuba to give to themselves the economic, social and judicial system they preferred.

Cuba respects and will continue to respect the right of peoples to self-determination and the right of all nations of America to adopt whatever system they want. Cuba demands that the same right be given to her and all interference, she is being subjected to on the part of the U.S. and agencies like the CIA with the servile collaboration of some governments of Latin America, should stop.

Cuba has no pacts or military alliances with any extra-continental State. Contrary to what occurs in the case of the U.S., the links that unite Cuba with countries outside the continent are only those that derive from normal diplomatic and trade relations among countries.

Because of the urgent needs of our defence Cuba has developed a powerful military apparatus which is capable of defeating and smashing any aggressive attempt. Never will these arms signify any threat to the territory or frontiers of any country of the Americas.

If the American nations were to adopt a plan for general and complete disarmament Cuba would support it wholeheartedly, for such a decision would correspond with her aspirations for peace.

No extra-continental

power has either asked for or obtained any military base on Cuban territory. The only foreign military base on Cuban soil, established against the will of the Cuban people and maintained in face of the protests of the Revolutionary Government, is the U.S. military base at Guantanamo. The Revolutionary Government reiterates its decision to demand at the opportune moment and through means provided by international law the withdrawal of that base.

The Cuban Revolution has brought for the first time real democracy to the country. There is no democracy with misery, unemployment, eviction of

peasants from lands they till, racial discrimination and illiteracy.

In Cuba misery is disappearing. In four years unemployment will be liquidated. Peasants are the owners of the land they work. Illiteracy has been liquidated and all men are equal.

The institutions through which our socialist democracy will function will be decided by the Cuban people as and when they choose, exercising their sovereign right to do so, without tolerating any coercion or international intimidation.

The OAS is a regional body of the U.N. where all countries of different social

systems participate. Cuba does not accept as a member of the U.N., that the Socialist content of its revolution can serve as a pretext to limit the rights of sovereign States inside regional bodies.

Cuba will not come in the way of the functioning of the inter-American system. The countries which are in a position to negotiate differences with Cuba will find her disposed to discuss these differences with open agenda and without any limitations.

In conclusion President Dorticos declared: If what is pretended is that Cuba will submit to the dictation of a powerful country and of those who could be its

temporary instruments; if what is sought is that Cuba will capitulate, that Cuba will resign its aspirations for welfare, progress and peace that animate its socialist revolution and will surrender its sovereignty; if what is intended is that Cuba turn its back to countries which have demonstrated towards her a sincere friendship and total respect; if—in a word—it is intended to enslave a country that has won its complete independence after a century-and-a-half of sacrifices, let it be known once for all—CUBA WILL NOT CAPITULATE!

AUDIT EMPLOYEES' BATTLE ON

The strength and vitality of the Central Government employees' movement was once again revealed all over the country. The decision of E. X. Joseph, Secretary General, All India Audit & Accounts Employees' Association stirred the movement into determined and purposeful activity.

IN all sections of the Central Government employees and among all the trade unions of the country, the Audit & Accounts employees' brave, determined struggle has evoked deepest admiration and sincerest support.

As a matter of fact, the peaceful, constitutional, determined fight which the Audit & Accounts Employees' All-India and local Associations have been waging for the last four years has very few parallels in the history of middle-class employees' trade union movement.

The Audit & Accounts Employees played a glorious role in the strike of July 1960. Nearly 70 per cent of the 30,000 employees of the Department participated in the strike with complete order, discipline and calm. After the strike, in many of

the offices of the Department, a reign of terror was established. Hundreds of employees were kept under suspension for months; thousands were given discharge notices. But all these cruel measures did not succeed in killing the spirit of the employees.

In places like Bombay and Gwalior, the employees, through peaceful and constitutional means, invited the attention of the Government and of the public to the sadistic measures of the authorities and succeeded in getting the heads of offices transferred.

Though in other departments, the situation of victimisation improved slowly, in the Audit Department, no improvement took place. Nearly seventy employees continued to be out of service.

Even though, after the fast campaign of September

last, the Home Ministry issued orders restoring recognition to all the de-recognised associations, the authorities of the Audit Department did not restore recognition to eleven local Associations. The authorities of the Department had earlier de-recognised the All-India Audit & Accounts Association and the local Association of Assam.

It was this situation which compelled E. X. Joseph, to decide to start a fast in front of the office of the Auditor General in New Delhi, on January 30, 1962. The Working Committee of the All-India Audit Association, which had met in Nagpur in December last, had permitted Joseph and a few other comrades to undertake the fast to express the suffering of the Audit employees.

The decision of Joseph evoked spontaneous support and sympathy from all sections of employees and working people and their organisations.

During the week prior to

January 30, brisk negotiations and discussions began in New Delhi. The justness of the demands of the Audit & Accounts Employees was widely appreciated by all.

Some Members of the Parliament and leading personalities took a leading hand and put in their weight in support of the employees' demands.

As a result, the authorities of the Department sympathetically considered the cases of 47 victimised employees and it was learnt that orders of their reinstatement were issued or were under issue. Speedy consideration of the issue regarding restoration of recognition of the Associations was assured.

It was felt that a postponement of the fast would strengthen the hands of the well-wishers of the employees. In this situation, in accordance with the advice of Aruna Asaf Ali and other well-wishers of the employees and of the leaders of various sister organisations, Joseph agreed to defer the decision of fast.