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ALL FOR THE BENEFIT OF MAN

CPSU PROGRAMME

Everything for the sake of Man, for the benefit of Man! Such is the slogan of the Communist Party. And the new Programme it has advanced signifies the full realisation in practice of that slogan.

This was stated by Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov on October 18, the second day of the 22nd CPSU Congress, reporting on the draft programme. He said:

Our programme is imbued with the spirit of socialist internationalism.

The draft programme is a document of true communist humanism; it is imbued with the ideas of peace and fraternity among nations.

KHRUSHCHOV said: Once the Soviet Union will have become the first industrial power, once the socialist system will have fully become the decisive factor of world development, and once the peace forces the world over will have grown still greater, the scales will tilt once for all in favour of the forces of peace and the barometer of international weather will show: "Clear. The menace of world war is gone never to return".

It is planned to increase the gross national product about five-fold in the coming twenty years. The industrial output will rise not less than six-fold and the aggregate agricultural output approximately 3.5 fold.

"This is tantamount to saying that another five in-

dustrial and more than two agrarian countries like the Soviet Union today will be created in our bountiful land."

By 1980 the national income of the USSR will amount to approximately five times that of 1960.

The First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee noted that communism has become the most powerful force of our time. Today Communist Parties are working in 87 countries of the world and have a membership of about 40 millions.

"The world is passing through an epoch of revolutions. Social revolutions, anti-imperialist national liberation revolutions, people's democratic revolutions, broad peasant movement, popular struggle to overthrow fascist and other despotic regimes, and general democratic movements against national oppression—all these merge in a single worldwide revolutionary process undermining and destroying capitalism."

The logic of social development has led to all these revolutions becoming directed

against one principal foe—imperialism, the monopoly bourgeoisie.

"Today practically any country, irrespective of its level of development, can enter on the road leading to socialism."

Khrushchov said that Cuba has become a bright beacon of liberty which is lighting the way to progress for all the peoples of Latin America. It has inscribed socialist aims on its battle standard. "Our people have rendered, and will continue to render, assistance to the fraternal Cuban people in their sacred struggle for their just cause," Khrushchov said.

Khrushchov pointed out that the achievement of political independence by the former colonies has had a favourable effect on their economic development. The rate of development of production has gone up.

Meanwhile, the upper crust of the bourgeoisie and the feudal landlords, who have linked up their destinies with foreign capital, are doing all they can to keep the underdeveloped countries in the system of world capitalism. The road along which the imperialists and their henchmen want to drive these countries offers no guarantee of the achievement of the aims for which the peoples rose in struggle against the colonialists.

Khrushchov stressed that the way out should be sought along the non-capitalist path of development. "Marxist theoretical thought, by a deep study of the objective course of development, has discovered a form under which the unification of all sound forces of a nation can be most successfully achieved. That form is national democracy. Reflecting as it does the interest not of any one particular class but of a broad strata of the people, a state of this type is called upon to consummate the anti-imperialist revolution for national liberation."

The CPSU considers alliance with the peoples who have thrown off the yoke of colonialism to be a cornerstone of its international policy. Khrushchov continued. Our Party regards it as its international duty to help peoples who have set out to win and strengthen national independence, to aid all peoples who are fighting for the abolition of the colonial system.

The First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee expressed conviction that the central principle of socialism's foreign policy—the principle of peaceful co-existence—will be the banner under which all the peoples will rally, all those who want genuine peace and prosperity for mankind.

Khrushchov said: The draft programme of the Party raises and resolves a new important question of communist theory and practice—the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a state of the whole people, the character and purpose of this state, and its future under communism.

"The state of the whole people is a new stage in the de-

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TEMPESTUOUS GROWTH OF SOCIALIST WORLD

SUBMITTING the report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the 22nd Congress Khrushchov, the First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, declared on October 17 that events have fully confirmed the correctness of the Party's theoretical conclusions and political course, its general line outlined by the 20th Congress.

Khrushchov emphasised that the competition between two world social systems—the socialist and capitalist systems—has become the pivot, the main feature of world development in the present historical period. Today it is not imperialism but socialism that is becoming the decisive factor in world development.

The conclusion that wars between states are not inevitable in the present epoch, that they can be prevented, has been confirmed.

Khrushchov declared that the Communists are against the export of revolution. But they do not recognise anybody's right to export counter-revolution. In the event of imperialist export of counter-revolution the Communists will call on the peoples of all countries to rally and firmly

development of the socialist state, the all-important phase on the road from socialist statehood to communist public self-government."

Having noted further that never before has actual rule in the leading imperialist countries been concentrated in the hands of so small a handful of monopolists as today, Khrushchov summed up:

The flowering of democracy in the socialist countries, on the one hand, and on the other the increasing curtailment of the already curtailed democracy in the capitalist countries—these are the two opposing trends in the political development of the contemporary world. "We are doing our utmost, and will continue to do so; to further perfect our social system and our democracy, as a model of the socialist way of life for all peoples".

Khrushchov said that the ideas contained in the draft programme of the CPSU have spread far beyond the bounds of the Soviet Union and have met with a very warm response in the hearts of millions of peoples living in all countries and continents.

The Programme of the CPSU "has administered a big new defeat to the aggressive forces, to those who idolize the hydrogen bomb", Khrushchov declared. The bourgeoisie and their advocates have nothing to counterpoise to the programme of the CPSU.

repel the enemies of freedom and peace.

The general tendency—the continuous decay of capitalism—has continued to operate ruthlessly. Capitalism cannot solve any of the urgent problems facing mankind. The United States of America has lost its absolute supremacy in world capitalist production and commerce.

There is now a prospect of achieving peaceful co-existence for the entire period in which the social and political problems now dividing the world will have to be solved, Khrushchov said.

Dwelling on the current international situation and the international position of the Soviet Union, Khrushchov told the delegates that the years after the 20th Congress of the CPSU had exceptional historical significance for all mankind.

The Soviet Union has entered the period of full-scale construction of communism. Socialism has been firmly established throughout the entire socialist community.

"The major events of the past years have been an expression of the chief law of the day—the tempestuous process of growth and strengthening of the life forces of the world socialist system".

The course adopted by our Party has been of tremendous significance in strengthening the unity of the socialist countries, the unity of the international Communist and working class movement, in preserving the peace and preventing a new world war.

"Our country and the entire socialist camp now possess vast power, ample to provide a reliable defence for the great gains of socialism against the inroads of imperialist aggressors", Khrushchov added.

The First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said: "The fact that it has been possible to prevent war, and that the Soviet people and the peoples of other countries have been able to enjoy the benefits of peaceful life must be regarded as the chief

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Supplement
with this Issue

ELECTION
MANIFESTO

Communist
Party of India

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HISTORIC CONGRESS OPENS

NIKITA Khrushchov, First Secretary of the Central Committee, opened the 22nd Congress of the CPSU in the Kremlin's new Congress Hall at 10 a.m. (Moscow time) on October 17.

He asked the delegates and the guests to observe a minute's silence in tribute to the memory of the outstanding leaders whom the international working class and Communist movement had lost since the 21st Congress of the CPSU. Among them he mentioned Wilhelm Pieck, William Foster, Harry Pollitt, Eugene Dennis, Vaclav Kopecky, Farajallah Helou, the outstanding leader of the national-liberation movement of the people of Africa Patrice Lumumba, and the Chairman of the Socialist Party of Japan Asanuma.

Nikita Khrushchov said that representatives of 80 fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties had come to Moscow for the Congress.

Among them were delegations of the Communist Party of China headed by Chou En-lai, the Polish United Workers' Party headed by Wladislaw Gomułka, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia headed by Antonin Novotny, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany headed by Walter Ulbricht, the Rumanian Workers' Party headed by Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, the Bulgarian Communist Party headed by Todor Zhivkov, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party headed by János

Kadar, the Vietnamese Workers' Party headed by Ho Chi Minh, the Korean Party of Labour headed by Kim Ir Sen, and the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party headed by Tsendal.

Among the guests of the 22nd Congress are delegations of the French Communist Party headed by Maurice Thorez, the Italian Communist Party headed by Palmiro Togliatti, the United Cuban Revolutionary Organisations headed by Blas Roca, the Communist Party of Indonesia headed by Aidit, the Communist Party of India headed by Ajoy Ghosh, the Communist Party of Japan headed by Nosaka, the Communist Party of Finland headed by Pessi, the Communist Party of Britain headed by John Gollan, the Communist Party of Germany headed by Max Reimann, and the Communist Party of Spain headed by Dolores Ibaruri.

The Congress is also attended by representatives of other Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Australia.

Nikita Khrushchov conveyed greetings to the representatives of the democratic parties of independent African states.

(The Indian delegation headed by General Secretary Comrade Ajoy Ghosh consists of Comrades Z. A. Ahmed, S. G. Sardesai, Promode Dasgupta, Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri, C. Wani Raja and R. L. Khandekar.)

COMMON PROGRAMME OF W. BENGAL LEFT PARTIES

SIX left parties — the CPI, RSP, F.B., Marxist F. B., RCPI and Bolshevik Party — signed a common minimum programme in August. Released to the press on October 11, it says:

A broad united front of the left parties and democratic individuals has been formed to fight the ensuing General Elections in an effective way to dislodge the Congress Government from power and to set up an alternative left Government in this State.

This front comes into existence as the logical culmination of numerous political battles that have been waged during the last few years and are being fought in this State between the Congress Government on the one hand, and left and democratic forces, on the other.

For Alternative Left Govt.

We are aware that with the existence of a Congress Government at the Centre and within the limitations of the present Constitution designed to preserve the capitalist order a fundamental transformation of our economy and society cannot be ensured. But we are, however, confident that notwithstanding these limitations, it is possible for the alternative United Left Government to initiate reforms which can give some relief to our people.

We will strive to set up a clean, honest and efficient Government closely associated with the people at every level and based on active mobilisation of the masses, deriving sanction from them and depending on them rather than on the bureaucracy.

Such a Government, by carrying out the agreed programme, as set out below, can put a brake on the onslaughts of the vested interests, somewhat advance the welfare of the people in every sphere, ensure headway being made in its economy and culture and ensure democratic rights and civil liberties for the people. We believe that only a Government pledged to effective implementation of such a democratic programme can raise the enthusiasm of our people and rally their support for the tasks that lie ahead in West Bengal.

Experience teaches us that a Government of this nature will not be looked on with any sympathy by the Congress Government at the Centre, by the vested interests, Indian and foreign, and by sections of the bureaucracy, allied to these vested interests in West Bengal and the Centre. It is likely that conspiracies will be hatched

and obstacles raised to discredit the popular government, to prevent its smooth functioning and to immobilise it by all possible means. We are of the opinion that such difficulties can be overcome by firmly relying on the active support of democratic sections of the people and by conducting powerful mass struggles and by building up mass sanctions in a determined manner in support of the progressive measures of the Government and against the obstacles and conspiracies of the vested interests and Union Government at every stage.

Active Support To People's Movement

To that end the United Front Government, contrary to the oppressive policy pursued by the Congress Government for suppressing the just struggles of the people, will help and lend active support to the various democratic movements of the people. In the fulfilment of our tasks, we must also make every effort to gain the active support and sympathy of democratic sections of the people all over India.

Whilst working to implement the minimum programme within the scope allowed by the present Constitution, we shall certainly carry on political campaigns and mass movements, from within and without the Government, to change these provisions of the Constitution which obstruct effective implementation of various items of our common programme.

In order to find solutions for the manifold economic problems confronting the people of West Bengal, particularly in order to find a solution for the problem of mounting unemployment in the State, for effective rehabilitation of the refugees and raising the pitifully low standards of living of the common masses in the State, the United Front Government will have to take up the question of speedy industrialisation of West Bengal, helping small and medium industries, resuscitating cottage industries in a planned manner and a thorough-going implementation of land reform.

We believe that the establishment of heavy industries, the taking over by the State of industries which are of vital importance for the economy of West Bengal and the steady extension of the State sector with appropriate democratic controls, would be essential for further industrialisation in a planned and coordinated way.

We are also of the opinion that the so-called land reform measures of the Congress Government have failed to tackle the land problems nor have they met the requirements of the agrarian situation in the State.

The aim of the United Front Government would be to effect land reforms in the interest of the peasantry and introduce measures

as would promote agricultural production. In a State like West Bengal, with its long-standing democratic and anti-imperialist tradition, the United Front will naturally be actuated by a feeling of deep sympathy for the struggle of the people of all countries against imperialism and capitalist monopolies, for national independence and their right of self-determination, for a just peace between all nations and for democracy.

Wherever the people are fighting against imperialist war-mongers for safeguarding peace between nations, for the exercise of their unfettered sovereign rights, for the realisation of progressive socio-economic reforms in the interest of their own masses against the capitalist regime, we shall support them.

In regard to crucial international problems today that are uppermost in the minds of the people in every country, like the threat of a new world war, universal disarmament and banning of nuclear weapons and their tests, the United Front will unhesitatingly be in favour of peace, complete disarmament, a total ban on nuclear weapons and abolition of military bases on foreign soil.

It will also firmly oppose the Government of India sympathising with imperialist circles or acting in any way prejudicial to the preservation of peace. The United Front advocates peaceful and negotiated settlement of all disputes between India and her neighbouring countries.

The United Front shall always firmly stand for the defence and strengthening of the national independence, sovereignty and integrity of the country against all

threats both from inside and outside. For this purpose the United Front will organise the people and depend on their active mobilisation.

While fighting determinedly against the danger of provincialism, linguistic fanaticism and communalism in any shape or form that divides the people and endangers their unity, the United Front consistent with the democratic traditions of our people will strive its utmost to safeguard the fundamental rights of all citizens irrespective of religion, caste, creed or language and for the protection of minorities, including the tribals.

The United Front will stand for the protection of the just rights of the Bengali-speaking minorities and every other minority in States outside West Bengal from this point of view. It will also stand for the protection of the just rights of the non-Bengali speaking minorities and minorities belonging to various communities and religious groups living in West Bengal in the same spirit.

In the matter of the unequal and discriminatory treatment that is meted out to women, the indignities and injustices from which they suffer, the United Front will resolutely carry on sustained campaigns and movements for their early removal and for strict observance of the principle of equality and for guaranteeing fundamental rights to women.

In the past we have unitedly opposed the machinations of the ruling Party and fought against them to serve the interest of the people of West Bengal. The streets, towns and cities of West Bengal as well as the fields and factories of the State bear witness to many glorious bat-

ties waged by the people of this State unitedly against the misdeeds of the Congress Government and for their rights and privileges, despite the disruptive and fissionary moves of the reactionary forces. In all such battles the people have seen us unitedly standing by them against the Government and undergoing sufferings and sacrifices.

Our differences on other issues have not stood in the way of carrying forward this unity and we pledge to the people that in carrying out the minimum programme also we shall work together and maintain unity inside and outside the Government.

We undertake to bind ourselves by a common code of conduct so that we may work for the people in a disciplined and effective manner. The defeat of the Congress at the polls and the installation of an alternative Government by the United Front in a State like West Bengal will bring about a tremendous change not only in the political firmament of West Bengal but also in the rest of India.

The United Front Government by a consistent and thorough-going implementation of the common programme will lay the basis of important changes and political progress in West Bengal although we are conscious that a fundamental transformation in the socio-economic structure can only come through the liquidation of capitalism and the establishment of socialism.

We, therefore, appeal to the people of West Bengal to repose their confidence in this United Front to help it to throw out the cursed rule of the Congress and set up an alternative Democratic Government.

JOINT LIST PUBLISHED

★ From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

The Communist Party, the RSP, the RCPI and the Bolshevik Party published on October 10 a joint list of 186 State Assembly and 24 Lok Sabha constituencies, where they will unitedly fight the Congress in the forthcoming general elections.

THE Forward Bloc issued a separate list the same day of 37 candidates for the Assembly and seven for the Lok Sabha seats. Two days later the Marxist Forward Bloc published a list of its ten candidates for the Assembly. (There are 252 seats in the West Bengal Assembly and 36 in the Lok Sabha for the State).

In August last, these six left parties — the CPI, RSP, FB, RCPI, Marxist FB and Bolshevik Party — had decided to form a united front on the basis of a common minimum programme with a view to defeating the Congress at the polls and setting up an alternative Democratic Government.

The PSP was excluded from this front, because of "the fact that PSP leaders by their policy and practice in regard to various movements have placed themselves outside the United Front of the left parties". Two other left parties, the Socialist Unity Centre and the Workers' Party, did not join the alliance, because they

could not agree with certain important points in the programme, which was signed by six other parties. Yet, despite this initial unity on the issue of a programme, it was not possible for the constituent units of the united front to publish a joint list of their candidates owing to differences on the allotment of a number of crucial seats. But, although they came out with separate lists, the combined "four" as well as the FB and the Marxist FB in their statements expressed the hope that it would be possible to arrive at an agreement among themselves in regard to the above seats.

The statement issued by the combined "four" said: "Unfortunately, the F.B. and the Marxist F.B. have been unable to agree with us in regard to the allocation of important seats. We hope that in the near future it will be possible to pursue discussions on those seats on which differences still exist with the F.B. and

the Marxist F.B." The signatories to the statement were Jyoti Basu (CPI), Makhan Fal (RSP), Bimalendu Mukherjee (RCPI) and Santosh Mukherjee (Bolshevik Party).

The joint list published by these four left parties shows that of the 186 Assembly seats, the Communist Party will put up its own candidates in 145 and support progressive independents in 12 seats. The RSP, the RCPI and the Bolshevik Party will contest in 22, three and three seats respectively. In the remaining constituency, there will be a candidate supported by the combined "four".

The names of candidates for 156 seats have been announced. The remaining 30 names will be published later.

The Communist Party is contesting from 21 out of 36 Lok Sabha seats for the State. The RSP has set up its candidates in three other seats. The names for 17 out of these 24 Lok Sabha seats have been announced.

Nominations given to the minority communities and certain other sections of people are, for State Assembly and Lok Sabha seats respectively: Muslims 15, 2; Scheduled castes 22, 4; Scheduled tribes 14, 2. There are two women candidates for the assembly and one for the Lok Sabha in the joint list.

BIHAR'S WORST ORDEAL

OVER 5000 DEAD IN FLOODS

From ALI ASHRAF

It is a grim tragedy that has overtaken Bihar. It is a tragedy of incredible proportions. More than five thousand persons are believed to have perished, 20 thousand heads of cattle swept away, more than two lakh houses have collapsed and paddy and other cash crops washed away over a vast area.

THIS, too, is by no means, a complete picture of the havoc wrought by the floods in Bihar in the first week of October. Every passing day brings fresh news and details of the horror and devastation. A total number of 30 lakhs of people are directly involved in this tragedy over a large part of Bihar in the districts of Monghyr, Bhagalpur, Purnea, Santhal Pargana, Darbhanga, Patna and Gaya.

The tragedy is great and unprecedented not only in terms of the human victims the flood has immediately claimed. Total destruction has been wrought to the already crisis-ridden economy of rural Bihar and only in the coming weeks and months its true impact will be revealed. As a result a "dreadful situation" in the words of the Minister for Cooperation, has developed in the State. People, who have escaped death in the watery grave are now faced with epidemics and starvation in their marooned localities, with most of the roads washed away and communications disrupted.

The devastation was greatest in the district of Monghyr. Governor Zakir Husain during his aerial survey saw "nothing but a huge stretch of water spread for hundred of miles. Every sign of habitation was swept away by the floods". (October 10)

The Hathia rains started on September 30, and continued till October 3. For four days the whole State was in the grip of torrential rains and strong gales. In the affected districts it rained continually for 36 hours and the rainfall was between 20 to 25 inches. All the rivers were in spate and overflowed.

In Monghyr the Kharagpur hill lake overflowed eroding its embankments. Water flowed from the high hill with a terrific speed towards Kharagpur and devastated 40 villages which fell in its way. It flowed in a width of three miles and was eight feet high.

And yet, it is a fact that what dominated the scene was not united effort of all secular and democratic parties to fight the communal menace or provide relief to the flood victims. All energies and attention were devoted almost exclusively on election preparations and more particularly on selection of candidates in the case of the Congress.

However, the work of selecting the candidates does not appear to be a simple or smooth business for the ruling party. The Congress President fixed October 20 as the last date by which the recommendations from the State must reach the Central Election Committee for scrutiny and final decision. There is no hope that Pradesh bodies will be

able to finish their job by the target date. From Punjab, U.P., Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and elsewhere reports are coming that acute dissensions of one form or the other affecting the organisation or problems of political expediency are hampering the finalisation of the lists.

Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and the U.P. are the examples of internal factional quarrels dogging all attempts to draw up an agreed list of candidates. After passing through the usual procedure of talks between the rival group leaders, setting up of sub-committees to draw up an agreed list and last minute appeals for unity, the Bihar Congress leadership agreed to disagree this Sunday and each group will now submit its own list of candidates to the High Command.

The Madhya Pradesh Congress had earlier given up the attempt to solve its problems and had requested the Home Minister, Sri Shastri to do the job for it. In case of the U.P. the indications are that the Bihar story will repeat itself. It is precisely in these States and Rajasthan where Congressmen are busy quar-

reling among themselves that the parties of the right reaction, specially the Jana Sangh, are rapidly consolidating their positions. Indicative of this was the recent triumph of the Jana Sangh in Jaipur municipal elections.

The communal holocaust that was spread so methodically in the U.P. is expected to add to their strength. A pointer to this is the anxiety on the part of the Swatantra to come to electoral understanding with the Jana Sangh in these States. At one stage attempts at forging such an understanding had failed to make progress because the Swatantra leaders tended to underestimate the Jana Sangh influence.

But apparently, the position has now changed and the Swatantra will be willing to largely accept the Jana Sangh demands for the sake of an electoral understanding. In the face of this challenge, it would appear to be unfortunate that, apart from some brave statements issued by the U. P. Home Minister against communal parties and groups, there should be so little popular mobilisation against communalism.

The proposal for taking legal action against the communal parties and banning them which was talked

situation caused by the floods. Congress M.L.A. Shiv Shankar Singh told the Sabha that even after a week of devastation, no relief work had started in the worst affected areas of Sheikhpura and Lakhisarai in Monghyr. The Secretariat of the Bihar State Council of the CPI has, in a statement, drawn attention to this situation and stressed the necessity of conducting relief and rehabilitation work on a "war footing". Without this it will not be possible to supply food, medicine, clothing and temporary shelter to the people in the flood-affected areas. Kisans have lost their cattle and their stock of seeds. Together with relief they require agricultural loan to carry on cultivation and material to rebuild their houses.

The Secretariat has estimated that "at least Rs. 5

crores is needed for relief and rehabilitation work". It has appealed for "relief on a large scale. While it is primarily the Government's responsibility, non-official relief, too, will have to be organised in a big way".

The Secretariat of the Bihar State Council of the CPI has appealed to all "political parties, mass organisations and other associations and individuals to jointly and unitedly organise a broad relief committee, arrange to send relief in cash and in kind in the form of medicines, cloth, etc."

The Secretariat has, further, stressed the necessity of working in close coordination with the Government relief agencies. It has called upon all party members and units in the State to give first priority to relief work and devote all their energies to it.

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RUSH RELIEF—CPI'S APPEAL

THE Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India has described it as "the duty of everyone and of the whole nation to rally to Bihar's succour and relief." In course of a statement issued in New Delhi on October 14 the Secretariat has referred to the "heart-rending" accounts of the terrible flood devastation that have reached the Party's Central office. The statement says:

"From our reports, it appears that about 5,000 human lives have been lost. Countless houses have been damaged and the loss of cattleheads comes to 50,000. "The damage and destruction in Monghyr Dis-

trict are reported to be far greater than even the havoc wrought by the 1934 earthquake. "Bihar has been plunged into sorrow and suffering that beggar description. "At this hour of Bihar's unprecedented misfortune, it is the duty of everyone and indeed of the whole nation to rally to Bihar's succour and relief.

"We earnestly appeal to our people all over the country to generously contribute for the relief and rehabilitation of the flood victims. We would urge upon the Central Government to rush every help which is needed to meet this situation."

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SHAME—NOT ENOUGH!

THE Prime Minister as the nation's spokesman has more than once expressed his grief and concern over the latest round of Hindu-Muslim communal riots in the various districts of Western U.P., whose political and practical repercussions are not local but nation-wide.

Vice-President Dr. Radhakrishnan, who is acting for the Rashtrapati, has also stated that these communal clashes had "filled us all with sorrow and shame."

Expressing the nation's shame and horror is very necessary and useful but it is not enough. We can never wipe out the shame, nor prevent its recurrence without firmly and clearly realising that what faces us all is the most direct and aggressive challenge from the darkest forces of communal reaction.

Official spokesmen and some Congress leaders have rightly stressed that there was no mass participation in these communal riots, unlike 1946-47. That is a tribute to the healthy sentiments of our common people.

But the fact that there was only mass tension but no mass frenzy nor did the latest holocaust involve the masses in general should not make any national and secular party complacent nor feel less concerned and responsible for what actually happened.

Real realisation of the shame demands that we ask ourselves how it was that these riots could take place, who organised them and why, and what the national and secular parties did during and after the riots. Truthful and principled answers will alone help us to wipe out the shame and make it a matter of the past.

Anti-National Provocation

Fourteen years after independence, these riots came close on the heels of the National Integration Conference, that had followed the grim experience of Jabalpur and other riots. The main purpose of that conference was to ensure that the forces of disintegration were eliminated and the healthy secular and patriotic forces of the nation brought together.

The Jana Sangh organ, the *Organiser*, (October 9), headlined its editorial on the National Integration Conference as "The Mountain in Labour..." and with insolent self-assurance asserted that it had "treated the country to a solemn farce which we could very well have done without."

There is hardly any dispute among the honest pressmen, who have covered these riots, or the secular public leaders who have visited these places that the main organiser of these riots was the RSS and its broader organisation the Jana Sangh, which exploited the tragic Aligarh incidents to spread the flames as widely as it could, with the sordid aim of garnering the majority of Hindu votes in the coming general elections.

When U.P. Home Minister Charan Singh, without naming the Jana Sangh, stated that there was a "conspiracy" behind these riots and that they had a

"political aim" as well, the inevitable protest came from those whom the cap of the guilty fitted.

The Jana Sangh Parliamentary spokesman A. B. Vajpayee in a press conference in New Delhi stated that the conspiracy charge was hard to believe. His argument was so naive as can come from the guilty accused alone. The U.P. Home Minister had claimed that the aim of the conspiracy was to "discredit the Congress among both the Hindu and Muslim masses". The Jana Sangh leader's answer is: "The Congress was discredited enough these days; there was no reason for a conspiracy to achieve this."

"He claimed that an enquiry committee set up by the U.P. Jana Sangh had reported that the demonstrations in various towns in the State were spontaneous." (Statesman, October 14)

So well organised is the Jana Sangh, with the RSS as its core that it concluded its "enquiry" even while the trouble was on and gave its verdict in favour of those who were organising it!

Any honest Indian cannot but come to the logical conclusion that the same communal forces that mocked at the National Integration Conference, went into action that was designed to damage, if not destroy, the hopes aroused by the solemn decisions and the grand get-together symbolised in the representative national assembly that met in New Delhi.

This latest round of communal riots constitutes the political challenge of communal reaction against all that the National Integration Conference stood for, proclaimed, and set out to achieve.

Enough has appeared in the daily press, the *New Age* has already published reports from Aligarh, and elsewhere in this issue we are publishing the facts from Meerut, which confirm the following main features of the political conspiracy of Hindu communal reaction, which unfolded itself through these riots.

Salient Features

First, wild rumour-mongering was their main weapon to poison the atmosphere, it was the tale of the rape of a Hindu girl at Jabalpur. This time it was the story of the burning alive of Hindu students inside the Muslim University. Similar rumour-mongering was the pogrom organisers' weapon in 1946-47 as well.

Despite the bitter experience of the past it took days before the latest false rumours were officially contradicted by the spokesman of the U.P. Government or the leaders of the ruling party. Fear of losing Hindu votes was the obvious unworthy consideration.

Secondly, the base of the rioters was not the common people but the student youth on the basis of whose demonstrations and processions they got started, only to bring into action the professional goonda gangs, as well as their own well-trained squads. The gullibility and inexperience of youth was fully exploited by the evil-doers.

It, however, behoves the ruling party, once the leader of struggle against imperial-

NOTES OF THE WEEK

ism, to ask itself what has been wrong in the way it has run the country after independence that it is the patriotic Hindus' sacred duty to defend the Muslim brothers, at all costs and despite all provocations, is not an article of faith with the younger generation.

The third feature of these unfortunate riots was that most of the murdered and injured were Muslims, most of the houses gutted and the shops looted were also of the Muslims. And worst of all, Muslim mosques have been desecrated.

Home Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri has assessed the situation aright. In a challenging speech before Bombay Congressmen, castigating the communal parties, he said that the time had come "for us to decide if the minorities are to be allowed to exist in India or not. If we decide that they should, then they must be treated as equals. (Hindustan Times, October 9).

The issues involved are simple: the right of the Muslim minority to live in peace and with honour in our common country, and the duty of the Hindu majority to protect the minority as their own flesh and blood. It is Hindu communal reaction that is seeking to rally the Hindu majority behind its reactionary aims by staging and spreading these anti-Muslim riots. The Sangh reactionaries hardly hide the fact that these riots constitute their agitational and organisational preparations for the coming general elections.

Pak Exploitation

These anti-Muslim riots in India came as a God-given opportunity to the rulers of Pakistan to poke their dirty nose into the Indian affairs and fish in troubled waters.

A rational and friendly neighbour would have exercised the utmost restraint in circumstances like the present. Pakistan, however, was born out of aggressive Muslim communalism and is now utilising the sufferings of the Indian Muslims to step up its hate-India campaign among the Muslim majority of Pakistan.

The Pakistan Government has sent a note to the Indian Government expressing its "concern" at the communal riots here and requesting the Government of India to permit Pakistan officials to visit the riot affected areas. It goes to the credit of the Government of India that this permission was readily granted.

India has rightly protested against the Pak note being "undiplomatic, unfriendly and provocative". Its contents were leaked to the Pak press even before its delivery at New Delhi. It contained false and exaggerated reports of what the Indian Muslims had suffered.

The Pak press has also broken its earlier bad record in manufacturing atrocity tales. The campaign is spearheaded by the Dawn with the thesis, "India is not going to protect the Muslim minority." Its demand is that the ques-

tion of Indian Muslims should be raised in the United Nations. The Pak Attorney-General has also advocated the same.

At Chittagong the Pak President stated that "the riots would not have happened without the connivance of the Indian administration." (Hindustan Times, October 18)

The solution that the Dawn is campaigning for is contained in its editorial. "There will have to be fresh negotiations between Pakistan and India under international auspices for a revision of the existing boundaries with a view to reaching an agreement to redraw the maps of the two countries in such a way that a transfer of population can be effected over a given period of time."

It is a fantastic proposal, though not new.

What On Our Side?

It is true that the C. B. Gupta Ministry has acted more vigorously after Aligarh than the Katju Ministry did after Jabalpur to restore law and order and protect the Muslim minority. The real problem is not the administrative one. It is a political problem. The Home Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri seems to have realised it clearly enough.

He stated before the Western Zonal Council meeting in Bombay that "it was essential to have some kind of national campaign for creating a feeling of oneness and unity among the people to enable them to rise above the narrow feelings of communalism, regionalism and linguism." (Hindustan Times, October 9)

This is just what our Party has been advocating and campaigning for but the U.P. Government has been thinking differently. Its spokesman instead of naming the Hindu communal organisations responsible for the riots has

named six Muslim organisations including the Jamiat-ul-Ulema. The Jamiat holds several religious conceptions which no secular party could own but its past record has been anti-imperialist, it champions Hindu-Muslim unity, and it has a popular base. Home Minister Charan Singh is spending his ire against the Jamiat instead of the RSS and the Jana Sangh.

This is not all. The U.P. Home Minister also tried, though later withdrawn, to link us Communists with the communalists! This vain attempt was also with the general elections in mind, vote Congress, vote against the communalists and the Communist both!

This obviously impossible situation could not and did not last long. Times of India, October 17, that the Chief Minister C. B. Gupta spoke eloquently from the platform of a Citizens Peace Committee in Lucknow followed by PSP leader Triloki Singh, Communist State Secretary K. S. Shukla and the leading spokesmen of the local Congress. It is a welcome sign that it was veteran Congressmen who resisted inviting Jana Sangh to the meeting.

The special correspondent of the IPA October 17 reports "Lucknow could ward off any communal disturbance mainly because political parties actively intervened. Congressmen, with all their inner bickerings, joined hands with the PSP and the Communist to stave off communalist forces and did not leave it only to administration to face this menace."

There is evidence to show that, at least at some places, they established contact with leaders and organs of a notoriously communal and semi-fascist Hindu organisation and then they addressed meetings of students in educational institutions and in students' hostels.

The meetings were organised for them. They did not take place spontaneously. Though, indirect references are being made by ministers and authorities to the Jana Sangh, the RSS and their Youth and student wing, the Vidyarthi Parishad, and the role they have played in spreading communal trouble all over the State, they are reluctant to name and brand them publicly.

During his press conference in the State's capital on October 10, pressmen asked Home Minister Charan Singh to say clearly what he was in fact implying and saying indirectly, but he did not.

Insinuations Against Communists

On the contrary, he tried to insinuate that the Communist Party had some hand in the trouble in Aligarh. This is what he stated in his written statement: "In this connection it is necessary to refer to a feature of the communal rioting in Aligarh. Students of the University who beat up the party which lost the election, looted shops belonging to a particular community in a

market close to the campus, but took care to leave untouched a shop which sold communist literature!"

Only when he was repeatedly challenged to clarify and substantiate his statement, did he retreat and say: "I do not lump the Communist Party with the groups which have caused trouble."

Still he did not think it necessary to withdraw that paragraph from the text of his prepared statement!

The other organisations mentioned in his statement are the Jamiat-ul-Ulema and Jama'at-e-Islami. These have been mentioned as being two of "more than half a dozen Muslim organisations working on the social, religious or cultural plane" which "foster an attitude of isolation on the part of the Muslims with the larger entity of the Indian nation." May be. But what about the Jana Sangh? the RSS? the Vidyarthi Parishad?

Is it not strange that there is not a word about them either in the prepared statement, or in the oral answers that Sri Charan Singh gave in reply to a volley of pointedly straightforward questions? Why should he have refused to name the forces which, as he himself said, laid the "conspiracy" whose aim is "political", and instead tried to drag in the Communist Party?

Not only there is not a shred of evidence—nor could there ever be—of Communists' complicity in creating communal trouble; but, on the contrary, the Communist Party in Uttar Pradesh could most legitimately take pride in the fact that it is its members and sympathisers among students who have given almost a running battle to the Jana Sangh and RSS boys in Lucknow, in Kanpur and in a dozen other places and defeated their game of creating communal carnage in these places.

Here I shall permit myself a little digression to throw more light on this question of naming and working to isolate the Jana Sangh and its other accomplices. Even a little more than the Congress, the Praja Socialist Party in U.P. is opposed to naming or doing anything concertedly against the Jana Sangh. The PSP has in fact stated so in a resolution that was passed at its recent State Conference.

Because the Communist Party has been warning against the growing menace of Hindu communalism, the PSP has accused it of trying to create a scare in order that it may succeed in coercing other parties into a

COMMUNAL KILLINGS IN U. P. TOWNS

Jana Sangh Rehearsal For Elections?

From RAMESH SINHA

LUCKNOW, October 12

Following the tragic and ugly incidents of Aligarh on the night of October 1/2, in less than four days, more than a dozen important cities and towns of Uttar Pradesh were caught into the vortex of mad communal frenzy. These included, besides Aligarh, Bulandshahr, Muzaffarnagar, Moradabad, Chandausi, Agra, Saharanpur, Meerut, Bahraich, Varanasi, Gorakhpur, Azamgarh and Lucknow.

THE reports to date indicate that efforts were also made to work up trouble in at least a dozen other places, such as, Kanpur, Ghazipur, Shahjahanpur, Pilibhit and Rampur.

What happened in these places bears an unmistakable stamp of a vicious and misanthropic planning, not only on the plane of localities, but on a statewide scale.

Statewide Planning

On the morrow of the nocturnal fight on the campus of Aligarh University batches of Hindu students left Aligarh for a score or more places in the State, taking with them, not only grossly exaggerated stories of the doings of Muslim communalists of the Aligarh University, but utterly false stories of the murder and death of half a dozen Hindu students there at the hands of Muslims.

Not surprisingly, they concentrated on students. In the towns and cities to which they went, they established contact with students of their own way of thinking.

There is evidence to show that, at least at some places, they established contact with leaders and organs of a notoriously communal and semi-fascist Hindu organisation and then they addressed meetings of students in educational institutions and in students' hostels.

The meetings were organised for them. They did not take place spontaneously. Though, indirect references are being made by ministers and authorities to the Jana Sangh, the RSS and their Youth and student wing, the Vidyarthi Parishad, and the role they have played in spreading communal trouble all over the State, they are reluctant to name and brand them publicly.

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Not only there is not a shred of evidence—nor could there ever be—of Communists' complicity in creating communal trouble; but, on the contrary, the Communist Party in Uttar Pradesh could most legitimately take pride in the fact that it is its members and sympathisers among students who have given almost a running battle to the Jana Sangh and RSS boys in Lucknow, in Kanpur and in a dozen other places and defeated their game of creating communal carnage in these places.

united front with it! Of course, only Rightwing social democrats could invent such an argument to thwart any attempts to fight against this danger to all that this country has held and holds dear.

Coming elections are certainly one of the reasons for this attitude.

It is natural, therefore, that so far neither the Congress nor the PSP has evinced the slightest interest in calling a meeting of secular and democratic parties and organisations to consider the situation. Charan Singh when questioned about this said there was no plan to hold any such meeting yet.

In his statement, the Home Minister had himself declared that, "Administrative action can bring about only a peace of the armed camp. For a search of the true remedy we will have to make a deeper diagnosis..." But when asked how this was planned to be done he had no answer. He admitted they had no plan of

Drawing sustenance from the Home Minister's reference, this rag declares that, "This indication of the U.P.'s Home Minister that in the riots which later spread over the whole of western U.P., the Communists had a hand, has made the situation still more grave... It has forced

seeking people's cooperation at any level.

Unrepentant Communists

The Jana Sanghites and their other organisations are far from repentant or subdued. They are now gloating over Charan Singh's reference to the Communists and trying to say that it was the Muslim communalists and the Communists who created all the trouble. Their newly started Hindi daily from Lucknow has brazenly stated that, "Behind these riots lay the organised conspiracy of the communists and the Muslim Leaguers..." (Tarun Bharat, October 13).

As a matter of fact, it is only the Communist Party of the State which has come out openly to denounce the Jana Sangh and its partners in crime for fomenting and spreading the communal riots in the State.

It is again the Communist Party and its Secretary Kall Shanker Shukla who has appealed to all secular parties, including the Congress and the PSP, to call a joint meeting or conference to discuss this serious matter.

It was again the Communist Party which unconditionally offered its cooperation to the Government in combating communal riots and instructed all its units and members to give every possible help to

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The U.P. Government and its spokesmen must say whether this is what they want. As a matter of fact, it is only the Communist Party of the State which has come out openly to denounce the Jana Sangh and its partners in crime for fomenting and spreading the communal riots in the State.

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Flogging For Scholars

There are many hard facts of life which seriously disturb our Indian fascists of the Jana Sangh brand. One of these is that there is widespread admiration in India and all over the world for the great Socialist Revolution and the phenomenal progress of the USSR in the brief period of just four decades is viewed with absorbing interest and sympathy by the broadest masses of the people. The Jana Sangh is very sore at this.

The sun rays of Socialism are uncomfortable to this species. So they are blinking all the time. They even blink at such a mighty achievement as the creation of the space-ship "Vostok". The Organiser tried to lampoon Gagarin's achievement as "astro-naughtiness" and did not even mention Titov's spectacular success in its column.

They do not blink only, they also bewail that everyone is not owl-like like them. Thus we find the Organiser (July 3) lamenting loudly that "Today, nobody could be counted as a scholar in any field unless he is prepared to study the Soviet system objectively."

How atrocious indeed! The Jana Sanghite shouts at all such scholars, one of its biggest targets being the late Harold J. Laski. Writes the Organiser: "Harold Laski of the British Labour Party spent a whole life time apologising for and explaining the crimes (?) of the Soviet Union."

"And Laski has been copied wholesale and on a large scale in almost all our strongholds of 'scholarship'. These 'scholars' are very hard to crack.

These scholars refuse to deal with 'dirty' facts. Their proper province is the sweep of supra-physical philosophy."

What is to be done with such scholars, who, unfortunately for the owlish 'intellectuals' far outnumber them? Give them a sound flogging, prescribes the Jan Sanghite. Nothing short of this will 'cure' them, or satisfy the fascist sadists. The Organiser writes: "The only way to deal with these philosophers is to apply the whip on their bare backs. Only a touch of cold physical reality can bring them down from their sojourn in the stratosphere!"

It would seem that the Jana Sangh has an unwritten clause in its Manifesto which promises sound whipping for all our scholars who are the least bit liberal in their thinking. The caluse is unwritten because— "Alas, we are no longer living in medieval times. Alas, we have become too modern to deal methodically with these monstrous morons. You cannot mention the whip to a modern democrat without earning the notoriety of a fascist."

Alas, indeed, for the Jana Sangh that we have left the medieval times far behind and entered the modern age of democracy! My sincere condolences to those whose whip-swinging misfits!

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NEW TROUBLE IN NAGALAND

Old British Stooze On Scene

From Madhusudan Bhattacharya

Just on the eve of the second session of the Naga Interim Body that opened at Kohima in the later part of September, the Governor of Assam who is also the Governor for Nagaland told a Press conference here that the popular representatives of the Naga people and the permanent officers of the administration had been working "in a spirit of co-operation and friendliness".

But he admitted, however, that there was some "tension" in the relation between the two, though he would have us believe that this "tension" was no more than "those we ourselves had to face in the rest of the country when we changed over from the former bureaucracy to full responsible Government" and that the "difficulties or complications" were kept within "reasonable bounds".

"Tension" Admitted

This admission of the "tension" came in the wake of persistent Press reports of conflict between the administration and the popular representatives. Within a couple of days of this Press conference by the Governor here, on the very first day of the session of the Naga Interim Body, some of the Executive Councillors expressed their view on this in very strong terms.

One of them is reported to have said that the members of the Interim Body were treated by the officials as "a set of peons and the Executive Councillors as a set of clerks".

This very strong expression only corroborated the earlier Press reports and gave the lie to the Governor's assertion that it was only a "tension" and that it was kept within "reasonable bounds". By now it is known to all that the relation between the Interim Body and the administration has not been at all pleasant.

The above quoted statement of an Executive Councillor raised the question as to why the Executive Councillors who had so long been keeping silent over their relation with the administration felt it necessary to break the silence now?

It is difficult to answer the question with any amount of precision from here. In the absence of any direct contact with the Nagaland one can only make conjectures and these are not wanting among observers here.

"Important Person In Nagaland"

It is in an attempt at explaining the statement of the Executive Councillors that the question of a negotiation between one Kevichusa, a retired Naga Government officer of the Assam Government, and the Governor came up for public discussion. This gentleman, Kevichusa, has a dubious past, according to knowledgeable circles.

A life-long faithful servant of the British imperialist masters, this Kevichusa was once suspected of "inciting" the rebels and was even sought to be detained under the Preventive Detention Act.

Immediately after the dastardly murder of Dr. Ao, this Kevichusa had a discussion with the Governor and probably with the Advisor to the Governor also. Needless to say that the discussion was a closely guarded secret. Though Nagaland today is outside the administrative jurisdiction of Assam, yet it was felt necessary to obtain the approval of the Chief Minister of Assam of the political plan that Kevichusa mooted in that discussion before the plan could be forwarded to New Delhi for its acceptance.

A discussion between the Chief Minister and Kevichusa was accordingly arranged and for this purpose, it is reported that Kevichusa who had already left here for Dimapur which has since become his "operation base" was contacted on his way at Shillong and sent back to Nowgong.

The matter came up for discussion in the recently concluded short Autumn session of the State Assembly when Comrade Phani Bora moved a calling attention motion to discuss the situation arising out of the deprecation of the Naga hostiles in the areas

bordering Assam and Nagaland. Bora wanted to know from the Chief Minister if he had any discussion with Kevichusa and if so, what was that discussion.

The Chief Minister admitted that he had a discussion with Kevichusa who was a retired official of the Assam Government and "an important person" in Nagaland. The Chief Minister said that he wanted to know from Kevichusa the law and order situation in Nagaland and about (Kevichusa's) opinion about the situation. He also wanted to know why Kevichusa who had joined the Naga People's Convention (NPC) at its first session could not find himself in a position to continue his association with it.

What reply Kevichusa gave to this last question the Chief Minister did not tell the House. But it is gathered from knowledgeable circles that Kevichusa severed his connection with the NPC over the question of Nagaland's remaining within India. While the NPC took a firm stand to keep Nagaland within India as opposed to the demand of the rebels for a sovereign Nagaland outside India, Kevichusa is reported to have differed and walked out.

Diabolical Plan

The Chief Minister disclosed that according to Kevichusa top priority should be given to the restoration of peace in Nagaland and a political settlement might come later. In fact, said the Chief Minister, according to Kevichusa, any attempt at political settlement at this stage might even delay the restoration of peace.

The Chief Minister did not disclose what his reaction to that plan was or what concrete plan Kevichusa suggested for restoration of peace without a political settlement.

But according to a very reliable source, Kevichusa wanted that he should be made the successor to Dr. Ao. If that was done, he wanted to "reorganise" the Interim Body, bringing in the hostile elements who, as reported earlier, would not mind joining the Interim Body if they could turn it into an organ of their own.

Thus the plan was to keep the political future of Nagaland open while converting the Interim Body into an organ of the hostile elements who today cannot function overground, but might do so if the Interim Body could be captured by them.

It is also learnt that Kevichusa wanted a general amnesty for the rebels as a condition for the restoration of peace. Here you have the grand strategy of this "peace-maker" to make a presence of Nagaland to the rebels, thus upsetting the advance made by the leaders of the NPC at great risk to themselves. Who knows, if this plan were to succeed Nagaland might one day be severed

YOUNG WORKERS' ALL-INDIA MEET

A Consultative Conference of Young Workers is being jointly convened by the AITUC and the All-India Youth Federation, in New Delhi, on November 19 and 20, 1961.

The Conference will discuss the specific problems faced by young workers in the factories and establishments, problems connected with opening up of possibilities for general and technical education, for sports, cultural and other recreational activities. The conference would also consider questions as the role of the YUs in organising the young workers and on how to mobilise the young workers in the general democratic movement.

The Conference is also expected to examine possibilities for setting up a suitable organisation to build up activity among the young workers and lay down immediate tasks.

This conference, according to the organisers, is meant for initiating a discussion on the problems and to exchange opinions. A conference on a much bigger scale may be held later, after the general elections.

It is expected that delegates from all industrial centres in the country, elected in preparatory conferences held at local levels, would be attending the Consultative Conference in Delhi.

The organisers would provide boarding and lodging facilities for delegates coming from outside Delhi.

from India without even the knowledge of the people of this country.

Kevichusa would not cooperate with the Government unless his terms were accepted. Even the Chief Minister could not make him yield ground.

It is also learnt that the Chief Minister could not accept the said plan of the "peace-maker" probably because he could see through the game. He, however, did not take the House into confidence, maybe to spare the Governor the embarrassment that such a disclosure might put the Governor to.

One wonders why neither the Governor, nor his Advisor could see through this game. Some are inclined to account for this by pointing out the difference between a public leader and an ex-service man.

Antecedents Known

Another question that is being asked here, but a reply to which is not available, is why this particular gentleman is considered so very "important" even though his antecedents, as well as his present role, are not unknown. Even the Chief Minister in his statement before the State Assembly characterised him as "an important person" in Nagaland.

One wonders how importance could continue to be attached to people like this gentleman. That he has a sinister plan up his sleeve has been amply revealed in this case. Does not this go only to undermine the foundation on which the present interim arrangement has been working?

That this apprehension is not altogether unfounded will be further evident from a rumour current here in top circles that can justly claim an inside knowledge of Nagaland. They allege that Kevichusa and persons of his bent of mind have the support of one wing of authority (the Army) insofar as the plan for keeping the issue of political settlement in abeyance is concerned.

All these factors, perhaps, made the members of the Interim Body feel that there was not only a soft attitude on the part of the administration towards the rebels, but also, to

an extent, an attempt to bring in rebel elements into the Interim Body.

It is not unlikely that this feeling made them speak out plainly their feeling about the attitude of the administration towards them. It may be mentioned here that the negotiation with Kevichusa was conducted behind the back of the Interim Body or its Executive Council.

Change For Democracy

All these developments that have now come to light have only strengthened the earlier belief that the policy in Nagaland needs radical change so that the statehood with all its paraphernalia of democratic institutions might be ushered in expeditiously, so that the people there might be taken along the path of democracy, peace and prosperity.

Should the administration maintain any half-heartedness in its attitude towards the rebels, this process, it is feared, will be retarded bringing in its trail a longer period of suffering for the people.

Competent political circles here maintain that if there is to be any change, it should aim at strengthening and expediting the democratic process if peace and prosperity are to be achieved in Nagaland.

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AS THE TWENTY-SECOND MEETS—A RAPID SURVEY OF EARLIER CPSU CONGRESSES

by VASIL MOSKOVSKY

(The author, who is Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federative Republic has participated in many Party Congresses. At the Nineteenth Congress he was elected to the Party's Central Auditing Commission)

IN a talk on the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union I had recently with a visitor from abroad, a historian, he asked a question—frequently put to me: "In your contemporary historical literature you relate major events, as a rule, to congresses of the Communist Party, Why is that?"

"Party congresses," I answered him, "and the resolutions they adopt are landmarks in Soviet history. Every new stage in our progress toward communism is always linked with a particular congress. The congresses play so important a role because of the great prestige the Party enjoys among the people and the fact that it is the ruling Party, the leading and guiding force of the Soviet people."

A congress is the highest organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Regular congresses are held at least once every four years. Special congresses may be called either by the Party's Central Committee on its own initiative or on the demand of at least one-third of the total membership of the Party represented at the previous congress.

The decision to call the congress and the question to be discussed must be published in the press at least a month and a half before it convenes. The congress decides major questions facing the Party and the country. It hears and approves the reports of the Party's Central Committee and Central Auditing Commission, re-examines and revises the Party programme and Rules and elects the new Central Committee and Central Auditing Commission.

It maps out the country's general line in domestic and foreign policy and outlines the programme of its economic and cultural development. The basis of representation is fixed by the Central Committee. For the Twenty-second Congress, one voting delegate has been elected for every 2,000 members and one delegate with a voice but no vote for every 2,000 candidate members. The delegates are elected at regional Party conferences and congresses of the Union Republics.

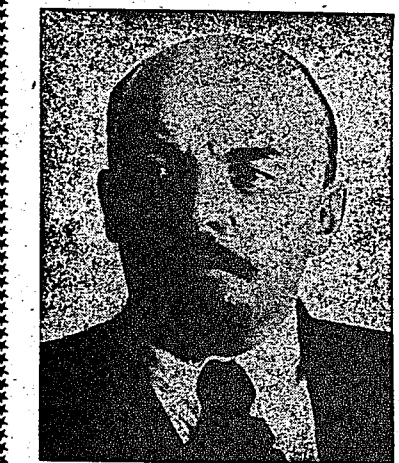
The principal result of the Second Congress of the RSDLP was the founding of a revolutionary Marxist Party, the Bolshevik Party. The ideological and organisational principles on which it was founded had been worked out by Lenin and his comrades-in-arms, who were already beginning to be called Leninists, even then. The Party members in the main were professional revolutionaries tempered in class battles.

The Congress adopted a programme and the Party Rules and outlined the principal tactical questions facing the Party. The programme consisted of two parts—a minimum programme and a maximum programme.

The appearance of a revolutionary party of the working class was of great importance for the country's future. Besides carrying on strikes to improve working and living conditions, the working-class movement advanced political demands for democratic freedoms.

It was a time of great change. The working class, a

The minimum programme defined the immediate tasks for the Party's guidance of the revolutionary struggle of the working class; to overthrow Czarism and establish a democratic republic, introducing a powerful revolutionary force, had appeared on the scene. Revolution in Russia was maturing. It broke out in 1905 in an armed uprising of the workers against the Czarist autocracy. The uprising was



V. I. LENIN

duce an eight-hour workday, and achieve full equality for all nations. The maximum programme indicated the long-term objective of the Party, namely, the building of a socialist society.

A Time Of Great Change

The appearance of a revolutionary party of the working class was of great importance for the country's future. Besides carrying on strikes to improve working and living conditions, the working-class movement advanced political demands for democratic freedoms.

It was a time of great change. The working class, a

veloping to the point where it furthered the interests of the workers, both urban and rural, the interests of all the people.

The Bolshevik Party called on the people to demand that the composition of the Government be changed and that its policy be altered in behalf of the people, thus pursuing its openly declared aim of peacefully transforming the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution.

But the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie retaliated with bloody attacks against the workers and their revolutionary organisations and forced the Bolsheviks to change tactics.

In July 1917 the Sixth Congress of the Party, representing a membership of 240,000 met secretly in Petrograd. The bourgeois press had been viciously baiting the Bolsheviks, and Lenin had to hide in a hut in Razliv, not far from Petrograd.

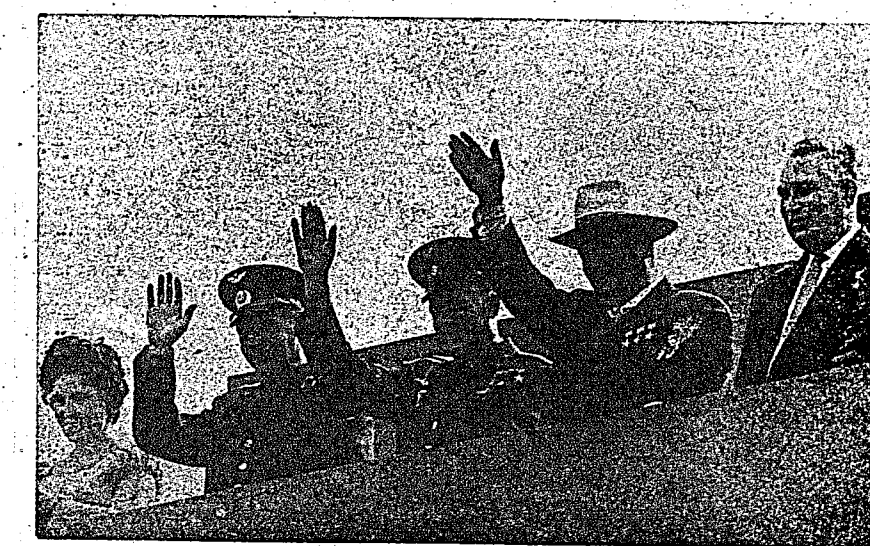
From there he guided the work of the Congress, which proclaimed the policy of an armed uprising and the establishment of a true people's power. It addressed a manifesto to all workers, soldiers and peasants, calling to them to prepare for the decisive battles, for the struggle for a new life.

The Revolution broke out in the early morning hours of October 25 (November 7 by the new calendar) in Petrograd (now Leningrad). The Provisional Government was overthrown and the first Soviet Government was proclaimed with Lenin at its head.

Following the victory of the October Revolution our Party became the ruling party, and it was immediately faced with complex problems. On the solutions hinged the fate of the country and the people.

On the very first day of Soviet power, the Party energetically began to wage a struggle for peace, for an immediate end to the war. The Decree on Peace was among the earliest issued by the Government. It invited all belligerent countries to conclude a general demo-

* SEE PAGE 10



August 9, 1961 at the Tribune of Lenin-Stalin Mausoleum: Celebrating Titov's 25-hour orbital flight in space, the Titovs, Gagarin, Khrushchov and Kozlov

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GLIMPSSES OF GAGARIN



FABULOUS WELCOME

At midday on April 14, 1961, an Ilyushin-18 plane escorted by seven MIG fighters swept over Vnukovo airport and went on to circle low over Moscow. The first man from space was about to arrive. The airport was decorated with flags and bunting and slogans hailing Yuri Gagarin, Conqueror of the Cosmos.

None could remember such a welcome... Everyone of importance in the Soviet Union who could be there, was there, straining to shake the hand, or catch a glimpse, of the man who had seen and done things that no mortal had seen and done before...

Muscovites packed the last ten miles of the built-up part of the route from the airport, bouquets of flowers in hands, flags with rocket silhouettes, pictures of Gagarin, slogans and banners.

Red Square where a meeting was scheduled after the airport reception, was a sea of people and riot of colour. Party and Government leaders with Gagarin as the focal point gathered on the mausoleum tribune under which lie the embalmed bodies of Lenin and Stalin.

Gagarin listened with the solemn, awed look of a man realising for the first time that he had done something really big as Khrushchov spoke.

"If the name of Columbus, who crossed the Atlantic Ocean and discovered America, has been living on through the ages, what is to be said about our wonderful hero, Comrade Gagarin, who penetrated into outer space, circled the entire terrestrial globe and returned safely to Earth. His name will be immortal in the history of mankind."

Half a million of cheering humanity paraded past the

packed square... Later in the evening, the culmination of the day's rejoicing—a fabulous Kremlin reception... No Soviet citizen had ever been so feted and decorated in such a short time. And yet Yuri Gagarin throughout remained a very mortal bit of flesh and blood, a father, husband and son, with wife, parents, brothers and sisters like other ordinary humans. All entitled to a share of reflected glory, wiping tears of pride and joy from moist eyes.

Family And Education

Mama Gagarin burst into tears when told that Yuri had been chosen as a spaceman. She confesses that she doesn't know whether it was pride or fear that was upper-most; it was certainly a shock.

She is a woman of her time in Russia; solid, reliable, earnest, devoted to her family and conscious of her responsibilities. Her son, Yuri Alexeyevich, was born on March 9, 1934. Valentin, his eldest brother, was then 10, his sister Zoya 7. A fourth child, Boris, came after Yuri.

Russia had not yet fully emerged from the turmoil of the Revolution and the lot of the peasant was still hard. And the Gagarins were peasants.

Papa Alexei had virtually no schooling, had taught himself to read and write. A leg injury had kept him from an active

part in the Revolution, and this was not to improve his farming capabilities. He became, in the tiny village of Gzhatsk, near Smolensk, an odd-job man, but gradually switched full-time to a craft that he mastered as an artist: carpentry.

War came a few weeks after Yuri started school. The lightning advance of the German armies brought them to within a few miles of the Gagarin home, and the village became a battlefield over which both the German and Soviet troops fought furiously and — for the village — disastrously.

The first plane that Yuri ever saw, crashed. It was an old, bullet riddled Yak, and it came down in a meadow near the farmhouse. Two airmen escaped unhurt, and slept by the wreckage to guard it. In the morning, after an icy night, they found that sleeping between them was another small guard—Yuri.

During the German occupation some of the worst recorded atrocities were committed in the district, and death became a friend to many of the Gagarin neighbours. The children helped the Resistance in many ways they were well suited for.

With the end of the war the villagers of Gzhatsk set about rebuilding their shattered homes. First to be built was a school. Among its first pupils were Yuri and Boris.

The future cosmonaut's first uniform was that of a foundryman. He was in Moscow with six years of schooling behind him, training as a metal worker at the Lyubertsky Plant making heavy machinery.

From there he was one of the three chosen to continue training at a newly built trade school, at Saratov-on-Volga, where the three R's were combined with learning how to build tractors.

During his years there Gagarin became a versatile sportsman—ski-ing, volleyball and basketball were his favourites.

After simultaneously completing secondary school and getting his foundryman's certificate, Gagarin was transferred for higher studies to a technical school at Saratov—and here he put his foot on the first rung of the ladder that was to lead him up to the Cosmodrome lift and a further couple of hundred miles up into outer space.

The teacher who escorted him to Saratov says that within hours of arrival they went into town and Gagarin saw a notice, "Aeroclub". "Ah, my friends, that would be something, to get in there," he said—and promptly did.

A few years later when Gagarin graduated, with an "excellent" from the technical school, he had wings as well as his foundryman's crossed hammers on his tunic. And it was clear the wings had won.

No earth-bound factory for him in future. It was a short hop from the Saratov Aeroclub to the Orenburg Air Force School—much to the dismay of father Alexei and mother Anna.

As an air force trainee Gagarin was good but not ex-

ceptional. His marks were more for perseverance and careful preparation for everything he did rather than brilliance.

"Don't imagine he was an infallible cadet, a child prodigy. He wasn't. He's an impetuous enthusiastic young man who made the same slips as any other," says one of his instructors.

Despite his size he became an excellent basketball player and captained the School junior cadets' team. In one key game in which his team beat the senior cadets to the surprise of the latter and the onlookers, Yuri explained the result to the other captain. "Why did we win? Because we played better? Not at all. We won by sheer determination. We were bent on winning while you hadn't made up your minds." The incident is typical of the single-minded way he went after what he wanted.

It was while he was at the Orenburg Air Force School that Yuri met his black-eyed Valentina—a gentle, madonna-faced trainee at the local medical school. He seems to have handled this matter in the same single-minded way.

Instead of the bachelor Gagarin who arrived at "N" unit in the late autumn of 1957, there were three by the autumn of 1959 when the time came to leave for the space training headquarters, Valentina in the meantime had given birth to a chubby baby daughter, Yelena.

From the Callow youth sighing enviously at the Saratov "Aeroclub" sign eight years earlier, Yuri Gagarin had become a first-rate jet fighter pilot, "a born flyer and a brave flyer" as his regimental instructor told him; partly conditioned by complicated aerobatics for the sort of training his new assignment demanded, his obstinate, tenacious character well fitted for the ordeals that he knew lay ahead.

How and why was he chosen? The most authoritative answer is given in the official report:

"The first space flight could only be performed"; it says, "by a man who realising the tremendous importance of the task set to him, had conscientiously and voluntarily agreed to devote all his forces and even perhaps life itself to the accomplishment of the outstanding exploit."

"Y. A. Gagarin made the best showing during the training period... fully justifying the great confidence in him of being the world's first space pilot."

The Fateful Night

WHEN Yuri Gagarin went to bed on the night of April 11, 1961, he did not know that tomorrow was to be his day, the day that in future generations would always be connected with his name, the day when he would be the first man in history to see the whole of the earth's globe.

He was the first on the list of candidates, certainly, but many factors beyond his control stood between him and Vostok, whose take-off

time was only twelve hours away.

The other two young men in that white stone building were not stand-ins for Gagarin. At midnight on April 11, they stood an equal chance of being fired into outer space at dawn.

All three of them were in some respects supermen, trained to a pitch of physical and mental fitness that was scarcely conceivable. They were among the fittest men alive.

Yet Gagarin was different, with one factor that had stood out through all the gruelling tests that had led up to this moment. He had, the scientists agreed, a little more than the others; an inner calmness, an equanimity they could not match.

He surely was the man. But all that night the doctors watched and waited.

on to the gantry hoist that was to take him to the nose-cone of the rocket 100 feet above. He stopped, turned, waved both his arms, and was carried out of sight.

Ground control communication was tested; amused operators in the concrete and armour-glass bunker a mile away from the launch, ing pad heard the snatch of an army song: "I love you, life... I hope the feeling's mutual" coming from inside the space helmet.

Checking all instruments took ninety minutes. Then the trolleys and gantries were removed and cables disconnected.

Committed To Space

The count-down starts from 20...19...18... till it comes to zero. The huge clock in the

fighters, when safe wings stretched out on either side of him and he flew no higher than the next man.

Now he was higher than any birds had ever flown, hurtling upwards faster than any man had ever travelled, propelled by twenty-million horse power.

The light went out and switched to green. The giant returned to kneel on his chest. The needles flickered but he could not see them... Vostok... first stage separated... Terse, strained words, followed instantly by a new note in the control room as computers linked to the second stage rocket began streaming out coded data; followed, too, by a tiny relaxation of tension.

Gagarin was now being thrust forward with renewed impetus; overload crept toward 10 Gs—past black-out stage for untrained flyers, the

for the first time, and he loosened his straps. Instantly his body parted from the seat and he was floating, still held down by the straps, but completely relaxed. He loosened the nylon bonds still further and unclipped his face mask. Ground control asked him how he was. "Fine..." he repeated.

Already he had been in a state of zero gravity, in flight, longer than any man had ever experienced. To him it meant nothing; there was no unpleasantness, nothing unexpected. He reached down and switched on the globe navigator. This was a space-age instrument straight from science fiction. No man had ever used the whole globe as his chart before now. It was revolving, slowly, as his position altered in relation to the Earth.

At 17,500 Miles Per Hour

A cross in the centre indicated the exact spot below him. Another switch, and the spot was pulled up into sharp magnification. He was tracing his own invisible equator around the earth; Siberia, the Pacific... into darkness, for he was now moving into the shadowed part of the globe. Through the porthole, though, he could just make out the outline of islands and streamers of white and grey cloud.

Outside Vostok was utter silence, absolute silence, as the ship, now a satellite, fell around the Earth like a stone dropping down a bottomless well. The velocity meter was rock steady, 17,500 m.p.h. Radiation counters clicked busily, telemetering their continuously altering readings back to Earth, mapping the lethal field first probed by the Sputniks of two and three years ago.

Vostok sailed on, and Gagarin sang... Through his headphones he heard an appreciative chuckle. "When you're through singing, we have got a professional," and clearly, with only a trace of atmospherics to heighten the effect, came the nostalgic-charged lyrics of "Moscow Nights", a hokey-sweet hit tune that throbs with emotion. Gagarin knew it well; Moscow Radio plays it every day, but it had never been played like this before...

Zero plus forty-five minutes, and South America, Argentina, was below. "Flight normal... Feeling well..." he called.

10.15. He reported: "Over Africa," and then, in reply to a query, "Standing up well to weightlessness." At 10.16, as the minute hand of the chronometer passed zero plus sixty-nine, the red panel light glowed to give notice of descent in ten minutes. He was 8,000 km from the landing ground.

In front of him the magic eye globe was still revolving in its socket, and he pushed the switch for magnification. A glass strip etched with a tiny white triangle, moved slowly towards a thick red line. When the two met, that was the exact moment for the firing of the retro-rockets. The area inside the triangle would be the landing point, Smelovka.

Gagarin released a catch to let it down into the fully reclining position, and waited.

His present speed was far too fast for descent. To come down and hit the atmosphere's dense layers at 17,000 m.p.h. plus would be like falling into a furnace, and just as disastrous. Friction would consume the capsule in ten seconds.

To slow the ship down to less than a quarter of its speed, retro-rockets were to be fired forward to act as giant brakes. As it slowed, so Vostok would fall nearer the upper fringe of the atmosphere until it was safe to re-enter.

There was a wide safety margin, but many factors were still untried, and everything depended on the retro-rockets and the computer that would give the signal for them to fire.

Even firmly strapped in, Gagarin felt the atmosphere around him in the cabin change, almost imperceptibly. The sensation of weightlessness left him. The brakes had fired with a shattering roar and he watched, awed, as white tongues of flames streaked past the porthole. They were racing back from the nose-cone, enveloping the entire shell as the exploding energy grappled with the new pull of gravity.

Coming Down In 4000 Degrees C.

The solar thermometers in the cabin and on Earth shot up to register a fantastic 4,000° C.; the skin was hotter than a bar of molten steel, but the two refrigeration units, the cooling system and the air regeneration equipment pumped steadily on.

Overload was greater than on the way up; the pressure was painful in the extreme. Every muscle and nerve was being hammered by vibration. Instruments began to swim in front of his eyes, but through it all the clock was visible.

10.27. There were twenty-

eight minutes to go. On the T. V. screens Gagarin's face retreated in profile until it was almost flat. The nose was pushed in, the eye sockets grew larger, and shadowy. Every bone in his face was sharply outlined by dead-white skin. Speech was impossible, though he could just hear the engine, telling him that all was well.

The pressure was slowly lifted. After one and half minutes he was warned by orange lights and radio to prepare for landing, "Above target, on course, para-brakes," called control, and Gagarin felt a push in the chest as the parachutes, a huge cluster of them, billowed out high above the capsule. His hand had been on the cord he had to pull for emergency ejection, the whole seat would have been fired out of the cabin and parachutes under it would have automatically opened.

As he floated down gently, he could see from his window the multi-coloured squares of familiar farmland rushing up to meet him; familiar because this was near Saratov, his old training base. The descent was quite fast, but by far the most sedate part of his historic journey.

From the control room at Balkonur, ninety miles away, even the elderly raced for the exits. A convoy of waiting cars and trucks roared off with a dozen excited passengers. Scientific calmness and detachment were gone, for the moment...

Two women working in the fields were staring at the sky. The dot grew larger, changing from black to white. Parachutists, one whispered. Alarmed but determined, they ran towards the object as it drifted over the trees and hit the earth in the middle of a long, stubbly field.

As they ran a hatch opened and a head emerged, followed by a body in a sky-blue suit. Gagarin had wriggled out of his outer covering; it was too bulky for comfort. But thoughts of the U.2 were flashing through the minds of the women until the spaceman grinned and called: "Hallo give me a hand." At the realization of what they had seen, one woman burst into a fit of giggling, while the other almost collapsed with shock.

A man arrived and shook Gagarin's hand. The little party was still standing, looking at each other with mutual delight, when the first car, from a near-by military post which had been alerted for the touch-down, came racing up...

Half an hour later the telephone was ringing in a little house that had the name Gagarin on the door. Valentina answered...



Yuri, Valya and two-year old Elena

At 5.30 a.m. a white-smocked doctor paused by his bed for a final look. He tapped the sleeping figure lightly on the shoulder. "Time, Yuri," he said softly. The blue eyes opened instantly, and he sat up.

"Did you sleep well?" Gagarin nodded. There was a question in his eyes behind the one he asked: "Am I to get up?"

The doctor answered both with a smile...



Gradually he lost his identity as a man as he was zipped into a series of envelopes that constituted his space-suit; a complex piece of scientific tailoring without which his blood would foam like boiling water when he got beyond the reaches of the atmospheric pressure, without which his body would be crushed to pulp under eight to ten times his own weight during take-off.

At the foot of the massive towering silver-and-black rocket, festooned with cables and coloured wire, a brief conference was held, as the last clip in Gagarin's space helmet was pushed home.

A photographer called to Gagarin to halt, as he stepped

control room shows 9.07 a.m. Moscow time as an exploding roar fills the air and the microphones as the giant ship lifts off, so smoothly, in a hurricane of white-hot flames, steam and swirling smoke. Within seconds it is majestically rising above the storm, gathering speed at a fantastic rate, committing the body and soul of Yuri Gagarin to outer space.

Gagarin lay strapped down in his seat in a tunnel of instruments, each one humming, clicking, buzzing, flashing. It was zero plus 100 seconds, and the pressure was easing. To his left without moving his head, which had felt as though it was bursting, he read the altimeter: 7,000 metres. Time for the first stage to burn out. The thrust indicator was slackening perceptibly, and the vibration was less.

The rubber-mounted panels all around were still quivering, but even the smallest figures were readable.

Above him a red light, larger than the others, glowed momentarily; the warning for the second stage ignition. Five seconds ticked by on the clock above the TV lens. Acceleration load was almost normal—normal for supersonic flight, normal for those aerobatics he had performed so often above his own countryside in jet

point where his body was weighing about half a ton. He was still conscious, however. He could dimly see a glowing orange cross on the panel in front of his wincing eyes.

Vostok's speed was approaching its peak of 17,500 m.p.h. he would be out at any second. Cabin temperature was steady at 68° F, humidity correct at 65. Already, the complete orbital statistics had been confirmed: apogee 327 km., perigee 181 km., inclination to the Earth's axis 64° 57'.

9.11 Moscow time. Gagarin had left the Earth's atmosphere. The second stage had separated and fallen away. Temperature and velocity fell sharply. There were silent handshakes 200 miles below. In the cabin Gagarin felt the sudden release as his trajectory altered and he fell into the huge swinging curve that was to take him around the world. He was in orbit.

Gagarin had counted from the moment of separation. Now his words came through clearly... "18...19...20... this is Vostok. Last stage gone..." He pulled his body towards the cabin window and the dim light beyond. "I can see the Earth in a haze. Feeling fine". He added, after a second look, "How beautiful"... Now he was able to move



Gagarin family with Soviet leaders at the Kremlin reception on April 14, 1961. From left to right: Malinovsky, Voroshilov, father Alexei Gagarin and mother Anna, Khrushchov, Gagarin and wife, Brezhnev and Kozlov. Front: Sister Zoya, brother Valentin and wife and younger brother, Boris.

Forward To Communism On The Path Charted By Lenin

* FROM PAGE 7

cratic peace, one without annexations and indemnities.

But Britain, France, the United States and the other Entente countries did not accept the proposal, and the Soviet Government was therefore compelled to negotiate alone for peace with Germany and her allies.

As negotiations proceeded, it became evident that the German imperialists intended to impose a humiliating peace. Considering the domestic and international situation, the country's devastation and the fact that the army, worn out by the war, would not survive an offensive, the Party decided, on Lenin's recommendations, to accept the onerous peace terms. It was the only way to save the young Soviet Republic. A breathing space was imperative to gather strength, to create new armed forces—the Red Army—that would be able to defend the gains of the revolution.

Not everybody agreed. There was no unity in the Party on the issue of a peace treaty with Germany even after it was signed on March 3, 1918. The so-called "Left Communists" led by Trotsky and Bukharin, called openly for repudiation of the treaty.

To settle the question the Seventh Congress of the Party was convened the same month. It affirmed the correctness of Lenin's line and its support of the Government in signing the treaty. Thus the respite needed to stabilise the country's economy and build up a new army was won.

But the peace treaty was shortlived, soon broken up by interventionist foreign powers.

The Party until then had been called the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. On Lenin's recommendation the Seventh Congress changed the name of the Russian Communist Party.

Communist Society —The Goal

Speaking on the motion for a change of name, Lenin said, "In starting on socialist changes, we must clearly set before ourselves the goal toward which they are directed in the final analysis—namely, the creation of a communist society."

It was under the most difficult condition of foreign military intervention and civil war that the young Soviet Republic took its first steps along an unbeaten path of history. And it was the Communist Party that guided its steps.

With the October Socialist Revolution an accomplished fact and the old programme largely effected the Party had to work out a new one to suit the changed situation. The new programme for the all-out socialist construction of the country was adopted by the Eighth Congress of the Party in 1919.

Life had demonstrated the vitality of the principles on which the Party's programme was based, principles that had

grown out of the country's historical development. The first programme, adopted in 1903, declared that a revolution was inevitable in Russia and the revolution took place. The programme adopted in 1919 proclaimed the construction of a socialist society in Russia and that society was built.

"We can declare with pride," Nikita S. Khrushchov said recently, "that the programme worked out by Lenin has been put into practice by our Party. Socialism in the Soviet Union has triumphed completely and for all time. Today the Soviet people are successfully building communism."

The goal of all Communist Party activity has been to build the new society. That is manifest in all major decisions made by Party Congresses since the October Revolution.

Lenin's Plan Of Electrification

With the Civil War still under way, Lenin advanced the idea of electrifying the country within a 20-year period. In March 1920 the Party's Ninth Congress adopted a resolution "On the Immediate Tasks of Economic Development."

The chief point in the Lenin plan was Russia's electrification as the most important condition for the rehabilitation of the national economy and its subsequent reconstruction on the basis of advanced techniques.

There were innumerable sceptics who called the plan for electrification fantastic.

Not the delegates to the Congress, however. They were men who could see into the future. Many of them had come to Moscow directly from the fighting fronts, but war was not their calling. They were Communists, and Communists are by nature profound lovers of peace. Their element is creative work and their goal is communism, the acme of human creative work and happiness.

When the thunder of the Civil War battles subsided and the long awaited peace came, industrial and agricultural reconstruction began in earnest and made unbelievably rapid headway. The Party's Tenth Congress and those that followed kept the country's eyes centred on the major problem—economic development.

The general line of the Party, worked out by Lenin, was to transform backward peasant Russia in a short span of time into an advanced industrial country with a modern agriculture.

The Party regarded the country's industrialisation as a paramount condition for building socialism. The plans for socialist construction worked out by the Party were fought with violence by those classes hostile to the people. Although they had been defeated on the battlefield, they did not lay down their weapons. The ide-

ology of those classes could not but influence the unstable and vacillating elements in the Party. And this led to the appearance within the Party of opposition groups which resisted the Party's line on the building of socialism.

What the arguments of the opposition amounted to in the final analysis was that socialism could not be built in the Soviet Union so long as it was the only socialist country in the world. This was the argument of people who had no faith in the power of the working class allied with the peasantry, people who were frightened by the difficulties they foresaw.

Time and events proved their arguments invalid. Led by the Party, the Soviet people went on to build socialism.

When the Fourteenth Congress of the Party met in 1925 the country, ravaged by the First World War and foreign intervention, was nearing complete rehabilitation. The Congress proclaimed in its resolutions the Leninist course of rapid development of large-scale industry, one that could supply the new machines needed by industry, transport and agriculture.

The Fifteenth Congress of the Party, in 1927, held that the country's development could not successfully proceed with a large-scale socialist industry on the one hand and a multitude of small peasant holdings farmed with primitive hand implements on the other.

The Congress adopted a resolution calling for the launching of the all-out collectivisation of agriculture and for large-scale socialist farm production based on new techniques. The resolution cautioned against forcing the peasants into collective farms. It declared that participation must be strictly voluntary.

It was the Fifteenth Congress that proposed the first five-year plan for national economic development. This plan, sponsored by the Communists and approved by all the people, marked an important stage in the country's progress toward an unparalleled flourishing of our country's economy and culture and a higher standard of living.

The first five-year plan was completed ahead of schedule—in four years and three months. Subsequent Party congresses initiated the second five-year plan for the years 1933-37 and the third five-year plan for the years 1938-42. This last plan was interrupted by Nazi Germany's attack on the Soviet Union.

After Germany was defeated, the country resumed its peaceful labour. The fourth five-year plan was begun in 1946. The first post-war congress, the nineteenth, mapped out the fifth five-year plan.

The Twentieth Congress of the Party met in February 1956. The Central Committee's report, delivered by Nikita S. Khrushchov, presented a profound and comprehensive analysis of the international and domestic situation, a review of the Party's work after the Nineteenth Congress and

a formulation of the major theses which were an important contribution to the theory and practice of building communism. The entire world followed the deliberations of the Congress, which was natural.

Twentieth Congress

The country had entered a period when the building of a communist society was no longer a point in the Party programme but had become an immediate and practical task of the Party and the people.

Industry was developing apace, agriculture was advancing rapidly, science was making monumental strides, and living standards were rising—all this was a solid foundation for creating the abundance of material and cultural values required for building a communist society, under which the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" would prevail.

Since in its movement toward communism the Soviet Union has to attain the world's highest productive level, one of the cardinal tasks the Twentieth Congress set for the Party and the people was to catch up with and surpass in the briefest possible time the most developed capitalist countries in per capita output.

The Congress understood the fact that in our present epoch socialism was no longer confined to one country but had developed into a world system and thereby created new conditions for the solution of domestic and international problems.

At the Congress Nikita S. Khrushchov developed the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems as it applies to the present epoch, when there are two world camps. Marxism teaches that socialism will inevitably be victorious in all countries. Answering the question of how this will happen, the Congress resolution emphasised that the victory would not come as a result of the "export" of revolution. Revolution by "export" is alien to the Marxist concept of the historical process.

Marxists hold that the victory of socialism will come as a natural and inevitable result of the development of and the struggle between internal contradictions, from which no capitalist country is free.

Of great importance are the theses formulated by the Congress: that the forms through which different countries will pass toward socialism are varied, that the socialist revolution may develop peacefully, and that the possibility of the latter is becoming greater in our time.

The Twentieth Congress arrived at the important conclusion that under present world conditions, war is not inevitable, that it can be averted and peace pre-

served by the concerted effort of all peace-loving people.

The Congress discussed overcoming the personality cult, which is alien to Marxism-Leninism. It boldly and in a principled manner criticised the errors relating to Stalin's cult of personality and outlined measures to completely eliminate its consequences.

The Party was thoroughly aware of the fact that this open discussion would be grist for the mill of the Soviet Union's enemies, but it was moved by considerations of Marxist principle and the interests of communist construction.

In coming out against the personality cult it was necessary, above all, to make certain that no such thing would happen in the future, that guidance of the Party would be based on the Leninist principle of collective leadership with the active participation of millions of working people.

Once the programme of the Twentieth Congress had been carried through, the country entered a new period in its development, the period of communist construction. At this historic juncture the Party convened its Extraordinary Twentieth Congress on January 27, 1959.

The major report, given by Nikita S. Khrushchov, bore the title "Target Figures for the Economic Development of the Soviet Union, 1959-1965". It was a draft for a seven-year plan that had been discussed throughout the country for months before the Congress met.

It was a great day for our big Soviet family, particularly for those of us who belonged to the older generation and remembered the difficulties and achievements of building socialism. The seven-year plan became a component part of the programme for Communist construction and, as a result, the country has stepped its pace toward the Communist future.

The Soviet people have been meeting these seven-year plan target figures much ahead of schedule. The decisions of the last Party Congress have been translated into spacehips, bumper crops, huge housing projects, new towns built on waste steppes.

And now, once again, the Soviet people are meeting in a Party Congress, the Twentieth-second that has convened in Moscow on October 17. It will review the Party's work for the past two years, discuss urgent tasks facing the Party and the country, and consider major problems of theory and practice of Communist construction.

Nikita S. Khrushchov will deliver the Central Committee's report and speak on the draft of the new Party programme; Frol Kozlov will present the changes proposed in the Party Rules. The Congress will also elect the Party's central bodies.

The agenda item relating to the Party programme is of more than immediate significance. The last programme was adopted more than forty years ago. In the period since, the country has made giant strides forward. The new programme sums up the progress made and scientifically defines the ways of building a Communist society.

(July 1961)

TO unmask apologists for imperialism and the reactionary regime of the time, Lu Hsun hurled his "javelins" or "daggers"—as he described his satirical essays. He once expounded why he would prefer, if he had to choose, one of the three summer pests:

"Though fleas are hateful when they suck your blood, yet they are frank and straightforward. They come and bite you immediately, without uttering a word... Mosquitoes are different... to hum a long speech before they sting you is detestable. If their humming is to explain why it is right for them to feed on human blood, that will be even more detestable. Fortunately I do not understand their language."

"When flies alight after much preliminary buzzing and fuss, all they do is to lick off a little grease and sweat... and on whatever is good, beautiful and clean, they always like to leave some dropping... But after leaving the filth... they do not go far as to turn round goosingly and sneer at those things for being unclean. At least they have that much decency."

He then surmised why sparrows and deer prefer to run from man into forests and hills where there are eagles and hawks above and tigers and wolves below "to prey on them, and where they are hardly safer than at human hands."

"It may be because the latter treat them much as the fleas treat us... They bite without trying to justify themselves or concoct profound reasons. And those who are eaten do not have to admit first that they deserve to be eaten, that they are happy and convinced, and swear to be constant in their faith even unto death."

Penetrating, Subtle, Grim

Such is the vein—grim, penetrating, subtle—in which Lu Hsun wrote his 16 volumes of essays. These form the bulk of the invaluable legacy he left the people of China and the whole world. Apart from the essays, there are three collections of short stories, prose poems and reminiscences, a "Brief History of the Chinese Novel", and translations of Gogol, Gorky, Petoif and others.

His creative writings are a colourful encyclopaedia of the semi-feudal, semi-colonial Chinese society. From his first short story "The Madman's Diary" to the essays of his later years, they bear the sure hallmark of fierce hatred of all that is brutal, rotten, vile, stagnant and hypocritical in the old social and political set up.

Many of his works were pointblank exposures of atrocities committed by the imperialists and their lackeys, though the language was perforce oblique and subtle.

Lu Hsun lived at a time, in his own words, when "wind and sand lash the face and tigers and wolves prowl." It was a time when old China was in a process of disintegration and revolutionary birth, civil war and national crisis caused by foreign partition and invasion. Internal reaction was so absolute that

LU HSUN

China's Great National Writer

By Wang Chih-huan

The 80th anniversary of the birth of Lu Hsun (1881-1936), father of modern Chinese literature, was celebrated on September 25 and the 25th anniversary of his death falls on October 19. Following is a brief introduction of his life and work.

the heroes and heroines in his stories are peasants and down-trodden working people of old China, realistically portrayed with affection.

For instance, there was Jun-tu, a friend from Lu Hsun's boyhood, who on a shy youngster had delighted and enlightened him with "strange lore" about bird-trapping, the pitchforking of badgers and hedgehogs that came to eat watermelons in the fields by moonlight... but after 30 years' suffering from "many children, famines, taxes, soldiers, handits, officials and landed gentry", was fairly turned into a tattered wooden effigy.

There is the immortal Ah Q, characterized by his helpless, "moral victories" with his life torn between submission to injury and insults and occasional revolt.

And Hsiang-lin's wife, that infinitely good, patient, hard-working, long-suffering peasant woman who had not only borne on her body the brutalities of old China's feudal system, but whose spirit was finally shattered by feudal ethics and superstition.

Lu Hsun conveys all this tragedy and his protest with mastery and arresting vividness, and the sensitive reader can feel the palpitations of a great heart beneath it all.

He said he would trample down whatever blocked his onward march, "be it ancient or modern, human or supernatural, ancient canon, rare text, sacred oracle, precious idol, traditional recipe or secret nostrum."

And in artistry and rich imagery, the essays are unsurpassed by anything of the kind ever written in China.

He attacked to draw blood, to tear off masks and show what oppressors were up to, and to sound the depth of their crimes. And not only in his writing, but in his day-to-day contact with antagonists, the same strain of mordant humour was displayed.

Once when he was attending a faculty meeting of Amoy University at which he was then professor of Chinese literature, he fished a silver coin out of his pocket, placed it ostensibly on the table for all to see, before opening his speech with the words: "Since I have money, I suppose I can have my say..." This was an allusion to the obsequious attitude of the principal who had let rich contributors to the university fund to have too great a say in purely academic matters.

Comparable to his aversion for evil and evil-doers was Lu Hsun's great love for the simple labouring folk. Many of

The generous helping hand that Lu Hsun extended to young progressives and writers was proverbial. Scores of writers and translators received aid and encouragement from him. He read every manuscript submitted to him and polished the most promising with care. These manuscripts were sent to publishers with whom Lu Hsun had influence.

Once he even copied a manuscript in his own hand to keep secret the identity of the original writer as was requested.

Letters to young people in his handwriting that have been collected amount to over 1,100, totalling 800,000 words.

His simple lodgings often sheltered young people in temporary difficulties—whether political or financial. Thrice he risked his own life and safety to give asylum to Chu Shiu-pai, a Communist cultural leader on whose head was a great price and who had become Lu Hsun's bosom friend before his arrest and execution in 1935 by the Kuomintang.

That is why Mao Tse-tung has said of him: "...Not only a great man of letters, but also a great thinker and revolutionary. He was a man of unyielding integrity, free from any trace of obsequiousness or servility; such strength of character is the greatest treasure among colonial and semi-colonial peoples."

Lu Hsun, representing the great majority of the people, had no equal in past history, and was a national hero on the cultural front, the most correct; the bravest, the firmest, the most loyal and zealous hero who stormed and broke into the enemy's lines."

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Tagore Centenary Festival

AS the days of the Tagore Centenary Peace Festival are drawing near its different aspects—the central exhibition on life and labours of Tagore, the cultural programmes, the seminars, and other sections of the Mela—are taking final shape.

A broad independent committee has been formed with Tagore scholars, writers, thinkers, artists, musicians, dancers etc. from all over India to have a grand international festival in Calcutta on November 3 to 12, 1961 at the Park Circus Maidan. It will be held in form of a mela, in keeping with National tradition.

There have already been many celebrations in India. But the importance of the Tagore Centenary Peace Festival are many:

First, it is not organised by any permanent organisation with a set idea, but by people from all over India from all walks of life, with divergent views and tastes, who have joined the Committee which

has, as though, sprung spontaneously from the hearts of the people. Therefore, we hope it has an elastic and catholic approach and is accessible to all. It is not organised by only literary groups, Government or any political party or with any commercial view.

Secondly, the membership fee is Rs. 2.00 NP. only, which enables a person to join the Festival for ten days—to get thoroughly entertained and profusely informed about the great poet. So it is accessible to all both morally and economically.

Thirdly, artistic groups from all over India are coming to this festival to pay their homage to the poet through the medium of their own artistic activities.

Fourthly, various folk arts of India will be well represented. Rabindranath Tagore was one of the earliest promoters of folk art and music. So ample scope will be given to display folk handicrafts and folk songs will be sung.

Fifthly, the fair will be of international character. The organisers have drawn

struggle against tuberculosis. He had lived in the manner he had written in two lines of a classical poem composed in 1932:

Fierce-browed I glare at the thousand who point their fingers at me; Head-bowed I stand a willing ox to the meek child.

Because of his association with and acceptance of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, Lu Hsun became active in revolutionary mass struggles and the standard-bearer of the left-wing literary movement in the last decade of his life (1927-36). This period was the crowning glory of his militant life, dedicated from early youth to the rejuvenation of his country but interrupted by a long period of disillusionment and groping after the failure of the 1911 revolution to achieve the true liberation of the country.

His active participation in the new cultural movement of May 1919, which was inspired by the Socialist Revolution in Russia, guided him to his final acceptance of Marxism.

Romain Rolland said Lu Hsun's works are universal. Like all great literature that is universal, Lu Hsun is first of all deeply national. Apart from his great erudition in Chinese literature and culture, he achieved that primarily by identifying himself and his creative work with the fate of his nation.

That is why Mao Tse-tung has said of him:

"...Not only a great man of letters, but also a great thinker and revolutionary. He was a man of unyielding integrity, free from any trace of obsequiousness or servility; such strength of character is the greatest treasure among colonial and semi-colonial peoples."

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As already mentioned Guru Gopinath will be coming with his troupe of 20 artists of Viswa Kala Kendra to present Tagore's CHITRANGADA and classical Kathakali dance. Bharat Natyam will be presented by Kumari Padma and Party from Tamilnad, who will also stage Tagore's SHYAMA and folk forms of songs.

Andhra's D. Y. Sampat-
* SEE OVERLEAF

The Hindi Scene Today

By P. C. Gupta

SURVEYING the Hindi literary scene today one sees signs of a great deal of creative activity. These are a welcome feature of the post-Freedom era.

The elder generation seems to suffer from a sense of exhaustion—barring a few notable exceptions like Yashpal. But to make up for it there is immense activity among the younger writers, poets, critics, novelists and short story writers.

The situation with regard to drama has improved slightly owing to the intrusion of the Radio, but still remains far from satisfactory.

Our writers possess a healthy social consciousness, though many of them are attracted by formalist, Western trends. An illustration of this is provided by the prevalence of Prayogavada in the so-called new Hindi poetry.

Hindi fiction too displays an occasional slant towards formalism, though in this literary genre healthy social strains predominate. In fact we may say categorically that fiction is the strongest feature of Hindi literature today.

An unaccountable characteristic of the situation is the absence of progressive journals, and thus the lack of a forum for organized effort at the creation of literature with a revolutionary content in it. This may also partially explain the silence that has descended on leading progressive critics. Other journals now demand a certain subservience towards their point of view.

Considering this the closing down of first the Hans and then Naya Sahitya was a great calamity. The Naya Path did not acquire the vigour and strength of its earlier predecessors. It failed to obtain the cooperation of leading patriotic and progressive writers.

We ought to have a journal which may become the focus of the strong and vigorous, socially-conscious literature which is being produced in abundance today.

Outstanding Fiction

THINKING of outstanding recent works of fiction in Hindi a score of names occur to the mind at once. The most remarkable work of the post-Freedom era is Jhootha-Sach by Yashpal. This is a picture of post-Freedom India and covers a canvas of epic dimensions. It brings to life middle-class Punjabi society before partition, speaks of the tragedy and the terrible communal holocaust that followed partition and finally of life settling down painfully and slowly in a new India.

In his novel Yashpal achieves new heights and we may describe this work as his magnum opus, his greatest creation.

Other great achievements in fiction come to mind: Maila Anchal by Renu; Boond aur Samudra by Amrit Lal Nagar; Nagarjuna's novels of life in Mithila which include Bal-

channa, Baba Batesarnath and Varun ke Bete; Satti Maiya ka Chaura by Bhairava Prasad Gupta. These novels have contributed to the creation of a new form in Hindi—the regional novel.

The regional novel studies with particular devotion a small tract of country, a beloved bit of land. This is writing in the manner of Trollope, Hardy or Arnold Bennett who made a specialized study of life in Barseet, Wessex and the Five Towns.

Renu's Maila Anchal was his first novel and remarkable tour-de-force in Hindi fiction. Its prose captured many haunting rhythms of life and carried a rich flavour of the earth with it. The novel was filled with a revolutionary fervour and exposed the corruption in the present-day Congress with passion and ruthlessness. The hero of this novel, a doctor, was a near-Communist at heart, though perhaps not a card-carrying member of the Party.

No novel in Hindi had ever received such universal acclaim on its first appearance. It richly deserved the encomiums which were showered on it. It succeeded in reproducing celestial echoes of the music of the earth, the music of life.

Voice Of Rural Poor

Renu, however, was unable to repeat with his second novel, Parati Parikatha, the amazing success of his first achievement. In this second work the novelty of the style has worn off and it even occasionally seems to be mannered and laboured. The hero, Jitoo, cast perhaps in the image of its author, tends to remind one of Shekhar, an inveterate egotist. The Hindi reader watches eagerly to see whether Renu will retreat further or recapture once again his "first fine, careless rapture."

In his novels of Mithila life Nagarjuna adopts the viewpoint of the landless peasant who has waged a relentless and bitter struggle against feudal and upper-class oppression in his life. Nagarjuna is writing novels with a vigour and strength unequalled in Hindi today.

Bhairava Prasad Gupta writes of life in the Bhojapuri area in his Satti Maiya ka Chaura, one of the major achievements of recent Hindi fiction: The hero of this novel is a weak and well-meaning creature, but against him the author counterposes a genuine Communist—a stern Bazarov-like character.

In its sweep and compass this novel is a triumph of creative artistry. It passes before the reader's vision a whole society moving, growing, changing and advancing towards a juster order of life.

In this novel the Hindu and Muslim masses fight shoulder to shoulder against rapacious vested interests and win a significant victory.

GREAT NATIONAL LOSS

THE great Hindi poet, Surya Kant Tripathi Nirala is no more.

Author of the immortal epics 'Tulsidas' and 'Ram Ki Shakti Pooja' he was deeply and universally respected. He won a unique status for himself. Throwing aside the trivial favours of the ruling classes and refusing to be sold at their hands, he, to the last, held his ground, stood by the people and raised his powerful voice for the redress of their grievances. Precisely for this he was so shamelessly and cruelly neglected by the present day mahants occupying the high seats of "culture" and "education" in our ministries.

Nirala, as a literateur and man, was anti-imperialist and anti-feudal to the core. Born on February 2, 1896 at Mahishadal Riyasat (Midnapur district) where his father Pandit Ram Sahai Tripathi was a Government employee, Nirala, in his early childhood saw the ugly features of feudalism and developed keen hatred for it.

When in his teens, he came under the influence of Ramkrishna Paramhans and Swami Vivekanand and later studied the Vedantic philosophy. This inevitably brought him to chhayavad.

But it did not take him long to break away from vague etherial mysticism and he was the first among the chhayavadis to recognise the unfaithful potentialities of realism. His novels like Billesur Bakariha and stories like Chaturli Chamar present vivid pictures of the poverty-stricken life of our people.

As a poet, he broke the rigid formalistic barriers imposed by the pre-chhayavadis and raised verse libre in Hindi to unprecedented heights in his poems



POET NIRALA

like Vah Todati Pathar and Juhli Ki Kaili.

But he was not content at revolutionising form only. He revolutionised the content also in Badal Rag, Kukurmutta and innumerable other poems. He lashed out mercilessly at imperialist-capitalist exploitation in his inimitable satires and called upon the people to march forward and assert their strength.

In poems like Jaldi-Jaldi Aao, Tat Bichhao' he exhorted the rural poor to do away with all the vestiges of feudalism and fight for the implementation of democratic reforms.

It was all this perhaps, along with the total impact of the poet's life long struggle against all forms of corruption and exploitation, that enraged the

power-drunk pygmies to strike an attitude of supreme indifference and neglect towards him.

True, they paid lip service to him, for they could not do otherwise because of the fear of the people; but the real undercurrent was one of banishment to Nirala from all the so-called sanctuaries of literature and culture.

Nirala's death, however, has nallied down the guilty. We mourn the loss of one of our most loved and respected poets who heroically championed the cause of the downtrodden and neglected poor. His glorious tradition will live and the rich literary and cultural heritage left behind by him will develop and flower.

—MUNSHI

Cultural Feast In Tagore Mela

* FROM OVERLEAF

kumar and party will stage KABULIWALA as well as dance drama. From Mysore will come a big composite troupe selected from the State Tagore Peace Festival.

From Punjab in the north will come troupes who will present Bhangra, Gidde, Kikle and folk forms of songs and dances. From Rajasthan also will come troupes of folk songs and dances.

Maharashtra will send Amar Shelkh and a party will come from Orissa with the Odissi dances. The Bihar Troupe will present LAL-KANAR i.e. 'Red Oleander' in Hindi. Zakhmi Kawal and Party from Madhya Pradesh will not only present KANAL, but will also take part in the Urdu Mushaira.

Assam's troupe will have both vocalists and instrumentalists including famous Dhull, Moghal Ojha and vocalist Dillip Sharma. Guru Kamini Singh will come with his party to present what is best in Manipuri dance.

* SEE PAGE 14

NEW AGE

OCTOBER 22, 1961

FROM FRONT PAGE

Capitalism's Laws No Longer The Decisive Factor

result of the activities of our Party and its Central Committee in increasing the might of the Soviet State and in implementing a Leninist foreign policy, as a result of the work of the fraternal socialist states and the greater activity of the peace forces in all countries.

During recent years, the imperialists have made a number of attempts to ignite the fires of a new war and test the strength of the socialist system. But on each occasion the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries have checked the aggressor in good time.

In the course of the peaceful competition between the two systems, capitalism has suffered a profound moral defeat in the eyes of all peoples as it cannot solve any of the urgent problems facing it, Khrushchov stressed.

Khrushchov noted that in the period under review an important stage in the development of the world socialist system has been completed. It is turning to a decisive factor of social development. The economy of the world socialist system continues to develop at incomparably higher rates than capitalist economy.

The industrial output of the socialist countries in 1960 was 6.8 times that of 1937, while the capitalist countries had increased theirs less than 2.5 times. The socialist countries' share in world industrial production was 27 per cent in 1955 and in 1960 it increased to 36 per cent. The development of world socialist economy has an industrial bias.

"We have every ground for speaking of a durable socialist community of free peoples existing in the world today".

Nikita Khrushchov noted that with the growth of the night of the socialist states the material and moral factors for peace become stronger. The cardinal problems of the day, the problems of war and peace, for instance, can no longer be approached only from the stand point of the laws of capitalism and their operation.

"Today it is not imperialism with its wolfish habits, but socialism with its ideals of peace and progress that is becoming the decisive factor in world development".

The socialist world does not fear any vicissitudes or upheavals; Khrushchov said. At the same time he stressed that the world reaction is more and more turning to the idea of striking a blow at the socialist countries from the outside.

"The imperialists, of course, may set out on dangerous adventures but they have no chance of success".

If the imperialists, Khrushchov said, in contradiction to all common-sense, dare attack the socialist countries and hurl mankind into the abyss of a world war of annihilation, that mad act will be their last, it will be the end of the capitalist system.

Khrushchov said: "We are confident that socialism will be victorious in the competition with capitalism. We are confident that the victory will be won in peaceful competition and not through war. We have taken our stand, and always shall take our stand on the peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems; we shall do everything to strengthen peace throughout the world".

Khrushchov described the sixties of our century as years of the complete disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism. The position of imperialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America is getting shakier. In the course of the past six years 28 states have won political independence.

It must not be forgotten, however, that although the colonial system has collapsed, its remnants have not been eliminated, Khrushchov said, adding that throughout this period the Soviet Union, in fulfilment of its internationalist duty, has been helping the peoples who struggled against imperialism and colonialism. "There are those who do not approve of this position. But we cannot help that. Such are our convictions".

Khrushchov said: From the bottom of our hearts we wish success to those who are struggling for their liberty and happiness against imperialism. We believe that it is the inalienable right of the peoples to put an end to foreign oppression and we shall support their just fight. Colonialism is doomed and a stake will be driven into its grave. Such is the will of the peoples, such is the course of history.

At the same time, the First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee pointed out that half of the states that have emerged as a result of the disintegration of the colonial system are shackled by burdensome unequal treaties. "In the centre of this refurbished but no less disgraceful colonialism stands the United States of America. Its closest allies and at the same time its rivals are British colonialism and West German imperialism, the latter unceremoniously pushing the British and French monopolies out of Africa and the Middle-East."

Compromisers With Imperialism

After pointing out that the countries freed from colonial oppression have entered a new phase of development, Khrushchov said that within the ruling circles of those countries there are forces that are afraid to go further in their co-operation with the democratic, progressive strata of the nation.

These forces compromise with imperialism outside the country and feudalism within, and resort to dictatorial methods.

At the same time, Khrushchov pointed out that the sounder the unity of the democratic national forces, the more radical the implementation of urgent social and economic reforms, the stronger is the young state. As an example of such a state he pointed to Cuba.

Imperialist agents, Khrushchov said, are more and more frequently advising the peoples of the liberated countries not to be in a hurry with their reforms they would have the peoples of those countries believe that they cannot avoid the lengthy path travelled by the capitalist countries of Europe and America.

The First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said: Communists believe that the age-old backwardness of peoples can be overcome through socialism. We do not, however, impose our ideas on anybody but we are firmly convinced that sooner or later all peoples will realise that there is no other road for them to happiness and well-being.

Turning to the problems of the international working class movement, Khrushchov said: "The meetings of Communist and Workers' parties... international Communist meetings are one of the forms found by the fraternal parties in the present conditions to ensure their militant co-operation".

Khrushchov said that during the past years the family of Communists of all countries had increased by another 12 parties and the total number of Communists—by seven million.

Khrushchov recalled that in recent months the imperialist had deliberately created a dangerous situation in the centre of Europe. In view of the aggravation of the international situation, we were compelled to take proper steps to safeguard our country against the encroachments of aggressors and save mankind from the threat of a new world war. Khrushchov said that the principles of peaceful co-existence have always been the central feature of the Soviet foreign policy. But it is hard to remove the war menace by unilateral action, he said. "The Western powers, who should be interested in avoiding a thermonuclear disaster no less than we are, must, for their part, show readiness to seek ways of settling disputed issues on a mutually acceptable basis".

The struggle for general and complete disarmament, Khrushchov said, is a major component of the foreign policy of our Party. The point in question is not the unilateral disarmament of socialism in face of imperialism or the other way round, but a universal renunciation of arms as a means of settling controversial international problems.

Referring to Foreign Minister Gromyko's recent talks with United States Secretary of State and the President, and also with the British Prime Minister, Khrushchov said: We had the impression that the Western powers were displaying a certain understanding of the situation and that they were inclined to seek a solution for the German problem and for the West Berlin issue on a mutually acceptable basis.

Having noted that the USSR had not advanced any ultima-

tum when it proposed to conclude a German peace treaty, Khrushchov said: "The Soviet Government insists now too that the German question should be settled as quickly as possible; it is against postponing it endlessly. If the Western powers show readiness to settle the German problem, the question of a deadline for the signing of a German peace treaty will not be of such importance; then we shall not insist on the signing of the peace treaty before December 31, 1961. The main thing is to settle the question, to do away with the vestiges of World War II, to sign a German peace treaty. This is the basic thing, this is the crux of the matter".

Khrushchov stressed that the problem of a considerable improvement of the United Nations' machinery has long been awaiting solution. That machinery "has grown rusty in the cold war years and has been operating fitfully". It is high time to restore the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

The First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee noted that the Soviet people derived deep satisfaction from expanding co-operation with the great Asian powers of India and Indonesia, with the other countries of Asia and Africa that have freed themselves from colonial tyranny.

Having noted that after long and painful trials a Government which declared itself to be successor to the Patrice Lumumba Government was set up in the Congo, Khrushchov said: "The Soviet Government is prepared to help the Congolese people solve the difficult problems facing them in the struggle to overcome the consequences of colonial oppression".

In the section of the report, "Leninist Party—the organiser of struggle for the victory of communism", Khrushchov declared that criticism of the cult of the individual and its consequences were of the utmost political and practical importance.

Khrushchov said that the purity of Marxism-Leninism and an uncompromising attitude to all distortions of its great principles are law for the CPSU.

He said that during the period under review the membership of the CPSU increased almost by 2,500,000. The Party had a membership of 7,215,505 at the time of the 20th Congress, but its membership had grown to 9,716,005 shortly before this Congress (October 1, 1961).

The First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said that the CPSU comprised representatives of the more than a hundred nations and nationalities inhabiting the Soviet Union.

Touching on the questions of theory, Khrushchov said: "The great theoretical work of the CPSU is most fully embodied in its new programme, which is the philosophical, economic and political basis of the building of communism in our country."

The CPSU, Khrushchov said, regards Communist construction in the USSR as the fulfilment of its internationalist duty to the working people of all countries. It will continue to work untiringly to strengthen the world socialist system and the unity of the entire international Communist and working class movement.

Our Party will develop fraternal contacts with all Communist and workers' parties and, together with them, will conduct a determined struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, against the various manifestations of opportunism, against present-day revisionism as the gravest danger, against dogmatism and sectarianism.

The First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee

stressed that the struggle against the anti-Party group was a sharp political struggle over principles, a struggle between the new and the old.

Khrushchov noted that the course adopted by the 20th Congress was applauded by the world Communist movement and the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties.

However, he said, the course of our Party aimed at eliminating the harmful consequences of the cult of the individual did not meet with due understanding on the part of the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour. Indeed, they began to oppose that policy.

"This stand of the Albanian leaders is due to the fact that, to our deep regret, they are themselves using the same methods as were current in our country at the time of the cult of the individual," Khrushchov said.

Khrushchov said: "The policy elaborated by the 20th Congress of our Party is a Leninist policy and we cannot make a concession on this fundamental point, either to the Albanian leaders or to anyone else."

The Albanian leaders "are trying to pull our Party back to practices which they like but which will never re-occur in our country. Our Party will press forward with determination and steadily the policy of its 20th Congress, a policy which has withstood the test of time. No one can divert us from the Leninist road," Khrushchov stressed.

As regards our Party, it will continue, in keeping with its internationalist duty, to do all in its power to ensure that Albania marches shoulder to shoulder with all the socialist countries.

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The First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee

PAGE TWELVE

NEW AGE

PAGE THIRTEEN

RUNNING BATTLE ON STUDENT FRONT

What Saved U.P. From Worse Riots

* FROM PAGE 5

the authorities to fight against communal elements.

Perhaps things would have been greatly different if Communist students had not, along with their friends, risked everything to fight against the efforts of the communal elements and their supporters among students in Lucknow and Kanpur.

The boys coming from Aligarh had spread such hair-raising stories of the atrocities of Muslim authorities and students of Aligarh University and the Aligarh Muslims in general, that a serious communal flare-up in Lucknow University seemed imminent.

A Vidyarthi Parishad boy, Prakash Awasthi brought out an open leaflet abusing the "cowardly" office bearers of the University Union and challenging the boys to break the "peace of the graveyard" that reigned in the University even after hearing of what had been done to our brothers and sisters in Aligarh!

The Jana Sangh daily was

egging them to come out on strike and stage demonstrations in the city. Some sort of an Action Committee too was formed to organise strike and demonstrations.

The authorities appeared to have become pulverised with fear — and they gave ample proof of this when they surrendered to the communal elements by closing down the University prematurely for Dussehra. But thanks to the office bearers of the Union the student body rallied back against the trouble mongers. Meetings were held in the campus and in various hostels and the issues were publicly debated, the canards were laid low and the communalists were routed from one place after another till they were completely isolated.

There was no strike either in the University or in any other local College. There were no demonstrations of any sort except the demonstrations of determination of students to oppose any communal trouble in the city.

It was a running battle that had to be fought in order to prevent the cala-

mity that might have easily seized the city.

More or less a similar thing had taken place in Kanpur, specially in the big D. A. V. College there of which a Communist student, Pratap Trivedi, is the President. There also students had come from Aligarh with all sorts of stories. There also they were assisted by their local friends. There also they wanted to incite the boys to stage a strike and demonstrations.

The authorities have never been able to prevent student strikes and demonstrations and on their own they could not have been able to do so in Kanpur either. But thanks to the bold stand taken by leading students of the college, there also the game of the mischief mongers was defeated.

The same pattern was repeated over many other places.

PEOPLE SOUND

But of course nothing could have been possible if the vast bulk of our boys and people

had not been of sound instinct. For instance, in Azamgarh, when some boys came from Aligarh and assisted by their local friends forced a strike in a college, the principal and teachers also came out with their boys in their demonstration.

They marched with their students and took leadership of the protesting boys. This prevented the trouble shooters from doing any mischief.

And later, under the presidency of the principal a meeting asked for an inquiry to be conducted in the incidents of the Aligarh University and appealed for amity and friendship between the communities.

In Baraut, in the riot-torn Meerut district, when an attempt was made to attack Muslims, the entire Hindu community came out to protect them. The communalists were rebuffed.

It was this sane, healthy and patriotic attitude of vast

sections of our people that made it possible to resist and defeat this most organised and widespread effort to create a communal holocaust all over the state. Perhaps no such well planned effort has been made after 1948, when Mahatma had fallen a victim to the frenzy of the same elements.

It was indeed a big bid, with the general elections in view. That is why people say that this was the Jana Sangh's rehearsal for the coming general elections...

The bid has by and large failed, but the forces which were behind it have not been defeated nor crushed. They are still on the offensive. Perhaps they feel that because the elections are near, the two main parties in U.P.—the Congress and the PSP—will not come out too openly against them, the PSP in fact would even ally with them against Communists and other leftist forces.

This shows the danger that is inherent in the present situation, unless people with greater understanding of the vital issues involved intervene.

STATES ROUND-UP

Congress-Akali Talks

* FROM PAGE 3

would be no purpose in maintaining the coalition ministry, as well.

The price of the united front, however, is much too high—allocation of at least five seats out of a total of 18 for the PSP and collaboration with the Muslim League.

While the Pradesh Congress leadership finds these conditions wholly unacceptable, it is equally anxious to keep the coalition intact. The proposal put forward by the Pradesh Congress President that the coalition should not be disturbed even if agreement over Lok Sabha elections is not reached, is reported to have been rejected by the PSP.

The problem of the Punjab, in this respect, appears to be completely different. Here the dissidents are engaged in a defensive action to safeguard tickets at least for the prominent among them. This appears to have been already conceded and for the rest Sardar Kalron, the Chief Minister will have almost everything his own way.

Interest, therefore, centres round the question of the possible compromise with a section of the Akalis who are reported to be already making overtures of this kind. From present indications, the Congress will not be averse to come to terms with the Akalis since it would only add further confusion among the Sikh masses.

However, the Pradesh Congress is not willing to entertain tall claims for Congress tickets to the Akali nominees, and, according to well informed sources, the Akalis have been told that they must first join the Congress unconditionally before claims of some of them for tickets could be considered.

Will the Akalis agree to such a proposition? It is difficult to tell at this stage but this is already having its impact on the political alignments in the Punjab. The Jana Sangh and their allies are once again becoming active to rally the Hindu communal opinion in

opposition to a possible Congress-Akali compromise.

Disregard for principles for the sake of getting support in the elections from even the most disreputable quarter, however, is best shown by the drive in Rajasthan for what is called "bagging" the former princes. Alarmed by the Swatantra success in this field when the Maharani of Jaipur walked into the Swatantra Party, the Congress has been frantically trying to even up.

BAGGING MAHARAJAS
Maharaja of Kotah and the Maharaj Kumar of Karauli as well as a scion of the House of Jaisalmer have already been persuaded to apply for the Congress tickets.

The Maharaja of Bikaner is also reported to have been approached but he turned down the plea for accepting the Congress ticket. But the labours of the Congress leaders have extracted from him the promise that if the Congress were to agree to his return to the Lok Sabha, he would not join the Swatantra Party.

HINDI SCENE
* FROM PAGE 12

as Modernism in Western art and literature. Some of them, however, write with the keenest social conscience. The poems of Shamsheer and Muktibodh are an illustration of this.

The songsters, Neeraj and Virendra Mishra for example, display in their lyrics a much greater awareness of social misery and wrong. They are more conscious of their audience too and much less inhibited and egotistic. The work of these gifted songsters has received less attention from critics than it deserves.

The Hindi scene displays immense activity of a varied order and is, on the whole, a scene that fills the heart of the beholder with hope and joy.

UTTER PASSIVITY OF CONGRESS IN MEERUT

* From Overleaf

This time however, it was the college boys who supplied the popular cover for the rioters' operation. Inside the College the RSS Shakra is well-organised, both among the students and teachers. In fact they are the most vocal and effective political group inside the campus.

Among the non-RSS lot active in maddening the boys were Bhimsen Puri, an old RSS cadre now Lohia Socialist student leader and Rakesh Mohan, again once in the RSS and now the Youth Congress leader. I am deliberately holding back further details with the earnest hope that the Congress and the Lohia Socialist leadership will look into the matter and do the right thing.

The Police And Administration

The local opinion is unanimous that the police and the civil administration failed in this crisis. Looting, stabbing and desecration of the mosques took place right under the nose of the police.

The District Magistrate was not available in his office nor at his residence during the most critical hours. He was reported to be in the control room which again could not be contacted!

Among the police officials D.S.P. Rawat has won notoriety and become a hero of the Sanghis.

Honest Hindus as well as all

were Dogras, Sikhs and Rajputs. Old Congressmen themselves bemoaned the utter passivity of the Congress as an organisation when all the local MPs and MLAs were themselves Congressmen. Congressmen relied primarily upon the administration to restore law and order which only shows how far the Congress has gone down. The old INA hero Shah Nawaz is the local MP. He came rushing from Delhi and as a Deputy Minister tried to throw his weight about. His press statements were distorted by the Hindustan Times.

Sri Krishna Chandra was the other local MP and secular. He also went round but was not very effective. Most of the Congressmen sat at home.

The Congress chairman of the municipality became the head of the Peace Committee but did nothing on a popular and organised basis except distributing the curfew permits to his friends in the various Mohallas.

The Chief Minister and Home Minister's visit did tone up the situation, they pulled up the local officials.

Both Meerut and U.P. Congress leaders have yet to learn that anti-Communism and anti-communalism cannot be combined, that there is no fighting communalism except on a popular basis, and together with the Communists and all other secular forces.

The calling in of the army really helped to bring the situation under control. All agreed that the attitude of the military was both correct and dignified, they acted with real non-partisan spirit. These soldiers

ly drawn into the riots. The living memory of 1946-47 and the healthy sentiment to live in peace and amity with their Muslim neighbours, held them back. Typical was the comment of the Sialkot refugees, important in the sports goods industry, "What is happening here is just what happened to us in Pakistan!"

Our comrades did all they could to keep peace in their area.

Comrade Prabhu Dayal is an old press worker and TU leader. In his Mohalla Sotigauj, with Hindu majority on both sides and the Muslims in the middle, he ensured that both the Hindus and Muslims of his area defended the Mohalla together and the processionists from outside were not allowed to come in. On the very first day he heard a common Hindu saying: There may have been excesses in Aligarh but what is the use of enacting this here as well.

Their defence was that they were not politicians and mentioned to me the name of Ram Gopal and a few other Hindus whose houses were in their own Mohalla and who stayed on despite the military picket having come to remove them to a Hindu majority area. And this made us good friends.

They complained that no Hindu leaders visited them during the worst days except Comrade Bharat Singh and other Communists who came even without curfew passes. They were naturally bitter about the mosques being not saved in the Hindu majority areas. They all admitted that the attackers were not local but from outside, and proud of their Muslim Mohalla-having been saved by the Muslim boys and who did not go out to retaliate.

With deep feeling they said that the Muslims are panicky and do not know what to do.

As we drove back to Delhi I tried to summate all that I had seen. The communal poison is no more active but it is there. It needs to be pumped out. This operation needs all the secular and patriotic forces coming together. This, however, is not yet taking place. It is obvious to us Communists but not yet to Congressmen.

Communist And The Common People

Despite the failings of the administration and the ruling party, the mass of the common people did not get active-

I met a group of representative Muslims in Darul-Uloom, an Arabic college. I have rarely seen sadder and more worried faces. I began by asking them to tell me how it all began. Their answer was that the people say because of Aligarh but the Sangh is always ready for a riot. I argued back rigorously that they were underplaying the role of Muslim communalism in Aligarh and that their leaders should have denounced it the very first day.

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Meeting In Darul-Uloom

School teacher Satish Kumar Rastogi told me how his Mohalla Mahajanpara was surrounded by Muslim houses all around. No serious incidents took place in the area. The Hindus and Muslims helped each other with atta, dal and milk for children, which had become a problem because of the curfew. With a chuckle he told me that Muslim milkmen lived near his house and the milk from them was relayed through Hindu boys to the Muslim families staying some distance away. Similarly when pans went in short supply the Muslim panwala came into the Hindu locality to sell his pans.

Despite the failings of the administration and the ruling party, the mass of the common people did not get active-

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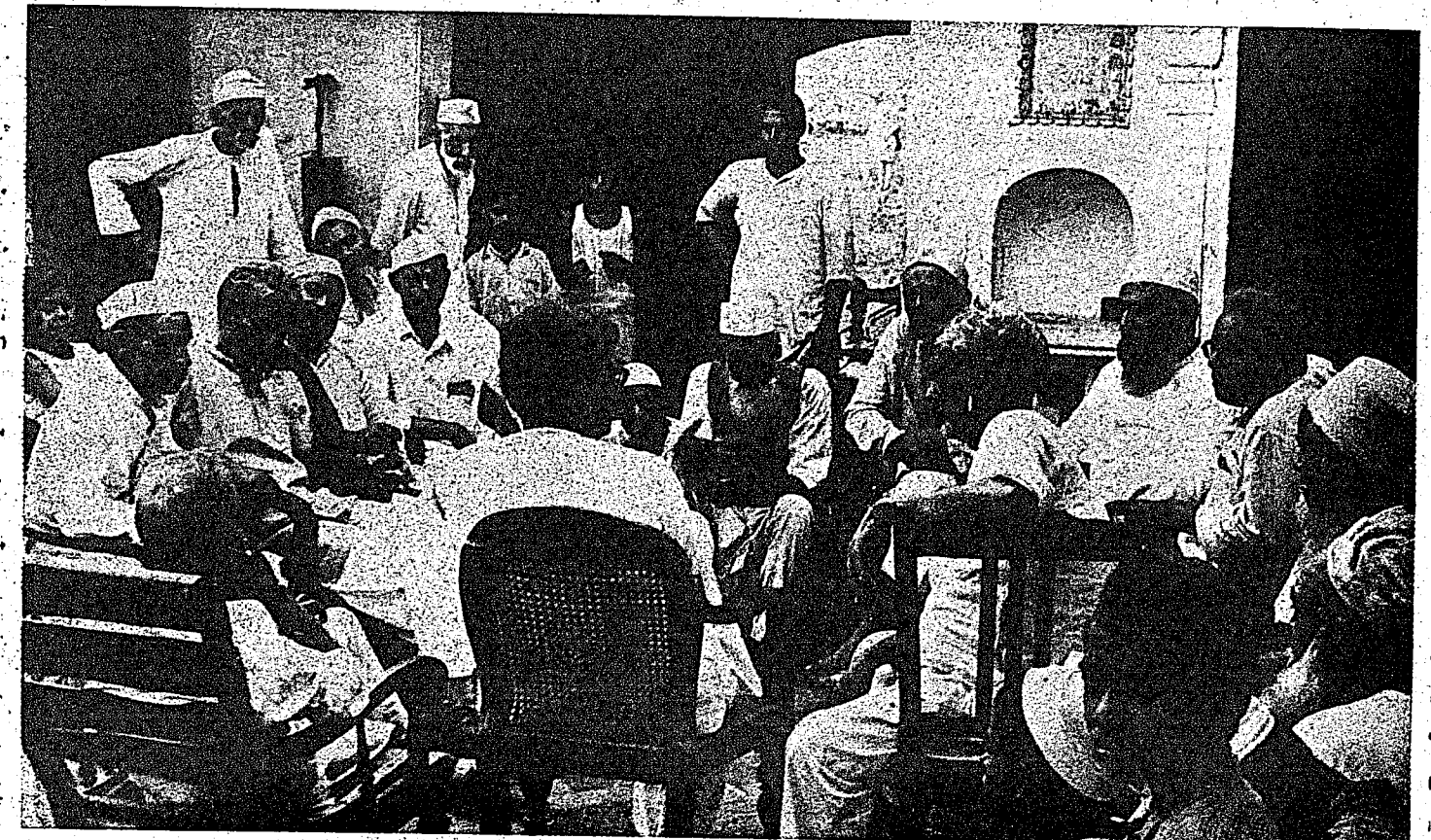
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The Tale of Woe

(All photographs by Virendra Kumar)

RSS, JANA SANGH PLAY HAVOC IN MEERUT

The very name of Meerut stirs the heart of any patriotic Indian. With it is wrapped the memory of the beginning of the first War of Independence (1857). Meerut meant more to me. I had spent my school days there. I had attended my first political meeting there and heard the Mahatma and Ali Brothers talk from the same platform of Hindu-Muslim unity to overthrow the British yoke. I had spent over four years within its jail walls as an under-trial prisoner in the Meerut Conspiracy case, charged with the offence of waging war against His Britannic Majesty.

It was now 14 years after the achievement of Independence that I was going there to report on the gruesome communal riot there. My head sat heavy on the shoulders and the thoughts within were at complete variance with the good and smooth public road over which our Party jeep sped, and the ripening autumn harvest which looked so plentiful.

It did not take long to reach Meerut and I asked the driver comrade to apply the brakes as we neared the Martyrs' column, which stood up white and beautiful in the background of the blue sky, speckled with a few white clouds, and rising from the lush green lawns below. I had seen its platform soiled with slogans calling us Communists ghaddar (traitors) when we assembled there for our National Council meeting, discussing the border issue in November 1959. The same gang which was the loudest in denouncing us then had now acted the organiser of this riot. The people around looked worried as if something untoward had happened.

Casualties— Official & Non-Official

Very soon we met our local comrades and then went around meeting others, Congressmen, non-party people, and of course the Muslims, the main victims. The first

question I asked everybody was about the casualties.

The official figure of the number killed was 17 but people outside do not know that all these 17 dead were Muslims. Honest and responsible Hindus and all the Muslims I met agreed that 17 was very likely an underestimate. A responsible comrade who took leading part in quenching the flames in his Mohalla told me that the Policewalas took away

by P. C. JOSHI

four Kumhars and asked them to dig graves in which six each could be buried.

The official figure of the injured was 42, again likely to be an underestimate. Once again it was mostly Muslims who were seriously injured and stabbed. Among the injured in the hospital it was again almost exclusively the Muslims.

A respected Congress leader told me of his amazing experience. He asked the doctor for the figures community-wise. The doctor gave the Hindus injured as double the number of the Muslims. On going round the beds the Congress leader did not find a single Hindu as seriously injured and admitted into the hospital!

The worst tale was about the desecration of the mosques. The Sarvodaya leader,

Master Sundarlal, in agonised words said "In the earlier communal riots none had ever dared attack the Masjids. But it happened this time." In the city four mosques have been razed to the ground and two had suffered arson, including the Juma Masjid. In the Cantonment three more have been destroyed.

The Pir ki Chattri was also burnt down. Old Congressman Badri Prasad Vishal tried to save it by coming forward and challenging the mob with Meri lash par (Only over my dead body). The young ruffians rudely knocked aside the old man, near the Shish Mahal Masjid.

We took photographs of what once were mosques. One is being published in this issue. The much proclaimed slogan of the rioters' leaders now is: We will have children's parks and girls' schools where there were once mosques!

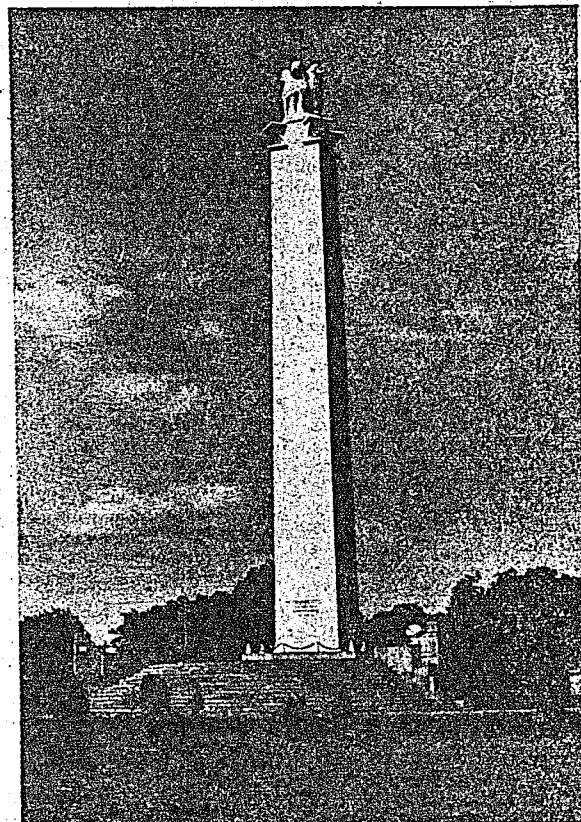
The mosques destroyed were almost exclusively in the Hindu majority areas.

This unprecedented act of sacrilege against the mosques was obviously meant to provoke and demoralise the Muslims. It failed to provoke them but it has naturally caused a deep wound in their hearts. The first act of their Hindu brothers is obviously to heal it, by rebuilding the mosques.

The Technique

When I reached Meerut the worst of the riot was over, even the military had been withdrawn. Nevertheless my fat note book got filled with facts about developments and all that the various people had to say. It is not the day-to-day details that will now interest our readers but the main highlights and the role of the various elements.

Nobody in Meerut had any doubt that the guilty gang was the RSS and the Jana Sangh and the technique they employed was the same as in 1946-47. The news of the Aligarh inci-



THE GLORY....

dent came in the papers of the 4th but nothing had happened on that day. This conclusively proves that the Meerut riot was not spontaneous.

The next day the Sanghis concentrated upon the college gate while the classes were going on normally inside. They raised the traditional student slogan: Students' Unity Zindabad! The students came out and were formed into a procession.

The slogans on the first day were: Col. Zaidi Murdabad; Close down the Aligarh University; Inquire into the riots. These slogans could be passed off as those coming from innocent but misguided students. In fact they were meant to beguile them. The real slogan came out the next day, on the 6th: Khoon ka badla khoon se lenge (Blood for blood), the traditional RSS slogan.

Rumours— Main Instrument

Rumour-mongering was the main instrument to influence public opinion. False stories of atrocities against Hindu students at Aligarh were used to inflame the local students and get them out on protest. When the procession went into the city, once again rumours were spread: the Muslims have abducted a Hindu girl, or the Muslims have killed innocent Hindu boys, in such and such a place, and so on. All these to collect a crowd and madden it to seek revenge.

The first day's relatively less riotous procession was used to identify and mark the Muslim shops. The next day they were looted and gutted.

Local comrades told me of a black car that went round the town, distributing

knives and other lethal weapons, with well-known RSS figures inside. It drove on to Hapur where the riots took place soon after.

A few days after the riots five Sangh leaders were arrested: Lala Rameshwar Dayal, Sangh Chalak, Raghuvir Rastogi, the general secretary, Mohan Lal Kapur, Jana Sangh vice-president, Cantt. Board, and Gajadhar Tiwari, a sitting member of the Board.

More evidence of the criminal activities of the Sanghis came from various quarters. On the 13th instant more RSS and Jana Sangh workers were arrested. The exact numbers were not known when I was there. Some innocent ones were rounded up.

The Sanghis dominated the scene till Chief Minister C. B. Gupta and Home Minister Charan Singh came and announced that no Hindus had been killed inside the Aligarh University. This exposure of their false rumour-mongering did discredit the Jana Sangh among the honest Hindus. When questioned by their neighbours the Jana Sanghis are now trying to put the blame on the RSS!

The RSS leaders however are unashamed and unrepentant and brag about having consolidated and expanded their base through these riots. They characterise what happened at Meerut as the natural and healthy reaction of the Hindus to the Aligarh events!

The College

The Meerut College has proud patriotic traditions.

* SEE OVERLEAF



...AND THE DESECRATION