

1/18/24

BOKARO MUST BE BUILT

STOP U.S. SABOTAGE OF OUR ECONOMY

This is an appeal to the nation's conscience. How long must we continue to wait like dogs for the crumbs from the master's table?

THESE words are written with the intention that they should hurt, that they should make every patriotic Indian angry. Yes, the whole Bokaro tale is a tale of endless humiliation—of kicks and insults, and no crumbs... The US rulers want their money's worth; they want our independence on a platter, in return for their dollars.

have to be taken from all the other US "aid". If we get Bokaro, we shall have to give up the rest. In the face of all this terrible teasing (one feels like a fish at the end of a hook, caught and being played with by the cruellest of fishermen!) India's Steel Minister stood up and called on the US to make up its

we allow this sabotage of our Plan, our entire economic progress to go like this?

Will Minister Subramaniam be true to his promise to go ahead with Bokaro without the US "aid"?

THE CRUMBS ARE NOT COMING... THE CRUMBS HAVE POISONOUS STRINGS ATTACHED...

LET US PUT AN END TO THE DAYS OF WAITING ON OUR HAUNCHES FOR THE CRUMBS TO FALL...

This is a great nation, we are an industrious people, we have the friendship and ensured economic assistance on mutually beneficial terms, on terms of equality, from the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries, from our non-aligned Afro-Asian brother nations.

TO HELL WITH US "AID".

UMBRELLA: WITH NEW COVER

The supersonic aircraft we have asked for from the USA are NOT coming. Instead once again, the Western military "aiders" are talking of "the possibility of the US and Britain offering to station fighter squadrons in India to strengthen its air defence".

THIS, as Hindustan Times Washington correspondent himself has to admit, is the same position as several months ago, "when Mr. Nehru rejected the idea of Western fighter squadrons being permanently based in India".

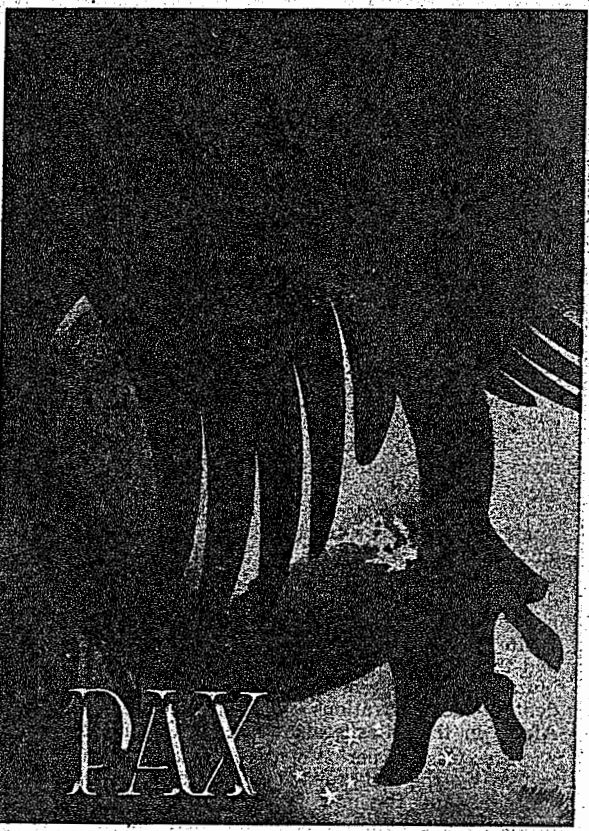
The latest proposal is the same old umbrella; the guise is joint exercises, joint training, "familiarisation exercises".

Defence and Economic Coordination Minister Krishnamachari asked "private-sector-incarnate", America's own J.R.D. Tata himself to head a committee to make suggestions regarding our defence industry. The Tata Committee was quick to say:

No Migs, they irritate the West; No Avro-748, making aircraft is too big a job for little India.

Conclusion: the obvious one, stick to the single line of defence—the US air umbrella. And if you prefer, you can have a US-Commonwealth umbrella instead, just in case you are squeamish about a deal only with the Yanks.

Vigilance is the price of liberty... Keep your eyes glued... the US brass hats have not given up the umbrella... they are seeking to pressurise us into accepting it, with a cover on...



THAT U.N. SPEECH

The Government of India has taken serious note of the NEW AGE story about the unfortunate omission of references to colonialism and racialism from President Radhakrishnan's UNO address (New Age, June 16). It is reported that the mistake occurred, due to the wrong advice given by the ICS head of our diplomatic mission. And he has been properly pulled up by New Delhi.

It was due to the intervention of the Ministry of External Affairs that the President, on his arrival at Palam, went out of his way to stress India's basic policies, and particularly, the fact that we believe that the ending of colonialism and the stopping of racial discrimination is absolutely necessary. President Radhakrishnan also stressed on landing at Palam the leadership of the Prime

Minister. This again was done in order to put an end to the despicable efforts of the New York Times, backed by the US lobby in India, to project the President as the alternative to Nehru. It is understood that the President was himself extremely indignant at the writings and statements of Rajaji and others, who seek to play him up as do the Americans, as a most suitable Prime Minister...

MAY NO OTHER MOTHER BEAR SUCH GRIEF...

SHILLONG, June 23: Communist detenu TOLAN GOHAIN was not allowed to have a last look at his dying mother. His mother had requested the state government to release her only son on parole, so that he might be by her side at the time of her death. But the mother's appeal fell on deaf ears. And she breathed her last in Sibsagar civil hospital a few days ago.

BOTH the Sibsagar district council and the state council of Communist Party moved the state government to release Gohain at least on parole so that he might see his ailing mother whose condition had been deteriorating. But the state government did not heed these representations. When Gohain's mother realised that her end was near and there was no possibility of her only son being released even on parole, the dying mother with all her agony wrote a letter to the Janamat, the organ of the state

council of the Party. In her letter she wrote that she understood that release on parole was provided for under the law. "I am the mother. But I do not have the right to see my only son even on the eve of my death. I am about to die and would not curse anybody. But I should like to say only this that with my blessings I sent out my son from my bosom to the bosom of the people of the country, for working for the building of the country. "I am convinced that the people will also realise that

my son is a real patriot and that he has been doing patriotic work. And he will come out again with the blessings of the people. But I will not live till then. I am only sorry that I have to die with grief in my heart. I hope that the people will surely see to it that no other mother will bear grief such as mine."



When they do not succeed in this, they put forward one excuse after another to delay and sabotage our economic development.

Bokaro's steel is vital for our economic progress. But the lords of the dollar first pressurised us by insisting that their "aid" could never be for public sector projects. They threw the Clay Committee report in our face and quoted it like the holy book to us...

This pressure won from India the "concession" that the entire management would be in the hands of the Americans for some 15 years. And Bokaro, it was promised, would have its share of private capital.

"Inquiries" went on and on. And finally, when all was set, once again last week Mr. David Bell, US Foreign Aid Administrator, announced that more surveys, more investigations (lasting perhaps two years more) were necessary.

And then, to cap it all, it now has been announced that the Bokaro "aid" will

mind—or we would have to think afresh.

The US press fumed and fretted. How dare the beggars stand up on their feet? Typical comment was that of the Washington Evening News, which had this to say:

"In a quite unpleasant lecturing tone, he (Minister Subramaniam) has declared that unless the USA forthwith, without further delay, forks up one billion dollars, to equip India with a steel plant at Bokaro, all our past American aid to the country will be 'spoiled'. That is to say, the Indian people expect our country to keep on showering them with largesse. Otherwise, they will look down their noses at us, turn to Moscow and forget all about the enormous amount of assistance we have extended them."

Time Magazine (June 28) writing on Bokaro, comments that "Nehru's Socialist Government has not been notably grateful" for US "aid".

It is now the moment to make up our minds. Must

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THE PRESIDENT COMES HOME

editorial

THE PRESIDENT'S visits to the USA and Britain are over. Negrokilling in one country and call-girling in the other, robbed India and the visit of the front-pages in the Western press. The President himself has, on his return regretfully pointed out that both countries were absorbed in what he described as their "domestic trouble". This is a somewhat philosophical expression: for, US racialism and Whitehall vice have had the widest repercussions, far beyond the domestic scene.

But it was not only because of the nasty odours of the lynch laws of Alabama and Mississippi and high society orgies of Cliveden that the timing of President Radhakrishnan's mission was unfortunate.

The President's visit coincided with a period when the world-wide forces of peace and national independence have been voicing their opposition more strongly than ever against US and British imperialism.

This was the period of the Addis Ababa Conference and the resolute decision to wipe colonialism off the face of Africa.

This was the period of open declarations by African statesmen that they would quit the Commonwealth, if Britain continued to support the White racists of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese fascists ruling over Angola and Mozambique. These were the days of the unprecedented demonstrations against racialist South Africa in the International Labour Organisation.

This was the period of the massacre of Buddhist priests by the US-propped Diem regime in South Vietnam, and the new resurgence of Asian anger against the US imperialists and their puppets, responsible for these crimes against innocent men of religion demanding the freedom to worship.

This was the period of the strengthening of the Latin American movement for national independence, against US neo-colonialism.

It was not an easy moment in which to seek friendship with the USA and Britain.

Again, the President did his bit to make it clear that he had nothing to do with the task of securing military and economic "aid". But his visit came at the end of a non-stop Westward stream of Indian Ministers and officials, and it was consequently looked upon generally by his hosts and all over the world, as the climax of these begging missions.

This understanding of the purpose of the visit naturally reduced its significance in international estimates. For the US and British attitude towards India at this time has been, to say the least, unfriendly and completely lacking in goodwill.

The US avowals of "friendship" with India have been accompanied by hostility and virtual treachery against us in regard to the Bokaro steel plant, and more US blackmail and pressures in regard to Kashmir.

The "Commonwealth bonds" were theatrically emphasised by men and women of blue blood (all shades of it and some none-too-clean) all over Great Britain during the President's visit. But these bonds obviously are not so strong as to ensure British support even for India's simple request for permission to purchase the necessary supersonic aircraft required for our defence.

The President has told the press on his return to India that he explained India's basic policies in both the countries he visited. The Head of our State is one of the most fitted to do so. And Dr. Radhakrishnan's speeches and statements are always qualitatively of the highest order.

But it appears it was like the proverbial casting of pearls... Those before whom they were cast had not the wherewithal to understand.

That in return for offers of friendship, we receive only the ugliest abuse and blackmail from the USA and Britain—is not the fault of those who present our case.

The imperialists' "aid" for India is only part of their plan to control India and take it under their neo-colonialist umbrella.

Building friendship and goodwill with all is a necessary part of our foreign policy. But this friendship presupposes a measure of equality. There can be no friendship between the imperialist umbrella men and their intended victim. (June 25)

NATION

★ by VIGILANTE

CR'S SQUARE PEGS IN ROUND HOLES

President RADHAKRISHNAN on this return to New Delhi from his visits to USA and UK took special care to tell pressmen that while out there, he had told the Americans and the British about "our Prime Minister's leadership in consolidating the country and modernising it."

PARTICULAR importance was read into these words of the President by observers and newspaper commentators in the Capital in view of the controversy created by the writings of the American press countering Radhakrishnan against Nehru, with a malicious suggestion that the Prime Minister's authority in this country has declined and "the centre of gravity has begun to shift to the President."

That the President himself chose to prick the bubbles of speculation set afloat by these busybodies of the US press is welcomed here. But there are some in this country who nurture the same hopes in their hearts as the US imperialists about a change of leadership of our government.

Much of the current "American thinking" in this regard had been fed by the propaganda of our home-brewed Reaction and the latter in its turn derive greater satisfaction when the propaganda is beamed back from across the Atlantic.

Thus C. RAJAGOPALACHARI writing in last week's SWARAJYA approvingly pats the NEW YORK TIMES on the back for its scurrilous editorial about Radhakrishnan and Nehru. Rajaji is all smiles and glee when he says:

"The NEW YORK TIMES is a shrewd observer. Its telescope is free from dust and operates well." Then he quotes from the editorial and hands out his own comment:

"All this is true enough. But square pegs are in round holes. Mr. Nehru eminently fit to be President is Prime Minister under a Constitution which makes the latter the absolute chief of affairs. Dr. Radhakrishnan, eminently fit intellectually to be Prime Minister is President, to whom Parliament will not give any higher place in affairs than that of a private adviser without responsibility."

POLICE UNDERMINE PANCHAYATS

MINISTERS are fond of lecturing us on the virtues of Panchayati Raj, even though in many states there are no real panchayats and the authorities are generally averse to giving powers to the people in the villages to run their own affairs. Bureaucracy would have none of democracy when it comes to cutting down on its authority.

In Kerala there have been no panchayat elections for ten years and vast areas of the state have no real local administration. Every time panchayat elections are postponed to suit the convenience of the ruling Congress party.

Here is another report from Bihar which shows the technique of making panchayats ineffective in their job. The police holds the key to the situation.

The police are jealous of the powers vested in the panchayats and have been deliberately trying to obstruct their functioning both through non-cooperation

and interference. Warrants forwarded to the police by the panchayats are not executed with the result that the panchayats could not effectively exercise their judicial powers.

Also group and caste conflicts dominate panchayat administration. Official circles admit that the panchayat experiment has proved a virtual failure in Bihar. A measure of this failure is evident from the fact that about 34 thousand cases under Section 107 Cr.P.C. alone are pending in various law courts in Bihar.

LAWLESSNESS IN LAW COLLEGE

KERALA Home Minister P. T. CHACKO'S "police verification" into the antecedents of government employees has done enough harm to the administration in the state and subordinated it to the interests of the ruling party.

It has become the instrument of political witch hunt and blackmail, in that it is used to bar appointments to government jobs to all those who might have held a political view different from that of the ruling party.

In the recent mid-term elections, the threat of "police verification" was used to compel voters to vote Congress. In the sphere of government employment, the system is making steady headway despite protests from various quarters including non-party individuals.

It is reported that already verification of antecedents by police has been extended to even personnel selected for appointment in public sector undertakings such as the Fertilisers and Chemicals, Kerala State Transport and even private schools.

But the latest report from Kerala beats all these. It sets a new high in the suppression of individual rights by authority.

A friend from Trivandrum writes that one N. KRISHNAN NAIK who had passed his first year law examination in March 1963 was denied admission to the B.L. class of the Law College, Trivandrum in the new academic year, the Principal making a written endorsement on his application in these words: "Admission not granted in view of the confidential report against him."

My informant writes that Nair had an unblemished record in his first year in the college and it was on the basis of his satisfactory conduct, sessional work and attendance in classes that he was sent up for the examination by the same principal.

But now it appears the principal is denying him admission to the second year of his studies in the same college on the strength of some confidential report. Who called for this confidential report and who gave it? What are its contents?

I am informed that the aggrieved candidate was not told of the contents of the report so that he could answer the charges, if any, against him. But it is presumed that the action against him was taken because he was the secretary of the district Students Federation.

Now if this is true, one would like to know if being the secretary of Students Federation is a crime for which admission could be denied to a student. Is the Trivandrum Law College teaching law to students or lawlessness?

Pilot Projects

"While the struggle will be countrywide, intensive areas will have to be selected and properly nursed. On the national level a State or more, on the State level one or more districts, on the district level, a block or two, or even a smaller area, will need to be organised as pilot projects."

—From PSP General Secretary's "letter-cum-circular" in JANATA of June 23.

AJOY GHOSH MEMORIAL FUND

SO far a number of individuals and party units have sent their donations. It is necessary that all Party units build up a campaign for collection, and then alone can money be collected in a big way.

I hope by now each state committee has fixed up quota for their district units. Meanwhile friends and sympathisers and Party members can send their collections directly to me.

K. V. Rao has collected and sent Rs. 665, Nepal has collected Rs. 85, Kunhanandan has sent Rs. 100, Jagannath of Una has sent Rs. 100 and Sachdev Rs. 10.

(Last week there was a mistake in the amount shown against Patiala Port unit. The amount is Rs. 101 and not Rs. 100. I regret the error.)

If you have not yet made your contribution, please do it immediately. June 26 S. V. Ghate



DIR Unconstitutional

Bar Association Of India Recommends Reference To Supreme Court

BANGALORE: The Bar Association of India organised a seminar on "Fundamental Rights and Emergency" in Bangalore last week-end. The consensus of the seminar's views, as summarised by ex-Advocate General M. C. SETALVAD after three hours discussion, is given in full below.

SETALVAD, presiding, invited the delegates to deliberate on this subject of immense national importance. He observed:

"No government, and certainly not our government, HAVING taken into con-

THE conclusions of the Seminar, organised by the Bar Association of India in Bangalore are clear and forthright. They say it is time to consider the ending of the emergency. They urge government to refer to the Supreme Court for opinion, the question whether the Defence of India Act and rules are constitutionally valid. Similar views were expressed at a jurists' symposium in Calcutta.

After the opinions of leading jurists, who consider the DIR invalid had been made public, the demand has grown for governmental action to release the Communist detenus. The Bangalore Seminar gives the national stamp of approval to the opinions of the jurists that the DIR violates the Indian Constitution.

The Government of India continues to prevaricate. It claims that it is still "considering" the question. It refuses even to refer the matter for opinion to the Supreme Court. Communist detenus continue to languish in prison.

This injustice must end. The detenus must be released now, without delay. —EDITOR

would be interested in keeping on the Statute Book a law enacted in excess of the legislative competence."

He thus set the tone. Twenty delegates spoke. Not a single voice was raised in defence of the validity of the Defence of India Act.

Attorney-General C. K. Daphary was present throughout.

The level of the debate was indeed very high and in a forthright manner the delegates assailed the government, both on the Constitutional invalidity of Defence of India Act and also the needless continuance of the emergency long after the situation had changed.

Unanimous Findings

THIS CONFERENCE, convened by the Bar Association of India, of lawyers from various States in India, assembled in a Seminar to discuss the subject of national importance, namely, "Fundamental Rights and the Emergency."

HAVING taken into consideration the grave situation of national danger, which rendered it imperative for the President of India to issue a proclamation of emergency at a time when China launched perfidious aggression on Indian territory in September 1962;

HAVING further taken into consideration that the opinions of some of the leading lawyers of the country have cast serious doubts upon the constitutionality of some of the provisions of the Defence of India Act, and the Rules made thereunder;

AND HAVING regard to the duty and responsibility of lawyers to uphold the constitution and to strive for the maintenance and advancement of the rules of Law.

AND BEING at the same time fully conscious that the decision as to the advisability of the continuation in force of the proclamation of emergency must rest with the government, possessed as it is of all material facts;

RECOMMENDS

1 That it is extremely undesirable that a state of Emergency such as has been declared should be permitted to continue indefinitely.

2 That the Government of India should as soon as possible consider and take a decision whether the national interests demand the continuance of the proclamation of Emergency, fully or partially limited in respect of territory or otherwise, in view of the change in circumstances since October 1962.

3 That the Government of India should as early as possible under Art. 143 of the Constitution, invite the opinion of the Supreme Court on the question whether the impugned provisions of the Defence of India Act and Rules are constitutional.

CONCLUSIONS OF CALCUTTA SEMINAR

Eminent Jurists Speak On Invalidity Of D. I. Act

CALCUTTA, June 23: A packed University Institute Hall heard eminent jurists declare, unequivocally and emphatically, that the Defence of India Act is a lawless law and detention under it infringes the fundamental rights guaranteed to the citizens of India under the Constitution.

THE jurists called for the enforcement of the rule of law and defence of sanctity of the Constitution of India. The jurists who spoke at a symposium "Emergency and Personal Freedom", organised under the joint auspices of the West Bengal branches of the Democratic Lawyers' Association and the Civil Liberties' Committee on June 21, were N. C. Chatterjee, Aji Dutta, Deendranath Mukherjee and Ramaprasad Mukherjee.

2 The impugned legislation clearly infringes the fundamental rights contained in Article 22, clauses (4), (5) and (7) of the Constitution;

3 The Act is violative of the concept of equality guaranteed by Article 14;

4 Under the supreme law of India there is no power in Parliament to authorise the Executive normally to arrest and detain a citizen without furnishing him the ground of detention and without giving him an opportunity of making representation against that order and without making a provision for an Advisory Board.

He also added that even under emergency all the fundamental rights were not abrogated.



WALTER ULBRICHT IS 70

ON June 30, the outstanding leader of the German working people, Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, the veteran Communist Walter Ulbricht will be seventy.

From all over the world will come greetings and good wishes for many, many more years of service in the great cause of the international Communist movement.

Ulbricht's life is a life of dedication to the struggle of the German and international working class. He had the glory of working together with the great German Communists Karl Liebknecht, Ernst Thaelman, Wilhelm Pieck.

Today the name of Walter Ulbricht symbolises the struggle for the peaceful solution of the German question. His famous seven points have won worldwide support as the best means to peace in Germany.

The Indian people, and above all the Indian Communists, send their affectionate, fraternal congratulations to Chairman Ulbricht on the completion of seventy full years of a life of tireless struggle for socialism.

May the coming years bring us closer together. May the friendship of the German and Indian peoples grow.

Long live the German Democratic Republic's most distinguished son, Walter Ulbricht.

Ajit Dutt, a leading advocate of Calcutta Bar differed with the views of Viswanatha Sastri (published earlier in New Age) and said that the High Courts could be moved under Sec. 491 of the Cr.P.C. to ascertain the validity of the D.I. Act.

Devendranath Mukherjee, an ex-Mayor and Ramaprasad Mukherjee, a former judge of Calcutta High Court, who presided, concurred with Dutt and Chatterjee.

The unique character of the meeting lay in the fact that it discussed the question of detention under emergency not from the political point of view but from the legal and constitutional aspects and the unanimous opinion expressed was "that the detention under D. I. Act was illegal and unjustified."

Release Detenus Demand

RAJNANDGAON: A petition signed by over two thousand people from here has been sent to Union Home Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and MP Chief Minister Mandloi urging the release of trade union leaders detained under the DIR.

THE signatures were collected on the initiative of Lal Zanda Bidi Mazdoor Sabha and Samyukta Khadran Mazdoor Sangh. Demonstrations were also held to demand the release of the detained trade union leaders.

These leaders now in jail are Sanyal, Diwakar, Sambal Chakravarty, Hamid Khan, Dalal, L. M. Malhotra, Mahendra Baipai and Gurudayal Singh. They have been victims of ill treatment in jails for the past six months and the government has not only failed to establish any charge against them but also not kept the assurance of reviewing their cases.

THE RIGHT & THE PETITION

The Right reactionary forces in the country are foaming at the mouth. They rightly see in the signature campaign to the Great Petition, initiated by the Communist Party of India, an attack, above all on the growing Rightist danger which faces the country.

The Hindustan Times has naturally been in the forefront of the anti-petition whine. Its editorial of June 26, titled "Sinister Tactics" is a "masterpiece" in political infatuation.

Needless to say, what worries the Birla-owned daily most is the fact that the Petition demands nationalisation of banks, etc. How dreadful it would be if part of the loot of the monopolists is prevented from going into their pockets! Hindustan Times screams in anguish that such demands amount to "social and economic upheaval", to "major changes in economic relationships". And this cannot, must not be allowed.

The monopolists' voice sings in tune with the size of its vested interests.

The editorial expresses its special gratitude to the new Chairman of the Praja Socialist Party, S. M. Joshi, who is reported to have characterised the Great Petition campaign as "clever, yet sinister tactics to divert the attention of the Indian masses from the major issue of Chinese invasion and menace to our freedom."

Joshi in his press statement issued at Poona, on June 23 "warned the people, particularly the working masses, to keep away from the nefarious game of Communist demonstrations, motivated by anti-national designs." (PTI)

The PSP leader in his anti-communism, is in the company of the leaders of the Jan Sangh, Swatantra Party, the Hindu Mahasabha and all other Right reactionaries in the country.

Hindu Mahasabha President V. G. Deshpande has called for a ban on the Communist Party.

There is nothing surprising in the slanderous accusations being made by the Communist Party,

KERALA SATYAGRAHA AGAINST FARE INCREASE

★ From S. SHARMA

TRIVANDRUM: Over 1,500 volunteers took part in the state-wide satyagraha on June 24 to protest against the proposed increase in bus fares, in response to the call of the Kerala State Executive of the Communist Party.

In all the important towns and cities of the state and in front of bus stands, batches of volunteers numbering six to fifteen stood with placards demanding withdrawal of the enhanced bus fare which is to come into effect on July 1 and raised slogans condemning this new burden on the common people—workers going to factories, office-going clerks, students etc.

The demonstrations were peaceful everywhere and attracted widespread support of the people. The volunteers kept up the demonstration throughout the day.

In Trivandrum, the police took into custody three batches of volunteers but later let them off. Police pickets had been posted in all centres by the government.

which represents the interests of the working masses of this country, demands that the tax burdens fall more on the monopolists and the vested interests. Hence the demand for nationalisation, hence the detailed proposals for alternative resources for defence and development.

sations being made by the Rightist press. They know that the Communist Party is the most consistent defender of the basic policies and the most powerful block in the way of the Rightist efforts to sell this country to foreign imperialists by making it abandon the policy of non-alignment and the policies of planned development with growing emphasis on the public sector.

Therefore, they seek to distort the meaning of the Great Petition campaign and paint it as an effort to disrupt the defence efforts. They conveniently omit mentioning the fact that similar campaigns against the CDS, against tax-burdens and high prices, against corruption—are now being planned feverishly by all the Right parties themselves.

The Hindustan Times has laid its finger correctly on one major difference between the CPI's campaign and the campaign of the Right opposition: the Great Petition demands the nationalisation of banks, oil, foreign trade, etc.

Why does it do this? Precisely because, in complete contradiction to the aims of the Right reactionary parties, the CPI fully supports the efforts to strengthen Indian defences and to speed up our economic development.

The so-called anti-tax campaigns of the Right suggest no alternative resources for defence and development, beyond vague calls for austerity and economy in governmental expenditure. This follows from the class nature of these parties: representing the monopolists and the vested interests, they seek the further lightening of taxes on their own classes.

The Communist Party,

which represents the interests of the working masses of this country, demands that the tax burdens fall more on the monopolists and the vested interests. Hence the demand for nationalisation, hence the detailed proposals for alternative resources for defence and development.

Congress Right Joins Band Wagon

IT is interesting to see that the Right inside the Congress is trotting out the same anti-Petition nonsense as the Right opposition.

Statements critical of the Petition campaign are being made these days by certain INTUC spokesmen. INTUC General Secretary Vasavda accuses Communist trade unionists of trying "to dissuade workers from doing their duty to the Motherland", "when the enemy is knocking at our doors."

The editorial of the AICC Economic Review of June 15, signed by one M. H. Samuel, M.P., makes similar unfounded and unwarranted charges against the Communist Party. It accuses the Petition of seeking to shift the emphasis away from the defence of the country, by totally misquoting the CPI Secretariat's appeal.

It suggests that the Petition campaign "impairs the nation's readiness to meet the aggression" "saps or corrodes the morale of the people", "helps and encourages the

Whispering Gallery

GUESSING GAME IS ON

While the Prime Minister is ruminating in the neighbourhood of a glacier in Pahalgam, Congressmen in Delhi are engaged in a wild guessing game spotting the would-be winners and the victims in the impending Cabinet reshuffle or readjustment.

MANY sections and individuals are advancing their claims to the Ministerial gaddi. Some people like Hare Krishna Mahatab and Mahavir Tyagi have even taken great pains in literally inventing a group, called "traditional Congressmen" to reinforce their own personal claims.

Mahavir Tyagi went a step further and issued a heroic press statement hailing Kennedy's promise to President Radhakrishnan of effective military assistance. But since the Yankees started harping more on what is called the "slot" system of assistance and with the consequent Indian disenchantment, Tyagi's chances are pretty thin.

A section of Congressmen are freely saying that Jagjivan Ram is being pushed out with a gubernatorial job.

A. K. Sen is furiously lobbying for the Commerce & Industry Ministry, one of the plums at the Centre. If he does not get a promotion this time, his confidants say, he might go back to practice. It is much more paying—practising for such tycoons as Haridas Mundhra.

OUR CONDOLENCES

NEWS has just reached us of the sad death of Smt. Yashodabai, mother of Communist leader B. T. Ranadive, who is at present detained by the Maharashtra Government under the D.I.R.

NEW AGE sends its sincere condolences to Comrade Ranadive and all other members of the family on their great loss.

Chinese to return to the attack." This fantastic word-building is utterly and completely devoid of an iota of truth. The Great Petition campaign strengthens the morale of the people, it helps to defend them against any aggression and to defend them equally against the offensive of Right reaction.

Defence cannot be built on the discontent of millions. The Congress would do well to remember that. As for the Rightist INTUC leaders, the working class knows that the INTUC leaders have always been in the forefront of the defence efforts.

They know equally well in whose interests, certain reactionary INTUC leaders speak—the monopolists and big business sharks, who seek to throw the entire load of national defence on workers, themselves escaping as lightly as possible.

Problem For Congress

PLANNING Minister Gulzarilal Nanda's latest note on "The Problem for the Congress" touches the fringe of the problem, as far as the present tax measures are concerned, when he says rather politely:

"In this context of national economy, certain Government measures have created deep feelings of resentment and cannot but have political repercussions. This could have been avoided to some extent."

And among his remedial measures, Nanda suggests: "In the present conditions, no such measures should be adopted as may, in the balance, diminish the stock of goodwill for the Congress, even though they may have some intrinsic worth."

Nanda! we believe is serious about what he has written. There are large numbers of Congressmen who will agree with what he has said in regard to the present anti-people taxation measures.

They must raise their voices, together with all other democrats, for the withdrawal at once of the CDS and all other anti-people burdens, which are the "gift" to the nation of Finance Minister Morarji Desai.

It is not enough to spot the disease, as Nanda is trying to do. It is necessary to root it out. (June 26)

BY VIJAYAN

to a younger but a taller VIP in the Congress. This VIP is reported to have advised him to help the Congress in the Amroha election.

In the end the tycoon helped both—Hafizi and Kripalanjini—in keeping with the current practice with all the tax-evading millionaires.

MILLIONAIRE Shanti Prasad Jain is going about saying that he is free from the trouble. The way the government has gone about with the inquiry report is scandalous. The softness it has shown to the guilty men is nothing but an act of criminality.

★ ON PAGE 13

Recent statements of Pakistani Leaders seem to establish a new record in the Hate-India campaign.

FOR months now they have carried on a campaign to the effect that India's defence preparations constitute a threat to Pakistan's security. Now they have gone to the absurd limit of charging India with ambitions to subjugate all countries from Afghanistan to Indonesia and thus posing a threat to the independence of all countries of South-East Asia.

To meet the so-called threat to Pakistan from India they propose to organise bands and train them for guerrilla warfare, possibly on the pattern of the tribals' "guerrilla" raid of 1947 into Kashmir.

This vituperation and threatening postures are sought to be justified before their own people and before world opinion by reference to India's "intransigence" over Kashmir. Because India would not hand over the valley of Kashmir on a platter to Pakistan, India has to be branded Enemy Number 1, not only of Pakistan but of all countries of South and South-East Asia; people have to be worked up into a mad frenzy against her; her offers of a No-War Pact, made time and again during the last 16 years and repeated a number of times during the last few weeks, are to be rejected and condemned outright as "fraudulent".

Why have Pakistan's rulers decided to revive and intensify this hate campaign? What has necessitated and made it possible? Whose game are they playing and great influence, playing a tremendous role in the framing of its policies.

All this, however, is not to suggest that the surge of anti-American, anti-imperialist sentiment that has in recent years manifested itself more strongly than ever before is of no consequence and has no great significance. On the contrary, it is this great upsurge which has necessitated resort to unprecedented manoeuvres.

It needs to be stated that this great upsurge received its first great push from the successes of India's policy of non-alignment during the years 1954-58. It was given a tremendous fillip by the Iraqi Revolution of July, 1958, necessitating the imposition of martial law a few months later in a desperate attempt to curb and suppress it.

It was again the failure of those devices to achieve their purpose that necessitated the lifting of the martial law and the search for other more effective ones. Besides its intensity and persistence what is new about this upsurge of anti-imperialist, anti-American sentiment is that it has drawn in its sweep the nascent industrial bourgeoisie that has steadily been coming up during the last several years. The urge for industrial development at a rapid pace is balked at every step by the shackles imposed by the American "aid".

Messrs Ayub and cohorts as well as the permanent rulers of Pakistan — Messrs the Bureaucrats — are neither the product nor the vehicle of this anti-imperialist upsurge; they are by their genesis and by their history the very instruments of imperialism for the suppression and containment of this anti-imperialist upsurge.

Their record in its salient features shows: 1. They never raised one little finger to secure Pakistan's withdrawal from any of the military alliances in which she is involved, despite the persistent demand and overwhelming sentiment for doing so.

2. They have refused to accept the offers repeatedly made by the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries for cooperation in building up industry and advancing trade in a big way just because the American masters would not permit one of their bloc countries to enter into economic relations with the socialist world.

3. A major operation undertaken by the Ayub regime on behalf of the Anglo-American imperialists was the "Friendship Offensive" launched against India in 1959. The offensive aimed at involving India in a Joint Defence Pact with Pakistan against Communism. This was patently an imperialist manoeuvre to bring India into their military alliance system by the back-door after efforts to do so directly had failed.

It is at this stage that China entered the field of Indo-Pakistan relations. It announced its recognition of a "dispute" between India and Pakistan over Kashmir, in flagrant violation of the realities of the situation and the over-all interests of the world-wide

Imperialism's Base

list regime has come to the latter's help at a time when it was badly in need of succour from outside. The regime was under tremendous pressure from the people at home to take a clear-cut anti-imperialist stand, to quit the US-sponsored military pacts and to switch over to a policy of non-alignment in international relations. With China's timely help the Pakistani rulers have, at least for the time being, successfully silenced those demands.

To drown that popular and genuinely anti-imperialist surge in the din of their own lying propaganda, the rulers of Pakistan have raised the smokescreen of "massive" Indian military build-up posing a threat to the security and the very existence of Pakistan. During the last six months they have done their worst to project in their people's mind an image of India as a "favourite"

Observer

JUNE 30, 1963

behind new round of hate India campaign

anti-imperialist struggle, flying in the face of the whole history of the anti-imperialist struggle in what is now called the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. Motivated by sheerest opportunism and by narrow reactionary nationalistic considerations, seeking to isolate and demigrate India, People's China entered into an agreement with Pakistan to demarcate the border between Pakistan-occupied Kashmir and its own Sinkiang region.

China On The Scene

Since then it has sunk deeper and deeper in the mire of befriending a satellite and military ally of the US-British imperialists. In its hatred for non-alignment and seeking to destroy it wherever they can, the dogmatist leadership of China has gone to the extent of condoning and justifying Pakistan's membership of SEATO and CENTO, as Chou En-lai did recently.

China's new-found love for Pakistan's reactionary pro-imperialist struggle, flying in the face of the whole history of the anti-imperialist struggle in what is now called the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. Motivated by sheerest opportunism and by narrow reactionary nationalistic considerations, seeking to isolate and demigrate India, People's China entered into an agreement with Pakistan to demarcate the border between Pakistan-occupied Kashmir and its own Sinkiang region.

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India, even in her present plight, that has become a stooge of imperialism; on the contrary, it is the rulers of Pakistan — the present ones and their predecessors — who have turned Pakistan into a base and tool of imperialism and are determined to preserve it so.

The total effect of the situation is nevertheless highly confusing for the people of Pakistan. More than their own rulers' mendacious propaganda it is the Chinese campaign of falsehood that is responsible for this situation. It is not only the anti-Indian propaganda that emanates from Chinese sources and is fully utilised by the government and the reactionary press of Pakistan. It is more the ideological campaign of theirs against the accepted line of the international Communist movement that plays the greater role in disorienting the democratic forces in Pakistan.

In an avowedly anti-Communist state which has made it impossible for the authentic viewpoint of the world Communist movement on ideological problems as well as on day-to-day developments to reach the

GOI Helps Them

Having said all this one would be failing in one's duty if one were not to point out the role that the Government of India has itself played during the last few months in strengthening the hands of the Pakistan dictator-ship.

First of all the unseemly spectacle of the Indian leadership supplicating at the doors of the Western Powers unmindful of the indignities and rebuffs heaped upon us by our "friends" and would-be "benefactors". This has helped the Pakistani rulers tremendously in tarnishing the image of India that had been built in the minds of their people over several years — the image of a country whose refusal to be inveigled into any imperialist-sponsored military alliance and whose pursuit of an independent foreign policy had brought to it dividends in the form of growing international prestige and comparatively rapid and comparatively sound economic development. This contrasted sharply with what the Pakistani rulers' policies had made of Pakistan. It acted as a magnet and an inspiration for the people of Pakistan despite the intermittent anti-Indian propaganda.

Today, however, the weakening of the threats that have arisen to India's non-alignment policy play directly into the hands of the ruling junta of Pakistan, serving as a

convenient weapon for them to demoralise their people. More directly damaging to our cause and helpful to the rulers of Pakistan has been the opening — however limited and however temporary — of the Kashmir issue. The upshot of the recent talks to-date is that Bhutto can claim that India has recognised the existence of the "dispute".

It was patent to everybody the way it was done and the circumstances in which it was done; that the grave step of reopening the issue was being taken under the pressure of the Anglo-American imperialists. Once it was done, it revived the hopes that had long since dried up in the hearts of Pakistan's rulers that imperialist pressure might eventually bring about an opening for them to extend their death-grip to that part of Kashmir which had remained free from it.

And the reopening of the issue enabled the imperialists to return to the game of the pre-partition days, of playing one against the other, posing

as friends of both, trying to re-establish through it their domination over the one which had refused to accept it since they were made to 'quit'. The rulers of Pakistan knew they were to gain both ways: If India succumbed to imperialist pressure, they would be able to claim a victory; if India refused to oblige, they would claim that the imperialists had not put sufficient pressure and had actually favoured India.

This is the line they have been taking both during the talks and since their breakdown; this line they would pursue further were India to fall into the trap of "mediation".

Prime Minister Nehru at his last press conference and in his speeches since has tried to undo some of the damage done. Still the ghost of "mediation" has to be finally and irrevocably laid. The country is still regretting the fact that in 1947 the entire territory of Jammu and Kashmir were not driven out of the entire territory of Jammu and Kashmir and on Mountbatten's advice our forces were stopped at the cease-fire line and the issue was referred to the UN. Now, if ever under any pressure or faced with any temporary difficulty, our rulers were to walk into the trap of "mediation", the Anglo-American imperialist and their Pakistani henchmen will have succeeded in reopening a Pandora's box which could lead to the loss of all that the anti-imperialist movement in this country had cherished and upheld, albeit imperfectly, during these 16 years.

The virtues of Right reaction keep on advising us to knuckle under. They do in the name of the need to win Pakistan's friendship. But friendship between the people of India and Pakistan, cherished by the masses on both sides, will never come about under imperialist aegis. India's contribution towards bringing about this friendship lies in standing firm on its principled position that Kashmir is an inalienable part of India, an earnest of her independence and refusal to submit to imperialist pressure.

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whose game are Pak rulers playing?

whose interests do they serve? And what do those who instigate and encourage them hope to gain out of this?

To seek the answers to these questions, certain fundamental truths about Pakistan have to be restated plainly and declared once again from the house-tops. For a lot of smoke has been raised lately from various quarters to cover up these never-to-be-forgotten facts.

Imperialism's Base

First, Pakistan has been and continues to be, despite all the demagoguery of its Altaf Husains; a member of the imperialist, aggressive, military alliances, CENTO and SEATO. Over and above this, Pakistan is directly tied up with a straight military alliance with the United States, the US-Pakistan Military Pact of 1953. Neither Pakistan has denounced any one of these, nor have Kennedy and his New Frontiersmen dissolved any one of them.

Under these military pacts a number of military and air bases have been granted by Pakistan to the United States. It was from one of these that the infamous U-2 spy-plane took off in 1960. No announcement has been made to date of the dismantling of that and other similar bases in Pakistan.

Secondly, as a result of those military pacts, the US over a number of years established its firm grip over all the decisive spheres of Pakistan's life. It is not only in the sphere of defence but in all important departments that American "advisers" are functioning.

The bureaucracy which continues to rule Pakistan as ever before and remains all-powerful in the absence of a strong popular movement is a tool of American domination, with all its key members on the pay-roll of the US.

Finally, the British imperialists whose traditional links with the feudal and tribal chiefs, and with the bureaucrats, are the closest and the most intimate, and who know the country as the very palm of their hand, continue to exercise

JUNE 30, 1963

POLICE FIRING ON BARAUNI WORKERS

M. N. Govindan Nair Interviewed

Not two, but three workers were said to have been killed on June 16 when police resorted to firing on the workers in the oil refinery at Barauni, disclosed M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR, MP, who visited Barauni a few days ago.

M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR told New Age that the above report was based on the information received from reliable sources. He said that the police, after killing and wounding the workers resorted to a brute show of terror. Hundreds of workers, apart from those already arrested, are now on "wanted" list of police.

M. N. told New Age that "such developments, deplorable and shocking as they are, cannot but create serious concern and particularly so when it involves a public sector undertaking, in the orderly development of which we are all specially interested."

It was most deplorable, M. N. said, that the Bihar government did not even issue a statement "explaining why the police force, meant to protect the life and property of the citizens, had to be used to take the lives of a number of citizens!"

M. N. said that if the authorities concerned were clear in their minds, even according to their own standards and conscience that the police were justified in resorting to firing, there was no ostensible reason why the facts of the incidents could not be let known to the public.

SDO's Refusal

M. N. narrated the story how the sub-divisional officer of Begusarai, who was present at Barauni on June 16, avoided meeting him. The SDO, instead of meeting M.N., suggested that he should contact the district magistrate.

M. N. said that normally under similar circumstances, people in authority should be anxious to account the public, through all available sources, with the facts of the case. Why should the SDO behave differently, M. N. wondered and added that without rushing into conclusions, he would suggest that there must be something wrong in the matter which made the persons in authority afraid to talk.

M. N. alleged that the dead bodies of the killed workers were not handed over to the relatives of the deceased nor was any attempt made to trace them. The police have definitely failed to discharge their responsibility in the matter and tried to dispose the bodies off as soon as possible.

The excuse of the authorities was that the relatives refused to come to claim the dead bodies. It looked very strange, M. N. said and informed New Age that he has written a letter to the Chief Minister of Bihar requesting him to find out whether the relatives were intimidated. M. N. stated that the police authorities till now have disclosed only the name of the village to which the dead workers belong.

He said that it is strongly believed that the authorities without caring or waiting even to identify the dead—leave aside intimidating the relatives—disposed off the dead bodies. M. N. said that if it were true, it was highly inhuman.

M. N. told New Age that the public are entitled to know the exact number of persons killed,

leave the place till the retrenchment orders were withdrawn.

The behaviour of the workers was not to the liking of the authorities and next day, on June 16, while the workers were in their homes, police raided the colony, beat up people, arrested some and a reign of terror was unleashed finally leading to the firing and loss of lives.

M. N. said that he could not comprehend what was the occasion for this attack on the workers. If the authorities felt that the workers behaved wrongly on the

previous day, they could have taken them for that offence.



M. N. wondered whether he was to believe that within a few hours after the incidents on June 16, all proceedings were completed to arrest the alleged offenders, or was it a

planned and indiscriminate attack on the workers to terrorise them. Any impartial mind would reach only the latter conclusion.

He added that the only course left open under such circumstances to clear the doubts in the minds of the people at the earliest was to order a judicial enquiry.

M. N. specifically referred to the fact that there was no death of qualified doctors in Begusarai, which is very near to Barauni, and yet police did not take their help and instead took some "unqualified" medical practitioners to render medical assistance to the dying and the injured.

M. N. also touched upon the deplorable state of labour relations and the failure of the state labour department to deal with industrial disputes by yielding to the pressure of civil authorities. He specifically mentioned the recent strike of the workers of Patel Engineering Co., at Barauni which unnecessarily lingered on due to the stiff opposition put up by civil authorities in the way of solution of the dispute.

20,000 WORKERS TO DEMONSTRATE

Programme Adopted in Bhilai Union's Conference

★ From Our Correspondent

The second annual conference of Bhilai Steel Mazdoor Sabha (AITUC) was held on June 14-16. The conference was inaugurated by KEDAR DAS, vice-president of the AITUC. On June 14, a public meeting was held which was attended by more than 7,000 workers of Bhilai. It was addressed by KEDAR DAS and SUDHIR MUKERJEE, working president of the union. The conference was attended by more than 400 delegates who finalised a charter of demands.

THE conference decided that the charter of demands will be sent to all concerned and if no tangible results are obtained, a mammoth body of 20,000 workers will march to the general manager of BSP on August 11, to demand immediate and favourable solution of their problems.

Miners To Join

It was declared in the session by PRAKASH ROY, secretary of the Samyukta Khand Mazdoor Sangh, amid applause that miners workers from Nandini and Rajhara will also join the Bhilai workers in thousands on the same day.

A number of resolutions were adopted by the conference among others: (1) release of trade union leaders under detention all over India, (2) taxation proposals and compulsory savings scheme, (3) victimisation of workers in public sector enterprises especially in Bhilai, (4) enforcement of central labour laws in Bhilai Steel project, (5) early announcement of wage board award, (6) denial of minimum facilities for work etc., (7) permanency of work-charged staff, (8) production

AMROHA BIDI WORKERS GAIN WAGE INCREASE

The workers of Sindhi Sangh Bidi Factory at Amroha, who were on strike since May 31 last on the demand of increased wages, registered a significant victory on June 17.

THE owners of the factory who had been consistently refusing to meet the demand of the Bidi Workers' Union to pay at the rate of Rs. 1.88 nP. per thousand of

NEW AGE

The SERAJUDDIN affair which led to the resignation of Oil Minister K. D. MALAVIYA entered into a new phase with the filing of two complaints against Serajuddin and four others and seven firms by the Enforcement Directorate, under Sec. 120 B IPC (conspiracy) and Sec. 23 of the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act.

THE Calcutta Customs authorities earlier did not file any case and hence the accused who were on bail

connection with alleged evasion of Customs Duty by under-invoicing shipments of Chromite and Manganese ore, were discharged by Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta.



after their arrest under Sea Customs Act and the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act in

The petition of the Superintendent of the Enforcement Directorate alleged that Serajuddin and other accused persons entered into conspiracy with a New York firm and between 1953 and 1958 exported goods worth Rs. two crores while showing those at Rs. one crore only by under-invoicing.

While Serajuddin affairs continued to agitate peoples' minds, Calcutta was rocked by another raid by the Calcutta Customs officials. This time Bird & Co. Ltd. one of the biggest British firms in India having under their control jute, tea, coal,

GUJARAT ★ From Our Correspondent

CHRONIC MISMANAGEMENT OF TEXTILE MILLS

Workers Urge Govt. To Take Over

Ahmedabad is a big textile centre, yet a number of mills, nearly thirty out of sixty, are in a state of closing down under one pretext or other. The Nathising Mill was closed down two years ago and after a long delay, government decided to take it over. About half a dozen textile mills have been closed down during the last two years.

RECENTLY at Kadi, about 35 miles from Ahmedabad, a mill was closed down and it was restarted after nearly three months, only as a result of the struggle of nearly 2,000 workers, who led a march on foot to the chief minister at Ahmedabad.

Another mill, the Bharat Khand Textile Mill, has closed down over ten weeks and it has not paid the wages and dearness allowance of 2,500 workers for over four months. The INTUC Major Mahajan did nothing to restart the mill or to secure the wages of the workers.

During the last fortnight the workers invited INDULAL YAJNIK, MP, and MANI PALKHIVALA,

PROBLEMS OF NATIONAL INTEGRATION by Jolly Mohan Kaul

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BIG BUSINESS PLUNDERS:

FRAUDS EXPECTED TO BE REVEALED IN BIRD & CO. SEARCH

MORARJI BELITTLES UNDER-INVOICING

★ FROM AJAY DAS GUPTA

engineering, and various other industrial enterprises.

The head office of the company was searched for three



Morarji

days and search at other offices and godowns scattered all over Calcutta, and the regional offices, is still continuing.

The Customs officials have declined to make any comment, but it is being freely talked in the high commercial circles that the amount involved might go upto a colossal sum of Rs. 200 crores covering the entire post-independence period.

It is reliably learnt that many other big foreign firms are now busy in "operation burning" of their old files and documents in the fear that customs officials might soon swoop upon them also and many-a-skeleton may come out of their cupboards and expose their illegal plunder.

While these disclosures are increasing peoples' anger and demand for the nationalisation of the export-import trade along with banks, general insurance, oil and other

strategic industries, Morarji Desai, Union Finance Minister, tried to belittle the extent of drain of Indian wealth by way of under-invoicing, smuggling and other malpractices connected with foreign trade, while speaking informally to the press correspondents at Calcutta.

He repudiated a suggestion that it was possible to make an accurate estimate of the extent of under-invoicing and he was afraid that the extent might be exaggerated.

However he had to admit that under-invoicing was being practised on a fairly large scale and the money value might be Rs. 50 crores annually to which extent foreign exchange was lost and resources diverted to smuggling of gold. He also indicated that further actions were forthcoming in this respect.

Spotlight — by Garuda

COMMUNALISM? OH, NO!

A 'must' for RSS boys receiving initiation in the cult of the Danda is a small book titled PARAM PUJANIYA DR. HEDGEWAR.

DEVOTED to the life and the teachings of the founder of the Sangh, this book has a long chapter on "Ideology." It is actually a speech delivered by Hedgewar in 1936 before an audience of his chelas.

RSS circles still regard it as the most masterly exposition of their creed. Every boy in the Shikhas is required to study this book and imbibe its contents. Learning them is part of the ritual gone through in the esoteric circles of the Sangh.

What great thesis does the Guru propound in this book? He says:

The Sangh is an organisation of all Hindus. It is the duty of all Hindus to join it... If we dedicate ourselves body and soul to the Sangh, then at least our coming generations can live as Hindus. We should do so much for the protection of the Hindu religion that even after we are gone, Hindu religion should remain awake.

Explaining the "world situation and the future of Hindus," the thesis says:

"Out of the 35 crore people inhabiting our country, only 25 crore are Hindus. The remaining 10 crores were also Hindus at one time, but we have lost them due to our indifference and inactivity... What is Afghanistan today was once our Candhar. But now it is fully Islamistan. The Kashmir state formerly belonged to the Hindus but now, ninety per cent of the population there is Muslim. Is it not surprising that although the ruler of Kashmir is a Hindu, the majority there is of Muslims? Kashmir is regarded as the paradise of India, but that very paradise has become the home of a Mohammedan majority. It is a matter of great anxiety..."

"Whereas four-five hundred years ago, Hindus ruled not only over India but over all the nearby countries, today even in Hindusthan proper the Hindus cannot call it the land of Hindus."

"We have to change this regrettable situation."

Further, the Guru says that the "mental imbecility" of the Hindus is responsible for this state of affairs. He attacks leaders of the Indian national movement for perpetuating this "imbecility," says: "our leaders are taken aback if you utter the word Hindusthan for Hindus... They are dying to fraternise with those who are out to destroy our culture."

Finally, he says: "Brother Swayamsevaks! Rise and proclaim boldly that 'Hindusthan belongs to Hindus only!'"

Such was the content of "Nationalism" (Sangh's brand) which was rightly denounced by the national movement as Hindu communalism.

The remarkable thing about this thesis is that it was propounded at a time when the national movement was reverberating with slogans of all-ini unity to overthrow the British rule. Hindu-Muslim-Sikh-Isti-yeh sab Hain Bhai-Bhai was one of the sacred mantras of the liberation struggle.

It is further to be noted that the RSS subscribes and propagates the same text today, and its offspring, the Jan Sangh, too adheres to the same creed. Those who are running and controlling the Jan Sangh had imbibed this very faith, and what is more remarkable they do not disavow an iota of it.

I will, therefore, present the above to Raj Narain of the SP who said he was averse to characterising Jan Sangh as communal, and to F. C. Ghosh of the PSP, who is highly endeared to the 'socialist' harem of open alignment with the Sangh. To run with the 'socialist' harem and to hunt with the communalist hound is a game which these gentlemen, or their parties, cannot play for long without inviting disaster. Can they?

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SIGN PEOPLE'S PETITION: JOIN MARCH TO DELHI

Reports from Kerala speak of the warm response of the people to the call of the Communist Party to sign the People's Petition to Parliament. The campaign against additional tax burdens on common people imposed by both the central and state governments has made further headway in all the districts.

THE executive committee of the Kerala State Council of the CPI met at Ernakulam on June 19 and 20 and warmly endorsed the call of the National Secretariat of the Party to collect 10 million signatures on the People's Petition. The executive decided to collect one million signatures from the state and worked out a detailed programme for the campaign.

Kerala

People's response to the campaign initiated by the Communist Party is evident from the enthusiastic welcome which the electorate of Trivandrum accorded to their newly-elected MLA, Anirudhan who completed on June 20 a five-day padayatra through all the 31 wards of the city. He had with him 15 members in a jatha which within five days had 260 receptions in various parts of the city and addressed over 100 meetings covering more than a lakh of people.

Everywhere the people were eager to welcome their new MLA and to hear the Party's call for a campaign against tax burdens.

In all places, garlands made a coins and currency notes were presented to the jatha. By June 20 over Rs. 600 had been collected by the jatha from the 31 wards.

As this jatha wound up with a meeting on June 20, two other jathas led by Sadasivan and K. M. Sreedhar have started touring the adjoining areas.

Meanwhile, there is increasing demand from all sections of public for withholding the proposed increase in transport fares which the state government has initiated. The increase is to come into effect on July 1.

All the political parties of the opposition during the budget session has strongly opposed the measure. Besides, organisations such as the Youth Congress, the Independent Students Organisation (of Congress affiliation) and trade unions belonging to all shades of opinion had demanded that the proposed increase in bus fare should not be put into effect. Even Congress dailies have voiced this view.

Achutha Menon, secretary of the Kerala State Council of the CPI in a letter addressed to the Chief Minister has drawn his attention to this widespread disapproval of the government's move to increase transport fares and suggested that it be stayed for the time being.

He has pointed out the hardships the measure will cause to the ordinary working people employed in factories and other establishments. Achutha Menon has further suggested that the proposed measure be discussed

thoroughly in an all parties conference. The Ernakulam meeting of the state executive of the Party also criticised the measure and demanded of the government to retrace its steps.

The executive decided that on June 24, a week prior to the introduction of the new fares, the Party should organise protest satyagraha in all district headquarters and demonstrations in all towns. It appealed for the cooperation of all parties, trade unions, student bodies and other mass organisations in making this protest a success.

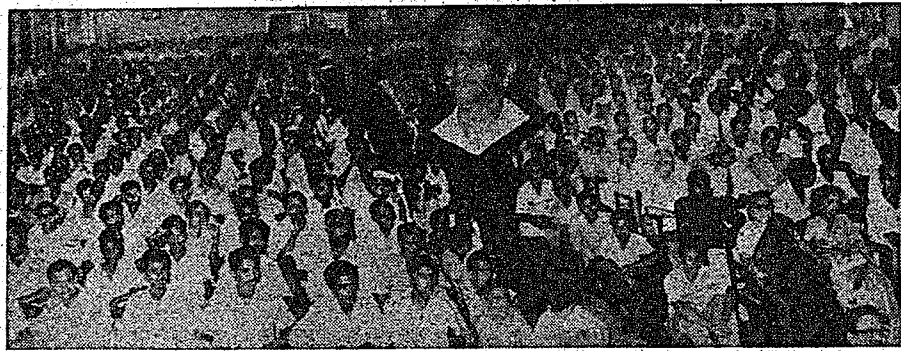
areas bordering on Delhi to personally supervise the organisation of the March.

A special meeting of the executive committee of the state council of the Party has been called for July 4 and 5 to give final touches to the preparations. This meeting will be followed by a meeting of the state council. Chairman of the Party, S. A. Dange has accepted the invitation to attend these meetings.

The secretariat has appealed to all democratic parties, mass organisations and individuals to join this pilgrimage in people's service.

Karnatak

THE executive committee of the Karnatak Provincial Council of the



S. A. Dange addressing meeting at Sunderbai Hall, Bombay on June 18.

Uttar Pradesh

THE Secretariat of the U.P. Council of the CPI meeting in Lucknow decided to collect ten lakh signatures on the People's Petition to Parliament and to mobilise 15,000 workers, peasants and middle class people to join the Great March to Delhi.

Efforts are being made to send at least 150 to 200 buses and about 1,000 bullock carts to Delhi for the presentation of the Petition. Plans are being made also to hire a whole train to take the marchers to Delhi.

The Secretariat has already brought out in Hindi 10,000 copies of the Petition along with the resolution of the National Secretariat for being taken to the people. The resolution and the Petition are being published in Urdu also in as many copies.

No movement in recent years, not even the last food movement, has been prepared on such a large scale and with such meticulous care and caution.

Many of the state and district leaders of the Party have already left for areas allotted to them to give a start to the movement and to assist the local units to organise their work effectively. During the next eight weeks or so the whole State will be covered by them and a few days before the date of March to Delhi almost all the leaders of the Party and mass organisations will move up to the state's

lakh signatures on the People's Petition. Quotas for each district were fixed. Plans were drawn up to ensure that 5000 persons join the procession to Parliament in Delhi. A tour programme of the Party leaders to various districts in July has been decided upon.

Bihar

THE kisans of Gaya district in Bihar have decided to lend strong support to the campaign against tax burdens and rising prices.

The 24th conference of the Gaya District Kisan Sabha held on June 17 and 18 at village Godiha decided to collect 50,000 signature on the Peo-

CAMPAIGN GROWS

THE MOVEMENT FOR A PEOPLE'S PETITION TO PARLIAMENT AGAINST SOARING PRICES, HEAVY TAX BURDENS AND COMPULSORY DEPOSITS HAS CAUGHT THE IMAGINATION OF OUR MASSES EVERYWHERE, AS REPORTS FROM THE STATES INDICATE.

It has truly the potentialities of a big national movement, embracing people of all languages, caste and community, giving expression to the anguish and distress of millions of our working masses in factories, offices and fields whose genuine desire for development and defence of the country suffered the rudest shock from recent budgetary imposts.

In the vanguard of this national protest against unjust taxes and spiralling prices stand the Communists, dedicated defenders of the rights and interests of the working masses. Into the movement are drawn large numbers of democrats from other parties and organisations who too realise that the best and truest guarantee to the strength of the country is the satisfaction of its working people, their security today and safeguards for tomorrow.

In these pages, we are giving some of the reports from the states showing the activities of the Communist Party units and workers engaged in the mobilisation of millions to sign the Petition to Parliament. More such reports will appear in the New Age in the coming weeks.

immediate nationalisation of general insurance, banks, oil, foreign trade and wholesale trade in food. Similar demands were voiced by the Tollygunge Regional Trade Union Council.

On June 14, over 1,500 tram workers demonstrated under the auspices of the Calcutta Tram Workers' Union (AITUC). They went to the Head Office of the Company in Delhouse Square area and submitted a memorandum signed by more than five thousand workers demanding food and other essential articles at cheap rates from the Company's shops. The memo-

randum pointed out that for the last seven years the tram workers' DA has remained stationary and therefore the workers have lost in real wages. The memorandum also demanded the withdrawal of the CDS.

On June 15, a mile-long procession, the biggest ever since emergency, was organised by the Calcutta District Council of the CPI and thousands joined it despite heavy rains. The demonstration was taken out to voice the demand for the release of all political prisoners, repeal of the DI Act and emergency, cheap food

and change in government's tax policy.

In the background of this rising movement, Bhowani Sen, secretary of the Provincial Organising Committee of the Party has issued a statement explaining the Communist Party's call for signatures on the People's Petition and for a demonstration before Parliament.

Bhowani Sen has appealed to the people of West Bengal to respond to this call to register their organised protest against the tax policies of the government and to develop the signature campaign into a mass referendum.

MADHYA PRADESH PREPARES FOR MARCH TO DELHI

The steel city of Bhilai resounded with the slogans 'Delhi Chalo' as 15 thousand steelmen shouted approval to the proposal of a People's Petition and march to Delhi. I was addressing the public rally of the Annual Conference of the Bhilai Steel Mazdoor Sabha on June 16. The packed rally, surrounded by a floating sea of Red Banners, in the background of the red glow of the furnaces, made an inspiring sight.

PRESSED by their own problems, the workers fully appreciated and applauded the need of linking up of trade union issues with the wider issues raised in the petition, and have decided to launch, simultaneously, mass signature campaigns on two petitions—the People's Petition and the other in support of their own grievances.

On August 11, they have called for a mammoth demonstration to go to the General Manager, and by that time, the collection of signatures will have been completed.

From Bhilai I motored to Nandini Iron Mines which feed the gigantic Bhilai plant. The new township has grown. This was the venue of the annual conference of Samyukta Khadan Mazdoor Sangh. Forty-eight delegates had gathered. Delegates from BSP mines, from Korba, Balaghat, Parasra etc. They represent the trade unions in

iron, manganese, dolomite and coal.

One item on the agenda was preparations for the great campaign in support of the Petition

and the people's march to Delhi. The conference enthusiastically recorded its full support and immediately set about chalking out the details of the programme.

The Nandini mine workers had overfulfilled the target of mining iron ore, and the delegates pledged that with redoubled enthusiasm, they would overfulfill the target for the signature campaign too.

The township itself underlined the urgent necessity of the demands raised in the petition

Big Strides In Punjab

The Petition movement decision has been enthusiastically welcomed in Punjab by Communist Party members and the broad masses.

PREPARATIONS have started in right earnest following the Communist Party state secretariat meeting of June 7, which took some immediate decisions to implement the call of the central secretariat. The call for the movement has come in the background of acute hardships and wide discontent over the new budget proposals, both central and state—with their crushing additional burden of taxation on the common people and the steep rise in prices.

The call has followed soon after the wide movement of protest on May 27, in which workers and peasants participated on a large scale in a score of processions and many more mass meetings.

An idea of how heavy is the burden of fresh taxation on the common people in the state, can be had from the following facts:

The general sales tax has been raised from five to six naye paise and will bring in one crore rupees to the state exchequer.

The sales tax imposed on foodgrains will cost another fifty lakh rupees to the people.

The passenger tax on buses already heavy, has been raised from twenty to twenty-five per cent and will help the State Government to extract one crores rupees from the people's pockets.

The rate of entertainment tax has been increased from forty to fifty per cent.

Electricity rate has been increased exorbitantly. A levy has been imposed on sugarcane, chillies and cotton crops at rates ranging from two to four rupees per acre, from which even the smallest peasant has not been exempted.

One very retrograde step—from which the State Government has had later on to retreat partially—has been the decision to end the school fee exemption given earlier in government schools. This has meant severe hardship for lakhs of families leading to the withdrawal of thousands of children from schools.

Besides this new burden of anti-people taxation, the rise in prices of certain necessities of life has hit the people hard. At first brick, cement and other building materials were affected. Because of the widespread floods just before the Emergency these materials were badly needed, but the emergency was not used effectively to check the black marketing and profiteering in these articles.

Then with Morarji's budget, Kerosene prices shot up—as also prices of some other commodities.

Then followed the sugar scandal, when sugar disappeared from the open market, while any amount could be had at Rs. 1.50 per kilo in the black market. Despite the control it is still hardly available in the villages, while in



towns very insufficient quantities are available—and those too not for all.

Prices of vanaspati and some other commodities also have risen. In fact the general cost of living has considerably risen and people see the emergency powers virtually ineffective, against the profiteers.

It is well known that Punjab has made the biggest contribution to the Defence Fund, and it has been admitted even by the ministers that the common people have willingly made maximum sacrifices, while the big-moneyed people have not lessened their purse strings.

But the common people see and most violently resent, that compulsion has not been and is not used against the moneyed people to unearth their cash and gold, but is used again and again against the common people, whether it is in regard to defence fund donations or purchase of gold bonds. Because of this bitter experience, they see a serious menace in the fact that the compulsory deposit scheme includes those with annual income of Rs. 1500.

In this they see another tax on their meagre earnings and also a great potential source of harassment by officials, who will misuse their powers under the scheme: This misuse of powers is, something chronic and very widespread now, and any addition to the powers of officials is looked upon naturally and quite correctly, by the masses as a serious menace.

In this background a series of mass actions have already taken place. Local demonstrations against rising prices have been held in some trade union centres as, for example, in Amritsar. Some women's demonstrations against the re-imposition of school fees have been held. The widespread protest meetings and demonstrations on May 27 have already been referred to.

Now with the call for a national mass petition and mass march to Delhi, a timely lead has come to give the rising mass discontent and protest a proper focus and direction and take the movement to a higher level.

To mobilise the masses for participation in this nation wide movement several steps have already been taken by the Party.

In order to equip and activate the party cadres, a Party letter giving all the decisions and directions (Central and State) on the above, has been issued free to all party branches, in editions of 2000 copies in Punjabi and 1000 copies in Urdu. Meetings of leading district organs are being held to mobilise the Party and to plan the campaign. Two articles by the State Secretary, one on the march to Delhi and one on the signature campaign, have been published in the Party Daily Nawan Zamana.

The Petition has been brought out in Punjabi (3000) Urdu (2000) and Hindi (2000) by the state secretariat and distributed to the districts. It has also been printed in the Party Daily.

By
Avtar Singh Malhotra

Quotas for participants in the March to Delhi and for signatures on the petition are being taken by the District units.

Fatiana District, for example has taken a quota of 500 persons to reach Delhi for the march. Leading comrades of five districts—Hissar, Karnal, Rohtak, Mohinderghar and Gurgaon met at Bhiwani on June 15.

The state secretary explained the significance of the Petition movement and the great responsibility on the Punjab unit and especially those districts bordering on Delhi. The district representatives discussed the steps to make the movement a big success in their respective districts and took quotas totalling one lakh signatures for these Districts (which are the weakest in the state, so far as the Party strength goes) and 2500 participants in the march.

● Chandigarh Party branch has decided to collect 9000 signatures.

● The Patiala branch has decided to hold fifty street-corner meetings in the town, collect 5000 signatures and take a full busload of 65 persons to participate in the demonstration in Delhi.

● Ludhiana City Committee has held already six ward meetings covering 3500 people, and the signature campaign has also been initiated. A movement has been started in the factories to collect funds from workers to meet the travelling expenses of the demonstrators going to Delhi.

● The State Headquarters branch of the Party has decided to send squads to hold street corner meetings in Jullundur city.

● State Secretariat members have already addressed over 50,000 persons on the Petition. Appeals have been made that each village should send some people to Delhi and collect necessary funds.

STRUGGLE AGAINST BONN'S POLICIES

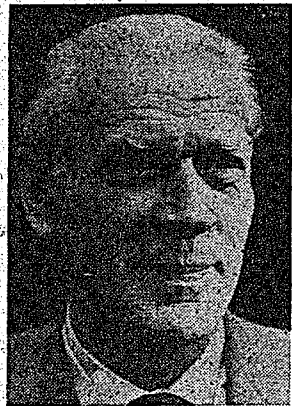
W. German Party Congress Decision

The 1963 Congress of the valiant Communist Party of Germany (KPD) banned by the Adenauer government in Hitler style, ever since 1956, was held underground in the second week of June.

THIS heroic Party, in spite of terror and persecution, has fought single-handedly and consistently for the national interests of the German people against imperialism and militarism ever since its foundation in December 1918.

Till 1946 there was a single Communist Party for the whole of Germany, KPD. After the defeat of fascism and imperialist division of Germany, working class

unity in East Germany was realised with the formation of the solid alliance of working class parties, the Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party of Germany. In their unification Congress in 1946, the Socialist Unity Party (SED) based on Marxism-Leninism, was founded—and it is the main ruling party in the GDR. In West Germany, the KPD under very difficult conditions continues to fight for peace and socialism.



Max Reimann

The underground KPD Congress was attended by 217 delegates from Party branches and 22 guest delegates.

The Congress enthusiastically welcomed a delegation of the SED Central Committee, headed by Political Bureau Member Hermann Matern. The Congress welcomed with stormy applause, a delegation of the CPSU, headed by Otto Kuusinen, member of the Central Committee Presidium and author of Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism.

Solidarity with the struggle of the KPD and with all peace forces in the Federal Republic was manifested at the Congress by delegations of Communist Parties of Belgium, Bulgaria, USSR, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Greece, Holland, Italy, Luxembourg, Austria, the United Polish Workers' Party, the Rumanian Workers' Party, the Communist Parties of Sweden and Spain and the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party. The Congress also received messages of greetings from the Communist Party of China and other fraternal Parties.

Max Reimann, First Secretary of the KPD Central Committee, outlined the path to the establishment of working class unity of action, to the alliance to the popular forces in the fight against West German imperialism and militarism, for peaceful coexistence between the two German states, for the defence of the constitution and for the social interests of the working people in town and in the countryside.

The Congress unanimously adopted the programmatic declaration "the path to ensuring peace, to the protection of democratic rights, to social security," and a message of greetings to all arrested Party members in West Germany.

The newly elected Central Committee unanimously re-elected Max Reimann First Secretary of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party. In his report to the Congress, he underlined the necessity of the fight of the united German working class against the Bonn policy of revenge and fanaticism for understanding and sober relations between the two German States.

The aims mentioned are: "The working class confronts the policy of revenge and fratricide, of arms race and atomic destruction with its joint fight for understanding, disarmament and peaceful cooperation."

"The working class does not put up with the policy of reinforced German division, it demands sober relations between the two German States, an agreement of reason in the interest of detente and a step by step rapprochement. It fights for a Germany of peace from

REIMANN'S MESSAGE TO NEW AGE

ON the eve of the Congress, MAX REIMANN, KPD First Secretary, in a letter to NEW AGE representative in Berlin said that KPD has felt the warmth of the fraternal solidarity of brother Parties and international proletariats these days more than ever before.

He said German Communists are making tireless efforts to forge unity of action with Social Democrats in West Germany to ensure civil liberties under Adenauer regime and to turn Central Europe into

an atom-free demilitarised zone.

"This struggle of our Party takes it ever closer to masses of our people. Ban on the Communist Party of Germany did not enable Bonn rulers to exclude it from political and social life of the Federal Republic," Reimann wrote to New Age representative.

"Kindly convey greetings from us, German Communists to all members and officials of the Communist Party of India, all peace-loving and democratic forces in your country," the First Secretary wrote.

where never again a war will be unleashed.

"The working class of the two German States seeks normal relations and a policy of good-neighbourhood with all countries. It objects to any violation of equality in the relations with the developing countries and will fight all forms of neo-colonialism."

The German Communist Party pays special tribute to the positive influence exerted by the German Democratic Republic on the struggle of the West German working class for their interests.

Max Reimann drew attention to the continuous initiative of the GDR for understanding between the two German States, which lately has found its expression in the "agreement of reason and good-will" proposed by Walter Ulbricht.

Thanks to the rapidly growing strength of the Soviet Union and her political efforts, the peoples had succeeded in ensuring peace during the past years, continued the report of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party. Max Reimann said the Soviet Union has always linked her most impressive proofs of superiority with generous peace initiatives and disarmament proposals.

They can and will in the long run also, tell upon the Federal Republic, and this is all the more so as the scientific technical great deeds prove over and over again, that the defence forces of the Soviet Union are today in a position to deal fatal blows to every aggressor anywhere in the world."



World Women's Congress Begins In Moscow

★ FROM MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW, June 25: The most representative World Congress of Women in the history of the women's movement opened in Moscow on Monday, amid scenes of great enthusiasm. In the glittering Palace of Congress nearly 1,500 women delegates, observers and guests from all over the world, made it also the most colourful assembly that ever gathered together under one roof.

VALENTINA TERESHKOVA, the most famous and popular representative of the fair, but by no means weaker sex, who has today become the embodiment of the ideals and aspirations of the women of the world, was given a welcome which would make all the queens and film stars of the globe envious.

Indian delegates dashed to garland her as she appeared on the platform along with Bykovsky, and there was a rush of women of all lands to embrace and kiss this modest girl.

Starves, shawls, bracelets, hangles and necklaces were put on and heaped upon her, so that within seconds Valentina was transformed into the richest of brides.

Tereshkova, who is a member of the Soviet delegation, was also elected to the Presidium of the Congress. India's

Renu Chakravarty proposed that Valery Bykovsky should also be cooped to the Presidium, to which the hall agreed with enthusiasm, and he became the only man to sit in a Presidium of 140. Kapila Khandwala was elected to the Presidium of the Congress, on behalf of India.

The Congress is already attended by representatives of 165 countries and more delegates are on the way. It is expected that about 2,000 women will attend the Congress.

For A World Of Peace

Nina Popova of the Soviet Union, in her opening remarks said that we are living in an epoch when a world without wars could become a reality:

"May peace and justice triumph on our beautiful planet. May there never be any discrimination against women. May there never be hunger and poverty and may the children have food, clothes and shoes."

Nikita Khrushchev's message to the Congress was greeted warmly by the Congress. In the message he declared that "the preservation and strengthening of peace is the pivotal problem of our time."

It was logical, he said, that the struggle against the threat of a nuclear war had become a stimulus for strengthening women's international unity, vigorous mass and heroic actions to prevent world wars were required and a big role in this belonged to women. The Soviet Union will continue to work for peace and peaceful coexistence of states and for the independence of all countries and peoples.

The Soviet people have full sympathy and support for the struggle of the women of

many lands for full equality in society and family and for the age-old "women's question".

Tereshkova, he said, was a glowing example of socialist society's concern for every individual. Her father fell in the war and the family of four was left without a breadwinner. But Valentina acquired good education and upbringing in conditions of socialism. Soviet women have every opportunity to participate in full measure in all walks of life.

demonstrate such unity, Khrushchev said.

Eugenie Cotton, President of the Women's International Democratic Federation, also stressed the vital importance of the struggle for peace and praised Khrushchev for having put forward the great idea of general and complete disarmament at the U.N. Twenty five years of disarmament could save as much as all the wealth created by humanity in previous history, she said.

Problem Of Our Time

Khrushchev called for unity. In the struggle for peace, efforts of continents, nations or creeds cannot be split and people cannot be divided into black, white or yellow. In the common sacred campaign of peace and for social progress on earth the Congress must



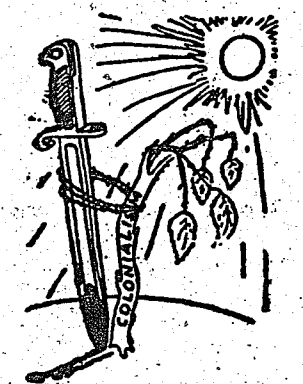
Eugenie Cotton

She welcomed the Peace Encyclical of Pope John and the coming talks in Moscow on nuclear test ban between the USA and the USSR. It was the sacred duty of women to fight for disarmament, she said. Women must not only have equal rights, but it was necessary that society must give them an opportunity to exercise these rights.

She also welcomed President Kennedy's speech at Washington University recognising the need for peaceful co-existence.

Eugenie Cotton expressed the hope that this women's forum would be a stage for further unification of their ranks.

The Indian delegation has emphasised at all committee stages the positive role of non-alignment in bringing peace to the world and has made improvements in the reports with a view to giving them broader appeal.



The tree that can't stand even with sword's support



Peasants demonstrating in Cottin gen against W. German agrarian policies

MADHYA PRADESH CAMPAIGN

*FROM CENTRE PAGES

far away from civilisation. Here a sugar quota is a rare luxury.

On the day I arrived, a thunderstorm had blown away a number of shanties. So, their own life experience explained to them better than my own words could, the justice of the petitions.

Khudel is a village 18 miles from Indore, my constituency. There had gathered a thousand kisan representatives of the district from round about 50 miles.

Besides the Central taxation, they are burdened with the additional land revenue levied by the M.P. government. This increase comes to 40 per cent of the existing land revenue. Besides this, the government has also announced a new betterment levy. So, they had come to this conference, full of anguish and anger. And when I explained the Compulsory Deposit Scheme, it was the last straw.

A rough calculation shows that 98 per cent of the peasant land holdings will be covered by C.D.S. Bitter as they were, they were searching for an appropriate form to give vent to their feelings. In fact, many delegates suggested a no-tax campaign against the enhanced Land revenue.

As I explained to them the momentous decision of the Petition and the people's march to Delhi, a wild outburst of approval greeted my words. The kisan representatives, started shouting "take us all. I could see a new glow in their grim eyes."

And thence to Mhow—the Cantonment town, fourteen miles from Indore. The town, once

flourishing is now growing deserted. About a thousand persons come daily to Indore in search of jobs.

Five thousand people cheered the decisions to launch the petition and people's march, as it was explained to them by Shakti Ali Khan, M.L.A. and myself. After the meeting, the young boys insisted that they should have a separate detachment in the march to Delhi from their town.

Back to Indore, the Mill Mazdoor Union had organised a mass meeting, fifteen thousand persons packed the Junta Chowk till 11.30 in the night as they listened with rapt attention the condemnation of the tax burdens, the explanation of the alternative proposals and of the march to Delhi as the people's peaceful protest—a first step towards forging necessary sanctions to compel the government to change its policies.

Hardly had the idea been mooted at the meeting, the very next day the bus operators came forward with a promise to lend two buses free of charge to Delhi.

From Indore to Bhopal, the Capital of Madhya Pradesh, I spoke at a 5,000-strong Party rally organised to launch the campaign. Here I called for competition between Bhopal and Indore, in the matter of signatures and marchers. Bhopal comrades have accepted the challenge.

A tongawalla from Vidisha has started collecting one anna a day from his colleagues numbering 60. They will send a tongawalla representative to join the march.

The campaign has just begun and the enthusiasm experienced, is, beyond expectation. In July, the colleges open: the youth will then come into action.



West Berlin: Police attacks students demonstrating for release of Julian Grimau

Economic Growth and Underdeveloped Countries

by MAURICE DOBB

LAWRENCE AND WISHART: LONDON: 1963: PRICE 35 6d.

A new book by Prof. Dobb is always an event of importance in the economic world. Prof. Dobb has built up a reputation as one of the leading economists recognised as such not only by Marxists but by those belonging to other schools of thought.

THIS latest addition to Prof. Dobb's works will be particularly welcome in India because he has dealt with a subject that is of vital interest to the people of this country. The question discussed concerns the ability of the former colonial and semi-colonial countries to launch out on a course of independent economic development and the ways of doing this.

There can be no disputing the fact that such countries occupy a crucial position in the political arena since they embrace about two thirds of the world's population. There would not be many who would disagree with Prof. Dobb when he says that "much in world history for the rest of this century will depend on the road which they decide to follow."

Prof. Dobb has managed to write about these complicated questions in a popular non-technical style and in a remarkably brief compass. It is this that makes the book eminently readable for the lay reader without detracting from its merit as a useful addition to current economic literature on the subject.

He begins by drawing attention to some relevant facts about economic growth. In the history of mankind economic progress or growth is relatively modern, he points out. Prior to the arrival of capitalism societies were relatively stagnant.

Mainly agricultural, these societies changed little over the years, save with the alteration of good and bad seasons, or the incidence of war or disease. The coming of capitalism, and with it mechanical power and factory production, continuous technical change and accumulation of capital, changed all that.

Thus over the past hundred years the growth of world industrial output, measured per capita of the population, was several times higher than what had previously been attained in the whole preceding stretch of human history. World industrial output increased by as much as 30 to 40 times over the 100 years, while world population rather more than doubled.

While however the average growth rate in the advanced capitalist countries works out to 3 or 4 per cent, in some of the socialist countries it has been much higher. Soviet industrial production, for instance, has risen at an annual rate of some 10 per cent.

Prof. Dobb has however not failed to point out that in special circumstances, and for limited periods certain capitalist countries

can also grow as fast as revealed by the fact that since 1953 industrial production in West Germany has nearly doubled, in Italy rather more than doubled, and in Japan more than trebled.

To explain why the growth of the "underdeveloped" countries was arrested, Prof. Dobb quotes the well-known Polish Economist Oskar Lange who has expressed the matter forcibly and clearly. The monopoly groups in the leading capitalist countries, says Lange, lost interest in developmental investment in the less developed countries, because such investment threatened to cause competition.

"Consequently investment in underdeveloped countries... went chiefly into the exploitation of natural resources to be utilised as raw materials by the industries of the developed countries, and into developing food production in the underdeveloped countries to feed the population of the developed countries... The profits which were made by foreign capital were used not for reinvestment in these countries but exported back to the countries where the capital came from. This is the essential reason why the underdeveloped countries were not capable of following the classical capitalist path of economic development."

Prof. Dobb then goes on to discuss the crucial question of the investment policy to be pursued in the underdeveloped countries.

The majority of economists, says Prof. Dobb, have adopted the position that in underdeveloped countries development cannot be left to the initiative of private capitalists, in the traditional manner, aided perhaps by some foreign lending and technical aid.

Dream of Women Translated into Reality Valentina's Tremendous Reception in Moscow

★ From Masood Ali Khan

MOSCOW, June 23: These have been unforgettable exciting days in Moscow, full of happiness and an all pervading mood of pride in the great achievement and confidence in man's bright future in the era of Socialism. It has been a wonderful holiday of inspiration and of the coming of age of human genius, it has been a great holiday of the triumph of Soviet science, technique and thought, of Soviet work, devotion and heroism.

AND, of course, it has been a great holiday for the women of the world. One has to see their bright faces glowing with happiness and their eyes shining with joy and irresistible pride to realise what the daring feat of this slim, lovable and modest girl means to them.

Soviet women are proud of their real equality, their work shoulder to shoulder with men in building their country and defending it against all enemies. They are proud of their socialist system which gives them all opportunities and even opens to them the way to the stars and planets.

Women In Congress

Women from all over the world are gathered here for the World Women's Congress. For them VALENTINA TERESHKOVA has become a symbol and an embodiment of their dream of equality and progress. Many of them are dazzled and astonished beyond measure.

Women from the so-called advanced West point out that even now women cannot get equal wage for equal work, most of them

have to take lower professions and are not admitted to many famous universities and colleges and all



Valentina
Example of Equality

the publicity they get is degrading to the point of being an object of man's pleasure, a painted toy and sex-symbol.

The women from the more unfortunate and underdeveloped areas of the world speak of their working sisters at home exploited as cheap labour in town and

There is of course a sizeable minority especially in the USA and to some extent among western trained economists in underdeveloped countries who are hostile to any encroachment on a "free market" and to any considerable enlargement of the scope of state expenditure and investment.

The important thing, states Prof. Dobb in reply, is not the amount of surplus these countries have but the way in which it is invested. The principal obstacle to rapid economic growth in the backward countries is the way in which their potential economic surplus is utilised.

It is absorbed by various forms of excess consumption by the upper class, by increments to hoards at home and abroad, by the maintenance of vast unproductive bureaucracies and of even more expensive and, no less redundant military establishments.

This might involve postponing the raising of consumption here and now in order to be able to raise it more rapidly later but there is, in Prof. Dobb's opinion, no question of taking the pessimistic view that consumption must be reduced to rapidly step up development activity.

Prof. Dobb finally effectively rebuts those theorists who advocate that the pattern of development in underdeveloped countries should, taking into account the vast labour power, be directed not to building of heavy industry but to cottage industry. Such a line

of reasoning does not take into consideration that the course of action that makes for the largest possible employment and output here and now is not necessarily the course of action that will maximise the "growth-potential" of the country.

A policy of maximising the latter, even if it is at the expense of the immediate output, will enable both employment and output to grow more quickly and before long to be larger than they would otherwise have been at an early date. This underlines the importance of planning and a public sector since private capitalists cannot be expected to postpone immediate profits for the future benefit of the country.

Prof. Dobb's arguments lead up to the conclusion, which clearly emerges from his presentation of facts and arguments, that socialist planning is the only effective answer to the economic problem.

This applies equally to the developed capitalist countries which face the problem of utilising the potentialities of growth as well as the underdeveloped who are undertaking the task of creating and building the potentialities.

The relevance and importance of Prof. Dobb's booklet for India at this juncture when the country is bristling with controversies about the nature of planning and the need for a public sector can easily be understood.

country. And here is an ex-textile worker who has risen higher than any woman in thousands of years of human history, thanks to equality in the Soviet society.

Valentina is a message of hope for all the down-trodden women of the world. We have thousands of women textile workers in India. They should know what a sister they have in the Soviet Union, and what women can do in a Socialist society.

"These Are Our Children"

There was no end to the ovations, shouts of Long Live Valya and Valery all along the 10-mile route as in flower bedecked open car the two Soviet heroes drove to Red Square with KHRUSHCHOV in the middle. Moscow warmly embraced the beloved son and daughter of the people. "These are our children," said the elders and the young just shouted, sang and danced with joy.

A big meeting and mass demonstration took place at the historic Red Square where thousands carried flowers, balloons, banners and pictures of the cosmic heroes. On the balcony of the Mausoleum Khrushchov, the six Cosmonauts and other Soviet leaders greeted the people and an informal atmosphere of all embracing happiness and joviality prevailed. The five Cosmic Brothers and their first sister and happy fatherly Khrushchov held hands high, clasping each other in a chain and the demonstrators enthusiastically responded to this friendly gesture.

In the evening one of the biggest, happiest and most glittering receptions that I have ever seen was held in Kremlin's stately Giorgievsky Hall where highest

celebrates rubbed shoulders and even elbowed each other to have a better view of Valya and Valery.

Tribute From Faiz

Many foreign guests including Indian women delegates were present. India's Ambassador T. N. KAUL congratulated the Soviet Premier and Cosmonauts along with other diplomats.

Our friend Pakistan's poet FAIZ, Lenin Peace Prize Laureate said: "The Cosmic feat had given mankind a new dimension. It was possible to go beyond the so-called natural limits of cognition and fathom the unfathomable. In social relations the alleged natural inequality of men and women and races and nations could also be overcome," he said.

NEW AGE

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The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union met in Moscow from June 18 to 21, mainly to discuss the report presented by Committee Secretary L. F. ILYICHEV on "PRESENT-DAY TASKS OF IDEOLOGICAL WORK OF THE PARTY."

JUST before the meeting began however, the CPSU received the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on June 14. On June 18, the Plenum issued a statement on this letter (see last week's New Age).

On June 21, the communiqué on the Plenum proceedings stated the following:

"The Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee was addressed by Secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee M.A. Suslov, B. N. Ponomarev, Y. V. Andropov, who set forth the essence of the disagreements between the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, on the one hand, and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal Parties, on the other.

"The CPSU Central Committee was compelled to do this because the leadership of the Communist Party of China violated the achieved agreement on the ending of open polemics by publishing its letter of June 14 of this year.

"The members and alternate members of the Central Committee, the members of the Central Auditing Commission, all the participants of the Plenary Meeting familiarised themselves with the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China of June 14 of this year, which was distributed among them.

"A lengthy and vivid speech was delivered by the First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, N. S. Khrushchov, who was warmly received by the Plenary Meeting participants.

At the evening concluding session, the Plenum adopted the following resolution "On the Forthcoming Meeting of Representatives of the Central Committee of the CPSU and Representatives of the Communist Party of China":

1 The Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU fully and unanimously ap-

proves the political activity of the Central Committee's Presidium, Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchov, First Secretary of the CPSU and Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers in the further consolidation of the world Communist movement, and all practical steps taken by the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee in its relations with the Central Committee of the CPC. It notes with approval that the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee, led by N. S. Khrushchov, has steadily implemented the decisions unanimously adopted by the Moscow Meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957 and 1960.

2 The Plenary Meeting endorses the statement of the CPSU Central Committee of June 18 in reply to the letter of the CPC Central Committee of June 14, 1963:

3 Instructs the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee to be guided at the forthcoming meeting with the representatives of the CPC Central Committee by the following:

Unswervingly to follow the line mapped out by our Party at its 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses, at the meetings of the Communist Parties, the line expressed in the Declaration and the Statement and fully confirmed by life, the practice of development of the international Communist movement and the course of international events.

The CPSU Central Committee pursues and will consistently pursue the policy of consolidating the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties, overcoming the existing differences on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory and the historic documents of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings.

will strive, in future too, to strengthen the fraternal friendship and relations between the great peoples of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, between the CPSU and the Communist Party of China, and among the other fraternal Parties, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism and in the interests of unity of the international Communist and working-class movement, and in the interests of the struggle for our common cause—the victory of Communism.

The CPSU Central Committee emphatically, rejects as

its support to the South African regime of apartheid, although arguing legalistically that they had "no other choice."

Rest of the labour delegates from all over the world, including all the reformist trade unionists from Europe and all over the West, brushed aside the "No-other-choice" argument and joined in this great demonstration against apartheid.

All honour to them and to the working class of the world, and all glory for the labour movement of the United States—which remains still the most backward.

It is this same US labour leadership—the AFL-CIO—which organises massive corruption of trade unions all over the world, by distributing its plentiful dollars everywhere, either directly or through the ICFTU.

At its session on June 21, the Conference rejected the credentials of the so-called workers' delegate from South Africa, by 135 votes to 3 with 57 abstentions, on the ground that he was appointed by the government, without consulting the country's sole multi-racial trade union organisation.

In this instance, while the AFL-CIO voted for rejection of the South African's credentials, the US employers' delegation abstained and the US government delegation leader declared that he would urge his government "to pursue every legal method of denying South Africa the dignity of membership" in the United Nations and related agencies, thus implying that methods adopted necessarily by the others in face of South Africa's supporters' tactics were illegal and improper.

Finally on the same day, June 21, when the South African employers' delegate took the floor, the hall emptied again, except for those who had stayed behind on June 14, with the only difference that this time the AFL-CIO delegates also joined the walk-out.

The Conference continues to be boycotted, according to a NEW YORK TIMES report, by "37 African and Arab States and India." (June 26)

PLENUM RESOLUTION ON CPSU-CPC MEETING

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WORLD EITHER SOUTH AFRICA OR WE —Afro-Asians Tell U. N.

"Never seen or heard of anything like it, in the more than forty years' history of the organisation"—was the comment of ILO officials on the uproarious protest by African and other delegates over South Africa's continued presence in the ILO conference when it assembled in Geneva on June 11.

THAT remark made in all innocence reveals how far removed from the present day world these gentlemen are. They find it so difficult to attune themselves to the determination of the colonially and racially oppressed peoples to do away with the oppression.

Whether it is the Negroes of the United States or the black people of Africa, they are no longer prepared to put up with the indignities and injustices of racial discrimination.

The cup of the African peoples' bitterness over the South African situation is now full to the brim, and it is characteristic of the times that all the 32 countries of Africa, along with all the Arab and many Asian countries have decided to stay away from the ILO Conference, so long as the representatives of South Africa continue to sit in it.

Last year's ILO Conference had adopted a resolution calling upon South Africa to keep out of the organisation, so long as it continued with its policies of apartheid and terror against the African and coloured population of that country.

After the first uproar on June 11, when the South African employers' delegate's attempt to address the Conference was foiled by protests from African, Asian and Socialist countries, the Swiss delegate had made a public request to the South African to voluntarily waive his "right" and "thus save the Conference from an embarrassing dilemma."

The Conference had adjourned hoping a solution would be found, but later on, the same delegate, not heeding the Swiss suggestion, insisted on speaking. The Nigerian Labour Minister, who was presiding, gave up the chair, and the US labour delegate, who took over from him, gave the floor to the South African, saying he had

its support to the South African regime of apartheid, although arguing legalistically that they had "no other choice."

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groundless and slanderous the attacks of the CPC Central Committee on our Party and the other Communist Parties, on the decisions of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU, the Programme of the CPSU, elaborated on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory, the practical experience of socialist upbuilding in the Soviet Union and the international revolutionary movement. The decisions of the Congresses, the new Party Programme wholeheartedly approved by the Soviet people and the international Communist movement have proved to be a great mobilising force in the building of Communist society in the Soviet Union.

The CPSU Central Committee has proceeded, and will do so in future, from the fact that open polemics should not be conducted in the Communist movement, and expresses the hope that the CPC Central Committee will, on its part, adhere in deeds, not in words, to an agreement on the ceasing of open polemics.

The Plenary Meeting instructs the CPSU Central Committee to set forth and uphold at the forthcoming meeting the stand of the CPSU on the cardinal problems of the world Communist and working-class movement, and to explain the Party's stand on the fundamental principles of Communist upbuilding in the Soviet Union, principles confirmed by life and unanimously approved by the fraternal Communist Parties.

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ULBRICHT: A STAUNCH FIGHTER FOR PEACE

For **WALTER ULBRICHT** it was not a path of roses to the position he holds today. Born in a working class family in Leipzig, he became an apprentice to a cabinet-maker at the age of 15.



Ulbricht with Pieck in a Party Congress.

His family background and the travails of a hard life helped him to see clearly the cankers of social life, and in 1910, he joined the trade union movement. Inspired by the struggle the Social Democratic Party was then leading against injustice and capitalist exploitation, he came to join the ranks of the Party in 1912.

At the outbreak of the First World War, Ulbricht was already an active member of the group of leftist social democrats, with **Karl Liebknecht** as its leader. Ulbricht's dogged campaign against war

soon roused the German people to oppose mass murders, and imperialist Germany immediately prosecuted him for his anti-war propaganda. He was repeatedly persecuted and arrested and in 1918, Ulbricht



Rosa Luxemburg

made a daring escape from prison...

Soon he joined the Spartacus League and played an important role in founding the Communist Party of Germany in Leipzig. Side by side with **ERNST THAELMANN** and **WILHELM PIECK**, he waged an unrelenting battle against the threatening dangers of fas-



Karl Liebknecht

cism and for defence of the interests of the people. Very soon, he became the closest comrade-in-arms of **Ernst Thaelmann**.

In 1928, Walter Ulbricht was elected a member of the Reichstag, Parliament of the Weimar Republic. After fascism had unleashed its terror rule in Germany, Walter Ulbricht was one of the foremost leaders of the illegal Party. In 1933, he was compelled to go underground and soon after had to go abroad, to remain out of the reach of the fascist hounds who had been frantically searching for him. In the winter of 1942-43, Ulbricht rushed to the Soviet frontline in Stalingrad and fought against the German



Ernst Thaelmann

hordes as a member of the "Free Germany" National Committee.

In 1945, he was one of the first German anti-fascists to take to reconstruction of the country from the ravages of Second World War. Through his tireless work, he won the admiration of his colleagues and of the people. Together with **Wilhelm Pieck** and **Otto Grotewohl**, Ulbricht forged working class unity, and it was on this basis that the extremely difficult task of building the first German peace state, the GDR, was initiated.

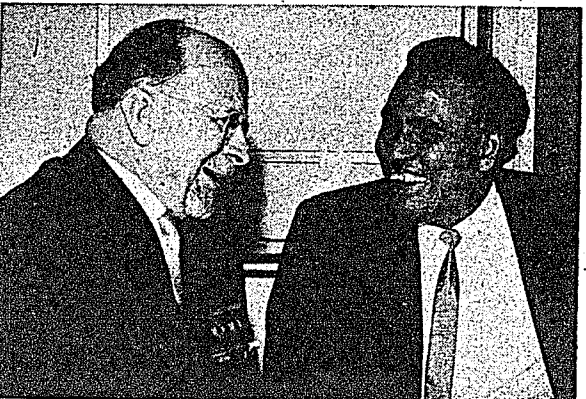
After the death of **Wilhelm Pieck**, the first president of the GDR, Ulbricht was elected chairman of the newly-formed Council of State by the People's Chamber, and became the highest representative of the GDR.



Ulbricht with Otto Grotewohl.



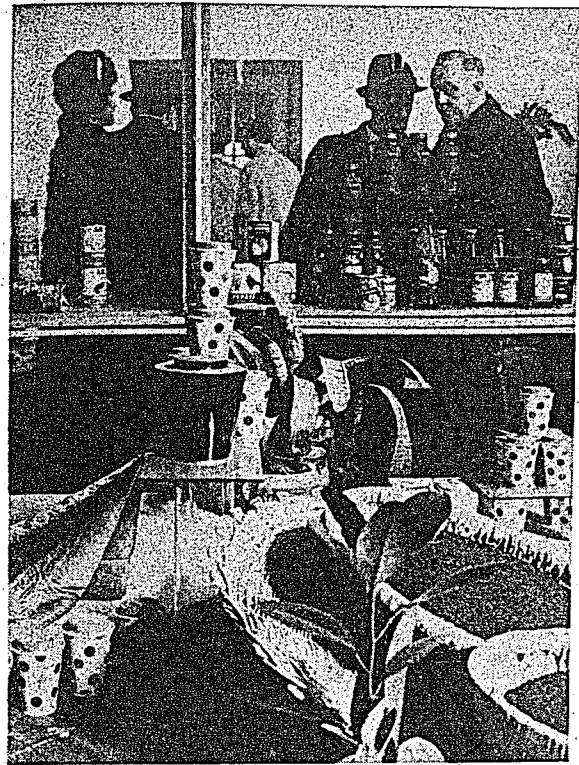
Ulbricht at a dinner given by peasants of a firm.



Ulbricht with Md. Elias M.P.

For his valuable work in the cause of the working class, Ulbricht was awarded the highest distinctions of the GDR, viz., the **Karl Marx Order**, the **Patriotic Order of Merit** in gold, the honorary title of "Hero of Labour" in 1953 and 1958, the medal for **Fighters against Fascism**, and the medal for participation in the

armed struggle of the German working class. Since the founding of the GDR, Ulbricht has again and again offered his hand in friendship to achieve an understanding between both German states in spite of the tirades of hatred against him launched by the imperialist powers.



Indian Show Room at Leipzig Fair (1963)

Again and again the question has been raised by progressive and democratic circles with the Government of India: Why has India not diplomatically recognised the GDR? All types of explanations have been offered by the government from time to time. The one usually insisted upon is that if we give diplomatic recognition to the GDR, all the "aid" given to us by the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) will be cut off.

Is this a valid argument? It is true that the Hallstein doctrine, named after **Dr. Walter Hallstein**, who was touring India only recently, says that the Federal Republic of Germany shall not maintain diplomatic relations with those countries, which have diplomatic relations with the German Democratic Republic. The Hallstein doctrine which was regarded as the mainstay of the FRG's foreign policy, is gradually being abandoned.

As a matter of fact, it has never been practised consis-

tently, as is proved by the existence of representations of the two German States in the USSR and Finland, which enjoy equal rights. It is the Federal Republic of Germany itself that is continuously acting contrary to the Hallstein doctrine.

In fact, it has extended its economic relations with all those countries, which have normalised their relations with the German Democratic Republic, in order not to lose ground in the countries concerned.

In some countries, the



Ute Lechner of GDR. Recipient of First Prize in International Children's Painting Competition organised by Shankar's Weekly.

hold the sway. "And then I was reminded" writes **Shrivastawa**, "of another Germany, i.e., West Germany, where the progenies of Hitler are still in power. Day and night they are conspiring against mankind and preparing for another war. West Germany, particularly West Berlin, is one of the biggest danger-spots of war."

"But," continues the author, "the forces struggling for the preservation of peace shall not allow these evil forces to have their doom in some obscure underground chamber just as Hitler met his doom."

The book carries a foreword by veteran Hindi journalist and author **Banarasisdas Chaturvedi, M.P.** "The travalogue is not just a literary escapade of an intellectual or journalist" writes **Banarasisdas Chaturvedi**. "It is the description of a workers' pilgrimage to his favourite country—delightful, as well as educative."

Nai Fasal Ke Ankur, (dedicated to the general secretary of the AITUC and the vice-president of the WFTU, **S. A. Dange**) is an impassioned tribute of an Indian worker to the heroic achievements of the people of the German Democratic Republic engaged in the most glorious task of this era—the construction of Socialism in their country.



the grandeur of socialist reconstruction with his own eyes. The living and pulsating image of this new life has been successfully conveyed by him in his book.

Shivanarayan Shrivastawa does not forget that just across the GDR there is another Germany where the revanchists and militarists still

hold the sway. "And then I was reminded" writes **Shrivastawa**, "of another Germany, i.e., West Germany, where the progenies of Hitler are still in power. Day and night they are conspiring against mankind and preparing for another war. West Germany, particularly West Berlin, is one of the biggest danger-spots of war."

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Federal Republic of Germany has not even discontinued its diplomatic relations after the establishment of GDR representations on government level as for instance, in Burma, Indonesia, Cambodia, Iraq and Yugoslavia where a consulate general of the FRG is still existing in Zagreb, although a GDR embassy has been established in Belgrade.

The recognition of the GDR by countries like Burma, Indonesia, Cambodia and Iraq or the establishment of GDR Trade Representations in several countries did not prejudicially affect the economic relations of these countries with the FRG. On the contrary, the trade and economic relations have extended since.

It is necessary to reiterate that the non-reorganisation of the GDR amounts virtually to the negation of our non-alignment policy for we do have diplomatic relations with West Germany.

The non-recognition by India of the GDR is represented in fact by the West German revanchists, as moral and political support to the FRG in its approach to political issues like the

German question and disarmament. What Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Iraq and the UAR can do—surely we can do also!

We must grant diplomatic recognition to the GDR soon. This would be a valuable contribution towards peace. Prime Minister Nehru has again and again said that the existence of the two German states must be recognised as a fact. This understanding must be put into practice by extending diplomatic recognition not only to one state, but to both.

It is an extraordinary situation that India, which is devoted to peace, should have the highest level diplomatic relations with the militarist government of West Germany, and at the same time refuse to have diplomatic relations with the peace-loving GDR.

India supports the Rapacki Plan for a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe. So does the GDR. The Bonn revanchists oppose it. But we recognise Bonn, we only have trade relations with GDR! This anomaly must be ended.



Signing of Indo-GDR Trade Agreement



Ulbricht with Prof. Bernal.



Ulbricht with his family.



Construction of new workers' flats in GDR.

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U.P. CONGRESSMEN BREAK HEADS

★ FROM RAMESH SINHA

The election of the Chairman of the Zila Parishads (district councils of the new local Panchayats) scheduled to be held on June 28 (now stayed by an injunction of the High Court) has once again stirred the stagnant pool of the stinking inner-Congress politics in the state and brought to the surface all the filth of factionalism, communalism, casteism, and corrupt practices which lay covered under the apparent calm enforced by national emergency.

SO far as the position of the Congress is concerned, its thumping victory is secure.

Election of the chairmen is taking place in 50 of the 54 districts of the state. Prior to the election of its nominees for presidency, the Congress invited the coopted and nominated members of the new district parishads to join its ranks.

The result was that nearly 2,600 of the total 3,300 members of the 50 district Parishads, became members of the Congress. This created a majority ranging from 60 to 90 per cent for the Congress in the Zila Parishads.

Chaturbhuj Sharma, the state minister for local self-government, had then to rush with a warning saying that "a lot of anti-Congress and undesirable elements had got into the Congress party. The Party will have to pay heavily for this."

A scrutiny committee was set up by the panicked UPCC leaders. After plenty of bagging with local and state supporters of the new entrants, 200 names were finally chosen to be looked into more carefully.

By June 12 the stipulated date for sending in nominations for the chairmanship, 165 names were received for 50 seats. There were only five minor districts from where only one name came.

A show-down between the two state groups led respectively by the Chief Minister C. B. GUPTA and Finance Minister KAMLAPATI TRIPATHI became inevitable.

As a matter of fact, for some time there has existed only one well-greased and well-organised group in the state Congress—the group of the Chief Minister. In the other loose-knit group are—UPCC President A. P. Jain, ex-Minister M. L. Goutam, Minister for Agriculture Charan Singh and several other individuals with their limited followings along with Kamalapati Tripathi.

This loose group put up a strong fight against the dominant group. On June 16 when ballots (secret, of course) were taken in the districts to select the Congress candidate for the chairmanship, passions ran high.

At least in three places, Sultanpur, Jhansi and Bulandshahr,

police had to be called to separate the violent contestants and maintain peace.

In some places, like Sultanpur, the UPCC representatives were also beaten up.

In Jhansi even revolvers were fired to threaten the opponents. One group tried to stop even the peaceful propaganda of the opposite candidate. The jeep of a Congress leader was attacked by hired goondas and its tyres were

sought to be blown up with bullets.

In Jalaun, Orai and Banda the services of notorious dacoits of the district were harnessed to ensure the success of a candidate in the inner-party ballot.

In Deoria, Sitapur, Gorakhpur and Gonda, known Jan Sanghis, RSS men, even decrepit Hindu Mahasabhaites were openly used to tilt the balance in favour of

certain candidates. They had been enrolled as members of the Congress party.

The use of money was common to practically all districts. Not only local money—but handsome sums were sent from Lucknow to achieve the required ends.

In this connection the name of a Kanpur textile magnate has figured very prominently in the reports coming from the districts. He used his ill-gotten assets—which are considerable not only in Kanpur, but also in many other places, to buy the victory of the state group to which he is attached.

Corruption Charges Against Kerala Ministers

TRIVANDRUM: With the announcement by KPCC President C. K. GOVINDAN NAIR that the corruption charges against the Chief Minister and the Industries Minister would be referred to the Prime Minister, all eyes are now turned to Delhi to see what action the latter would take to satisfy the people's demand for a probe into the allegations against the ministers.

AT the last joint meeting of the executives of the KPCC and Congress Legislature Party when observers were expecting a stormy confrontation between the PCC President and the Chief Minister, the former's dramatic announcement brought the day to a tame end, but left the issues still as open as before. Meanwhile, Chief Minister SHANKAR's reaction to the statement of the party chief has been openly hostile.

The PCC President has explained his decision by saying that he was not playing into the hands of the Communist Party, or acting as a tool of communal forces; neither was he out to dislodge or disrupt the Congress ministry and weaken the Congress. According to him the matter of corruption charges against the ministers was one that affected not only the Congress but the public at large

and as such required to be dealt with at a higher level.

The Prime Minister in whom all had confidence could decide, after going through all the material, whether there was any prima facie case against the ministers

★ FROM S. SHARMA

which needed an enquiry and if there was, what the nature of the enquiry should be, he explained.

While circles close to the PCC President claim this as a victory for the organisation against the Chief Minister who had repeatedly asserted that there was no question of his agreeing to any sort of probe, the Chief Minister himself has brushed away the PCC President's statement by a curt

remark that anybody could refer anything to the Prime Minister.

However, the fact is that the charges of corruption which were originally raised by Communist dailies in the state—for which prosecutions were launched against them and later those prosecutions were withdrawn following the emergency—are now being officially referred to the Prime Minister by the President of the KPCC. Naturally such a reference cannot be brushed aside as any citizen's appeal to the Prime Minister.

All the parties of the opposition had repeatedly demanded and still demand a judicial enquiry into the charges against the ministers. It could therefore be reasonably surmised that the KPCC has now joined these and put the matter in the hands of the Prime Minister.

As far as the Communist Party is concerned, its stand was clearly stated in the resolution passed by the state executive of the Party at its meeting held at Ernakulam on June 19 and 20. The resolution firmly expressed the view that a probe should be immediately conducted into the serious allegations against the ministers.

CAPITAL TALK

BOKARO: Face Of Ugly American

Bokaro, instead of a showpiece of American generosity, has turned out to be an ungainly example of American bargaining. It is a big personal blow for Professor GALBRAITH in the last lap of his rather strenuous diplomatic interlude from the academic place at Harvard.

THE American Lobby in New Delhi is cursing Minister C. Subramaniam for forcing the Bokaro debate into the public. What really exasperated the Steel Minister was the fact that when the US Steel Mission came to test out "the feasibility" of the project, it left nothing uncovered, and by the time they made this report, it was given out that no further investigation would be necessary, since all the preliminary investigations had already been done by the Indian consultants, the DASTURCO.

Naturally, the idea of one more investigation was regarded as an American afterthought, as a move to gain time and bring about more exasperation here, so that the original US demand for American control and management of the project and of the steel plant later on could be forced through. The American strategy seems to be based on the expectation that if our tail could be twisted further, we might give in.

But it misfired. The Steel Minister did not mince matters as he said that the delay over the Bokaro project might wipe off all the gains that America might have made by its aid programmes.

This was widely resented by the diehards in Washington though Galbraith was reportedly worried about this new turn in the situation. He sent a frantic SOS to Washington and he was sure that his word would carry weight there. Only a few months back, he could persuade President Kennedy himself to make a public commitment on Bokaro, despite the injunctions of the Clay Committee.

But this time, the soft clay seems to have hardened in Washington. Instead of reiteration of the previous assurance came A.I.D. Chief David Bell's public testimony that another round of investigation would be necessary before Washington could come out with any commitment on Bokaro.

Professor Galbraith was in a hurry trying to explain away Bell's stand, but it did not work. What has worried New Delhi is the new American slogan that if Bokaro were to be financed, it would mean a cut in the rest of the aid programme. This was never the condition set before, but it is no doubt the official Washington line. Even Professor Galbraith had to repeat it.

The old conservative, near-Dullesian thinking in the State Department had

much to do with this mess-up over Bokaro. Despite all the pleadings from TTK, Patnaik and Patil, the hard-core American orthodoxy could hardly stomach the idea of a State-owned steel mill being financed by dollar-aid. That's like financing Communism, they would say, much to the discomfort of the Harvard-economist - turned - Ambassador.

Bokaro is not just a stray swallow. The bargaining that the TTK Mission had to face has come as a bad damper for the American Lobby here. The supersonic aircraft could not be bad; instead, we were offered a modified version of the old Air Umbrella. Even Air Marshal Engineer, no "Red Menonite," is understood to have been disappointed with the results.

In fact, the TTK Report had interesting reactions among Cabinet Ministers and top officials here. For those who had wishfully expected generous American bounty, it has come as a bombshell. For others, like the Prime Minister, who never lost the sense of perspective even while seeking aid in West—the TTK Report, embodying American bargaining on aid, has been an irritant. Barring very few like S. K. Patil, New Delhi has been sorely disappointed. Only nobody seems to know how Morarjibhai has reacted to it. This, however, does not mean that the American Lobby has been paralysed and dazed. Not in the least.

THE issue which figured prominently in the Planning Commission last week, was the Oil Minister's proposal for taking out lease for oilfields in West Asia. It appears that the Iran Government, feeling the pinch of the giant cartels, the Shell and Standard Oil, is keen on letting out new oilfields to other parties.

Government of India was approached. Minister Malaviya readily took up the proposal: by all available estimates, it is a rich oil belt. The Oil Minister thought that by acquiring such a belt, our oil industry will be assured of regular supply of crude oil and will not have to depend on the foreign oil companies for the supply of crude.

The argument first raised against this project was that it would cost us foreign exchange, while there could be no certainty of economic drilling of oil. This was rebutted by the Oil Minister explaining that the drilling could be done in collaboration with one of the smaller oil companies from the West as we have decided in the case of the South Indian refinery project.

Then the big guns of the Finance Ministry went into action. Prominent among them is L. K. Jha. The main objection of the Finance Ministry has been that such a project would be a thorn in the path of our getting aid from the West. The giant oil cartels have already begun to campaign against US giving aid to India, because of the challenge they have to meet from our

growing oil industry. If this new project is taken up, then they would be mightily irritated, which might further slash the prospect of dollar-aid for other plans. Chandulal Trivedi supports this point of view in the Planning Commission.

But the battle is not yet over. Planning Minister Nanda is opposed to the Finance Ministry's objection and there is prospect of a stiff fight before the government comes to a decision on the project.

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TALKING of L. K. Jha, one is reminded of the fact that he is one of Morarjibhai's blue-eyed boys. G. D. Birla has a special fascination for him and was keen on getting him for his industrial empire. Jha himself was quite keen: that was the time when C. C. Desai was recruited by the Birlas. But something went wrong and L. K. remained at his ICS job.

But his love for the Birlas has not abated. When he goes to Bombay, a friend was telling me, Jha goes and stays in an air-conditioned flat in Marine Drive, the tenancy of which is in C. C. Desai's name. But C. C. Desai is today a Birla executive.

Can it be that the flat is a Birla perquisite?

— DIARIST

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