



SPACE TRIO Komarov, Yegorov and Feoktistov

# Cosmic History Made

## Soviet Union Takes Another Leap In Scientific Achievement

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: These past two days were great days in Moscow. Once again the hearts were full of pride and happiness; once again the joy of the people knew no bounds. It is autumn here with yellow golden leaves but the sky has been grey and overcast with rains drizzling most of the time. But that did not dampen the festive mood; there was big excitement in the air and people turned their gaze toward heaven and visualised the star-studded cosmos where the great big new Soviet spaceship VOSKHOD (Sunrise) was blazing a glorious trail with the first team of cosmonauts in history on board.

As always, this happiness mingled with feelings of concern for the courageous heroes, the brave sons of the fatherland. Although the Soviet science and space technique have manifested time and again their flawless working in practice, the hazards of space flight are still many.

When at 12.15 on Tuesday the radio triumphantly announced that the unprecedented experiment had been successfully concluded and that after the planned stay of 24 hours in space, the spaceship had safely landed in the appointed area and that the crew was feeling fine, a new outburst of joy swept the country.

At the time of sending the report, your correspondent saw people embrace each other and congratulate

everybody on this magnificent feat. Moscow is now impatiently waiting to give the new heroes a fitting reception and a tumultuous welcome.

The programme of scientific research in this new space venture has been fulfilled. For the first time scientists and research workers have been up in space; seen and studied space conditions directly, without the help of intermediaries. This is indeed a great achievement.

Once again the USA has been left far behind in space competition. The NASA of USA had planned its first flight with two men on board a single spaceship for the end of this year but postponed that idea to a later date. And, of course, the USA did not even dream at this stage a

rocket of such gigantic power or a spaceship so big as to carry aloft a crew of three.

All the talk of overtaking the Soviet Union in space achievements has died down and the new flight has acted as a cold shower on the hotheads and warlords of USA who were shouting hoarse in the name of so-called American supremacy in rocket technique.

Cosmic history is being made here and every step taken by the Soviet Union is a big and substantial step forward. Not only a huge carrier rocket of colossal power has been tested for the first time, not only a big multiseat and piloted spaceship has gone up and landed safely but with these yet another new chapter has been added in space research and a qualitatively new stage has been reached in man's conquest of the universe.

The great significance of the fact that from now on man is not going to be alone in space is obvious for everybody. From now on there would be the advantages of mutual help, division of labour and the great moral and psychological value of having friends at hand available in the silent, faraway depth of cosmos. All this is sure to accelerate

# NEW AGE

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## HURRAH FOR SOCIALISM

**Editorial** ONCE AGAIN, THE socialist world has done it. For the first time in man's existence, a spaceship with more than one person in it, has roared through the skies. The Voskhod trio has created a new record, opened up new and glorious vistas for the future.

The imperialists bang their heads against the wall in desperation. From Washington comes the pathetic cry that the USA is three years behind the Soviet Union in the field of space conquest.

Yes, this is one more victory for the Soviet people and government, for the Soviet scientists and cosmonauts.

But it is also a triumph for all mankind, a step forward towards that breathless adventure to which all look forward—the journey to the moon.

What does all this mean for humanity? For the imperialists perhaps the race in space has no meaning other than their desire to dominate the world. But for humanity, every new victory in the field of science means fresh possibilities to advance along the road to the conquest of hunger and poverty and of the exploitation of man by man.

Science at the service of the working people means science for peace, for a better life, for the raising of living standards. That is why every new victory of Soviet scientists is hailed by the working masses in all lands.

For the imperialists who use scientific knowledge for the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction, each such success in the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes is a blow of immense significance. It is a blow against their war plans. It is a blow against their dreams of continued domination.

NEW AGE sends its greetings and congratulations to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all those responsible for the launching of VOSKHOD.

the pace of space research to unbelievable dimensions. Already on this ship, by manual control, exercises of astronavigation with the help of stars and planets were conducted.

For distant space travels, experiments in astronavigation in outer space to locate and recognise the Earth as a

planet from far are absolutely essential. And it is significant that this great new experiment took human beings so far out in space—more than 400 kilometres—which had never been attempted before. This distance is sure to be increased all the time till man

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At the Red Square joyous Moscovites hail the new space triumph



# NO ALLIANCE WITH COMMUNAL AND REACTIONARY FORCES

## S.A. Dange's Interview To New Age On Kerala Elections

From S. SHARMA

TRIVANDRUM: Chairman of the Communist Party of India, S. A. Dange, in an interview to NEW AGE, stated here that his four-day tour of Kerala and the mass meetings he addressed, had convinced him that the Communist Party of India had a solid base among the working people, including sections of the intelligentsia in Kerala, where the splitters had support among a good section of Party membership of the state.

As to the correctness of the line the Communist Party of India was advocating for the defence of the working people's demands, it was vividly seen in the way the Communist Party and the AITUC stood in the forefront in organising the united action of July 31. Again they are in the forefront in intervening for peoples food at fair price. It was vividly seen again in the way the leaders of the AITUC handled the recent strike of the Cochin Port workers and got them all they wanted, namely rice at fixed price.

Dange said that the example of the Cochin Port Trust workers should be followed by other sections of workers and toiling people for securing their demands, for forcing the government to change their policies and for introducing state trading in foodgrains.

Referring to Food Minister Subramaniam's statement regarding informal rationing, Dange stated that if Subramaniam is prepared to take over hoards and start state trading in an earnest way with the help and cooperation of democratic parties, the present crisis can be partially met. But for the crisis to be properly resolved, it was necessary to take over the banks which were the source of financing the hoarders and black-marketeers. Secondly, the government should at least exempt all food producing tenants under big landlords from any liability to pay rent to the landlords.

Elaborating this point further, Dange stated that increase in Food production can come only by a three pronged attack on the rural agricultural sections. Firstly, rents should go and the tiller must have the incentive to produce. Secondly, he should be given the best fertilizers as subsidy and incentive. Thirdly, cooperative and state farms must be started in a big way.

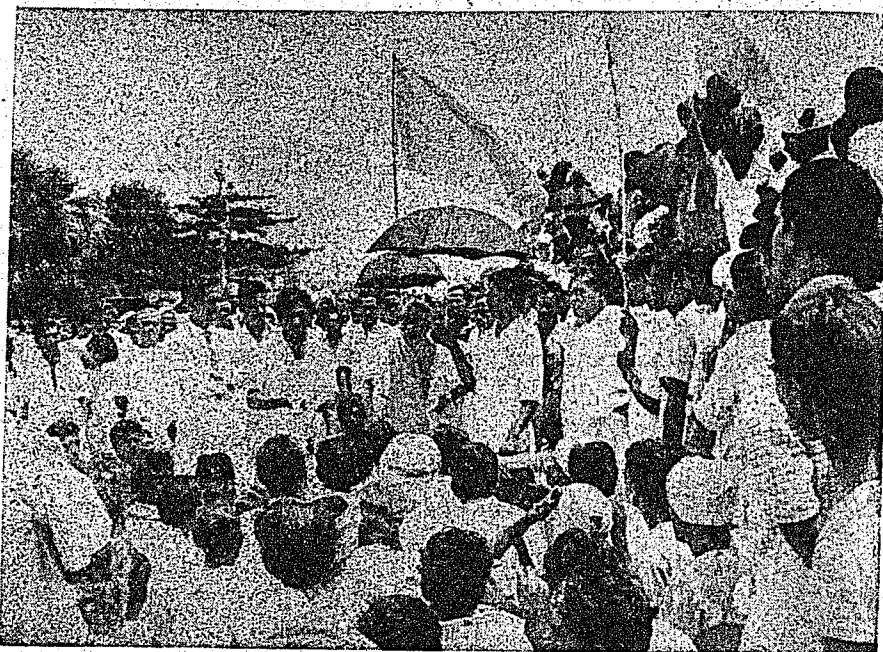
If the government can bring 3 million acres out of the 45 million acres of available fallow land under cultivation by starting huge state farms like Suratgarh, within a short time our dependence on imports would go. It was the late Prime Minister Jawaharlal's dream and he said that if he could bring about 100 Suratgarhs the problem of food production could be successfully solved.

Referring to the way forward, the CPI chairman said that the working people and all the democratic parties have to come together and intervene effectively by united action and secure food for the people. The announcement of introducing informal rationing

In my tour, Dange said, I made it clear that the Communist Party of India while striving to prevent the Congress rule from coming back in Kerala will not enter into or encourage any opportunistic alliance with reactionary and communal parties. We are not in favour of any open alliance or back door adjustments with either the Muslim League or the rebel Congressmen and such others for the sake of winning a few seats. We will, however, strike hard to build a unity of progressive democratic parties and groups and individuals based on an agreed minimum programme. Wherever I went I saw that more and more people were appreciating our principled approach. Only by such a principled approach can the Congress be defeated and replaced by a better administration, Dange said.

clarify its position in relation to election strategy.

Dange addressing the Port workers in Cochin



## A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

### CAIRO'S DETRACTORS

THE monopoly press is angry—very, very angry. Despite its best efforts to "prove" that India has nothing to gain from nonalignment, and with this end in view, to attack the Cairo Assembly—the conference of heads of state or government of nonaligned countries has been an unqualified success.

The disappointed and frustrated penpushers are now squealing frantically. Listen to what they write. Hindustan Times (Oct. 13) editorially laments:

"Whether the conference itself in its deliberations and declarations can be described as a success is open to some doubt."

And why? The editorial makes no bones of it. Precisely, because the conference firmly attacked the imperialists, where it hurt them most and true to its salt, Birla's daily protests.

It criticises the conference for calling for "the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam". Hindustan Times insists that "at least in this country we should not forget the Chinese, and there should be no support for a policy which exposes further areas in South-East Asia to the threat of Communist domination".

One need not be surprised at the Hindustan Times' anxiety. For the withdrawal of foreign

troops from Vietnam means the quit order for the US army of occupation, and freedom for the people of South Vietnam. And that is something to be opposed by all agents of US imperialism everywhere. Hindustan Times is no exception.

Again, Birla's daily is very annoyed at the references to "neo-colonialism". It damns this word as being of "Indonesian" origin, and as "the provocation for its (Indonesia's) policy of confrontation".

All this nonsense will not deceive anyone. Neo-colonialism means US neo-colonialism in the first place, and British neo-colonialism in the second.

And again we are not surprised at Hindustan Times' wrath.

### CHINESE BOGEY

THE monopoly press has kept playing up the Chinese bogey throughout the conference. Of course, the Chinese leaders did their worst to influence the Cairo Conference. They failed and failed miserably.

But to say this does not suit those who want to make out that it is not in India's interest to be non-aligned.

Indian Express, while unable to attack the conference frontally has these gems to offer in its editorial of October 13:

"The emphasis on imperialism and colonialism—both obviously Western—ignored the more recent danger of Chinese expansionism. The Cairo conference seemed only too ready to oblige the warmongers of Peking. . . . When it comes to talking straight about China, the nations of Asia and Africa, by and large, chooses to be discreet rather than valorous."

This is an utterly and completely dishonest evaluation—with the single purpose of building up opinion in India against nonalignment.

The truth is exactly the opposite. The Cairo Conference was not "ready to oblige" the Chinese leaders; that is precisely why it opposed the Chinese position on the question of the nuclear test ban, why it called on all countries to adhere to it, and why it spoke up sharply on the question of border disputes.

Indian Express and its imperialist and monopolist patrons naturally would have liked to direct the attention of the conference away from the most urgent questions of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, under the plea of concen-

trating on Chinese expansionism. That they have failed in this vain effort is to the credit of the Cairo Conference.

### NAUGHTY BOYS

THE Statesman has given the imperialist view point on the Cairo Conference more "honestly" than those quoted above. Its dissatisfaction for the Cairo communiqué arises, it says editorially, because:

"Powers in the Western grouping are freely and bluntly criticised but there seems no hint of criticism of any Communist Power, let alone China, either in the detailed section or in realization that such general terms as imperialism, and colonialism may have application in other senses than the old-fashioned."

The Statesman's editorial is explicit. This kind of attitude is bad, because, it says, the "Aid India Club" will be angry with us, because they are faced with a communique, which is, according to the editorial, "not merely not balanced, but in part directly reflecting Communist diplomacy".

The editorial concludes by asking if it is worth attending such conferences again.

THE VERY FACT THAT THESE MOUTHPIECES OF IMPERIALISM AND REACTION ARE GNASHING THEIR TETHRS IS PROOF OF THE GREAT SUCCESS OF THE CAIRO CONFERENCE.

—Ramesh Chandra (October 13)

# LUNCH AT KARACHI

The Shastri-Ayub talks during the Prime Minister's stop-over at Karachi on his way back from Cairo do not appear to have yielded any substantial results. As a matter of fact, none were expected. The communique is feeble and full of platitudes. Again, it could not have been anything else.

THE Pakistan dictator and his astute Foreign Minister had evidently hoped for "positive results", in their favour. Bhutto had planned a special press conference to follow the departure of the Indian Prime Minister from Karachi. The press conference was cancelled at the last moment.

Ayub Khan and his coterie had been given high hopes both by their imperialist "partners" in the Asian military pacts, and also by the much publicised bulldozers of "friendship", led by Jaya Prakash Narayan, K. M. Cariappa and others. The vicious propaganda for a sell out on Kashmir, launched by Rajaji and his Swatantra satraps, also gave the Ayub caucus plenty of wishful dreams.

And, it would not be out of place to mention that the Prime Minister's own rather vague attitude on Indo-Pakistan relations and Kashmir also appeared to give the green light to the devilish conspiracies of the Pakistan dictatorship.

The encouragement given by the Prime Minister to the Jaya Prakash "mission" (which included men known for their pro-US and consequently anti-Indian and pro-Pakistan views at least on the Kashmir issue) gave the Pakistan leaders the opportunity to start counting their chickens in malicious anticipation.

In fact it was vigorously propagated by the JP "mission" that it had met Ayub and his colleagues to pave the way for the Prime Minister's visit.

When, to cap the procession to Pakistan of reactionary opponents of all the basic policies of this country, General Cariappa was permitted to zoom off to East Pakistan, the cup of greedy optimism in Rawalpindi overflowed.

Unfortunately for the Pakistani pipe-dreamers, the Cairo conference intervened. And on his way back from the sharply anti-imperialist Cairo discussion, having given India's full support to the excellent standpoint taken in the documents and resolutions, the Prime Minister was evidently in no mood to wobble on the Kashmir issue during his talks in Karachi.

Result: a friendly lunch party, with a considerate vegetarian menu—but no concessions to the pro-imperialist demands on Kashmir.

If the huge mass response in Pakistan to the anti-Ayub electoral campaign has any meaning, it is this: the forces of democracy in Pakistan are not by any means completely crushed; they are slowly asserting themselves.

It is these democratic forces which are the bright light and hope for real and firm Indo-Pakistan friendship in the future.

by the bureaucrats, who sit on top of the price machinery at all levels?

There has been a tendency, as was pointed out in these columns, to treat all mass initiatives against hoarders as "looting" and "criminal violence". The bureaucrats and the police have been content to use the bullet and the lathi when food was demanded.

If this attitude undergoes a change, under the hammer-blows of the people's struggles, there can be the most valuable popular cooperation to implement the

## Comment

up communalism and anti-Indian feelings with a view to suppress the rising, democratic, anti-imperialist movement in Pakistan itself.

This is underlined not to suggest that the talks should not be held, but only to point out the necessity for the greatest vigilance in all negotiations with the Rawalpindi dictators.

### PRICES AND THE PEOPLE

THE Union Food Minister has made important announcements regarding the prices of rice and wheat for the 1964-65 season. The aims are laudable: to give the producer a fair price and at the same time to ensure a fair price for the consumer.

On paper, the announcement appears to be a step in the right direction. The key questions, however, are whether the decisions announced will be implemented fairly and honestly, whether the hoarders, blackmarketeers and profiteers will be able to evade all the proposed measures, as they have always done in the past; whether the state machinery itself will be such as to ensure for both the producer and the consumer the benefits suggested by the Minister.

The Food Minister has called for people's support. He has commended the vast network of price rise resistance committees which is spontaneously growing up in the capital and elsewhere in the country.

The vital factor, which alone can ensure a positive answer to the questions which arise today, is the cooperation of the people in implementing the price plans, in unearthing the hoards, in bringing to book the anti-social villains who thrive on the hunger of the masses.

It is clear enough that the people everywhere are ready to offer this cooperation. Will it be accepted and welcomed

steps announced in the direction of eliminating profiteering. State trading in foodgrains remains a vital necessity. All delays and hesitations in bringing it into force, help only the profiteers and the hoarders.

The democratic forces to the country will not wait for official incitations to cooperate in the stupendous battle against price rise. Whether it is through the historic bandh actions or through the establishment of local resistance committees, boycotts of shops which raise prices, setting up of fair price shops and cooperatives on their own, the people are in action already.

The need of the hour is an intensification of such popular actions and struggles, resulting in both immediate gains, however small, and also in focussing attention on the major demands of state trading, bank nationalisation, etc.

### AMBASSADORIAL ARROGANCE

UNITED States Ambassador Chester Bowles has been in Bhopal over the week-end and has made many pronouncements which call for serious attention.

One of the most astounding of these was his rather laborious plea for the stationing of the US Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean.

Bowles argued that India had been unable to send its bombers to attack the Chinese army during the aggression in 1962, because of "fear" of retaliatory action on our cities. If only, said the arrogant Ambassador, the US Seventh Fleet had been near Calcutta, all would have been well.

He went on to pour scorn on nonalignment itself, and asked derisively "nonalignment with whom?"

Imperialist ambassadors have long tongues. But no self-respecting country, to which they are accredited, would permit them to carry on propaganda against its foreign policy in the unashamed way in which Bowles appears to be doing.

If signing the Cairo anti-imperialist charter has any meaning and is not, as the inneralists say, just a lot of verbiage, the Ministry of External Affairs should summon the Seventh Fleet's promoter and tell him to mind his own business.

Who told him why and how the Indian Air Force used or did not use its planes against the Chinese aggressors? And what right has he to discuss our defence?

Chester Bowles is an ambassador, and NOT the governor-general.

## Messages to New Age on 11th Anniversary

At the time of the international seminar in Berlin to mark the centenary of the First International, NEW AGE Correspondent received a number of messages from the assembled Communist leaders greeting the journal on its Eleventh Anniversary. Some of these messages are given below, while some more are given on page 14.

### CANADA

WARM revolutionary greetings to NEW AGE on the eleventh anniversary of your birthday from the Communist Party of Canada.

We greet the militant struggle for Marxism-Leninism and the real national interests of India and her people that you have fought all through these eleven years.

Today you are faced with the necessity to combat and to defeat those adventurers who have chosen to serve the "rule or ruin" aims of the leadership of the Communist Party of China. These adventurers would sacrifice the national interests of India along with their betrayal of the sacred cause of peace, democracy, and socialism. Their attempts at disruption must be defeated. We are confident that they will be defeated.

The Communist Party and the advanced workers of Canada stand with the Communist Party of India and the NEW AGE in this struggle.

Long Live the New Age.  
TIM BUCK  
National Chairman,  
Communist Party of Canada

### CEYLON

THE Ceylon Communist Party congratulates NEW AGE most heartily on its eleventh anniversary.

Your newspaper has performed a most valuable service in reporting and giving guidance to the Indian people in their many struggles for their vital interests and social progress. You have rallied your people in support of the fight for peace and disarmament, for the struggle against imperialism, for the unity of all progressive forces of your great country. You have given your people a true picture of contemporary world developments, especially of the achievements of the USSR and other countries of the world socialist system.

As the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India, NEW AGE has unwaveringly upheld Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, sought to implement in your conditions the general line of Communist and Workers Parties and defended the unity of your Party against all attempts at disorientation and split, and thus made a useful contribution to clarity and deeper understanding in current ideological disputes.

The 11th anniversary of NEW AGE takes place on the eve of the 7th Congress of the Communist Party of India, and we follow with great admiration the splendid work you are doing in the ideological preparations for this Congress. We wish you every success in the future.

PETER KEUNEMAN  
General Secretary,  
Ceylon Communist Party

### SWITZERLAND

HEARTY wishes and fraternal fighting greetings to the journal NEW AGE on the occasion of the 12th birthday. For all these years the journal defended bravely and keenly the interests of the Indian people and led the struggle for a new, progressive democratic and socialist India.

NEW AGE is the builder of unity and cohesion of the Communist Party of India, the standard bearer of Marxism-Leninism in India.

We wish you many successes in the future.  
EDGAR WOOG  
Secretary General,  
Party of Labour, Switzerland

# Successful Tour By South African Leaders

By BAREN RAY

(Secretary, Indian Association For Afro-Asian Solidarity)

The visit to India of the South African delegation extended from September 5 when J. B. Marks and Y. M. Dadoo first arrived in New Delhi to October 18 when they will finally leave our country.

In this programme apart from the time spent in New Delhi in meeting the leaders of government and political parties and organisations, in their all-India lecture-tour they have covered Jaipur, Srinagar, Kanpur, Patna, Bhubaneswar, Cuttack, Berhampur, Calcutta, Gauhati, Madras, Madurai, Coimbatore; Bangalore, Hyderabad, Goa, Bombay, Surat and Nagpur.

Over Rs. 40,000 were collected in cash or definite promises and the basis has been laid for the opening of an office of the African National Congress in India immediately as soon as the leadership of the ANC would nominate the personnel to man it and they arrive in India.

The lecture tour and the entire programme became historical in the sense that this was the biggest sustained campaign ever undertaken on any single anti-imperialist international issue in India. Never before had such a campaign extended within such a short space of time to such a large number of centres covering almost every state, received such universal support from the press and such broad popular support from the people and some of the main political parties.

One can say that on the issue of the opposition to the South African apartheid policy both the apathy of the people for distant international issues and the rivalry and prejudices between political parties and organisations were broken down and the students and the intellectuals, Congressmen and Communists, socialists and liberals, trade unionists and businessmen, women, doctors, lawyers, writers and journalists, all came together to respond to this cause.

Not only was the barrier broken

between the various political parties and groups but also co-operation and coordination was achieved between official patronage and support and popular participation. The Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity can certainly congratulate itself



Marks speaking at the Bangalore meeting. Seated next to him are Dadoo and Speaker of the Mysore Assembly.

on carrying the entire programme through so successfully—perhaps the biggest ever undertaken in its proud ten-year history of continuous activity.

This programme of inviting a delegation consisting of two very senior members of the South African freedom movement for a lecture tour of our country was the first major step in fulfilment of the decision of the Fourth National Conference of the Indian Solidarity movement held in December last year to launch a National Campaign Against Racism and Colonialism to focus attention on the conditions obtaining in the countries still engaged in the struggle for independence. To this conference

Prime Minister Nehru had sent a powerful message of support.

The conference had decided specially to take up the question of the southern parts of Africa which constitute today the bulwark and the last strongholds of colonialism and white racialist domination on the continent of Africa, namely South Africa, South West Africa and the trust territories, the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola and Southern Rhodesia.

At the time of the Algiers meeting of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation last March, the Indian delegation

under the leadership of its President Dr. Tara Chand MP established personal contacts with the members of the delegations of these countries and extended the invitation for small delegations of leaders of the independence movements of these countries to come and travel in India in order to acquaint our people with the worsening conditions in their countries and about the stage of their struggles.

For obvious reasons—the more urgent situation in South Africa, the comparatively greater awareness in India, reasons of the long historic association between the freedom movements in India and South Africa, etc.—it was decided that the South African delegation should be the first to come. A programme was chalked out which met with the approval of Prime Minister Nehru and the delegation was to arrive by the end of May and tour in June. But then the sudden and grievous event at the end of May caused the programme to be postponed by nearly three months.

It is now expected that similar delegations from the Portuguese colonies and Southern Rhodesia will shortly be coming on similar lecture tours, perhaps, early next year.

Meanwhile the Rivonia trials came up in the beginning of May and some of the senior-most leaders of the South African national movement were threatened with the execution of the death sentences passed against them. Then on the initiative of the Afro-Asian Solidarity movement was launched the Indian Campaign for the Release of the South African Political Prisoners under the Chairmanship of the eminent economist, Professor V.K.R.V. Rao which soon received the support of all sections in our country. This was the background when the two South African leaders arrived in the

## ELEVEN YEARS

editorial

IT IS ELEVEN YEARS since the birth of NEW AGE. In October 1953 the first issue of the central organ of the Communist Party of India, under this title, appeared from the nation's capital.

In the midst of preparations for the Seventh Congress of the CPI, the anniversary is an occasion to re-dedicate the workers of the Communist press to the great tasks of assisting in the struggles in defence of the working masses launched by the Party. NEW AGE played its part in the Great Petition and March of September 1963 and then through the many struggles that followed right up to the Satyagraha of August 1964, and the mighty bandh actions which preceded and followed it.

NEW AGE today plays its part in the ideological and other discussions which are taking place on the eve of the Seventh Congress. It plays its part in the efforts for the unity of our Party against disruption and split.

NEW AGE is dedicated to strive for the unity of the international Communist movement and in support of the worldwide battles for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

On this occasion, NEW AGE sends its greetings to comrades of the Communist press throughout India and in the rest of the world. The press is an essential and vital part of the Communist movement. And it is the duty of every worker of the Communist press to do all that lies within his power to make the journal for which he works an ever more useful weapon in the hands of the toiling masses.

NEW AGE salutes its many readers and supporters. It counts from them as always to act as its eyes and ears, to send it news and reports, and above all criticisms and suggestions.

NEW AGE enters the twelfth year of its life with fresh inspiration and new zeal. 1965 will be the year of the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the Communist Party of India. NEW AGE will endeavour to carry forward as always the great traditions of struggle and of dauntless adherence to principles of the Communist movement.

beginning of September.

The Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity had taken the initiative to obtain the necessary permission and facilities in order to enable the African National Congress of South Africa to open an office of the ANC like the other offices it now maintains in other countries like Tanganyika, the UAR, Algeria, Ghana and in London.

It was considered that this would be the most effective first step that the Indian movement could take in solidarity and support of the South African struggle and assist it materially by meeting all its expenses. This scheme has received the full support and blessings of the Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri.

While in Delhi the South African leaders addressed the National Youth Forum which met to elect and give a send off to the Indian delegation to the World Youth Forum in Moscow, the Northern India Congress Workers Convention, a largely attended meeting of Members of Parliament in the Parliament House called by the Congress Party, and the public meeting organised by their hosts—the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity.

The External Affairs Ministry gave a reception at the Ashoka Hotel in their honour. Earlier they had separately met the Prime Minister, the Minister for External Affairs, Sardar Swaran Singh and the Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Indira Gandhi. At the Ministry of External Affairs they also had working

(TO BE CONTINUED)

CPI  
NATIONAL  
COUNCIL  
NEXT MEETING  
TRIVANDRUM  
NOVEMBER 2-9

(The dates had wrongly been reported in last week's NEW AGE as from November 2 to 6)

OCTOBER 18, 1964

(From September 25 to 29 a seminar was held in Berlin to commemorate the centenary of the First International, organised by the journal PEACE, FREEDOM, SOCIALISM. A similar seminar was organised in Moscow from October 1 to 6 by the Institute of World Economy and International Relations, under the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. The author attended both seminars, which dealt with some of the more basic problems of the contemporary international revolutionary movement. The seminar at Berlin was attended by representatives from forty countries while sixty-two countries were represented at Moscow, including Indonesia and Yugoslavia—EDITOR)

The two seminars were impressive on many counts. There was the wide international representation, in the first place, from Asia, Africa and Latin America. The representatives of Communist Parties and Marxist scholars from these continents—supposedly the first and greatest love of the leaders of the Communist Party of China (CPC)—showed a great maturity both in the understanding of the basic principles of the Marxism-Leninism of our epoch as well as in their application to the specific problems of their countries.

THE only discordant note was struck by the representative of the Communist Party of Indonesia at the Moscow Seminar. In an elective and oblique manner he put across all the theories that are being pushed forward by the CPC—the determining role of the anti-colonial revolutions; the special leading role of the peasants in the "world village"; the need to "Indonesianise" Marxism and the rest. The tone was, however, quite restrained and subdued. Many speakers took up these points for rebuttal in their speeches.

It was heartening to note, both in the speeches and in the course of personal conversation, that the damogic appeals of the CPC leadership to the Communists of these continents have not made any appreciable impact. Particularly after the grand design of the CPC leadership has more clearly revealed itself in the past year, the stand of the CPI, since the fateful days of the Chinese aggression in October 1962, has clearly won well-nigh universal support. Some who might have been sceptical and doubtful about the clear naming of China as aggressor by the CPI in the past have now appreciated its foresight, particularly in calling attention to the nationalist aims and motivations of the CPC leadership.

### Unity in Diversity

Another impression which stands out is the diversity within the basic unity of both the international gatherings and the fraternal criticism of some points raised by certain delegates. This was revealed in the special emphasis on certain points in the speeches, particularly, of the delegates from Italy, Spain, Belgium and Canada. They welcomed the more realistic understanding of the economic and political conditions of the advanced capitalist countries but felt that there were still hangovers of the past approach and they stressed the correctness and rallying significance of the call for structural reforms, which, they felt, was not adequately appreciated by everybody.

In Moscow, one of the delegates from Belgium also pointed out that too optimistic a picture should not be drawn of the success gained in the struggle against neo-colonialism, including the prevention of the export of counter-revolution. True, in the post-war world the basic trend was unmistakably in the direction of the breakdown of colonialism and the thwarting of the various kinds of aggression against the newly-won independence of the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Yet, the setbacks and failures should not be lightly overlooked.

### Many Mistakes

The delegates from Canada and Australia, while emphasising the enormous contribution made by the socialist countries to the acceleration of the world revolutionary process through their achievements, pointed out that any mistakes and shortcomings of these countries also caused damage which should not be underestimated. Together with the delegates from Italy, they drew attention to the need for further progress in the direction of the democratisation of the superstructure of the socialist countries.

The Rumanian delegate emphasised the need to avoid insults and unnecessary invectives in the polemics that were being conducted today. He also deprecated any attempt to depict current developments in his country as being autarchic in character. The international socialist division of labour should be extended to include those socialist countries not yet in the COMECON and simultaneously should not preclude the general worldwide network of economic relations, irrespective of social systems.

The Soviet and Bulgarian delegates tried to remove any misapprehensions that might have been created in the mind of the Rumanian delegate and stressed both the need as well as the advantage of consolidating the unity of the socialist camp and of conducting a persistent struggle against nationalism, which could be reflected in a distorted understanding of the otherwise correct principle of mainly relying on one's own forces in the construction of socialism. All speakers emphasised the paramountcy of state sovereignty, independence and equality in the relations between the countries of the socialist camp.

The Yugoslav delegate welcomed the seminar as well as the new ideas that were being advanced. He drew attention to the problem of alienation

## CREATIVE MARXISM : TWO INTERNATIONAL SEMINARS

By MOHIT SEN

so long as there was an intermediary between the worker and the means of production. Such an intermediary was the capitalist ownership which the socialist revolution was meant to remove.

Another intermediary could be bureaucratisation even after the socialist revolution, which would lead to serious social distortions and to which Lenin had drawn attention. It was necessary to speedily overcome such intermediaries so that the full creativity of the free workers could be released.

The Indonesian delegate was of the opinion that not only was revisionism the main danger but that its most concentrated expression was to be found in the Programme, policies and practice of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

The delegate from Syria, both in Berlin and in Moscow, felt that it was necessary to warn against any tendency to underestimate the past role and present possibilities of the Communist Parties in the national-liberation movement, especially in the Arab East.

He sharply attacked the Chinese point of view that the Communists should isolate themselves from the other socialist tendencies and go it alone "since the future was theirs". This sectarianism was coupled with the most unprincipled opportunistic wooing of reactionary elements in these countries by the CPC leadership. At the same time, to brush aside the sacrifices and achievements of the Communists or to deny that they had a role to play after the victory over colonialism was both opportunistic and dangerous.

### Attack on Chinese Stand

So the debate went on. It was very rightly pointed out by Academician Arzumanyan, in his concluding remarks in Moscow, that this exchange of ideas and controversy had

shown the utility of such international gatherings. It had proved how groundless was the fear that the coming international Communist conference would lead to an accentuation of bitterness or to one or another kind of excommunication. Responsible examination of the new emerging features of contemporary reality was essential for the further progress of the world revolutionary movement.

The most dominant impression, however, of both the seminars was the surge forward of the forces of creative Marxism. One felt that participation in them was to be involved in the veritable renaissance of Marxism, which had been initiated by the 20th CPSU Congress. It is absolutely essential that the CPI and the other Marxists in India realise the tempo and the scope of the changes that are taking place in the method and system of Marxism today. It is essential that we in India overcome our lag in this sphere, that we more completely integrate ourselves with this creative process if we are to avoid surprises and to advance more rapidly.

### Basis for Differences

One question which was tackled by more than one speaker at the Moscow Seminar was the objective basis for differences among the socialist countries, united by a basic community of interest. Nevertheless the differences in levels of development, relation of class forces, international position, historical tradition, geographical location etc., were objective in character and the skill of leadership lay in recognition of their objective character and in properly combining temporary and long-range interests.

This was of interest in view of the fact that there had been a tendency in the past to either deny that there could be any differ-

ences or to ascribe them to purely transient, subjective and accidental factors. Whole avenues open up for investigation and research in this field and of adjustment and of modification of previous understanding.

Another question taken up was the evaluation of certain past policies of the Third Communist International. It was pointed out that the Comintern had performed invaluable service and it had an immortal place in international revolutionary history. At the same time mistakes of a sectarian character had been committed. As examples were given the depiction of social-democrats as social fascists of a wrong approach to non-proletarian led national liberation movement; of an incorrect combination of national and international tasks by some CPCs during the Second World War; of an underestimation of the fascist menace and an incorrect characterisation of the first phase of the Second World War, prior to the German aggression against the Soviet Union.

It was extremely interesting to note that frequent appreciative reference was made to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International where Dimitroff delivered his tremendous report on working class and anti-fascist unity. It was pointed out that "left" resistance to the line of Seventh CI Congress had been there and that there was a failure to carry forward its implications till the 20th CPSU Congress in 1956.

In the course of speeches both in Berlin and in Moscow, the Indian delegation recounted its own experiences, especially with regard to some of the sectarian formulations of the 1928 Colonial Thesis of the Comintern which helped the already existing sectarian approach of the CPI towards the national struggle in India.

(To be continued)

A View of the Seminar in Berlin.



## SHARPEN INDIA'S POLICIES

\*FROM BACK PAGE

against US imperialist conspiracies, which has often hamstrung India's foreign policy, is in complete contradiction with the Cairo Spirit, and must therefore be abandoned forthwith.

The democratic movement must rally the widest sections of the masses round the demands for the observance of the Cairo Spirit, which implies the strengthening of Indian foreign policy and the giving to it of that anti-imperialist edge, which alone can protect it from the onslaughts of the imperialists and Right reactionaries and of the Chinese dogmatists and their allies.

In this context, the convening of the World Conference for Peace and International Cooperation, next month, starting from Pandit Nehru's 75th birthday on November 14, is of decisive importance. It is not an accident that the formal declaration of the Cairo Conference is titled "Programme for Peace and International Cooperation." The singling out of these two vital issues, in the very title

of the declaration emphasise their significance for mankind today. That the New Delhi conference has also these two issues in its title augurs well for its success.

There is no doubt whatsoever that the world conference in November will fully endorse all the various decisions taken at Cairo, and carry them forward, giving them, wherever possible, concrete body and shape in the form of popular actions and campaigns.

To the Cairo Spirit can and must be given that world endorsement, the opportunity for which the conference at New Delhi will provide.

And with the world conference, following closely on the heels of Cairo, New Delhi must become once again that centre of the struggle against imperialism and war, that haven for all fighters for national independence and peace—which the Indian democratic and peace movements have fought so hard

(October 14)

NEW AGE

PAGE FOUR

NEW AGE

PAGE FIVE

OCTOBER 18, 1964

# More About The Jains

Chopra Report Cites Dilatory Tactics, Letters Of Senior Staff Of Bennett Coleman Co. to Nehru

By OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

NEW DELHI: More details about the malpractices which Shanti Prasad Jain and his friends are alleged to have indulged in in the management of the Bennett Coleman & Co. have come to light, after the exposure made by NEW AGE in its issue dated October 4.

GOVERNMENT OF India has filed a fresh petition before the Companies Tribunal asking for an order restraining the "old" as well as "new" board of directors of the company and the individual members of the company from "interfering or intimidating with the affairs of the company" pending the final disposal of the petition.

The petition will come up for hearing before the Tribunal on October 19.

Earlier the government had moved the Tribunal for an interim order to restrain S.P. Jain, Gian Chand Jain and Alok Prakash Jain from functioning as directors of the company.

To counter this move, these three directors resigned and five new members were coopted by the board. At a subsequent hearing the Tribunal passed "consent" order suggesting appointment of S. R. Vakil and R. C. Cooper as directors.

The government has contended in the present petition that the resignations of S. P. Jain and A. P. Jain as well as the "pretended" appointments of additional directors, R. N. Bagla, Rama Jain and Narendra Kumar were mala fide and not for the purposes of the company or in its interest and were not in fact made on September 10 and 12 as notified.

On or about September 17, the petition said, S. P. Jain and A. P. Jain apprehending action on the part of the Tribunal took various steps to remove themselves from office as directors and arranged for the appointment of additional directors of their own choice "who are closely associated with them and who they believe will be under their influence."

By these new appointments "the wrongful control and management of the company by the previous directors (particularly Mr. S. P. Jain and A. P. Jain) will continue and be confirmed". It is charged that the new board is intended and likely to be a screen for the old board and the mismanagement and illegal acts of the previous directors will not only persist but will be increased. Such acts include the illegal destruction of documents and accounts of the company and tampering with them.

## Chopra Report

The government had also appended the report of S. P. Chopra, an inspector appointed under the Companies Act to investigate into the affairs of Bennett Coleman & Co. to its petition to the Companies Tribunal.

Chopra, in his 57-page report, had recommended that the directors and some senior officers including the general manager of the company should be suspended from office in the in-

quite naturally, concerned with the problem of what precisely this future should be.

"The result has been to disclose considerable support for the view that The Times of India should be organised, with government aid and initiative, into a co-operative. Only in this way, we feel, can clean administration and editorial independence be preserved. This, incidentally, is one of the proposals put forward in the Press Commission's report."

Nanporia also said: "On matters ranging from recruitment, the organisation of the library, certain aspects of coverage, and directives to correspondents, to more fundamental affairs of policy he (Shanti Prasad Jain) has not hesitated to interfere and issue directives."

Chopra said the facts and details he gathered from these sources conclusively proved that Shanti Prasad Jain and other directors had misappropriated the following sums of money:

1. from newsprint waste sales—Rs. 17,13,625.35;
2. from miscellaneous sales—Rs. 1,06,108.06;
3. from machinery sales etc.—Rs. 2,58,640.00.

## Grave Malpractices

Sah and Raman in their letter to Nehru (appended to Chopra report) had given some instances of "grave malpractices" in the affairs of the company and had thanked the Prime Minister for giving them an opportunity to explain them to him personally.

Nanporia in his letter to Nehru had "unconditionally" welcomed the Chopra inquiry on behalf of the majority of the staff and referred to the manner in which Shanti Prasad Jain either directly or through the management had influenced or interfered with the policy and administration of The Times of India. He said: "I would like to say generally that Mr. Shanti Prasad Jain has been functioning for all practical purposes as the General Manager."

The Chopra inquiry, Nanporia said, had "at long last provided us with what we consider to be the first opportunity we have had of offering our co-operation to the government in a cause which we all share and about which we feel most intensely."

Nanporia in his letter to Nehru said that the Chopra inquiry which had enabled "many of us willing to give evidence freely has naturally affected the staff's morale and has created an atmosphere of uncertainty. This undoubtedly is the price that must be paid for better conditions."

"But in the meantime, it would be a source of considerable encouragement and strength if it could be known even informally that you yourself will be taking a personal interest in the future of The Times of India and that the government intends to pursue the inquiry until its objective is achieved. The senior officers have been, again

sible and assisted Mr. Chopra in the discharge of his onerous responsibilities. Nevertheless, we are finding our task of presenting a true picture of the various aspects of the inquiry increasingly difficult as a result of the obstructive tactics adopted and the threats held out by the Chairman and the General Manager.

"Against this background we feel that the several allegations against the Board of Directors can be fully substantiated only if the top management of the company from the General Manager upwards is removed, even if for a temporary period."

The report adds: "Judged dispassionately, his crime would appear to be more serious, than, for instance, the crime of people selling goods at abnormally high prices. There are instances in which for offences of similar nature involving petty items people have been detailed under the Defence of India Rules."

"From discussions with top legal authorities I was able to gather that action under the Defence of India Rules was possible for in the event of gross mismanagement, the government is competent to take over the management of a company."

Discussing the attitude of the officers of the company, Chopra says that the least helpful of the officers was P. K. Roy, the General Manager. Roy is stated to have told Chopra that he knew virtually nothing about what went on in the company!

"Even in respect of the period when Mr. Roy had taken over as General Manager he avoids giving any straight answers and if at all he gives evasive replies. The evidence given by him on September 13, 1963 would make an interesting reading, in particular when he states that he did not remember what had happened in his own office an hour or so earlier. At the same time he has admitted in his evidence that he is the head of the administration and therefore the officers have to consult him before they could take any action even on his request or directions..."

Chopra has recommended the detention of Shanti Prasad Jain under the Defence of India Rules.

## CONSUMPTION NEEDS OF WORKERS: ATTEMPTS TO SHELVE COMMITTEE REPORT

NEW DELHI: Trade union centres are understood to have demanded that the Government should place before a tripartite meeting the findings of the sub-committee of the National Nutrition Advisory Committee on nutritional requirements of an average working class family.

THIS is considered necessary to arrive at an agreed decision on the subject for the purpose of need-based wage fixation.

According to trade union sources, the computation of the need-based wages recommended by the 15th Indian Labour Conference in 1957 has been held over for far too long.

Now that the Nutrition Advisory Committee has reached some conclusions on the subject of average calorie requirement of industrial workers, they want consideration of this question in the next meeting of the Standing Labour Committee.

The average calorie requirement for a young Indian male industrial worker has been assessed at 2,800 by the Nutrition Advisory Committee.

According to the findings, a woman industrial worker requires a daily minimum of 2,150 calories; children in the

age group of 0-5 require 1,230 calories and those in the age group of 6-14, 2,000 calories per head, per day.

The issue was referred to the Nutrition Advisory Committee following controversies on the acceptability of the Akroyd formula recommended by the 15th Tripartite Indian Labour Conference as a sound basis for need-based wage fixation.

In the Labour Policy chapter for the Draft Third Plan recommended by the Standing Labour Committee, it was observed:

"On the basis of agreement between the parties, the Indian Labour Conference had indicated the content of the need-based minimum wage for guidance in the settlement of wage disputes."

"This has been reviewed in the light of certain questions which had arisen and it has been agreed that the nutritional requirement of a working class family may

be re-examined on the basis of the most authoritative scientific data on the subject."

The norms now recommended by the Nutrition Advisory Committee at 2,800 calories are higher than the Akroyd formula by 100 points. It is not as yet known what diet schedule the Nutrition Advisory Committee has recommended to provide for the 2,800 calories or whether recommended a vegetarian or non-vegetarian diet.

Government spokesmen have suddenly grown reticent about the report of the Nutrition Advisory Committee in view of its implications for wage demand of workers.

It appears that the report of the Nutrition Advisory Committee might become another hot point of controversy.

The first to demand wage revision on the basis of the findings of the Nutrition Advisory Committee is expected to be the Central Government employees since the Second Pay Commission had fixed wages on norms of calorie requirements much less than even the Akroyd formula (IPA).

BOMBAY: If the speech of Lalchand Hira Chand, President of the Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce, at Nagpur last week has any meaning, it is clear that the wholesale foodgrain merchants in Maharashtra are thinking in terms of a war of attrition against the government even after their decision to withdraw the agitation, reports IPA.

LALCHAND said at Nagpur that the decision to withdraw the resolution directing the foodgrain dealers not to submit returns on form 'C' should not be taken as a surrender or a permanent retreat.

The traders were free to adopt their own course of action if the government failed to mend its unjustified ways in time. He alleged that the government had launched a cold war against the traders and depicted them as enemies of society.

## Bringing Pressure

The traders should also give a befitting reply through their strength and machinery. He warned that the traders were so powerful that the government would be at a loss if it picked up a quarrel with them.

He accused the government of profiteering in foodgrains and said that being the worst type of profiteer the government had no right to ask the traders to trade unprofitably.

At the same time, the steps taken by the Chief Minister, such as the arrest of the top leaders of Foodgrain Merchants Association have brought about a split in the section within the Congress Party opposed to him. At least to save his position in the

## W. Bengal Teachers Confer

CALCUTTA: After successfully staging two mass deputations and one-day stoppage of work on September 18, the West Bengal college and university teachers met in their conference on October 4 in Calcutta and chalked out a programme of action including boycott of examination from the year 1965 for realisation of their demands of pay-rise and democratic management of education.

MORE than 400 delegates, representing 3,000 members from all regions of the state and different universities attended the conference.

The conference noted in its main resolution that "even after mass deputation and token cease-work the government did not revive their attitude to the college teachers' demands for increase in pay scales" and therefore it "re-affirmed its attitude of carrying on a peaceful agitation and struggle for the fulfilment of the basic demands of the WBCUTA regarding pay scales".

Moved by Amiya Das Gupta this resolution received unanimous support from all delegates belonging to various shades of opinion and was adopted unanimously. By another resolution the conference supported the struggle of the secondary teachers as conducted by the All-Bengal Teachers' Association (ABTA).

The movement will take the shape of demonstrations before the state Assembly and deputation to Parliament during the budget sessions, organising conventions of teachers of all categories jointly and on all-India scale and finally boycott of university examinations.

A campaign to obtain signatures of the teachers on a pledge will be carried out before the boycott. The resolution further said that "college teachers have not the slightest desire to create any inconvenience to the students and the guardians by creating deadlock in academic field; that is why for last three years they have

waited patiently expecting favourable response from the government.

But now the continued callousness of the government is forcing them to take step for which the government and government alone will be entirely responsible."

From AJOY DASGUPTA

University Bill Amendment

The resolution was conveyed on hungerstrike at the Raja Subodh Mullaik Square. The conference also decided to campaign for suitable amendment in the proposed Calcutta University Bill now in the Select Committee; formulation of a new college code etc. A new executive committee has been elected with Dr. Manindramohan Chakravorty as president and Prof. Sibaprasad Sinha as general secretary.

# MAHARASHTRA: WAR OF ATTRITION BY GRAIN DEALERS

eyes of the people, his main rival Balasaheb Desai has changed over.

Desai was silent for six months in spite of repeated reports of his differences with the Chief Minister. But he came out to contradict all reports which would have possibly proved him to be against the measures taken for the welfare of the common man.

Desai's isolation from the so-called opponents of Vasant Rao Naik is not only formal. He has completely broken away with his colleagues Shantilal Shah, Homi Taleyarkhan, Yeshwant Rao Mohit, Rajaram Babu Patil and their supporters.

He has decided to lend his full weight in favour of the measures taken by the Chief Minister to meet the food crisis.

While Shah, Taleyarkhan and Mohit have opposed the decision of the government to monopolise the jowar purchase and have bitterly criticised Naik for frequent

consultations with the leaders of the Opposition parties and giving due weight to their suggestion while taking decisions, Balasaheb Desai has hailed the step as most progressive and democratic.

In view of Naik's wise and diplomatic handling of the situation and the favourable attitude of Desai it seems unlikely that the foodgrain traders would be able to mobilise any support from any section in the Congress Party.

Though the government has decided to monopolise the jowar purchase in the state, it is generally felt that it is not enough to meet the crisis. Continuous rise in the prices of foodgrains and other essential commodities has made life miserable.

Reports of starvation conditions are pouring in from various parts of the state in spite of the fact that the traders have huge stocks with them.

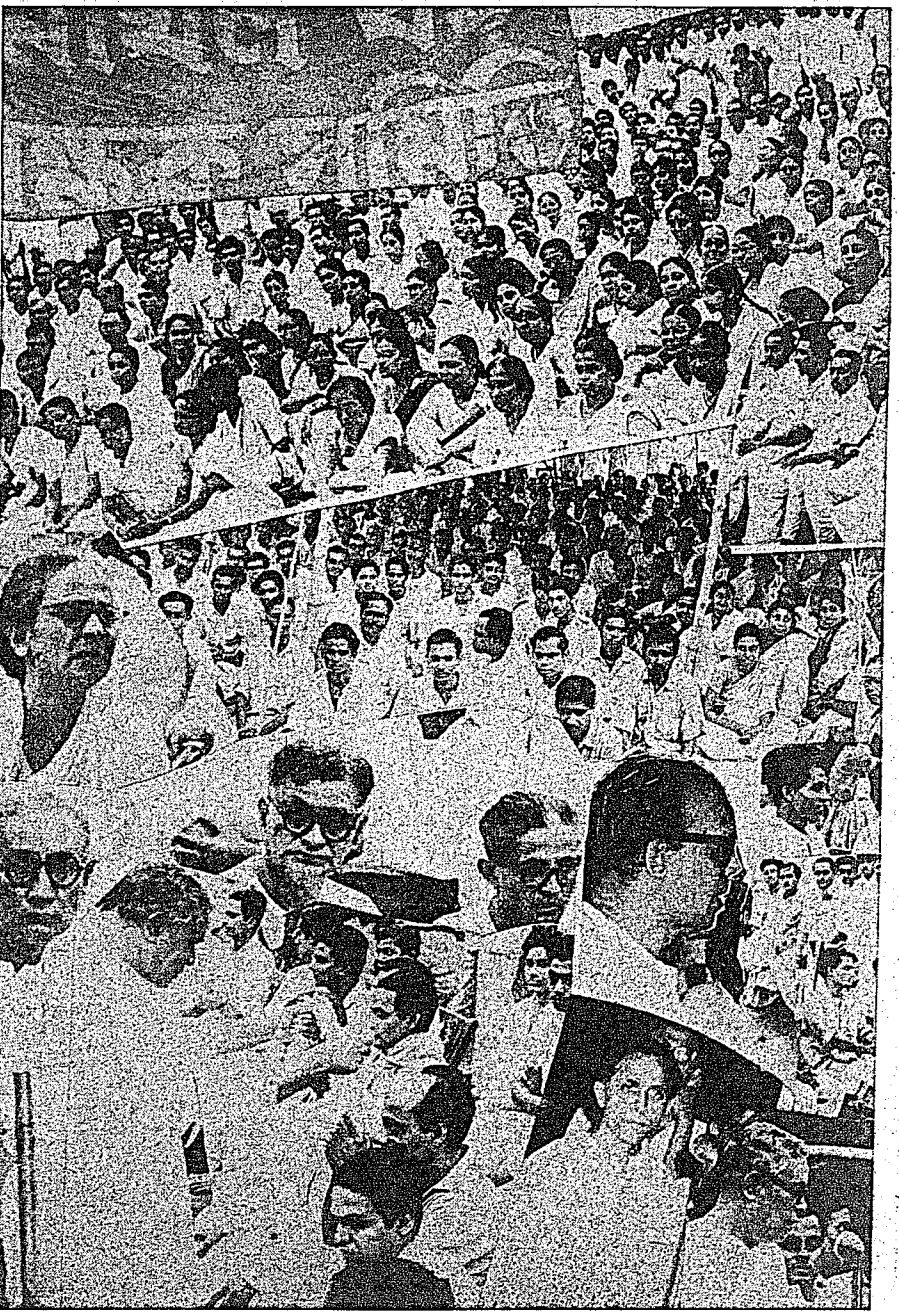
Even the stock position of the government is not satisf-

factory due to various bottlenecks in the way of imports from Madhya Pradesh and Punjab.

Fair price shop owners in the state have been informally suggested to ask the well-to-do card holders to meet their requirements from the open market. But, none is willing to pay Rs. 150 for a bag of wheat and Rs. 100 for a bag of rice when the same should be available in the fair price shops at Rs. 40 and Rs. 62 respectively.

The Chief Minister's assurance to the opposition leaders that he would consider their suggestion to seize the declared and undeclared stocks of the foodgrain traders and arrange their distribution through fair price shops, has been widely welcomed.

If it is done, much of the problem could be solved provided the ban on the movement of foodgrains to this state was removed and the inflow continued satisfactorily.



Scenes From Teachers Conference

Following is the first instalment of a series of articles by K. U. Warier, member of the editorial staff of NEW AGE who visited the Soviet Union in a Party journalists' delegation in September, invited by PRAVDA. The other members of the delegation were: S. Ahmad Moazzam (HAYAT), Bishnu Mukherjee (KALANTAR) and Surjan Singh Zirvi (NAWAN ZAMANA). The delegation stayed in the Soviet Union for one month.

The unparalleled feat of Soviet science and technology as revealed in the latest space flight, with three aboard a space ship, is yet another example of the current mood of the Soviet people who have embarked upon a vast programme of building a Communist society in two decades. A visitor to Moscow or any other city in the Soviet Union cannot fail to notice this confident mood of the people and the urgency with which they are building for this transformation from socialism to communism.

SUCH is the compelling reality of life in USSR today that even the most skeptical of observers from the capitalist world, after visiting the Soviet Union in recent times have commented appreciatively on the big changes that have taken place in the life of the Soviet People and their new big-size construction projects.

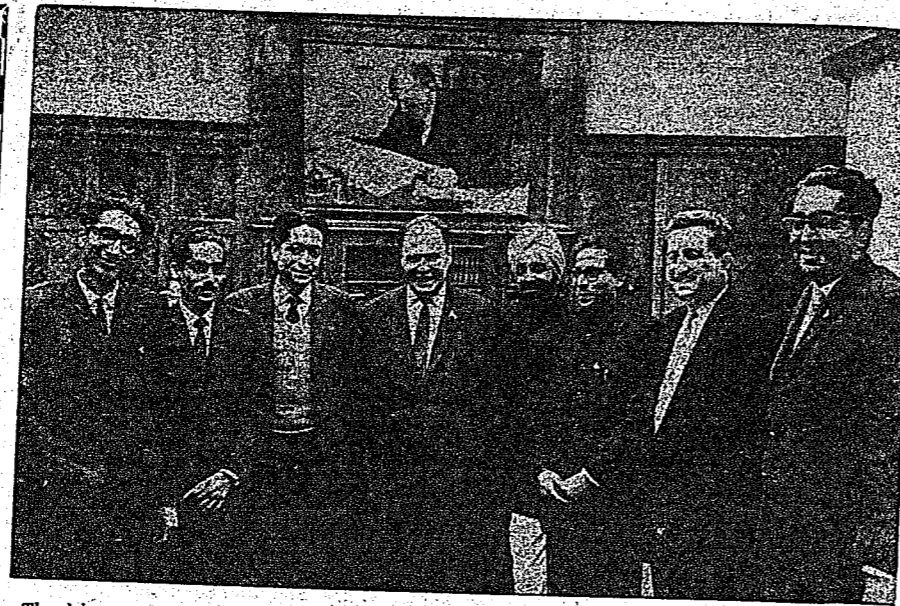
Recently our monopoly press also carried some such articles. Evidently, these friends have found something good in the example of socialism in the USSR.

But still there are prejudices that our capitalist press cannot shed. One such prejudice relates to the myth that the so-called Western "way of life" is superior to the socialist life in Russia. The other day The Hindustan Times of the Birlas carried an article entitled "A day in Moscow" in which the writer describes his seeing a beggar in Moscow and immediately goes on to philosophise about the "un-sentimental and unphilanthropic environment" of the Muscovites.

However, he admits that a beggar is "a rare sight in the Soviet Union". The same gentleman who found Moscow "primitive and sober" in comparison to Paris and London grudgingly speaks about the "habit of contentment" of the Soviet people. The most impressive aspect of Soviet life to him was "the sense of honesty and public service".

He also admits seeing "ordi-

nary people" undertaking air journeys, of hotel charges being moderate and that "it is usual to see workers and porters staying there after paying little rent or no rent at all". It is with something of a sigh that the writer says it is difficult to find a "rich man", but then he concludes that most men in the Soviet Union live "a lower middle class" existence. Yet "their sense of loyalty and sacrifice for the state is unflagging".



The delegation with Satyukov, Chief Editor of Pravda. From left to right: A. Moazzam, K. U. Warier, New Age Editor Romesh Chandra, Satyukov, S. S. Zirvi, Bishnu Mukherjee, I. D. Serebryakov of Pravda who accompanied the delegation, and New Age Correspondent in Moscow Masood Ali Khan

stay in good hotels, are nevertheless living a "lower middle class existence"! And it is presumed that in our country there is more scope for "sentiment" and "philanthropy" and certainly more scope for beggars also.

They are proud of their labour, happy to receive visitors and show them round the impressive construction sites and the beautiful city that has sprung up in the heart of the "taiga" and all the time reveal themselves under the

costly but the purchasing power of the people is also quite high to enable them to meet all their basic requirements.

With the rise in income and standard of living of the people, the demand for better and more consumer goods has also increased and the Party and the government lay special emphasis on meeting these demands. For instance, the consumption of woollen and silk textiles, footwear, knitted wear, furniture and goods which are required to satisfy the cultural needs of the people have all increased at a rapid rate. Both in regard to selection and quality of consumer goods, there is constant improvement.

The neatness and clean appearance of Moscow and other big cities in the Soviet Union, the cheerful disposition of their population, the appearance of well-dressed crowds in shops, market places, offices, theatres and places of recreation and study are evidence to any outside visitor of the very high level of urban improvement as also of the great progress achieved in the material and cultural life of the people. Traffic in the cities is orderly and efficient and transport is cheap. In a few years time, transport will become free of charges. The Soviet citizen does not spend half his lifetime waiting in a queue at a bus stop, as we in Delhi are accustomed to.

But the visitor is most impressed by the fast pace of housing construction in the USSR. Huge cranes which dot the skyline of Moscow and rows of modern flats completely built from pre-fabricated details proclaim the big strides made in housing the entire population in new homes. This is true of all other places we visited.

The progress of construction in recent times has been such as to provide housing for one million in five months. In the last ten years, 108 million people (almost half the population) have received flats with modern amenities and in 1961-65 another 15 million will be moved into new apartments.

\* ON PAGE 18

## MEET THE BUILDERS OF COMMUNISM

Here in a nutshell is the kind of confusion that confronts some of these critics of the Soviet Union who cannot straight away admit that socialism has done away with the division of men into rich and poor as exists in our present-day society. Since they cannot find anything much to criticise in the life of the Soviet people, they must tell their readers that the people in the Soviet Union, though they are content, loyal to their state, honest and quite well off to travel by air and

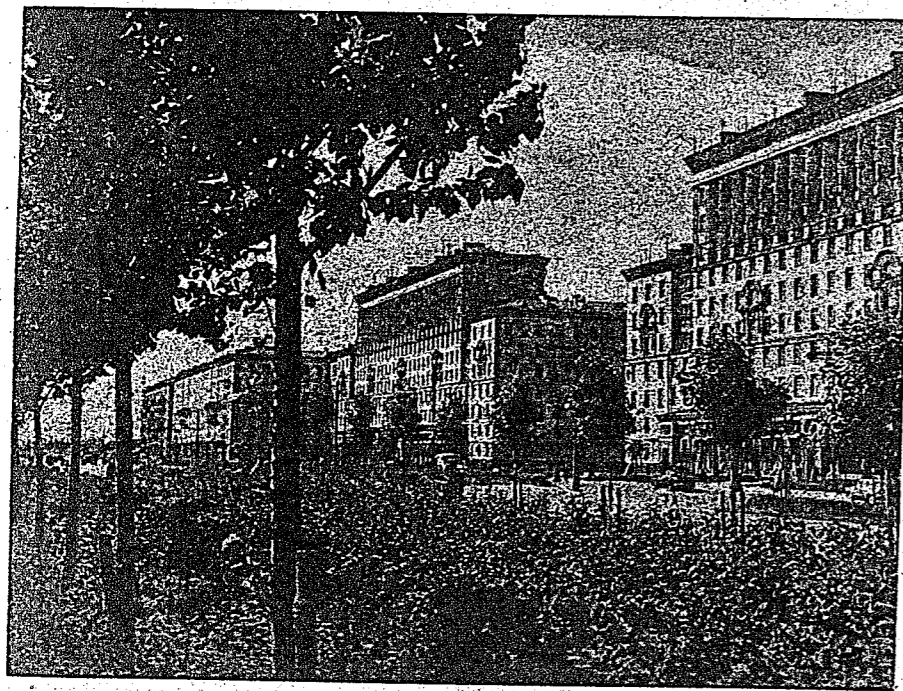
In Bratsk, in Siberia, where the world's biggest hydroelectric station is being built, we heard the story of a West German correspondent who visited the place, saw the young people engaged in the mighty construction work and then went back and reported that people came to work in Siberia to earn more money. Such interpretations come to people who measure everything in terms of money. But the people from all parts of the Soviet Union who have come to Siberia have a different story to tell.

spell of the wooded charms of Siberia.

Where only before wild animals roamed and nature ruled undisturbed, there is today a laughing humanity engaged in heroic construction. Their songs and stories, praise Siberia and portray in bright colours the new life they are creating. These are not exiles, but adventurers.

In our meetings with workers, technicians and engineers in the big industrial establishments, with people in state and collective farms, administrators, scientists and research workers, artists, university professors, teachers and students, Party leaders, Komsomol members, Pioneers and above all with journalists in all places we found the most friendly feelings for India and the Indian people and a desire to know more about our country. The relaxed atmosphere and free discussions in these meetings spoke for the climate of "liberalisation" in the USSR about which there is so much talk in the Western press today.

Shops and market places are crowded with buyers. It does not matter whether it is a book shop or a meat shop, there is always a crowd at the counter. Incidentally, it must be stated that the prices of all articles are displayed and a visitor is free to judge on the cost of goods and the tastes of the consumer. Certainly some articles are more



Leningrad: Some of the many new flats constructed. Notice the TV aerials on the roofs; practically every home has a television set

By  
**K. U. WARIER**

### UTTAR PRADESH

From Ramesh Sinha

# CPI State Council Reviews Satyagraha Party Conference : Kanpur, Nov. 13-17

LUCKNOW: The Uttar Pradesh state council of the Communist Party of India has decided to hold the state conference, preparatory to the Seventh Party Congress, at Kanpur from November 13 to 17. S. A. Dange, chairman of the CPI, has been invited to attend the conference.

tance in Azamgarh district alone, 500 new members had applied for and been accepted as Party members.

The districts have taken big quotas and few are in doubt that they will be fulfilled.

Alongside the campaign for membership, a campaign will be carried on to enrol subscribers to the Party's Weekly, JANYUG, and to sell Party literature including the draft programme on ideological struggle.

Another item which the council discussed related to the forthcoming elections to local bodies in the state. The Party has decided to take full part in these elections to be held from November 8 to 11.

In these elections the Party will oppose both the Congress and the Jan Sangh, it will try to dislodge the reactionary, vested and communal interests from the positions they are occupying in these bodies. Besides fielding its own candidates, it will support all non-communal, democratic, progressive candidates, representatives of workers and peasants and professional classes who are willing to pledge to serve the people.

### Election Tactics

The council has asked all Party units to try to build up local people's front in alliance with the SSP, the Republican Party, the Independent Group and professional people like lawyers, doctors, teachers etc. The council declared that, after the recent food struggle and the fraternisation and mobilisation of people that took place during it, it is possible to create such fronts at different levels. The council asked the state secretariat to initiate talks with the leaders of the SSP, the Republican Party and the Independent Group at the state level also with the purpose of forging such a front.

Finally, the state council made a survey of the mass organisations. The splitters are making desperate efforts to disrupt the mass organisations led by the Party. However, the council felt confident that the Party would be able to fight and isolate the disruptors in these organisations also.

The council has decided to issue certificates to all those who took part in the Great Satyagraha. It has also decided to call for an explanation from those handful of persons who either did not fill the satyagraha form or did not take part in it after filling the form.

The council condemned the UP government for its repressive and vindictive attitude towards the satyagrahis and demanded release of the remaining prisoners and stoppage of realisation of fines imposed on satyagrahis.



THE council, which met in Lucknow from September 28 to October 1, drew up a detailed programme of local and district Party conferences. All the district conferences are scheduled to be over by the end of October.

The meeting made a detailed review of the UTTAR PRADESH BANDH on August 18 and the Great Satyagraha from August 24 to 28 and expressed satisfaction at the remarkable success achieved by the Party in this great struggle for people's food.

As has been reported earlier, more than 50 lakhs of the state's people had contributed to the unprecedented success of Uttar Pradesh Bandh and 20,000 volunteers had thrown themselves into the five-day

satyagraha at the call of the Party. Five thousand of these were arrested.

But far more than these figures, these two actions had shown to the people that, despite all stories to the contrary, the Party was still the most vital and living force in the ranks of the democratic opposition in the state. Even in numbers it had sent nearly 2,000 persons more to jail this time than in 1958 when the Party was not split.

The contrast was seen by the people when a few weeks later the fire-eating splitters launched their "movement". They were able to send barely 300 persons to jail and their dissension-ridden group has been further splitted and dismembered.

The SSP also, launched what they called a "Ghera dalo andolan". But neither the hostile splitters, nor the friendly SSP followers were able to contribute any new slogan or any new form of struggle.

In fact, everywhere, where they happened to be in jail with our satyagrahis, the SSP friends themselves declared that they were really carrying out the same slogans as had been given by the CPI.

Thus, the Party's struggle alongwith its forms and slogans, has acted as the real leading and mobilising force against the profiteers, food thieves and their supporters and henchmen in the government in UP.

After hearing a detailed and inspiring report from its secretary, Kallishankar Shukla, and reports from the districts, the council reached the unanimous conclusion that the Party had once again turned the corner, smashed the splitters, established itself as the leading force in the opposition ranks in UP, exposed the Jan Sanghis as they had never before been, and created a new faith and confidence among the Party ranks in themselves and in the Party.

"The differences in the world Communist movement run deep. And the harm caused by the disruptive activities of the CPC leaders is great. Yet this phenomenon must be regarded, from the world-historical standpoint, as a severe form of growing pains."

"There is no doubt that the differences in the Communist movement will be overcome and that, as always, it will emerge from the struggle stronger than before."

In order that each and all of us play our full part in this struggle to overcome these differences as quickly as possible it is necessary that we acquire a really comprehensive and a truly profound understanding of the sources and manifestations of the dogmatists' line. This issue of Peace, Freedom and Socialism is surely a valuable help in the striving for such an understanding.

THE SEVENTH CONGRESS ENROLMENT DRIVE has actually been launched by several units on their own before the council meeting. For ins-

—ZIAUL HAQ

## Centenary of First International

### SPECIAL ISSUE OF PEACE, FREEDOM AND SOCIALISM

The international journal of the world Communist movement, PEACE, FREEDOM AND SOCIALISM (World Marxist Review) very appropriately devoted its entire issue No. 8 of this year to the centenary of the First International. And although it has become available in India only just now—that is, quite a fortnight after the centenary celebrations are over—yet this 'centenary issue is something which will be prized and studied by Indian Marxists for a long time to come.

Articles contributed by leading Marxist-Leninists from all over the world sum up in all their various aspects their achievements and experiences of a hundred years of struggle of the working class since the founding of the International Working Men's Association under Marx's leadership, in 1864. Among those who have contributed articles to the issue are Waldeck Rochet (France), Gus Hall (USA), Victorio Codovilla (Latin America), R. Palme Dutt (Great Britain), V. Cerritana (Italy), Khaled Bagdash (Syria), Bachir Hadji Ali (Algeria), A. Lerumo (S. Africa), T. Zhivkov (Bulgaria), K. Hager (GDR) and Boris Ponomarev (USSR).

We find thus the experience of the various sectors of the working class movement brought together and its real worldwide and internationalist character reflected in the issue.

The journal also gives at the end valuable data on the growth of the world workers' and Communist movement during the last hundred years. The biggest significance of

the material provided in this issue, however, lies in how leaders of the Communist movement from all the world over evaluate and answer the dogmatic and disruptive attitudes and actions of the Chinese leadership, greatest disruptors of its unity that the working class movement faces today.

For instance, Gus Hall, leading spokesman of the CP of USA, in a penetrating article full of illuminating comments on the characteristic features of our times, sums

From their viewpoint the class struggle becomes replaced by the struggle between nations, races and world areas. These concepts are in fact a petty-bourgeois denial of the class character of the class struggle and a denial of the historic role of the working class.

All the articles carried in the issue help in one way or other to deepen our understanding of the nature and roots of the mistaken course and perfidious actions of the Chinese leadership. The editorial article titled "The Communists—Heirs to Great Traditions", declares:

"The differences in the world Communist movement run deep. And the harm caused by the disruptive activities of the CPC leaders is great. Yet this phenomenon must be regarded, from the world-historical standpoint, as a severe form of growing pains."

"There is no doubt that the differences in the Communist movement will be overcome and that, as always, it will emerge from the struggle stronger than before."

In order that each and all of us play our full part in this struggle to overcome these differences as quickly as possible it is necessary that we acquire a really comprehensive and a truly profound understanding of the sources and manifestations of the dogmatists' line. This issue of Peace, Freedom and Socialism is surely a valuable help in the striving for such an understanding.



### BOOK REVIEW

up the criticism of these splitters in the following words:

"The attitude of the leaders of the Communist Party of China on such questions as settling of border disputes, fraternal and cooperative relations between socialist states, the need for developing a system of mutually beneficial division of production between the socialist countries, the attitude to the Caribbean crisis of 1962—all have within them the absence of a working class approach. They are discussed and approached from a narrow bourgeois-nationalist premise. It is also evident that they do not see the rise of socialism as an extension of the class struggle and restulting from the main contradiction of our time.

DISCUSSION ON THE DRAFT DOCUMENTS—ON IDEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSIES IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND THE PARTY PROGRAMME—HAS STARTED AT ALL LEVELS IN THE PARTY. NEW AGE IS RUNNING A "FORUM", FACILITATING THIS DISCUSSION BY PRESENTING VARIOUS VIEWPOINTS. ARTICLES AND COMMENTS ON THE TWO DOCUMENTS ARE INVITED FROM ALL PARTY MEMBERS TO BE INCLUDED IN THE "FORUM".

# On The Draft Programme of The Communist Party of India

## SOME ASPECTS OF PROGRAMME NEED IMPROVEMENT

I consider that the general framework of the Draft Programme put by the National Council before our Party is broadly correct. The direction of understanding and the attempt at a concrete analysis of the situation and problems facing our people are most welcome. If this note criticises certain aspects, that does not detract from a general appreciation of the programme as a whole but only points out certain matters where improvements may be attempted.

THE programme does not bring out effectively that our Party in putting forward this programme before our people is taking forward our national tradition, the great and historic tradition of our national liberation movement. It should be appreciated that the present programme of the Party is the direct heir of the previous programmes put forward at stages of the history of our freedom movement.

In particular it is necessary to stress that the platform put forward by the young Indian Communists many years ago at the Gaya Congress in 1922; then the resolution on fundamental rights and economic programme adopted on the initiative of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru by the Karachi Congress and later modified in a progressive direction by the Bombay AICC meeting in 1931; next comes

Again, regarding agriculture, the Jaipur Resolution stated that "intermediaries between the tiller and the state should be eliminated and all middlemen should be replaced by nonprofit making agencies such as cooperatives", and "land should be held for use and as a source of employment".

I am only giving these extracts to underline my point that our programme is not something foreign to our national tradition but only carries forward what has gone before. It is naturally wider in its scope and clearer in its analysis and concepts but essentially it only takes forward the accepted decisions of the national movement. It is with this approach that we can most effectively lay bare the extent to which the Congress government has gone back on its own proclaimed

★ In line with my suggestion given above, is my criticism of the too facile use of the "reaction" and "right reaction": for instance at page 33 it is stated that national democratic front "will be forged in the course of countrywide national mass movements and struggles, which are aimed at isolating and defeating the forces of right reaction seeking to subvert national policies..." So also at page 39 it is stated that "their aim is to reverse the policies of the Congress in reactionary directions"; again the "Swatantra party tries to unify all anti-national reactionaries". And again "national democratic front cannot grow without firmly combating the reactionary communal chauvinistic leadership and weaning the masses away from their influence" (all my emphasis).

I do not think that the description of these parties as "reactionary" or as right reaction fully covers their real character. On the contrary, I think the emphasis should be on exposing these organisations as being not just reactionary but anti-national; correctly in a number of places, for instance, at

Of course, in the programme itself (part X) it is clearly stated that the national democratic government strives to "reform and democratise the management of the state sector undertakings by removing persons connected with the monopolies and by ensuring participation of the elected representatives of workers in their management" (p. 44).

But I do not think that that would be enough. I think we have to further concretise this by putting forward specific and concrete demands, including for instance the need for incentive wage schemes in order to increase the productivity of labour in the public sector.

It must be recognised that the present weaknesses of public sector are being utilised to propagandise against the development of the movement for the expansion of the public sector and to prevent it from occupying a more and more dominant position in our country, which is the aim set out in the programme. The inefficiency of the public sector which has become proverbial—the waste, corruption, lack of interest of the workers in their work and in the fate of the undertakings where they work—all this has led to a considerable disillusionment among wide sections of our people who were warm supporters of socialism until a few years ago. Thus the failures of the public sector are providing a fertile field for sowing seeds of Swatantra ideology.

Hence it is urgently necessary for us to put in the foreground and as a very important task the need for launching a wide movement for improvement and democratisation of the public sector undertakings. This cannot be confined merely to a reference to democratisation through participation of elected representatives and exclusion of anti-public sector bureaucrats.

In addition we shall have to develop concrete slogans regarding the character of the association of workers' representatives with the management; the introduction of incentive schemes by which improvement in the earning capacity and efficiency of the public sector will find a reflection in the wage packets of workers; measures to effect improvement in the productivity and efficiency of labour etc.

We have to understand that one of the greatest difficulties in the public sector is the attitude of the workers to the public sector undertakings. The bureaucratic attitude of the managerial staff; and with it the corruption and waste when set alongside the callous disregard of their difficulties, the low wages, the anti-trade union policies—all have combined to produce this attitude which at worst is actual hostility and at best only negative and passive. A change in the consciousness of the workers cannot be brought about merely by raising the slogan of democratisation.

Also, sufficient attention must be paid to the question of improvement of the industry being reflected in an increased pay packet, i.e., relating his earnings directly to the growth and success of the factory's work. We have to see to what extent the methods adopted in the industries owned by the states in the under-developed countries—Algeria and UAR, Burma—as well as the socialist states will be helpful and appropriate for our public sector. And immediately though perhaps this may not find a place in the programme but in our political resolution, we may demand the setting up of a Commission including representatives of trade unions to go into the working of the public sector and suggest improvement through remedial measures.

To put it briefly, my point is, we have to be more detailed and more concrete in our attitude to the public sector and provide a basis for effective mobilisation in defence of the public sector and for its radical improvement so that we are able to counter Swatantra propaganda.

★ Regarding agriculture I think too little importance has been given to the cooperative movement. In paragraph 97, for instance, apart from a reference to "cheap credit and better seeds and manure, being provided through cooperatives" and the usual mention of "cooperative farming societies", no importance is given to the cooperative movement in the countryside. I consider that side by side with limitation on holdings of land, there must be a drive to develop the most widespread cooperative movement which will fulfil essential tasks in assisting

the peasant to overcome his backwardness in technique which is characteristic of Indian agriculture and also ensure for him a fair remuneration for whatever he produces.

The cooperative society must be multi-purpose in character; it must be able to provide him with credit; it must get him good manure, seeds etc; it must service whatever machinery he has got and even provide tractors for hire on cheap terms; and it must buy his produce at a proper price. The success of such cooperatives will also enable the peasant to see the virtue of cooperation and to move towards the formation of cooperative farming societies as for instance is taking place in Hungary and Yugoslavia today.

Hence, I think that the programme gives far too little importance to this aspect of economic change in the countryside.

There is nothing to be surprised because as a whole the Party, has failed to take the

cooperative movement very seriously. There are comrades in various states who occupy positions of importance at lower levels of the movement but we do not participate in an organised manner either on a state or on an all-India level in the Cooperative Union and our influence is little. In this background it is no use bewailing the fact that the rich peasant dominates the cooperatives because he and the landlord will dominate and misuse it, when we do not build up the mass movement in the countryside for active intervention and participation by the mass of peasantry in the cooperative movement.

★ Another matter of some importance is the manner in which the chapter VI on "The Bourgeoisie and the State" has been written. Though at two different places emphasis is laid on the existence of these rights being made the platform and instrument of the struggles of the people for enlarging democracy and defending their interests, the general direction of understanding from paras 49 to 63 is entirely to dismiss

the present state as organ of the class rule and leave it at that.

No doubt the state is the organ of the class rule of the national bourgeoisie but it would be wrong not to appreciate that there are many footholds today which can be utilised by the democratic movement for its advance. For instance, take the question of panchayat raj; this is dismissed as "an instrument of the bourgeoisie seeking to consolidate its power in the countryside" (page 24). But is it only that?

There is no doubt that wherever the peasant or mass movement is strong, we are able to dominate the village panchayat and also make use of it for further building the mass movement and also improve the living conditions of the people.

Again, though it is correct to emphasise that the local organs of self-government are made subject to "the dictates of high officials", it is also a fact that where the mass movement is powerful and has drawn the entire people into

it, these very high officials have had to bow down to our demands.

We must therefore see both the present weaknesses and defects and also the potentialities and positive features; otherwise the approach will be one-sided and negative, and in practice of no assistance in building the movement.

Again, to dismiss the entire bureaucracy as persons who "are divorced from the masses and who obediently serve the exploiting classes" would not be correct. The wind of change blowing across the world as a result of the successes of the socialist system and the victories of the colonial peoples has not failed to affect even persons in these regions. We should understand this and appreciate that in the bureaucracy there are honest persons who are prepared to work and help the people.

As a rule it is true to say, I think, that the top privileged bureaucrats are entirely "divorced from the masses and associated with the exploiting classes". But it would not be correct to leave the matter there and we must also ap-

preciate that there are many in the lower echelons of the bureaucracy and even some senior men who are in even higher positions who do have their association with and sympathy for the people's movement. This also will have to find a place in the programme as otherwise a one-sided picture will be given.

★ Finally, I find the programme has excluded any mention of DMK; whereas it deals with all other parties including the Swatantra Party, Jan Sangh and the Muslim League, no mention at all has been made of DMK.

★ No doubt DMK is of importance only in our state, Tamilnad. It is essentially a party confined only to Tamilnad. But I think it is necessary to devote some small passage to it. I do not think there can any longer be two views on the character of this member of the reactionary anti-national combine that is headed today by the Swatantra Party. Hence the proper place would be to add a short reference to it at the end of paragraph 90.

## PERSPECTIVE OF KISAN MOVEMENT

At last we are having a new programme. The programme of 1951 (which was regarded as sacrosanct) says: the Indian government is "a government of landlords and princes and big business collaborating with British capital"; India's foreign policy is "spurious play between two camps"; schemes of reconstruction are "all floundering except such as feed war purposes".

THESE formulations are all wrong and do not correspond to reality. Yet we could not adopt a new programme even at Vijayawada. It is our duty to explain to the people why we took such a long time to adopt a new programme and why we are now rejecting the old programme. Hence I suggest the insertion of a preamble which may be prepared on the lines of the analysis made by Dr. Adhikari in his recent work.

We should frankly admit that we failed to comprehend the growing reality of the Indian situation, that we were misled by Zhdanov's report, Stalin's address to the University of the Toilers of the East, the essays of Zhukov and Dyakov on the Indian situation, that we refused to learn on the basis of our own experiences and study and analysis that our mistakes were left-sectarian which has been the dominant trend inside the Party for many years (perhaps a reflection of the petty-bourgeois composition of the Party).

Section IX of the Draft Programme dealing with the role of the Congress does not follow from the perspective of national democracy in which the working class shares power with the non-monopolist bourgeoisie. It does not follow from the growing reality of the Indian situation. This section should be rewritten on the following lines.

The Indian National Congress, the party of the Indian national bourgeoisie, is the ruling party today. The Congress has played a leading role in the struggle for national independence. Under Nehru's leadership it has taken measures to consolidate independence in the face of the opposition of imperialist sections of the bourgeoisie. It reflects the aspirations of the national bourgeoisie for independent capitalist development. It also reflects the weakness and vacillations of the national bourgeoisie with regard to the pressures and pulls of imperialism, monopolists and feudal reaction.

The Congress has a big mass base which extends to all classes, including large sections of the working class, peasants, and intelligentsia. It has to respond to the aspirations of these sections which run counter to the interests of the monopolists and feudal reaction.

their own followers, the Congress has accepted socialism as its goal. It is not fortuitous that there are differences within the Congress on such vital issues as nonalignment, public sector, aid from socialist countries, land reforms, state trading and bank nationalisation.

Centering round these differences, progressive and reactionary trends inside the Congress are in the process of formation. These differences will grow in future as the world socialist system makes still further progress, as the contradictions between neo-colonialism and the Indian bourgeoisie develop and as the move-

ment for national democracy gathers momentum. The CPI will take note of this growing reality and make ceaseless efforts to forge unity with Congressmen and Congress committees through political contacts and common mass movements. Time and again direct appeal will have to be made not only to Congress masses, but also to Congress committees so that common activity on local and national issues may develop.

There is no question of building a general united front with the Congress as a whole in the immediate future, because that would be giving an alibi to the anti-people policies of the Congress government. The people are resisting these policies, and it will be the task of the Party to be with the people and lead their struggles.

Conscious of the tremendous and growing attraction of socialism among our people, including

As the popular movement grows in strength and intensity, the reactionary sections within the Congress may try to come to an understanding with the monopolists and feudal reaction. The Party will be on guard against this danger which is real, and concentrate attack against these reactionary sections, thereby helping to heighten the political consciousness of the masses. The masses will learn through their own experiences to distinguish between friends and foes.

The CPI will ceaselessly endeavour to build the maximum possible unity of the Indian people in

Capitalist relations in agriculture have grown. But do we visualise a further growth of capitalist relations? Or their growth will be retarded by the low level of technological development, the reluctance of landlords and rich peasants to turn to mechanised farming, the existence of semi-feudal exploitation in the form of subletting?

The landowners and rich peasants would like the further development of commercial agriculture, not capitalist farming. The indications are that the growth of capitalist relations would remain sluggish, and there would

By S. SEN

(KISAN UNIT WEST BENGAL)

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the form of a National Democratic Front in order to defeat the machinations of imperialism and Indian reaction and to accelerate the democratic transformation of our great country.

No NDF will be real unless the mass following of the Congress and the progressive sections within it take their place in the front. The movement for the building of NDF will, therefore, be a movement for forging unity not only with left parties, but also with Congressmen and Congress committees at various levels.

It seems that some modifications have been made in our old document on "Some Aspects of the Agrarian Question" adopted after Amritsar. Some wrong formulations have been corrected there. The following points, however, need careful examination and study.

be no appreciable increase in agricultural production.

★ The crucial question of peasant unity needs more careful examination. Should we not give priority to the formation of agricultural labour organisation? Should we not "firmly unite with middle peasants"? The slogan of "peasant unity" is correct in the phase of national democracy. But it is necessary to note the recent tendencies in the rich peasants. They are the beneficiaries of government spending. They benefit from high prices in paddy and jute. They are taking to trade whose scope has expanded with the extension of transport facilities. Should we not adopt "unity and struggle" tactics with regard to them in order to develop the

By S. MOHAN KUMARAMANGALAM

the work of the National Planning Committee again headed by Pandit Nehru and finally the resolution of the economic sub-committee of the Congress adopted by the Jaipur Congress in 1948.

I feel that references have to be made to all these to show how our present programme bases itself squarely on national tradition and carries it forward with greater clarity and relevance to the concrete facts of the present stage of India's development. For instance, nationalisation of the banks and insurance was a specific point in the programme approved by the Jaipur Congress in 1948. So also we can usefully call attention to the statement in that programme that "new undertakings in finance, key and public utility industries should be started under public ownership" and "in respect of existing undertakings the process of transfer from private to public ownership should commence after the period of five years".

programme, has betrayed the national liberation.

I think that it will strengthen our approach to the people if we are able to put forward our programme as the programme that carries forward the traditions of our national movement, as a programme to rouse our entire people to take this great tradition forward and to fight the anti-national forces in our country who are attempting to utilise the difficulties facing the nation to push us back into new colonialism and imperialist servitude.

Emphasising this does not by any means necessitate underestimation of the contribution of the programme; on the contrary it would only help to make our people understand how the Communist Party is the logical heir to all that is good and great in our national liberation movement and wishes to carry forward those great traditions.

page 33, the aim of the powerful monopolist-groups is stated to be "to subvert national policies".

This is quite appropriate when one considers as the draft programme has observed, that the Swatantra Party the leading force in this anti-national combine, "tries to unify all anti-national reactionaries against the progressive aspect of Congress policy and acts as the centre of pro-imperialist conspiracies" (p. 39). What else is this but anti-national forces pursuing an anti-national policy?

And even those "reactionary elements" who are inside the Congress should be denounced as essentially anti-national, i.e., working against the interests of the nation, against the programme of national advance.

★ On the question of public sector or state sector, I do not think that the programme sufficiently emphasises the need for sustained struggle for its democratisation and efficient operation.

FORUM

# G D R FULFILS LEGACY OF FIRST INTERNATIONAL

By KURT HAGER

(Member, Political Bureau of Socialist Unity Party of Germany)

One hundred years have passed since that memorable International Meeting in the London St. Martin Hall, where the International Working Men's Association was founded. It was the first international revolutionary mass organisation of the working class and has entered into history as the First International.

THE soul of the First International was Karl Marx. He was not only its spiritual leader, but also—together with Friedrich Engels—its organizer. He wrote the Inaugural Address, the Statute and all major documents of the First International. There was not a single meeting of the General Council in which he did not take part.

Led by Marx and Engels, the First International—as Lenin stated—“laid the foundation-stone to the international proletarian struggle for socialism”. With it the fighting slogan of the Communist Manifesto “Working Men of All Countries, Unite!” became the slogan of the mass movement of the working class.

## Uniting Force

Born of the elementary striving of the working class for unity, solidarity and international cooperation, the First International united the hitherto divided and spontaneous movements of the working class in the various countries. The historic achievement of the First International consisted of the fact that it aroused within the working class the consciousness of its world historic mission to abolish the capitalist social system and to create a human society of socialism and communism, free from exploitation, suppression, crises and wars.

Today the world Communist movement, which would be unthinkable without the preparatory work performed by the First International and which is continuing its work, has developed into the most influential political force of our day. Today there exist in the world more than 90 Communist Parties with 43 million members. And we rejoice from the bottom of our hearts to welcome to this first German socialist state on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the First International so many great representatives of this powerful Communist world movement.

“To conquer political power... is the great duty of the working class”, wrote Karl Marx in his Inaugural Address. Today socialism has become a mighty edifice already in 14 countries of this earth. In the Soviet Union the programme of communism is being successfully realized.

The imperialist colonialist system has been smashed and the national-liberation movement against imperialism and neo-colonialism is achieving ever greater triumphs. Some democratic national states have set themselves to the aim of establishing a socialist economic system. Within the capitalist orbit the struggle of the working class and of all other working people is gaining momentum against the rule of the big monopolies, for freedom, democracy and socialism. The prevailing force of socialism can be felt in every progressive movement of the present era; socialism powerfully knocks today on all doors.

It fills us with particular pride that also in the country where Marx and Engels were born the objectives of the First International have been implemented in the shape of the German Democratic Republic. October 7 is the fifteenth anniversary of the founding of the German Democratic Republic. When we, on the eve of that 15th birthday draw up a balance sheet and ask the question whether our Party has kept faith with the great ideas of the International Working Men's Association, we may say with an easy conscience: Indeed, our Party under the leadership of its Central Committee headed by Comrade Walter Ulbricht has fulfilled the legacy of the First International.

The demand of the Statute of the International Working Men's Association, “that the emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the working classes themselves” was implemented in the GDR. The working class drew the lessons from its more than hundred years' old struggle and rallied under the banner of Marxism-Leninism. It smashed the power of the exploiting classes and, in alliance with all democratic forces and under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany created the first peaceful state in German history.

Conscious of their goal the working people in our Republic are realizing the all-round construction of socialism. They are shaping the socialist era of peace and social security, human dignity and fraternity, the era of freedom and justice, of humanism and joy of life.

Forever linked with the mighty Soviet Union by means of the Treaty of Friendship and in fraternal union with the other socialist countries, the GDR is securely and unwaveringly marching forward on its socialist road. It is the road which some day after the establishment of a unified, peace-loving and democratic Germany will be the road for the whole German nation.

## West German Militarism

In West Germany the emancipation of the working masses has so far been thwarted by the monopolists and militarists as well as their Western protectors. In order to save the skin of imperialism at least in one part of Germany, the reactionary forces resorted to the most infamous of all methods, that of the division of Germany. The German imperialists and militarists secured their class domination and transformed West-Germany into the most aggressive state in Europe, into a centre of permanent unrest and a source of the cold war.

The vast majority of the population of West Germany, however, desires peace. In all strata of the population, from the working class to the petty bourgeoisie, the demand is raised for a change of the policy, now being

pursued by the Federal Government. Under these circumstances the Social-Democratic Party bears a heavy responsibility for the peaceful development in West Germany. The West German workers expect particularly of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) a true alternative to the disastrous revenge-seeking policy of the Bonn government.

Does the leadership of the SPD with its policy come up to these expectations? No one can, unfortunately, make such a statement.

At the Congress of the Socialist International in Brussels the Chairman of the SPD, Herr Willy Brandt, declared that all Social-Democratic parties would consider as their intrinsic task, to work, within the framework of their possibilities, for the aim, to lessen and overcome the danger of another war. We can only welcome that assurance.

We can, however, not muster any understanding if Willy Brandt in one speech condemns the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and again in the very same speech declares that the SPD would seriously and favourably examine the project of a multilateral atomic force within NATO.

It is, however, by no means a secret any longer that the West German imperialists and revisionists are striving for their possession of nuclear weapons via the multilateral atomic striking force and by other means.

## Peace Proposal

The right-wing leaders of the SPD assert about themselves to be the heirs of the First International. A serious reappraisal of the traditions of the First International would be a decisive step towards overcoming the division of the working class, which has been preserved in West Germany, and to establish unity of action of all German workers for the common struggle against West German imperialism and militarism.

This objective was the reason why our Party, through the voice of Comrade Walter Ulbricht, a few weeks ago offered a proposal

of peace and understanding to the West German Social-Democracy. We fully maintain our proposal of peace and understanding between the SED (Socialist Unity Party) and the SPD. Despite the prevailing ideological differences of opinion, it is both necessary and possible to direct our joint efforts against our common foe—West German imperialism and militarism.

There exist lots of ways and means, finally to find a common language and to enforce a policy of peace and understanding in the interests of the German nation. The recent Pass Agreement between the Government of the GDR and the Senate of West Berlin may serve as one example that also the normalization of the relations between the GDR and the Federal Republic must be feasible.

The tenet of Marx that the working class... in order to bear fruit... needs years of peace, applies today more than ever before. In fulfilling the legacy of the First International the Communist world movement therefore leads as its worthy successor the struggle for the preservation of world peace and for the carrying out of a policy of peaceful coexistence.

## Noble Principles

In its activities the First International was guided by many noble and august principles. Its cardinal principle, however, was international solidarity of the working class, proletarian internationalism. “Only if we place this life-giving principle among all workers on a firm foundation”, declared Marx at a workers' meeting held in Amsterdam in 1872, “we shall achieve the great ultimate goal which we have set ourselves.”

Through its actions the First International has earned great merits. Its main merit, however, lies undoubtedly in the fact that it has for the first time in practice and on a broad basis realized the immortal slogan of the Communist Manifesto: “Working Men of All Countries, Unite!” and thereby scored tremendous successes.

The First International bequeathed to the Communist and workers' movement a whole arsenal of valuable experiences and

lessons. The most important lesson is without any doubt the tenet of always being faithful to the principles of proletarian internationalism and to preserve the unity and solidarity of the revolutionary, proletarian forces as though it were the apple of our eye. Not splitting and fracturing, not split and then unity—as the leaders of the CP of China assert—but unity, and once more, unity, that is the law of development within the international Communist movement.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany, just like the overwhelming majority of the Communist and Workers' Parties, has vigorously condemned the anti-Leninist and splitting machinations of the Chinese leaders. Our Party stands solidly and in profound friendship side by side with the CPSU and its Leninist Central Committee, headed by N. S. Khrushchov and other fraternal parties.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany supports without any reservations the proposal to hold a conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties in order to safeguard and to consolidate the unity of the international Communist movement and to develop further the general line established in the programmatic documents of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow conferences in the light of the newly-gained experiences.

## Superiority Of Socialism

The working class and all working people of the German Democratic Republic are aware of the fact that victory in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism depends on internationalism in action. We are strengthening the German Democratic Republic and contribute in this way towards proving the superiority of socialism over capitalism in economic competition and to enforce a policy of peaceful coexistence.

We are consolidating our co-operation with the other socialist countries and view this as the highest expression of socialist internationalism. We are rendering assistance to the young national states in the fields of economics and science. We are fraternally linked with the national anti-imperialist liberation movements of Africa, Asia and Latin America and with the revolutionary workers' movement in the capitalist countries.

On the 100th anniversary of the First International we give our friends and comrades throughout the world the assurance: The working people of the German Democratic Republic will honourably fulfil their obligations in the all-round construction of socialism.

# Programme Of National Renascence

## Philosophy Of 'Burma's Road To Socialism' Party

In January 1963, the “Burma's Road to Socialism” Party published its philosophical programme entitled “The System of Correlation of Man and His Environment”. This document has aroused considerable interest everywhere. Besides, it is an extremely rare occasion that a ruling party would proclaim its ideological principles. The primary significance of the document lies in the fact that it definitely points to the immense shift towards Socialism, in the ideology of many peoples, waging a national-liberation struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

SOCIALISM has deeply influenced the national liberation movement. It has, to a great extent, shaped the national liberation movement, its evolution, its ideological, political and socio-economic platform, its development after the achievement of state independence, and its ideals, goals and ways of social and economic progress.

Socialism shows the liberated peoples the most effective well-tried ways for solving their urgent problems, which are primarily the liquidation of the onerous burden of the colonial past, surmounting of age-long backwardness, elimination of poverty, the attainment of economic independence, industrialization, cooperative farming of peasantry, a cultural revolution and so forth.

Socialism has convincingly demonstrated the opportunities, which Vladimir Lenin predicted, the underdeveloped countries would find, for building a new life along the non-capitalist road of development.

In most of the emerging countries, capitalist relations have not practically developed at all (as is the case in most countries of Tropical Africa and in South-East Asia) or have developed to a limited extent without gaining dominance (Indonesia, Burma, Egypt, Algeria and other countries); this furnished favourable conditions in these countries for non-capitalist development.

The main incentive for non-capitalist development in the young countries stems from the determination of wide sections of population to advance economically. Having experienced the most inhuman and ugly forms of exploitation by colonialists and local capitalists, they resolutely reject capitalism in their future development.

## Powerful Appeal

Socialism has a powerful appeal for these countries, and more and more peoples accept it. Today these peoples can take advantage of their specific home conditions; the fact that capitalist means of production are either under-developed or do not exist at all makes it easier for them to embark upon the non-capitalist road of development.

However, the realization of all these objective conditions depends very much on whether or not there exists a political force capable of leading the peoples of these countries along the non-capitalist road of development.

In those colonial and semi-colonial countries where the struggle for political independence was led by the working class and Marxist-Leninist parties, the national-liberation revolution immediately developed into a socialist revolution which is the most radical and

effective transition to the non-capitalist road.

In the countries where non-proletarian forces lead the struggle for national independence (most frequently the national bourgeoisie, which has formed as a class, and non-Marxist nationalist parties) prospects for transition to the non-capitalist road of development depend on whether the rule of the bourgeoisie changes to a state of national democracy, where the bourgeoisie would not be in a dominant position.

In most countries the leadership of the national-liberation movement has rejected the capitalist road of development for their peoples in favour of socialist economic development as the only acceptable means of progress. Realities, however, differ depending on the concrete conditions in each country.

Many ruling regimes in emerging Afro-Asian countries have adopted different policies within the general framework of the national-liberation movement. On the right flank are countries, where power is held by reactionary feudals, landlords and wealthy bourgeoisie, openly favouring capitalist development in alliance with imperialism.

## Erosion Of Independence

These countries have lost certain important attributes of state independence and their ruling circles pursuing a pro-imperialist foreign policy have plunged them into the “cold war.” Their reactionary home policies are imbued with rabid anti-Communism and anti-Soviet propaganda.

In the liberated countries of the left flank people from the revolutionary democratic strata of the population are in power. They pursue an anti-imperialist policy and follow the road of non-capitalist development.

Between these two flanks are the countries which pursue a policy of independent capitalist development, limited socio-economic reforms (bourgeois in essence), and neutrality in foreign affairs with a tendency at times to compromise with the Western capitalist powers.

It is the Left wing of the national liberation movement that this article is mainly concerned with. The Left wing is represented by such countries, as Mali, Ghana, Guinea, Algeria, the United Arab Republic, Burma and others.

The national-liberation movement in these countries is led by people from progressive and democratic groups of the urban and rural population, by representatives of the patriotic intelligentsia who are closely bound with the popular masses.

In some of these countries such as the United Arab Republic and Burma, the army, and particularly its officers (i.e.

are very complicated and often contradictory. This is an arena of struggle between bourgeois theories and the theories of scientific socialism. Views, both progressive and reactionary, ancient and modern, are interwoven in them.

On the one hand most of the national revolutionary parties which came to power criticise bitterly feudal backwardness, economic stagnation, ignorance, religious fanaticism, obscurantism, man's passive contemplative attitude to his environment.

The new parties in power stress the need of widescale education, and the propaganda of a new and rational world outlook taking into account the latest progress of world science and culture. They propound man's triumph in our world and the need for his active participation in deciding the

tempt to create their own variants of national socialism for Arabs, Africans, Indians, Indonesians and so forth.

As a rule they regard the unity of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal interests absolute for all classes and strata of the population in the newly liberated countries; they present the case as if there are no classes at all in their environment and, consequently, no class antagonism as such.

The ideologists of national socialism look upon national historical traditions as the backbone of unity, and since these traditions in societies of underdeveloped class structure are particularly evident in religious ceremonies, the theoretical foundation of national socialism often coincides with the religious idealistic outlook in the tradition of each country, namely: Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, or simply local tribal mythological beliefs (in Africa) and so on.

## Ideas Of Exclusiveness

This very often gives rise to the ideas of “national exclusiveness” in the ruling parties of the liberated countries which later develops into national chauvinism.

Springing from this too are gravely erroneous and dangerous concepts of a self-contained character of the national movement, which is not based on an anti-imperialist and social nature, but on a certain community of special interests of the coloured peoples of Asia and Africa.

This community is often interpreted not as a unity in, however, the joint struggle against imperialism, as the unity of Afro-Asian peoples with the forces of socialism, the international workers' and democratic movements, but is used for the artificial and far-fetched purpose of counterbalancing “white imperialism”, “the white west”, “the hegemony of industrial powers” and so forth (the countries of the socialist camp are even dumped into the same wagon).

In this way the ideological concepts in question are poisoned by ideas of coloured racism and anti-communism. Developments have shown that the petty-bourgeoisie, the semi-proletarian and declassed elements in the Afro-Asian countries, which have not been sufficiently hardened in the crucible of class battles and proletarian internationalism, are prone to nationalism. Unstable elements and even Communist parties are known to have succumbed to it.

Nonetheless, despite these tendencies, the majority of the ideological platforms of the Left-wing national liberation ruling parties are, as a whole, progressive, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal in character and to a major degree they reflect the revolutionary and democratic spirit of the broad masses of people; they voice the popular protest against the

destinies of himself and his homeland.

These parties condemn imperialist plunder, colonial oppression, all forms of racial, national and religious discrimination. They stand for peace, friendship and co-operation of all peoples of the world, they reject the capitalist road of development for their peoples and proclaim the building of a socialist society as their ultimate goal.

At the same time their ideologies display narrow-mindedness and inconsistency, probably because the proletarian base of the national liberation movement in these Afro-Asian countries is weak.

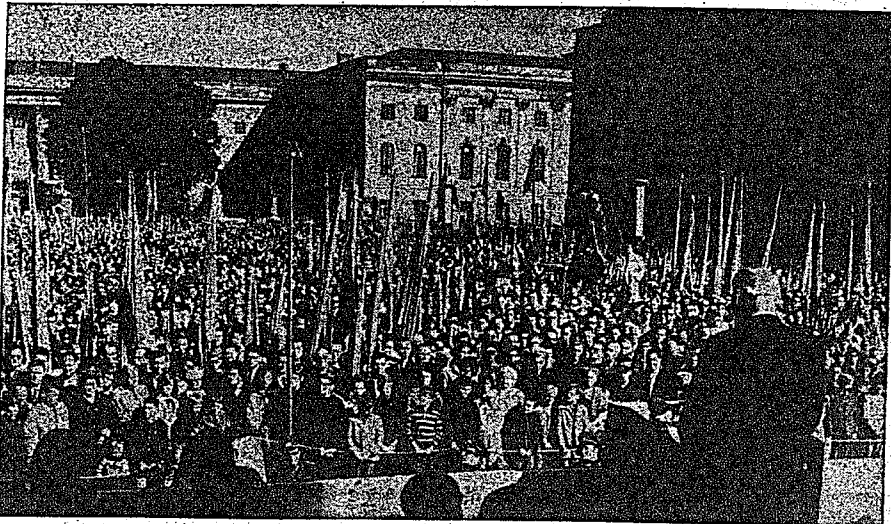
Thus while condemning religious fanaticism and obscurantism, the ideologists of some of the ruling parties often proclaim religion, “cleansed” and “freed” from all prejudices, to be the mainspring of the spiritual and material life of society, allegedly the only means by which humanity may be delivered of all antagonisms.

## National Variants

These ideologists expose the vices and evils of capitalist society and acknowledge the achievements of socialism, its unquestionable advantages over capitalism; but although they regard socialism as a more sensible social system, they still place it on one level with capitalism for allegedly showing just as much concern for man's material welfare at the expense of his loftier spiritual needs, allegedly because both spring from one and the same “materialistic” western civilization.

Hence the ideologists of many Afro-Asian ruling parties often declare “western socialism” unacceptable to the “spiritual” peoples of the Orient and at-

By N. P. ANIKEEV & R. A. ULYANOVSKY



Thousands of Berliners recently held a rally in commemoration of the victims of Fascist terror. Herbert Warnke, member of the Political Bureau of the SED, is seen addressing the rally.

NEW AGE

OCTOBER 18, 1964

# more messages to NEW AGE

## ITALY

WE are glad NEW AGE is celebrating the eleventh anniversary and send its editors and readers warm fraternal greetings.

We Italian Communists congratulate you on this occasion for the great success the Indian Party has achieved in organising mass struggles against monopolies and enemies of the people. We have noted the role played by NEW AGE in organising these struggles of the people.

Our best wishes for you and we are sure you will succeed in your struggles to unify the working class movement in India and defend the unity and cohesion of the Communist Party of India and the international movement.

EMILIO SERENI,

Member Political Bureau, Communist Party of Italy

## SPAIN

FIGHTING Spanish Communists send you, dear comrades of NEW AGE, revolutionary greetings of our people in the midst of struggle for democracy.

Spanish people know India as a friend of our revolution and the help rendered by Indian national movement for the suppressed republic. We have kept in high esteem the fraternal feelings we received from the Indian people. NEW AGE is now carrying on this tradition.

We have noticed that NEW AGE occasionally publishes reports of our struggles and strikes and keep on informing the people of India of the terror of Franco fascism. We are touched by the feeling expressed by you when our dear comrade Julian Grimau was executed by the fascist Franco.

We also know NEW AGE as a journal consistently defending the unity of the international Communists and working class movement. We wish you further successes in your struggles for the unity of your Party.

SANTIAGO CARILLO

General Secretary, Communist Party of Spain

## IRAQ

THE Central Committee of the Communist Party of Iraq greets NEW AGE on behalf of all Iraqi Communists and progressive forces in our country on the occasion of your eleventh anniversary. We have seen through the last decade how NEW AGE upheld the spirit of proletarian internationalism in its pages. We recollect with gratitude that during the dark days of terror in our country after the counter-revolution, NEW AGE was the first to bring out the truth to the Indian people.

We are convinced that NEW AGE will achieve new successes in the struggle for Communist unity in India, proletarian internationalism against splitters and for peace and socialism.

With revolutionary greetings,  
Central Committee, Communist Party of Iraq

## JORDAN

ON behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Jordan, we send warm fraternal greetings to NEW AGE comrades and readers when you mark the eleventh anniversary of this Leninist journal.

All readers of NEW AGE will easily see the significant role this journal is playing in shaping progressive political developments in India. NEW AGE is the banner of struggles of India's progressive forces, the vanguard of the worker-peasant alliance and the organiser of their class struggles.

NEW AGE is the banner of unity of the Party, the fighter against splitters and the defender of the 1957

## Silas Marner Policy of Government

HERE have been cases of abuse or misuse of powers vested in it by the Government of India. The conduct of the government in relation to Visakhapatnam Port Trust workmen is a case of guilty failure on its part to act in accordance with statute.

The management of Visakhapatnam Port Trust and its workmen represented by the Visakhapatnam Harbour and Port Workers' Union on July 18 made an application jointly under Section 10(2) of Industrial Disputes Act, 1947 for reference of 44 demands to an Industrial Tribunal for ad-

## LETTERS

judication, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Labour & Employment.

In terms of the said provisions, when the parties making the application represent the majority of each party, it is mandatory on the part of the government and there is no discretionary power vested in it to "consider the fitness or otherwise of the demands for reference."

Though more than two months have passed since the application, the Labour Ministry has till now not referred the disputes for adjudication and moreover has the cheek to say in its letter No. 28/77/84/LR IV dated September 17 that the matter is still under consideration of the government.

This reminds us here of the proverbial Silas Marner who obstructed the bride from going to her husband despite the willingness of the newly weds. Will the Ministry of Labour & Employment stop this attitude?

General Secretary  
Visakhapatnam Harbour  
and Port Workers Union

## Bridges Of Amity

### INDIAN BOOKS IN SOVIET UNION

RABINDRANATH TAGORE's famous novel GORA has been published in Alma Ata for the first time in Kazakh language. Twelve works by Indian authors have been published in Kazakh in the past five years in Kazakh and Uigur languages. The number of copies printed is about one million.

Another Indian book which has recently been published in Russian language in Moscow is Mulk Raj Anand's novel, THE OLD WOMAN AND COW. The first print order is for 150,000 copies. The translation has been named after its main character—Gauri.

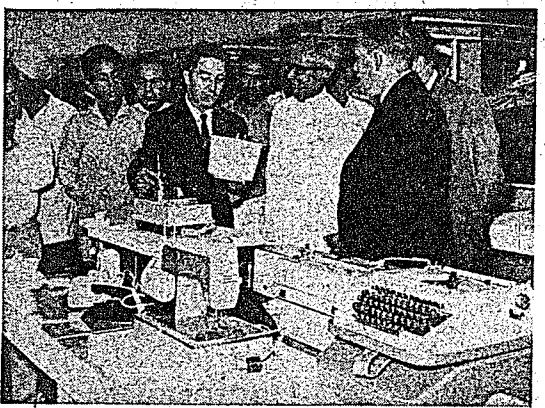
### 15 Years of GDR On Show

ON the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the

German Democratic Republic, an exhibition was held in New Delhi from October 7 to 15.

The exhibition depicted the social and economic progress of the GDR achieved during the 15 years of its existence. Historic photographs showed the devastations of war and how a new Germany has been built up from the ruins. Photographs, posters, charts and diagrams on GDR explained eloquently about the tremendous developments taking place there.

Apart from these, an exhibition was a selection of consumer goods. The exhibition drew a large number of spectators and great interest was shown by them. The exhibition was scheduled to end on October 12 but owing to the interest evinced, it was extended to October 15.



## PERSPECTIVE OF KISAN MOVEMENT

\*FROM CENTRE PAGES

movement of agricultural labour and poor peasants?

The question of rural artisans has not been discussed at all. Fifteen years ago the Kuma-

rappa Committee, following the Gandhian tradition, focussed attention on this question and recommended "the reconstruction of agro-industries". The Kisan movement, suffering from old inhibitions, has paid little atten-

tion to organising artisans who constitute a big force in the rural areas.

The reconstruction of agro-industries is a common demand of peasants and artisans. Peasant unity today should also mean unity with the artisans. Peasant movement, to be effective, has to be vertical.

The captain of Section XII (Creative Marxism-Leninism) is misleading. It is unnecessary to refer to the document of 81 Parties in our Programme. We have endorsed this document. We will have occasion to refer to it when we take up the document on international Communist movement.

In the concluding section of the Programme we should rather assure the people that we will endeavour to evolve the Indian path to socialism on the basis of our own experience and study. We are living in a new epoch with new possibilities of advance.

"Schematism, dogmatism, and the refusal to think - about or do something new, the adulation of scholastic formulas and preconceived phrases", as Togliatti has put it, have done great harm to us and the international Communist movement.

We will try to understand the complex reality of today on the basis of research, work and action, and will be guided by Lenin's words, "Marxism is not a dogma, it is a guide to action".

and 1960 declarations of international Communist movement. I am sure NEW AGE will grow bigger and lead still greater struggles for unity of Communist movement, world peace and well-being of Indian people.

FUAD NASSER

First Secretary, Communist Party of Jordan

## SYRIA

SEND you dear comrades of NEW AGE congratulations and warm fraternal greetings to your readers when you mark eleventh year of your eventful existence filled with glorious service to Indian people and world Communist movement. We know NEW AGE upheld proletarian internationalism throughout its existence.

We know NEW AGE as the only central organ of the Communist Party of India. Syrian Communists are confident that your struggles for a better deal for India's working millions will be crowned with further greater successes.

We are with you in your struggles against splitters and for cementing unity of the Communist movement.

KHALID BAGDAS

General Secretary, Communist Party of Syria

The movement of workers in the three public sector steel plants is gathering momentum. After the impressive demonstration before the headquarters of Hindustan Steel at Ranchi on September 21 the three unions decided to organise a simultaneous hungerstrike programme in all the three steel plants. The hungerstrike was symbolic of the protest of the steel workers.

THE report received from Durgapur shows that mass hungerstrike was successfully carried out in Durgapur from October 4 to 6 under the aegis of the Hindustan Steel Employees Union.

On October 4, 67 workers

belonging to various departments of the plant began their hungerstrike following a massive meeting of the workers.

During the next two days, streams of workers and their families visited the hungerstrikers and inspired

# Mass Hungerstrikes in Public Sector Steel Mills

them in their action. On October 6 alone, about 1,000 rupees came from the workers as donation to the union, apart from other material assistance.

After the conclusion of the

hungerstrike another mass rally was held which was attended by about 8,000 people—a very impressive gathering by all measures.

In the meeting, the president of the union, Ajit Mukherjee and other leaders as Dilip Mazumdar, Nimal Routh, Dinesh Chatterjee, Mritunjay Dasgupta etc., congratulated the hungerstrikers and thanked the workers for the solidarity they had expressed. There

were representatives from fraternal unions, such as, D.V.C. Employees Union, H.E.C. Employees Union, Shop Employees Union, Tailors' Association, Benachiti, Citizen's Committee, Indian Oxygen Employees Union etc.

This was the first phase of the agitation of the steel unions. Soon the union leaders are meeting together to decide upon the next stage of the movement.

Two views of the Durgapur steel workers hungerstrike from October 4 to 6



## Bombay Textile Workers To Go On General Strike Oct. 26

On October 5, the general council of the Mumbai Girni Kamgar Union held a special meeting and decided to call an indefinite general strike in the textile mills of Bombay with effect from October 26. This decision was endorsed by a general body meeting of the union the same evening. More than 60 thousand workers attended this meeting.

THE decision was taken in view of the adamant attitude of the millowners in not declaring the bonus to the workers for the year 1963.

The decision to strike is not a sudden one. The millowners have been warned time and again that if they delay declaration of bonus, the workers will have no other alternative but to resort to direct action.

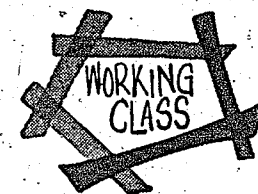
The first warning was sounded in July last when a resolution to this effect was adopted in a conference of the workers held in Bombay on questions of bonus, dearness allowance

and price-rise. Later, on August 31, a general body meeting of the union reiterated this demand.

But despite all these warnings, the millowners did not declare the bonus quantum.

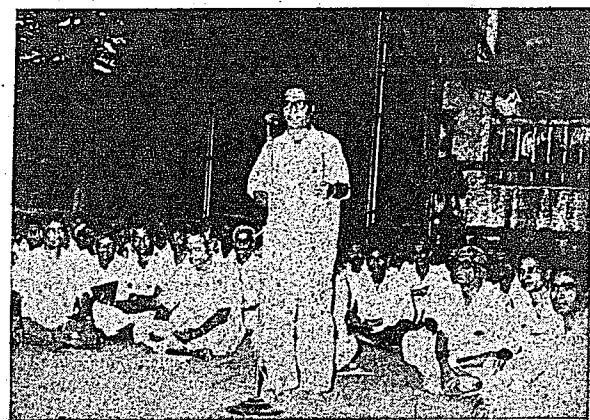
The general body meeting on October 5 was addressed by S.G. Patkar, Bapurao Jagtap and Datta Deshmukh. In preparation for the forthcoming strike, a call has been given in this meeting for collection of Rs. one-lakh strike fund and a volunteer corps to organise and lead this mighty action.

A strike committee has been



set up under the chairmanship of S. A. Dange, with Datta Deshmukh, Bapurao Jagtap, Y. V. Chavan, Krishna Desai, S. G. Tambitkar, S. G. Patkar, G. V. Chitnis, D. S. Kulkarni, Baburao Naik, Laxman Mistry, G. B. Ganacharya and Vithal Bhagat, as members.

On right is S. G. Patkar, general secretary of the MGKU, reading out the resolution on general strike. Below, a view of the big rally at the Kamgar Maidan on October 5





# 'BURMA'S ROAD TO SOCIALISM'

\* From Page 13

old order of exploiters and promote the natural striving of the broad masses to socialism.

It should also be borne in mind that the ideologists of the ruling left-wing parties themselves, more than often have no clear or correct idea of scientific socialism, they frequently view it through the prism of bourgeois propaganda although they sincerely try to grasp its true essence and accept it.

From this point of view the philosophic platform of the Party of Burma's Socialist Programme ('Burma's Road to Socialism') is of exceptional interest.

In essence, the Programme is concerned with ideological problems, from problems of universal existence and down to ethical problems. As for the concrete political and socio-economic problems of Burma today, they are dealt with in greater detail in other documents of the 'Burma's Road to Socialism' Party.

The traditions of Burma's religious heritage (in this case, Hinayanist Buddhism, Marxism-Leninism as well as some western teachings served to some extent as sources for the formation of the Programme. Western influences are mainly seen in the bourgeois individualism of the Bentham-Mill variant of utilitarianism and enlightened egoism.

However, the influence of scientific socialism (which determines one way or another the selection and formulation of basic ideological questions and their solution) is quite evident.

At the same time the programme in question differs favourably from other (eclectic) ideological teachings in some major aspects. Contrary to many theories of Afro-Asian nationalism, the Programme of the 'Burma's Road to Socialism' Party:

- ★ Does not accuse the socialist camp, as it does imperialism, of aggression, the kindling of international tension and of creating the danger of a thermo-nuclear catastrophe;

- ★ Bears no trace of anti-communism or anti-Marxism;

- ★ Outlines a radical solution for the main problem of social and economic reforms, namely, the character of property;

- ★ "Does not proclaim religion (either "cleansed" or traditionally orthodox) as a spiritual basis for public or individual life; "The philosophy of our party is a purely mundane and human doctrine. It is neither religious nor supernatural. It should be treated and studied as a mundane matter."

## MATERIALISTIC BASIS

Moreover, the ontological and gnosiological principles the Programme expounds are, despite their occasional eclecticism, materialistic in essence and in the treatment of the main problem of philosophy. This is quite rare among ideological programmes of ruling parties in non-socialist Afro-Asian states. This is probably traceable to the predominant trend of Buddhism in Burma (the early, Southern or Hinayanist branch of Buddhism) which has no

mystical trends (characteristic of the "later" Northern or Mahayanist branch of Buddhism accepted in India, China, Japan and other countries) and the leading schools of which upheld naive realism and materialism. Another reason lies in the fact that the Programme is consciously, though not always consistently, based on dialectical materialism.

On the whole the Programme upholds the materialist approach to the world, which it proclaims to be inherently material, independent of any divine or spiritual forces and primary with respect to consciousness. The entirety of matter in time and space, the eternity of its motion through the transformations of the gradual quantitative accumulations into new qualitative states, is recognized by the Programme; the impulse of development is produced by the interaction and struggle of opposing tendencies and elements of matter.

"Nature has neither a beginning nor an end, there is no alpha and omega in it." Human consciousness is different from matter and derives from it.

The Programme contends that the "advance of human reason depends on the entirety of all matter; human reason cannot exist without entirety of matter, on which it is constantly dependent."

Consciousness in turn exerts in active influence over matter; consciousness originates from the contact of the organs of sense with sensated objects.

Despite the recognition of several basic concepts of dialectics, the materialism of the initial philosophical principles of the Programme does not always correspond to the contemporary level of scientific knowledge.

For instance, its ontological basis rests on the traditionally Buddhist but hopelessly archaic theory of the original four elements of existence, four simple substances (earth, water, air, fire or heat). The division of all existence into three worlds (material, animal and the world of phenomena), is ambiguous and hardly convincing.

In some instances the laws of objective dialectics are expressed in inadequate Buddhist terms such as "the constantly rotating wheels of changes" and the "conditional origin of things". Although, as Engels pointed out, the elementary dialectics of ancient philosophers once found expression in such concepts, they seem very naive in the light of modern science.

"This inconsistency is also characteristic to some extent of the Programme's interpretation of the nature of human consciousness.

Although it proclaims the dependence of consciousness on matter, consciousness is stripped of its principal feature: the determinative role in its genesis and functioning of the object-sensual practical activity of man as a member of society. This is why the Programme tends to treat consciousness in its individual form whereas in reality its functioning depends on the entirety of social relations. The disregard of this circumstance and the attempt to establish a direct correlation between matter and consciousness, avoiding social practice, may lead to the dualistic alienation of consciousness from

matter and its absolutization, which is particularly obvious in those parts of the Programme where the active role of consciousness is stressed.

This is seen in vague conceptions that:

- ★ "Matter is not the only source for various states of consciousness, which evolve from the causative influence of matter on the one hand, and from the mind and mental factors, on the other, in their correlation."

- ★ "In the process of man's change the movement of the mind is much more rapid than the movement of matter, the flight and movement of thought is faster than the speed of light, which travels at 186,000 miles per second. Reason is a process of complex motion, an act of the will", etc.

These contradictions in the basic philosophic concepts of the Programme, its strong and weak points, are revealed in the treatment of problems concerning man and society, with which it is mostly concerned.

## SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS

The following basic provisions constitute the sociological part of the Programme: society is in a process of constant change and development, due to the counteraction of material and spiritual factors, productive forces and relations in production.

The working masses: peasants, industrial workers and professional people are the motive force of social development and producers of all material wealth: "Working people have been the principal

# A PROGRAMME OF NATIONAL RENASCENCE

social force of mankind throughout its history, and hence history is not the history of kings, but the history of working people."

In its advance mankind has gone through the stages of primitive community, the slave-owning system, feudalism and capitalism.

The latter three are akin in their inherent contradictions between the social character of production and private ownership of means of production, which results in the exploitation of man by man, social antagonisms and class struggle. This has been tearing society asunder throughout the history of civilization.

"The history of man is not only the history of states, nations, wars and individuals, but also the history of class struggle."

At present the relations of private property and exploitation have become obsolete and are a hindrance to social progress, which requires the establishment of social, collective forms of ownership of means of production and a revolutionary transformation on a socialist basis.

The Programme allows for the possibility of a socialist revolution without the use of the armed force and affirms that "the peaceful victory of a strong majority over a weak

minority may be achieved through mass struggle without an armed uprising."

The Programme stresses that peaceful conditions and the preservation of peace on earth, the deliverance of mankind from the danger of a thermo-nuclear catastrophe are essential not only for social progress, but for the very existence of mankind. The authors of the Programme make it clear that unprincipled malicious renegades may destroy the achievements of human civilization.

The Programme considers the blending of centralism with free individual initiative "an important condition for the development of a socialist society." A society working for progress must have two characteristic features, namely, centralism in state power and the freedom of initiative for individuals or majority.

"Without centralism the state may lapse into anarchy, whereas the absence of free individual initiative makes the life of society mechanical and progress is thus slowed down."

In bourgeois ideology formulas advocating the freedom of personal initiative usually provide an apology for private enterprise.

However, the Programme of the 'Burma's Road to Socialism' Party is different from the "socialist" declarations of many nationalist parties in Afro-Asian countries in that it makes no provision for a private sector under socialism.

One of its sections claims that the exploitation of public property by private enterprises is unnatural and may only result in social antagonisms.

attempt at a materialistic approach is made.

The Programme considers man the highest product, crowning all existence, "the prototype of three worlds," the microcosm, which reflects the immensity and diversity of the macrocosm.

According to the Programme, man is a vital link in implementing the reorganization of society, a personality possessing high moral qualities: "good people are needed for good work. This is why the recruitment of good people provides the key to success and becomes the decisive factor for the successful fulfillment of the Programme."

## SOVEREIGNTY OF INDIVIDUAL

While attributing much importance to moral integrity, the Programme at the same time does not ignore the need to satisfy man's material requirements: "We believe in the truth that healthy ethics come with a full stomach... Similarly, it is true that when people in power are people of integrity a programme for filling stomachs, that is, a socialist programme, can be implemented."

The Programme thus justly (although with some exaggeration) stresses the idea of the sovereignty of the individual and his natural right to enjoy the good things in life, which is a healthy if somewhat sharp rebuff to the theory of so-called self-negation and self-dissolution of individual existence in "the existence of universum and socium" propounded by religious mysticism and recently, in a veiled way, by "theoreticians of Marxism" strange as it may seem.

These elementary, but necessary premises of any concept of humanism would not, generally speaking, raise any

objection, if the Programme had not gone to extremes in certain parts, as when proclaiming the individual as such, the individual per se, as the point of departure, the initial cell, the beginning of all beginnings of the whole social organism, of all social life.

In the Programme the individual sometimes appears as the determinant of society, which is copied after his image, which is an enlarged model reproducing the psychological existence of the individual.

Thus, the individual and personality come first, whereas society follows second, as a replica and function.

"Human society is nothing else than an institution of human beings, organised by them in accordance to their code of laws and behaviour."

"If the character of man and the laws of his development are understood, the character of man and the laws his society can be understood."

"Man is master and manager of history!"

It is not in the least surprising that in certain instances the Programme declares morals and moral self-perfection a panacea for all social ills. Until man learns to control such of

\* On Page 18

NEW YORK: The menace of Barry Goldwater is increasing in the USA. With the date of US Presidential election drawing nearer (November 3), Barry is intensifying his campaign to win the election. He has ganged up with "the dregs of the nation" and last week he brought up a group of former Pentagon officers in his reckless campaign to get for the generals in NATO the power to use nuclear weapons, for "swift victory in a total war", without prior permission from the President.

THE motive behind this manoeuvre is clear. Barry aims at getting maximum support from the war maniacs, whose itching fingers on the nuclear trigger are somewhat controlled now. And to get their support, Barry is ready to offer anything, including complete freedom to the military and surrender of civil authority, Constitution and democracy to their mercy.

The Communist Party of USA has described the USA as standing "at a fateful political crossroads" in an appeal to the citizens of USA issued a couple of days back. This appeal is addressed to the conscience of America, and aimed at rallying all the progressives, democrats and peace-loving people of the USA, and it expresses the firm conviction that America can crush Goldwaterism. It says:

Our country is at a fateful political crossroads. AND YOU ARE THERE! The issue is not conservatives versus liberals.

Goldwater is more conservative than Hitler was. The issue is: Keeping Goldwater's itchy finger off the nuclear trigger. The issue is: Preventing the Goldwater-Thurmond alliance from turning our streets into bloody racist battlegrounds. The issue is: Preservation of the welfare gains won during and since the New Deal. The issue is: Saving our unions and living standards.

Goldwater is mobilizing the dregs of the nation, the racists, North and South, the KKK, the John Birch Society, the atom-maniacs, the McCarthyites, the union-busters to turn the clock back, not to the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries, as some say, but much further back, to THE DARK AGES OF HITLER GERMAN. Then, Hitler rallied the scum of Germany, the storm-troopers of the "Master Race," the anti-Semites, the warmongers, and smashed democracy, brutalized the nation, turned the Nazi war machine on the world.

You can decide: who represents THE REAL AMERICA?

- ★ Those who offer the American people the "patriotism" of nuclear suicide? OR

- ★ Those whose love of country means living in peace with your neighbours including those who choose to live differently, settling differences in the give-and-take of negotiation?

- ★ Mississippi: Murder, Inc. which supports Goldwater? OR

- ★ The flower of our youth, Negro and white, who risk life and limb to bring the Constitution and the Bill of Rights to that terror-ridden state?

- ★ Those who want to guarantee real peace in the streets by providing our youth, Negro and white, with decent jobs, decent homes and decent schools? OR

- ★ Those who want to use the "backlash" to set our streets aflame with bloody strife?

- ★ Those who want to provide medicare for our aged, meet the crucial problems of automation, the crisis of our cities, the stark tragedy of Appalachia, the challenge of our nation's Harlems? OR

- ★ Those who want to dismember the gains of the New Deal, let our aged rot, our displaced workers waste away, our Harlems periodically explode in unbearable suffering, our cities become tinderboxes of tension, our Appalachias to degenerate into wastelands?

- ★ Those who want a real war on poverty? OR

- ★ Those who seek atomic war of annihilation?

Goldwater is McCarthy with much more muscle. Goldwater has captured one of the two major parties of our country—the Republican Party. Goldwater is in alliance with Dixiecrat leaders of the Democratic Party led by the arch-racists, Governor

Wallace of Alabama and Governor Johnson of Mississippi.

Goldwater is reckless. But he is far from alone. He has grouped around him a powerful alliance of the reckless as well as the racists, that includes billionaire oil, munitions and missile magnates and atomic trigger-happy Generals and Admirals. It is a Dr. Strangelove-like alliance of the money-love and the war-hungry, whose desperation would not rule out generals' plots like those depicted in the movie, "Seven Days in May."

This evil alliance bases its hopes for success on injecting the voters with the worn-out hypodermic needle of anti-communism, as it stirs up the venom of racism and jingoism in our nation's bloodstream. This is the witches' brew which this fascist-like alliance is feeding our people in the present elections. This combination is gnawing away at our democratic institutions at the grassroots level.

But Goldwater, like Hitler was in his day, is demagogic as well as menacing. He rails against Wall Street. He mixes his jibes at the big money interests of the East with implied appeals to anti-Semitic, anti-Negro prejudices toward the big cities, especially New York. He talks of favouring a 25 percent income tax cut while he voted against the recent \$11 billion tax reduction. He says he's for the end of the draft but proposed extending the war in Viet Nam, invading Cuba, taking on the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and extending control over nuclear weapons to generals.

He points to unhappiness in the midst of affluence, but votes against medicare and blames the poor for their poverty.

He's against the use of Federal police powers especially in Mississippi, but is ready to use it against civil rights demonstrators in the cities of the East, Midwest and West. He's against the Civil Rights law, the war on poverty program, Federal appropriations for schools, housing and jobs, all of which would aid to some extent in removing some of the reasons for the civil rights demonstrations and outbreaks in the Negro ghettos; but he's for using more police clubs and possibly more police dogs to maintain "law and order." And he adds insult to injury by proclaiming that it is the Civil Rights Law which has caused disorder in the streets. He plays on the fears and frustrations arising from almost two decades of cold war, tensions and atomic brinkmanship, and has nothing to propose to ease tension except a more horrible nuclear showdown with the Soviet Union.

Goldwater is the 1964 U.S. model of the fascist-style fusion of demagogy and violence. But a greater power rests in the unity of the American people. Fortunately, a great coalition based upon such unity is taking shape to defeat the menace of Goldwaterism. It includes the Negro people almost to a man, the labour movement, united as never before, large sections of conservative as well as liberal Republicans and Democrats, progressives, those who cherish peace, want to preserve democracy and extend full freedom to all. All polls point to a substantial victory over reaction.

But people, not polls, march to the ballot box. The nation and

movement. (IPA)

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# AMERICA CAN CRUSH GOLDWATERISM

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

## Pakistan Letter

# AYUB HAVING ELECTION JITTERS, REPRESSION AGAINST E. PAK STUDENTS

RAWALPINDI: Seventeenth of September will go down as a memorable day in the history of Pakistan. It was the day when leaders of Opposition parties who had assembled in Karachi decided to announce their accord on the nomination of Fatima Jinnah as the Opposition candidate for the presidential election.

THE fact that the opposition parties have been able to unite on this issue and the fact that a personality like Fatima Jinnah has agreed to stand as the opposition candidate is significant in more ways than one.

There can be no doubt that it makes the beginning of a new phase in the democratic movement in the country.

Ever since the limited political rights that President Ayub Khan conferred in his Constitution of 1960 were extended to the people, political activity in the country has begun to have its impact.

Despite the period of hibernation when Martial Law was in force, political parties, even if informally at first, did not take long to come to life.

After a vain attempt to prevent the resuscitation of political parties the President realised that he was up against a force that was bigger than his ordinance and he was compelled to give formal recognition to political parties.

The logic of events led him to become a member of a political party himself and he ultimately took over control of the party by becoming its president.

Discontent against and opposition to the regime was in evidence from the day Martial Law was lifted and the people got a chance to give expression to their feelings, albeit in a restricted form.

But Field Marshal Ayub's card had been the disunity

of the opposition parties. Differences in ideology, in matters of policy particularly on the question of a neutral foreign policy kept the opposition forces divided.

The government reaped the benefit and rode roughshod over the rights and liberties of the people.

With the agreement reached in Karachi the trumps are now held by the other side and President Ayub has cause to feel worried.

## Double Check

The Opposition has not only been able to select a common candidate to run against the redoubtable Ayub Khan they have selected a person against whom the ruling party can offer little by way of criticism.

Never having participated in active party politics before, the usual change levelled by the Ayub regime against former politicians as people who were corrupt and had allowed Pakistan to drift perilously near the brink of ruin, can obviously not be applied to Fatima Jinnah.

As the sister of the founder of Pakistan, as one who was known to be in the close confidence of the Quaid-e-Azam she is held in great respect by all sections of the masses.

It is not surprising therefore that the ruling party is feeling distinctly nervous about the elections to come.

For lack of any other weapon they have begun to find fault with the opposition for dragging Fatima Jinnah into politics.

They have also begun to take recourse to the worse form of religious obscurantism by saying that it was un-Islamic for a woman to be head of a state.

Not feeling sure that this propaganda will be enough to keep the basic democrats from voting for Fatima Jinnah, they have started a new round of repression on the eve of the election—repression that has assumed particularly savage forms in East Pakistan where the ruling party is most isolated.

It was by a strange coincidence on the seventeenth of September that the anniversary of education day was observed in East Pakistan sparking off a new wave of unrest in the province.

Two years ago, on September 17, 1962, the students of Dacca brought out a demonstration in protest against the recommendations of the Education Commission. Their demands were met with bullets and three students were martyred as a result of the firing.

## Student Unrest

Ever since the students of East Pakistan have been observing the anniversary of the event. On September 17 this year they brought out their usual demonstration in memory of the martyrs who gave their lives two years ago and in support of their 22 point programme for educational reforms.

Several battalions of armed

police were deployed against them. The police surrounded the unarmed students by a pincer movement and then rained tear gas shells on them. Those who tried to run for shelter were mercilessly belaboured with lathis.

Even students who sought refuge in the Medical College compound were not spared and tear gas shells were sent after them. Apart from the students who sustained injuries a number of hospital patients including patients in the cancer ward were seriously injured.

For the next three days pitched battles were fought on the streets of Dacca between students and the armed police in the course of which two students, Aminul Islam and Abdul Malek were seriously wounded as a result of shots fired by a police sub-inspector.

This gave a fresh fillip to the movement and realising that the attempt to crush the movement by repression was not leading anywhere the government by an order issued under the signature of the Director of Public Instruction closed all colleges, schools and universities in East Pakistan sine die.

This has prevented for the time being the assembly of students but it has not put a full stop to the movement in East Pakistan. It is rapidly spreading to other sections of the people and journalists as well as workers have taken up the challenge and are fighting back.

When the students movement was on, the government issued orders on practically all the dailies in East Pakistan preventing them from publishing news of the students' movement. (IPA)

# FRUITFUL YEARS OF INDO-GDR RELATIONS

From KUNHANANDAN NAIR

October 16, 1964 marks the tenth anniversary of the beginning of India's relations with the German Democratic Republic. Our Berlin Correspondent P. Kunhanandan interviewed Wolfgang Kiesewetter, Deputy Foreign Minister of the GDR a few days ago for an overall assessment of the developing relations between the two countries on this occasion. Following is the summary of this interview—Editor.

ASKED about the prospects of further developing the relations between the two countries, Wolfgang Kiesewetter told NAW AGE that the establishment of relations on state level between the GDR and India stems from the basic fact that these two countries have common interests and these are in conformity with their views on basic political questions.

He said: "These relations have steadily developed and all preconditions exist for their further expansion." Kiesewetter emphasised that India at present holds the position of the biggest overseas trade partner of the GDR with an annual outturn of trade to the tune of over 200 million marks. This volume of trade will be more than doubled in a couple of years as per the new trade agreement signed on September 12 this year in New Delhi for the years 1965 to 1967.

He added: "The government of the GDR will do

everything to further these relations in the fields of culture, sports and other spheres of life."

Kiesewetter said that the realism displayed by the late Jawaharlal Nehru in respect of the German question found great recognition in the German Democratic Republic. His speech at the Belgrade Conference of 1964 where he spoke of the existence of two states in Germany and the necessity of understanding between them, reflected this realism.

The Deputy Foreign Minister expressed satisfaction over the fact that it was evident from the joint Indo-Soviet Communiqué of September 19, that the President of the Republic of India has endorsed the realistic policy of Nehru.

"In developing the political relations between the GDR and India," Kiesewetter remarked, "interference by other states should not be tolerated. The two states should be exclusively guided by their own interests."

We are confident that the time will come when the friendly feelings, mutual understanding and the extent of relations will acquire more concrete forms.

"We wish the Indian people rewarding success in fulfilling the exceedingly difficult task of economic development of the country and raising of living standard. We trust that the friendly relations between our two states shall continue to grow."

NEW AGE Correspondent then asked Kiesewetter about the credit terms offered by the GDR to India and requested him to elaborate the proposition.

The Deputy Foreign Minister explained that the offer of credit terms to India was in consonance with the policy of the GDR, which regards it as its duty to support to the best of its ability, the independent states of Asia and Africa for their industrialisation and the building up of a strong national economy.

Guided by this principle,

the GDR government delegation headed by Bruno Leuschner visited India last February and offered a long-term credit facility. "We believe that it is in the interest of India to have credit facilities with an interest rate of 2.5 per cent per annum, repayable in eight to ten years."

Kiesewetter explained that within the credit facilities, the GDR is prepared to supply equipment and machinery that India might be interested in and in return the GDR will buy Indian products including semi-finished and industrial goods. "I would like to make it clear that the credit is free from any political strings," he added.

## GDR Stands By Offer

The credit terms have not yet been finalised and further negotiations will have to take place. The Government of GDR stands by the offer and is ready to conclude an agreement, Kiesewetter informed.

NEW AGE correspondent then requested the Deputy Foreign Minister to speak about the second conference of nonaligned nations which

was in session at the time of the interview.

Kiesewetter said that at present almost sixty countries have made nonalignment as the basic principle of their foreign policies. The questions concerning peace, disarmament, peaceful coexistence, elimination of racial discrimination, struggle against neo-colonialism and similar important problems are also of vital concern to the German people.

"The Government of the German Democratic Republic welcomes and supports the policy of nonalignment—a principle by which the Republic of India is guided—as an important contribution to international détente, to the preservation of peace and to the consolidation of national independence."

"We hold the view that the role of the nonaligned states in international relations will continue to grow and it will make a signal contribution to strengthening peace, in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism," Kiesewetter declared.

At the end of the interview, Wolfgang Kiesewetter conveyed his greetings to the readers of NEW AGE on the occasion of the 11th anniversary of the Journal.

# MEET THE BUILDERS OF COMMUNISM

\* FROM PAGE 8

ments. This is a record unsurpassed by any other country in the world.

One day in Leningrad, after a visit to the "Metallic" plant, one of the biggest of its kind producing turbines—it supplies turbines to India too—we went to visit the workers' flats. Forty-year old Svellshv is a fitter-electrician at the plant. He has a wife and two children. The family warmly welcomed us in their beautiful and well-furnished two-room apartment.

Svellshv's average monthly earnings are 130-135 rubles (about 19 rubles is equal to Rs. 100). The wife also works as a saleswoman and therefore the family's average monthly income totals more than 200 rubles. Out of this they spend just about 12 rubles on rent, electricity and gas etc. About fifty percent of the income is spent on food and clothing and about 20 percent to meet their cultural requirements like books, magazines, newspapers, cinema, TV etc. Since children's education and medical care are free such items do not enter the family budget at all.

There was laughter in the room when we asked why there was no television. It has not been purchased because it is feared that it will interfere with the children's studies. But the family is now planning to buy a Volga car, one of the excellent makes of Soviet automobile industry.

It will cost 4,600 rubles, but they have already got savings of 2.5 thousand rubles. They had more savings, but part of it was spent in holidaying at a health resort.

## Modern Amenities

When they came to Bratsk to join the construction work, they had to live in a tent since there were no buildings to house all the workers then. "It was quite cold then." But now the family will soon move into even better accommodation in the new flats. Every year fifty new five-story buildings of workers' flats are being constructed in Bratsk today and every year 8,000 families move into these flats.

There are similar instances to show the ever rising

standard of living and comforts of the people who are engaged in a vast construction effort to transform their socialist society into a Communist society in the quickest possible time. It is against this that the Chinese leaders have spread the calumny that the Soviet Union is transforming itself into a bourgeois society!

They have two little girls and the eldest, Natasha who studies in fourth class played on the piano for the guests. Both the children attend music lessons. Apart from the piano which had cost 520 rubles, the room contained excellent furniture, radio and an almirah full of books.

There is hardly any need to answer such slanders. The immense scientific and technological progress of the Soviet Union, the rapid advance of its agriculture and industry and the reflection of all these achievements in the life of the Soviet citizen are living proof of the triumph of socialism in USSR and of the new conditions created for the building of communism. It is a strange idea that socialism should progress backwards and the people in a socialist society should not have all their material and cultural wants fulfilled!

The Soviet people naturally resent and repudiate these slanders on their progress emanating from Peking. I should recall here a conversation we had with the Komsomol secretary in Irkutsk. Commenting on this Chinese propaganda, he said: "Our youth are today accused of being converted to bourgeois habits. We are told by the Chinese that our attempts to raise our cultural life and standard of living is a process of going back to bourgeois standards. Those who came to build Bratsk did not come there to work barefoot and without breeches!"

(To be continued)

operator in Bratsk who earns about 300 rubles a month. We visited his flat also, which is on the ground floor of one of those wooden buildings, very solid and comfortable residences which still could be found in Bratsk. (These buildings which were built earlier are all now being fast replaced by new big buildings made from prefabricated details.)

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(To be continued)

OCTOBER 18, 1964

# America Can Crush Goldwaterism

## CP USA Statement on Elections

\*FROM PAGE 17

the world must witness not just a setback but a crushing defeat of Goldwater, little local Goldwaters and Goldwaterism. To achieve such a victory, every member of the PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC COALITION needs to work to transform the overwhelming anti-Goldwater sentiment into a smashing repudiation at the polls on November 3.

The greatest danger is complacency, a feeling that victory is in the bag. No more costly a mistake can be made. Nor should there be any passive reliance solely upon the Regular Democratic Party machine. Much more than a struggle between two parties is at stake, as the broad character of the anti-Goldwater coalition shows. Nothing less than the future course of our nation is involved. A historic development in the political realignment within and around the Democratic and Republican parties is taking place. This will determine whether liberal and progressive or reactionary and fascist-like forces emerge stronger.

At the end of the interview, Wolfgang Kiesewetter conveyed his greetings to the readers of NEW AGE on the occasion of the 11th anniversary of the Journal.

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nuclear weapons and outlawing their use, in the same spirit in which the Soviet Union negotiated the successful nuclear treaty, signed by 100 nations. As steps in that direction, we should extend the test ban treaty to all forms of testing and jointly agree with all nuclear powers, never to use nuclear weapons.

We should establish normal diplomatic and trade relations with our socialist neighbour, Cuba, 90 miles from our shores just as the Soviet Union maintains such friendly relations with "free-enterprise" Finland on its own borders.

We should end our "Dirty War" in Vietnam, bring our boys home, stop the criminal slaughter of Vietnamese people, the killing of American soldiers and the waste of more than a million dollars a day in a war the American people never wanted.

Goldwaterism means spending more billions on a profit-hungry war machine that can overkill the earth's population ten-fold, while our slums grow faster than housing, our overcrowded and understaffed schools are financially starved, our Negro ghettos rot and depression spreads like a cancer over whole areas like Appalachia. To put an end to Goldwaterism means to end the cold war, to stop feeding the Frankenstein war machine, to start feeding the accumulated needs of the people, and to begin a real war on poverty.

As first steps, we propose: a \$15 Billion Federal Program to Reconstruct the nation's Harlems and Appalachias, the setting up of a Federal Appalachian Authority, similar to TVA, and at least a 25 percent cut in the military budget to help finance such a program.

## Goldwaterism Is Racism, Inc.

It is organised resistance to the Constitution and Bill of Rights as the law of the land. South as well as North. It is sabotage of the Civil Rights Law. The people must demand that there be no compromise with RACISM. They must insist that the full Constitutional authority and power of the Federal Government be used to wipe out every form of racism, segregation and discrimination, whether of Southern or Northern style, and to secure full enforcement of the Civil Rights Law.

Goldwater's solution for the explosive symptoms of the crisis of our cities is more police clubs and repression, turning our streets into "bloody battlegrounds" of racial strife. Goldwaterism feeds on the frustrations bred by the long-brewing crisis of our cities. It is a crisis of accumulated needs and inadequate local resources. It is a crisis in schools, housing, transit. It is a crisis in living, particularly for our youth, a crisis whose tensions have made living difficult, hopeless, and often unbearable. It is a crisis that requires urgent Federal attention and massive aid, such as:

A Federal Department for City Affairs with Cabinet Rank. A massive Federally-subsidized housing program which would provide fully integrated low and middle-income housing everywhere at reasonable rents at not more than 15 percent of average monthly income.

A multi-billion dollar Federal school program to provide, integrated schooling of quality everywhere.

The United States should now negotiate the dismantling of all

A Federally-owned and subsidized transit system that would provide quick, cheap and comfortable transportation at low fares.

Revision of Federal and state tax structure to reduce the load on low income earners and provide for more adequate resources to the cities.

The filibuster, the seniority system of choosing heads of House and Senate Committees and the undemocratic rules governing these committees have too long served the Dixiecrat allies of Goldwater as they have stymied all progressive legislation in the interests of the people.

The murder of medicare is grim testimony to the long-overdue need for democratic reform in Congress.

The McCarran "Communist Control Act," the Landrum-Griffin Act, the Taft-Hartley Act, the Attorney General's "subversive" list, loyalty oaths, the Senate Internal Security Committee, headed by Mississippi Senator Eastland, and the House Un-American Activities Committee are all forerunners of Goldwaterism. They are Goldwater-type laws and institutions. They are based on the poison of "anti-communism."

Anti-communism serves Goldwater as it once served McCarthy and, before him, the most brutal anti-Communist of them all—Hitler.

Let America take a good look at the "coalition of anti-Communists" Goldwater has rallied.

In the name of anti-communism, he has rallied the dregs of the nation and used them to help seize the Republican Party.

In the name of anti-communism, Goldwater sanctions the "extremism" of the racist, the would-be fascist, the union-buster, the warmonger.

Goldwater has fused anti-communism with racism and jingoism just as Hitler united it with anti-Semitism and lust for conquest.

It was the Communist Party, USA through Gus Hall, its leading spokesman, who in June, 1961 first warned the nation of the rising threat of the ultra-Right and its menace to peace and our democratic institutions. Many, blinded by anti-communism, at first would not listen. But, now, the overwhelming majority of our people not only see the great danger but are rallying to defeat it.

We recall this fact not to boast but to draw a lesson. It is time to judge Communists as one should all—by our deeds, not the slanders of our enemies.

It is time to put an end to anti-Communist witchhunts and hysteria that have been used by the McCarthy's and the Goldwaters to stifle thinking, divide and frighten the people while serving as a cover for mobilizing the scum of the nation for a fascist-like assault upon democracy and peace.

## It Is Time For America

IT IS TIME FOR AMERICA TO BREATHE DEMOCRATIC AIR AGAIN, CLEANSED OF THE TOXIC FUMES OF GOLDWATERISM. IT IS TIME TO FULLY RESTORE THE BILL OF RIGHTS FOR ALL AND ELIMINATE ALL LAWS AND INSTITUTIONS TRAINED AND DISTORTED BY GOLDWATERISM.

We Communists who appeal for unity of all democratic-minded Americans know we are not alone in recognizing the danger our country faces. But we also know that we have long experience in fighting fascism and struggling for democracy. We therefore stand ready to assume, together with all other socialist-thinking and progressive Ameri-

can, our full responsibility to defeat Goldwaterism.

We seek such unity to stimulate labour, civil rights, peace, grass-roots movements and organizations to wage a struggle not only against Goldwater but Goldwaterism, not only up to November 3, but AFTER.

Such unity is needed to check every capitulation to Goldwater pressure and every influence of Goldwaterism itself in the ranks of the Democratic Party.

Such unity is needed to brand as Goldwaterism the Johnson Administration's shameful and dangerous air attack on Vietnam bases, its threats to Cuba, its boasting of spending billions more than Eisenhower for missiles.

It is needed to prevent accommodation with racists by the Johnson Administration and to compel prompt action to halt the murders of the brave Negro and white fighters for the right to vote in Mississippi.

For this, progressives and socialist-minded people should be the most active leg-workers and doorbell ringers, the sparkplugs in every section of the anti-Goldwater coalition.

In this way, they will not only help guarantee overwhelming defeat for Goldwater, but will demonstrate how false are the charges of the red-baiters against the truly patriotic service of progressive and socialist-minded Americans.

This is the crossroad we have reached.

We are confident in the decision of the American people.

We believe the America which chose Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1932 and gave hope and meaning to the New Deal of the '30's when the German people went down before Hitler will reject a Goldwater in 1964.

We believe an America which finally silenced the rasping voice of Joe McCarthy, the would-be Fuehrer of the fearful Fifties, will accord a similar fate to his successor in the sobering Sixties.

# WEST BENGAL ISCUS HOLDS EIGHTH CONFERENCE

From AJOY DASGUPTA

CALCUTTA: The West Bengal Indo-Soviet Cultural Society held its successful VIII conference for three days beginning from October 2—the birthday of Gan-dhiji.

The conference opened with an interesting symposium on "National Integration of India" presided over by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, president of the Society.

Dr. A.M.O. Ghani, Maitryee Devi, Prof. Parimal Guha, Prof. Gopal Halder spoke highly of the experience of the Soviet Union in solving the national problem there.

Dr. Chatterji in summing up the discussion said that what is necessary first and foremost for achieving national integration and emotional unity of the country is "consolidation of economic unity on the basis of justice and equitable distribution of wealth and expansion of people's welfare and education."

About a hundred delegates attended the delegates session held on October 3. They came from various branches of the

ISCUS in the state. E. P. Chelyshev, vice-president of the Soviet-India Society for Cultural Relations, Moscow, addressed the meeting. P. N. Yurlov, head of the Cultural Department of USSR embassy in Calcutta, was also present.

The secretary's report on the work of last two years showed that even in difficult situation the society has worked consistently and satisfactorily.

It conducted classes in Russian language, three of its graduates have been awarded scholarship by USSR government to study Russian language in the Moscow University.

The conference fully supported the joint communiqué published after President Radhakrishnan's Soviet tour and welcomed the coming visits by Mikoyan and Khrushchev to India. It expressed its satisfaction at the continued expansion of the friendship between India and Soviet Union.

A resolution hailing Soviet scientists on the seventh anniversary of the first "Sputnik" on October 4, 1957, the date on which the conference was being held, was greeted with tumultuous applause by the delegates.

In the open session held on the last day, the work of the delegates session was reported by Dharani Goswami. Among speakers on that day were N. I. Volinov, Consul General of USSR in Calcutta, E. P. Chelyshev, Prof. Niren Roy, outgoing general secretary and Prof. Gopal Halder, the newly elected general secretary.

Messages from President Radhakrishnan, Vice President Zakir Hussain, Chief Minister P. C. Sen and Governor Padmaja Naidu were read out.

## BURMA'S ROAD TO SOCIALISM

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his bad inclinations as greediness, self-interest, ill-will, ignorance, imprudence, haughtiness, vanity, which are inherent in his nature, science, no matter how it strives, should it even become a sorcerer or master over the destinies of the mundane world, will be powerless to give man a full and happy life.

Obviously under the influence of Buddhist traditions the Programme regards man as an "egocentric creature," whose "collateral feature lies in the fact that he is also an altruistic social being."

In one place it is even claimed that the meaning of the history of society lies in the struggle of the egotistic and altruistic inclinations in man: "egotism and altruism in man, his intentions and efforts to dispense with the burden of restrictions, act as forces which determine jointly the direction of the history of human society."

The Programme thus undoubtedly pays a tribute to individualism and abstract humanism. This undermines to a certain degree the initial principles of the materialistic understanding of the nature of social life, expounded in the Programme and somewhat dampens the revolutionary spirit of its democratism; the militancy of its humanism; this also prevents the Programme from revealing properly all the aspects of the individual-society interconnection in all their dialectical complexity and contradictions, when the "essence of man is not an abstract inherent to a separate individual. In reality, it is the sum total of all social rela-

tions." (Marx and Engels, Russ. ed. v. 3, p. 3). Thus the Programme does not meet the criteria of a sound and consistent philosophical system throughout, it deviates at several points from its proclaimed principles and many of its tenets do not correspond to the level of advanced social science.

However, on the whole, the anti-capitalist trend and the radicalism of this document, imbued with revolutionary democratism and militant humanism, give grounds to regard it as a major achievement in Burma's progressive patriotic social development of today.

It sets forth one of the vital and possible variants of non-capitalist development of the economically-backward peoples in Burma. This promotes the "Burma's Road To Socialism" Party to the front ranks of the national-liberation movement in Asia.

Of course no theoretical programme, however deep and radical, can guarantee the progressiveness of the practical policy. Life has shown that detours, deviations may occur.

The economic activity and the political practice of Burma's Revolutionary Council, which is currently in power and which adheres to this Programme, confirms the reality of its implementation. This increases the importance of the document under review.

It reflects the process of providing a theoretical basis for ways of non-capitalist development by the progressive strata of Burmese society. It is important that the search of these ways tends, socially, economically and ideologically, to philosophical materialism and scientific socialism.

# CAIRO GIVES NONALIGNMENT ANTI-IMPERIALIST ARMOUR

## SHARPEN INDIA'S POLICIES, CONFORM TO NEW SPIRIT

By ROMESH CHANDRA

Nonalignment has become one of the mightiest forces for peace and national independence, against war and imperialism. Nonalignment has planted its feet firmly on the stage where history is made: it has to be reckoned with at every time on every issue. That is the outcome of the conference of heads of state and government of non-aligned countries, held at Cairo last week.

**T**HE imperialists jeered, when the conference began. How could such a "motley" crowd unite, they asked scornfully?

The imperialists conspired to wreck the conference. They propelled their puppet Tshombe into Cairo—in the vain hope of disrupting the conference at the very start. They madly played up the so-called "differences in approach"—magnifying each word into an "insurmountable" obstacle to unity.

When their initial hopes failed, the imperialists sought to water down the anti-imperialist tone of the conference declaration, and to inject into the proceedings, issues on which there were obvious shades of difference.

### Imperialists Rebuffed

But again and again, the leaders assembled at Cairo rebuffed the imperialists. Yes, they proclaimed, we do not have identical views on every international issue; we have different systems of government, ranging from perhaps the most primitive to the most advanced, from feudal to socialist; we are from different regions of the world and our problems too differ.

And yet, we, who constitute one half and more of the membership of the UNO—we the 58 countries assembled at Cairo (eleven were observers) are united on the essential issues of foreign policy, on the key questions facing mankind.

The Cairo conference was a leap forward from the first non-aligned conference at Belgrade. Not only was the number of countries very much larger. But the entire political tone of the conference was higher—richer in its anti-imperialism, in its adherence to peaceful coexistence and disarmament—than the tone adopted at Belgrade.

Nonalignment had come of age before Cairo. But with the conference, nonalignment donned its armour of anti-imperialism, which gave it a front place among the world's mightiest forces for peace and freedom.

Come was the hesitancy and the vagueness of the past. Come was the fear to criticise and condemn imperialism and colonialism, in all their shapes and forms.

Whether on the issues of military bases or on those of imperialist aggression and interference in Vietnam, Cyprus, Cuba or the Congo, or on the question of disarmament and nuclear tests—the Cairo programme was concrete and specific, opening the way to action in a defined direction.

The imperialist news agencies tried their utmost to suggest that the Chinese leaders' "line" was being peddled by the more sharply

anti-imperialist of the participants. The Chinese leaders were desperately striving to put across their dogmatist and disruptive views—through whomever they could influence.

Like the imperialists, the Chinese leaders too sought to create disruption and division—by attempting to "isolate" those, who, by reason of their own bitter experience, are naturally in the forefront of the struggle against the Chinese leaders' chauvinism and expansionism.

But the final result of the conference was the complete and absolute isolation of the Chinese "line". Neither on the question of nuclear tests nor on that of border disputes, did the Chinese line of disruption receive any quarter.

Even more significant was the complete refusal of the conference to accept the Chinese dogmatists' "line" on the policy of peaceful coexistence. On the contrary the conference emphasised that peaceful coexistence is vital and essential for the preservation of peace.

The conference equally rightly pointed out that the struggle for the complete triumph of the ideas of peaceful coexistence is bound up, closely with the struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

The imperialists and the Chinese leaders both failed to create the gulf between the nonaligned countries and the Soviet Union for which they hoped. On the contrary, the Cairo policies clearly open the road to the closest solidarity between the nonaligned countries and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, in the common struggles for peace and national independence.

### Definite Direction

FROM CAIRO, THE NONALIGNED WORLD EMERGES NOT AS THE ADHERENTS OF A POLICY OF "EQUIDISTANCE" BETWEEN THE IMPERIALIST POWERS AND THE SOVIET UNION. THE NONALIGNED WORLD EMERGES, WITH ITS WEAPONS TEMPERED, POINTED IN THE ONE DIRECTION ON WHICH IT IS NECESSARY TO POINT THEM: AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND AGAINST WAR.

★ The Cairo conference has been of the most vital significance for India. Its impact can be decisive for the future of this country. All the wishful desires of the imperialists that, in the absence of Pandit Nehru, India would act as a kind of brake to the anti-imperialist ardour of the rest of nonaligned nations, have been frustrated.

The Government of India has lent its full support to the excellent

and sharp standpoint against imperialism and war, taken by the Cairo conference. On many issues the concrete stand adopted at Cairo conforms to the strong anti-imperialist viewpoint which the Indian democratic movement has been urging the Government of India to adopt.

This is so in regard to the positions taken against imperialist intervention, aggression or intrigues and pressures in Cuba, Vietnam, Cyprus, Congo, British Guiana, Southern Rhodesia etc. This is so in regard to support to the armed struggles of the peoples fighting for independence. This is so in regard to a number of other issues. This is specially so in regard to neo-colonialism.

It is now for the Indian people and the Indian democratic movement to ensure that the Government of India does not attempt to retreat on any single issue from the positions to which it has subscribed, at Cairo.

There will be the greatest pressure exerted by the imperialists

and their reactionary henchmen inside the country (including those inside the ruling party and in higher government circles) to see that there is no positive implementation of the Cairo declarations and resolutions by the Indian government.

If the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister succumb to this pressure to the slightest degree, they will only show that they have not learnt the essential lessons of the Cairo conference.

Cairo opens up a broad vista of activity for the Government of India in the field of foreign policy. On each specific issue, it is necessary to work out concrete initiatives to demonstrate forcibly that our support to the Cairo decision is real, and not mere lip-service.

The work done at Cairo by the Indian delegation—despite certain important errors and miscalculations and a certain lack of understanding of what may now be called the Cairo Spirit—was, in its totality, a valuable contribution and help to restore to India the prestige and influence it commanded in the past.

All these positive gains be built upon, without delay, through initiative in the direction of the implementation of Cairo's calls.

It is good to note that the Government of India has already tabled a resolution for the coming session of the General Assembly of UN in regard to preventing non-nuclear powers from acquiring nuclear weapons.

But what about similar initiatives on other issues—particularly those concerning the danger-spots

in South East Asia, Cuba, Cyprus, the Congo etc.?

One would like to see an immediate offer by the Government of India of assistance—in the most material way, including assistance in arms and in military training—to the freedom fighters of South Africa and the Portuguese colonies. That would mean that the Cairo spirit lives in New Delhi, and has not been packed away in the archives in the Central Secretariat.

★ Indian democrats would like to see a change in the attitude taken by the Government of India in regard to the events in South Vietnam. As Chairman of the Supervisory Commission India has a special role to play, a special duty to discharge. It is, unfortunately, not playing that role, not discharging that duty.

Adherence to the Cairo Spirit must mean a reversal of this negative attitude. The blind eye the Government of India has been turning to the crimes of US imperialism and its army of occupation in South Vietnam, must be opened. Cairo demands that the US troops be removed from South Vietnam. Will the Government of India take steps to see that this demand, which it has endorsed, is implemented?

★ Similarly in regard to Cuba, Cyprus and the Congo—the Government of India must not wait for others to take the initiative: it is its duty to act boldly along the lines of Cairo decisions. The hesitation to come out boldly

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## FROM SPUTNIK TO SPACE TRIO

★ FROM FRONT PAGE reaches moon, his first step on the way to other faraway planets.

Another new advance is shown by the fact that now the theory of space movement and the dynamics of cosmic crafts can be tested directly in space by specialists like the one who was on board the VOSKHOD. It is interesting that scientist-cosmonaut, candidate of technical science, Konstantin Feoktistov declared that he had never taken part in sports before but intensive training could prepare his organism for the overloads and other strains of the flight.

"Every normally healthy person or expert and scientist can be prepared for such a flight. I hope to take part in other flights and this first flight should prepare me for further scientific research in space," he said before take off.

For the first time a doctor was also available in space. What a big advance and invaluable help this is going to be! Dr. Boris Yegorov, youngest of the crew, born in 1937, carried out first medical examinations in space. Of course, the Soviet space medical science has already made big advances but medical information obtained by radio or

the telemetric data can never replace a doctor on the spot and a wide door has now been opened for medical and biological research and study of the problems of the health of organism and human psychology in conditions of outer space.

And making of a big spaceship is not just adding a number of small spaceships or rockets together. Not only all equipment, provisions, air and other essentials have to be trebled, not only engines of colossal power for the different stages of rockets have to be produced, but is also calls for new alloys, new fuels and totally new stage of technological advance to solve the new problems.

It requires new planning and coordination too, so that the crew would supplement and replace each other and take turns when necessary. And the work on the VOSKHOD was organised just like this. The wealth of valuable information obtained by the new method will certainly bring the dates of further Soviet victories in space much nearer.

The new successful flight also brings nearer the day when teams of space technicians and builders will assemble permanent cosmic stations and space islands on orbits,

and flotillas of spaceships and spaceliners carrying passengers on cruises far out in space will use them as stations.

The names of the new space trio: Commander of the ship Cosmonaut Engineer and Colonel Vladimir Komarov, Doctor—Cosmonaut Boris Yegorov and Scientist—Cosmonaut Konstantin Feoktistov are now on everybody's lips. Their victory has been a Communist victory too.

Khrushov told the cosmonauts on radio, watching them on television, "we want you to fulfill the task set before you well, to still further glorify our Soviet motherland and our people, our Party and ideas of Marxism-Leninism on the foundations of which our state stands and develops, on the basis of which the Soviet people and the Communist Party achieve all their successes." The tasks have been fulfilled by the space trio.

Moscow is now preparing in traditional style to welcome the new group of Soviet cosmonauts and accord them a heroic reception. The entire city is already bedecked with flags and decorations and people are impatiently waiting to see the heroes of modern times.