

new age

CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

Vol. XIII No. 13 NEW DELHI, MARCH 28, 1965 25 Paise

US Agents' Canard About Nehru & Aircraft Carrier BID TO FORCE

INDIA AQUIESCE ON VIETNAM

Parliament has been agog with excitement for the last several days. A Congress member of the Rajya Sabha had made a statement last week, which, if it had proved to be correct, could have not only destroyed the world's image of India as a nonaligned nation, but also painted the late Pandit Nehru in the most unfavourable light.

THE MP in question, Sudhir Ghosh by name, had stated on the floor of Parliament that he knew that on Pandit Nehru's request, a US aircraft carrier had been brought to within a few miles of Calcutta at the time of the Chinese aggression and that it was as a result of this US action that the Chinese withdrew.

Sudhir Ghosh added that he had obtained this information from President Kennedy himself.

Since the statement had been made by a member of the ruling party, since he quoted as witness no less a person than the late President of the United States of America and since the story was broken on the solemn floor of the Indian Parliament—the country and indeed the world had good reason to sit up and think.

There were those who argued that the whole business was a storm in a tea-cup?

The innocent ones asked: What is so sensational about the 'revelation'? Why is everybody demanding a denial by government?

After all, Nehru and his government DID ask for 'aid' from all countries in November 1962, and he may have asked the US government to send an aircraft carrier also.

The innocent ones are ignorant. If the Sudhir Ghosh story were true, it would mean that Nehru and the Government of India had asked for the American armed forces to come to defend India.

It would mean that while Nehru was declining again and again that we would never enter into any military pact or ask

take immediate steps to contradict the Sudhir Ghosh story.

On the other hand, those who are opposed to the policy of non-alignment and are desperately anxious to destroy that policy and the reputation of its architect Jawaharlal Nehru, wishfully lapped up the "revelation" in the Rajya Sabha and began counting their chickens in advance in terms of the gains which the "revelation" would secure for the anti-non-alignment lobbies.

There were still others who seized on the Sudhir Ghosh story from an entirely different end.

They were the ones who have

At long last, a week after the balloon was let loose, the Prime Minister has officially declared that the story is untrue.

The US government and former US Ambassador Galbraith have also issued statements denying both that Pandit Nehru had ever asked for the sending of a US aircraft carrier and that any such aircraft carrier had been present in the Bay of Bengal in November and December, 1962.

The Congress Parliamentary

Party is reported to the contemplating "action" against the member responsible for the story.

But that does NOT by any means write "The End" to this tale as for as the Indian people are concerned.

While the Prime Minister was making his statement, refuting Sudhir Ghosh's allegations, in the Rajya Sabha, the Swatantra Party leader Dayabhai Patel insisted

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by ROMESH CHANDRA

for foreign personnel to fight our fight, he had actually entered into a deal with Washington, under which US planes manned by the US Air Force had taken over the task of defending this country.

If the Sudhir Ghosh story were true, it would mean that the "air umbrella" had already been hoisted, that nonalignment had been killed by Nehru himself, that whatever the open declarations, secretly India had joined the hated system of US military pacts.

That was why the champions of nonalignment, irrespective of party, wanted that the government

been attacking government's foreign policy as being essentially subservient to US imperialism and proclaiming that India is no longer nonaligned but already a handmaid of the western powers.

For the Chinese leaders and those who think like them in this country, the tale of Nehru and the US aircraft carrier was the richest masala, with which to spice their pre-conceived theories of India being "part of the imperialist camp".



Leonov getting out of the spaceship

SPACE-FEAT ON TELE-SCREEN

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: To millions of spectators at the television, Alexi Leonov's space-feat has been a unique experience; in a way it was their personal experience. They saw history being created in front of their eyes.

THE telecast from VOSKHOD II was relayed throughout the Soviet Union and Europe through television network and people with bated breath looked at great epochmaking and dramatic twenty-minutes' venture of a man stepping out of the spacecraft to the free expanses of the great vacuum of cosmic space.

It has been my personal experience too. On the television screen I could see with astonishing clarity how Leonov opened the hatch of VOSKHOD II, how he rose upto his waist holding

onto the edge of the ship awaiting orders from the commander of the ship.

The order of Belyayev could be clearly heard: "do not go out till you get the command". I could even hear the sound of breathing by Leonov.

On receiving the command, Leonov slowly pulled up his legs and held on for a few moments to the hatch fixing something there. On the right could be seen the film camera which he switched on before leaving the spacecraft.

I could see clearly the great curve of the edge of the Earth, with clouds continuously floating by. As the spaceship turned on its axis, the background to this astonishing sight changed from the Earth to the sky with Leonov coming in and out of the light and the shadow. The sunshine was brilliant.

Leonov's movements were smooth and plastic. He appeared on the right of the ship and then changed to the left. From horizontal position, he became vertical and then somersaulted floating with head downwards.

It was an unforgettable experience which every viewer of television that day would treasure for ever.

(MORE PICTURES AND REPORTS ON CENTRE PAGES)



Soviet Cosmonauts No. 10 and 11



Fiddling While Vietnam Burns Editorial

FIRST it was napalm, now it is poison gas... there is no limit to the bestiality of the US imperialists in their war of aggression against the Vietnamese people. The brazen and unashamed manner in which the Pentagon generals admit the use by their forces of napalm and gas is a grim indication of the barbarism, which is the main characteristic of the US militarists today.

First the targets at which the US bombers were supposed to be aiming were limited, at least formally, fixed at least on paper. Now the US authorities proudly proclaim, their merry hands of murderers in air-men's suits are directed to drop their death-loads where they will.

A new stage, the US chieftains scream in their lunatic glee, a new stage has been reached in their butchery.

Vietnam burns. The smell of the flesh of Vietnamese infants cooked to ashes by US napalm may be pleasing to the nostrils of the killers in Washington. But it calls aloud for action by all who bear the title of human beings.

It is not Vietnam alone which burns. It is peace, which is enveloped in flames.

There is no time to lose... this is what all who cherish peace and independence, who oppose war and imperialism understand full well.

Why then do the men in high places in the Government of India continue to fiddle?

Newspaper reports suggest that the Government of India has submitted certain "amendments" to the proposed appeal by non-aligned states, drafted at the ambassadorial level meeting at Belgrade. These "amendments", it is said, seek to water down the references to the US attacks on North Vietnam and to attempt to throw the blame for the present situation equally on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Is this the moment for a government which claims to stand for peace and opposes aggression, to prevaricate, to wobble—is this the time for it to delay the sending out of an appeal by the nonaligned countries, through the submission of "amendments", which appear to go in a direction completely contrary to the understanding and will of the genuinely anti-imperialist nonaligned states?

The US imperialists are naturally anxious to prevent India from taking the steps it should take, as a country devoted to peace, against their aggression. They have resorted to every possible method to put pressure on India to ensure that the government keeps doing nothing, while they intensify their war.

Threats to reduce "aid" are in the air. Worse, a flood of US dollars appears to be in use to buy corrupt politicians to peddle provocative lies, which can divert attention from India's obvious duty.

The purport of these lies by the American agents in India is to "prove" that India owes

its security to the US air "umbrella", and that, therefore, in return for this supposed "debt", the government must turn a blind eye to the flames in Vietnam, and condone the crimes of the US imperialists.

It is good that the government has scotched these lies. But evidently the lies have had their effect: men in authority seem to believe that India must be silent, when it comes to condemnation of the US imperialists in South-east Asia. And why? Because of the utterly false thesis that India's defence against any renewed Chinese attack depends on US help.

The facts cannot be distorted; India's own representative on the Supervisory Commission has laid the responsibility for the fire where it belongs—on the heads of the US imperialists; all the anti-imperialist friends of India are clear that the US imperialists' attacks must be stopped and the US armed forces withdrawn from South Vietnam without delay. The Indian Ambassador in Belgrade has joined other nonaligned states in drafting a common appeal which demands a halt to US bombing.

If the government insists on blackening this country's image by its attitude, the people must act to restore India's name and prestige.

Let the cry go up from every nook and corner of India: Hands off Vietnam! Stop US aggression! Withdraw US armed forces from South Vietnam!

(March 23)

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India which concluded its three-day meeting in New Delhi on March 21 adopted the following resolution on the Kerala election results:

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India has made a preliminary review of the Kerala election results and the post-election situation.

On the basis of the common and agreed viewpoints expressed during the discussions, a detailed review report will be placed before the National Council of the Party which meets in Delhi from April 5 to 10, 1965.

In the meanwhile, pending the adoption of such a detailed review by the highest body of the Party, the National Council, the Central Executive Committee considers it necessary to express itself on certain urgent matters arising from the election results and the post-election situation.

The Communist Party of India has suffered a serious defeat in these elections. It is apparent that among the major factors responsible for this defeat must be placed the totally wrong assessment of the strength of the Party in Kerala on the basis of which the elections were fought. This led to the frittering away of energy and resources in a large number of constituencies.

The Party's failure in Kerala during the last two years to conduct among the masses following the Communist movement, a sustained ideological and political cam-

Congress Defeat

The National Council will examine in greater detail the reasons for the setback suffered by the Party in the Kerala election and come before the people and the Party membership with its conclusions.

The election results have rightly been seen by all as a defeat of the official

CEC RESOLUTION ON KERALA ELECTIONS

Congress Party, which by itself has won less seats and polled a smaller percentage of votes than in the last election. The Congress Party has been prevented from coming to power.

Nevertheless the fact must also be faced that due to the failure of the Left democratic forces to unite, this favourable situation has not led to the installation of a progressive government, which was deeply desired by the people of Kerala.

The total picture is one in which, as far as votes polled are concerned, the Left parties have suffered a setback. If the total votes of the Congress and the rebel Kerala Congress are taken together, they come to 46.48 per cent of the votes polled, as compared with the united Congress vote of 37.84, 34.40 and 34.28 per cent in the 1957, 1960 and 1962 elections respectively.

If we add to these the votes polled by the Muslim League in this election and in the elections in 1957 and 1960, the conclusion of increased strength for the combined votes of the Congress and other parties opposed to the left forces is further borne out.

On the other hand, the total votes polled by the Communist Party of India,

the "Marxist Communist" Party and independents supported by them constitute 32.75 per cent in these elections compared with the united Communist Party's vote of 40.74, 43.81 and 45.58 per cent in the 1957, 1960 and 1962 elections respectively.

The addition of votes polled by the SSP in this year's elections compared with those polled by the PSP in the previous elections only confirms still further the fact that the left forces as a whole have suffered a setback.

CPI Policy Vindicated

These results demonstrate clearly that the Communist Party of India was perfectly right in warning against the dangerous tactics being pursued by E.M.S. Namboodiripad and his party of joining hands with communal reaction in the name of fighting the Congress.

The elections have conclusively proved that the Communist Party's policy of fighting the Congress on the basis of unity of left forces without allying with or adjusting with communal and reactionary parties was a correct policy conforming to the true interests of the people of Kerala.

Had the "Marxist Communists" also followed this policy, the left forces would have won an absolute majority of seats and been in a clear position of forming a government.

Although it is true that the "Marxist Communists" have won a considerable number of seats for themselves, the overall result of their tactics is that it has also contributed to the strengthening of the Congress and the Kerala Congress-League axis.

It was their assistance, both open and covert, to the Muslim League and through it to the reactionary and communal "rebel" Kerala Congress-League axis, which gave this axis a number of seats and votes and has enabled it to come forward as a major force with 38 seats in the legislature.

Equally it was the "Marxist Communists'" deliberate break-up of the united front and their planned policy of opposing Communist candidates which led to the division of left votes.

The fact that today these reactionary parties, with whom Namboodiripad had direct or indirect alliances, refuse even to demand the release of the detained MLAs, should open the eyes of all honest members of his party to the results of the wrong policy of alliance with reactionary parties.

The Central Executive Committee has devoted considerable attention to the situation following the elections. The government of India is acting in an autocratic and dictatorial manner, throwing to the winds all pretences of adherence to democratic principles.

The refusal to permit the leader of the largest party—that of the "Marxist Communists"—to form a government, despite his claim to be able to do so is a violation of all canons of parliamentary democracy.

Travesty of Constitution

Again, the vicious and obstinate refusal of the Union Home Ministry to release at least the 29 elected MLAs who are detained without trial, is making a travesty of the entire Constitution.

The people have given their verdict in favour of these MLAs: they must be permitted to exercise their rights as elected representatives and take their seats in the Assembly.

The Central Executive Committee condemns the anti-democratic and lawless acts of the central government in regard to the urgent task of the formation of a ministry in Kerala; on the basis of the verdict of the voters and the established constitutional practice.

If the central government's anti-democratic practices are not halted now, there is every danger that they may be repeated in other states and wherever the Congress



JAN SANGH RETREAT ON LANGUAGE ISSUE

ROAD-signs effaced by RSS-Jan Sangh leaders and volunteers in Delhi are being restored.

Numerals indicating bus routes at the DTU stops are being "made readable" again for the convenience of thousands of visitors coming daily to the capital from all parts of the country.

And it is being hoped that the Sangh hordes will not have the temerity to come out again with their brooms and pails of black paint.

Two factors contributed, more than any others, to their present retreat from the gravely dangerous course of whipping-up a DMK-like disruptive counter-agitation in the North.

One: the people did not take kindly to their vandalistic action and also saw the hypocrisy of their "national" stand. If they really could not tolerate the sight of English for a single minute more, why did they not begin by extinguishing their own English moustpiece, the ORGANISER?

Two: rumblings of a revolt rose from their own units in the South and elsewhere. If their avid ambition of becoming a truly all-India party is to be fulfilled, how could these challenges be ignored! No, plans for engineering a devil dance in the North must be abandoned, if the South and East are not to be irrevocably lost even before anything

worth writing home about has been achieved there.

The Tamilnad Jan. Sangh adopted a resolution asking for a twelve-year continuance of associate language and the granting of equal status to all fourteen languages which are all national languages.

This when Atal Bahari Vajpayee was producing all kinds of arguments out of his hat in Parliament to dismiss the voice of protest so fervently raised in the South.

He made the rather strange revelation that when he, the DMK and the Swatantra party representatives—Uncle Sam's dear darlings all—had gone on their American-sponsored visit to South Vietnam, "the DMK man saw there the scene of a Buddhist burning himself to death, and perhaps he received the inspiration from there to persuade ignorant, innocent folk here to resort to suicide after that".

So the suicides in the South signified little, they were just extraneously engineered! That is all that the dense Sanghite head could understand out of this blood curdling episode!

Thank God that they did not persuade their own "ignorant" folk here to repeat the performance. Perhaps they got afraid that the people might not turn out to be so ignorant after all and ask the Sanghites to begin with themselves!

Be it what it may, such silly shafts from the sling of their meagre intelligence served no good purpose even for them. After listening to the rumblings,

Deendayal Upadhyaya came out with a new solemn declaration: Jan Sangh regards all Indian languages as national but Hindi it regards as the national official language!

Earlier, on January 26 this gentleman had said: "While all Indian languages are national languages, Sanskrit is THE (emphasis his) national language of India". And this he expects to be taken seriously as a friend of the nation!

First and foremost it is for the Hindi-speaking people to see that this brood is a false and dangerous champion of the cause, for what is described as the "cause of Hindi" cannot be anything distinct and apart from the cause of the unity and progress of whole India.

Anyone, whether the Jan Sanghis or the other species of language fanatics, will have to be judged from the following:

One: can he see that the call for no imposition of Hindi is motivated neither by anti-nationalism nor by any disposition to insult Hindi?

Two: is he prepared to launch or support a campaign for seating all the fourteen languages on the national pedestal?

Three: will he in the meanwhile permit the Official Language Act to be amended and allow time for the suspicion to be allayed, through planned and active steps, that Hindi was not to be seated in the

Food Policy Under Fire In Andhra Assembly

From MOHIT SEN

At the same time there was discrimination, since persons like Jayaprakash, Rajaji and Sheikh Abdullah were at liberty to preach against the integrity of India.

The DIR should be scrapped, the arrested should be released and the government should have the courage to face the accused in the courts of law—such were the demands of the CPI spokesmen.

They were supported in their stand by Vavilala Gopalkrishnaiah, T. R. Sharma and D. Sitaramaiah.

The Chief Minister had promised to speak for only six or seven minutes but in fact took half an hour. His speech was full of sound and fury but signified nothing. He simply repeated the Nanda statement.

The Speaker had to pointedly ask him to answer why the law courts were not being used. To this came the extraordinary reply that the fundamental law today was the Emergency and not to go to the courts was itself the law!

Corruption In Excise Dept.

This anti-democratic attitude was covered up with a great deal of patriotic phraseology. The Congress benches loudly thumped their desks to approve of this demagoguery on the part of their leader.

Communist MLAs A. Ram-

chandra Reddy and Dharmabiksham tore apart the Excise Department, exposing it as a nest of corruption. The latter stated that in Nalgonda district alone the toddy contractors pay nearly Rs. four lakhs as bribes to the excise officers.

Lift Prohibition

The former forcefully reiterated the CPI plea to lift the wasteful farce of prohibition and secure some more resources for the development of the state.

This continual exposure of the corruption in Ministry naturally led Members to demand that the Vigilance Commission should be allowed to go into charges of Ministerial corruption. The Chief Minister point blank refused.

He said that he himself would look into charges against his colleagues while charges against him would be gone into by the Prime Minister. Such were the rules of the Congress code of conduct.

The Speaker made the significant comment that in Orissa and Punjab certain procedures were adopted and this might be repeated in other states if serious charges were made against the ministers.

Vavilala Gopalkrishnaiah brought to light an extraordinarily serious case of possible murder.

In October 1963, M. Venkatsubbiah, the Deputy Registrar of Cooperatives at Kakinada,

suddenly disappeared while he was auditing the accounts of a cooperative bank, where defalcation was suspected. He was known as a very strict and honest officer.

His family allege that he was murdered in the office and his body thrown into the sea. The Home Minister admitted that no trace of him could be found but alleged that he was mentally deranged since "he was always thinking"!

This drew the retort from Tenneti Viswanatham, whether the Congress equated thinking with mental derangement! The Home Minister's reply was so completely unconvincing that the Chief Minister had to intervene to state that he would personally look into the matter and make a statement later.

On top of all these serious charges came the open declaration of the anti-labour stand of the government. Both on the question of revising and implementing minimum wages as well as of linking the DA of government and quasi-government employees with the cost of living index, it responded completely negatively.

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HYDERABAD: When the food situation in the state, especially in the capital, was being debated in the Legislative Assembly, Communist MLA Venka Satyanarayan created something of a sensation by producing a bag of powdered stones which was being freely mixed with rice and forced on the consumer.

He stated that to his knowledge in West Godavari district alone four factories had been set up for the nefarious purpose of producing these powdered stones to mix with rice so as to increase the weight. This was immediately taken up by other members.

Venka Satyanarayan followed up the mention of this malpractice with a short notice question on the issue. Food Minister Balarami Reddy was put in a tight corner but had the effrontery to state that some such mixing was being done in order to "polish" the rice. This drew a storm of protest, and even the Speaker remarked that this seemed to be the latest method of food adulteration.

Minister Isolated

It was not the first time that the Food Minister had been thoroughly exposed as either unable or unwilling to do anything to rectify the difficult food situation. It was interesting to find that the Chief Minister remained a passive spectator to his colleague's discomfiture, despite his attention being drawn to the fact.

It appears that he is quite willing to drop Balarami Reddy, whose resignation has been demanded by Congress MLAs as well. But Sanjeeva Reddy has come in the way. He even utilised his one day halt in Hyderabad to bolster up his loyal lieutenant.

Incidentally, observers in Andhra are pointing out that

the Union Steel Minister spends a tremendous amount of his time in his home state and wonder what the reason could be.

During the food debate, Communist members raised the demand for the nationalisation of the wholesale trade in food-grains, pointed to the open blackmarketing in fertilisers as well as the irregularities regarding scholarships and training going on in the Agricultural University.

Lakshmana Das, general secretary of the AFCC, made a blistering attack on the agricultural policies of the government, stating that the small ryot was still having his back broken by onerous burdens. He blamed the food crisis on the hoarders and speculators, calling for the hanging of blackmarketers.

Another important debate concerned the arrest of the members of the rival Communist Party. While disavowing the adjournment motion on the subject tabled by the CPI, the Speaker had agreed to a two-hour discussion.

Pillalamarri Venkateswarlu and N. Giri Prasad of the CPI made a sharp attack on the anti-democratic nature of the government's action, characterising it as a dangerous move against democracy and the Constitution.

They stated that no evidence had been produced to back up any of the allegations made in the statement of the Union Home Minister. To persecute persons for their ideological political views was highly reprehensible.

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Big Business Demands A Faster "Shift"

At every yearly gathering of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI), the top-most leaders of the Government of India admonish India's big business and the capitalist class for their insatiable appetite which all the time keeps asking for more.

THE tycoons in their turn flay the government for its lack of sympathy and its refusal to provide them enough opportunities to fleece the people to the very marrow of their bones.

A wordy warfare thus goes on between the two, but the upshot inevitably is that the government bows down to the Shylocks' demand to let them carve yet another pound of the people's flesh.

And yet all that goes on at this annual jamboree is no shadow-boxing. Left to themselves the Sethjis would go about their business of man-eating in such an utterly crude and clumsy way, that the whole structure would come down in a thundering crash in no time. The admonitions administered and consequent policies pursued are meant to prevent such an eventuality from taking shape.

Bitter Attack

This year's session of the FICCI which concluded only a few days ago in Delhi provided the usual spectacle, with the only difference that this time the exchanges between the two sides were sharper and more bitter than ever. Starting on a very high pitch, the tycoons had to somewhat bring down the intensity of their thunder. The rebukes administered by Messrs Shastri and Asoka Mehta and the advice given by the former Governor of the Reserve Bank Iengar to avoid "confrontation" were helpful.

More effective than these was the advice of their best friend, mouthpiece of US imperialism, the USAID official whose intervention, like that of the ill-famed

only to seize the opportunities but to meet the responsibilities the policy shift would pose.

Big business which is no way disagrees with this estimate is only a little too anxious to hasten

Comment

monkey between quarrelling cats, was a significant departure.

US Official Speaks

John P. Lewis, "an American professor of business economics", Minister-Director of the USAID Mission in Delhi confirmed in an extraordinary address to the Federation the happy tidings that a shift in the Government of India's policy, reversing the direction of planning, was taking place and they had to seize the opportunity to push it hard without being carried away by their own noise-making.

Indicative of the shift Mr. Lewis pointed out were the entire range of the private sector's expanding victories. He listed only a few of these, like expanded opportunities for the private sector in the Fourth Plan, improvements in the climate for foreign private investment, "greater reliance upon the market mechanism and decentralised decision-making", a steady retreat from the ideas of control and many indications of a change in outlook in the latest budget.

Lewis was quite explicit in his exhortation. These pointers, he said, should not be overlooked because "the degree to which such a shift of policy actually occurs in India in the years immediately ahead will depend heavily on the readiness of the private sector not

the process. Following the friendly counsels, they came to the conclusion that it was too early for them to ride rough-shod over public sentiment. The FICCI therefore decided to water down its resolution on fiscal and monetary policies, and make it less bitter in its criticism of the government.

This slight retreat never meant that the offensive was being slowed down by any means. Mihoo Masani followed up the Federation's blasts with his scurrilous diatribe in Parliament.

As a result of sustained public attack and constant pressuring from behind-the-scenes they have succeeded in pushing the government to a position where established economic and social policies are now being abandoned with a sleight of hand as is evident in the latest budget. In the ruling party the striving for a capitalist path of development is becoming more open and vocal and planning—despite all the loud protests of those presiding over it—is also sought to be made to subservient this end.

WEST GERMAN PERFORMANCE

NCE again the black-out on the real state of affairs that is sought to be imposed from time to time on West German swindling in Rourkela has been exposed for all to see. A statement by the Finance Ministry of the Government of India on the working of the three public sector steel plants has shown that the Rourkela plant is the weakest spot of Hindustan Steel.

Built with a lot of fanfare about West German assistance it has lagged behind the other two public sector plants, particularly behind Bhilai. Of the entire loss of 68.4 crores that Hindustan Steel has suffered since it was incorporated in 1953, Rourkela alone has been responsible for the loss of 32.9 crores of rupees.

First to be conceived among the three steel plants it was

Rourkela on which work had started before it did on any other plant. It took the longest to start any production. It has incurred heavy losses throughout; in 1963-64 it suffered a loss of 6.25 crores. It has not reached its rated capacity even today, ingot steel production being only 80 per cent of it.

The Finance Ministry statement shows that by all standards the performance of Bhilai, the Soviet aided steel plant, has been the best. Already in 1963-64 it showed a profit of 1.5 crores. Its production, in all respects was well in excess of the rated capacity.

Already in 1963-64 Bhilai production 1.14 million tonnes of steel ingots or 14 per cent more than the rated capacity.

—Ziaul Haq

March 24

TTK In New Garb

By OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

FINANCE Minister Krishnamachari is evidently a quick-change artist of no mean calibre. He displayed some of his talents in Rajya Sabha this week while winding up the budget debate.

TTK put off his robes of a champion of foreign capital. He appeared in a new role, that of an advocate of socialism, a staunch follower of the late Jawaharlal Nehru, and one who believed in showing the "corporate sector" its proper place.

Answering a critic who said that his budget had failed to pay even the customary lip-service to socialism—that word was not mentioned in the budget speech—TTK posed: could there be a better homage to socialism than the homage he had paid to Nehru?

"After all we learnt our socialism from him. We learnt the ideas of planning from him... I do not think for a moment that anybody associated with Jawaharlal Nehru, unless he becomes a renegade, would ever forget the basic purposes and objectives for which he lived."

Earlier during the week TTK went out of his way to pay cudos to the intelligence of Communist leader Bhupesh Gupta. He handled the criticism of his budget proposals with his usual alacrity, knowing how to swim with the tide.

His speech in the Rajya Sabha gave away his tactics: concentrate the attack on the extreme rightwing who ask for more and yet more concessions for the capitalists and monopolists, and tell them: "No, no more concessions for the corporate sector". That was the easiest way to impress everyone that his budget proposals were meant to benefit the common man.

But this posture received a rude shake-up at the hands of the Communist spokesmen in both Houses. On the very day when TTK donned in the Rajya Sabha the robes of a champion of socialism, the Lok Sabha heard from Renu Chakravarty a straight-forward and clear exposure of the budget proposals for what they were worth.

A trickle of relief was provided to the middle and poorer classes and fortunes to the top rich. The trickle of relief to the middle-class helped TTK to hand over substantial concessions to the rich which people would not ordinarily agree to under any circumstance.

She showed this by citing figures of tax relief in the budget—one per cent relief for the lowest slab of income-tax payers and 10 per cent relief to the slab earning Rs. 70 thousand and above. Was this the way of reducing "disparities in income" and bringing about "egalitarian society", she asked the Finance Minister.

Another plank of the budget, on which Renu Chakra-

varty threw light, was its green light to foreign capital and even further concessions to step into this country. This sapped indigenous talent and scientific know-how, and helped foreign monopolies to drain off easily gained profits and was a set-back for building self-reliance.

She quoted Education Minister Chagla to prove her contention that in numerous cases India's own talent and know-how was being given a go-by in favour of outmoded foreign collaboration offers.

Even more alarming were the figures she gave of the export of profits during the last three years, showing that foreign monopolies' profits were being doubled and quadrupled. As against this, there was little in the budget to benefit the peasant despite all the talk of stepping up agricultural production.

Renu Chakravarty sharply brought to light the purpose of private sector and their mouthpiece the FICCI. Referring to the proposal made in a meeting of this body by Kamalnayan Bajaj, a Congress MP, that industrialists should withhold funds from political parties who did not sustain their demands, she said:

"These are the people who rule the country and pressurise the government for more and more concessions."

Despite all the brave talk of TTK, she reminded the House that the government was weak before the pressure of capitalists whose appetite continued to grow.

CALCUTTA: Though the introduction of rationing in Calcutta and the much publicised bumper crop in the state have eased the food situation somewhat in West Bengal, already there are ominous signs in the horizon which suggest that complacency would be illplaced in the present situation, reports IPA.

THE usual pattern in the state, as in other states throughout India, is that prices drop sharply when the new harvest comes in.

The poorer sections of the peasantry, unable to hold on to the crops, have to part with them to meet their day to day expenses and in many cases to pay off loans contracted at the time of the sowing.

The marketable surplus is thus collared by the traders who are interested in seeing that prices remain low while they are in the market to purchase.

SURPLUS CORNERED

By April all except the well-to-do peasants would have sold off their surplus and the prices begin to shoot up.

The danger signals this year are that despite the talk of the bumper crop, prices are reigning fairly high in all parts of West Bengal in comparison to prices at this time in previous years.

This indicates that estimates of the crop might be

exaggerated and might later have to be revised as they often are.

West Bengal is familiar to the phenomenon of one set of statistics being quoted by the government at the time of harvesting, another set in the middle of the year and a third set during the lean months before the new crop comes in.

After all, it is wellknown that estimates of the crop are based on visual surveys and not based on any scientific methods of calculation.

The second and the most dangerous of all symptoms is that the government has as usual failed to achieve its procurement target.

And this means that it will be left to the mercy of the profiteers again during the lean months.

The government had estimated that it needed a million tons of rice to maintain rationing in the greater Calcutta area and to keep up the system of modified rationing to help the poorer people in the rural areas.

The centre has undertaken

Rice Procurement Drive Flops Badly

the responsibility of feeding Greater Calcutta, it has been reported.

This is of course reassuring but P. C. Sen himself stated at one time that while the centre could be relied upon to stick to its promises as far as the quantity of supplies were concerned, there was no guarantee that the supplies would be of the quality desired by the people of Calcutta.

To meet this difficulty the Chief Minister had decided to procure good or medium quality West Bengal rice from out of the marketable surplus in the state.

With this rice he expected to be able to keep the people of Calcutta satisfied because the middle class and the upper strata in Calcutta would revolt if fed on coarse rice mixed with stone chips

that is often dumped into the state from sources outside.

The coarse rice he had planned to divert to the rural areas where modified rationing is meant primarily for the poor peasants who could be expected to take what they got without a murmur.

Even if they murmured, it mattered little because while even a little whisper in Calcutta is magnified a hundred times and has repercussions outside the poor peasant can cry himself hoarse for all one cares.

PEOPLE SCEPTICAL

Such has been the experience of the past years.

But figures circulated by the government reveal that out of a target of four lakh tons, up to date the govern-

ment has hardly been able to procure sixty thousand tons.

The government has of course expressed confidence in its own ability to achieve the target but people who have been through all this before are inclined to be sceptical.

Once the marketable surplus has gone into the hands of the hoarders there is little hope of retrieving it. Therein lies the danger.

Will the government wake up before it is too late—this is the anxious query on the lips of those who feel that despite the rationing and the talk of the bumper crop things are not all that rosy.

DIR Arrest To Bolster Congress

From Sarala Karkhanis

BOMBAY: How the Congress government is using the hated Defence of India Rules for its own narrow party ends has been brought to light vividly in a recent case in Maharashtra.

The case is that of Madhavrao Gaikwad, member of the secretariat of the Maharashtra state council of the CPI, who was arrested and detained under the DIR on March 12.

The arrest of Gaikwad, it has been revealed, was at the instance of the some Congress leaders of Nasik.

These Congress leaders had given an ultimatum that unless Gaikwad was arrested, they would resign from the Congress. They are reported to have even submitted a collective resignation to the Maharashtra Home Minister.

The arrest has been condemned by all democratic forces in the state. A deputation on behalf of the CPI met the state Home Minister to protest against the arrest.

The Minister did not have anything to say in justification of the arrested, it is understood.

READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS PLEASE NOTE

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A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

His Master's Voice

SADASHIV KANOJI SPATIL has done it again. At a businessmen's function last week, Sadoba entertained his audience with jibes at socialism and expressed his admiration, no doubt genuine, for the "enthusiasm and capacity" of businessmen, in spite of the "dampening" budgets.

This, of course, is nothing unusual for Sadoba. His views on business and capital and his aversion to socialist ideas are well known. Long years of association with Bombay's big business had made Sadoba a faithful servant of capital and a forthright opponent of labour and socialism.

That association proved mutually advantageous to both parties, and continues to be the strong base from which Sadoba operates in the labyrinthine politics of Congress power. Occasionally His Master's Voice comes out in criticism of Congress policies where it is likely to upset even slightly the interests of monopolies. However, last week at the Asoka Hotel before the distinguished gathering of tycoons, Sadoba really let himself go.

At Bhubaneswar last year, when Congressmen were debating a kind of socialist

declaration, Sadoba hit the headlines with his sarcastic comment that socialism was an "old hat" worn by everybody and hence lost its shape. Now he scoffs at "welfare state" also. Indeed, Sadoba must derive particular pleasure from having a go at those "Utopian Congressmen who still think of a welfare state, when men like him at the helm of affairs are full time working to prevent it."

It was clear that his audience immensely liked his jokes. They cheered loudly and thumped the tables as Sadoba spoke for them: "Let us create wealth first by giving incentives and then think of distribution."

Both he and his listeners know very well that once wealth is created in the fashion in which they want, without any restraint imposed by society and without any attempt at distribution, the all-powerful monopolies could then have the show all to themselves.

As for the manner of creating this wealth, we know from the Mundhras, the Patnaiks, the Mitras, and those dynasties, the sons and fathers etc. what it is.

Sadoba's other views, on the need to tax the workers, on the budget etc. were all on a pattern to please his audience.

And so, apart from black marketing, under invoicing,

hoarding, tax evasion, price raising, cheating the worker of his bonus and DA and a thousand other crimes that the tycoons are allowed to commit daily to amass wealth, Sadoba said they should have still more "incentives". Of course, TTK should be happy to oblige his Cabinet colleague.

True to his style, he also declared at the same meeting his opposition to giving a wage board for the railway employees. Whereas the Labour Ministry is reported to be in favour of setting up a wage board for the railway employees, the Railway Minister using his position is trying to prevent it.

Obviously Sadoba has not lost much time, since he was brought back into the Cabinet by Shastri, to push his anti-labour, anti-socialist policies. The climate after Durgapur has given all the "incentive" to him, so he could tell the tycoons that though the "investment climate" was not "particularly good", "I can assure you it won't remain like this for ever."

Gift To British Monopoly

TALKING about "incentives", a report from Bihar says that the

state government has agreed to write off Rs. 60 lakhs of its royalty and revenue dues from the Indian Copper Corporation Ltd. which exploits the copper mines of Musabani, Singhbhum.

What is noteworthy is that this British-owned company which has a virtual monopoly of India's biggest copper mines has been reaping excellent profits from the venture. According to published figures, in 1960 and 1961 they had declared a dividend of 27 per cent; their net profit including taxes in 1962 came to over a million pounds.

As for the dues to the government, the total amounted to rupees one crore for which decree had been awarded in favour of the government by a lower court and upheld by the Patna High Court. But now it is reported that instead of realising this money, the Bihar Government has decided to compromise and make a final settlement with the Corporation at Rs. 40 lakhs only.

Over and above this, the state government is also reported to have decided to permit the same firm to exploit the richest kaolinite mines in Lapsubru rejecting the applications of many Indian firms.

Why all this largesse to a foreign firm? The matter should be probed into and the state government should be hauled up if it squanders public funds to placate a foreign firm. Or is it the model of TTK's firm attitude towards foreign capital?

—K. U. WARIER

PEOPLE GET READY TO CLEAN Augean Stables

From AJOY DASGUPTA

CALCUTTA: The people of Calcutta go to polls on March 28 to elect a hundred members to the Calcutta Corporation, elections to which are for the first time being held on the basis of adult franchise.

THE right to vote has been secured by all the citizens after a prolonged struggle, but the Congress government has taken care to emasculate the Corporation by reducing it to mere consultative status and giving more powers to the commissioners.

But that has not reduced the enthusiasm of the people. For, with adult franchise, they are getting for the first time a real opportunity to dethrone the Congress from the seats of power in the Corporation of India's biggest city.

The Congress has put up 99 candidates against the United Citizens Committee's 87 (the break-up is: Rival Communist Party 38, Communist Party of India 12, Revolutionary Socialist Party 9, Bolsheviks 3 and RCFI 1, the remaining being independents).

The Progressive Citizens Bloc comprising the SSP and the Forward Bloc has put up 39 candidates. Others in the field are Jan Sangh with seven candidates, the SUC with four candidates. There are also 52 unattached independents.

Poor Amenities

The civic amenities in Calcutta are miserably poor by all standards. The water supply is inadequate. The drainage system is outdated, laid more than 100 years ago.

Nearly half of the area of the city is not served by underground drains and sewers and one-third of the population is still served by service privies.

Due to lack of attention the drainage system is choked and it is estimated that 8.6 million cubic feet of silt has accumulated in the drains.

The result is that along with scarcity of potable water, Calcutta is faced with water logging over most part of the city even with a minimum of rain. Arrangements for garbage removal are also outdated and inadequate.

While the general condition of civic services is in such a mess, the condition of the one million people living in the bustees can easily be imagined.

In 50 per cent of the bustees there is no arrangement for drinking water, there is only one latrine for seven families and 90 per cent families live in one room only, which are generally of earthen floor, roof and mud walls and tile roof.

It is only in Calcutta that one-third of the population have to depend on unfiltered water supply. All this has led to high incidence of diseases in the city. This is the only city in the world with a population of over one million where cholera breaks out in epidemic form.

This situation has been brought about during an uninterrupted rule of the Congress party in the Calcutta Corporation for the

last 18 years when Atulya Ghosh, the powerful boss of the West Bengal Congress has been the chairman of the Congress Municipal Association.

He has expressed horror at the insanitary condition of the bustees, in a meeting of Bharat Sevak Samaj and said that something must be done to improve the situation. He however did not forget to give a certificate to the Congress administration for 'doing whatever could be done'.

But the people do not think so. They know very well that the horrible mess, which is the administration of the Calcutta Corporation, is due to not only inefficiency of the Congress bosses, but also due to corruption. The Corporation has even got a nickname, 'corporation', that is, thieves' kitchen.

Whenever the Congress bosses are criticised for their failure to provide basic civic amenities to the citizens of Calcutta, they plead lack of funds.

That is true, no doubt. A city of more than 3.5 million people have an income of Rs. 10 crores only, while Bombay's income is more than Rs. 25 crores.

But this is also due to the policy of the Congress rulers. While the rates on small houses and huts have increased five or six-fold during last two decades, some of the palatial buildings and big cinema houses have been given relief.

When licence fees are levied on carts and hawkers and these are increasing frequently, the highest licence fee fixed at Rs. 500/- per year some 60 years back remains unchanged.

No Tax For Big Businesses

That means that the big business houses, both foreign and Indian, who earn crores of rupees by conducting their business in Calcutta do not pay anything for the upkeep of the city, not to speak of any improvement.

The attitude of the central and state governments also is not different in any way. It is estimated that the central government are in arrears of Rs. four crores as rates payable for the buildings and estates they own in Calcutta municipal area.

But instead of paying it up, they are hagglng on the amount and also the rate itself and wanted a lower rate than the citizens. They have not even paid the amount computed on the basis of the lower rate.

The West Bengal government also pays only Rs. five lakhs as motor vehicles tax, though the income on that score is Rs. 1.5 crores.

The tax was previously collected by the corporation, but for administrative advantage the state government took up the responsibility of collecting it. At that time the total collection was to the tune of some Rs. 6.5 lakhs and the government kept

Rs. 1.5 lakhs or so as collection expenses.

But when the collection has gone up to Rs. 1.5 crores the amount paid to the corporation remains the same.

In the British days the Congress leaders had fought the alien government to increase the powers and functions of the local governments. And it was expected that after Independence the Congress government would delegate more and more powers and functions to these bodies and give them sources of sufficient finance.

But things have taken shape otherwise and the Congress party inside the Calcutta Corporation, enjoying uninterrupted majority has failed to press and win these rights. Moreover the Calcutta Corporation under them have become a cesspool of corruption, nepotism and bribery.

Hence the UCC composed of seven left parties and progressive citizens has raised the central slogan of reducing the Congress to minority so that attempts can be made to introduce a clean and efficient administration in the Corporation.

The UCC pledged itself to do all in its power to eradicate corruption.

It has also promised to give a fair deal to the Corporation workers and employees and to enlist their full cooperation in toning up the administration of the Corporation.

Violating all practices of civic administration, the majority Congress party had excluded mem-

bers of other parties from the different standing committees and ran the civic administration as one party rule.

It may be mentioned here that though the majority of seats were won by the Congress party in the election in 1961, they secured lesser number of votes than the UCC.

The UCC in its manifesto has raised such demands as more powers to the elected councillors and right of recall by citizens, complete change in the tax structure by reducing taxes on small owners and increasing the ceiling, new contract with Calcutta Tramways and Electric Supply Corporation and allocation of greater part of motor vehicle tax, entertainment tax and duties on cigarettes etc. to the Corporation.

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SPLIT IMMINENT IN MYSORE CONGRESS

From C. R. KRISHNA RAO

BANGALORE: The Congress in Mysore is facing imminent split. Dissident Congressmen are making last minute preparations to form a new political party in the state to be known as "Mysore Congress," and have indicated that it will come into being early next month.

DISSIDENTS who are unhappy over the reported clearance by the Centre of charges levelled against the Nijalingappa Ministry have found no other way except to come out openly against the "ruling clique" as they call it. Success of civic front in Bangalore Corporation elections early this year and also success of Kerala Congress have emboldened them to launch the new party.

They are claiming that 25 members of the legislature will join the new party. They are also contemplating to give an all India stature for their party by roping in all dissident Congressmen in different parts of the country.

As a first step the idea of a 'rebels' meet from South is being thought off. Already the leaders of the dissident group have sounded many on these lines.

It is to be recalled that the Congress legislators had presented a charge sheet detailing various omissions and commissions of the Nijalingappa Ministry, last year. The charges were presented to Union Home Minister Nanda and also to the Prime Minister and to the Congress President.

This was followed by a separate charge sheet presented by about 30 Opposition legislators to the Union President. So far none of them have received any reply from Delhi about the fate of the charges. At the same time Prime Minister Shastri's announcement in Parliament that Mysore Ministry has been cleared of charges has enraged those who were instrumental in preparing the charges.

Dissident Congressmen feel that they were not provided with an opportunity to sub-

stantiate the charges made. They consider the procedure followed by the Delhi bosses as most undemocratic.

Hitherto the practice followed by dissident Congress groups was to run a signature campaign within the party and oust the ruling group from power. This is the first time that the fight has come into open and the party is facing a split.

The dissidents have been advised, it is said by their spokesmen, to wait for one month by Congress President Kamaraj before they decide to break away with the parent organisation. Though the dissidents are pessimistic about the outcome from waiting they are prepared to wait.

Meanwhile the sponsors of the new party are hoping to take away a good section of rank and file with them. They expect good support in old Mysore area.

Red tapism and indecision of Mysore government have been severely criticised by the Public Accounts Committee in its report for 1961-62. The committee has pointed out several instances in this regard which resulted in huge losses to the state exchequer.

Affairs of Sharavathi Hydrel project and Khadi Board are highlights of the report. The committee has pointed to an instance where indiscision and delay in accepting rates from contractors have resulted in a loss of Rs. 25.49 lakhs to the treasury. It refers to negotiated contract rates for Lingamanakki Dam in Sharavathi Hydrel project.

The committee further observed that this is also an instance in which the government suffered heavy losses on account of those at a higher level not permitting

the officers on the spot to take decision.

With regard to the state Khadi Board, the committee has this to say: 'About the affairs of the Khadi Board, the less said, the better as enough has been said already. The affairs of the Board have become the target of criticism and it remains to be seen when it will be set right.

"The irregularities such as non-maintenance of accounts non-accountal of cash balance and cases of misappropriation are of a serious nature and it appears no attention has been paid by the Board to improve matters."

The former chairman of the Board who happens to be now Chairman of the Legislative Council has in a statement to the press recently disowned responsibility for the affairs of the Board.

Though he admits that about Rs. 10 lakhs might have been misappropriated, he puts the blame wholly on the accounts department which, according to him, comes under the government directly.

The accounts of the Board are yet to be finalised as per answers submitted by the industries Minister on the floor of the Assembly during the last session.

The Finance Minister's announcement about giving Madras rates of pay, dearness allowance and house rent allowance to the Mysore NGOs, while replying to the budget debate in the Assembly, has brought dissatisfaction to large sections of NGOs.

According to the Joint Council of action the Madras scales announced by the Finance Minister, though less some attractive features, will benefit mostly the higher income group rather than the lower income group.

Nearly 65 per cent of NGOs will benefit only to the extent of three rupees. In certain cases the Madras scales bring more disadvantages than any advantages.

SHILONG: The continuous "no work" begun by the members of the Assam Secretariat Services Association (ASSA) on March 3 has virtually paralysed the civil secretariat. To this day (March 18) there does not seem to be any prospect of a settlement to overcome the deadlock.

Assam

From M. BHATTACHARYA

'No Work' Struggle Of Sectt. Staff Continues Unabated

FAR from showing any inclination to consider the demands of the employees, the government seems to be bent upon making the employees submit unconditionally.

The employees on the other hand are determined to continue their "no work" movement till their demands are met or any definite, dependable assurance is given about meeting their demands.

Vindictive Action

It is also indicated that more and more disciplinary actions will be taken against the employees unless they withdraw their movement "unconditionally".

About one thousand Class III employees of the secretariat have been observing "no work".

Some of the under secretaries who were also members of the ASSA, however, broke away from the organisation on the eve of

the beginning of "no work" and formed a separate association of their own.

The ASSA represents all the Class III employees of the Secretariat, except the typists and stenographers who are organised under a different organisation of their own.

According to the action committee of the ASSA, "The ministerial services of the Government of Assam have not received a square deal at the hands of the government. Ever since Independence, the members of these services are being treated with neglect and even with contempt.

"Different pay committees set up by the Government of Assam from time to time since Independence, have not been able to appreciate the importance of our work as is evident from the revised scales of pay granted to us...."

"The report and recommendations of the pay committee 1964, as accepted by the state

government have dealt the worst blow to the ministerial services by reducing their status... What is worse still, it keeps over our head hanging the Democles' Sword for reduction of staff in some grades resulting in reversion and retrenchment of many.

"All our fervent petitions, prayers and verbal representations stating our extreme economic hardship to the government have gone in vain. The bread issue of the staff has been made a prestige issue by the government.

That is how the employees have explained their position and the action they have "been compelled to take".

The issue was raised in the State Assembly twice during the week by members of the opposition, once by tabling an adjournment motion and then through a calling attention motion.

On both these occasions the

government sought to counter the arguments of the employees, by maintaining that the recommendations of the pay committee were just and fair and the purpose of these were to do justice to the employees as far as possible.

The official spokesmen, however, could not convincingly refute the charge that there were many anomalies in the recommendations of the pay committee. Instead of making any categorical statement that these anomalies would be removed, only a vague assurance was given that the anomalies might be reviewed and considered.

But this assurance was coupled with the threat that no government could tolerate the attempt on the part of any section to paralyse the administration. The Chief Minister said that the employees were trying to hold the society to ransom and that the government would not submit to their threat.

One of the major grievances of the employees is against the

possibility of reversion of a large number of employees in the upper rung of class-III and re-entrainment in the lower rung as a result of a new principle of staff requirement which, according to the employees, will also increase the workload per employee.

When the state Assembly discussed the issue on March 11, the Finance Minister tried to defend stoutly this principle in the name of "economy". He charged the opposition of "talking with two tongues" as they demanded economy in the administration, while at the same time opposing retrenchment.

Emergency Excuse

The Chief Minister, on the other hand, admitted that prices had gone up, resulting in hardship to the employees, particularly in the lower rung. He also admitted that the relief offered by the pay committee recommendations was meagre.

But he sought to defend the government's position in the name of national emergency and the strategic position of Assam as the frontier state where he said nothing should be done to "paralyse" the administration in an "illegal manner".

Meanwhile, some of the members of the Opposition in the Assembly are understood to have met the Chief Minister in a bid to find a solution so that the current deadlock might come to an end.

The Chief Minister is reported to have told them that he would not consider anything unless the employees would first unconditionally call off their movement.

The All Assam Ministerial Officers' Association, representing the employees stationed in the districts has decided to begin a similar "no work" from March 19, unless their demands are met by the government.

Several other associations of government employees in the offices of the heads of departments in the capital, represented in the Joint Action Committee have decided to join the "continuous no work" movement if there should be any repression or victimisation of the members of the ASSA.

A few years back when the state government employees observed "no work" for about five days, there was mass suspension of employees. This mass suspension was, however, withdrawn. But the suspension order on some of the leaders of the employees' associations, are stated to be still pending.

This time, it appears, the government would not issue suspension order en masse. It might take disciplinary action against the employees in batches. The recognition of the ASSA has already been withdrawn.

A number of local trade unions, representing workers in the private sector, including the union of the Life Insurance Corporation Employees' & Field Workers' Association have extended support to the members of the ASSA.

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

West Bengal

Govt Employees To Broaden Movement For Better Pay

CALCUTTA: After the impressive demonstration on March 11 last the Coordination Committee of West Bengal Government Employees' Associations is planning to broaden the base of the movement.

THE committee intends to hold discussions with the Central Government Employees' Coordination Committee, trade unions in other state sector organisations like the DVC, State Electricity Board and organisations of teachers employed in schools and colleges, in this regard.

The discussions will mainly be devoted to finding out more effective forms of movement for achieving the demands of the employees and to drawing up certain minimum common demands suitable for all these mass organisations.

According to a spokesman of the Coordination Committee, these minimum demands are likely to include increase in dearness allowance proportionate to the rise in the cost of living, revision of pay scales, trade union rights and safeguards against victimisation and retrenchment.

Meanwhile the Coordination Committee has written a letter to the Chief Minister regretting the latter's inability to meet a deputation of the employees on March 11.

March To Assembly

The programme in Calcutta was part of a state-wide programme of demonstrations in which in every district and sub-divisional town employees went on mass deputation to the sub-divisional officers or the district magistrates.

A deputation on behalf of the demonstrators went into the Assembly buildings to

meet the Chief Minister while the others squatted in front of the south gate of the Raj Bhavan.

The Chief Minister however refused to meet the demonstrators even though opposition members in the Assembly demanded that he should meet them. In protest against the Chief Minister's attitude, the opposition staged a walk-out.

Fixation of need-based minimum wage, reinstatement of victimised employees, recognition of representative unions of the employees are also among the important demands which figure in the memorandum.

Demands Charter

The memorandum which was forwarded by the Coordination Committee of the West Bengal Employees' Associations, to the Chief Minister contained a 20-point charter of demands.

The demands include revision of present dearness allowance and the grant of dearness allowance at a flat rate of Rs. 30 per month with retrospective effect from March 1964; arrangement for automatic adjustment of dearness allowance with the cost of living index at a rate of Rs. 5 for every 2.5 point rise on the basis of a quarterly review, appointment of an experts' commission for investigating and rectifying the defective and faulty cost of living figures prepared by the state statistical bureau, arrangements for supply of essential commodities at subsidised rates.

The attitude of the government to its employees had always been very callous and because this they have been forced to carry on a ceaseless agitation for the last decade and the government retaliated with dismissal of union leaders.

ASPECTS OF CPI PROGRAMME—VI

NATIONAL DEMOCRACY AND THE NON-CAPITALIST PATH

The ruling class in India has placed the country on the road of independent capitalist development and continued its compromise with imperialism and feudalism. It has shown itself incapable of solving the basic problems of national regeneration, of completing the essential tasks of the national democratic revolution.

THEIR own painful experience has convinced the vast masses of our country that the capitalist path is the road of poverty, exploitation and slow rates of growth.

Living in an epoch when socialism has immensely increased its power of attraction, they feel that a path other than the capitalist path must be found for the solution of the problems of national development and the people's welfare.

Critical Moment

At the same time the Indian monopolists, the feudalists and semi-feudalists, backed by imperialism, are seeking to use the inherent contradictions of the capitalist path to subvert the nation, to stage a counter-revolution and convert India into a neocolony.

At such a critical moment the Communist Party of India places before the people precisely an alternative form of state power and qualitatively different pattern of economic growth—the national democratic state and the non-capitalist path.

The CPI holds that the capitalist state and its path have to be removed from the Indian scene by the national democratic revolutionary movement of all the patriotic, democratic classes of the country.

It holds that the right reactionary plans to subvert

the nation have to be smashed.

This dual task merges in a single revolutionary process.

Only then can the tasks of national rebirth be fulfilled and the conditions created for the transition to socialism.

The CPI is convinced that India's future lies with socialism, i.e., an economy where social and cooperative ownership of the means of production replaces all forms of private property and where the state power is in the hands of the workers, toiling peasants and urban petty-bourgeoisie, led by the working class.

The problem is not the projection of this goal. Lenin long ago pointed out that the most important problem confronting serious revolutionaries is the one of transition to socialism.

What transitional programme, state power and strategic slogans will rally all the possible class forces that can be rallied, achieve the maximum possible isolation of the enemy and achieve the maximum possible unity of the masses—that precisely is the problem.

Transitional Form

After deep research, prolonged discussion and exchange of experience with other contingents of the international Communist movement, the CPI has come to

the conclusion that the most appropriate transitional form in India will be the state of national democracy and the non-capitalist path.

Theoretical analysis and practical experience have proved that while the national bourgeoisie cannot fulfil the cardinal tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution, the non-monopoly sections of the national bourgeoisie have still an important role to play in the accomplishment of these tasks.

Its anti-imperialist anti-feudal, democratic potential has not yet been exhausted.

It is because of this fact that the non-monopoly national bourgeoisie in India through its political representatives, especially Pandit Nehru, retained a very large mass following

bourgeoisie in India alone will enable the CPI to correctly work out the strategy and tactics of the national democratic revolution in the specific conditions of our country.

To carry out this revolution an essential prerequisite is to build the national democratic front. The Programme gives clear and concrete guidance on how this is to be done.

Striking Power

It is quite evident that it is the working class that will have to take up this task and initiate the process. This is its inescapable historic responsibility.

No other class, certainly not

As the isolation of the monopoly bourgeoisie, the landlords and the imperialists increases with the gathering sweep and strength of the national democratic revolutionary movement, as their anti-national, anti-democratic character becomes increasingly revealed, the split in the Indian bourgeoisie will be accomplished.

The non-monopoly national bourgeoisie will make a decisive turn to the National Democratic Front and help the process of its consolidation and growth.

Various forms of mass struggle for the economic demands of the workers, peasants and urban middle strata will play a vital role in the ideological-political awakening of these classes as well as in the strengthening of their organisations.

Sweeping national mass movements for the realisation of the alternative programme of the non-capitalist path are essential for the bringing into being of the National Democratic Front.

These struggles, these national mass movements, combined with parliamentary forms of struggle, are aimed at defeating and isolating the enemies of the national democratic revolution—the monopoly bourgeoisie, the imperialists and the landlords.

It is aimed at bringing about radical changes in the policies and set-up of the government.

The culmination of this struggle and mass movement will be a qualitative, revolutionary leap in which the present state power of the exclusive rule of the entire bourgeoisie will be ended.

At the crest of the revolutionary struggle a new, national democratic state power will take its place.

This new state power will be a bloc of the working class, the entire peasantry, the urban middle strata and the non-monopoly national bourgeoisie.

In this class alliance the exclusive leadership of the working class is not yet established, though the exclusive leadership of the bourgeoisie no longer exists.

Sharing Leadership

This perspective of the sharing of leadership, as well as of power, between the working class and the non-monopoly sections of the national bourgeoisie is a specific aspect of the concept of national democracy as applied to Indian conditions.

It demarcates this concept from the older concept of people's democracy, in which the same four-class coalition is led by the working class alone, found suitable for China and the first phase of revolution in Eastern Europe and previously accepted by the CPI as its goal also.

Deeper study of the specific conditions in India as well of the new epoch in which the Indian national democratic revolution proceeds, led the Party to make a re-evaluation of the present role and future potential of the non-monopoly national bourgeoisie.

It came to the conclusion that although it is a part of

* ON PAGE 13

MARCH 28, 1965

AMRITSAR: Many are the glories sung by the government and the INTUC in praise of adjudication and conciliation as "weapons" to achieve justice for the workers. They decry strikes as anti-national.

THE case of 225 workers of the Punjab Worsteds Spinning Mills must therefore be an eye-opener for them, if they ever believed in what they preached.

After four years of adjudication even now these 225 workers—whole strength of the mills—have not been able to get even a judgment, either in favour of them or against.

Shortly, this is the history of this case: In November 1960 one of the partners of the mills was reported to have abused and tried to assault a union militant. Workers were infuriated and demanded amends. The management locked them out and this was followed by a strike.

All Workers Dismissed

The management suspended a number of workers and ultimately dismissed or discharged all of them. New people were employed in their place.

The Textile Mazdoor Ekta Union served a notice of demands on January 27, 1961 on the management.

The state government refused to refer the dispute for adjudication. The ma-

agement boasted that they had been assured by the government that the dispute would not be referred for adjudication.

There was a state-wide agitation against the policy of the government. This included demonstrations and hunger strikes in all the industrial centres of the state.

Adjudication Ordered

As a result of this prolonged agitation, the government referred the dispute for adjudication on April 19, 1964. The reference said:

"Whether the action of the management in discharging, not allowing the workmen mentioned in the enclosed list to resume work is justified and in order? If not, to what relief they are entitled?"

The onus to justify the discharge of the workmen was thus rightly placed on the management.

The management was naturally very angry, having been assured that the dispute would not be referred for adjudication at all.

Possibly to pacify the government issued another notification on May 17, 1961 seeking to shift the onus onto the workmen.

FOUR YEARS PASSED, YET ADJUDICATION DRAGS ON!

From SATPAL DANG

The issue was now framed as:

"Whether the workmen (list given below) have not abandoned their jobs by refusing to give the undertaking as required by the management?"

The dispute was referred for adjudication to the Industrial Tribunal, Punjab, presided over by a retired judge of the Punjab High Court, Girdhari Lal Chopra. The adjudication proceedings started in June 1961.

The management raised certain preliminary objections like that the dispute was not an industrial dispute and wanted these to be decided first. This was rejected on January 23, 1962 when the tribunal ruled that all the issues would be decided together.

Against this preliminary order of the tribunal, the management filed a writ petition which was dismissed on March 9, 1962.

Proceedings went on before the industrial tribunal. Evidence of the parties was com-

pleted in June 1962 and the case was argued for about a week in July 1962.

At the very end, while replying to the arguments of the workmen's representative, the management's attorney raised a new point that all the workmen were not members of the union and notice of adjudication proceedings should have been served on all the workmen besides notice to the union.

Another Writ

This plea was never taken either in the written statement or at any time during the whole year when the union was actually representing all the workmen before the tribunal. Even then the tribunal heard the plea and

allowed the same to be argued.

Within a few days after the arguments were concluded the management filed a writ petition before the High Court on the basis of the same plea and obtained an ex-parte stay order preventing the tribunal from sending its award.

It was reported that the award had already been dictated, but not yet been typed and that the management had come to know that it was not to their liking and had rushed to the high court.

A few months passed. Just when the writ petition of the management was expected to be listed for hearing, the state government came out with another amazing thing.

It issued a notification appointing a second industrial tribunal and transferred the case of the Punjab Worsteds Spinning Mills to this tribunal.

The petition was withdrawn by the management as infructuous. The new tribunal was presided over by a retired sessions judge and ex-presiding officer of Labour Court. The workers had serious apprehensions that they could not expect justice from the new tribunal. The transfer of the case was also mala fide.

Union's Writ

The union filed a writ petition challenging this transfer. The petition was admitted. The state government in its statement, before the High Court sought to justify the transfer on the ground that the management had filed an affidavit before it expressing lack of faith in Girdhari Lal Chopra, presiding officer of the first tribunal.

The high court accepted the union's writ petition on February 26, 1963 and declared the transfer to be illegal and void. It directed both the parties to appear before G. L. Chopra on February 28, 1963.

The management filed a Letter Patent Appeal and obtained a stay order the very next day. The Letter Patent Appeal came up for hearing only in February 1965, that is full two years after it was filed. The judgment dismissing the Appeal was pronounced during the last week of February 1965.

The case is now expected to come up for further proceedings before K. L. Gosain, a retired judge of the High Court, who succeeded G. L. Chopra with effect from March 1, 1963. When, nobody knows.

Thus, the quest for justice by workers of the Punjab Worsteds Spinning Mills has still not ended even after four full years.

Victory For Working Women

Anti-Marriage Clause Held Void By Bombay Civil Court

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

BOMBAY: Working women of Bombay have achieved a magnificent victory by getting the anti-marriage clause in the service conditions of some of the pharmaceutical concerns in the city declared bad in law and offending provisions of the Indian Contract Act.

THE judgment came on four identical suits filed against May and Baker, a pharmaceutical concern by four of its employees—Nirmala Mehta, Mitti Bahans, Subhadra Sattam and Geeta Gurunath—before the city civil court, Bombay.

Giving his judgment, Justice S. K. Desai declared that the specific condition in the terms of employment of women workers of the May and Baker company to the effect that on marriage the company shall be at liberty to ask them to resign from its employment or terminate their services off-ended Section 28 of the Indian Contract Act and was therefore void.

Against Policy

It was argued on behalf of the employees that the "no marriage clause" was against public policy and would tend to defeat the provisions of such statutes as the Factories Act and the Maternity Benefits Act.

It was also argued that the clause would be void as being against morality and also against provisions contained in the Directive Principles of State Policy under the Constitution.

The court further observed that while the civil courts could not vary the terms of employment in the interest of industrial peace or to prevent victimisation, it did not mean that they could not adjudicate upon the validity or invalidity, constitutionality or unconstitutionality of any term or contract of employment.

In the present case, the plaintiffs were not claiming any relief or right given to them but were seeking to apply the various provisions of the laws of contract and specific relief.

Cause For Action

It would certainly be within the scope and jurisdiction of the ordinary civil court to consider whether the plaintiffs were entitled to claim under the Contract and Specific Relief Acts, the court held.

It was further observed in the judgment that an issue on a point of law would not be *res judicata* unless the cause of action in the previous proceedings and in the present suits were the very same.

It was obvious that the causes of action in the reference to the industrial tribunal arose out of the contract terms in the 17 dismissed female employees. The causes of action in the present four suits arose out of the terms in the contracts of service of the four plaintiffs.

The court held that although the terms might be couched in the same language, the causes of action were obviously different.

If the court was of the opinion that the decision of the Industrial Tribunal on a point of law was erroneous, it would not be precluded from deciding to the contrary on principles analogous to *res judicata*.

On the question whether the impugned clause in the contract of service was in conflict with the provisions of Section 28 of the Contract Act which laid down that every agreement in restraint of marriage of any person other than a minor is void, the civil court took the view that upon marriage, a right was given to the company which, if exercised, would result in a detriment to the employee, namely, loss of service of employment.

The Court held that the impugned clause "is in restraint of marriage and it is not a partial but an absolute restraint."

The Judge further remarked: "I am also not prepared to accept the position that one has to see the ultimate object and the motives which prompted the defendants in imposing this term. If there is a contractual obligation which results in a restraint on marriage, then, in my opinion, such a contract would be hit by section 28 of the Indian Contract Act."

In my opinion, the impugned term in the four contracts of employment of the four plaintiffs is such a term and therefore, would be void as being an agreement in restraint of marriage.

The Court directed the impugned clause in the contracts to be cancelled as the same were declared to be void, and decreed the four suits with costs.

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GAMBOL IN SPACE

ANOTHER LAUREL GOES TO SOVIET SCIENCE

FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MANKIND'S CHEQUERED HISTORY OF CONQUESTS OVER NATURE, A MAN LITERALLY STEPPED OUT IN SPACE.

IN that unknown boundless void a man for the first time opened the hatch of his spaceship, took a look and climbed out to float for ten minutes and then re-entered the ship. The whole process took 20 minutes during which a new leaf was added to man's almanac of triumphs.

This historic man, like the first man to orbit in space,

For the first time a spaceship has also been brought down to earth by manual control, and this record goes to the credit of Pavel Belyayev who manually piloted VOSKHOD II to touch-down. The Soviet space science also has the credit of perfecting a spacecraft which ensured complete safety of the cosmonaut; even a minor malfunction or an insignificant

vision hook-up with the VOSKHOD II how Leonov left the spaceship, floated in space and returned safely. This was also another first to the credit of Soviet science.

All these firsts go to the credit of the Soviet science, to the glory of the Soviet technicians and scientists. They inexorably prove how the socialist system is advancing from one victory to another. The capitalist system lags behind because of the inherent inferiority of the system itself. In space technology, socialist world has been leading all through over the capitalist world.

The results of the flight of VOSKHOD II are being processed and the exact conclusions yet to be reached. But it is clear that the Soviet space scientists are moving along a well-planned direction towards setting-up a space-platform in space, from where spaceships could be launched to moon and other heavenly bodies.

This victory of Soviet astronautics "marks an entirely new stage in space exploration", well-known Soviet biologist Alexander Kuzin said in a TASS interview.

Alexander Kuzin is of the opinion that this experiment is particularly important for the construction of interplanetary space stations. They will be assembled by the hands of a man who will have stepped out of the ship into outer space. By his stay in outer space, Alexi Leonov proved the possibility of further conquest of outer space.

Feoktistov, the scientist who was one of the three cosmonauts who orbited in VOSKHOD I wrote in IZVESTIA that one of the principal objectives of the flight of VOSKHOD II was to test



Leonov is seen standing on the spaceship before re-entering

methods for getting in and out of a spaceship during flight.

He explained that the success of the flight would make it possible to perform assembly and repair work on the ship during flight and to go from one ship to another.

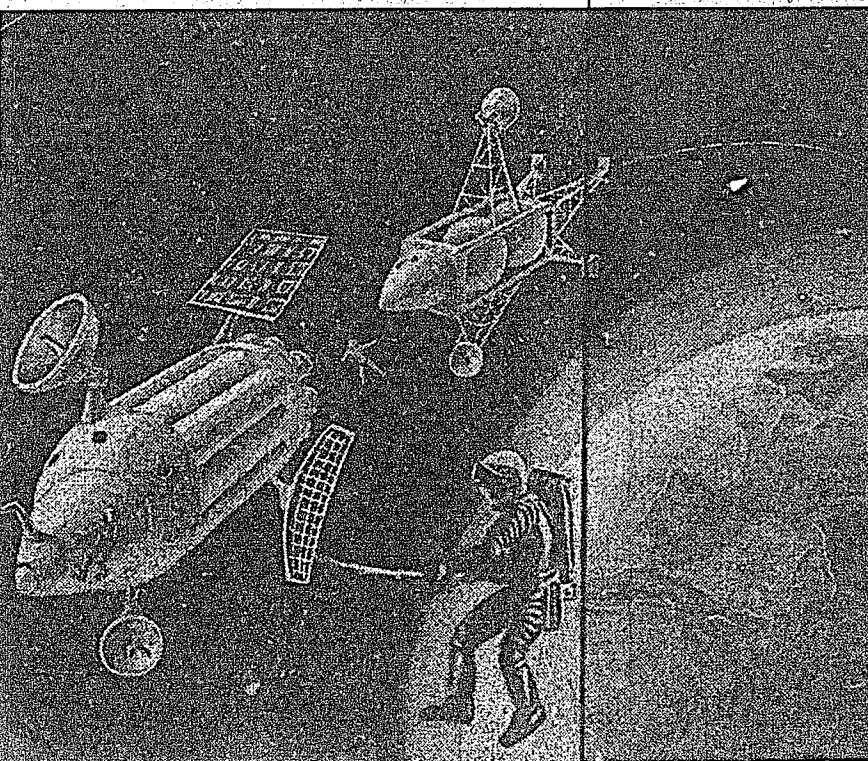
The five-meter line which connected Leonov with the spaceship during his free-flight would not be necessary in future, Soviet Astronaut Popovich explained in a television interview. "In the future we can give up the cable" he said. "A small rocket engine will give necessary propulsion to the cosmonaut to enable him to move about free from his spaceship."

A Soviet space expert, Vasily Seleznev, declared that the Soviet Union hoped to place a cosmonaut on moon "in the not-too-distant future." The venture of Leonov was only "an experimental sortie."

The latest space achievement of Soviet science has proved that the limit on age of cosmonauts is also quite flexible: Belyayev, the commander of VOSKHOD II, the oldest among the Soviet cosmonauts, is aged 40 and in 1961 he had broken a leg during a parachute jump. But that did not debar him from being a cosmonaut.

—SADHAN MUKHERJEE

The drawing below shows how cosmonauts would move about in space with a small rocket engine



MYSTERY OF SPACE SUIT

The space suit which enabled man to leave his space capsule, opens up new prospects for solving the secrets of the universe.

IT is in fact a miniature hermetic cabin which consists of a metal helmet with a transparent visor, a multi-layer hermetic suit, gloves and specially designed footwear. The space suit has its own power circuit system feeding communications, and a system of pickups of physiological functions.

It goes without saying that when the space suit becomes an individual capsule, normal conditions cannot be ensured. It is impossible to create atmospheric pressure within the suit because

was established that prolonged (over one hour) respiration in pure oxygen literally washes nitrogen out of the tissues of the body and then the pressure can be safely reduced.

It was in this way that it was possible to free a man in the space suit from a considerable amount of the immobilising effect of an "inflated football bladder".

There must be a steady supply of pure oxygen for the cosmonaut in space suit. It should be borne in mind that his body too has to "breathe" and that every hour his organism has to give up to 300 kilocalories of heat into the surrounding media. Otherwise his body's tem-

FIRST RESULTS

SPACE PROBE DATA UNDER CLOSE STUDY

The recent space experiment conducted by pilot-cosmonauts Pavel Belyayev and Alexei Leonov mainly differs from previous experiments by the cosmonaut's exit into an environment without fulcrum, in conditions of weightlessness.

DOCTOR of Medical Sciences, Professor P. Isakov contributed an article about the first results of this experiment to NEDEL'YA, the Sunday supplement of the newspaper IZVESTIA.

He notes that one of the main tasks of the cosmonaut's exit out of the spaceship's capsule was to study man's biomechanics in a fulcrumless environment.

The scientist writes that the tasks of biomechanics in this flight were to determine the peculiarities of the coordination of man's movements in fulcrumless space when performing definite actions; to establish the differences in the biomechanics of movements performed without a fulcrum and when using the surface of the spaceship as a fulcrum; to evaluate the effectiveness of the methods

of the preliminary training of cosmonauts and to determine the necessary modifica-



Belyayev

tions in this training, with due account for the future tasks of space flights.

The replies to these ques-



Leonov

tions are particularly important in connection with the future creation of orbital

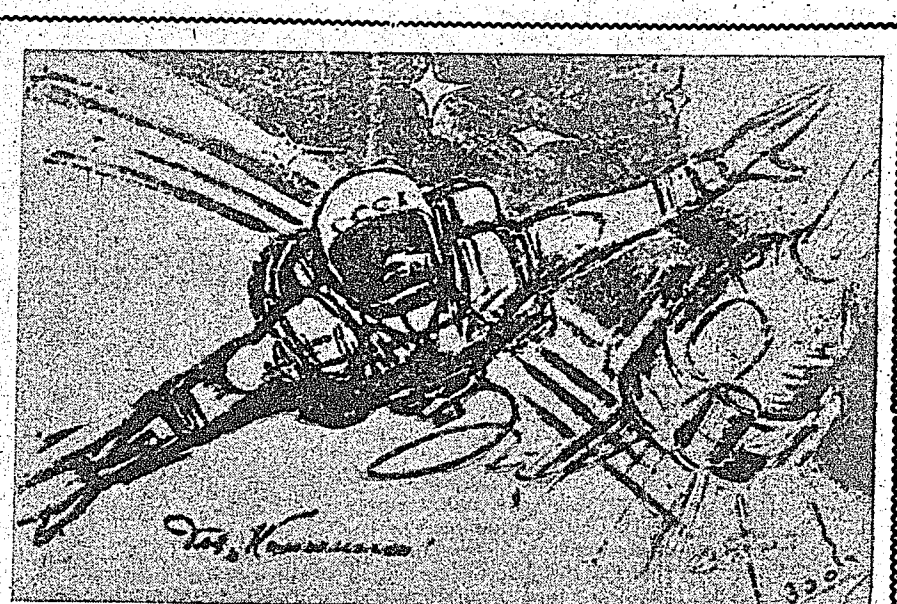
temperature will go up and he may come down with a heat stroke. To avoid this, the space suit has a special air-conditioning system through which room temperature air is pumped into the space suit. This air carries away excess heat of the organism and skin-exuded moisture.

To protect man in space from the heat of sun-rays and from the cold while in the shadow of the Earth or the ship the space suit is covered by a mighty thermal insulation layer and coated with a light colour that deflects heat rays.

The air for ventilation and oxygen for respiration can be taken from the capsule and from cylinders hitched on the space suit (naturally for short periods of time). In this "ventilation-type" space suit, which is simple in design, the used air is ejected into the environment.

Space suits of the "regenerating type" are more complicated. In such space suits the available air and hydrogen supply circulates from the space suit to a generating device and back. This device on the suit's surface removes the carbon dioxide and excess moisture from the "spent" air as well as replenishes oxygen supply and cools off gases to a pre-set temperature.

This type of space suit may be used for prolonged work in space and for landing on the lunar surface.



RHAPSODY OF FUTURE

THE mysterious unknown of space is waiting for its heroes; for its musicians, singers, writers, artists—people who would explain to the terrestrial beings the beauty beyond the haze of clouds, in the deep azure sky and in the void of cosmos.

And how does dear earth look from above; its shadowy lines and contours; the interplay of light and shade; the colours of the rainbow and the lush greenery of bountiful nature and myriads of similar creations of beauty?

It was Pavel Popovich who sang the first song of humanity in space and now mankind is richer with the addition of a talented musician-cum-poet and a painter-cum-newspaper editor.

Commander of VOSKHOD II Belyayev is an instrumentalist while Leonov is a gifted painter. He was also the editor of the NEPTUNE, his detachment's journal, just before his flight, Leonov sketched how he would move in space outside the spaceship. This drawing, reproduced above, was published by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

Let us hope soon mankind would hear a melody of the space and see a painting of the cosmos and read a lucid reportage and a lyric of the unknown.

stations in space. It is important to evaluate man's coordination of movements in fulcrumless space and also for designing means for the cosmonaut's travel outside the ship, for creating instruments adapted for use in space, for designing research instruments and apparatuses.

Thanks to preliminary training, cosmonaut Leonov performed complex movements outside the ship, including withdrawal and approach to the ship and orientation of the body in respect of the ship's axis, Professor Isakov notes. To understand the mechanism of various movements

of a cosmonaut, one should bear in mind that in conditions of weightlessness counter action does not disappear completely. The law of energy remains in weightlessness. This probably causes readjustment of the nervous processes coordinating the cosmonaut's muscle efforts, Professor Isakov believes.

The change in the usual sensations, when moving parts of the body, increases the importance of visual information which checks the precision of the cosmonaut's movements. The cosmonaut's muscle exertion during the flight was combined with high emotional

tension, caused by the unusualness of the situation and the feeling of responsibility for the fulfilment of each item of the programme. Strain on cosmonauts during the flight of VOSKHOD II was considerably greater than during previous flights.

Professor Isakov stresses the importance of determining the energy expenditures of the organism in space flight. Noting that it is yet early to give a detailed appraisal of the results of the studies, the scientist states that no noticeable deviations in the cosmonauts' activities were observed during the flight.

Jubilant Muscovites read the details of the great feat of Leonov



The Cosmos Record Till Date

SINCE April 12, 1961, when Yuri Gagarin became the Spaceman Number One, pilots of the USSR have made 275 circuits around the world (the Americans have so far spent less than three days in outer space).

The Soviet cosmonauts have already covered a distance in near-earth space which is 30 times as much as the distance between the earth and the moon. The direct exploration of near-earth space, which began with Gagarin's flight, is continuing now for 46 months.

Cosmonauts	Date	Loops	Flight time	Distance covered (in thousand kilometres)
Yuri Gagarin (USSR)	12.4.61	1	1 h. 48m	41
Gherman Titov (USSR)	6-7.8.61	17	25 h. 18m	703
John Glenn (USA)	20.2.62	3	4 h. 56m	129
Scott Carpenter (USA)	24.5.62	3	4 h. 56m	129
Andrian Nikolayev (USSR)	11-15.8.62	64	95 h.	2,640
Pavel Popovich (USSR)	12-15.8.62	48	71 h.	1,980
Walter Schirra (USA)	3.10.62	6	9 h. 13m	259
Gordon Cooper (USA)	15-17.5.63	22	34 h.	920
Valery Bykovsky (USSR)	14-19.6.63	81	119 h. 6m	over 3,300
Valentina-Tereshkova (USSR)	16-19.6.63	48	70 h. 50m	about 2,000
Vladimir Komarov	12-13.10.64	16	24 h. 17m	about 700
Konstantin Feoktistov				
Boris Yegorov				
Pavel Belyayev				
Alexi Leonov	18-19.3.65	17	26 h. 2m	about 720

On 18.3.65 at 11.30 hrs (Moscow time) Leonov stepped out of the spaceship and at 11.50 re-entered the hatch.

ALL-OUT PREPARATIONS FOR WORLD PEACE CONGRESS

BERLIN MEETING OUTLINES MAIN FEATURES AND PROBLEMS

By CHITTA BISWAS

GENERAL SECRETARY, ALL-INDIA PEACE COUNCIL

The World Peace Congress, which takes place in Helsinki from July 10 to 17 this year, will be prepared for through a series of united actions for peace, national independence and general disarmament—this was the running theme of the discussions which took place at Berlin from February 28 to March 3, among representatives of 52 national peace committees covering all the continents.

THIS consultative meeting discussed and outlined a large number of proposals regarding the scope, perspective and character of the Helsinki Congress. But inevitably the most urgent threat to peace namely the US aggression in Vietnam, occupied a great deal of the meeting's attention. The immediate campaigns for an end to this aggression and the withdrawal of U.S. armed forces from South Vietnam will be a major part of the preparations for the World Congress.

Duong Dinh Thao, representative of the South Vietnam Peace Committee and an important member of the South Vietnam Liberation Front, gave a vivid report on the present stage of struggle of the Vietnamese people against the military offensive of the US Government. All the participants in the Berlin meeting expressed their indignation at the atrocious crimes committed by U.S. imperialists in Vietnam during the last 10 years or so, ever since the 1954 Geneva Agreements were signed. There were many reports presented by the delegates of the demonstrations before the U.S. embassies, meetings and other forms of action in support of the Vietnamese people.

Dr. Carlton Goodlet, the celebrated leader of the U.S. peace movements, expressed his satisfaction that the courageous people of Vietnam were fighting back. He reported that opinion polls showed that 81 per cent of the U.S. population want negotiations and a stop to this dirty war.

Chinese Stalling

While the meeting was in session, reports of the criminal bombardment by U.S. planes of the territories of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam created a profound stir. Spontaneous indignation was voiced by everyone present at the meeting.

It was proposed that a general communique should be issued by the meeting and two telegrams sent—one to President Ho Chi-Minh, assuring all support and help for the heroic resistance of the North Vietnamese people in defence of their national sovereignty and territorial integrity; and the other to President Johnson condemn-

ing the barbarous and unprovoked aggression against the peaceful North Vietnamese people and demanding immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam and unconditional stopping of the naked aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Unfortunately, the atmosphere was vitiated by the totally uncalled for attacks on the texts of the documents by the Chinese delegation. It appeared that they were determined to oppose all propositions put forward by other delegations, and this too through abusive attacks and suggestions that they alone were the true fighters against imperialism, while everyone else wanted to 'appease' the imperialists or act as their 'agents'.

Support To Vietnam

The Chinese delegates launched a major attack against the very idea of sending a telegram to the U.S. President. Ignoring conveniently the fact that the telegram embodied the severest condemnation of U.S. aggression, the Chinese delegates insisted that sending a telegram was itself an act of "begging peace" from a "bandit chieftain".

Fortunately their fulminations were quickly exposed, when the meeting was informed that it was at the special request of the South Vietnam liberation movement's representative that the telegram was being addressed to President Johnson!

Special Chinese abuse was showered on the courageous Dr. Goodlet, who has been one of the main opponents of U.S. imperialism in the United States and has suffered greatly in his country for this stand taken by him: he was even called "the voice of Johnson", because he dared not to agree with the Chinese delegates.

The result was that the texts proposed by the World Peace Council Secretariat, with a few minor amendments made by the Algerian representatives, were adopted with an overwhelming majority: only a handful of their usual supporters voted with the Chinese delegates against the documents.

There were elaborate discussions on the preparations for the Helsinki World Con-

gress. The conclusion: "The essential basis for Congress preparations is undeniably to develop united action for peace, national independence and general disarmament by the peace forces during the coming period."

The issues around which united action should be developed were also discussed in great detail at the meeting. They include such urgent problems as those of Vietnam, the Congo, the multilateral nuclear force, the destruction of nuclear weapons and the stoppage of nuclear tests, colonialism and racialism, military bases, polaris submarines, etc.

During the course of discussion, the representatives of the peace committees expressed their opinion on a variety of subjects. Some felt that the structure and composition of the World Council of Peace need a careful examination, in the light of the development of the peace movement in different parts of the world in the recent period.

The World Council of Peace has come of age. The prestige and influence of the W.C.P. has grown immensely as a result of tireless work for the last 15 years.

In the countries of Asia and Africa apart from the vast mass support the W.C.P. enjoys today, the WOP enjoys the patronage and cooperation of many governments.

While in West Europe and North America such a feature is not to be found, the WOP has grown stronger in these countries too. Side by side

with the movements launched by the World Council of Peace several other peace groups have emerged organising big actions against nuclear armament or proliferation of nuclear weapons, for disarmament and for a world without war. It is time for the WCP to develop more and more united action in collaboration with these forces.

Suggestions were made in the meeting that more and more regional activities should be organized to rally the people of a particular region round the most burning problems affecting that region. Such regional conferences were considered important, because they could help in mobilising people more quickly on current issues.

It was also suggested that the representatives of national committees should meet more frequently so that an exchange of views on different aspects of the peace movement can take place and a common course of action decided upon.

As for the title of the Helsinki Congress two suggestions were made. The Congress can either be called "WORLD PEACE CONGRESS" or "WORLD CONGRESS FOR PEACE, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND DISARMAMENT." Whether or not all these issues come within the purview of the title of the Congress, it was the general consensus that national independence, disarmament and peace should be the main themes for discussion.

The direction for the preparations for the Helsinki World Peace Congress is clear before all peace workers. In our country, the preparations for the State Peace Conferences and the Helsinki Peace

Congress have already begun. The issues discussed at the Berlin meeting should be a guide for action for the Indian Peace Movement while preparing for the Helsinki Peace Congress.

Campaign Here

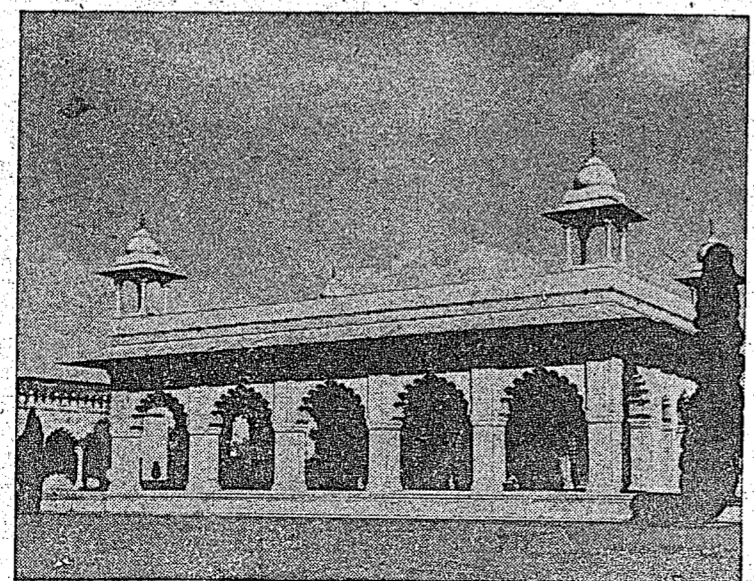
In the coming months, a country-wide campaign should be launched in support of the struggle of the Vietnamese people, in support of the liberation struggles of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and other colonies, against the hated policy of apartheid in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and in the United States, for the solution of the Congo problem and against all foreign intervention and intrigues in the Congo, etc.

The signature campaign started on the NEW DELHI APPEAL adopted at the World Conference last November, is going on in full swing. Over 100 MPs have already signed the Appeal.

It is our duty and responsibility to mobilise Indian public opinion in support of the policy of non-alignment, and against the suicidal demand for manufacturing the atom bomb in India and accepting the nuclear umbrella. India's voice must be raised in support of the growing campaign for nuclear disarmament.

The strong delegation that will represent India at the great Helsinki Congress should be in a position to present before the representatives gathered from all over the world the experience and record of plenty of actions all over India for peace, national independence and disarmament.

SON ET LUMIERE COME TO DELHI



Lighted Diwan-e-Khas during the Show

NEW AGE

SON et Lumiere—sound and light—is the latest tourist attraction sponsored by the Government of India at the Red Fort here. It is a clever interplay of voice and other sounds with lighting effects which seeks to recreate momentarily events which took place long ago. The show begins with the arrival of Shah Jahan and ends with Nehru's address on August 15, 1947. Important events during this period including the trial of INA officers are also touched upon. The rates—Rs. 5 and Rs. 2—make it amply clear that the show is meant only for tourists and the rich.

MARCH 28, 1965

*FROM PAGE 8

the ruling class and although it continues to compromise with imperialism and feudalism, it is still objectively interested in the accomplishment of the principal tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution.

Moreover, in the new epoch, with the increasing superiority of the forces of world socialism and anti-imperialism, the non-monopoly national bourgeoisie has greater objective possibilities of withstanding reactionary and imperialist pressures and blandishments, has greater objective possibilities of shifting towards the National Democratic Front, under the pressure of the revolutionary movement.

Finally, as noted earlier, the CPI took into account the fact that the Indian non-monopoly national bourgeoisie has a far stronger economic, political influence and experience than the patriotic sections of the bourgeoisie of China or the anti-fascist sections of the bourgeoisie in Eastern Europe during the period of the national democratic revolutions in those countries.

Thus, the CPI came to the two-fold conclusion: under the leadership of the non-monopoly national bourgeoisie the national democratic revolution cannot be completed.

At the same time, even before the exclusive leadership of the working class is estab-

NATIONAL DEMOCRACY AND THE NON-CAPITALIST PATH

lished, even while the non-monopoly national bourgeoisie shares leadership, the tasks of this revolution can be fulfilled.

At the same time, the Programme outlines the perspective of the development of the national democratic stage of the revolution.

It points out that this is a transitional stage i.e., creating the conditions for the transition to socialism.

Balance Of Forces

In the course of implementing the national democratic non-capitalist programme, the balance of forces within the national democratic state will continuously shift in favour of the working class and the worker-peasant alliance, paving the way for the exclusive leadership of the working class in this state.

As it is based on the worker-peasant alliance and as the working class is the conscious initiator and builder of the National De-

mocratic Front, it will increasingly come to occupy the leading position in the alliance.

Such is the complete, realistic and revolutionary strategic perspective that the CPI Programme places before our people.

It is necessary, however, to concretise the class relationships sketched out in terms of their present-day political articulation.

In other words, it is not enough merely to state the classes who will unite to form the National Democratic Front.

The Programme has to— and does—go further to state its position with regard to the existing political parties and their possible attitude to this Front.

The Party of the working class, the CPI, will have to initiate and play the most conscious role in building this Front.

Its strategic, revolutionary duty is, precisely, the fulfilment of this task, which it has to bear in mind through-

all the ups and downs in the multifarious activities that it has to undertake.

The progressive and socialist elements and forces in the different parties of the left, democratic opposition represent, the petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry and even the non-monopoly national bourgeoisie.

Sections of the leadership of these parties are anti-Communists and often opportunistically ally with right reaction.

They have to be combated and the prejudices and opportunism they spread have to be patiently overcome.

At the same time, the CPI can spare no effort to draw these elements, groups and parties into the Front.

The monopolists, imperialists and landlords also have their political parties who unabashedly and consciously fight to stage a counter-revolution in India.

The building of this Front has to proceed through struggle against the right in the Congress with equal determination as against the right outside it.

These are the parties of right reaction, both of an all India as well as local character. They are the Swatantra, Jan Sangh, Akali, Muslim League, DMK, RSS and Jamaat Islami.

These are the parties and organisations who are the most vicious anti-Communist and anti-national enemies of India's national democratic revolution.

They have to be mercilessly fought and the masses under their influence have to be weaned away.

Their demagogy and their playing upon the prejudices of the masses have to be relentlessly exposed.

Those anxious to build the National Democratic Front can have no truck with these parties and organisations.

The Congress is a party with a dual character. In its leadership at different levels the right reactionary forces of monopolists and landlords are strongly entrenched. At the same time the non-monopoly national bourgeoisie as well as petty bourgeoisie are also prominently present at all levels.

Moreover, as the party that led the struggle for freedom as well as took measures to consolidate independence, under Pandit Nehru's leadership, it has an extensive mass base of all social classes—a far bigger mass base than any other political party in India.

Unless the division between the masses following the Congress and those following the parties of the left democratic opposition—the biggest division in the democratic forces—is overcome no National

Democratic Front can be built in India.

This division cannot be overcome if the CPI, the initiator and builder of the National Democratic Front, does not adopt a proper policy towards the different sections in the Congress.

The National Democratic Front cannot be formed through a merger with the Congress or entering into a formal alliance with it.

Entrenched Rightwing

This would be to overlook the fact that the right reactionary enemies of this Front are strongly entrenched in the Congress and that the non-monopoly national bourgeoisie is itself a class with a dual approach to this Front.

The building of this Front has to proceed through struggle against the right in the Congress with equal determination as against the right outside it.

Such unity has to be built through a direct approach, common mass movements and convergent struggles.

It has to be built through struggles to smash right reaction, bring about a shift to the left in government policies as well as for the alternative National Democratic programme.

Isolating The Right

The building of this Front has, further, to proceed by isolating the right in the Congress by a policy of sharpening the objective differences between the representatives of the monopoly and non-monopoly sections of the national bourgeoisie, i.e., by not only struggling against but also uniting with the latter.

Its compromises with the right and its anti-people policies have to be fought. Its stand against imperialism, its opposition to the right attempt to subvert nationally accepted progressive policies have to be supported.

Such is the complex, dialectical process by which the National Democratic Front will be built and the national democratic revolution brought to success. One-sided stressing of any particular aspect will only damage this strategic perspective.

BRITAIN TO SEND POLARIS SUBMARINES TO INDIAN OCEAN

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

LONDON: After the visit of British Prime Minister Harold Wilson to West Berlin on March 6 accompanied by high ranking British military officers, information has leaked out from responsible British quarters that Britain intends to send her Polaris submarines armed with nuclear heads to Indian ocean and the Pacific.

BRITAIN is using the events in Southeast Asia and her interests in Malaysia to concentrate greater part of her naval strength east of Suez in a bid to regain military influence in far-east.

China's nuclear bomb is an added pretext. The British calculation is that since India has no nuclear bomb and China is stepping up her atomic strength with an imminent second blast, the presence of Polaris submarines in the Indian ocean would not be opposed by the Sastri government.

It is known here that Britain has a secret understanding with the USA that British nuclear submarines will coordinate operations with the US Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean area.

Polaris submarines have a total of 64 megaton missiles plus the nuclear capability of "PENTAGON" fighter boat, and British aircraft carriers in the far-eastern fleet stationed around Malaysia.

MARCH 28, 1965

extending its aggressive arms to the Indian Ocean area. Much of the Nato naval strength has already been concentrated in Asia for provocations in Vietnam, Laos and Malaysia. Apart from the huge US Seventh Fleet, Britain alone keeps 50,000 armed men in Malaysia, the highest figure after the war. British forces are integrated in the Nato.

Nato leaders have already defended political necessity of extension of arms to far-east. Rear Admiral Bell, in a recent speech in North Carolina said: "We have to fight the battle where it exists. This is to Nato's benefit, because the fight for freedom is worldwide and indivisible. If we fight communism in Vietnam it benefits Nato".

A British diplomat during a reception in West Berlin observed:

"Though Sastri has not formally requested us to provide India with a nuclear shield, the British government is expecting troubles there and wants to be present in the Indian Ocean. When India wants help we can render it quick. We know Sastri won't have objections to the presence of our Polaris submarines there. Nehru never objected presence of Seventh Fleet in Indian Ocean. We are more friendly to India than the US. Ours is a peace keeping mission".

Closely on the heels of the Seventh Fleet, Nato is also

Labour's defence white paper presented to the Commons a few days ago said Britain will spend this year 2120 million sterling for defence which is in other words 156 sterling for every family in Great Britain, or 460 sterling every minute.

NEW AGE

Marriage & Family in Soviet Union

Socialist World

Dr. A. G. Kharchev of USSR in his latest book **MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY IN THE USSR** has revealed a number of very interesting facts concerning marriage.

THE study made by Dr. Kharchev makes interesting analysis of various queries, such as, why do people marry? What is it that makes someone bind his or her life to a particular person, and not to someone else? Does it happen by chance, or out of utilitarian considerations?

The questions cover the whole range of issues connected with the subject of marriage in a socialist society.

One of the factors relied upon by Dr. Kharchev in this regard is the age ratio between the newly-weds to obtain a basis of his conclusions.

The average age of marriage gives an idea of how much the natural urge in this field harmonises with the social conditions or is distorted by them. In its turn, the difference between the ages of bride and groom shows, to some

poned their weddings until they had saved enough money to buy land and farm equipment.

This increased the ratio of late marriages. These reasons have now become obsolete and marriages today mainly depend on the personal decisions of the parties concerned.

In Uzbekistan, prior to the socialist reforms, girls were married off in their early teens. As women's equality, economic independence and cultural level rose, that practice began to wane.

Difference in Age

A study of marriage registrations in different Soviet cities has established that, in the overwhelming majority of cases, the difference in ages between man and wife was not more than six years. Couples of the same age or with not more than three years between them make up over two-thirds of those married.

The reason for this is explained thus: In pre-socialist Latvia, particularly in the villages, a son married when he inherited his father's property or received his share of it, and when his bride's dowry was ready. In the case of farm hands, they usually post-

between them are now practically unknown. Even marriages where the age difference is more than ten years are comparatively rare.

The present marriage age ratio in the USSR is the logical outcome of the consolidation of socialist principles in Soviet society. They show the growing influence of these principles, both upon the motives of the couples' choice, and the marriage itself.

To what degree do national prejudices influence matrimonial relations in the USSR?

The reply to this question is found in the percentage of mixed marriages.

A study of the data offered by the civil registry bureaus of Tashkent, Samarkand and Leningrad show that in 1960 in Tashkent and Samarkand more than 20 per cent of marriages were mixed ones. In Leningrad 17.5 per cent were mixed.

Thus, though the population of Leningrad is far more homogeneous in nationality than that of Tashkent or Samarkand, the percentage of mixed marriages is only a trifle lower than in the Uzbek cities.

A sociological study of the registries was recently conducted at the Leningrad Wedding Palace in which the questionnaires were filled in by 500 newly-wed couples.

Happy Marriage

One of the questions was: "what is the main condition for a long and happy marriage?" About 76.2 per cent replied "love or love and similar views, trust and friendship"; 13.2 per cent replied: "equality and respect"; four per cent: "love and a home"; 1.6 per cent: "love and financial security"; 0.6 per cent: "children"; 0.2 per cent: "a sensible view of life." The other 4.2 per cent gave no reply.

Mercenary considerations, are not mentioned—at least publicly—as a reason for marriage.

Judging from the replies received to the inquiries, it was seen that most of the marriages were the result of a comparatively lengthy acquaintance—more than a year—and were consequently based on serious considerations.

In the USSR according to 1960 data there is approximately one divorce per nine marriages. A study of the data offered by the Leningrad City Court of Justice shows that approximately 17 per cent of the divorce cases heard there are based on inability of one or the other to have children, or sexual impotence. Another 28 per cent are based on infidelity; 21 per cent on loss of feelings and incompatibility.

The war still has its impact—17 per cent of the cases are based on the husband's failure to return after the war, and five per cent on the desire of one or the other party to return to a former family, lost during the war.

Motive For Divorce

Other motives were imprisonment of one of the parties, cruelty, husband's drunkenness, the wife's inability to keep house, arguments about finances etc., and quarrels with parents. Three in five of the divorce applications were made by the men.

The patriarchal relations in the family typical of tsarist Russia are rapidly being replaced by equality. An important role in this is played by the women's economic independence.

A study of 300 workers' families in Leningrad in 1961 showed that in 146 families the husband's wages were ten or more roubles more than his wife's; in 54 families the wife earned more than her husband, and in 100 families they earned approximately the same.

At present there are two main types of families among the workers. The first is one where the husband is the head but by dint of force but by authority. In the second the husband is formally the head, but actually both husband and wife jointly decide about all important problems on an equal basis.

Of the two types, the second is the more widespread. As many as three in five of the families investigated were of this type.

PARIS: The municipal elections which took place recently in France acquired an importance which far exceeded even the dreams of those who had expected a similar polling mainly because of the timing. The elections took place only a few months before the presidential election due to be held in the autumn of this year.

AFTER trying first to minimise the scope and significance of the elections, the government and the party in power, the UNR, openly engaged in the election battle and monopolised the use of the radio and television.

The Minister of Interior Roger Frey had declared: "The elections on the March 14 are the beginning of the hour of truth that will usher in the moment of the presidential elections". But the results certainly did not correspond to what was expected by the Gaullists in power.

Consolidation of the Communist positions all over the country, a clear defeat of the UNR, strengthening of the so-called centrist position—these are some of the principal political results of the voting.

High Voting

The participation at the polls of 28 million voters was rather high for municipal elections and constituted almost a 75 per cent turnout.

The first feature noticed by all observers is the rather remarkable stability of the municipalities, especially in the larger towns. As a rule the sitting mayors and the municipal councillors were elected in the first ballot or stand excel-

lent chance of being elected in the second ballot.

It is thus that out of 158 towns in France with more than 30,000 population, in 100 municipalities the party composition of the councils has on the whole remained the same.

The phenomenon is, particularly clear in the municipalities administered by the Communists. Out of the 158 towns with populations over 30,000, twenty-five were led by the French Communist Party. From these 24, Communist mayors have been re-elected with thumping success in the first ballot itself with their majorities increased compared to those in the last elections.

Here are some examples: Gennevilliers—86 per cent votes, Villejuif—80 per cent, Ivry—79.5 per cent, Saint-Ouen—77 per cent, Argenteuil—63 per cent, Nanterre—63 per cent, Vierzon—62 per

cent, Choisy-le-Roy—61 per cent

on the basis of the results of the first ballot is impossible.

Meanwhile, the indications are of a swing away from the UNR. This is particularly visible in the big cities like Lyons, Marseilles, Nice, Toulouse, Le Mans, etc. At Lyons, the Minister of Youth and

OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT JEAN-EMILE VIDAL

As a result of the election method which imposed the need of making alliances for the first ballot, no party had contested all the seats and presented its party list for the entire region. Because of this fact an exact evaluation of the influence of each party and determination of its voting strength

Sports, a member of the UNR, was given a resounding beating; the votes in his favour did not exceed 12 per cent of the total votes polled.

In Paris where almost all the UNR deputies were candidates (including even a few Ministers, among them the Minister of Interior) the UNR lost a total of 100,000 votes compared to their poll in 1962.

This recoil from the UNR has benefited the centrist forces. The emergence of the centrist list consisting of parties and groups like the Independents, Radicals and the MRP together with the SFIO is another important aspect of the elections.

LE MONDE wrote editorially that in fact the elections are an image of what might happen to Gaullism after de Gaulle.

It still exists and survives but it only succeeds in areas where it is not seriously challenged by the centrists or from the right.

The example of Lyons illustrates this fact. The list of the outgoing Radical Mayor won all the seats contested in the first ballot. This list was followed by the Communist list yielding only the third position to the UNR.

Deferre Falls

The situation is the same in Marseilles. Gaston Deferre, the socialist candidate for the presidency, could not be elected in the first ballot. In none of the eight sectors of the city could he obtain an absolute majority.

The only list elected on the first ballot was in the 8th sector of Marseilles—the one conducted by Francois Billoux, member of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party.

This means that Deferre will be elected in the second ballot once again on the basis of the votes from the right and from one section of the UNR itself.

This, of course, does not contribute towards making Deferre a serious candidate against de Gaulle in the coming Presidential elections. The day after the first ballot, Waldeck Rochet, general secretary of the French Communist Party

FRENCH MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

SETBACK FOR GAULLISTS, VICTORY FOR UNITED FORCES

announced the tactical line to be followed by the Communists.

In the second ballot it is a matter of ensuring everywhere, wherever there is any possibility, the defeat of the UNR and of reaction. To this end, for cities of more than 30,000 inhabitants where there will be elections the FCP proposes for the second ballot that the other democratic candidates withdraw in favour of the leading democratic candidate.

For cities with less than 30,000 inhabitants it proposes the withdrawal of the entire list of the other democratic parties in favour of the list of the party most favourably placed by the first ballot and also the making of a new united list with a view to fighting the UNR and reaction.

No Alliance With Reaction

It must be noted here that the French Communist Party has never accepted any alliance with the reactionary parties on the pretext of fighting the UNR. It made alliances only with the democratic parties of the left. Any other stand would have increased the confusion among the left electorate even if it would have won for the Party a few more seats.

Joint lists of Communists and Socialists registered successes in the majority of the areas where this was achieved. However, because of the contradictory tactics of the Socialists who in certain areas allied with Communists, in others made alliances with Independents and with the MRP, they did not succeed in creating the right psychological impact which would have enabled it to render a more severe blow to the reactionary party and the other reactionary forces.

The municipal elections have in any case established that the "old parties" in spite of the attacks made by the government and the ministers still retain their dominant influence in the country. The Gaullist power has utterly failed in its desire to demolish the traditional political parties.

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OAU MINISTERS FAIL ON CONGO ISSUE

THE meeting of the 35-strong Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity held in Nairobi during the first half of March failed, unfortunately, to take a strong and united stand on the question of the Congo (Leopoldville).

They have deferred the question till the full meeting of the Heads of States is held in September.

Although the ad hoc conciliation commission led by President Kenyatta is to continue, the maximum that the conference could go was to hear the Chairman, Murumbi, the Kenyan Foreign Minister, appeal to all the states not to aggravate the situation in the Congo.

There was no agreement also on the question of a team of OAU observers to go and watch the Congolese elections.

This of course was the result of the opposition of the former French states of Africa who sided with Tshombe against the rest.

Various proposals like one from the Cameroun suggesting that the OAU should send a peace-keeping force, another from Ethiopia and Tunisia very mildly asking merely not to aggravate the situation, failed to get a majority.

On the other hand while Ghana, Guinea and Tanzania again expressed their desire to withdraw recognition of the Tshombe government, the ex-French states led by Senegal wanted even to abolish the conciliation commission.

This meeting more than any other has revealed some of the political weaknesses that hamper the OAU at present.

The session however did achieve a remarkable degree of unanimity on the question of Southern Rhodesia.

Sharpeville Massacre Remembered

WITH the fifth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre approaching in March, there is much news of preparations in many countries for direct and dramatic action against the continuing brutality of apartheid.

There will be ever-more vigorous demand for the imposition of economic sanctions against South Africa.

In the USA the initiative has been taken by the Stu-

dents for a Democratic Society.

This society describes itself as a radical union of American students working for peace, civil rights and basic economic reform on the campus and in the community.

It claims to be the largest left-of-centre student organisation in the United States.

This student group, in conjunction with national civil rights organisations and other groups, has planned a series of nationwide demonstrations at the offices of American corporations and banks active in South Africa.

They hope to bring out the role of American business and financial institutions in supporting apartheid.

Their aim is to create through such protest actions, complemented by other programmes of education and political pressure, a popular demand for restrictive legislation on American investment and finance in South Africa.

They have circulated a list of nearly 90 American companies implicated, particularly stressing the important roles the Chase Manhattan Bank and the Chrysler Corporation have played in maintaining the apartheid regime in South Africa.

They plan in the first instance to organise protest demonstrations throughout the United States at the local offices of these companies.

AFRO-ASIA In The Headlines

Tshombe's Election Farce

THE sham of elections began in the Congo (Leopoldville) on March 18 and the voting will be held in rotation throughout the country, ending on April 30.

Tshombe heads the Convention Nationale Congolaise Party list in Katanga, one of the provinces effectively in the hands of his so-called central government and where voting will take place first.

Vast areas of the Congo at present lie outside the control of his government, where the patriotic forces have had to resort to armed struggle.

Tshombe, of course, is confident of winning these rigged elections and of being named by President Kasavubu as Prime Minister again.

However, even without counting those patriotic forces who will not be enabled to fight the elections because of the military situation and repression, there are more than 230 so-called regional parties competing and Tshombe will have to form a coalition.

His Congo Party too was formed last month by a linking of 49 party groupings.

Meanwhile on the military front, the government forces are making little progress in the insurgent areas and increasingly large number of their white mercenaries are getting killed in battle.

—BAREN RAY

TSHOMBE'S GANG: MEET MAD MIKE AND ARYAN SUPERMAN

By M. DOMOGATSKIKH

Darkness fell on the jungle. The wild animals crept into their lairs in the thick undergrowth, the birds ceased chattering and all was quiet on the river's banks. The inhabitants of the village of Lualaba retired, though, only in the wee hours in the morning, after the hunters had returned with their kill.

HDANIC erupted suddenly when unusual noises sounded from the forest across the road. Mythical ogress seemed to be rending the sky. Bewildered, the men rushed out of their dwellings. Hearing the familiar beat of tom-toms, they raced towards their gathering ground, from where their tribal chief had often led them to face unknown perils.

The drums beat out the alarm as they had done but recently, when an elephant had trampled down hunter Balamba's but and the men went out to wreak vengeance on this juggernaut. Catching up bows and spears, the men raced towards the gathering place.

LUALABA TRAGEDY

Meanwhile, the thunder of a sky splitting in twain, came up closer, until strangers burst into the clearing where the village stood beneath the leaves of banana trees. Some held flaming torches, others bright lamps. Their sawn-off guns spurted flame. Bullets buzzed like stinging tsetse flies.

Then one of the flaming torches touched the wall of a hut and it blazed, at once compelling the gloom to retreat into the jungle. In the flickering light, the strangers flitted by phantom-like herding the villagers to where the chief and witch doctor lay dead, riddled by bullets.

The strangers shouted and swore hitting out with the stocks of their guns. They seemed to be searching for someone. Meanwhile the European, holding a pistol, stood to one side from time to time uttering incomprehensible words that rang out like incantations.

This was more terrible than the onslaught of an infuriated savage beast. That was something they could battle with, even with spear and bow. Now even the bravest hunters stood in a blue funk, wondering what to do.

As dawn broke, the Congo's blazing sun rolled out above the horizon. The strangers began to interrogate the villagers, wanting to know whether any Lumumbists were hidden there.

Repercussions of the developments rocking the Congo had reached this remote village on the other bank of the Lualaba River. Several fellow-villagers had joined the guerrillas. Everybody knew that. But nobody knew where the insurgents were. Meanwhile the European in the rakish worn beret demanded the name, brandishing his pistol and shouting in his own tongue.

His aide pushed three of the inhabitants out up in front of the crowd.

"If you don't answer, we'll shoot you," he said evidently repeating the officer's words.

"But we don't know anything," the three mumbled in confusion. "They don't know anything!" the officer yelled. "Fire!"

There was a long burst from a Tommy-gun. Letting their bows slip, the three unfortunates dropped to the dew-wetted ground. The rest stood petrified with fear, huddling still closer to one another.

"So nobody knows where those bandits are?" the interpreter echoed.

The men stood silent. Meanwhile the women folk who had gathered into a separate group started crying. There was another long burst from Tommy-guns. The village elder cried out in the Batetela tongue, and the men rushed at the slayers. But what would they do with bows and assegai in the face of Tommy-guns?

The curtain rang down on the tragedy half an hour later. Only a few fleeing survivors took refuge in the jungle. The strangers fired the huts and departed.

In Nairobi I met one of the fighters of the Congo national-liberation movement, who told me about the Lualaba tragedy.

"That's only a drop in the ocean of suffering besetting our people," he said.

"Who was the officer?"

"I don't know for sure, but I think his name is Mike."

Mike? That's a name I'd met before. Recently even I rummaged through newspaper piles, until finally in one African paper I found a lengthy story about a man whom Tshombe had hired to throttle and slay the Congolese people.

MAD MIKE

Major Mike Hoare, a former British tank officer is now one of the most influential men in Tshombe's Foreign Legion. He commands its fifth group. He wants to be remembered in history as a "great soldier."

In appearance, gesture, the way he wears his beret and holds his hands behind his back, he tries to ape Field-Marshal Montgomery. He demands his subordinates called him Monty—as the Field-marshal was once called. However he is known as "mad Mike."

He came to the Congo from South Africa to "catch fortune by the tail." He makes no bones about his plans. "The main thing is to kill as many black commies as one can. That's what we are doing under the command of General Mobutu, whom we all respect."

The word "commies" really means nothing. This racist—if he were able he would kill off all the blacks—tells with unconcealed cynicism the story of how he slew one Congolese guerrilla leader.

"We took him wounded in the kindu, promising to spare him. But then I changed my mind. I



Murderer Tshombe with rat, eggs thrown on his face by people in Rome which he visited recently

was only too delighted to shoot him in the neck.

One look at the face of another

murderer, Siegfried Mueller, is enough to realise that he was born to slay and torture others.

ARYAN SUPERMAN

His protruding lip, blank face and senseless state betray that "Aryan superman" on whom Hitler staked in his mad craving for world supremacy. Mueller is 44, is a captain and still proudly wears the "Iron Cross," he received from Hitler for "punitive operations against partisans on the eastern front."

After the war he served for six years in the American Army. Later having evidently acquired the appropriate "experience," he went to South Africa, from which place he came to the Congo.

"A passion for adventure and shooting is in my blood," Herr Mueller confesses, to add, "I've come to the Congo to help halt the spread of communism in Africa."

He is now "halting communism" by punitive operations with his unit against the peaceful Congolese. Then, washing his hands clean of the blood of those slain, he writes sentimental letters back to his wife in West Germany promising to return with "unseen souvenirs."

That executioner from Rhodesia, Allistair Wickes, a half-baked dentist, the "chap from Katanga" Major Pourant, assistant commander of the white mercenaries, Captain Jack Holton, the "Barber"—who has received this epithet for massacring all the inhabitants in every village where his troop is quartered—and hundreds of other cutthroats are now posing in the Congo as representatives of "Western democracy" and "fighters against communism."

There has been nothing in the western press about the Lualaba tragedy. I learned about it from a man who went there and saw the heap of ashes which is all that remains in a place where life had seethed but recently.

The lot of the Lualaba jungle village well symbolises the present situation in the Congo, where fascist mercenaries and cutthroats, paid in US dollars and Belgian francs, are tormenting the living body of the people.

Bridges Of Amity

Hungarian Orientalist

ABOUT ninety years ago, on January 9, 1878, a Hungarian set his foot on the Indian soil. He was Gabor Balint, a linguist.

Balint came to India as an interpreter of a Hungarian expedition group. Touching the soil of India, Balint happily wrote: "There is a wonderful land beneath our feet. An unfamiliar land with which we must become familiar."

And familiar he did become. Balint settled in Bangalore and set about learning the Tamil language and travelled widely in the southern part of the country.

He noted down that at that time, that part of the country had a population of 50 million, grouped into 12 Dravida communities.

After his return to Hungary in 1888, Balint published a lengthy study titled: "The Tamil Language is the Sanskrit of the Taran Language. In this study he sought to prove that in its ancient form the Hungarian language, from the point of view of phonetics, inflection and morphology, resembles the Tamil language."

Balint came to Asia thrice and spent most of his time in India studying the dialects of different communities. In 1900 he published the Kabard-Hungarian-Latin etymological dictionary which even today is one of the most significant references books dealing with oriental languages.

In between he had also published a treatise titled: "The Hindu Religion, which was reprinted in an improved version in 1913. In the same year Balint breathed his last.

A gifted linguist, Balint knew 32 languages, of which Tamil was one of his favourites. His greatest yearning was to become acquainted with the "mysterious Orient", in particular, India and truly, he linked India and Hungary in a bond of friendship which grew into a bridge of amity between the two countries.

SPARE PARTS FOR SOVIET TRACTORS

A TRADE agreement was concluded in New Delhi on March 15 between the Traktor-export of USSR and Ghabziab Engineering Company of New Delhi for the import of tractor spare parts worth Rs. 20 lakhs for the Soviet tractors.

The spare parts to be imported during the current year shall meet the maintenance requirements of 5,000 Soviet tractors which are working at present in Northern India.

The conclusion of the agreement became possible only after the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Government

of India, withdrew its ridiculous ban on the main spare parts for Soviet tractors recently.

INDIA AT LEIPZIG FAIR

ABOUT four lakh visitors came to the Indian pavilion at the Leipzig fair which concluded a couple of weeks back. This large number of visitors indicated the great interest evinced for the Indian products.

B. R. Patel, chairman of the State Trading Corporation of India told ADN at Leipzig that the results of this spring fair testify to the fact that "trade between the GDR and India is growing beyond its present frame and necessitates new ways of marketing. It seems necessary to establish government representation of Indian in the GDR capital Berlin."

One of the significant developments that took place at the Leipzig fair this time was the signing of a contract for the supply of fertilisers from the GDR to India worth 25 million marks.

POLISH EXPORTS

DURING the ten-year existence of the "Cekop" foreign trade enterprise, about 200 big industrial plant equipment, each of them worth at least several million dollars, were exported by this foreign trade enterprise.

A fine example of these, among others, is the glass work Poland has built in India.

Already during trial run the glass work produced window glass fit for sale which is a very rare thing in this industrial branch.

CEC RESOLUTION ON KERALA ELECTIONS

* From Page 3

party is unable to secure an absolute majority, it may seek to perpetuate its hold through resorting to the device of President's rule.

The Committee calls upon all who stand for parliamentary democracy, for upholding the rights of citizens enshrined in the Constitution, to demand the release of all detenus belonging to the "Marxist" party and in the first place, of the 29 MLAs elected to the Kerala Assembly, and the granting to the leader of the "Marxist" party in the Kerala Assembly of the right to form a government, in his capacity as leader of the largest single party in the legislature.

The Central Executive Committee is confident that the left forces inside Kerala will rally together at this crucial time.

The way forward for the people of Kerala lies in the unity of the left forces.

The United Left Front alone presented before the electorate a democratic alternative to the Congress regime, on the basis of a non-communal and principled programme.

The Communist Party in Kerala is pledged to broaden and strengthen this front, to take its message to the widest sections of the people.

Together with their allies, the KSP and the democratic and progressive independents, the Communists in Kerala are pledged to

LETTERS

SYNDICATE AND ALL

I read with interest the front-page write-up by your Political Correspondent in the issue of March 21, 1965.

But I am afraid your Political Correspondent has mixed up the different alignments that constitute the right-wing inside the Congress leadership.

It is wrong to lump Morarji Desai with the syndicate. In fact, it was the determined lobbying by the syndicate that helped to elect Lal Bahadur Shastri as the Prime Minister and prevented Morarji Desai from succeeding Nehru.

In the last ten months, this animosity has grown and not subsided.

It is true that the syndicate today is trying to get the Home Minister's portfolio for its own man, S. K. Patil, but it is not interested at the moment in overthrowing the Shastri Cabinet.

The stars of the syndicate are Patil, Atulya Ghosh, Nijalingappa, Ram Subhag Singh, Sanjiva Reddy.

But there are degrees of difference in their importance inside the junta: obviously, the key men inside the syndicate are Patil, Atulya and Nijalingappa, Sanjiva Reddy and Ram Subhag Singh are second class syndics.

The mistake of your Political Correspondent was that

All democrats, irrespective of their differences with the policies of the "Marxist Communists", should join this campaign, which is so vital for the preservation of democracy and for halting the dictatorial and autocratic trends which are so much a part of Congress rule today.

The Central Executive Committee is confident that the left forces inside Kerala will rally together at this crucial time.

The way forward for the people of Kerala lies in the unity of the left forces.

The United Left Front alone presented before the electorate a democratic alternative to the Congress regime, on the basis of a non-communal and principled programme.

The Communist Party in Kerala is pledged to broaden and strengthen this front, to take its message to the widest sections of the people.

Together with their allies, the KSP and the democratic and progressive independents, the Communists in Kerala are pledged to

cooperate with all other left parties, including the "Marxist Communists" in the service of the common people, the working class and the toiling peasantry and for the all-round advance of the state.

Common Tasks

The Central Executive Committee hopes that all the left parties and forces, outside the Left United Front, will also adopt a policy of unity and cooperation in the common tasks and in the work of mass and class organisations and thus turn the tide once again, putting the Congress and the reactionary, communal parties on the retreat and restoring that unity of the democratic forces which alone can carry Kerala forward along the path of progress.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India takes this opportunity to express its heartfelt thanks to the five lakh people who gave their votes to the Communist Party and to the thousands of workers who campaigned tirelessly for its candidates.

he took Frank Moraes as his guide.

Obviously, Moraes was thinking aloud, wistfully hoping for a united team of the right in which Patil, Morarji, Vijayalaxmi Pandit all can live in peace.

But the reality is not as simple as Moraes's plan. The right in India is yet to build its united front.

Both Patil and Morarji may talk the language of the Swatantra when kowtowing to big money, but they have so far refused to unite.

It is the very division in the camp of the right, between the syndicate and the Morarji group that enables the centrists (right-centrist?) like Shastri to hold power.

But alignments do change in the uneven political contour of New Delhi today.

New Delhi **DIARIST**

Our Political Correspondent writes:

DIARIST in his latest communication describes our thanks for giving us a detailed analysis of the composition of the syndicate and of its first class and second class members.

The names are common

HOUSING SCANDAL PRIVILEGE MOTION AGAINST ANDHRA MINISTER

From MOHIT SEN

HYDERABAD, March 22: Housing Minister Alapati Venkatramiah was the target of a privilege motion moved by Communist members in the Assembly today which received support from other opposition MLAs.

IN an agitated House, Communist members charged the minister with mis-leading the House regarding the allotment of houses in Sanjeeva Reddy Nagar.

Earlier, speaking in the Assembly, Alapati Venkatramiah had stated that proper notification had been made before the allotment of houses. Thereupon Opposition leader Pillalamarri Venkateswarlu made full enquiries in the matter and found that this was not so.

Your correspondent who accompanied Venkateswarlu to Sanjeeva Reddy Nagar saw six luxury special type houses given to, among others, the wives and relatives of Chief Minister Brahmaanda Reddy, Union Steel Minister Sanjeeva Reddy, and state Housing Minister Alapati Venkataramiah.

Enquiries were made from officers and others which conclusively established that these six houses were not even shown on the map of the colony, let alone included in the notification. These houses built on land given by Housing Board had been suddenly taken back and secretly given to Congress VIPs. When presented with these facts in the Assembly, the minister tried to wriggle out by saying that his earlier

reference to proper notification was a general statement and did not necessarily include these six houses. But the Opposition did not give up. They quoted proceedings to prove that the minister had included the six houses in his reference.

The Speaker has reserved his ruling on the privilege motion. Meanwhile, universal reaction, even among Congressmen, is that a breach of privilege has been committed by the Minister and further, the whole incident is a revealing admission of scandalous irregularity.

Yet another incident, also exposing the government, took place on March 19. Communist MLA, Venka Satyanarayan created a sensation in the Assembly by reading out from the preface to the Andhra Public Service Commission report that this document is sent to the United States Consulate in Madras, by government order, simultaneously with its being placed on the table of the House.

When this was disclosed, the Chief Minister tried to be facetious by stating that a copy could be sent to Russia also! Following a storm of protest from the members, he however, promised to look into the matter.

knowledge among political circles for a long while. It is also common knowledge that Morarji Desai is NOT a member of the syndicate and that in fact the syndicate backed Lal Bahadur Shastri against Morarji after Nehru's death in the race for Prime Ministership.

I am not, however, in agreement with everything that Diarist has to say on the subject of my short exposure story.

My information, based on talks inside Congress circles, is quite definitely that the syndicate is NOT averse to having Morarji back in the Cabinet (of course nobody suggests, not even Frank Moraes, that he should come as Prime Minister; in fact they do not want him even as number 2 or number 3).

The big monopolists as well as their foreign partners and patrons are applying the screw for some "arrangement" by which all the arch-reactionaries inside the Congress top can pull together despite their internal contradictions.

This is what is new in the situation. The tendency to imagine that the contradictions between the syndicate and Morarji are so great, that their common reactionary aims cannot overshadow them, is a dangerous tendency.

The facts should be placed as they are, and they need not be twisted to suit preconceived "theories" and rigid formulae.

Certain left Congressmen both at the time of the succession battle last year, and even afterwards have made a "theory" of these differences and even gone so far on its basis as to back or line up with Morarji in the name of fighting the syndicate.

My story does not suggest anywhere that the syndicate wants to overthrow the Cabinet as a whole. In fact it is obvious from the entire story from beginning to end, that I maintain that the reactionary gangs are aiming at a Cabinet shuffle, in which both Morarji and Patil, together with others play a part.

Differences between first class and second class syndics notwithstanding, contradictions between syndics and non-syndics notwithstanding, the coup danger is real, and not only in Moraes's wishful mind.

It is wrong to imagine that syndicate's membership is a necessary qualification for being high up in the syndicate's plans for a Cabinet shuffle. It is also wrong to stick steadfastly to "theories" based on the attitudes taken in the last year's succession battle.

The facts should be placed as they are, and they need not be twisted to suit preconceived "theories" and rigid formulae.

PAKISTAN LETTER

AYUB'S ELECTORAL SYSTEM FAVOURS RULING GROUP

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

RAWALPINDI: The results of the Pakistan national assembly elections, which were announced on the night of March 21, show not only the inadequacies of the present electoral system of Pakistan, but also throw light on some of the weaknesses of Combined Opposition Parties (COP).

THE ruling official Muslim League swept the polls and won 114 out of the 150 seats. From among these 15 had also been elected unopposed. The COP got only 13 seats while the United Democratic Front got four seats. Independents were able to get 18 seats.

The results of the presidential elections had shown that the COP had more influence in the east wing while in the west wing its influence was confined to some urban areas.

But the results of National Assembly elections have shown that ruling party was able to get support in East Pakistan also. Three central ministers who fought the elections on Muslim League ticket from East Pakistan were elected.

But due to this, it should not be assumed that COP is losing its influence in East Pakistan.

Presidential elections and the National Assembly elections were fought on different issues. The main slogan of the COP was complete restoration of democracy. COP candidates in "confrontation meetings" with electoral college members stressed the need to abolish the basic democracy system and restore

parliamentary democracy in its place.

This meant that the basic democrats will be deprived of the privileges and special rights which they enjoy now. Consequently the basic democrats who do not want to forgo their privileged position became prejudiced against COP.

The ruling party appealed in a more direct way to get the support of the basic democrats. They promised to give them more powers.

Foreign Minister Bhutto used strong words against government officials for not showing proper respect to basic democrats.

In this way basic democrats felt that their future is much more secure with the ruling party and they will be able to get more powers if ruling party gets a majority.

Just before the polling on March 21, the usual tactics of threats and pressure on basic democrats were also used. Many clashes took place in West Pakistan, particularly in Karachi and COP leaders were arrested indiscriminately.

Public meetings and assembly of five or more persons were banned in Karachi. Despite the vigorous protests from COP this ban

was extended for three months.

But it will be wrong to put all the blame for COP failure at the door of ruling party. The COP itself was not free from weaknesses and faults. The basis of the unity forged among the opposition parties was not strong.

Although they were able to chalk out a nine point common programme and committed themselves to establishment of socialist society in Pakistan and to the public sector in industries, they were not able to maintain any coordination during their election campaign.

COP Weakness

A prominent leader of Jamaat-e-Islami, Maulana Kausar Niazi, resigned from the Jamaat and levelled very serious charges against its leadership.

The bitter controversy which took place after this incident made the fact more obvious that it was parties having basic differences about vital problems that have joined together.

Another important constituent of COP, Nizam-e-Islam Party, adopted an attitude of non-cooperation.

The COP was not able to bring the National Democratic Front (NDF) in its fold. The NDF fought elections separately and won four seats.

Fatima Jinnah said on the eve of elections: "Policies of

the present regime are dictated under the garb of a paraphernalia of democratic institutions which are being used to still the voice of the people. We are undoubtedly passing through a critical period. The faith in ballot system stands shattered but the stakes are heavy. We have, therefore, to use all avenues of service of the people to accelerate the deliverance of the people."

Now after the announcement of the results, it is time for COP to realise that the faith of the people in the ballot system is shattered very much.

Though Fatima Jinnah has promised to "continue to work and do my best to further the cause of the country and the people", she will not be able to do so unless the house of the COP is put in order first.

It has been widely noted that Pakistan has neither condemned the recent air-

raids against North Vietnam, nor demanded the withdrawal of US troops from South Vietnam in the joint communique issued after Ayub's visit to China.

Instead, Ayub had "advised" publicly both China and US to reach a mutually honourable settlement in South Vietnam.

On the other hand, problems of Kashmir and the Sino-Indian boundary dispute have been dealt with at greater length in the joint communique.

While China has "re-affirmed that this dispute should be resolved in accordance with the wishes of the people of Kashmir", Pakistan has stressed that "in handling disputes of this kind between Afro-Asian countries to adopt an attitude of big nation chauvinism, to intimidate neighbour countries and to embark on a policy of arms-expansion and preparation by exploiting such dispute would further impair relations between them and the solidarity of Asian and African countries."

The hints and insinuations are rather too obvious and this is an indication of the fact that the friendship between these two countries is not based on common ideals but solely on anti-Indian sentiments.

What Communists Stand For

WHAT THE COMMUNISTS STAND FOR: by B. N. Leibzon (32 pp.), brought out from Prague by the publishers of the journal of the world Communist movement—Peace and Socialism.

THIS is a brief but extremely lively survey of the movement founded by Karl Marx over a century ago with a membership which has now grown into the mighty working of 42 million Communists working in 90 countries.

What is most remarkable about the pamphlet is the simplicity of its language and expression without omitting or oversimplifying any important point.

After surveying the nature of the world historic changes that has established socialism in 14 countries with a total population of a thousand million, a third of the entire humanity, and explaining the basic principles of socialism and communism, the pamphlet mainly deals with the method of work of the Communist Parties and will be invaluable material especially for new Party members and militants and activists around the Party and the mass movements.

The other great quality of the pamphlet is its up-to-date character in that it takes off from this new present epoch, the one characterised by the existence of the powerful world socialist system, the collapse of imperialism (with no more than 1.7 per cent of the total world population still remaining under

colonialism) and the new scientific and technological advance as epitomised in the explorations of the space.

The pamphlet is clearly designed to meet the needs of Party education in carrying out the fundamental task of vastly expanding the ranks of the Communists by bringing in all militants and activists and establishing mass Communist Parties to

meet the requirements of this period.

Beginning with enumerating the unique characteristics of a Communist Party which distinguishes it and its method of work from other parties, it goes on to deal with the duties of a Party member, the moral code of a Communist, explains how the struggle for socialism is on the right side of history and that time is working in favour of socialism.

Dangers of sectarianism, of self-righteous attitudes of considering the Communists as something of a 'superman', a being of

a 'special order' endowed with qualities possessed only by the chosen few etc., are warned against.

The question of the social composition of the Party, its ability to draw from the youth, the intelligentsia, women, and other sections of society and the importance of systematic and planned recruiting work is emphasised.

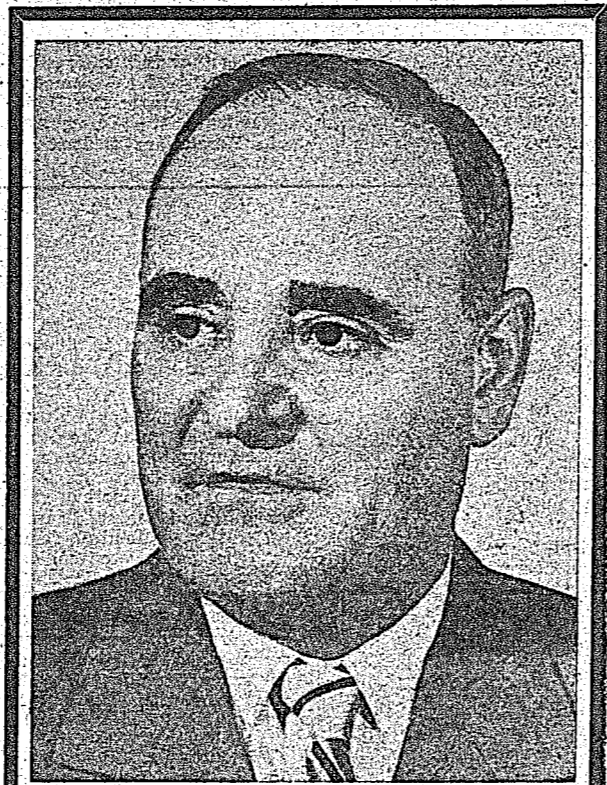
The pamphlet then takes up democratic centralism, the question of the personality cult, criticism and self-criticism, the need for the international unity of the working class and the world Communist movement and against the dangers of factionalism both within individual Parties as well as in the international movement as a whole.

This is a modest pamphlet not attempting to rival the historic manifesto of 1848 or Lenin's WHAT IS TO BE DONE.

But by way of fully reflecting the ideas of the 20th congress, representing the reality of the mid-twentieth century in an undogmatic way and relating the tasks of today's Communists to these, the pamphlet can do a signal service and deserves the widest circulation and translation into all Indian languages.

One point of criticism or rather a suggestion—when preparing Indian editions of it, effort should be made to introduce some examples from India and some more from Afro-Asia. At present the majority of them are from Europe and Latin America.

—BAREN RAY



Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej

COMRADE Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, first secretary of the Rumanian Workers Party and President of the Rumanian People's Republic, passed away in Bucharest on March 19. He was 63.

The Communist Party of India, in a condolence message to the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers Party, said:

The National Council of the Communist Party of India has learnt with deep regret of the sad demise of Comrade Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party and President of the Rumanian People's Republic.

Comrade Gheorghiu Dej has been one of the outstanding leaders of the Rumanian and international working-class and Communist movement.

During the last two decades he was at the head of the Rumanian Workers Party in its leadership of the Rumanian working class, successful struggle to complete the democratic revolution and in socialist construction.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India sends its heartfelt condolences to the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party and to the government and people of Rumania.

At long last, the great civil rights march of the Negroes from Selma to Montgomery has begun. The five-day march is due to reach Montgomery on March 25.

THIS historic march of the Negroes demanding names of Negro voters to be included in the electoral rolls has rightly been compared by Dr. Martin Luther King with the "Dandi March" of Mahatma Gandhi.

Federal troops have now been called in to protect the Negro marchers from the attacks of the racists but it took long two months to move the US federal authorities. THE WORKER stated that the struggle for the right to vote in Selma had been punctuated by "a bloody Sunday", two deaths and numerous attacks on the Negroes.

It took a sweeping massive movement across the country to move President Johnson take the step for enactment of a bill guaranteeing the much-violated, century-old constitutional right of the ballot to the Negroes.

The Negro people had been patiently waiting for the right of equality with the whites in deep south of US. Only when they became tired of waiting, as Dr. King described "we have waited 345 years for freedom", did they



It remains to be seen how the racist governor would react to the Negro memorandum and to what extent would President Johnson go to protect the Negroes.

Reports are already current that in the state legislature the racists are trying to force a total shutdown of all state offices and shops the day the

launch the peaceful mass movement in true Gandhian style to secure this right.

The struggle of the Negro people with this march has entered yet another stage. After the marchers reach Montgomery, a memorandum would be submitted to Governor Wallace, the arch-racist who had unsuccessfully tried to block the march through court orders, urging him to take steps to ensure civil rights to the Negroes.

NEGRO GREAT MARCH BEGINS IN SOUTH USA

COMMUNISTS GAIN IN FRANCE

WITH the first results of the second round of municipal elections, Communists in France gained considerable increase in their prestige and popularity.

Out of 158 towns with population over 30,000, the French Communist Party has won mayoral seats in 34, improving its 1959 position by nine. This is the highest number of mayors belonging to any party in the country.

In the Paris city elections, out of 90 seats 38 have gone to the Communist and

Socialists. Gaullists could win only 39 failing to secure an absolute majority.

The results of both the first and second rounds of the elections have proved how correct the united front slogan of the French Communist Party was. The alliance

made by the French CP was only with the democratic parties of the left. It did not enter into any alliance with the reactionary parties on the pretext of fighting the Gaullists. And for winning a few more seats, it did not sacrifice its principled stand.

Arab Stress on Oil Nationalisation

THE emphasis given in the Fifth Arab congress on oil held in Cairo this week for a reconsideration of oil contracts with foreign monopolies aiming at complete nationalisation of the industry as a whole is yet another expression of Arab independence.

While the Arab countries every year produce about 2,000 million barrels of oil, they themselves do not sell even one million tons of oil. The US companies extract

and sell approximately 55 per cent; British-Dutch 30 per cent; French-Japanese and others firms almost the rest of the produce.

The oil tycoons pay only 5-7 dollars for a ton of oil to the Arabs while the sale price of petrol is between 25 to 40 dollars. Year after year, the foreign companies had been garnering huge profit.

They had been resisting by all means any revision of the extremely unfair terms of concession treaties. They even sought to control political power in these countries, either through stooges or organising vandalism including murders of leading political figures, to perpetuate their exploitation.

For quite some time the Arabs had been fighting to secure higher price on the oil extracted but gradually they came to realise that so long the industry remained in the hands of foreigners, the stranglehold cannot be broken.

Thus the former Saudi-Arabian Minister of Oil Abdullah Tariki's view "nationalisation of the oil industry is a national necessity" found great response at the congress.

The exact conclusions of the congress are not available till now but the indications are clear that the Arab countries are in favour of taking measures which would ensure a fair share of wealth that grows out their own oil.

It is also known that the congress has adopted a recommendation which envisages "collective stoppage of supply of oil to any country which might economically boycott an Arab state."

Obviously, the imperialists—who had risked a war in middle-east over nationalisation of Suez—will not easily acquiesce. But then the unity of the Arab states itself and the support they would receive from the Afro-Asian world for such a bold move, should deter imperialists from precipitation.

—SADHAN MUKHERJEE (March 23)

Chinese Concoctions Exposed

EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS OF ATTACK ON MILITIAMEN

MOSCOW: The Chinese press continues to assert in a provocative manner that acts of violence against demonstrators allegedly took place during the demonstration of foreign students outside the US Embassy in Moscow on March 4.

CHINESE newspapers write that Moscow militia wanted to "disperse" the demonstration by using "police methods" and that militiamen had committed "acts of violence" against students.

This is refuted completely by witnesses who say that during the demonstration Chinese citizens behaved in the most provocative manner and resorted to acts of violence against representatives of Soviet organs of power.

Blatant Lies Nailed

Abbas el Hassan el Hassin (Sudan) a fifth-year student of the Electric Machine-Building Department of the Moscow Power Engineering Institute, told a Tass correspondent: "when we marched along Sadovoye Koltso, I was approached by one of the Chinese students. He produced from his pocket some metal object and two bottles of ink. He had no time then to ask him what he needed these for. But soon everything became clear. Chinese citizens struck militiamen, hurled bottles of ink, lumps of snow and shouted insults."

Comrade Gheorghiu Dej has been one of the outstanding leaders of the Rumanian and international working-class and Communist movement.

During the last two decades he was at the head of the Rumanian Workers Party in its leadership of the Rumanian working class, successful struggle to complete the democratic revolution and in socialist construction.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India sends its heartfelt condolences to the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party and to the government and people of Rumania.

crew of the plane which flew four Chinese students to Peking, and of other eyewitnesses which show that the students who were healthy on their journey and walked on their own legs without any sign of illness enacted a farce at the instance of the Chinese officials who met them at the Peking airport.

After specially powdering their faces so that they should assume a sickly-pale complexion, they were taken out on stretchers to the accompaniment of shouts of two thousand youth. Obviously, the whole show was aimed at fanning up an anti-Soviet hysteria.

Many students in Moscow have given statements declaring that there is no ban here on anti-imperialist demonstrations. Many such demonstrations have been held here but in no demonstration had anybody perpetrated such organised hooliganism.

IZVESTIA published a photo showing some of the weapons the Chinese citizens used in their attacks on the representatives of Soviet authorities.

In an editorial note IZVESTIA pointed out that publication was in view of the fact that China did not stop its propaganda campaign distorting facts concerning demonstration of foreign students outside the US embassy in Moscow. "The unworthy campaign vis-a-vis the Soviet Union is being artificially stepped up" the paper says and emphasises that this "cannot but prejudice Chinese-Soviet relations."

But unheeding all warning and advice for moderation and adoption of dignified methods the Chinese leadership came out with their real open political attack on the Soviet leadership

for which the Moscow incident was staged only to create the necessary atmosphere.

Attack on CPSU

On March 22 by a long article in PEOPLES DAILY they launched a full frontal and foul attack on all the basic policies of the CPSU. Declaring that there was "not a shade of difference" between the policies of the new Soviet leadership and those of Khrushchov, that "only the signboard has been changed", they are insisting on continuing polemics "for ten thousand years" because "so far we have published a small number of articles."

They demanded that the CPSU must "publicly admit mistakes" and withdraw its past documents. CPSU must publicly declare that the line of twentieth and twentysecond congresses was wrong, they demanded as a condition for an improvement in relations.

The whole article is in the old Chinese style of slander, foul abuse and disgraceful manners and shows that nothing has changed in China and that they insist on following their splitters' course, and declare that they must further intensify it.

A PTI report from Cairo says that the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation has rejected a Chinese move to condemn the alleged maltreatment of Chinese students in Moscow by the Soviet authorities during and after the anti-US demonstrations.

Rightists Win, Setback For Progressives

CEYLON ELECTION RESULTS SHOW DANGEROUS TRENDS

By SADHAN MUKHERJEE

The results of Ceylon general elections have just come in as we go to press. The results, to say the least, are not only unexpected but also shocking.

THE right reactionary gang-up—the pro-imperialist United National Party, the split-away wing of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party—which forged alliance with the Tamil Congress, Jatika Vimukti Perumana and Mahajan Eksath Perumana, has emerged victorious. The ultra-revolutionary Shanmugathasan group which had broken away from the Communist Party of Ceylon and supported the reactionary combine has been routed.

The progressive forces' alliance, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, the Lanka Sama Samaj Party and the Communist Party of Ceylon, failed to obtain requisite number of seats to form a government.

The reverses suffered by the progressive alliance cannot draw comfort from the fact that the United National Party also has not been able to win simple majority in the house of 151 elected seats with six to be nominated by the Governor General.

Party Position

The final party position is: United National Party 66; Sri Lanka Freedom Party 41; Federal Party 14; Lanka Sama Samaj Party 10; Sri Lanka Freedom Socialist Party 5; Communist Party of Ceylon 4 (maintaining its original strength); Tamil Congress 3; Mahajan Eksath Perumana 1; Jatika Vimukti Perumana 1; Independents 6.

To understand the Ceylon political scene, it is necessary to have a look in retrospect.

The United National Party was defeated by the united election front of nationalist and leftwing forces led by the late S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike in April 1956. The coalition government formed after the victory straightway came in for concentrated fire from the UNP and the imperialists because of the progressive measures, it took, particularly for enacting agrarian reforms act.

The coalition government of 1956 got broken up by subversion in May 1959 and it was followed by the assassination of S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and undoubtedly it was a serious setback to the progressive nationalist movement in Ceylon.

But reaction could not emerge triumphant because

of the astute leadership of Sirimavo Bandaranaike, widow of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, who took over the responsibility of leading the Sri Lanka Freedom Party.

Under her leadership, the SLFP won a decisive victory



Sirimavo Bandaranaike

in the July 1960 elections with the active support of the LSSP and the CP. It is after this victory that reaction let loose its vile campaign to the fullest extent to oust this government.

Every progressive measure taken by this government—the takeover of the schools, the nationalisation of petroleum import and its distribution machinery etc., which went against the vested interests, both foreign and local, the toddy issue or the press takeover plan—was dubbed as a Communist measure.

A political commentator described the situation in Ceylon that time as close to the so-called liberation movement carried on by Catholic Church and the Nair Service Society in Kerala against the Communist ministry. Catholics, Buddhists and Tamils were simultaneously ranged against the Sirimavo ministry. The Tamil voters form a good per cent of the total electorate. Strikes were provoked everywhere.

It was in this situation

when the rightwing was determinedly going ahead with its plans to oust the Sirimavo ministry that an alliance was forged between the SLFP and LSSP in June 1964. The reactionaries inside the SLFP stood in the way of a coalition between the SLFP and other left parties.

The reactionaries, after this coalition gave a call for an all-out war against Sirimavo government and finally through treachery, bribery, intimidation and technical subterfuges, the government was defeated by an arithmetical majority of one, on December 3, 1964.

The daily press in Ceylon

is owned by powerful vested interests and a relentless slander campaign was carried on through it against the progressive measures taken by the SLFP on national economy, the Tamil question, the nationalisation issue and so on. It was openly campaigned that the Sirimavo government were taking measures which were directly aimed at hitting the Catholics, Buddhists and the Tamils.

While on the one hand, the polarisation of political forces was complete, external forces with their influences and machinations came to play their dirty manoeuvres openly. For many years, the British had dominated the Ceylon scene and they were followed by the Americans after the Second World War.

During the 1952 elections, and later under Kotelawala, the FBI, CIA, USIS and other American agencies like the Asia Foundation, Peace Corps and so on, set

up their operational bases in Ceylon and went on to implement their schemes of subversion of democracy there.

The reactionary plots against the SLFP government from 1956 to 1964, the language disturbance of 1956-57; the race riots of 1958; the breakup of coalition in May 1959; the assassination of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike in September 1959; the abortive coup d'etat of 1962 and series of parliamentary crises engineered during this period were all actively aided and abetted by the imperialists.

It is not surprising that these people even operate what is called a 'black radio' carrying on propaganda against the SLFP besides the campaign of the monopoly press.

Unfortunately, it is the gang of reactionaries and imperialist agents which has won in the election this time and progressive forces have been relegated to second position. The new government has not yet been announced but it is clear that it can only be a coalition government. Whether they would be able to maintain the semblance of an independent and stable government is yet to be seen. (March 23)

Canard About Nehru And Aircraft Carrier

* From Front Page

that Pandit Nehru HAD written a letter of the kind suggested by Sudhir Ghosh, and that the US government had offered to show this letter in original to the Government of India.

Patel went further than this to state that a US Embassy official met the Indian Foreign Secretary and informed him formally of the existence of this request by Pandit Nehru and of the desire of the US government to show this document to the Government of India.

Here was more masala for those who wanted that sort of spice. The STATESMAN led the other newspapers in reporting that as a result of Dayabhai's intervention, the "controversy" had not been "set at rest", "the question remained open", despite the Prime Minister's denial.

To lend credence to the story, the monopoly press reported that the Prime Minister had been "plainly taken aback by Mr. Patel's remarks" (The STATESMAN, March 23).

No Basis Whatsoever

This report was intended to give the impression that the denial notwithstanding, there was something fishy about the whole affair.

What then is the truth?

First and foremost, it is clear after the official contradictions by both the governments involved that the Sudhir Ghosh story has no basis whatsoever; it is a pure and simple canard.

It has also to be noted that whoever cooked the canard originally and put it across through the Congress MP, did so at a moment when the whole question of India's attitude towards the US aggression in Vietnam was under discussion.

US agencies in this country have been busy urging the Government of India not to condemn the US for its crimes in Vietnam, on the ground that the US is "defending" South East Asia and indirectly India itself, from China.

The Sudhir Ghosh story helped this interested propaganda, by dishing up "history" in such a way as to suggest that by condemning the USA in Vietnam, India would be untrue to its salt(!), ungrateful to its "saviour" whose aircraft carrier rushed to our rescue at Nehru's call!

It is for the Congress party to find out from its own member how and where he found his story and why he told his tale NOW, in March 1965. I am not making any comments here on Sudhir Ghosh's motives or interests.

But I have it on irrefutable authority that the entire story was prepared and timed by the US espionage and subversive agencies in this country, following the failure of Averell Harriman to ensure India's support for US aggression in Vietnam.

The story was told to several members of what may be described as the American lobby of dollar boys in the capital. This lobby was asked to put across the yarn in all possible ways—by insinuation, by rumour, through the press and wherever else they could.

These US lie-manufacturers even concocted "a secret letter" allegedly written by Pandit Nehru and conjured up the picture of a big, benevolent Uncle Sam, wagging his protective beard of bombers near Calcutta to shoo away the aggressors on behalf of his little Indian nephews and nieces.

The Swatantra Party (which the US subversion racket looks upon as its own American party) naturally helped forward the US cause: its members openly hailed the US carriers in Vietnam. (How noble it is to use napalm and gas and rip the flesh off Vietnamese children!)

Bring Them To Book

And to add to the reasons for their support, the "secret Nehru letter" and the aircraft carrier were trump cards.

The snake is scotched, not killed. The denials and contradictions, however authoritative, will not prevent the lie makers from manufacturing more lies and putting them across through their placemen, the Dollar Boys in key positions.

The Indian public have a right to know what government is going to do about this whole affair, what steps it is taking to bring the conspirators against our basic policies to book.

The main lesson of the Sudhir Ghosh affair is the need for the greatest public vigilance against the US efforts to drag India into its net of military entanglements—using every possible weapon in its arsenal of filth and mendacity.