

# Law Minister Hides Solicitor-General's Report From Lok Sabha

**In Whose Interest? Birlas' Or People's?**

**COMMUNIST MP PLACES AUDITORS' REPORT ON BIRLA FIRMS ON LOK SABHA TABLE**

★ By Our Special Correspondent

COMMUNIST MEMBER HOMI DAJI RENDERED SIGNIFICANT SERVICE TO THE PUBLIC WHEN HE PLACED ON THE TABLE OF THE LOK SABHA ON WEDNESDAY THE AUDITORS' REPORT ON THE WORKING OF THE BIRLA CONCERNS, THE RUBY AND NEW ASIATIC GENERAL INSURANCE COMPANIES, A REPORT WHICH THE GOVERNMENT HAD KEPT BACK FROM PARLIAMENT, DESPITE INSISTENT DEMANDS IN THE PAST. THE REPORT CONTAINS GRAVE ALLEGATIONS OF IRREGULAR AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES COMMITTED BY THESE COMPANIES. IT WILL BE RECALLED THAT THE GOVERNMENT APPOINTED THE AUDITORS AFTER THE AFFAIRS OF THESE COMPANIES WERE BROUGHT BEFORE PARLIAMENT BY THE LATE FEROZE GANDHI.

IN CONTRAST TO THIS GESTURE OF AN OPPOSITION MEMBER WAS LAW MINISTER ASOKE SEN'S REFUSAL TO PLACE BEFORE PARLIAMENT THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL'S ADVICE TO THE GOVERNMENT ON THE REPORT, AFTER HAVING READ OUT EXTRACTS FROM IT AND CLAIMED THAT THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL HAD ADVISED THE GOVERNMENT THAT IT WAS "NOT WORTHWHILE TO PURSUE THE MATTER FURTHER".

HOMI DAJI, taking part in the debate on the Law Ministry's demands for grants, had referred to the Finance Minister's statement a few days ago that no further action was taken in the matter of the New Asiatic and Ruby General Insurance Companies on the advice of the Law Ministry. He asked why the Law Ministry gave such advice.

Daji read out following extracts from the Auditor's report:

"In concluding our report, we observe that there was a

regular conspiracy amongst the staff and officers of the Head Office and Branches of the New Asiatic Insurance Co., Ltd., to falsify the books of accounts systematically and manipulating profits from year to year for the purpose of showing a rosy picture before the shareholders as well as the public....

"It would also appear from Exhibit No. 9 that Sri L. N. Birla had knowledge about the suppression of losses made in 1952. It will not be out of place to men-

tion that the loans and investments were mostly under instructions from Sri L. N. Birla...

"The company has willfully manipulated books of accounts from year to year for the purpose of suppressing losses upto 1956 which, so far as known to us, amount to Rs. 18,15,224/- and the Balance Sheets for the years 1952 to 1956 do not represent the true and correct state of affairs of the company....

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## "DON'T COLLECT INCOME TAX"!

### West Bengal I.T.C.'s Directive

A sensational disclosure has been made here about the stoppage of income tax collections in the last two months of the outgoing financial year by the Income Tax Commissioner, West Bengal, states an IPA report from Calcutta.

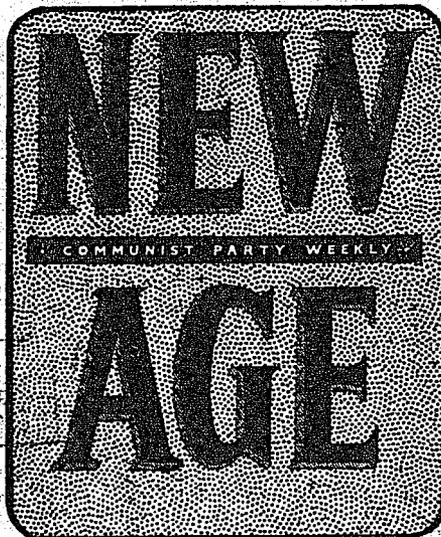
THE Commissioner, it is learnt, issued a confidential circular directing his subordinate offices not to collect income tax in February and March, 1963. The reason

for this extraordinary directive was, it is stated, that the assessment forecast for 1962-63 by the Commissioner has been fulfilled by the end of January.

Additional collections during the year would exceed the target and might reflect on the Commissioners forecast and bring discredit on him for faulty assessment, it was stated.

Further, more collections might show that there is scope for larger collections than is generally made out and the higher-ups might take cognizance of this to

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## CORRUPTION

The Indian people are angry, justifiably angry.

The Budget Session of Parliament has been memorable for the manner in which secret cupboard after secret cupboard has been smashed open to reveal a whole series of ugly skeletons.

THE Vivian Bose Inquiry took the lid off the first stinkpot. Followed one scandal after another involving big business racketeers and men in high places.

The question the people ask is: What action is being taken against the guilty men? One can understand and accept the argument that in the case of the Vivian Bose report, two other legal experts are going into the details, to advise on what action can be instituted.

What makes the blood boil is not the delay, but the use to which the delay is being put.

The days that have passed since the Vivian Bose report broke into print in the daily press have been taken advantage of by the Sabu-Jains, according to reports, to rush through licenses for two more factories in West Bengal—one a cement factory in Durgapur and the other a chemical factory at Purulia.

It is said that the licenses for these factories were granted by the Government of India after the publication of the Vivian Bose report, in which the Jains were not painted exactly as saints!

Is this the way corruption is being fought? The Home Min-

ister has this week trotted out a whole series of figures, indicating the number of officials against whom action has been taken for corruption. Good, very good. But how is it that the big sharks always escape? And not only escape, but receive rewards for their crimes?

Every day, more lids are ripped off more stinkpots in high places. The latest uncovers the alleged doings of the Birlas, and the efforts to veil them by people in authority.

The demand of the Indian people addressed to the men in power is simple: Stop protecting the corrupt enemies of society! Stop letting them hide behind you and the positions which the people have bestowed upon you!

The story of fabulous bills being charged to the taxpayer for the water and electricity supplied to Central Ministers, has enraged millions.

This can't go on, is the universal cry.

Unfortunately, it does go on... And the same sickly nonsense about a socialistic pattern of society is trotted

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## IS INDIA AN AMERICAN BASE?

This map was printed in U. S. News and World Report (January 7) to illustrate its article, "U. S. Fighting Men in 41 Lands." More than ten lakhs Americans are stationed at 2,200 separate military installations abroad, including 150 major bases spotted around the world.

What worries us is the inclusion of India in this list of countries with U. S. bases. It is true that a few U. S. soldiers came with special U. S. transport plane. But they are NOT "fighting" soldiers and India is NOT a base.



# Chaotic Conditions in Civic Administration

With small-pox epidemic raging for last three months and ominous shadows of cholera epidemic looming large, and the onset of summer water-scarcity already being felt, the affairs of the Calcutta Corporation have again come to a pass which might eventually lead to a breakdown of administration.

THE Congress Party is in power in this premier City Corporation since 1923, when the first elected Corporation was set up, almost without a break. It is in full control since independence and no less a person than the redoubtable Pradesh Congress Chief, Atulya Ghose is the Chairman of the Congress Municipal Association.

And it is under this "able" management that the Corporation has become a stinking cesspool of corruption, nepotism, jobbery and group fight, so much so that it is rather called *Choreporation*. Efficiency had never been a strong point of the Calcutta Corporation administration, but now it faces a total chaos due to the callous disregard of citizens' welfare by the ruling Congress party and to a great extent due to its internal group rivalry.

Last year, when virulent cholera epidemic broke out and stinking garbage heaps were polluting the very air of Calcutta, the West Bengal Government belatedly woke up and launched a cleaning drive under a Deputy Inspector General of Police.

With the help of National Volunteers Force and hired transport, a somewhat cleaner condition was brought about. But in that effort, citizens' cooperation was not sought, not even accepted when offered. Prominent citizens of Calcutta, including physicians, engineers and public figures, came together and formed a *Save Calcutta Committee* to carry on by themselves a campaign for a cleaner and healthier Calcutta.

West Bengal Government had earlier appointed a committee under the chairmanship of J. N. Talukdar, ICS, former Chief Secretary of the state government, to recommend measures to improve working of the Corporation and its various agencies.

It recommended reduction of number of Standing Committees and giving more power to such committees and also to the commissioners, leaving to the Corporation power to take broad policy decisions and supervision over progress of work done.

## Congress Opposition

Congress councillors did not like the recommendations of the Talukdar Committee and raised a *halla-halloo* about it. It was no wonder because it was everybody's knowledge that no contract of Calcutta Corporation was finalised without a backstage deal about division of its spoils. How this affected the citizens will be clear from only one item, namely water supply.

The question of laying of 72 inches water main from Pulta Works to Tullah overhead tanks, a distance of about thirteen miles, was first taken up some seven years back. It took more than two years to finalise the contract. The work was to have been completed by June 1960. But June 1963 is approaching and it is not yet sure whether the work will be finished even then.

But even if the laying of 72

inches main is completed, augmentation of water supply is not guaranteed, because it is now learnt that the installation of rapid gravity filter and other works to raise volume of water supply have not even been taken up so far.

The posting of new Commissioner last year, in the wake of Government's cleaning campaign, also complicated the matter further. This IAS officer set about improving efficiency of work. But he did it in a bureaucratic fashion, without seeking the co-operation of the councillors. Rather it seemed that he ignored them. This gave a chance to the Congress councillors, who wanted to perpetuate the present set up and things, to raise a hue and cry against him in the name of upholding the prestige and rights of the elected representatives of the people.

To improve the functioning of the conservancy and engineering departments, the West Bengal Government sent two of its officers at the request of the Commissioner and placed them as Special Deputy Commissioners.

## Work Obstructed

This the Congress Councillors resented and they tried their level best to obstruct their day to day work. Requisite funds were not sanctioned, recommendations of the Commissioner and his Special Deputies were rejected without even considering the merit of such proposals.

In this way, a cold war developed between ruling party and the permanent officials. The ruling party wanted to preserve the corrupt methods and the commissioner moved in a bureaucratic method.

It was a strange sight to behold — the City Corporation run by Congress under the direct leadership of the Pradesh Congress president, fighting against officers appointed and supported by the state government, also run by the Congress. And the Congress leaders allowed the matter to drift and develop into a crisis when signatures to a motion to remove the Commissioner began to be collected. The City administration faced a complete breakdown.

The state government then brought a bill in the Council and got it passed, which curbed the power of the Corporation to pass resolution for removal of the Commissioner without prior sanction of the Government. At this the Congress councillors decided to resign and, in fact, submitted their resignation letters to the chairman of the Congress Municipal Association — Atulya Ghosh.

Then began back-stage negotiation. Congress Councillors did not press their resignation and the government did not bring the bill before the Assembly. But by a subsequent order the State Government nullified a resolution of the Corporation allotting specific duties to the special Deputy

Commissioners, which curtailed their powers.

Thus the state government stood behind the bureaucrats as against the elected Councillors, while trying to patch up the differences within its own house so as not to lose the control over the Corporation. But it did not take the path to real solution. Commenting on the situation, the Calcutta District Council of the Communist Party said:

"The state of affairs in the

## Sukumar Mukherjee

SUKUMAR Mukherjee, a member of the Howrah District Executive Committee of the Party expired on March 27 after suffering for ten months from cancer, at the age of 52.

He was a student in Varanasi where he joined the Hindustan Socialist Republican Army and was arrested in 1933. He joined the party in 1936 and since then was active in party and mass organisation work.

Calcutta Corporation has long been a matter of public comment. Recent developments — the struggle between the Congress Municipal Association and the Commissioner — have led to virtual state of deadlock in the administration of the Calcutta Corporation, as a result of which the interests of the citizens of Calcutta are being seriously jeopardised.

"The State Government have in the past instead of being alive to the situation mainly turned a blind eye to the omissions and commissions on the part of the Congress Municipal Association, though it sometimes took certain steps which served only as a palliative without curing the maladies.

"Now the State Government have already introduced bill in the legislature, which will take away the power of the elected representatives to remove the Commissioner. In this way, the State Government propose to find solution of the present problem.

"But we cannot support these measures because it is undemocratic, as it curbs the power of the elected representatives. And moreover, this will not help solution of the basic ills besetting the Corporation. Attempts may be made to do some patchwork for ending the present factional squabbles inside the Congress Party, but it will not serve as a remedy to the present situation and will not result in improvement in the civic administration.

"To make any move forward to solve the problem of maladministration in the Corporation and to make it serve the interests of the citizens, the first and foremost steps must be democratisation of the Corporation, which can be ensured

through amendment of the present Calcutta Municipal Act and holding election on the basis of adult franchise.

We, therefore, urge upon the State Government to take steps for holding fresh elections immediately on the basis of adult franchise and to replace the present Corporation, which has totally forfeited the confidence of the public.

Somnath Lahiri, speaking in the Assembly on Local Self Government Grant, criticised the attitude of the Congress Party and said that solution could not be found in giving more power to the bureaucracy. He pointed out that while so many municipalities run by progressive elements had been superseded by the Government during the last few months, the Calcutta Corporation was not yet being re-elected. He also demanded immediate election on the basis of adult franchise, which he said would remove most of the corrupt councillors.

Most of the press also demanded disbandment of the present Corporation. The Congress leaders tried to patch up the matter by appointing a committee, consisting of four ministers and seven councillors, the Mayor and the deputy Mayor and the Commissioner, which will serve as a liaison between the Government, the Commissioner and the Councillors.

The Committee had met twice, but it reported to have failed to resolve the dispute and to proceed. Pressures and counter-pressures are being put and nobody knows how the dispute will be resolved. But this episode has once again revealed the callous and inhuman attitude of the Congress Councillors to the welfare of the citizens.

## NORTHERN RAILWAY NOTICE

Following are the important changes in the time table from 1.4.63.

### 1. NEW CONNECTIONS PROVIDED

- i) 2 LF Ferozepur-Ludhiana Passenger with 1 ALJ Amritsar-Ludhiana-Jakhal passenger at Ludhiana.
- ii) 2 SF Shikohabad-Farrukhabad passenger with 17 Up Kanpur Central-Kasganj passenger (N. E. Rly.) at Farrukhabad.
- iii) 2 SF Shikohabad-Farrukhabad passenger with 16 Dn Agra Fort-Kanpur Central Passenger (N. E. Rly.) at Farrukhabad.
- iv) 1 AGA Allahabad-Agra passenger with 2 ATF Agra-Tundla-Farrukhabad at Shikohabad.
- v) 4 SS Shahjahanpur-Sitapur passenger with 375 Up Allahabad-Delhi passenger at Rosa.

### 2. NEW TRAINS INTRODUCED.

- 1 KSB Diesel Rail Car between Delhi Kishanganj and Shakurbasti.

### 3. TRAINS EXTENDED.

- 1 BRH/2 BRH running between Rewari and Hissar have been extended upto Sirsa and renumbered as 1 BRS/2 BRS.

### 4. IMPORTANT CHANGES IN TRAIN TIMINGS.

- i) No. 12 Dn Delhi-Howrah Express will leave Delhi at 22/10 hrs. instead of 21/40 hrs.
- ii) No. 214/14 Dn Ajmer Delhi Passenger will arrive at 7/25 hrs. instead of 6/25 hrs.
- iii) No. 232/32 Dn Ahmedabad-Delhi Janata Express will arrive Delhi at 6/5 hrs. instead of 4/52 hrs.
- iv) No. 201/1 Up Delhi-Ahmedabad Mail will leave Delhi at 22/20 hrs. instead of 22/5 hrs.
- v) No. 91 Up Delhi-Bikaner Mail will arrive Bikaner at 9/5 hrs. instead of 9/30 hrs.
- vi) No. 95 Up Bikaner-Marwar Mail will leave Bikaner at 20/20 hrs. instead of 20/5 hrs.
- vii) No. 96 Dn Marwar-Bikaner Mail will reach Bikaner at 7/45 hrs. instead of 8/5 hrs.
- viii) No. 1 JMB Bikaner-Merla Road Passenger will leave Bikaner at 3/45 hrs. instead of 3/- hrs.

- ix) No. 3 JJP Pokaran-Jodhpur passenger will leave Pokaran at 22/35 hrs. instead of 23/40 hrs. and will arrive Jodhpur at 5/30 hrs. instead of 7/- hrs.

### 5. (a) AIRCONDITIONED ACCOMMODATION ON TRAINS:

- i) Partial Airconditioned coach on 1 Up/ 2 Dn Malls (Delhi-Kalka) will run daily instead of tri-weekly.
- ii) One full Air conditioned coach will run daily on 41 Up/ 42 Dn Mussorie Express between Delhi and Dehra Dun (upto 15.7.63).
- iii) One Partial Air conditioned coach will run tri-weekly by 91 Up/ 92 Dn Bikaner Malls between Delhi and Bikaner as under—  
Ex. Delhi on Mondays, Thursdays & Saturdays.  
Ex. Bikaner on Sundays, Tuesdays & Fridays.

### (b) Through/Sectional coaches introduced.

- | Stations between             | Train No.                | Class of Accommodation. | No. of bogies |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| (i) Bomgay Central-Pathankot | 3/33 & 34/4              | Acc I                   | one           |
|                              |                          | II                      | one           |
| (ii) Delhi-Bareilly          | 376/375                  | III (sleeper)           | one           |
| (iii) Delhi-Kotdwara         | 41/52 I, III, 6/KN/51/42 | Comp. I, III            | one           |

### (c) Through/Sectional coaches cancelled:

- | Stations between     | Train No.       | Class of Accommodation. | No. of bogies |
|----------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| (i) Delhi-Gandhidham | 231/61 & 66/232 | III                     | one           |

For detailed information pertaining to train timings, introduction and cancellation of through coaches, adjustment in classes of accommodation in trains, reference should be made to April/1963 Time Table available at Railway Booking, Reservation and Enquiry offices and Book Stalls at the important stations.

Chief Operating Supdt

# RELEASE COMMUNIST DETENUS

## STRONG PLEA FOR RELEASE OF COMMUNISTS

CALCUTTA:

The campaign for release of political prisoners, almost all of them Communists, has gathered momentum in the State. Though the lunatic fringe of the anti-Communist lobby in West Bengal continues to holler for even more repression against the Party, the demand for release of Communist detenues is increasingly finding expression from non-Communist sections also. Recent debate in the Legislative Assembly as also the stand taken by democratic mass organisations in the State clearly indicate this.

THROUGHOUT the budget session, Communist members in the legislature had on every available occasion raised the demand for the release of Communist detenues. Last Friday, the Assembly debated a non-official resolution, demanding immediate release of detenues.

In the debate on the resolution, besides Communist members, spokesmen of the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Revolutionary Communist Party of India, Nani Bhattacharya and Anadi Das also joined the demand for the release of detenues.

PSP revealed its true face when its spokesman, Kashi-kanta Moitra, said with aplomb that in a national emergency personal liberty was not important at all and detention without trial of Communists was an investment for national security. Hemanta Basu and Dr. Kanai Bhattacharya of Forward Bloc were two others who lent their support to the detention of Communists. In the face of this attitude, their plea that they were, in principle, against detention without trial sounded hollow and farcical.

## Resolution On Release

The resolution on release of detenues was moved by Dr. Radhanath Chattaraj on behalf of the Communist Bloc and Somnath Lahiri, Acting Leader of the Bloc, forcefully argued the case for release. He said that the need of the hour in the face of grave danger to the country was national unity for upholding and safeguarding the national policies of non-alignment, anti-imperialism, and peace and to resist all aggression and to defeat the internal reaction.

He gave a mass of facts to show that the Communists in West Bengal were more vigorously working for implementation of these policies of Prime Minister Nehru than the Congress organisation and emphasised that release of the communist detenues would further strengthen this force.

Lahiri quoted Congress President Sanjivayya's speech and said that he considered Communist Party's resolution as the foremost factor in China's cease-fire, which had brought normalcy considered enough to enable holding of bye-elections, but still Communists were kept in jails. He appealed to Congressmen to have sense of reality and to realise that in spite of repression by the Government and attacks by gondas, Com-

munist Minister on February 27 when he said that communist detenues, which included 14 MLAs, kept contact with Chinese agents. Lahiri said that this remark impinged on the privilege of the members of the House. Speaker reserved his ruling.

Lahiri raised another motion of privilege earlier in the week on the speech of Jall Minister who termed Communist detenues which included MLAs as traitors. In this case also the Speaker reserved his ruling.

The growing awareness of politically alert sections to this question was reflected in the Legislative Council also. On February 28, Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal, an independent MLC in a well reasoned and powerful speech in the Council demanded release of Communist prisoners and said that the Government should release them for the sake of justice, democracy and human considerations.

He pointed out that if Communists, who were a strong force in the State, were not allowed to educate the electorate, then the bye-elections would become meaningless. He was hopeful that political alignment in the State could take new shape during the bye-elections and the Con-

gress and the Communist Party, instead of fighting each other, could come together against Reaction, which would be beneficial to the State. He said that at least parole should be granted to enable Communists to take part in the elections.

## Support From Other Quarters

RSP leader Jatin Chakravorty also demanded release of Communist detenues or trial for them. Many members in both the Houses cited the ex-

## HUNGER-STRIKE WITHDRAWN

ON the intervention of the Cochin District Committee of the Communist Party, the undertrials have withdrawn their hunger-strike on March 26, the ninth day of the hunger-strike.

ample of Kerala and wondered if all the detenues could be released there what prevented the West Bengal Government from doing the same.

The meetings now being held in support of Communist candidates in the bye-elections have become powerful forums to raise this very just and legitimate demand of release of the communist prisoners to ensure free and fair elections.

The West Bengal Committee of the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) recently demanded release of all political prisoners. The BPTUC pointed out that while workers and their organisations were duly implementing the Industrial Truce Resolution and the AITUC unions are playing a leading role in this, many of the office-bearers of BPTUC and its affiliated unions had been arrested and are kept in prison.

It has decided to intensify the campaign for release and already workers' meetings are being held to raise the demand. The BPTUC also decided to open a fund for relief to prisoners' families and already more than a thousand rupees have been collected.

The Democratic Lawyers' Association, West Bengal Committee, has also demanded prisoners' release before the bye-elections. Otherwise, it felt, that elections would not be fair and free.

## Memorandum To Assam Chief Minister Phani Bora Demands Release Of All Detenus

SHILLONG:

On behalf of the Assam State Council of Communist Party of India, Phani Bora, Secretary of the State Council, met the Chief Minister recently to press the Party's demand for release of the Communists of the State who are now in detention. Bora placed before the Chief Minister the State Council's memorandum on the matter.

IN view of the coming bye-elections in the State and in the interests of unity of all the democratic forces in the State to combat the forces of communalism and other forms of reaction, Bora pointed out, it was necessary to release all the Communists who have been detained on suspicion and perhaps, in some cases, on pressure from certain interested quarters. He drew the attention of the Chief Minister to the fact that the communists are the most consistent fighters against communalism and other reactionary forces.

## Family Allowance

Bora also pointed out that the amount of family allowances given to the detenues was far from sufficient, even to meet the barest minimum needs of the families and dependents of the detenues.

The Chief Minister assured Phani Bora of his "urgent and serious consideration" of the Communist Party's demand.

In a memorandum to the Chief Minister, the Assam State Council of the CPI said: Our Party is pledged to do everything to help strengthening of the economic and

defence potential of our country so as to make it strong, capable of withstanding any eventually relying on its own strength and capacity. We are at the same time pledged to defend the policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence, settlement of disputes by peaceful means with honour and dignity and to support Nehru's leadership in this regard.

Under the circumstances, patriotism and adherence to democratic principles demand a change in the policy of the Government towards the Communist Party in our state. We may reiterate here that our State Council was the first of all the State Units of our Party, to declare its unqualified support to Government's defence efforts and to condemn the Chinese invasion.

## Deplorable Affair

Our state council fully supported the famous National Council resolution of November, 1962. Yet our state unit is comparatively the worst hit unit by the Government's policy of repression—mass arrests and continued detention. It is a matter

of great regret that in spite of the assurances given of reviewing the cases, the deplorable state of affairs continues, without any improvement in it.

The people of Assam as well as the Government know it well that our party comrades were very active and were working seriously to help the national defence efforts by all means. We again want to state emphatically here that no charge of doing anything

against the Government defence efforts is applicable against any one of the detenues, who have still been languishing behind the prison bars.

We therefore strongly urge upon the Government to immediately release the communist detenues unconditionally. We also request the Government to immediately transfer the detenues from Orissa prison to Assam and to release them here.

## DIR Detenus To Resort To Hunger-Strike

AGRA:

According to a report received from Agra, it is learnt that the Communist detenues in Agra district jail have decided to resort to hunger strike from April 10, if by that time the authorities do not comply with the following demands:

- a) All detenues should get family allowance
- b) Reasons for their detention should be explained

Full facilities should be provided to them of higher class prisoners.

It may be recalled that Dr. B. P. Shukla, Keshav Chandra Gupta, Jagdish Sharma, Kailash Chandra and Mughal Beg have been detained here since February 8 under the Defence of India Rules. They are being treated since then as ordinary prisoners and denied higher class prisoners' amenities. It is learnt that Dr. B. P. Shukla is extremely ill and has already lost more than 10 pounds in weight.

## Congress Intimidation In Bongaon Bye-Election

A JIT Ganguly, the Communist candidate in the Bongaon constituency in the bye-election, has sent a telegram to the Election Commission alleging that Hansadhwaj Dhara, a leader of the 24 Parganas District Congress Committee is intimidating and terrorising the voters in that area. Election Commission has been re-

quested to immediately intervene.

Copies of the telegram have been sent to the Prime Minister and the Home Minister. Written complaint has been made to Sub-Divisional Officer, Bongaon, copies of which have been forwarded to the District Magistrate, Police Superintendent and the Chief Minister.

## FOR NEGOTIATIONS AND PEACE

editorial

THE ANNOUNCEMENT by the Chinese Government of its long overdue decision to release Indian prisoners of war, whatever its propaganda motives, will be welcomed all over the world by right-thinking people, who seek an end to Sino-Indian hostility and a peaceful solution of the present conflict.

The background in which this announcement of the release of Indian POWs has been made is, however, far from reassuring. The last few days have seen a sharp increase in anti-Indian propaganda and polemics in the Chinese press.

On March 24, the Chinese Government sent a Note to New Delhi making what have been correctly described by the Ministry of External Affairs, in its reply, as preposterous, baseless and false charges. This Chinese Note and the subsequent whipping up of the campaign in the Chinese press against Indian policies, can lead one only to the conclusion that the Chinese Government is determined to "prove", by any means, the "forecast" made earlier by Foreign Minister Chen Yi that "provocative actions on the part of Indian troops will occur from time to time."

This intensification of anti-Indian propaganda, combined with reports of a new Chinese military build-up in Tibet and Ladakh, have naturally added grist to the mill of the rightwing reactionaries in our country, whose clamour for entering the Western imperialists' military pact parlour has risen to a shrill screech. The protagonists of the U.S. "air umbrella" are delighted at the threatening postures—verbal and military—of the Chinese authorities against India: for these postures are the best "arguments" in favour of the "umbrella" and all that it means.

As long as the present tension, which has been brought to fever heat by the Chinese aggression, lasts, so long do the imperialists and their agents inside India have a clear field in which to jostle against our basic policies of non-alignment and peace, and to attempt to drag our Motherland into the web of imperialist military alliances little by little, under one mask or the other.

Therefore, the struggle to maintain and preserve India's independence by keeping it out of the imperialist web, is inextricably linked with the struggle for the opening of peaceful negotiations between India and China.

The Indian people have totally rejected the overtures of the imperialists and the reactionaries. They are determinedly and unitedly strengthening their own defences, but are not prepared to surrender their freedom through any form of military pact or alliance.

But what is it that prevents the opening of negotiations? And who is responsible for the continuation of tension? It is necessary for world democratic opinion to be clear about the answers to these questions, which are so vital for the future of India, of Asia and the world.

The principal truth, which must be stated and proclaimed again and again, is this: the way to negotiations and peace lies in the acceptance of the Colombo proposals.

Why is the Chinese Government so vehemently opposing the proposals, today—after India has accepted them in toto? It is utter nonsense to suggest that the Colombo proposals and clarifications "favour" India. It is stupid and dangerous drivel to say that the Colombo powers gave different clarifications in Peking and New Delhi.

The Colombo proposals are made unanimously by heads of six Afro-Asian countries, all inspired by a common desire for a peaceful settlement, who, in their collective wisdom, cannot be accused of partiality. Acceptance of the Colombo proposals would not prejudice the rights of the two sides to put forward their full case and demands during the negotiations.

The decision to release our POWs must be followed up by the Chinese acceptance of the Colombo proposals. Then alone would there be concrete results.

Every day's delay in the acceptance of the proposals gives added strength to the imperialists and the reactionaries in their efforts to entrench themselves on Indian soil.

World democratic opinion must throw its entire weight—now and without delay—into a mighty movement to persuade the Chinese Government to give up its intransigent attitude, accept the Colombo proposals and implement them, so that negotiations may start and lead to a peaceful settlement.

(April 3)

Notes of the Week

★ By ROMESH CHANDRA

## U.S. "Aid"—What Terms?

U.S. military "aid" is coming, the headlines of the monopoly press are screaming with joy. The Clay Committee has recommended our case. President Kennedy's message to Congress has underlined it further. Two high-powered special U.S. envoys have rushed to New Delhi to "listen-in". And our own boys and girls, in a steady stream, are smoothing away the wrinkles on India's image in Washington. The Washington pets are rocking and rolling with delight...

EVERY patriotic Indian wants to strengthen India's defences. The only questions lurking in one's mind as one sees all this helter-skelter scramble, with all its undignified back-scratching, its humiliating kow-towing to the dollar-god—the only questions are:

Will what we receive strengthen our own capacity to defend our motherland, or will it weaken our own independence and make us more dependent on others for our defence?

Will the terms on which we receive this aid be such as, in fact, blow up our basic policies of non-alignment and planned development, with emphasis on the public sector?

The rumour that the Indian Air Force's demand for supersonic aircraft of the most modern kind has been rejected by the US-Commonwealth military mission, is already current. The emphasis in the Patnaik and Sudhir Ghosh press interviews (see Nation, page 7) on India's willingness to accept obsolete out-of-date weapons, lends credence to the rumour.

If what we are to receive is not modern planes but only a "guarantee" of U.S. air assistance, in time of need, we are being planted with the "umbrella" in disguise.

Kennedy's message to Congress recommending more aid for us, may delight the Washington patriots—but the rest of us must hang our heads a little shamefully. Read the Times of India despatch on Kennedy's message's reference to India.

"The President's message picks up India, which shows the 'wisdom of the earlier U.S. aid in helping its considerable and fruitful efforts towards progress and stability'."

He added: "The threat made plain by the Chinese attack on India last fall may require additional efforts on our part to help bolster the security of this critical area, assuming that these efforts can be matched in an appropriate way by the efforts of India and Pakistan."

"Herein come both promise and rub. The promise is underlined. The rub is mentioned gently but unmistakably. India and Pakistan must be on the same side of the defensive fence. The burden of this operation, however, is thrown on India."

India is also mentioned in another passage among Iran, Pakistan, Viet Nam and Formosa, which, President Kennedy says, have been enabled by U.S. military aid "to stay free and independent."

"A few months ago, India would have hated to be in such company. Now things are different and sad though it may seem, we cannot even complain." (Times of India, April 3, 1963).

The Times of India may not complain. But we are complaining, and we intend to kick up the biggest row possible over it.

India is not going to be the US imperialists' playground: it is time we took steps to inform the "enlightened" President Kennedy that India refuses to be placed in the same list of U.S. dependencies and satellites as Formosa and South Vietnam. It is time we took steps to see that no one takes advantage of our difficulties to insult us again by placing us on this list of dependencies.

## Assistance Without Strings

WHILE Kennedy is putting his pressure on India to sign on the dotted line his terms for military aid—the Socialist countries, true to their policy of disinterested aid, are busy signing ever new contracts and agreements with India.

The Indian Express front-pages the news today that "Indo-Soviet trade, which is now of the order of Rs. 100 crores both ways, is expected to be doubled under a new five-year trade agreement to be signed next month." (see Economic Notes—page 12)

The Hungarian Minister, on the eve of the Hungarian National Day, has informed the press of the new agreements entered into between his country and ours, and the fresh assistance in building our independent economy which we can expect from Hungary.

The Polish Minister for Mines has visited India and help for our mining projects has been promised.

The Socialist countries are giving India far greater assistance than ever before: there are no strings attached, and our agreements are made and signed as between equals.

## "Defending" Indefensible

COMMUNIST MPs were fully justified in their resentment over the Home Minister's evasive and provocative remarks in the Lok Sabha on April 1, when he was replying to the debate on the demands of his Ministry (see page 5)

To the clear and categorical suggestion that the Centre should itself review the cases of Communist detenus and release them, Shastriji only repeated his plea that the State Governments must decide, though he admitted that the arrests had originally taken place on the Centre's initiative.

(April 3)

Week in Parliament

# Debate on Home Ministry's Demands for Grants

## Shastri's Facts Challenged

### By Opposition

A soft-spoken sober man of polite manners, Lal Bahadur Shastri could hardly be accused of prevarication. There was a great deal of personal goodwill for him from members of Lok Sabha during the debate on his Ministry's demands for grants. He is a skilful debator and the Opposition generally respects him for his simple habit and sincere views.

And yet, on Monday when Lal Bahadur Shastri replied to the debate, this genial image of a true gentleman suffered. The Opposition had strong and valid provocations to resent his treatment, criticise his tactics and challenge his facts.

THE Union Home Minister seemed to have chosen the path of answering his critics by citing what were obviously police reports of allegedly pre-judicial activities by groups or members belonging to Opposition parties.

The facts he cited for this could not all be substantiated before the House. When challenged by the Opposition to place on the table of the House the documents from which the Home Minister had quoted and to disclose the names of persons subjected to allegations, Shastri found himself with no better argument than that he was speaking with the "full sense of responsibility".

Clearly, the prolonged uproar in the House could have been avoided, if only the Home Minister had proved his sense of responsibility by meeting the very fair and just demand of the Opposition for satisfaction as to the source and substance of his allegations.

## Hypothetical Proposition

The Home Minister, throughout, tried to argue that he was only suggesting that there might be some members in the parties of the Opposition who acted against national interests. "Why do hon. members get so excited? Hon. members must be other members", he said. But the purpose of this was not lost on anyone. In the context of the criticism of the misuse of emergency by the government, Shastri's illustrations would imply to show the bad faith of Opposition parties in this emergency.

It was therefore justified on the part of Opposition to have

taken it up as a matter of prestige of their parties and demanded that the Home Minister come out with concrete facts to support his charges. The public expects government to be in possession of facts. Therefore, when ministers under the cover of parliamentary immunity, and with that "grave" air of trying to keep state secrets, go about hurling accusations against individuals and sections who could not defend themselves in the same way, they open themselves to the charge of indulging in character assassination of their political rivals. Recent instances from State legislatures would also prove this point.

Despite insistent demands from Opposition to disclose facts, Shastri would not give the information they sought. Instead, he took shelter under the comfortable plea of secrecy and security. The maximum he would go was to offer to give the information to the concerned parties' leaders if they met him privately; that too after the Speaker had repeatedly pointed out to him his responsibility in the matter.

The Opposition's demand was virtually upheld when the Speaker ruled that the Minister should either satisfy the members or lay the documents on the table of the House. Something must be done to satisfy them that the Minister had the information on which he or any other reasonable person could rely, he declared.

Shastri first caused the uproar in the Lok Sabha by his reference to a booklet published in Bengal, which accused the government of trying to establish a partial military rule in the country and also contained other objectionable sentences.

## Strong Protest

His allegation that this was published by Communists evoked very strong protests from the Communist benches. Renu Chakravarty and many other members repeatedly denied the allegation and demanded to know the name of the publisher and author of the booklet from which the Home Minister had quoted sentences. Shastri could not give any names but agreed to give the necessary details to Renu Chakravarty, Congress member A. P. Jain then demanded that the document be placed on the table of the House. The Speaker ruled that the demand was justified.

While the Home Minister was criticising Communists, it was all sunshine and cheer in the PSP benches, but no sooner had he directed his attention to the PSP, it was all pandemonium. Shastri said that a PSP mem-

ber had in a speech declared that "both the Prime Minister and the Home Minister should be shot dead."

PSP members were immediately on their feet vigorously protesting and challenging the Home Minister to disclose which PSP member had said so. They declared that none from their party had said such a thing. Renu Chakravarty pointed out that Ministers generally made statements on the basis of intelligence reports which were not correct in many cases.

There was general demand from the Opposition that the Minister should state the name of the PSP member involved.

The reluctance of the Home Minister to comply with this request finally resulted in the Speaker directing the Minister to either satisfy the members or to lay on the table the relevant documents. Shastri agreed to give the information to the PSP leader S. N. Dwivedi.

## Jan Sangh Exhibition

While commenting on the activities of the Opposition parties, the Home Minister referred to the Jan Sangh exhibition in Lucknow. He said that if he had his way in the matter, he would have taken severe action against the organisers. But it only helped to highlight the weakness of the government in dealing with the anti-national activities of Right reaction, as against the severe measures adopted to arrest a large number of Communists and trade union leaders under the Defence of India Rules. Congress member Mahavir Tyagi told the Home Minister that he should realise that his own party ministers were "flirting" with the organisers of the Jan Sangh exhibition.

In fact, one of the points made by Communist members in their speeches was this failure of the government to tackle reaction and instead directing its wrath against Communists. P. K. Vasudevan Nair complained that the government had acted in a cowardly way in the face of the threat from reaction.

Vasudevan Nair and Renu Chakravarty listed a number of cases where the powers under the Defence of India Rules were misused by authorities to arrest and detain Communist workers and trade unionists who had been actively engaged in helping national defence. The Home Minister did not give replies to these specific instances cited by Communist members.

Communist spokesmen also severely criticised the treatment meted out to political detenus in jail. They pointed out that people arrested under the same section were put in different classes and urged government to end this discrimination. Also they complained of "inhuman treatment" of political prisoners in jail. The Home Minister agreed that there should be one

classification and he also indicated that he had taken up the matter of proper treatment of detenus with the State governments.

Renu Chakravarty and Vasudevan Nair pleaded for release of all detenus. They pointed out that since the government thought the situation has improved so as to hold by-elections in this emergency, there was no justification for continued detention of political prisoners.

Lal Bahadur Shastri, in his reply, claimed that a number of people had been released, but the matter was in the hands of state governments. He ad-

remnant of colonialism and imperialism. "To hell with these rules if they are meant only to perpetuate imperialist tendencies", he declared. On corruption, Mathur said: "We have to fight corruption in a big way. We are only tinkering with the problem at present. Corruption will have to be tackled from the top and not from the bottom". He pointed out that there cannot be two standards, one for ministers and another for services. To correct maladministration, he suggested administrative tribunals and a commissioner for parliamentary investigations.

Communist speakers voiced the grievances of central government employees. P. K. Vasudevan Nair drew attention to the continuing de-recognition of central government employees unions by the Audit Department, even after the Home Ministry's circular of 1961 to all departments and Ministries to restore recognition.

Renu Chakravarty criticised the move by government to amend Article 311 of the Constitution which will deprive the right of employees to be heard before they are penalised. She also demanded the establishment of Whitley Councils. The Home Minister, in his reply, disclosed that government was considering the setting up of Whitley Councils, even though the matter had been put off at the beginning of the emergency.

Government's reply to complaints about corruption was to play down the evil importance of this phenomenon. Minister of State Hajaravasi stoutly maintained that the "degree" of corruption had in no way increased.

According to him, "there have been corrupt people, wrong doers, in every community and at every time. Here it has become noticeable because the administration of the government has increased from a budget of Rs. 100 crores to Rs. 800 or 900 crores. We have entered areas and undertaken functions which the government in the British time did not think of understanding."

Lal Bahadur Shastri praised the work of the Special Police Establishment and also announced the decision to set up a Central Investigation Bureau. But a topic of engrossing interest for the 'lobbies' was his disclosure that pending a report of the CID, the Prime Minister had referred to the Attorney General all the available material regarding alleged foreign exchange violations by the name of certain Central and State Ministers were reported to be involved. The Home Minister assured the House that the government has no intention of whitewashing the enquiry.

## CORRUPTION IN ADMINISTRATION SPOTLIGHTED

Corruption in administration and the evil ways of bureaucracy were some of the other issues which figured prominently in the debate. Speakers from the Congress and Opposition devoted a good deal of attention to an examination of the de-seases besetting the administration.

Harish Chandra Mathur, a Congress member with an administrative background did not mince words when he said that "in spite of these fifteen years of working of democracy, our services have not yet, as a matter of fact, inculcated any sort of respect for and faith in democratic and political processes. There is a sort of resistance even to complaints and suggestions. I think, for this, the responsibility lies mostly with hon. Ministers, more particularly with the Home Minister who is in charge of the services."

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# VITIATED ATMOSPHERE IN GROUP POLITICS

The lowest depths have been touched in the factional struggle in the ruling party in Bihar. The latest reads like a page from a thriller.

FOR sometime the rumour was afloat in the State capital that an attempt was made to poison the Chief Minister by administering potassium cyanide to the fishes that were to be served to him. Pandit Binodanand Jha told this to some friends and to visiting opposition leaders and presumably also to the Prime Minister during the latter's recent visit to Patna. The matter was already under investigation by the Central Intelligence department when last week it was raised in the Bihar Legislature.

Since the name freely mentioned in connection with this crime is that of a prominent Congress leader of the Patna district belonging to the anti-Jha group, the latter has not unreasonably refused to attach any credence to the story.

On the other hand, the police are said to be in possession of an incriminating letter signed by the said Congress leader. Whatever be the truth, the story of the attempted poisoning has

★ From Ali Ashraf

from the imperialist tradition of pre-independence days.

He pointed out that in the widespread ganja smuggling in the State, some big men and even Congress leaders were involved, their jeeps were caught but still no action was being taken, because the district magistrate and police superintendent were warned by ministers not to do so. Dacoities were rampant, but those accused of the crime acted hosts to the ministers and managed to go free.

Tej Narain Jha mentioned many names in this connection. He also referred to the repression and torture resorted to by the official and police parties during the current drive for the realisation of rent and other dues.

The Chief Minister could not but meet this criticism half way and admit that some of the broad allegations were correct. He defended his administration by complaining of "the legacy of the British" and said that "it was unfortunate that the British who had imported the ideals of democracy

and legal jurisdiction into the country had failed to bring in their police. The police in the UK was a wing of the people, but that of the French was a wing of the government."

But while replying to the other opposition parties, the Chief Minister found himself on firmer ground. His opponents in the Congress Legislature party meeting and the non-Communist opposition parties in the Assembly, had both concentrated on the alleged anti-Bihari and pro-Bengali attitude of the Chief Minister and tried to rouse the worst provincial feelings among the people and the officials of the state. The Chief Minister had no difficulty to "decry" what he described as "the narrow and rabid provincialism of certain opposition members."

Neither these antics of the non-Communist opposition parties nor their anti-Communism of which they have given ample proof even during the present session of the Legislature, can serve as the basis of a democratic opposition to the anti-people actions of the Jha ministry.

## Sahara Test Condemned

The All-India Peace Council, the All-India Trade Union Congress, the National Federation of Indian Women and other mass organisations have sent a letter to President de Gaulle, condemning the French atomic tests in Sahara. The letter says:

ON behalf of the millions of Indians, who are members and supporters of the organisations we represent, we strongly condemn the carrying out by your Government of an atomic test in the Algerian territory of Sahara.

This action, in utter disregard of the protests of the Algerian Government and of the peoples of Africa and the world, has done no credit to the Government of France. It has

been interpreted as a blow against the efforts of mankind for disarmament and peace. It is an infringement of the national independence of Algeria.

What is even more disturbing is the announcement that your Government intends to continue these tests.

We urge you and your Government to heed the voice of the peoples of the world and stop all further tests in the Sahara.

## INDIAN ORGANISATIONS GREET LATIN AMERICAN PEOPLES' CONGRESS

The Indian Committee of Support for Continental Congress of Solidarity with Cuba and various Indian organisations have cabled messages of greetings to the Continental Congress currently in session at Rio De Janeiro (Brazil).

RAMESHWARI Nehru, President and Aruna Asaf Ali, Vice-President, Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity have sent the following cable on behalf of their organisation:

Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity sends its warm fraternal greetings to participants to Continental Congress for Solidarity with Cuba and through them to all patriotic forces of Latin America. Hearty congratulations for rallying in support of brave Cuba's struggle for democracy and socialism. Indian people endorse the right of every nation to choose its own social system. Best wishes for successful deliberations.

ON behalf of Committee of Indian Parliamentarians for Peace, Dewan Chaman Lal MP has sent the message in which he said:

Peaceful solution of Caribbean crisis in international relations while assuring full guarantees for independence of Cuba and freedom everywhere. Peace and freedom are both indivisible. Our own freedom is in jeopardy as long as there exists any area anywhere whose freedom

# WASHINGTON PATRIOTISM

# NATION

It is time to shout aloud from the house-tops against the disgraceful spectacle which is being presented to the world by the stream of Indian salesmen rushing to the United States of America.

THE latest addition to those who have "succeeded" like Bijoynanda Patnaik, claims to have succeeded in "winning over" the U.S. administration to India's point of view, is one Sudhir Ghosh, who has the magic letters "M.P." after his name.

The Hindustan Times Washington Correspondent says "Mr. Ghosh appeared very optimistic" after his interview on March 23 with President Kennedy. The correspondent claims in a front page despatch that:

"In effect, Mr. Ghosh has smoothed the way for subsequent official Indian missions to conclude prompt and advantageous military aid agreements by reducing Congressional opposition."

Such a "tribute" to the Hindustan Times with its well known affection for Washington and its call-boys in India, is naturally intriguing.

To cap it all, the Indian Express Washington Correspondent joins in throwing garlands round Sudhir Ghosh's neck:

"Mr. Ghosh, during his stay here has done—according to observers, an incredible job of public relations and fence-mending and mobilising grass-roots support for India."

Who is this wonder-man? And how does he do it? The Times of India's Washington man says, Ghosh "does enjoy the blessings of the Prime Minister, who is aware of his unusual contacts developed over many years."

"Unusual contacts"? And to make it even more mysterious, the Times of India's despatch says that Ghosh "is keeping his secret for the ears of Mr. Nehru."

The shameful thing is that on the basis of the "optimism" of the M.P. with "unusual contacts" in Washington, the Indian monopoly press splash headlines about the certainty of "sizeable air armada" for India, and all that.

## "Basic" Assurances

THE very same despatches, so approvingly splashed by the monopoly press, also give a glimpse of the reason for the welcome given to Sudhir Ghosh by the American authorities.

Hindustan Times says "Ghosh's effort was to emphasise India's awareness of the basic conflict with China."

We know what that means: Ghosh must have assured his American mentors that India was as "basically" "anti-Communist" as the U.S. wanted it to be. Non-alignment? Ghosh must have smoothed away the U.S. "fears."

Ghosh went on, according to the same Hindustan Times despatch, to say that he was ready to receive U.S. interceptors aircraft, "not necessarily the latest or most expensive!" Like Patnaik, he is ready to have obsolete and out-of-date

stuff passed on to us. And why? The Times of India, while lauding Ghosh, significantly quotes another U.S. paper which says quite definitely that the U.S. "is reluctant to get heavily involved in any programme to upgrade the present subsonic air force there to the supersonic class."

The despatch goes on: "Instead, U.S. experts, according to the best informed sources, lean towards giving India a form of guarantee that the U.S. Super-sonic air force will provide a 'back-up' for the Indian air force in case of need."

"Back-up" is obviously the same thing as "umbrella". Patnaik and Ghosh are expressing their willingness to accept inferior aeroplanes: naturally, the American bosses are happy. For inferior, "obsolete", out-of-date, "not necessarily the latest" aeroplanes mean, in fact, the dependence of the Indian air force on the American "back-up", the American "air umbrella".

What is even more amazing is the fact that the Gov-

ernment not only permits this sort of activity inside India, but evidently cooperates with the USIS in making it a "success".

## Moshi Again

THE Prime Minister's repeated statements in Parliament pointing out the "good work" done by the Indian delegation at the Moshi Conference, have "scotched" the snake, not killed it!"

The American-puppet organ Thought in its issue dated March 23 has cooked up a wonderful new story, which seeks to make out that a sinister game was played by a Communist member of the Indian delegation, who evidently hoodwinked all the Congressmen, to help the Chinese!

Divan Chaman Lal, MP, leader of the delegation, in a speech at a public meet-

ing in Calcutta on March 22, roundly condemned this attempt to "divide" the delegation. He paid a tribute to the work of the Communists in the Indian delegation and said the entire delegation worked in complete unity on all issues.

As a matter of fact, the Prime Minister's clear statements in defence and in praise of the Moshi delegation, have knocked the bottom out of the reactionaries' "case". That is why they have now come back to their old and stale mutton: "anti-Communism".

A question in Parliament regarding the composition of the Executive Committee of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity, was also sought to be used to make out so-called "Communist domination". It failed totally in its purpose. There is a majority of Congressmen in the Executive Committee.

This is what the reactionaries cannot stomach: unity of patriotic Indians in a common cause.

—VIGILANTE

## DEFEND NON-ALIGNMENT POLICY

Dewan Chaman Lal Launches Campaign

Calcutta.

At a crowded meeting under the auspices of West Bengal Peace Council on March 22 at the Calcutta University Institute Hall, Dewan Chaman Lal, Congress MP and leader of the Indian delegation to the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference at Moshi, called upon the people to see through the motivated campaign against the non-alignment policy of India and to stand firmly in support of it.

DEWAN Chaman Lal gave an inspiring report of the work of the Indian delegation at Moshi and said that in the sphere of foreign policy, the basic policies were non-alignment, friendship among nations and peaceful coexistence. He said that the reactionary forces in India and the monopoly press were campaigning for abandoning non-alignment and India's joining a "certain military bloc".

He termed this campaign as motivated and "inspired by certain big powers", and said that it was these basic policies which saved India in the face of Chinese aggression. He further said that the same forces which clamoured for the removal of Krishna Menon, now aimed at Nehru and conspired for his removal.

The people should know the real character of these anti-national forces and resist them. To give up non-alignment, Chaman Lal said, meant giving up the sovereignty of the country. Ramesh Chandra, General Secretary of the All India Peace Council and a delegate to the Moshi Conference, said that surreptitious attempts were being made to drag India into military blocs. He emphasised that India in her own interest, could not join openly or secretly, any military bloc.

Drawing the attention to the activities of the Right-wing reactionaries and the campaign in the press for joining Western military bloc, he said that as a result of

India was perhaps about to give up non-alignment and join the Western bloc.

He called for a widespread campaign in support of the policies of non-alignment, friendship among nations, peaceful co-existence and anti-colonialism, for the strengthening of our basic policies.

The well-known journalist Vivekananda Mukherjee, Editor of Basumat, who presided over the meeting, assured full support and participation of the people of West Bengal in the campaign in support of non-alignment.

A West Bengal Convention for Non-Alignment and World Peace will be held on April 13, it is learnt.

## MASS ORGANISATIONS CONDEMN IRAQ REPRESSION

Representatives of the All-India Peace Council, the All-India Trade Union Congress, the National Federation of Indian Women and other democratic organisations have sent a joint protest letter on behalf of their organisations to the President of the Iraqi Republic against the repressive actions of the Government.

The protest letter says: ON behalf of the millions of Indians, who are members and supporters of the organisations we represent, we are writing to convey to you and to your government, our sense of pain and deep indignation at the excesses committed in Iraq against leaders and members of democratic organisations and their families. Outstanding personalities connected with the peace movement, with trade unions, women's organisations, youth and student bodies, have been thrown into prison, and several prominent persons have been killed on

the streets or executed without a proper trial.

The Indian people wish to convey to the Government of Iraq their great distress and indignation at these atrocities which are in total contravention of the publicly declared policies of your government.

We appeal to you and your government to immediately desist from these repressive actions, which fill all who stand for peace and democracy with horror, and against which all persons in whom humanness remains, must vigorously protest.

## PLAN PROGRESS II

# "Perspective" Planning

The Planning Commission has tentively proposed the outlay for the Fourth and Fifth Five Year Plans. Elaborating the perspective of development during these periods, it has proposed an outlay of Rs. 19,950 crores for the Fourth Plan and Rs. 32,155 crores for the Fifth.

THESE estimates stem from the objective to secure a rate of annual increase in national income by 7 per cent and are considered "essential" to reach the goal of achieving a self-sustained growth in the economy by 1976.

The total investments during the First and Second Plans were Rs. 3,360 crores and Rs. 6,750 crores respectively and the outlay postulated for the Third Plan was Rs. 10,500 crores. The original estimates of the Planning Commission for the Fourth and Fifth Plans, as set out in the Third Plan, were Rs. 17,000 crores and Rs. 25,000 crores respectively.

But the strange phenomenon is that despite all these outlays, the rate of growth in national income during the first decade of planned development in our country i.e. from 1950-51 to 1960-61, increased by 42 per cent only in 1960-61 prices. The rate of growth came to about 4 per cent per year. During this decade, the per capita income increased only by 16 per cent.

Taking 1948-49 as the base year, the increase in national income and per capita income during the First Plan were 18.4 per cent and 8.2 per cent respectively.

The Second Plan visualised an increase of 25 per cent in national income during the Plan period, but according to the figures released by the Central Sta-

tical Organisation, the national income in real terms during this period increased only by 20.4 per cent. The per capita income during this period increased only by 8.6 per cent. This represented an average growth of 4 per cent in national income and 1.7 per cent in per capita income per annum.

Thus when the Third Plan began, it had a shortfall of about 5 per cent in the national income of the Second Plan period.

During the first year of the Third Plan, the rise in the national income was only 2.4 per cent in real terms, while the per capita income actually registered a slight decline.

The available figures for 1962-63, of industrial as well as agricultural output, indicate that the rise in the national income during this period will not be substantially higher than 1961-62. Thus to reach the target of 34 per cent increase in the national income at the end of the Third Plan, it will require for greater acceleration in the rate of growth (approximately 8% to 10%) per annum in the national income during the last three years of the Third Plan.

Since the Planning Commission proposes a rate of Fourth and Fifth Plans and since an increase of 8 to 10 per cent in national income per year during the remaining three years of

the Third Plan is out of question, the glaring fact stares out at the face that the Fourth and Fifth Plans will have to begin with much greater shortfall in the national income targets. The target of the Third Plan can only be achieved much later.

The same condition applies to per capita income also. The per capita income at constant prices (1948-49) was Rs. 293.7 in 1960-61 and is estimated to reach Rs. 341.2 in 1965-66. In 1961-62, the per capita income at constant prices came down to Rs. 293.4.

In the report on the Second Plan, basing on which the Third Plan was framed, it was suggested that, compared to 1950-51, the national income might be doubled by 1967-68 and per capita income by 1973-74 at constant prices.

At this rate of growth, doubling of national income by 1967-68 and per capita income by 1973-74, is an impossibility. How far the goal of the Planning Commission of "achieving self-sustained growth in the economy by 1976" will be realised is any body's guess. What is therefore needed is a far more accelerated growth and a bigger perspective for the Plan.

—S. M.

# THIS IS THE STORY OF A TRUE COMMUNIST

COMRADE Salam Adil was a man whose life and very death are worthy of admiration and that quiet but profound gratitude which forever remains carved in the heart. The news of his execution found me far away from home. His death came as a particular shock to me as I had known him personally.

I retained indelible memories of our conversations, of Salam Adil's manner of listening and cocking an ear, of looking into the world around him and passing opinions on things both big and small. And when I heard this fearful news his image reappeared in my mind with such surprising and penetrating power that I had him subconsciously in the mind all the time, even when talking with others about other things, even when it seemed to me I was thinking of other things.

It was a hot summer when we first met him in Baghdad. The blazing sun had heated the ground of this ancient land of so

## A Day will Come When Songs will be Sung

### About Salam Adil

thorny a history and lot that the warmth of the pavement went right through our thick boot-soles while sweat evaporated before it could form into beads — as if the sun had set itself the sign of drying up every living thing.

It was midday and yellowish dusty Baghdad with its intricate maze of cramped and crooked lanes and variegated houses and huts seemed dead; it had gone into hiding from the stifling heat. Comrade Salam Adil was waiting for us, Soviet journalists, in a tiny room on the third floor of a creaking wooden house. We had heard a lot about this man who though quite young had at the same time the wisdom that comes from a wealth of struggle and years of prison, underground revolutionary activity, privation and want.

As is nearly always the case in such circumstances we found our hands being grasped not at all by the kind of person we had imagined. We saw before us a rather slow and shy man, lean, even lithe, in a white shirt with an open neck and with a mischievous smile constantly playing around his black moustaches.

By no means the hero of fairy tales.

He spoke sotto voce at once affording the explanation that this was his habit as an underground revolutionary. And only when the ice had been broken as they say and we had so to speak become attuned to each other did Salam Adil speak more briskly and with less constraint.

It was not about himself that he spoke, rather of his comrades and of the country and its people. Now and again

he peeped out of the window to look at peasant carts piled with vegetables riding by down below or at street urchins shrilly offering the casual passerby a glass of water or sherbet, a newspaper or a packet of cigarettes.

The street noise which grew more intense towards dusk invigorated Salam Adil and little by little we could piece together from his words the dream of an Iraqi Communist to see his country free and happy and of this century. Salam Adil loved the Soviet Union and its people as tenderly and broadly as a man who loves his own people and wishes them wellbeing and prosperity. He realised that the strength and sure future of a really independent Iraq lay in, and relied upon, friendship with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries.

While we were talking, a slim serene kid of some 12 or 14 summers, as he appeared to us, stepped in and out. Now he

by  
**A. Adjubei**

would bring a glass of water or a box of matches, now whisper something into Comrade Salam Adil's ear. We felt that the boy was a person of trust, that he was more than a kid, that he was also a comrade.

We parted with Salam Adil a few hours later. On the landing stood the very same boy who had

stepped into the room more than once. I pulled out a Sputnik badge and pinned it to the kid's plain faded shirt. The dark eyes of our youthful friend, as dark as a full ripe Ukrainian cherry, glowed for an instant with deep warmth. I gave him a farewell hug and suddenly felt something hard beneath the flimsy shirt. The boy was confused but Comrade Salam Adil gave a smile.

"You are most likely wondering what sort of a secret our young friend can have there inside?" he said calmly and turning to the body added: "Come on, show them what you've got there."

"Though he looks a kid he's already 17. He is a good comrade of ours whose father was shot by Nouri Said's butchers. He's got quite a lot of grit and I am sure that if Kassem's snooty open fire at him, he won't show the white feather." Salam fell silent for a moment and then added:

There are moments in the life of a paper like ours, which are rightly called great moments, moments which shall be remembered for long. This is such a moment...

NEW AGE publishes on these pages, the story of a true Communist, who gave his life for the cause in which he believed. And as this story goes to the press, New Age is proud and happy that it has the honour to uphold the same banner for which Salam Adil, First Secretary of the Iraqi Communist Party, was executed by the ruthless Iraqi authorities.

"After all, every kid or boy has to grow up into a man and this boy, you can take it from me, will be a real man."

Today when Salam Adil is no longer with us the words he said on parting seem to me to have a particular significance. It is indeed so. All kids and boys grow

up into men and all have to choose a road in life. One can't dart erratically around in life. Only certainty makes a man happy and immortal just as it does that communist hero, the staunch Salam Adil, engraved forever in the memories of the people of Iraq and all other nations.

## YOUTH AND MANHOOD

HE was born in 1924 in a working class family in the town of Najaf. Upon matriculation, Comrade Salam Adil was enrolled at the teachers' training school in Baghdad. He taught drawing at school. He was more than a talented artist; he was also a brilliant journalist and poet known and adored in the working class neighbourhoods of Baghdad, Basra and Diwaniya.

Salam Adil was yet in his youth when he first heard of the Soviet Union. During the past war like many other young Iraqis he eagerly looked forward to every new dispatch about the Soviet Army's achievements in the field. He closely followed war communiques and often exchanged views with his friends.

Often at the students' dormitory he spoke with enthusiasm of the heroism of the Soviet soldiers, those workers and peasants, the poor who had become the masters of their country and were defending it against the fascist hordes. The students would tell him: "Why, you are a Communist!" And he would say: "Yes, I am a Communist." But he was not a Communist yet.

One day the underground communist paper published an article about the teachers' training school where Salam Adil was a student. The headmaster decided it was his handiwork. Once when Salam Adil was at class, one of the instructors poked around in his belongings. He found nothing and began to search the belongings of other students until he found in one of the students' cases several issues of the underground communist paper. The student was expelled and then arrested.

So did Salam Adil learn that there was a Communist Party in Iraq. He sought for contacts and shortly after graduation in 1942 he managed to establish them. He very quickly gained the respect and affection of his Party comrades.

He carried through several important Party assignments with brilliance. Soon he became a member of the Communist Party City Committee in Diwaniya. "He had an infinite love for the Soviet Union and was extremely delighted to hear of its every new success," one of his friends wrote in a letter.

"This love for the Soviet Union helped him time and again to take the right stand in the complex and dangerous conditions of the Communist underground. When the sword of black terror was poised to strike at our country and dark storm clouds gathered above the Party's head, when Nouri Said's butchers were sniffing at our trail, Comrade Adil reminded us, at the grimmet and most dangerous moments in the life of our Party, of the exploits

performed by the Soviet Communists and thus put staunchness and faith in our hearts."

The letters that Salam Adil's friends have written tell us of that chapter of his life when he was called to Baghdad. He did not know whom he would meet there. The first person to welcome him in Baghdad was Comrade Zaki Bassim, a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Iraq — that same Zaki Bassim who along with Youssef Salman, General Secretary of the Central Committee of

## PRISON AND UNDERGROUND Struggles That Steeled Him

"I first became acquainted with Adil after I had heard much about him as a Party fighter. At the time he had been deprived of the right to teach. However, everything I had heard about him—and I had heard much which was good and unusual—paled when I first saw Adil with my own eyes and shook his hand. I fell in love with him and soon our engagement was announced. We were affianced..."

"In a letter of his in which Adil revealed his feelings he wrote: 'Don't think you are marrying a teacher with a small salary. If you become my wife you will go through privations. I am always under the threat of arrest and if I am put into prison I shall not be able to help you. Nor will my parents be able to help you. If I die I shall be able to bequeath to you only memories of myself.'"

In the same letter Salam Adil told his fiancée that it would be better not to meet for a while to give her time to think everything over before marrying, a Communist. But she gave her consent, moreover, on the very same day Salam Adil was arrested. They met only four years later.

From letters written by Salam Adil's comrades, his prisonmates in 1950, we learn that even in incarceration he like the other Communists put fear in the hearts of Nouri Said and his hangers-on. His comrades admired him for his self-possession and proud sense of dignity which never failed him.

A few months after he was imprisoned he was elected leader of the underground prison library at an underground gathering of imprisoned Communists. This was a very important assignment. Afterwards Salam Adil proudly told his friends that he had coped with

the Iraqi Communist Party, who was known as Fahed, and Hussein al-Shabibi, another member of the Political Bureau, was executed by Nouri Said's hangers-on. Without providing any explanations Comrade Zaki Bassim led Salam Adil through the streets of Baghdad. Twilight was falling when Salam Adil and Youssef Salman, known as Fahed, first shook each other's hands in a tiny garden.

"You can tell him everything," Zaki Bassim said.

Comrade Fahed was curious about working class moods in Diwaniya from whence Salam Adil had just come.

"And you find time to meet people like me?" Salam Adil asked.

"It is my duty to meet people like you," Fahed replied. "How can I not meet and talk with you when you are a Communist?"

"That's not so. So far I am just a candidate member."

"No, you are already a full-fledged Party member. I signed your Party card a month ago. Comrade Zaki Bassim has already invented a Party pseudonym for you. It's Mukhtar (which in Arabic means 'the chosen one'). I hope you don't object?"

Salam Adil was known as Mukhtar until he became a member of the Central Committee. After his talk with Comrade Fahed he went back to Diwaniya but soon found himself out of work. He returned to Baghdad where he was compelled to ply the trade of a street vendor of fried loaves.

The tension in the Caribbean mounted to fever-pitch again, as March ended, with attacks on Soviet ships in Cuban harbours by the so-called "anti-Castro" groups, calling themselves by the picturesque names "Alpha 66" and "Commando I". When two Cuban MIGs opened fire on the U.S. warship *Florkdan*, the American war-maniacs screamed for blood.

THE situation has calmed down. The U.S. Government has been forced to declare publicly its intention to halt the activities of the Cuban counter-revolutionaries on U.S. soil. The State Department described the attacks on Soviet ships by these mercenary gangs as "deplorable" and what is more, "ineffectual".

But the background should not be forgotten—the background of the San Jose Conference of Central American Presidents, where President Kennedy called for a wall to be built round Cuba, and indulged in the worst type of war-mongering to the plaudits of his sycophant satellites.

The U.S. imperialists have not learnt their lesson yet. They continue to pour millions of dollars into the organisation of a new offensive against Cuba; they train gangsters and crooks, the

the task. The library contained the works of Marx and Lenin as well as the novels of Gogol and Gorky. While in prison Comrade Salam

Adil wrote a letter which he called "My Life." In this document he said: "We Communists must be fearless in our struggle for the people's happiness. We

## UNION OF HEARTS DEDICATED TO ONE COMMON CAUSE

### From A Letter Salam Adil Wrote to his Wife

ONCE again before we marry, I want to tell you that I have neither material resources nor property, nor a university certificate, nor any guaranteed job. I frankly say that I am quite poor and come from an ordinary working class family known, however, for its honesty and good repute. I have nothing, but the Party name of a Communist, who struggles for the sake of a better future for all mankind.

### From A Letter Written by Salam Adil's Wife

THERE was never a sad moment in the years we spent together. We always understood each other. Despite troubles and material privation, despite the constant threat to us, all these 10 years we spent together in underground hiding from enemies, were years of great happiness. They were years of great faith in the happy future of our people.

He taught all his friends to believe just as he himself always believed, that the Communist's supreme obligation was to do his duty to the

Party and the people. He said that to do one's duty to the Party was a supreme happiness in a man's life.

In whatever conditions our enemies forced us to live, the many obstacles seemed a trifle to friends because they served the common cause. The more we lived together, the better and better I came to know him. I could not but admire him for his extraordinary mind, his purity, his lofty moral principles and finally his courage. For all of us he became still nearer and dearer."

When the governor heard that he went wild. He kicked Salam in the stomach again and again. Then Adil was lifted up and dragged between two rows of butchers who now struck at him with sticks.

"I met Comrade Adil on the same day," a friend of his wrote in a letter. "He had changed greatly but he had not knuckled under. It was hard for him to stand up but he smiled when I gave him greetings from the

Party. His head was shaven. 'What's the matter with you,' I asked him. 'Don't you know,' he replied 'that I had too thick a mop of hair and so I shaved it off. Is it ugly? Well, perhaps it is, but on the other hand, it's quite fashionable.' That was how he bore himself after torture. This was in 1950."

"How he came out of prison," we read in another letter, "we gave him a grand welcome. We gathered at the prison gates and sang a song of which we knew he was very fond."

"Oh thou who goest to the Party, Take me with thee! And melt my heart in the flame of battle, Should the Party need it. Oh, how long the days in prison! How much the good I could have done! Take my heart and melt it in the fire of battle. For my Party, thou needest it."

And so Salam Adil was finally at liberty, among his friends.

After he was set at liberty Salam Adil became the leader of the Party organisation in the south and dedicated much energy and attention to work in the major industrial centre to Basra.

His friends told him when he was returning home from the 22nd CPSU Congress to take care of himself.

"I know," he replied, "that the Party needs my life and I will do all I can to keep myself safe. But I do not know whether I shall remain alive or not."

Then he added after a pause:

"I am like a soldier, who goes into battle not knowing whether he will come back alive or not. But I can firmly promise you that I will spare no efforts and my own self for the sake of my Party's cause, for the happiness of my people."

Such was Comrade Salam Adil, Communist, disciple and friend of the legendary Fahed.

May his name live forever!

# CUBA: Caribbean Crisis WORLD

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The U.S. imperialists have not learnt their lesson yet. They continue to pour millions of dollars into the organisation of a new offensive against Cuba; they train gangsters and crooks, the

scum of Cuba, to join in fresh adventures; they use the territory of all Cuba's Latin American neighbours to organise sabotage and subversion against revolutionary Cuba.

The peoples of the world need to be ever-vigilant against imperialist activities in the Caribbean.

The imperialists hope, above all, to create suspicion and friction among the countries and peoples who stand for the defence of Cuba.

A recent article in the French newspaper *Le Monde*, which purported to be an interview with Fidel Castro, was seized by the imperialist press in all continents, to spread the canard of "Soviet-Cuban differences" and of Castro's supposed condemnation of Khrushchev's activities in the Caribbean. Despite Castro's denials, the imperialists kept up their

press campaign of lies, causing considerable apprehensions and confusion in all circles.

## BRAZIL: Solidarity Supreme

MEANWHILE, the Latin American Continental Congress for Solidarity with Cuba has taken place in Brazil from March 28-30.

Full reports are not yet available, but it is clear that despite the most ruthless efforts by the imperialists, aided by Brazilian reactionaries, the Conference was a great success. Visas were refused to delegates and observers from several countries, transport bottlenecks were artificially created, halls and meeting places were forcibly occupied by military police. But nothing could break the spirit of the Latin American people fighting to defend Cuba.

The Conference has called for worldwide action in defence of Cuba from April 19 to 26 and from July 15 to 30. In-

stances of war is being marshalled in peace-time, not for any outside enemy, but to put down the people of the land."

The British campaign against sending British arms to South Africa has gained momentum after a giant rally in Trafalgar Square, London, organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement. The chief speaker was the new Labour Party leader, Harold Wilson, who asked:

"How could Mr. Macmillan speak of the wind of change and supply arms to those who were brutally resisting change?"

Wilson's call for a halt to "this bloody traffic in the weapons of oppression", to "exporting the munitions of death", has won very wide support for the Labour Party in Britain.

The manner in which what Chief Luthuli calls the "whole ferocious panoply of war" is being built up, is clear from a statement by the South African Minister of Defence F. W. de Klerk in the House of Assembly that:

"South Africa now has in its armoury a weapon of exceptional value, supplied by a country which had said it would never sell a single weapon to South Africa."

The South African Peace Council has pointed out:

"Millions of rand are being spent on the most modern and expensive arms and weapons. Supersonic fighter jets are being sold, with the British Government's permission, to the Republic of South Africa, while the United States also supplies arms, an admission implied in their statement to the UN that they sell 'no arms to the South African Government which could be used to enforce its apartheid policy.'"

The fact is that there is no danger of invasion to South Africa and that all the weapons can be used—and many have been used—to enforce the racial policy of the Government."

The UN Special Committee on Apartheid began its work this week. The bulk of the members are Afro-Asians—Algeria, Malaya, Ghana, Guinea, Nepal, Nigeria, the Philippines, Somalia. The non-So-

## SOUTH AFRICA: Racialism Rampant

CHIEF Luthuli, President of the banned African National Congress (of South Africa) and Nobel Peace Prize-winner, has appealed to British public opinion to prevent the export of arms from Britain to South Africa.

He has done so in a special message to Canon John L. Collins, who is Chairman of the South African Defence and Aid Fund, launched by Christian Action. Luthuli says, Britain is "foremost among the countries guilty of arming the savage Nationalist Party regime."

Luthuli's message portrays the grim situation in South Africa:

"The whole ferocious panoply of war is being marshalled in peace-time, not for any outside enemy, but to put down the people of the land."

The right to secede guarantees Northern Rhodesia its independence. The White settler racialists of Southern Rhodesia are fuming and fretting. They are "threatening" to declare their "independence" of the British Commonwealth. Welensky & Co. are full of bitter hate against the British Government for daring to "liquidate" the African empire.

India has done well in the 24-nation Colonialism Committee of the United Nations last week, by supporting the African nationalists' demand for a new constitutional conference to evolve a Constitution acceptable to the majority of the people of the territory.

India's representative Natar Singh strongly opposed the granting of so-called "independence", which would in effect mean allowing the White settler racialists to impose a "South African type" of rule over Southern Rhodesia, and would lead undoubtedly to a grim and bitter war. He said: "Granting of independence must follow and not precede granting of full and equal political rights to all residents of the territory, irrespective of their colour and creed."

The Southern Rhodesian nationalist leader Joshua Nkomo is now preparing his people for the final assault. The people of Southern Rhodesia have the full and complete support of the Indian people. On Zambabwe Day—March 16—a message of solidarity from the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity symbolised India's firm and unshakable confidence in the final victory of the forces of African freedom.

## RHODESIA: Welensky Wails

TALKING of White domination, Southern Rhodesia is once again in the news. The Central African Federation has finally virtually broken up.

—OBSERVER  
(April 2)

# Under Uncle Sam's Umbrella

## INSIDE AMERICA

Challenge, the American magazine of economic affairs, in its issue of January 1963, published a review of a book by Robert Theobald entitled *Free Men and Free Market* which will be out in a few week's time. Robert Theobald is an economic consultant and author of the famous book *The Challenge of Abundance*.

REVIEWING Theobald's latest book, *Challenge* pinpoints the most shocking state of affairs in present-day American society. According to *Challenge*, the situation shows the intensity of poverty in the affluent society.

Theobald asserts in his book that "even the fastest possible rate of economic growth will not allow the 32 million Americans now outside the abundant economy to become part of it." He also questions the much propagated belief that "jobs will be available in the coming years for all those with low levels of skill and education."

### Galbraith's Plitudes

This book shatters the plitudes of Prof. Galbraith (as eulogised by him in his book *The Affluent Society*) that a time "had almost arrived", when almost all people outside the

abundant economy will be brought within it if past trends continue, and that soon it will be possible to handle remaining poverty through welfare measures. The review in *Challenge* quotes the arguments of Michel Harrington (in his book *The Other America*), that some 40 million to 50 million people live outside the mainstream of American life, often in unnoticed ghettos where they do not disturb the consciences of their fellow Americans.

### Shocking Statistics

Further, *Challenge* quotes the 1962 report of the Conference on Economic Progress which described the same shocking realities in terms of economic statistics:

"In 1962 approximately 38 million Americans, or more than one-fifth of a nation lived in poverty. More than 12.5 million Americans had less than half of the income

required to lift them above poverty..." in 1962.

"...more than 87 per cent of families headed by private household workers lived in poverty..." in 1960. This is the bizarre situation in golden America—the America of skycrapers and Cadillacs; of Fordis and Rockefellers; and that too in space age when America aspires to set up its colonies in other planets and beat the Socialist system in its developmental strides.

Let us also have a look at the unemployment situation in this affluent society in this context. We quote here Newsweek, (April 1) the American newsmagazine, to prove our point.

"Poverty in the midst of plenty—that is the bitter, baffling anomaly of unemployment in the United States today.

"Americans unquestionably earn more, spend more, and enjoy more material wealth than any other people in the history of the world, and the figures keep going up. The affluent Society has become a happy statistical cliché.

● Americans this year will earn an incredible \$452.5 billion, \$23.5 billion more than last year.

● They will spend the staggering sum of \$240 billion.

● Their total assets are approaching \$1.1 trillion—equal to more than

\$5,800 for every man, woman and child in the country.

"Yet within these glittering statistics lies a bitter paradox: 4.5 million people are jobless; on a seasonally adjusted basis, 6.1 per cent of the labour force is unemployed. (According to another estimate, it is 7% —Ed.)

### Army Of Unemployed

"At least one in every five persons in the U.S. labour force, what's more, will be unemployed at some time this year. At least another 2.6 million workers will be restricted to part-time employment because a full time job is unavailable. At least one in every eleven workers in the nation's 30 biggest cities will continue to tramp the streets in search of a job that isn't there. And nowhere will the paradox will be more pronounced than in the hard core of unemployment, where there will be at least 5 million persons jobless for fifteen weeks and quite probably more, about half of them the bread winners of their families."

1 New workers have swelled the labour force by 21 per cent since world War II vs. a 17 per cent increase in jobs. And the work force is increasing more rapidly now. Two

years ago, 2.6 million Americans reached the age of 18; two years from now, the number reaching that age will be 3.8 million.

2 Automation is eliminating an estimated 1.5 million jobs a year.

3 The economy had not been growing nearly as fast enough. The U.S. growth rate since 1957 has averaged only 3 per cent a year vs. 5 per cent for Western Europe.

These are the reasons assigned by the U.S. government spokesmen as the cause of this disastrous unemployment condition. They themselves admit that four times since the World War II, business has bounced back from recession—but each time unemployment was left at a higher level than before. The post-recession jobless percentages were: 1948-49—2.6%; 1953-54—3.9%; 1957-58—5% and 1960-61—5.3%.

This is Uncle Sam's America, the dazzle of which blinds the reactionaries of many-a-country including India. This is America where there is no guarantee of bread and shelter; America that provides nothing for its millions but abundance for its handful of monopolies—the so-called free business—the usurpers of national wealth. Wonderful America indeed!

—CHARVAK

## OUTSIDE AMERICA: SOUTH VIETNAM

"More and more, as death and destruction increase, the issue becomes in the eyes of the Vietnamese people, that of American interference and control over Vietnamese independence and self-determination. But the days of the white-man's domination of Asia are over, whether through protectorate or alliance, or by guile, blandishments and advice."

THE days of the white-man's domination of Asia are over; these are the words of sixty prominent citizens of the USA, including the Nobel Prize winner Professor Linus Pauling and several outstanding figures in the fields of education, religion, law, journalism, literature, theatre, business, etc.

### Letter To Kennedy

These sixty leaders of American public opinion have, in an open letter to President Kennedy, urged him to halt US military intervention in South Vietnam.

The open letter quotes Kennedy's own words, spoken on April 6, 1956, in a speech in the Senate criticising Eisenhower's policies. He had then said:

"To pour money, material and men into the jungle of Indo-China without at least a remote prospect of victory would be dangerously futile and self-destructive... I am frankly of the belief that no amount of American military assistance in Indo-China can conquer an enemy which is everywhere and at the

national movement" and points out:

"The United States has become increasingly involved in a conflict that it cannot win despite its tremendous military power, for the American government is caught up in an impossible dilemma. The more aggressively it pursues the war—the more money, planes, tanks, guns and military personnel it pours into South Vietnam—the more Diem looks like an American puppet. Every time American planes, manned by American advisers and Diem soldiers paid from US handouts, bomb a peasant village, burn a peasant's rice hoard, kill a peasant's water buffalo or drive a peasant from his ancestral lands, the Viet Cong (what is meant here is the Vietnamese patriotic forces—Ed.) gets more sympathy, and more recruits from the local population."

### Violation Of Geneva Agreement

The American personalities further expose the manner in which the US administration has completely violated the Geneva agreements of 1954.

"The solution launched by the late Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, and later adopted by your administration, Mr. President, has been in violation of the Geneva accords of 1954 which were devised to bring peace to war-torn Vietnam. The great powers that participated in that settlement solemnly declared that Vietnam was one sovereign country not two, and that the

provisional zones of north and south were to be united in 1956 by all Vietnamese elections under international supervision. The Geneva accords also aimed to keep Vietnam out of the cold-

war by their provisions against military bases and military alliances, and for limiting both military equipment and the number of military advisers in the interim period before the elections."

### Letter To The Editor

## U.S. MUST STOP CRIMINAL POISONING OF VIETNAMESE PEOPLE

DURING the last two months extremely disturbing reports of chemical poisoning of rural areas in South Vietnam have been coming.

According to a Vietnam News Agency report, the number of victims, in one village alone viz., Thuan Diem of Ben Tre Province reached 1700. Noxious chemicals are being sprayed over gardens and rice fields resulting in the death of men and women and domestic animals.

In a statement the South Vietnam Liberation National Front Committee in Central South Vietnam describes the recent spraying of poisonous products as "the biggest and most barbarous crime ever committed by the US-Diem in this area."

The situation calls for an immediate united action on the part of all peace-loving people to call a halt to such a mad and inhuman method of dealing with political adversaries.

It is heartening to learn that very recently a number of prominent Americans have appealed to the US President to end USA's abortive and unilateral effort to bring about a military solution in South Vietnam through American might. And, instead, utilize diplo-

macy and international negotiations as was done successfully in Laos.

Such negotiations could either restore the original Geneva Agreements or put into effect some other plan that may lead to peace and to the disengagement of all Vietnam from the cold war.

The people of Asia and Africa feel all the more for the sufferings of their brothers in South Vietnam. The Moshi Conference of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity had urged that the US Government should renounce its policy and activities of aggression in South Vietnam, immediately dissolve its military command in Saigon and withdraw US troops, advisers and military personnel as well as all armaments and war material from South Vietnam.

We, the undersigned, endorse the Moshi Conference resolution on South Vietnam, strongly condemn chemical poisoning of rice fields and demand immediate stopping of such criminal activities which are against the Geneva Protocol of 1954 and all standards of international behaviour.

Mulk Raj Anand  
S. Sajjad Zaheer  
S. S. Chhabra  
G. R. Taban  
O. P. Paliwal  
New Delhi  
March 26.

Berlin, March 30.

## A Unsavoury Fiasco

The US-sponsored NATO embargo on export of large diameter oil-pipe steel tubings to the Soviet Union has met with utter fiasco.

IGNORING this blockade the thousand-seven hundred mile long friendship pipe-line starting from the Soviet oil-fields to the oil refinery combine at Schwedt on the bank of the Oder river in the German Democratic Republic passing through Poland and connecting all socialist countries in Europe (which is also called the main artery of the world socialist system) will be completed in six months' time and crude oil from the Volga region and Baku will flow into all socialist countries, to Europe and to West Europe by the end of this year.

The construction work of the Schwedt oil combine which is the biggest in Europe is progressing at round the clock. Oil transported through the pipe-line will be five times cheaper than by rails done, now and West European countries too can get Soviet oil at much cheaper price.

For the construction of this giant pipeline project, welcomed by all Europeans as a generous gift to ease their fuel problem, the Soviet Union has placed orders with some West German Steel Plants for supply of steel tubes, which is only a small percentage of the total pipes required for the construction and already manufactured in the USSR itself.

The imperialist oil monopolies, already worried by the growing competition in the world market, got completely scared by the giant Soviet construction, which

would bring in a steady flow of cheap oil for West Europeans.

At the behest of the United States, the NATO had resolved secretly on November 21 last that steel pipes should not be furnished to the Soviet Union by any member of the NATO.

### Profit Uppermost

However, the profit-hungry steel magnates who often ignore such political decisions, did not carry out this NATO order till this February end, when the USA declared that large diameter steel tubes are "strategic goods" and forbids the export of them to the USSR. The USA then exerted much diplomatic pressure on the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan to discontinue deliveries of oil-pipe tubes to the USSR.

Three West German firms have contracts with the Soviet Union to sell 163,000 tons of 19-inch and bigger pipes for this project and have taken a lot of advance in dollars.

Pressurised by the USA, Chancellor Adenauer forced an embargo and asked the West German firms to break the contract. On March 18, a motion was passed in the West German Parliament, where the majority was found against the Government decree, and in favour of

honouring the business contract with the Soviet Union. Adenauer, when he saw that he was going to be defeated on this issue, flew back from his Italian vacation villa and ordered his 242-member Christian Democrats to walk out at the time of voting in Parliament, a strange Parliament manoeuvre making the House fall short of the required quorum for taking a ballot.

By this ugly show (it is unheard in history that the ruling party walks out at the time of voting), the Chancellor averted a defeat that in most Parliaments would have meant the fall of the Government.

When the West Germans in breach of faith repudiated the pipe deal with the Soviet Union, some British steel companies rushed to pick up the contract that the German manufacturers have just been forced to drop. The USA was angry, exerted a great deal of pressure on Britain and even sent Assistant Secretary of State, George W. Ball, to London to make the British fall in line with West Germans.

The West German Government also made diplomatic representation in London, saying that the Germans would be embarrassed politically if a British firm picked up what they had discarded.

But Britain had publicly ex-

# THE STORY OF PIPE EMBARGO

★ From P. Kunhanandan

honouring the business contract with the Soviet Union. Adenauer, when he saw that he was going to be defeated on this issue, flew back from his Italian vacation villa and ordered his 242-member Christian Democrats to walk out at the time of voting in Parliament, a strange Parliament manoeuvre making the House fall short of the required quorum for taking a ballot.

By this ugly show (it is unheard in history that the ruling party walks out at the time of voting), the Chancellor averted a defeat that in most Parliaments would have meant the fall of the Government.

When the West Germans in breach of faith repudiated the pipe deal with the Soviet Union, some British steel companies rushed to pick up the contract that the German manufacturers have just been forced to drop. The USA was angry, exerted a great deal of pressure on Britain and even sent Assistant Secretary of State, George W. Ball, to London to make the British fall in line with West Germans.

The West German Government also made diplomatic representation in London, saying that the Germans would be embarrassed politically if a British firm picked up what they had discarded.

But Britain had publicly ex-

pressed disagreement with the US view on the pipe line question. Great Britain's Ambassador in Washington Sir Ormsby Gore emphatically stressed in a talk with Ball, US Assistant Secretary, last Monday that Great Britain knew that pipe deliveries to the Soviet Union were not embargoed by the NATO regulation.

Ignoring West German and US pressure, a British firm, the South Durham Steel and Iron Co., the only British firm big enough to meet the Soviet orders, has taken up a Soviet contract previously given to a West German concern.

### American Fear

The American fear is that the Soviet oil sent by pipeline to West Europe and sold at much cheaper prices would break their oil monopoly in that part of the world. The American imperialists resorted to such embargo, and other pressure tactics every time when some country took resolute steps to strengthen its economic independence.

They tried to strangle Egypt in 1956 by creating "oil famine" because it dared to nationalise the Suez; they tried to do the same to Cuba when it nationalised the ESSO and Shell refineries; they made similar attempts in Brazil because the Government of that country established a more rigorous supervision over the activities of American companies; they suspended aid

when Ceylon nationalised a part of the sales network of the ESSO, Shell and Caltex. In none of these cases, the imperialist monopolies have succeeded. Far less would they succeed against the mighty Soviet Union in a pipe embargo attempt.

### Pipeline Of Friendship

Whatever the imperialist attempts be, the friendship pipeline construction of the socialist world system will be completed soon. In Moscow, the Soviet Union has announced this Tuesday that a steel plant in the Ural industrial belt had begun production of large diameter oil and gas pipes of the type withheld by the West Germans. 40-inch pipe rolling mill at Chelyabinsk had been rushed to completion ahead of schedule to provide uninterrupted construction of the world socialist artery.

This is an immediate slap on the face of West German rulers who placed the embargo. Socialist construction is not dependent on the imperialist goodwill. The loser in this deal is the profiteers of West German steel magnates.

The Vice-President of the West German Parliament, Dr. Dehler, referring to the Bonn pipe embargo had said: "It was ridiculous to hope that Communist construction in the Soviet Union might be obstructed in this way." On the vote on embargo in the Bonn Parliament, he said, "it was a proof of how democracy is undermined in West Germany."

### Rome Letter

## Need And Possibility For A Shift To The Left

★ From Our Correspondent

ROME, March 31:

"The task of the Communist Party is to be the main force in the fight against the Christian Democratic Party, in the fight to end its political monopoly," says a statement of the leadership of the Italian Communist Party published in today's *Unita* in connection with the forthcoming general elections in Italy. The statement stresses the possibility and the need to achieve a shift to the left.

THE first element of this shift, the statement says, is an independent initiative by Italy for safeguarding peace, in the struggle against the spreading of nuclear weapons in any form, for the gradual abandonment of the policy of blocs by the country, for neutrality.

The second element is the demand for a new policy of economic development, which would solve the serious problems of employment and of ending the present inequality in the Italian society, and also the problem of social and political liberation of the working people.

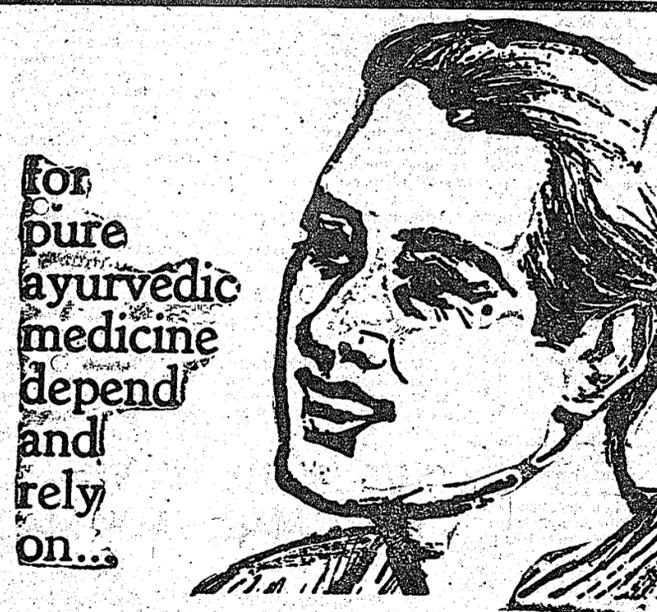
The third and decisive element of the shift to the left is a deepening democratic reform of the state system which must broaden to a maximum degree the citizens' participation in and control over the nation's life.

The crux of this political

perspective, the statement goes on to say, is the problem of unity of the working class and of all the democratic forces, which is an indispensable condition for achieving a shift to the left and for marching onward in the conditions of peace and democracy, towards socialism.

The Christian Democratic Party is now making crude efforts to split the unity of the working people and to abolish their unions. But this attempt must be repulsed. This is the main choice that must be made in the current election campaign.

The progress of the election campaign confirms the statement stresses in conclusion, that conditions are ripe for a great advance of the Italian Communist Party. The Party leadership calls upon the Italian communists to intensify the struggle so as to make this advance a reality.



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**BIGGEST CONCERN OF PURE AYURVEDIC MEDICINE**

# WEST'S "RESTRICTIVE" AID POLICY

The Soviet Union has been approached to provide to India during the Fourth Plan period double the assistance it has provided since 1955 when the agreement to set up the Bhilai Plant was signed, said New Delhi's new daily PATRIOT of April 1.

THE Soviet Union has agreed to increase the volume of its trade with India to Rs. 700 crores by 1968 from its present Rs. 100 crores, said the Soviet Ambassador Benediktov, according to the Statesman of the same date.

These two news items epitomise the ever growing friendship between a Socialist Soviet Union and a developing country like India, a friendship which finds expression in the economic sphere both in increasing trade as well as aid. What a contrast in both these respects with advanced capitalist countries to whom to increase trade is an anathema, and to give aid a matter for deliberation regarding its efficacy in serving political ends.

An instance of the first is the restrictive policy which the West European countries, united in the European Economic Community, have adopted towards imports from countries like India. Such a policy, through its repercussions on other advanced countries like UK, whose entry into the community is barred for one reason or the other, creates further difficulties.

The bitter history of India's protracted negotiations with the UK for safeguards for its exports in

case of its entry into the EEC is too recent to need recounting, but its lesson can certainly bear reiteration, and this lesson is that India can no longer rely on UK, USA or any of its traditional markets for the export of its goods, for now more than ever before, the powers there have made these markets tools for obstructing developing countries' economic progress.

## POLITICAL ENDS

A recent instance of the political ends which Western countries want to serve through their aid to developing countries has been provided by the American President's Committee of Advisors. This Committee, presided over by General Lucius D. Clay, a former American Ambassador to West Germany, and including as one of its members the former World Bank President, Eugene Black, has made it plain that America's munificence will no longer be available to countries which fail to toe the American line in foreign and home policies. Without mincing words, it has said that any country showing the "unwisdom" of starting government projects in fields in which they can compete with private enterprise forfeits all claims on US generosity.

This is the new face of Washington's "New Frontier's Men", a face which was exposed to the world when the Ceylon Government was left without American assistance when it showed the "unwisdom"

of taking over some installations of American oil companies for its petroleum corporation on promise of adequate compensation. A similar treatment has been promised by the Clay Committee for Indonesia, unless that country "puts its house in order" and accepts the US lead on Malaysia and other problems.

know that the lure of their dollars can bring that country's rulers back to the old line, but for India it should be chastening to be told that it is to be supported, not because it deserves this support in its own right, but because it is considered most suited by the US to fight its crusade against Communism. The Clay report is ominous for India from another angle

Ambassador Galbraith has, no doubt, tried to reassure India on this score, but in the context of American reservations on this issue from the very beginning, his assurance cannot be taken at its face value.

The Bokaro project being the keystone of India's steel programme, its fate should on no account be left hanging in the balance. But this is precisely the state in which the Clay report has left it. It is high time for the Government to seek alternative avenues of collaboration instead of depending on quarters which will collaborate, at all, with 'ifs' and 'buts'.

## LIPPMANN'S LAMENT

"Thirty years ago" lamented the famous American columnist Walter Lippmann recently, "this country (the USA) had not only the respect and the trust, but also the affection of the underdeveloped world. Yet it had no foreign aid programme". Now, in spite of billions of dollars worth of aid, this image is shattered. Why? Because unlike the Rooseveltian New Dealers of the thirties, Washington's New Frontier's Men of the sixties are more concerned with buying puppets abroad than with winning friends. If they had not been preoccupied with this dirty business, they too, like the Soviets, could have turned their aid and trade into levers of progress instead of tools to further Reaction.

April 3

## BHILAI SURPASSES TARGET

**BHILAI:** The production of steel in the Bhilai Steel Plant during the financial year ending March 31 this year, was 106 per cent of the annual rated capacity of the plant. The production of pig iron was more than 105 per cent of the capacity. The rolling of ingot steel during the financial year also exceeded the annual rated capacity.

THE production of ingot steel during the year amounted to 1,080,000 tons approximately against the annual rated capacity of one million tons. The production of pig iron was more than 1,169,000 tons against the annual rated capacity of 1,110,000 tons. Similarly, ingot steel rolled during the year was 1,010,000

tons against the rated capacity of one million tons. This year was incidentally the first full working financial year of the Bhilai Steel Plant after the commissioning of the works as a whole. Bhilai has been the first steel plant in India to have reached its full rated production capacity in such a short time.

The Clay report has made an exception in the case of India, not because it has any special love for it, but because it, along with Pakistan, is best fitted to meet the Chinese aggression. To Clay and his colleagues, and obviously to their country's government, Pakistan's hobnobbing with China is not of much consequence, for they

as well. The Bokaro plant has been made to depend too much on American assistance, but now that the Clay report has frowned upon public sector projects, it will certainly not qualify for it, unless, of course, either the Steel Ministry shifts it to the private sector altogether, or allows the latter to hold a substantial share in it.

Antoine Pinay, is trying to consolidate his position taking advantage of the fluid condition, to wrest the Presidency from de Gaulle in the next election which is due in 1965.

Whether the strike of the coalminers will be settled now after considerable climb down by the government or it will

be yet attempted to be crushed through use of force and thereby igniting the wrath of the entire French people, is yet to be seen. Even if the coalminers' strike is settled, there will be other strikes to be dealt with. Uneasy de Gaulle may take disastrous decisions, both for himself as well as for the nation.

# "CHARLOT-DES SOUS"

★ From Our Special Correspondent

PARIS, April 2:

"Charlot-des sous", Charley—some money, the slogan of the coalminers was not a pathetic appeal but a full throated battle-cry.

IF Charles de Gaulle wanted to have a trial of strength with the striking coal miners, he had it. The strike of 240,000 coalminers entered the 33rd day today. More than 40,000 miners demonstrated in Lens on March 29 and showed de Gaulle the grit with which the coalminers were fighting for their demands, backed by the people and all the trade union organisations.

De Gaulle's Napoleonic command of a requisition is now no more valued than a scrap of paper. There was a massive rebuff, an open defiance, by the coalminers and soon their civil servants pressed for their demands too, pushing de Gaulle's dictum to a corner and compelling government to throw aside its high and mighty attitude and take to the path of settlement.

The official investigation committee into the differences in miners' wages in the state sector and the private sector, calculated the difference at 8 per cent while the miners claimed a rise of 11 per cent.

According to the unions, the index of earnings (with 1957=100) of the workers of the state-owned coalminers rose to 139.8 while that of the private sector went up to 155.9.

The negotiations between the miners and the National Coal Corporation which broke down on March 31, are again being attempted at with the offer for a 6.5 per cent rise immediately in the wages of the miners plus 6 per cent more in next twelve months. In addition, an advance up to 200 francs (About Rs. 200) could be given immediately with long term instalments. According to reactions available, it appears that the unions might agree to negotiate if 8 per cent increase is given immediately and the advance as 'bonus'. The talks may begin today.

## STRIKE IN OTHER INDUSTRIES

Meanwhile, the workers in other state sector industries, particularly in gas, electricity, transport etc., are intensifying their movement for securing wage increase. On April 1, the entire transportation system in Paris came to dead stop following a 24-hour strike by the transport workers.

What was de Gaulle's objective in threatening stern measures against workers who struck for a simple economic demand—is a question every one is asking today. It is now clear that de Gaulle had high hopes and that he, after dealing with the army and other problems in his dictatorial way, wanted to permanently smite the trade union movement.

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## DE GAULLE'S MOTIVE

If he could effect a breach in the solid ranks of workers' movement, nothing could have stopped him from becoming all powerful in France. But the militant French working class has given him a proper reply, a massive blow under which he is reeling.

Already, General de Gaulle's popularity is showing a downward trend. A recent public opinion poll has unmistakably shown that his popularity has fallen during the last two weeks. Meanwhile, it is rumoured that a former Premier,

# "WE WANT WORK—SACK MAC, SACK MAC"

LONDON, March 31

More than 10,000 workers demonstrated before British Parliament on March 26, the mightiest anti-Government demonstration in recent years, demanding jobs.

"We want work—Sack Mac, sack Mac" "Out with the Tories"—slogans rent the calm airs of London. Terrified Tories tried to get succour in the fact that police, after a series of clashes with the demonstrators, were finally able to push them away.

This was a great protest against the Tory government, its failure to provide jobs to the unemployed on the one hand and on the other to create more unemployed. Dr. Beeching's ruthless plan to sack 160,000 railmen in next six years (30,000 by next year) and close down 2,363 stations and halts "as soon as possible"

is just one instance of the failure of the government to deal with the complicated economic position and to sacrifice the workers in a bid to improve the situation.

Meanwhile, on March 27 more than 7,000 teachers also demonstrated before Parliament as a protest against the Education Minister's throwing away of the pay award negotiated by the elected leaders of the teachers and in its place impose his own pay scales by a special legislation. The new pay scales will reduce the awarded pay increase to a very great extent.

# WHY THIS FEAR TO DISCLOSE REPORT?

★ FROM FRONT PAGE

"That the company has withdrawn large sums by manipulating accounts which, so far as known to us, amount to Rs. 11,79,705-6-6."

"Books of accounts were falsified for purposes of converting loans to investments in order to circumvent the provisions of section 29 of the Insurance Act... Commission accrued on business of allied concerns of Birlas has been diverted in different names and used otherwise... that the company has willfully diminished its life funds."

"It would appear from exhibits 131 to 138 that the commission of Birla Bros. business was being booked in the name of different agencies and the sums utilised in payment of private commission."

Daji said that the report further goes on to say that the company has been very liberal in the settlement of claims, especially with the allied concerns of Birlas, and has paid claims which are not payable... that in some cases the commission accrued to Birla Bros. Private Ltd., has been diverted to different names without sufficient reasons... that the company has violated the provisions of section 5(1) (A) and (C) of the Exchange Control Regulations Act... that the company has willfully submitted returns to the Controller of Insurance which are false in material particulars, known to them to be false.

Salaries Without Register Entries  
Quoting from a schedule appended to the Auditors' report, Homi Daji said, it gave a chart which showed huge salaries paid by voucher and not taken into the salary register of the Bombay branch of the company. He gave the figures. The total comes to Rs. 5,84,833.

Daji said: "Let it not be said in the country that the private company of Birlas, a powerful house with the backing of the state and the democratic machinery, can pass muster after swindling lakhs and lakhs of rupees of public money from an insurance company which is a fiduciary company."

Law Minister Asoke Sen, in his reply, contended that what the government had done in the matter 'was the only thing that could be done.' He said that when the Auditors' report was received by the Controller of Insurance, the latter had called for explanations from the companies and later, after the replies were received, government appointed two directors with insurance experience. The two directors were also asked to report on whom responsibility could be fixed for things brought to light in the Auditors' report. They were also asked to state whether any further action was necessary.

One of the directors in his report, Sen said, had stated that the management had been completely changed by the Board of Directors and that in their opinion responsibility had been located

ed and persons concerned dealt with properly. The Finance Ministry then asked the Law Ministry for opinion as to whether any legal steps were called for on the report of the government directors.

The Law Ministry sent the files to the Solicitor-General and the latter in a detailed reply, said Asoke Sen, advised the government that no further action was necessary. Daji thereupon asked the Law Minister to place the Solicitor-General's report on the table of the House.

Asoke Sen's refusal to place before the House the Solicitor-General's opinion sparked off heated protests from both Opposition and Congress benches. The Speaker, citing the relevant rule of the Lok Sabha, told the Law Minister that he should place the document on the table of the House, unless he claimed it was not in public interest to do so.

## Whose Interest?

Sen was caught in a difficult position as Daji shouted: "Let him say that Birlas' interest is public interest." When Asoke Sen characterised Daji's statement as seeking demonstrative value outside, the Speaker pulled him up and reminded him that such remarks should not be made.

The Law Minister claimed that the files from which he had read out belonged to the Finance Minister and he could not place the document before the House without the permission of the Finance Minister. He also said that there were all kinds of "secret" things in it. He further argued that in 1961, the Finance Minister had refused to place the documents before the House, when a demand had been made to that effect.

Sen's plea that the files belonged to the Finance Minister crashed to the ground when the Speaker pointed out to him that since he had read out from the report, he could not say that he would not place it because it belonged to the Finance Minister. As for the argument that the Finance Minister had previously refused to place it before

# CORRUPTION

★ FROM FRONT PAGE

out as nauseam, while the water and electricity metres race merrily on and the air-conditioners hum wastefully. The water flows like a torrent (the tax-payers pay the bills, we know!), but alas! all the torrents in the world can't wash clean, hands as filthy as some with which the Indian people have to deal...

## Latest Clamour

Interested quarters have started a clamour round the appearance of the names of certain Central and State Ministers in the donations list of the Calcutta firm. The reason for the clamour in certain newspapers and by the Right-wing parties is no new-found aversion to corruption.

It is amusing to see Congressmen, notorious for their corruption when sitting on the high moral

horse and joining hands with the Rightist forces behind the sudden clamour is the vendetta against a Minister, whose policies do not fit in with those of Right reaction.

The Indian people will never be a party to the vendetta of the reactionaries. And it is heartening to note that the entire case has now been referred to the Attorney General.

Certain important questions have leapt to the surface in the course of the public discussion on corruption. And all who stand for cleaning out the cesspools in the administration will support the demand that the clean-up must start at the highest level. The stink is greatest there.

The anger of the PEOPLE is rising... Only drastic action against each and every guilty man will be able to dam the flood of the people's wrath.

# LUNIK IV

Another Soviet Triumph In Space Research

★ From Masood Ali Khan

MOSCOW, April 2  
From Mars, the eyes of the scientists of the world have suddenly turned to the Moon, our own near and dear friend. "Lunik IV" the one and a half ton cosmic laboratory which started its thrilling voyage to the Moon yesterday will reach its destination in three and a half days, that is on Friday night or early Saturday. (By the time, NEW AGE is off the press, Lunik IV will have already reached its destination.)

EVERYTHING is working normally. In the investigation of the cosmic space, the Soviet Union continues to lead the world. Here people are awaiting with great interest what the new cosmic venture will accomplish.

Whether it sends new photos of the moon or whether it soft-

lands there and transmits valuable information about the nature of its surface and other conditions, the knowledge of which is essential before man could set foot on the moon, our nearest heavenly neighbour, the achievement by itself will be another step forward in the USSR space technology.

# Mars I

The cosmic station Mars I, which was launched on November 1, 1962 is due to reach the planet Mars on June 19 this year. Interest is mounting as to what photographs and information about the planet it will send to earth.

UP TILL now it has been travelling according to plan, and all instruments are functioning well. It has already established a world record in space radio communication as the last message have been received from a distance of 98 million 863 thousand kilometres (98,863,000) kilometres—12 million kilometres more than the maximum achieved by the American spacecrat Mariner 2.

The instruments of Mars I receive and obey human commands from this staggering distance, far in the depths of the Universe. The very idea makes one's head reel.

The question whether there is life in the Universe besides the earth crops up again and again and becomes more and more real. Thinking life on the planets revolving round some other star of our galaxy, the Milky Way, is possible. And may be even far older and more developed than our civilisation.

Nikolai Kardashev of the State Astronomical Institute

## Powerful Transmitters

Kardashev considers that a civilisation capable of generating signals audible throughout the galaxy must possess an extremely powerful transmitter. Such a transmitter would consume as much power as is generated by the sun. Today the earth does not possess such power resources but at the rate they are being developed, in 2,000-5,000 years, mankind could build such transmitters.

If our galaxy contains a civilisation a few thousand years older than ours, it could send such signals, Kardashev says. May be it is doing it right now. One day we shall catch them.

Parliament, Daji reminded that it was then only in reply to a request and the Finance Minister had not quoted from the report.

Ultimately, Parliament was denied the right to have a look into the opinion of the Solicitor-General, because the Law Minister did not place it

on the table of the Lok Sabha. The Law Minister's action would only strengthen suspicion that the government is afraid of a full parliamentary scrutiny into the affairs of the two insurance companies, perhaps, because its own record in this affair cannot stand such a scrutiny.

# "Don't Collect Income Tax"

★ FROM FRONT PAGE

question low assessment forecasts in future. It will strengthen the impression that large scale evasion in payment of income tax takes place in normal years.

Commenting on the Commissioner's circular, a spokesman of the Coordination Committee of Central Government Employees Unions in West Bengal said that collection of income-tax in West Bengal last year could have been doubled compared to the assessment forecast of Rs. 82 crores.

The employees, he said, would be ready to cooperate in this drive, if necessary by working overtime without pay during the Emergency, if the

officers too showed some interest in it. The fact that the assessment forecast for West Bengal last year was reached within ten months only goes to underline his contention, the employees' leader claimed.

Large-scale evasion and accumulation of huge arrears of income-tax have become quite a scandal. In its sixth report presented to Parliament recently, the Public Accounts Committee of the Lok Sabha made a special mention of the unsatisfactory state of income-tax collections.

Besides pointing out the arrears which stood at Rs. 253.49 crores at the end of 1960-61, the Committee made adverse remarks about under-estimation of receipts under income tax and under-assess-

ment of the tax. A test audit of 235 income wards out of 1,310 wards in the country showed 1,621 cases of under-assessment, involving tax amounting to Rs. 120.77 crores.

The assurances held out that at least during the emergency income tax collection would be vigorously undertaken has evidently been an eye-wash as the West Bengal Income Tax Commissioner's Circular shows.

Will a thorough probe into this and similar evasions of the big shots of the Income Tax department from their duty of collecting taxes from the rich be made as ruthlessly as burdens are put on the common man in the name of emergency?

# SOVIET VIEW ON MOSHI

The latest Soviet article published in Pravda on the Moshi Conference is by Tursun Zade, the President of the Soviet Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, and Maksoudov, Soviet member of the Permanent Secretariat at Cairo.

It is interesting to note that this authoritative Soviet article comes to the same conclusions regarding the victory of the forces of unity at the Moshi Conference and of the isolation and defeat of the dogmatists, as the New Age report on the Conference (February 24).

It will be recalled that our report on Moshi pointed out:

"The dogmatists sought desperately to impose their narrow, self-destructive, self-isolating policies on the Afro-Asian solidarity movement — policies which only help the imperialists to divide the Afro-Asian peoples. The Moshi Conference rejected at every turn in every commission, in every resolution, in the elections to the Permanent Secretariat, the propositions of the dogmatists.

"For the first time for some years, the Afro-Asian people's solidarity movement was enabled to take a clear-cut stand on the main issue of war and peace, to proclaim its adherence to peaceful co-existence, to disarmament, to the struggle for peace, without the awful, negating qualifications usually forcibly introduced by the dogmatists. The new organisational set-up is strongly weighted against the dogmatist splitters of the movement."

Here are few excerpts from the Pravda article, which emphatically show how the dogmatist viewpoint was defeated at Moshi:

★

RELYING on the experience of their countries, many delegates declared resolutely from the rostrum of the Conference that the forms and methods of struggle are chosen by the fighting peoples themselves, and that they take up arms only when the colonialists compel them to do so. It is incorrect and harmful to oppose some forms of the national liberation movement to others without taking stock of the concrete conditions, without knowing the existing balance of forces...

The Moshi Conference showed the political maturity of its participants, their realisation of the responsibility of the peoples of Asia and Africa for the destiny of the entire world...

The organic ties between the national-liberation movement of the peoples and the struggle for world peace was key-pointed by the majority of speakers.

In the report submitted to the conference by the Soviet delegation, emphasis was placed on the great significance of carrying out the principle of peaceful co-existence of states with different social and political systems, which was advanced by the great Lenin. The position of the Soviet delegation received the widest support at the conference.

True enough, certain leaders attempted to distort the principle of peaceful co-existence of states with different systems, to interpret it as a call for the co-existence of the oppressed and the oppressors, of the peoples waging the liberation struggle and the colonialists. However, their attempts were unsuccessful...

The Conference ridiculed and cast aside a fable according to

which general and complete disarmament means, allegedly, the disarmament of the struggling peoples... the delegates pointed out that to come out against the idea of general and complete disarmament would actually mean to play into the hands of the colonialists.

The Conference made a special note of the economic aspect of the problem of general and complete disarmament. The resolution on economic problems reads, in part: "The imperialists' aggressive policy, that is, the setting up of military bases, ever growing expenditures on the weapons of mass destruction, the subjugation of economy to war preparations and military blocs... has greatly strained the economy of the developing countries. In this way, the struggle for peace and disarmament accords with the interests of the Afro-Asian countries."

Reflecting the aspirations of all the Afro-Asian peoples, the Conference solemnly proclaimed in its General Declaration:

"With a view to relaxing the present international tension and averting a global war, we support the principle of general and complete disarmament and peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems."

A resolute rebuff to all attempts to oppose the Afro-Asian solidarity movement and other democratic movements and forces is an important result of the Moshi Conference. The working people of all races and nationalities are greatly interested in the liquidation of disgraceful colonial exploitation for, a nation opposing another nation cannot be free.

The attempts to confine the movement of the solidarity with

the peoples struggling for national liberation to continental boundaries, to isolate this movement from the progressive forces of the rest of the world, can only weaken the liberation struggle.

Even on the eve of the Conference, certain individuals dis-

played the striking not to allow to participate in its work representatives of Afro-Asian solidarity organisations that have been actively functioning for a number of years in the European socialist countries, and representatives of international democratic organisations. However, these attempts failed.

The Conference met with great joy guests from Czechoslovakia, Cuba, the German Democratic Republic, Poland and a number of international democratic organisations. President of Tanganyika, Julius Nyerere, welcomed them in his speech at the

opening of the Conference. Their positive role was noted with gratitude in the concluding speech made by Oscar Kambona, the Conference chairman.

The success of the Conference was certainly enhanced by the participation in its work of representatives of the World Peace Council, the Women's International Democratic Federation and a number of other organisations that had made a worthy contribution to strengthening mutual understanding and friendship between all the peoples of the world, and the struggle for peace and national freedom.

## Towards Greater Triumph of Man Over Nature

★ From Masood Ali Khan

Moscow:

The Soviet press lately gave considerable space to the great construction projects now under way in Central Asia. One of them is the giant hydro-electric power station of Nurek on the turbulent river Vahsh high-up in Pamir mountains and not far from the Afghan border.

THE Nurek project is fantastic in its dimensions. It is going to transform the whole life in the Central Asian region of Uzbekistan and Kirghizia and turn it into one of the most prosperous and industrially advanced areas of the world.

Of the whole cascade of nine hydro-electric stations to be built on the Vahsh (wild river from the word Vahsh), a tributary of the great Amu Darya, a cascade which will give total power of 7 million kilowatt—one million more than the world's biggest giant now going up on the Yenisei at Krasnoyarsk, the Nurek project is the biggest on the Vahsh.

And in the heart of once the most backward regions of Asia not far from our borders, how colossal this project is can be seen from the following:

★ The height of the dam is to be 990 feet or 300 metres, more than four times high-

er than Qutub Minar of Delhi. If you have seen the Minar, imagine a dam of that height and 700 metres long on top. Suffice it to say that the highest existing dam the Grand Dickson of Switzerland rises to 280 metres and is situated in the middle of industrialised Europe.

★ The body of the dam will be a huge triangle in cross-section with a base running up to 1100 metres.

★ The volume of the building material that will go into this giant construction, would have been enough for 20 pyramids, the size of the highest in Egypt.

★ And every year the Nurek power station will give 12,000 million KW hours of energy, more than the biggest power system of USA, the grand Kull, can give. And the 500,000-volt lines carrying this mighty energy to Dushanbe, Samarkant, Tashkent, Frunze and other regions will form the basis of the one united high power electrical grid of Central Asia.

And once put to work for the benefit of man, what will this colossal power of the wild Pamir river create? This power will water about a million hectares of dry land only in Uzbekistan. It will free irrigation from using only naturally flowing waters down the slopes of canals; powerful pumps will send water on any terrain whether up or down. And the cost is going to be 200 million roubles less than the construction of ordinary self-flowing canals.

All this will make it possible to grow about 17 million centners or 37,485 million pounds of cotton yearly, which could really clothe the whole population of the world.

That is not all. On the new lands, huge quantities of rice, fruits and vegetables will grow. Tajikistan alone plans to increase meat production 2.3 times, milk 2.5 times and fruit 8 times. Millions of farmers will get electricity in the home, which means light and radio and television and a new level of cultured living.

Thus the old little mountain village Nurek will transform the face of Central Asia and

light up Pamir, the roof of the world Nurek which means little light in Tajik from the word Nur.

## SEEING BY SKIN

HAVE you got skin vision? I mean, can you see by means of your skin with your eyes shut? There is no misprint here. Skin vision is what is meant.

Sometime ago it was found that a young woman, Rosa Kuleshova, from a town near Sverdlovsk distinguishes colours and reads newspaper text blindfolded simply by the tips of her fingers. She was brought to an institute in Sverdlovsk and it was found that this was really so. Kuleshova read and distinguished even when she did not actually touch the object but had it before her under a sheet of glass.

I asked academician Sisakyan, head of the Biological section of the Academy of Sciences about this. He told me that a commission was appointed in Moscow consisting of scientists from a number of research institutes and they after making a number of experiments came to the conclusion that there was no deception in this at all.

I asked him how this could be possible. The scientist said that this was another proof of the fact that human faculties could be developed in many directions. He added:

The cells of which the human body is made can be trained to display new qualities. Man could begin to taste food not only with his tongue but say, by the skin all over his body.

Here, of course, Kuleshova does not see as we see with our eyes but the skin of her finger tips has developed the sensitivity to react to light like the retina inside the human eye.

This is not the end of the story. On March 31 on television I watched a special programme beamed from Sverdlovsk where another young woman, Tamara Kuchena demonstrated the same faculties. Unlike Kuleshova, who trained herself for five years, Kuchena has trained herself only for one month. She also read from under the glass blindfolded, told colours, stripes, etc., seeing them through finger-tips.

Spotlight

# THE RSS TEXT-BOOK

by Garuda

The secret RSS text-book, scooped by the Sampradayikata Virodhi Committee, is a veritable chemist's store for the sale of the most poisonous stuff ever concocted in our country.

NEW AGE has already published some extracts from this dope for boys who attend the Sangh shakhas. The challenge to the Indian Constitution, which is denounced in the book for having given "equal rights to everybody" in India—to the children of the house as well as to the "thieves" in it, has already been publicised, and it has shocked everyone to realise that the Shastri-headed Home administration can be so lax or indulgent as to allow such poison-peddling to go unchallenged.

The first edition of the book titled "Hindu Rashtra" and authored by Guru Golwalkar, the RSS chief, came out in April 1962. Published by the Prakashana Vibhag of the RSS from Keshavnagar, Shankarapuram, Bangalore 4, the book had a second edition the same year in December, which shows that its contents have been widely propagated in RSS circles throughout the country.

## Attack On Indian Nationalism

It is significant that the book starts with decrying Indian nationalism as "anti-Britishism." It says that Hedgewar, the founder of the RSS, "saw that in the

revolutionary movement as well as in the other movements, the predominant idea was of ousting the British."

Noting that for most of the people in India "hostility towards the British and nationalism were in a way, interchangeable terms", he decided to deflect Indian nationalism to a different course. He wanted to clothe nationalism with "a positive concept." He withdrew from the "various activities and movements that were going on in our country for the liberation of our motherland from foreign domination" and founded the RSS in 1925. It was an organisation of a paramilitary kind from the very start, and yet, it is significant to note, the British allowed it to function, at a time when every manifestation of the national popular will was being suppressed with a heavy hand.

## Negative-Negative

And what was the 'positive concept' on which the Sangh ideology was founded? "Anti-Britishism" was supplanted by anti-Muslimism and anti-Christianism! That is the sole 'positive' content of the Sangh brand of nationalism.

So they teach that every Indian who has Islam as his religion is no more than an "invader" and "enslaver" in India. Golwalkar's communally obsessed mind thinks that it is such a "historical fact" that "the subject need

not be diluted upon!"

And he is so sure of his "historical fact" that he thinks that even today "it is not possible to treat them as one of our own people". The corollary to such thinking is that India must be perpetually in a state of communal civil war within herself. Golwalkar declares: "Partition from the point of view of our history, is not a partition, but an aggression, an invasion. Ever since this unfortunate thing happened, I have been trying to place before all, in unequivocal terms, that this has been an aggression of the Muslims on our country and to the extent that they have taken one piece of our country in the West and one in the East, they have been successful and it has been our defeat."

## British Historians Help

It is noteworthy that the RSS chief has adduced the evidence of a British historian of the old imperialist breed, Prof. Arnold Toynbee, as his great supporter in this plea. Calling Toynbee the "undisputed leader of the historians of the world today", Golwalkar credits him for the comment that "creation of Pakistan was the first step towards the complete conquest of this country by the Muslims."

## "Sinful"

But that goes perfectly well with rejection of "anti-Britishism", or anti-imperialism, as a negative concept. As every student of Indian history knows, communalism, of the Muslim or the Hindu variety, was always the best ally of imperialism and enemy of all progressivism. This was as true during the pre-freedom days as it is today in the post-freedom days. Basically, it has played the same role all through its life.

The book gives the reader solemn warning about a great Muslim-Christian plot to swallow the whole of

"Hindu India". Golwalkar informs: "We may also remember that there was an agreement reached between the local Missions in our country and the Muslim League that the two should join together, and between themselves partition the country between the Vindhya and the Himalayas, the whole of the Gangetic plain between the Punjab and Manipur going to the Muslims, and the peninsula and the Himalayas to the Christians."

RSS boys — invariably persons of exceptionally low I. Q.—are brought up exactly on such poisonous fare, the only other "positive" content of this "positive concept" being that along with Mussalmans, Christians and all other non-Hindu "aliens", the Communists too, (the word including every true Indian patriot) are equally prominently, included in the bill of fare for the hate-mongers.

## Hate-Filled Abuse

This is a despicable role befitting a despicable character. It is not surprising that the RSS and its offshoot the Jan Sangh take the palm for the use of hate-filled abusive epithets. I can give here an assortment:

For Krishna Menon: "Verily a rhinoceros would envy Comrade Krishna Menon's thick skin."

For K. D. Malaviya: "His uncle, the great Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, considered him so bad that he refused to take water from his hands!"

For Jawaharlal Nehru: "Subhas Bose is called 'Netaji' to distinguish him from 'Panditji' who double-crossed him when he was alive."

This is a very small and casually collected specimen. Incidentally, all this is from just one issue of the RSS-Jan Sangh mouthpiece, the Organiser (March 25).

The notorious Ma-Ki-Pukar exhibition was another example of their vituperative and scurrilous hate-propaganda.

# Tamilnad 30,000 PEASANTS GREET RAJAJI WITH BLACK FLAGS

★ From Our Correspondent

March 24, 1963 was a big day in the history of Tanjore's Kisan movement, when 30,000 peasants came together and staged a mighty black flag demonstration against Rajaji, a demonstration which hit the headlines throughout the State.

FOR the last five months, Rajaji has taken full advantage of the Chinese attack on India to launch an offensive against every progressive policy that India followed since achievement of independence. And the enormous burden placed upon the toiling people by the budget was to him a golden opportunity.

Posting as the defender of the interests of the millions, he denounced the taxation proposals and made a plan to organise throughout the state conferences of so-called agriculturists, shopkeepers and traders, to protest against this new taxation.

Nagapattinam, one of the important towns in Tanjore district was the place where the first of

such conferences was to be held on March 24.

The Communist Party in our State, however, decided that it was not going to permit Rajaji to come before the masses as a great "democratic defender" of their rights. The Party gave a call for a mighty demonstration to be organised on March 24, to show the people of the State and the country, that the ordinary millions have no use for Rajaji's politics or slogans.

As a result, on March 24, 30,000 peasants — mainly agricultural workers and small peasants — gathered together in the streets of Nagapattinam. They came from villages — five miles and more distant — carrying a black flag in one hand

and the Red flag in the other. As they marched through the town, all the people came out to witness the demonstration. At least 200 women participated in the procession, which was headed by more than 300 cyclists. Led by the Secretary of the District Committee of the Communist Party, M. Kathamuthu, the demonstrators shouted the slogans: "Go Back Rajaji, Hand-maiden of Imperialism", "Go Back Rajaji, Leader of Zamindars and Princes" and "Tax the Rich, Nationalise the Banks."

By the time the procession reached the conference pandal, the anti-taxation "conference" was already over. Originally planned to continue for three days, the demonstration seems to have frightened both Rajaji and his members, and hence the "conference" was closed on the 24th itself even before the mighty demonstration moved in on it.

It is also interesting to note that this widely publicised conference was a failure even from the point of view of its attendance: in the morning, hardly 100 people were there to hear Rajaji, and he himself postponed his speech to the afternoon.

Communist Party among the peasants in Tanjore district. Though the anti-Rajaji demonstration was called by the Communist Party, it became a rallying point for all democratic forces in Tanjore district. Members of the Tamil National Party, Tamil Arasu Kazhagam, Youth Congress and the Freedom Guard also participated in the demonstration. Many democratic-minded Congressmen, who are put on the defensive after the heavy attack on the people by Morarji in his budget, took heart from the powerful demonstration against the Swatantra Party leader and his policies.

The demonstration ended with a huge public meeting. M. Kathamuthu, Secretary of the District Committee of the Communist Party, made an eloquent appeal to all democratic forces to join together to compel Government to take to a socialist economic policy, and in particular, to take drastic steps against the rich by the nationalisation of banks, and of the major branches of foreign trade, and by taking severest steps to stop the evasion of taxes by the monopoly groups, particularly of income-tax.

The demonstration in Nagapattinam thus was not just of local importance, but one of State-wide, if not national, importance, for it showed in practice how the foe of the people can be fought and how all democratic forces can be inspired to go into action.

The President of the conference was G. K. Sundaram, one of the top mill-magnates of Coimbatore district, who stood on the Swatantra Party ticket from Coimbatore.

Among the "peasants" was Koothanur Atha, who owns 400 acres of double-crop wet land. Another well-known landlord was Perambaiyer who, I think, would not even know where his lands are situated. Several buses were hired to help to swell the audience of the conference, but even then it was miserably attended.

Rajaji concentrated in the conference on condemnation of the non-alignment and defence policy of the Government. He pleaded, as usual, for military alignment with the West.

This time he poured out special torrents of poison against the Communist Party, angered by the powerful demonstration that had been organised by the Party. He boasted that he was hated by the Communists because he enacted Pannayal's (Agricultural Labourers) Protection Act and thereby reduced the influence of the

# LET US DISCUSS OUR DIFFERENCES

## Soviet Party's Central Committee Writes to Chinese Party

MOSCOW, April 3:

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union suggested May 15, 1963, as the date for a high-level meeting between representatives of the CPSU and the Communist Party of China in Moscow, states a TASS report.

THIS proposal has been made in a letter from the CPSU Central Committee to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, dated March 30.

The Central Committee of the CPSU and Nikita Khrushchov express gratitude for the invitation "to stop over in Peking during his journey to Cambodia." The letter says that Khrushchov "would be very pleased to visit the People's Republic of China." However, his journey to Cambodia had not been planned. Leonid Brezhnev would go there and the Cambodian Government had been notified of this and it had also been announced in the press.

The letter points out that the Central Committee of the CPSU would welcome a visit by Mao Tse-tung, and that "the best time for such a visit would be the coming spring or summer—good seasons of the year in our country." But we are ready to give a worthy welcome to Mao Tse-tung "as the representative of a fraternal Party and the fraternal Chinese people at any other time as well."

### May 15: Date Proposed

If Mao Tse-tung cannot visit Moscow at the present time, "we are ready to accept your considerations concerning a meeting of representatives of the CPSU and the CPC in Moscow at a high level. We consider that such a meeting might be held on approximately May 15, 1963, if this date is acceptable to you."

Welcoming the agreement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to a meeting of representatives of the CPSU and the CPC, the CPSU Central Committee declares that "such a meeting is called upon to play an important role in creating a favourable atmosphere in the relations between the fraternal Parties, in adjusting the differences that have arisen of late in the international communist movement."

"We would like to hope," the letter says, "that it would be possible as a result of such a meeting to carry out a number of constructive

measures to overcome the present difficulties."

The CPSU Central Committee considers it expedient to discuss at the coming meeting the following most urgent problems:

1 questions of struggle for the further strengthening of the might of the world socialist system and its conversion into the decisive factor of the development of human society;

2 questions of struggle for peace and peaceful co-existence, the need to pool the efforts of all peace-loving forces for struggle to prevent a new world thermo-nuclear war, assertion in international relations of the Leninist principles of peaceful co-existence;

3 questions of struggle against imperialism headed by the United States;

4 questions of the national-liberation movement, of the struggle for the complete and final liquidation of colonialism and neo-colonialism in all its forms;

5 questions of strengthening the unity and cohesion of the socialist community, and the ranks of the communist movement.

The Central Committee of the CPSU points out that all questions raised in the letter of the Central Committee of the CPC could be discussed at the talks, questions which are of common interest and which stem from the tasks of the struggle for the implementation of the decisions of the Moscow Meetings. Of great importance also would be a discussion of questions concerning the strengthening of cohesion between the USSR and the People's Republic of China.

The letter of the CPSU Central Committee sets forth views on fundamentally important questions and expresses the hope that such exposition "will help to outline the range of questions calling for an exchange of opinion at a bilateral meeting, and will help to overcome existing differences."

The socialist community has created such economic and defensive might, which not only reliably defends the achievements of socialism but also serves as a powerful bastion of peace and security

of all the peoples on earth, the letter points out.

"The monopoly bourgeoisie in the United States has become the main stronghold of international reaction," the letter emphasises. "It has assumed the role of saviour of capitalism. U.S. imperialism now discharges the functions of a world policeman."

The letter says further that taking advantage of the policy of war blocs American imperialism seeks to subordinate the other capitalist countries to its domination. This gives rise to resistance to the United States of America on the part of France, West Germany, Japan and other big capitalist states. The desire of a number of European countries to break away from American dictation is becoming stronger.

"All this leads to an aggravation of existing and the emergence of fresh knots of imperialist rivalry and conflicts which weakens the system of capitalism as a whole."

"It is perfectly clear," the letter stresses, "that the main content and the principal direction of the historic development of human society in our epoch is no longer determined by imperialism, but by the world socialist system, by all the progressive forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist reorganisation of society."

The CPSU Central Committee points out that the contradiction between capitalism and socialism is the main contradiction of our epoch. The destinies of the world, democracy and socialism depend decisively on the outcome of the struggle between the two world systems. And the balance of forces in the world is tilting steadily in favour of socialism.

### Warning to Imperialists

The CPSU Central Committee points out that "until disarmament is effected, the socialist community should always have a preponderance over the imperialists in armed forces. We shall make the imperialists remember that if they start war to decide by force of arms the issue of which way mankind should develop along—the way of capitalism or the way of socialism—it will be the last war, in which imperialism will be routed completely."

The letter says that "the biggest ever imperialist world conspiracy against the countries of socialism and the world liberation movement is being hatched at present. Naturally, there is no guarantee that the imperialists will not try to start a world war. The communists should clearly see this danger."

However, the dread of nuclear retaliation, fear of retribution, deter the imperialists from unleashing a world war. "The socialist community has become so strong that imperialism can no longer impose its terms on the peoples and dictate its will as it did in the past. This is a historic

gain of the international working class and the peoples of all countries."

The world war with which imperialism is menacing mankind is not fatally inevitable. "Sober appraisal of the consequences, which thermo-nuclear war will inevitably have for all mankind, for the cause of socialism, makes it imperative for Marxist-Leninists to do everything in their power to prevent another world conflict."

The CPSU Central Committee declares once again that in conditions when the world is divided into two systems, the principle of peaceful co-existence between states with different social systems is the only right and reasonable principle of international relations.

"Our Party wholly stands on Leninist positions, on the positions of the Declaration that the socialist revolution does not necessarily involve war. Whereas world wars are fraught with victorious revolutions, revolutions are quite possible without wars," says

for its victories and setbacks, all must build their relations on the basis of proletarian internationalism and mutual assistance."

We do not close our eyes to the fact, the letter points out, that in the relations between the socialist countries there can be a different understanding of this or that question pertaining to domestic developments and the international Communist movement, a different understanding of the forms and methods of our co-operation. Nor can it be ruled out that a different approach to the solution of separate problems of Marxism-Leninism in this or that fraternal Party may also be the cause of differences.

"Overestimation of the role of national, specific features may lead to a departure from Marxism-Leninism. Disregard of national features may lead to isolation from life, from the masses, may prejudice the cause of socialism," the letter says.

The CPSU Central Committee stresses that "ideological

## "ALWAYS UNITED IN THE COMMON STRUGGLE..."

### Togliatti's Reply To CPI Greetings

Communist Party of India, New Delhi.

MOST sincere thanks for good wishes sent to me on the occasion of my 70th birth anniversary. We shall always be united in the common struggle for democracy, for emancipation of labour, for peace, for construction of a socialist society.

Rome, April 3

Palmiro Togliatti.

the letter.

It goes without saying, the CPSU Central Committee points out, that whatever the forms of transition from capitalism to socialism, it can be accomplished only through socialist revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat in its various forms.

Coming out against the export of revolution, the letter emphasises, our Party has done and is doing its utmost to bar the road to the export of counter-revolution. We are firmly convinced that interdependence and unity of action of the three great revolutionary forces of our time—the peoples building socialism and communism, the international revolutionary workers' movement, the national liberation movement—are the foundation of the peoples' struggle against imperialism, and an earnest of their victories.

The CPSU Central Committee points out that "the entire course of world developments in recent years has fully confirmed the correctness of the line of the communist movement, which produced remarkable results in practice." "We are firmly convinced that there are no reasons whatever for a revision of this line."

Stressing the need of strengthening the unity of the ranks of the communist movement and the cohesion of the socialist countries, the CPSU Central Committee emphasises that "in the communist movement there are no 'higher-ranking' and 'subordinated' Parties." "All Communist Parties are independent and equal, all bear the responsibility for the future of the communist movement,

and tactical differences should under no circumstances be used for kindling nationalistic feelings and prejudices, mistrust and strife between socialist peoples."

The CPSU Central Committee urges the CPC Central Committee "to fight shoulder to shoulder for the consistent implementation of the Marxist-Leninist course in the international communist movement, against revisionism and dogmatism, for rallying the ranks of the international communist movement, for respecting the collectively hammered-out line, against any violations and arbitrary interpretations of it."

We suggest the meeting not to aggravate the struggle but to reach a mutual understanding on major problems that have arisen in the international communist movement, the letter says.

Our Correspondent in Moscow says that the letter also refer to the questions concerning Albania and Yugoslavia raised by the Chinese, and states that although they are important, they should not hide the main problems of today. The letter reveals that a Soviet proposal for bilateral talks was made to the Albanians in February. They first refused to even take the letter and later moved a number of conditions. If they really express their desire for a meeting, the Soviet message says, the CPSU is ready for it.

On Yugoslavia, the message repeats that the CPSU considers it to be a Socialist country and that lately there have been positive tendencies in economic and political life there but the CPSU will continue to criticise the Yugoslav comrades on their mistaken views.

### SPECIAL LENIN DAY NUMBER

New Age dated April 21 will be a special 20-page Lenin Day Number. Special articles on Lenin's life and teachings, and documents on the ideological questions of today, discussed in the light of Leninism will be published in this issue.

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