

1/10/E24

# MAY DAY IN DELHI

# WORKERS' MASSIVE MARCH



—Photo: Vitendra Kumar



Trade Union Congress and the Hind Mazdoor Sabha. It will be of interest to know that till last year, these two trade union organisations used to take part in the joint programme on May Day. This year, they fell apart blinded by their hysteria of anti-communism.

## ★ BY OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

May Day celebrations this year assumed far greater significance in our country than ever before. The working class of our country which has expressed its patriotism in concrete terms of higher production, longer hours of work, donation of money and blood, exhibited its solidarity with the workers the world over on the occasion of the International Working Class Day.

ON this May Day, it gave an impressive show of its strength and symbolised the indomitable will of the class, rich in the fighting traditions, that it would not submit before the exploitation of the employers and struggle hard to win its rights and demands.

Till the time we go to press, we do not have details of the celebrations that took place in various parts of the country.

In Delhi, it was one of the grandest celebrations. Belying the hopes of the splitters of the trade

union movement, Delhi working class gave a magnificent show of unity. The May Day Committee composed of the Delhi State Committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress, Delhi State Bank Employees Federation and Delhi Newspaper Employees' Federation organised the biggest celebration in Delhi.

As usual, a section of the monopoly press gave very little space to describe this particular celebration, whereas it described at great length the two other celebrations organised by the United

*Hind Mazdoor Sabha tried to pull a fast one on the workers this time by widely postering in the city that on the occasion of the May Day there would be held a "huge mass rally" of the Central government employees and the top leaders of the HMS, like H. V. Kamath, Nath Pat and Priya Gupta, would address the same. But few could be so easily taken in by this propaganda. At the time of the meeting at LIC Plot, a precariously small number of listeners sufficiently demoralised Kamath and Nath Pat, to make them give up the idea of addressing the meeting. Even the Times of India put the attendance of the HMS "mass rally" at "about 300."*

The May Day Committee started its preparations well ahead of May Day. There were hundreds of meetings held in various industrial areas several days in advance.

\*ON PAGE 13

## GREAT VICTORY FOR ITALIAN COMMUNISTS

New Age salutes the mighty Communist Party of Italy for the historic victory it has won in the Italian general elections. Details are lacking as we go to press, but from the figures given in news agency reports from Rome, it is clear that the Communist Party has increased its vote to nearly eight million, to over 25 per cent of the total votes polled.

THE Italian Communist Party has steadily increased its strength from election to election: in 1946, the Communist vote was 4.3 million; in 1953, it rose to 6.1 million; in 1958, it became 6.7 million; and now in 1963, it has reached 7.7 million.

From 21 per cent of the vote in the last elections, the Party has now gone beyond 25 per cent.

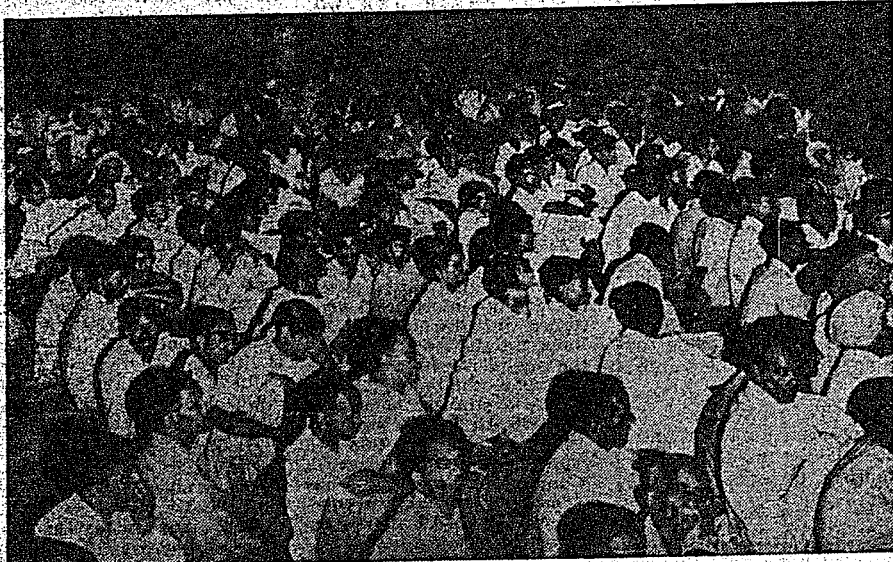
On what issues did the platform called first and Italian Communist Party foremost for a policy of fight this election? Their

\*ON PAGE 13

### CPI GREETINGS

Accept our warmest greetings for magnificent victory of Italian Communist Party and Italian working people. Your victory inspiration to all fighting for peace, national independence democracy and socialism.

Bhupesh Gupta  
For National Council, Communist Party of India



A section of the rally at Gandhi ground

—Photo: R. Parasher

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# THE NATION'S URGENT DEMAND

editorial

MAY 12 IS BEING observed all over the country as "Release Day" with a view to carry the nationwide campaign for release of Communist detenus to a new and higher stage.

The processions, meetings and demonstrations, the deputations organised in observance of this Day will demand that the nation's honour and prestige be no longer sullied by the black marks of the anti-democratic and reactionary repressive measures carried out during the last six months.

The release of Communist detenus has become a national demand, crossing the boundaries of parties and political prejudices. A large number of Congressmen have associated themselves with representations made in individual cases and in districts and States for the release of detenus. All Opposition MLAs joined together in Punjab to demand the release of Communist MLAs.

Those who stand for elementary democratic principles are aghast at the continued use of emergency powers by Congress Governments to cripple and weaken a party, which is second in its strength in the country only to the Congress.

Even those who may have supported certain curtailments of individual liberties at the moment when the Chinese armed invasion began, find no justification whatsoever for continuing the use of dictatorial laws today, when there has been a ceasefire for the last six months.

The argument that because the Chinese threat continues, the hated repressive measures must continue, convinces no one. The vindictiveness behind the detention of Communist detenus is brought into even sharper relief by the fact that the Kerala Government has wisely released every single detenu. Why do not, for instance, the Andhra and Madras Governments follow the good lead of the Kerala Government? Or are Communists a greater "threat" in Andhra and Madras than in Kerala?

Some of the best sons of the working masses of India lie in prison, without trial, virtually without the right of Habeas Corpus. How long must they continue to be deprived of their fundamental right to liberty, for their "crime" of espousing the cause of the workers and peasants?

The recent Supreme Court judgement in the case of Mohan Chowdhury makes clear the draconian nature of the Defence of India Rules; the judgement considers that the DIR deprives the detained persons of the right to appeal to the Supreme Court against their detention. The judgement should result in an intensification of the nationwide campaign for the complete scrapping of these ruthless measures—which no longer have the remotest justification, even if it were granted for argument's sake, that at some stage, they had some justification.

What is alarming is that arrests have not stopped. More Communists are being thrown behind the bars. The latest instance is from the Punjab, where four

prominent leaders of the Party have been detained only a few days ago. The powers-that-be glibly talk of the detenus being "pro-Chinese". The Prime Minister is reported to have described some Communists in this way in his address at a meeting of West Bengal Congress leaders during his recent visit to Digha.

Not one scrap of evidence for this slanderous charge has ever been produced; despite repeated demands and challenges in the Parliament and in the State Legislatures. But the slanderous lie is repeated again and again.

The Communist Party's stand on the Chinese aggression is well known. The same men in authority who talk of "pro-Chinese" Communists, themselves admit that the Communist Party's stand on the border conflict is a thoroughly patriotic stand.

Not only that. It is well known that the Communists are in the forefront of the struggle in defence of the nation's basic policies and in opposition to the Rightwing offensive against those policies. The continued detention of Communists prevents the Communist Party from throwing its full weight into this struggle, which is of vital importance for the entire future of our Motherland.

The release of Indian Communists from detention has become an important demand of progressive people in all lands. The image of peace-loving, non-aligned India has become blurred, as a consequence of the arrests of so many leading Communists, which appear at a first glance to follow the pattern of anti-Communist drives, carried out in other countries, at the dictates of the imperialists and the worst reactionaries.

The release campaign has already assumed both internationally and nationally, gigantic proportions. It has already succeeded in winning releases of a number of detenus in several States. But the battle is not over by any means: hundreds, including 35 members of the National Council of the Party, eight MPs and several MLAs are still in detention.

There is talk of review of cases. If there is a genuine review, it is welcome. But the need of the hour is a wholesale release, now and without delay, of all Communist detenus. All excuses in support of detention are without the slightest basis.

New Age can recall numerous statements on the necessity for the preservation of democratic civil liberties, made by Prime Minister Nehru in the days before independence was won. They are all as valid today as they were then.

Let it not be said that Nehru's words expressing his passionate attachment to civil liberties were forgotten and buried in the past when the moment came to make them live again, to put them into practice.

It is for the Prime Minister to act and compel the State Governments to release the Communist detenus without any further delay.

## NATION ★ By VIGILANTE THE KRIPALANIS

The *Hindustan Times* "Special Correspondent" in Lucknow, true to the policy of his paper and his employers, wants us all to shed tears for poor, unfortunate Sucheta Kripalani, who, he says, is "very unhappy at the way her name has been dragged into the election campaign being waged by the Congress leadership against Acharya Kripalani in the Amroha bye-election." (*Hindustan Times*, May 1)

THE purpose of this "unhappiness"—based on the completely false charge that her name is being "dragged into the election campaign" by Kripalani's opponents or in other words by her own party, the Congress—is evidently to find an excuse for Suchetaji to make a "Vote Kripalani" statement. The despatch on the UP Minister's unhappiness ends with a hymn to the Acharya's greatness, in Suchetaji's own words. This is what she says, according to Birla's own *Hindustan Times*:

"Wherever he (Kripalani) has been, he has tried to serve the country faithfully and has always had to take the hard road of struggle. 'I may not be in the same political party with him, but I believe, along with many others in this country, that his services to the nation have been rivalled by few in our unfortunate land.'"

One wonders why it is necessary for a Congress Minister, in the thick of an election campaign, to shower praise on the candidate, who is opposing the Congress candidate and all the basic national policies of the country. No one will question the right of husband and wife to differ in their political views, while maintaining their personal relations. But is it part of the duty of a wife to canvass votes for the husband, against her own party?

Suchetaji's association with the "Ma-ki Pukar" anti-national RSS-Jan Sangh exhibition was widely commented upon and there were allegations that she was actively supporting herself with winning support for the Acharya's candidature in Amroha.

The latest statement by Suchetaji will only increase the doubts in people's minds about her sympathies in the election battle.

Yes, said the Deputy Minister for Civil Aviation, the Air India Chairman was interested in the firm of purchasing agents, for it is a Tata concern. But he argued that "Air India had merely made the best and most efficient arrangements possible."

And may be facts like the one mentioned above "helped" J. R. D. Tata to give his recent "certificate" to the Government of India's policy of non-discrimination between the public and private sectors—the "certificate" which has been used with so much servility, and consequent failure by certain Indian officials in their efforts to persuade the Americans to finance the public sector Bokaro!

May be that is also why Tata is expected to accompany the high-powered T. T. K. Mission to beg for Uncle Sam's bounty. The presence of a favourite nephew, who believes in Uncle's way of life, it is hoped, will soften Uncle and help to loosen the purse-strings. But will it? Or will it help to sell away our basic national policies for a mess of pottage?

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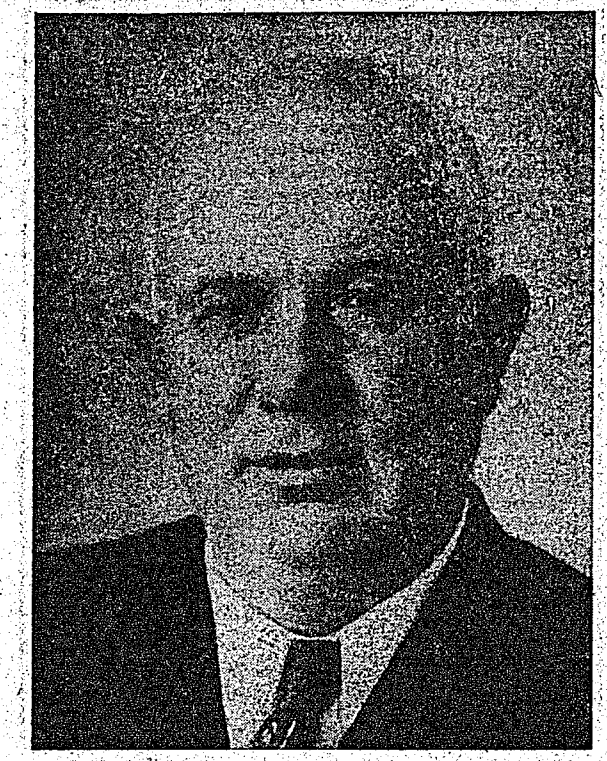
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# MOSCOW HAILS: GLORY TO CUBA

## CASTRO'S MOMENTOUS RECEPTION BY SOVIET PEOPLE



"Saluting the envoys of the first socialist revolution on the American continent, we express our admiration of the courage and staunchness of the Cuban people, their high revolutionary spirit."

"It is a special pleasure to greet you in the capital of our homeland, Moscow, in its historical Red Square. All the peoples of the world rightly regard the Red Square as a symbol of victorious socialism, a symbol of the world brotherhood of the working people..."

"Soviet people know well from their own experience that the exploiters do not depart from the stage of history without struggle. They resort to most insidious means to re-enslave the people. But we know that the people who have risen to the struggle for freedom and happiness and inscribed on their banners the courageous motto 'Fatherland or death! We shall triumph!' are invincible. Imperialists are powerless to break the will of Cuban patriots who vowed to uphold and defend the gains of their revolution."

### Cuba: Not Alone

"Heroic Cuba is not alone in her struggle. On her side is the sympathy and support of the Soviet Union, of all countries of the socialist community, of the progressive forces of the globe. Today all who cherish the cause of peace and social progress raise their voices in defence of the heroic Island of Freedom and resolutely demand: 'Hands off revolutionary Cuba!'"

"The friendship of the Soviet and Cuban peoples is a vivid expression of international proletarian solidarity, which is needed so much by the working people for successful struggle against capitalism, for struggle to build up socialism. In our days the militant call of communists: 'Workers of all countries, unite!' resounds with particular force, because the front of struggle against imperialism is becoming ever broader, is spreading to all countries and continents."

Then Fidel spoke, the flowing orator in his ringing voice and melodious Spanish language. I saw near me grey haired Dolores Ibarruri visibly moved, listening to the young hero.

Fidel spoke of how the Soviet Union, acting on the principles of proletarian internationalism had repeatedly saved the Cuban Revolution, how without the Soviet help, support and might the imperialists would have strangled the Cuban revolution by means of hunger, blockade and intervention. How without Soviet arms, the Cubans would not have defeated the landing of the counter-revolutionaries from the U.S. mainland.

He spoke of what Soviet economic help meant for



Cuba's reconstruction. Fidel spoke of the gratitude felt by the Cuban people and refuted imperialist slanders of Cuban-Soviet differences. He spoke for 45 minutes with sincere emotion and was cheered again and again.

He said: "For us this visit to the Soviet Union is not simply an extremely moving fact by itself; it evokes our tremendous interest from the point of view of history, politics, economy..."

"Without the existence of the Soviet Union the socialist revolution in Cuba would not have been possible. This, however, does not mean at all that the Cuban revolution was carried out by the Soviet Union. Notwithstanding the entire stream of slander and lies, the enemies of the Soviet Union have not gone to the length of asserting this."

"This means that without the Soviet Union's existence the imperialists would have strangled any national liberation there exists the Soviet Union. We are confident that our people shall win, because we have two absolutely necessary conditions for this: the revolutionary and patriotic spirit of our people and the solidarity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, the revolutionary solidarity of all the working people of the world, the solidarity of all the peoples who have felt what imperialism and colonialism mean."

"About Soviet people, about socialism and communism we can also say the words used in our homeland: 'vencemos! (we shall triumph!)' 'The future of mankind is the future of socialism and communism.'"

This mighty demonstration and the speech of the Cuban Prime Minister also provided a good answer to those who have made a lot of noise about the so-called betrayal of Cuba by Khrushchov and the Soviet Government. It showed that the



revolution in Latin America. If they stamp out even bourgeois revolutions, when these revolutions affect their imperialist interests, they would still faster stifle a socialist revolution in Latin America. If the Soviet Union did not exist, the imperialists would not even have any need to resort to arms.

"They would have strangled this revolution by hunger, they would have liquidated it by means of an economic blockade alone."

"It proved impossible to liquidate our revolution by economic blockade because

—Masood Ali Khan

## HIGH PRICES AND COST OF LIVING

A correspondent has drawn my attention to a table issued by the United Nations Statistical Office, on the basis of which it fixes salaries of its officials in different parts of the world.

An interesting fact which this table reveals is that the cost of living for UN officials in New Delhi is almost the same (93 per cent) as that in New York. It is more expensive in Delhi than in London and Karachi (both of which are 79 per cent of New York), Cairo (65 per cent), Bonn (82 per cent), Rio de Janeiro (63 per cent)—and many other world capitals.

The fact that New Delhi is more costly for UN officials than so many of the other capitals of the world, ought to provide the replacement in high places with a certain amount of food for thought.

Another aspect of this statistical report also needs consideration. UN officials' salaries are determined in each country partly at least by the salaries of the high Government officials of the country concerned. The fact is that the salaries, in New Delhi at least, of the top Government officials still remain almost at the fabulous pre-independence levels.

The UN evidently "compensates" its officials who have to live in India. Who compensates the Indian working people?

## TATAS: UNCLE'S NEPHEW

WHILE the Dalmia-Jain scandal occupied attention in Parliament, and the Birla insurance companies also had their share of the searchlights, there was little said about the house of Tatas.

But, as they say, "murder will out". And the last week of this session of Parliament brought interesting information to the Lok Sabha—information concerned with the dolings of Air India International, of which the ace-pilot J. R. D. Tata himself is Chairman.

By a strange "coincidence" (!), Air India's purchasing agents in the USA are Messrs. Tata, Incorporated, and this company has "earned" 18.31 lakhs in commission from Air India during the last few years.

MOSCOW, April 29: A triumphal welcome was given to Fidel Castro when he arrived in Moscow on Sunday. It was a hero's welcome with the whole of Moscow out on the streets; thousands upon thousands lined up the 15 kilometre route to the Red Square and cheering, waving crowds shouted "Long Live Fidel, Viva Cuba" and chanted "Fidel-Khrushchov".

THE legendary Fidel Castro from the Isle of Freedom drove down Moscow's Leninsky Prospekt and was received like the Soviet hero cosmonauts. The knight of the revolution was received with overwhelming love, warmth, admiration and affection. The capital wide-opened its hands to the fearless fighter and gave him an unprecedented welcome never accorded to any foreigner before.

There was a smart guard of honour; the anthems were played and a salute of guns fired. Then Fidel shook hands with the Soviet leaders and Cuban guests, came out of the Kremlin gate as the Spasky clock chimed 6 o'clock.

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# India Is Not For Sale

New Delhi at this moment has the appearance of a market place. The purchasers are tumbling over each other, as they fly in one after the other, Mountbatten; Sandys, Rusk... they come with the swagger of the old colonial governors-general.

The shameful headlines in the monopoly press, the fawning comments make painful reading.

Biria's Hindustan Times (May 1) frontpages the headline: "Mountbatten will check on defence." Why should anyone from another country "check on" our defence? Are we an independent country or is the Viceroy back again?

Friendship is to be welcomed. But the kind of programme which Mountbatten appears to have in India amounts to nothing but an investigation into our defence capacities. In his own words, he is here to see "how India had been facing up to the grave threat from China."

Nobody swallows the nonsense about this visit being a "private visit". It is seen as an essential part of the pressures and blackmail being used by the British and the US Governments on India.

So disgusting is the patronising interference in our internal affairs, that even Goenka's Indian Express has had to protest editorially (May 1) at Duncan Sanj's remark on his arrival at Karachi for the CENTO meeting that he was "not at all satisfied" with the progress of Indo-Pakistan talks on Kashmir. The Indian Express considers this the "limit of impertinence" and says:

"Mr. Sandys can choose to strut wherever he likes but he would do well to remember that he is not exactly the grand Moghul of Delhi, and that neither the Government nor the people of India are prepared to listen to impertinent admonishment impudently delivered."

The fact is that impertinence is not the monopoly of Mr. Sandys. The U.S. and U.K. chieftains, who keep descending on India almost every day and every week, are on missions in which impertinence is only the visible mask for humiliating and shameful pressures and threats.

### "AID" ETHUSIASM WANES

IT is becoming clearer every day that India's refusal to be browbeaten into a military pact (hidden and camouflaged, albeit), and to surrender Kashmir, is leading to a certain coolness in the earlier excessive zeal of the imperialists to rush to India's "aid".

Political correspondents are now busy pointing out that the attitude of the imperialist powers seems to be "unhelpful". Some like that of the Indian Express, out to protect the USA from the charge, put all the blame on Britain: "Lately the impression has

We are not dogs waiting for the crumbs from the master's table.

India can have all the help she wants for her independent economic development, on the most favourable terms and on the basis of her own policies, without strings, from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It is time to turn our faces away from the lure of the dollars, which are kept hanging in front of our noses, like the proverbial carrot.

Bokaro's lesson is simple: It is the same we are learning bit by bit, from cruel experience, on all questions of US "aid". The strings attached to the dollars are meant to tie us, deprive us of our independence itself. When we refuse to toe the US line, there is "delay"—time for more pressures, more threats, more blackmail.

## CENTO AND INDIA

THE CENTO meeting at Karachi was used by Britain and the USA to help increase the pressure on India.

Pakistan's steady attacks on our country were closely kept up. Lord Home's speech in which he claimed that no member nation of CENTO, SEATO, or NATO had "sacrificed a man or an acre" to "Communist aggression", was followed by the obvious reference to India that "other countries" had had to make such sacrifices.

The CENTO drama at Karachi is to be used by Rusk and Sandys in New Delhi to press home their Kashmir "solution" (already put out by Marshal Ayub in his latest interview), and also to seek some form of link up with CENTO and SEATO (invisible, if necessary).

The popular campaign grows with every day against any surrender of Kashmir, against any sell out of India.

## BOKARO'S LESSON

THE indefinite delay in an answer from the U.S. Government regarding their assistance to build the Bokaro steel plant is the most striking evidence of U.S. "aid for India" enthusiasm cooling down.

The Clay Committee's emphasis on aid only for the private sector is cited as one reason for "hesitation".

Meanwhile, IPA has put out the news that the Soviet Union is willing to help us to build Bokaro.

The Government of India must make it clear to the U.S. authorities that we intend to build Bokaro, with U.S. "aid" or without it.

It is time for India to stand up on its own feet and tell the blackmailers of the USA and the UK that we have had enough insults.

## CONTRIBUTE LIBERALLY

For Relief To The Families Of Imprisoned Comrades

AMONG those comrades of ours who are now detained without trial or otherwise held behind prison bars, many are bread-earners of their families. In most of these cases no family allowance at all is yet granted. In a few cases where such an allowance is given by Government, the amount is a mere pittance. As a result, these families have been suffering all these months, some are by now almost on the point of semi-starvation. The attitude of Government is one of utter callousness—lacking in even elementary human sympathies.

At different levels we are of course moving the authorities for the sanction of adequate family allowances—a consideration which the detenus were not denied even in the days of the British. It remains to be seen how far we shall succeed in our efforts in this respect. But conditions of the families have already become desperate and it is our very urgent duty to make every possible effort to bring relief and succour to them.

In view of all this, we would earnestly appeal to our Party members and to all friends of our Party to contribute generously to the funds that are being raised for the purpose in different places. The efforts which are already being made, must be intensified. Contributions may be sent to the Party Committees at different levels directly or through Party members.

We trust the members of the National Council and leading members of the Party as well as our comrades in Parliament and State Legislatures will particularly take all necessary initiative and make all possible efforts to raise funds for the relief of these distressed families. With such cooperation and initiative on the part of all Party members and Party friends we can, we are confident, offer at least some relief to the needy families—the victims of senseless Government persecution against our Party.

May Day, 1963 Secretariat of the National Council of the CPI. New Delhi

## Salute, Socialist Czechoslovakia

THE Czechoslovak Socialist Republic celebrates its National Day on May 9, the anniversary of its liberation by the Soviet Army in 1945. *New Age* extends its warm greetings to the people of Czechoslovakia on this joyous occasion.

The Czech and Slovak peoples regained their national freedom after a period of subjugation which started in 1938, with the signing of the treacherous Munich agreement. With the defeat of the fascist powers and the weakening of the entire imperialist world, with the growth in the strength and might of the Soviet Union—favourable conditions existed for the progress of liberated Czechoslovakia.

A people's democratic state came into being. Power was taken over by the working people associated in the National Front of Czechs and Slovaks.

In 1948, the national and democratic revolution was transformed into a socialist revolution. Today it is the socialist system which prevails in Czechoslovakia. The result has been a phenomenal increase in production and in the earnings of the working people. No capitalist country could register such an increase in production in the post-war years: the volume of production increased more than four times in comparison with the last pre-war years; in Slovakia, where industry had been sorely neglected, there was a ten-fold increase. In the years 1958-61 alone, the personal consumption of Czechoslovak citizens increased by almost 20 per cent.

While new problems have arisen following the high degree of development of the socialist economy, the growth of the economy continues: industrial production increased by more than six per cent in 1962, although the effect of this growth was diminished by the lag in certain branches, particularly agriculture.

Socialist Czechoslovakia's relations with India are marked by common adherence to the policy of peaceful coexistence and to the pursuit of disarmament, by opposition to all forms of colonialism, old and new. In the economic and cultural fields, ties between India and Czechoslovakia grow with every day that passes.

*New Age* salutes the Government and people of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on their National Day, and wishes them ever new triumphs, new victories in the cause of socialism and peace.

Progressive opinion everywhere is seriously concerned at the activities of Indian reaction, which seeks a reversal of India's basic policy of nonalignment. In this article, two Soviet commentators, V. Pavlov and I. Radko, analyse the sinister activities of Indian reactionary forces particularly during the days following the Chinese aggression.

The India-China conflict profoundly perturbed people everywhere. The Indians and the Chinese, who had for centuries lived in friendship and peace, sustained serious losses in the armed clashes in the Himalayas.

On December 1, 1962, the government of the People's Republic of China ceased fire and began to withdraw its troops. And today, when the possibility of settling the conflict peacefully is becoming increasingly realistic, world public opinion watches with growing anxiety as India's reactionary forces and their Western patrons attack the foundations of the country's democratic developments, oppose the expansion of its state economic sector and assail its neutralist foreign policy.

The imperialist elements in the West have decided that the time has at long last come to put an end to India's hateful neutralism and thus to deal a telling political blow at all non-aligned countries. For the imperialists this conflict turned out to be a real godsend," N. S. Khrushchov said in the report at the Seventh Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet....

The successes scored by reaction failed to divert the Indian government from its independent and neutral policy after 1959. India adopted the programme of the Third Five-Year Plan and set out to implement it on April 1, 1961. As is known, this programme further developed such democratic national traits of India's economic development as the priority development of the state sector, and especially heavy industry, and provided for the strengthening of the foundations of the national engineering, iron and steel and power engineering industries. It also envisaged limitation of the size of private land holdings.

The government's determination to achieve economic independence, its peaceful neutral policy and the struggle for the total abolition of the colonial system (this was best illustrated by the liberation of Goa from the Portuguese colonialists) evoked the discontent and even fury of the Western imperialist quarters.

As had often been the case in the past, they chose "aid" as a weapon for pressuring India. In May 1962, the US Congress Foreign Affairs Committee proposed a drastic cut in US "aid" to India. As the Committee's Chairman, James W. Fulbright, said, this was the first time it had considered the question of reducing "aid" to any country.

It demanded the all-round subordination of "private initiative," subordination of the state sector to the interests of monopoly, including foreign capital, and expansion of private land-ownership. The *Swatantra Party's* anti-democratic and anti-popular programme failed to gain any serious support among the masses. Its leadership clearly needed some powerful weapon to win over the petty bourgeoisie.

The border conflict, which had become acute by the autumn of 1959, was used by Indian reaction to serry its ranks, launch an assault on the Indian people's democratic and national gains, and unleash an all-out campaign to force the government to revise its foreign policy.

Indian public opinion rightly interpreted this attack on neutralism as an attempt to undermine the country's foreign and home policy. In a speech made in November 1959, Jawaharlal Nehru said that the attacks on foreign policy were the consequence of internal dissension. The progressive forces of India were in dire need of the unity of all patriotic forces to oppose reaction successfully. The reactionaries, however, managed not only to prevent the patriotic forces from uniting on a nation-wide scale but also to build up a number of blocs whose sole "ideological" basis was anti-communism.

That happened, for instance, during the election campaign in Kerala State (February 1960), where the Congress and the Socialists formed an election bloc with the Catholic Church and the Muslim League. This anti-communist combination deprived the Communist Party of its absolute majority in the state's Legislative Assembly, although it actually obtained more votes than before.

# INDIAN REACTION ON WAR-PATH

★ By V. Pavlov and I. Radko

cases, to contests between the Congress nominees and the candidates of the Right-wing parties, notably the *Swatantra Party*.

The Rightwing parties did not succeed in seriously weakening the positions of the National Congress and the Left forces. In the Lok Sabha, the Communists remained the biggest party after the Congress. At the same time, the Indian Communists asserted that reaction had not been routed and that the Indian people had much to do to unite the country's democratic forces.

The formation of new government somewhat strengthened the positions of the champions of neutralism and economic independence. Patriotic-minded Congress members and the Communists often acted together on important peaceful foreign policy issues and on certain problems of nationwide or local importance (in implementing development programmes, measures against unemployment, rising prices, etc.).

Unfortunately, there were some among the national bourgeoisie who failed fully to grasp the danger presented by reaction's efforts to aggravate the border conflict. The plans of imperialist and international reaction could have been foiled only by the common sense and patience of the sides, which well knew that the aggravation of the military conflict between friendly peoples would benefit only the imperialists and their local accomplices. To the profound regret of the friends of the Chinese and Indian peoples, of all people of good will and peace, this did not happen.

## REACTIONARY COMBINATION

Whereas during the elections to Parliament and the legislative assemblies the unity of the ultra-Right parties was limited to temporary election manoeuvres, chiefly in the states, at the height of the Indian-Chinese conflict the reactionary forces carried their ranks under the ideological aegis of the *Swatantra Party*. Among those who joined forces with this party were not only such frankly chauvinistic parties as Jan Sangh, Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh, Akali Dal, Dravida Kazhagam, etc., but the Right Socialists too. The leaders of the Socialist Parties not only sided with the inveterate enemies of democracy but in many cases were the initiators of provocative policies directed at aggravating the Indian-Chinese conflict and bringing India into imperialist military blocs.

The consolidation of the reactionary forces outside the Congress under the leadership of the *Swatantra Party* allows them to claim the leadership of all the Rightwing elements, including the Rightwing of the Congress. It is no secret that the reactionaries, accusing the government of "disorganising the country's defences," are striving for power. Exposing the real aims of reaction in a speech before the Congress group in the Lok Sabha on November 28, 1962, Prime Minister Nehru said the *Swatantra* and Jan Sangh parties were

"interested more in political power than national defence."

Indian reaction has different plans for coming to power. One of them is through the establishment of a military dictatorship. This will particularly suit such champions of "Western democracy" as Acharya Kripalani and N. G. Ranga. The former has advocated replacement of Nehru's government by "a wartime Cabinet composed of active or retired generals."

Imperialist propaganda claims that the West is supplying India with these arms unconditionally. That is not at all so. It is known that after the signing of the agreement on British arms deliveries to India, British Minister for Commonwealth Relations Sandys and Indian Defence Minister Chavan exchanged letters. In his letter, Sandys deemed it necessary to stress that these arms were being given India only to be used in the India-China conflict. He reminded the Indian government that it should allow the representatives of the United Kingdom government attached to the office of the British High Commissioner in India to supervise the use of British war material.

Indian reactionaries never tire of harping on the need to fasten not only India but the other neutralist Asian countries to the West's war chariot. "India must join the West for offensive and defensive purposes together" with all the countries of South Asia," demands the *Swarajya*, the organ of the *Swatantra Party*.

The campaign against the Indian policy of nonalignment is causing profound concern among the public and in government circles in many neutralist countries.

The imperialists and Indian reaction may also regard as a gain derived from the India-China conflict the violation of democratic rights and freedoms.

This conflict, as N. S. Khrushchov has pointed out, "throws back the development of democratic principles in India and creates conditions for strengthening the positions of the country's reactionary forces."

Taking advantage of the emergency situation, the Indian police authorities have carried out mass arrests among the Communists and trade union militants. In many cities, including the capital, chauvinists have attacked Communist Party branches with the connivance of the police.

The state authorities are arresting Communists in accordance with the Defence of India Rules which envisage deprivation of freedom for all persons whose activity may hamper national defence or in any way prejudice it. And yet neither the Communist Party's stand on the border conflict nor the activities of its organisations and members have in any way been detrimental to the country's defence.

What is more, as the Party's organ, the weekly *New Age*, has pointed out, the employment of the emergency state laws for arresting several hundred members of the Communist Party, trade unions and the Kisan Sabha has knocked the staunchest opponents of the anti-national policy out of the struggle and helps only the reactionary Right forces. Prime Minister Nehru has himself said at a meeting in Delhi that "the Communists are 100 per cent patriots."

But neither mass arrests nor unbridled persecution by the



N. G. Ranga

Ranga, the *Swatantra* leader, has demanded the formation of a coalition government of "non-Communist parties." It goes without saying that this implies replacement of the Prime Minister. The reactionary leaders, who have never been very modest, all hope to get this post. One of the claimants is the Right Socialist Lohia who had gained dubious fame by his unsuccessful opposition to Nehru in the last elections.



Rajagopalachari

Seeking to undermine the position of Nehru's government, the reactionaries and their imperialist patrons have chosen India's foreign policy as the object of their sallies. Without a military alliance with the West, they declare, India cannot ensure her security. Without full de facto alliance with the Western countries, declared Rajagopalachari, the ideological leader of the *Swatantra*, India will not overcome the present crisis.

One of the statements issued by this party's parliamentary group demands a radical revision of India's foreign policy. The concept of nonalignment has lost all meaning, it says.

It was with glee that the imperialist quarters learned that India had agreed to receive arms from the Western countries. It may be recalled that hitherto she has always rejected such Western proposals.



# NEHRU REASSERTS NON-ALIGNMENT POLICY

CALCUTTA, April 29: If some way were found for a peaceful settlement of the India-China border dispute, India would be prepared to accept it, such was the clear statement made by Prime Minister Nehru inaugurating the political conference of the West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee at Digha, the hamlet on the beautiful sea beach in Midnapore district.

GIVING impressions of his discussions with Premier Aly Sabry of UAR Pandit Nehru said that no clear path yet emerged for a meeting between the representatives of India and China to sit together for settlement of the dispute.

Attending the Pradesh Congress Political Conference for the first time after independence, Pandit Nehru forcefully reiterated India's basic policy of non-alignment. He also said that India could best be served by socialism, which was principally aimed at achieving removal of inequalities and provision of equal opportunities for all.

Criticising the Rightwing parties and reactionary elements, he said that if those people had the right to oppose socialism then "we also have the same right to oppose their opposition." He called for strengthening the Congress organisation for this purpose.

He stressed the need to strengthen India both militarily and economically to defeat any aggression.

## Draft Political Resolution

The draft Political Resolution of the Conference released to the press also stated: "Under Pandit Nehru's leadership India's non-alignment policy has been amply vindicated by the situation arising out of Chinese aggression."

The resolution also condemned those parties and persons who were trying to lower India's prestige in this respect. It is to be noted that this is the first time that the West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee has so categorically expressed itself in support of acceptance of Colombo proposals and for non-alignment policy and against its detractors.

But it had nothing to say about those among the Congressmen who hounded with Jansangh, FSP and Cariappa, the sworn enemies of non-alignment. The word 'Socialism' has been scrupulously avoided though Nehru's speech contained emphasis on this point.

Congratulating the people for the national awakening for protection of freedom, the resolution stated that the nation must carry on the task of defence and development simultaneously and the burden for that has to be borne by the people ungrudgingly. It further added that "We should see that burden on the poorer section of the people may not be heavier," though the widening disparities in income and the concentration of wealth found no mention in the resolution.

The resolution expressed its concern at the continuous rise in the prices of the daily necessities of life in West Bengal and requested the government to take steps to restrain profiteering tendencies of those who try to profit taking advantage of the emergency.

As usual with the leadership

of the West Bengal Congress anti-communism remained a strong point in the resolution also.

The resolution mouthed the usual slander about a section of the West Bengal branch of the CPI being pro-Chinese and it asked the people to be vigilant against them.

The resolution also tried to paint the India-China border conflict as a struggle of democracy against communism, though the Prime Minister had categorically rejected this stand many a time earlier.

A section of Congressmen, particularly those connected with the INTUC are not happy about the resolution. They point to the absence of any reference to the breach of the Industrial Truce Resolution by capitalists, and the attack on the workers. They also feel that the question of combating rise in prices should be discussed seriously and a separate resolution brought on that.

The political circles in the state are however intrigued at the Pradesh Congress chief Atulya Ghosh's labours to bring Pandit Nehru and Nehruites like Shastri and Indira Gandhi to the conference. It is not any secret that Atulya Babu never had any liking for Nehru's policies, or for that matter for many of the accepted progressive national policies of the Congress.

His open opposition to Congress President Sanjivayya in Calcutta Maidan public meeting some time ago is quite fresh in people's memories. It is also quite well-known that some time back Atulya Babu tried to create an anti-Nehru lobby in the Eastern Zone. But that attempt misfired. That his attempt to attain the Congress Presidential Gaddi last year was thwarted by strong opposition from Indira Gandhi is also common knowledge.

But he has not given up his ambition to become the All India Congress President. With Sanjivayya's reported reluctance to continue, Atulya Babu has renewed his attempts. The recent AICC session, it is learnt, has convinced him that Rightwing support and the anti-Nehru stance will not help him to attain his ambition. He has understood that only the favourable disposition of Nehru can help him to get to the high pedestal of Congress Presidency.

It is being talked here that in order to reach his goal Atulya Ghosh is ready to become for the present a "progressive and left" or even a "socialist" Congressman. This Digha session of the Pradesh Congress might be the stage to effect this change of role.

## Worsening Food Position

The food position in the state is worsening with every passing day. Harrowing tales of hunger and starvation are being reported

from districts. Reports of theft of rice or cooked food, eating of leaves and roots, suicide and even selling of children are now coming out in the daily press of Calcutta.

The Price Vigilance Committee of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, dominated by the Birlas, has also admitted the high prices of rice and the responsibility of the jobbers and big traders in this unusual rise in prices. Centre has promised to supply seventy-five thousand tonnes of par-boiled rice.

But the Chief Minister P. C. Sen could not give any assurance of fall in prices when such rice would be distributed through the Fair Price Shops. His only desire seems to be arrest further rise in prices. But how far that too can be done, is also doubtful, so long as the present policy of depending on the big jobbers and traders remains.

The State Kisan Sabha has demanded state purchase from the open market, opening of fair price shops in the villages, supply of par-boiled rice, starting extensive test relief work and control of prices. It has also called for immediately organising a movement and an all-Parties Convention within a month to chalk out a detailed plan for the movement.

## Working Class Against High Prices & Taxes

The working class is more and more coming out against high prices and taxation and for release of political prisoners. Last week saw three powerful workers' rallies on these demands. At Behala, in the southern outskirts of Calcutta, more than 1,500 workers, including 300 women, from various factories joined in a big procession and paraded the entire municipal area of Behala. Thousands of people flocked on the roadsides and congratulated the workers and other processionists.

## Increasing Unemployment

The annual review for 1962 of the work of the Directorate of National Employment Service in West Bengal, published recently reveals a picture of growing unemployment in the state. It also reveals that employment ratio between educated and uneducated people in West Bengal stands at 1 : 3 and every fourth registrant is a matriculate or its equivalent or above.

During the year the exchanges in the State could provide jobs to 31,151 candidates registered with them, as against 23,020 in the year 1961. Public sector absorbed much more people than the private sector. The Central Government's share was 32 per cent, while that of the State Government and local bodies 9 per cent and 27.9 per cent respectively. A change in the law has brought more notices of vacancies and some more placements.

On the last day of the year the register of unemployed in West Bengal stood at 439,345; of them 17,486 were women. In 1961 the figure was 328,292. This shows a rise of 33.8 per cent during the year.

## Dumdum Meeting

At Dumdum 7,000 workers of Jessop factory held a meeting in which along with the demands for redressal of the grievances of the workers arising out of violation of the Industrial Truce Resolution by the management and amendment in the Production Bonus Scheme, demands for release of political prisoners, reduction of taxes and prices, nationalisation of banks, etc., were also raised.

At Kulti, at the call of the United Iron & Steel Workers' Union (Action Committee) more than 8,000 workers and citizens came together, protested against the lay off of a large number of workers by the IISCO management, demanded implementation of the recommendation of the Wage Board, reduction in price and taxes etc. By a resolution the meeting demanded release of all

political prisoners and revocation of the Emergency.

# INDO-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP A NATIONAL NECESSITY

## ISCUS National Conference Marks New Advances In Movement

★ BY OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

"The Conference firmly believes that Indo-Soviet friendship and cooperation have become a national necessity for the preservation of the basic policy of non-alignment and for the rapid independent economic development of our country."

THESE words from the resolution on Indo-Soviet Friendship and Cooperation sum up the unanimous conclusions of the Sixth National Conference of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society held at Madras from April 26 to 28, 1963.

The ISCUS had indeed grown rapidly: the number of affiliated branches of the Society had shot up from 80 at the time of the fifth National Conference (Lucknow, December 1960) to 156—in other words, they had nearly doubled in a period of less than two-and-a-half years. These affiliated branches cover every State,

The well-known surgeon Dr. A. V. Baliga presided over the Conference. In his Presidential address, he highlighted the vital necessity of Indo-Soviet friendship for the preservation and strengthening of our basic policies. If the policy of non-alignment has survived and emerged whole, despite the vicious attacks on it, this has been due in great measure to the continued friendship of the Soviet Union. If India can hold its head high today and resist pressures to give up our basic economic policies, again a great deal is due to the unstinted economic assistance of the Soviet Union.

Along the same lines was a memorable speech by Aruna Asaf Ali at the inaugural session. The building of ever closer bonds of Indo-Soviet friendship has become a national duty and necessity: it is a bulwark against the attacks of the enemies of non-alignment and all our basic policies.

The facts and figures, quoted by the Soviet Ambassador and the Soviet delegates regarding Indo-Soviet cooperation, were a thrilling record of unselfish assistance:

● The USSR is helping to build 32 big industrial projects in India: Bhilai, the heavy machine building plant at Ranchi, the thermal power station at Neyveli, the refinery at Barauni and many others.

● For these projects, the Soviet Union has provided India with long term credits of nearly Rs. 380 crores.

● By the end of this year, the volume of trade will amount to one million rupees, and in the next five years, it is proposed to be doubled.

● In the coming six years, it is proposed to set up under Indian Universities, ten scientific centres with the financial and technical assistance of the Soviet Union, within the framework of the UNESCO. The proposed expenses for these centres will come to 2.5 million dollars, out of which 90 per cent will be in roubles.

The common ideals of peace, peaceful co-existence, disarmament, the ending of colonialism were stressed by many speakers at all the Conference functions. The Chairman of the Reception Committee, film Director K. Subramaniam paid high tribute to Premier Khrushchov for his devotion to peace. Speaker Chellappandian and Minister Bhaktavatsalam spoke of Soviet assistance and friendship, our common quest for peace and our adherence to the policy of peaceful coexistence.

## Discussion On Role Of ISCUS

The most interesting part of the Conference was the detailed discussion in the delegates' session on the Role of the ISCUS. Several delegates from all the nine States represented at the conference participated in this discussion. The debate led to unanimous conclusions, the spirit of which is embodied in the main resolution of the Conference.

The discussion on the organisation of the ISCUS movement led to a renewed call for broadening the committees and the councils at all levels of the society, and for the further implementation of the resolution adopted at the last conference at Lucknow on measures to improve the organisation of the ISCUS.

State Councils are to be formed within the next six months in all States—so that the movement can



Vast crowds throng Soviet exhibitions anywhere in India.

except Orissa—and the fact is that there are probably almost as many branches, which do not fulfil the conditions for affiliation, but nevertheless work for the aims of the ISCUS.

But what every participant stressed was that even this phenomenal growth of the Society had not been able to keep pace with the much faster growth in the interest of the Indian people in the Soviet Union and their desire for friendly relations and cooperation between our country and the Soviet Union.

The new significance of Indo-Soviet friendship was underlined right at the start of the Conference, when a message from Prime Minister Nehru was read at the inaugural session, amidst enthusiastic cheers. The Prime Minister's message stressed the fact that Indo-Soviet relations have continued to be good despite of the strains upon them.

"Even the Chinese aggression has not affected these relations," wrote the Prime Minister and he pointed out that "this is an indication of the firm basis of the relations between these two countries."

Wishing the Conference success, the Prime Minister emphasised the necessity for Indo-Soviet cooperation. He said:

"I think it is highly important both from the point of view of India and the Soviet Union, that our contacts and relations should be close, friendly and coopera-

tion. I am also convinced that Chief Minister, from Union Ministers C. Subramaniam and Humayun Kabir, from Lok Sabha Speaker Hukam Singh, from Congress President Sanjivayya and several other Indian leaders.

Messages from the Soviet Union included those from Nina Popova, Chairman of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, and from Academician Tsitin, President of the Soviet-Indian Cultural Society.

A day before the inaugural session, Soviet Ambassador I. A. Benediktov inaugurated an exhibition on Soviet agriculture and of Soviet books. The Speaker of the Madras Legislative Assembly, S. Chellappandian, presided over the function in the Gokhale Hall, which was packed to capacity.

The Conference itself was inaugurated on April 26 at Rajaji Hall by Madras Finance Minister M. Bhaktavatsalam and addressed, among others, by the Mayor of Madras, G. Kuchelkar (who also gave a special reception in honour of the Soviet Ambassador and all the delegates to the ISCUS Conference).

## Six-Member Soviet Delegation

A six-member delegation, headed by the famous heart surgeon and Lenin Prize winner Professor B. V. Petrovsky, took an active part in the Conference.

# ISCUS RESOLUTION

The Sixth Conference of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society places on record its profound appreciation and gratitude to the Government and people of the Soviet Union for their continued friendship and co-operation in all fields, particularly during this period when India's integrity, sovereignty and basic policies have been so seriously threatened.

INDO-SOVIET friendship and cooperation have been of considerable significance for the national cause during these critical days.

As Prime Minister Nehru has rightly said in his Message to the Conference, the continuation of good relations between India and the Soviet Union, despite the strains put upon it, is an indication of the firm basis of the relations between these two countries.

The Conference warmly welcomes the Prime Minister's statement that "it is highly important both from the point of view of India and the Soviet Union that our contacts and relations should be close, friendly and cooperative," and that "from the larger point of view of international affairs, this is necessary."

The Conference welcomes in particular, the rapid growth in economic co-operation between India and the Soviet Union, and the new agreements for the vast expansion of trade and of economic assistance in the coming period for our 4th Plan. There is no important aspect of our national renaissance on which Indo-Soviet cooperation has not left its mark. Bhilai, Suratgarh, Ankleswar, Neyveli stand as living monuments to this cooperation. They are at the same time symbols of the India of tomorrow, of industrial advance and the final liquidation of all vestiges of the old colonial economy.

The 20 year programme of economic development of the USSR will bring still greater benefit to India and we can depend on the Soviet Union for ever increased cooperation. India and the Soviet Union have many common features in their foreign policies, the chief of these being uncompromising opposition to all forms of colonialism and devotion to peaceful co-existence and world peace.

The Conference firmly believes that Indo-Soviet friendship and cooperation have become a national necessity for the preservation of the basic policy of non-alignment and for the rapid independent economic development of our country.



A Russian doll for the Prime Minister at the Indian Industries Fair 1961-62

The new National Council is much wider in its composition than the previous one—it includes several of India's topmost cultural figures as well as other leading personalities, Members of Parliament and representatives of mass organisations.

Four Commissions—on Cultural Relations, on Economic Cooperation, on Scientific and Technical Cooperation and on the Teaching of Russian Language—worked out detailed programmes of activities.

Plans of work in India and in the Soviet Union during the coming year were exchanged between ISCUS and the visiting Soviet delegation.

Cultural programmes—Soviet films and a dance drama by Kumari Padma and her troupe were the highlights—drew huge crowds, as did every public function of the Conference.

Vast fields of activity have opened for ISCUS with the Madras Conference. The more clearly the work for Indo-Soviet friendship is seen as a national task, intimately and vitally connected with the struggle for the defence of national policies, the more will ISCUS grow as a movement of our entire people, widening and broadening with every day that passes.

General Secretary: Rajinder Singh Bedi.  
Secretaries: A. M. Shirali, H. S. Sandhu, Dilshad Chari and M. S. Balvaly.

## CPI Publications On

### QUESTIONS OF IDEOLOGY IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

- Booklet 1** Workers of All Countries Unite, Oppose Our Common Enemy  
People's Daily, 15 December 1962  
Strengthen Unity of the Communist Movement for the Triumph of Peace and Socialism  
Pravda, 7 January 1963  
50 nP
- 2** The Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us  
People's Daily, 31 December 1962  
Let Us Bring the Discussion Back to its Real Terms  
By Palmiro Togliatti  
The Struggle for Structural Reforms and its Revolutionary Significance  
By Luigi Longo  
50 nP
- 3** Let Us Unite on the Basis of Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement  
People's Daily, 27 January 1963  
For Marxist-Leninist Unity of the Communist Movement, for Cohesion of the Socialist Countries  
Pravda, 10 February 1963  
50 nP
- 4** Exchange of Messages between Central Committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China  
Cementing the Unity of the Communist Movement is our International Duty  
World Marxist Review, February 1963  
35 nP
- 5** The Cuba Crisis and the Struggle for World Peace  
Statement by CPUSA, 9 January 1963  
A Comment on the Statement of the CPUSA  
People's Daily, 8 March 1963  
25 nP
- 6** A Mirror for Revisionism  
Neither Revisionism nor Dogmatism is our Guide  
People's Daily 7 March 1963  
By S. A. Dange  
50 nP

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# NO MIDDLE ROAD BETWEEN PEACE AND WAR

## Khrushchov Tells Italian Newspaper "Giorno"

Of profound interest to all mankind are the replies given Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikita Khrushchov to questions put to him on April 20 by I. Plegra, Director of the Italian newspaper *Giorno*.

New Age gives below the answers to two of the most important of these questions, dealing with the most crucial problems of peace and peaceful coexistence.

—Editor

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**Question:** Several months ago after the turning point on the question of Cuba the world, which really experiences horror in face of war, has been following with great hope the lines of Kennedy and Khrushchov which seemed to be most suitable both as regards the Western and the Communist world for the defence of the peace and the attainment of the aims of peaceful coexistence. That is why extensive comments have recently been caused by rumours which emphasise certain new facts and certain new difficulties which have recently confronted the two leaders in their activity. What do you think of this anxiety which has become most tangible after so many hopes and in what realistic framework do you see the problem of Khrushchov's and Kennedy's difficulties in their corresponding worlds?

★

**Answer:** The liquidation of the crisis in the Caribbean indeed gave rise to mankind's great hopes for a turn in international relations from the cold war, fraught with the danger of an explosion, to a settlement of international disputes through negotiations. Unfortunately, these hopes are not being justified.

You say that public is worried over difficulties in solving outstanding problems. One cannot but agree with this. But the point, of course, is not some rumours about "difficulties that confronted the leaders," as you put it, but the fact that there are forces in the United States which continue the old policy from positions of strength.

They are trying to test, so to say, our resistibility, to pressurize us, striving to force on us decisions that are favourable to the West. We must openly state that such a course cannot lead to an easing of tensions and to an improvement of the international situation. This rampant campaign of the madmen in the United States that has been started against a sovereign state, the Republic of Cuba, the support that is rendered by certain quarters in the United States to the naval plunder and piracy in the Caribbean Sea are precisely a manifestation of this policy.

Take another question—the question of disarmament. If we are to be frank, the main efforts of the United States and its NATO partners are

aimed not at concluding a treaty on general and complete disarmament, but at the further intensification of the arms race, the creation of an aggressive NATO force. Only this can explain the fact that the 18-Nation Committee in Geneva is actively marking time and has not yet adopted a single decision, that would lead to an implementation of the programme of general and complete disarmament.

Even in such a question as the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests, the governments of the United States and Britain are making everything to hinder a positive outcome of the talks. As is known, in its time the Soviet Union declared its readiness to sign a nuclear test-ban treaty, and the control over such a treaty was to be effected by national means of detection. We believe, and scientists confirm this, that such means of control are quite sufficient.

The other side told us that it cannot sign the treaty because without agreement on the minimal number of on-the-spot inspections it would be allegedly impossible to talk the American Senate into ratifying this treaty. To speed up the solution of this question we decided to meet the position of the United States half-way and agreed to two or three inspections a year. We have done this with the sole aim of doing away with the remaining differences, for the sake of reaching agreement.

But no sooner had we accepted two or three inspections again raised the demand for 8-10 inspections a year, though responsible representatives of the United States in talks with Soviet representatives had said earlier that they would agree to 2-4 inspections a year.

Thus it turns out that no sooner had we met the United States half-way than it in effect renounced its own proposal. The American representatives in Geneva now mention the figure of seven inspections and pass this off as a big concession. But what concession can there be at issue when this is essentially the old United States' proposal and even a step backward?

The point, of course, is not that the US Senate is an unsurmountable barrier on the road to agreement but that certain American quarters would like under the guise of inspections to set up intelligence centres on Soviet terri-

tory. We cannot, of course, satisfy those circles whose demands are not prompted by the interests of international control but who pursue aims of espionage.

That is why we may now pose the question—shouldn't we also revert, as the United States did, to the former positions and withdraw our consent to the holding of two or three inspections a year since we are firmly convinced that national facilities are adequate to detect any nuclear tests.

And is it not characteristic of the position of the United States and the United Kingdom that the government of the United States continues tests in defiance of the decision of the United Nations General Assembly to stop all nuclear weapon tests as of January 1, 1963?

They are also continued by France, U. S. NATO ally.

If this is the Kennedy line you mentioned, it must be stated bluntly that such a course can only aggravate the international tension and not ease it. This conclusion is also confirmed by the situation which took shape on the question of the conclusion of a German peace treaty. For here too, the governments of the United States and Britain, in effect, obstruct a solution of this problem, lead matters to the maintenance of a hotbed of international tension in Europe.

Such are the difficulties standing in the way of a settlement of international problems.

### PROSPECTS OF ELIMINATING DIFFICULTIES EXIST

You ask about the prospects of eliminating these difficulties. Such prospects exist. They are the settlement, through talks of cardinal questions on which the liquidation of the existing tension depends. We all are living on earth, where two socio-economic systems exist, and we have nowhere to escape from the complicated but imperative business of settling disputed problems. If we want to preserve peace.

Talks, however, are a two-sided process. The initial position for them is the balance of forces, that has taken shape now on earth. And our Western partners in the talks must recognise this, once and for all in their approach to the problems of the German peace treaty, disarmament and other standing issues. Tension in the centre of Europe cannot be liquidated without the signing of a German peace treaty, and normalising on its basis the situation in West Berlin.

And without tranquillity in Europe there will be no tranquillity in the world. On the other hand, consolidation of peace in Europe, including a non-aggression pact be-

tween the countries of NATO and the Warsaw treaty nations would help achieve agreement on other cardinal questions, on which universal peace depends, and first of all problem of disarmament. Then mankind's hopes for a stable peace would not remain just hopes.

For in our time, when such devastating means of war have been created, there is no middle road between war and peace. The question stands this way: either search for agreed decisions and such a trend in the development of international relations that would lead to a genuine strengthening of peace, or an ever increasing aggravation of international tension, that will lead in the final count to thermonuclear war.

The future of the peoples depends on this choice. Our foreign policy is a policy of peace and we, Soviet people, do not spare work or efforts to achieve the great aim—save mankind from the horrors of thermonuclear war.

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**Question:** It seems it would now be legitimate to draw the conclusion that the world, if it wants to remain alive, must adapt politics to the demands of the atomic era, i.e. the necessity of peace. Can this be achieved without creating an atmosphere of complete confidence between the two blocs? Can one create an atmosphere of confidence, carrying through an international policy on the preatomic level of the old formula: "state interests." Party interests above anything else, the homeland above anything else, double-faced ethics, ends which justify the means and absolute discipline? Do you consider that the Communist Party of the USSR and its fraternal Parties have taken or are going to take big steps along this new road of the atomic era?

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**Answer:** Indeed, this is a legitimate conclusion: in our time, in the "atomic age," as you put it, the foreign policy of all states must proceed, as never before, from the interests of maintaining and strengthening peace.

The Soviet Government has not only more than once stressed the necessity of an international atmosphere of confidence for the successful pursuit of such a policy, but has also taken and is taking practical steps. Everyone knows the Soviet Union's specific proposals whose implementation would help to reduce tension and strengthen confidence between states.

And if you speak of the state interests of a country a correct understanding of these interests must undoubtedly and inevitably lead to the conclusion of the necessity of carrying through a policy of peace. Such a policy is in the interests of both the Soviet Union and Italy, is in the interests of all countries of the world.

The Communist Party of Soviet Union, like each Communist Party, is wholly and entirely guided by the interests of the people and that is precisely why the Communist Parties are in the forefront of the great struggle which is being waged for peace.

The representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties at their Moscow meeting in November 1960 stated that the Communists regard it as their historical mission not only to abolish exploitation and poverty on a worldwide scale and to exclude for ever the possibility of any war from the life of human society, but also in the present stage to deliver mankind from the nightmare of another world war. The Communist Parties of all countries dedicate all their strength and energy to the fulfilment of this great historic mission. And the communists are steadily following this road.

It is well known that on the initiative of the CPSU and the Soviet Government the question has been raised of general and complete disarmament as a radical way of safeguarding an enduring peace. The Soviet Union is persistently striving for a solution of the German problem and has initiated a whole series of other major proposals aimed at reducing international tension and averting war.

As you see, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all fraternal Parties do their utmost to safeguard an enduring peace. They have already taken and continue taking, to use your words, "big steps along the new road of the atomic era."

### U.S. WAY OF SECURITY

However, this cannot be said of the governments of the capitalist countries, the United States and its NATO allies, that continue operating according to the principle "the end justifies the means," and, in the full sense of the word, on the basis of "double-faced ethics."

They pay, for instance, lip service to international security while sending (evidently, in the order of "absolute discipline" at NATO) Polaris-carrying nuclear submarines to the ports of their allies, exposing those countries and the world to a deadly danger. Or they impose upon Canada obsolete anti-aircraft missiles Bomarc, cynically stating, as McNamara, the United States Defence Secretary did, that their installation on Canadian soil would divert Russian missiles from the United States, provoke a nuclear rocket blow at a neighbour and ally in order that slightly fewer missiles should hit their own territory.

In the light of such statement it would be logical to draw the conclusion that the standing of nuclear submarines, with nuclear-tipped Polaris missiles in the Mediterranean, for example, has the same aim of diverting a part of nuclear retaliatory blows onto one's allies.

What a touching "concern for allies." Such is the "morality" of the imperialists!

It is time to reject such "old formulas" on the preatomic level, to quote your expression. And the sooner the better.

The report by B. N. Ponomaryov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to the Anniversary Meeting in Moscow on the occasion of the 93rd birthday of V. I. Lenin, was a powerful exposition of the meaning of Leninism today. The last section of this report was devoted to the urgent question of the Leninist Unity of the Communist Movement. Below is given the text of this last section in full.

—Editor

**COMRADES,** the basis for solidarity of all democratic, progressive forces and the guarantee of the triumph of the international working class is the unity of the socialist countries, the unity of the world communist movement. Lenin taught Communists to go forward, in united ranks, firmly clasping one another by the hand, to consolidate in every way possible their militant international alliance in the struggle against capitalism, for the triumph of communism.

"Unless the proletariat, and following it, all the toiling masses of all countries and nations all over the world voluntarily strive for alliance and unity, the victory, the victory over capitalism cannot be successfully achieved"—this was how Lenin resolutely and strongly raised the question (Works, Vol. 31, p. 128).

International unity was absolutely necessary in an era when the working class was weaker than the bourgeoisie. But it is equally necessary today when the correlation of forces has changed radically in favour of the working class, because not only is the strength of the world proletariat growing but also its historical responsibility for the destinies of mankind, for civilisation and culture, for the happiness and life of tens and hundreds of millions of people.

## OUR ROAD ILLUMINATED BY LENIN

Pravda's leader on Lenin Day is an inspiring tribute to the powerful light of Leninism which guides all Communists. We give below an abridged version of the editorial, prepared by Novosti Press Agency:

April 22, 1963 marks the 93rd anniversary of Lenin's birthday. The hearts of working people throughout the world are filled with love for the great leader and teacher. Many generations dreamt of a just social system. Marx and Engels were the first in the history of revolutionary thought scientifically to substantiate the inevitable victory of socialism and communism over capitalism, to indicate the road of struggle and to see in the proletariat the main force of historical development. Lenin brilliantly evolved the theory of scientific communism in the new historical conditions and embodied it in revolutionary practice.

**THE** Communist Party founded by Lenin roused the people to the struggle against capitalism and led them to victory thereby ushering in an era of the triumph of socialism and communism. Under the leadership of the Leninist Party our people abolished, for the first time in history, exploitation of man by man, successfully accomplished Lenin's plan for building a socialist society and are now confidently advancing towards communism.

Every day brings fresh successes of Soviet people in the creation of a material and technical basis of communism. Last year alone more industrial produce was manufactured in the Soviet Union than during all prewar five-year plan periods. Socialist agriculture is also making rapid progress. In the course of communist construction the living standards of the Soviet people are steadily rising.

Communism is emerging not spontaneously but as the result of the creative activity of the people guided by the Leninist Party which clearly sees the goal and roads leading to it, which is equipped with the scientific knowledge of the laws of social evolution. The Communist Party, its Leninist Central Committee led by N. S. Khrushchov are carrying Marxist-Leninist teaching forward. The magnificent plan for building a

communist society—the new Programme adopted at the 22nd Party Congress—signifies a new stage in the development of the theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Proceeding from Lenin's dictums, the Party has put forward and is successfully carrying out the three great tasks—the building up of a material and technical basis of communism, the promotion of communist social relations and the moulding of a new man.

The Party resolutely fights for the purity of the Marxist-Leninist teaching and devotes tremendous attention to the communist education of the masses. It was with a feeling of great satisfaction that the Soviet people met the announcement on the coming CPSU Central Committee Plenary Meeting which will discuss the current tasks of the Party's ideological work. The significance of the Party's ideological activities grows immeasurably in the period of extensive communist construction. The forming of the communist world outlook of Soviet people takes place in the process of an irreconcilable struggle against the survivals of the past and against hostile bourgeois ideology. Implementing unwaveringly the Leninist principles of guidance of the ideological life, our Party comes out against the injurious idea of the peaceful coexistence of two ideologies, socialist and

# LENINISM IS OUR BANNER AND ALL-CONQUERING WEAPON

## Ponomaryov's Report

This means that the more victories won by communism, and the nearer the end of the capitalist system, the closer should the alliance of the world army of Communists be. The Leninist principle of proletarian internationalism presupposes that each Communist Party should in deeds fight for the unity of the world communist movement. True champions of Leninism cherish the solidarity of the communist movement and constantly work to further consolidate it.

The 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement adopted by the Moscow meetings of representatives of the fraternal Parties, are the militant programme of all Communists of the world. If Marx, Engels and Lenin were alive, they undoubtedly would have said: "Our followers have worked out the proper course. Keep to it, and you will win new great victories." The CPSU is unwaveringly implementing all the principles contained in the documents of the Moscow meetings.

The communist movement is developing and growing stronger while waging the struggle against reactionary forces, against diverse opportunist trends—revisionists, dogmatists and sectarians, nationalists, Rightwing capitalist and "Left" adventurists. V. I. Lenin was irremediably towards revisionism.

However, every time when "Left" opportunism appeared as a serious danger, Lenin warned that if a determined offensive is not launched against "Left" absurdities, the whole movement will be doomed. This is my profound conviction" (Vol. 32, p. 444, Russian Edition). Under present-day conditions "Left" opportunism is no less dangerous than revisionism. The resolute struggle which is being waged by the CPSU against right and left deviations, against nationalism, is the most important factor for strengthening unity in the ranks of the international communist movement.

The truth never was and never will be with those who attempt to drag the communist movement into the Right-opportunist quagmire or push it onto the road of dangerous ultra-revolutionary fireworks, but is always with those who steadfastly follow the Marxist-Leninist road. This is the only true road which leads to the triumph of communism!

Of course, different approaches can arise in the communist movement towards one or another problem of world development. However, a comparison of opinions should be conducted within the framework of an agreed general policy, should facilitate the strengthening of the unity of the communist movement. Many battles against the forces of capitalism and reaction still lie ahead. The communist movement as never before is in need of unity, unity and once again unity based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

**IN THE INTEREST OF COMMUNIST MOVEMENT**

The strength of our Party and of all the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties is in their loyalty to Marxism-Leninism. The Communist Parties which exist in 90 countries of the world have in their ranks 42.5 million fighters for people's happiness, and these fighters struggle and win holding aloft Lenin's banner.

Our each step is illuminated by the bright light of Lenin's genius. Under Lenin's glorious banner and with the wise guidance of the Leninist Communist Party our people are confidently marching to communism, mankind's great goal.

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that all the strength of the Communists should be turned, against whom all their ideological batteries be trained. Loyalty to Leninism obliges fraternal parties to take into account common interests, always to consider the influence of their steps on the activities of other Marxist-Leninist Parties, especially when this matter concerns problems common to all.

Communist Parties in many countries are waging their struggle in increasingly hard conditions. This heroic battle against imperialism and reaction for the interests of the working people does not stop for a day. Thousands of Communists are languishing in fascist dungeons in Spain and Portugal, in prisons and death camps of Greece, Western Germany, Argentina, Peru, Venezuela, Paraguay, Thailand and other countries. Recently, new severe blows fell upon the valiant Communist Parties of Iraq and Spain. Our comrades-in-arms Julian Grimau and Hussein Al-Radhawi died the death of heroes, killed by the atrocious reaction.

Neither tortures, nor executions, however, can break the courage of Communists. What gives them strength, what makes it possible for them to overcome all difficulties, privations, and hardships connected with the revolutionary struggle?

### COURAGE CANNOT BE BROKEN

Leninism, its historical truth confirmed by the victorious experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, by the experience of the world communist movement. More and more fighters took the place of the fallen, the ranks of the great Leninist army are growing and expanding all over the world.

The ringleaders of the imperialist camp are trying to bar the way to communism by police clubs and bullets. Politically blinded, they do not understand that communism is so deeply rooted that no repressions can help to hamstring it.

The social foundation of the capitalist world is corroded and undermined; it is torn by internal contradictions which grow inevitably sharper. All the modern revolutionary forces have risen against it. Communists are boldly and confidently marching ahead, aware that the future, as V. I. Lenin taught "belongs to them in any case."

All the major events of our epoch irrefutably testify that history develops according to Lenin—in the direction of communism. One third of mankind is already socialist. The sun of Leninism is rising higher over our planet.

Celebrating Lenin's birthday and the triumphant march of his ideas, the Soviet people and the masses in all countries feel the influx of vigorous forces for their future battle for the triumph of Leninism.

Long live Leninism, an all-conquering weapon of the working class in the struggle for peace and communism!



BERLIN, April 28.—The most unhappy people in the post-war era in Europe would have now a sigh of relief. The old fox is getting out. Over the opposition of Chancellor Adenauer, his Christian Democratic Party nominated on April 23 Bonn Economic Minister Dr. Ludwig Erhard as Adenauer's successor. 87 year old Konrad who had clung to power in Bonn like a leech since 1949 would at last get out in October or November this year.

ADENAUER'S writ ran in the Federal Government with occasional feeble challenges all these years without any break since the formation of the Federal Republic of Germany.

When he gets out now he will have a big scar on him of a major defeat in Parliament over the pipe embargo issue against the Soviet Union, where he could not ensure a majority and had shamefacedly to retreat, walking out from Parliament, an event unheard of in the history of a ruling party.

In the last lap of his political career it is significant that the man who brutally suppressed the opposition broke his strength, knocking against the mighty steel pipes of gigantic construction of the world socialist system. This was a bitter defeat for Adenauer as was admitted by his closest associates.

What prompted the majority of the Christian Democratic Party (CDU) after 13 years of Chancellorship of Adenauer to take a position against him now? Some people say, he is too old. But the truth is that the older he grew the more he wanted to rule. However, his health and old age was not a

point of discussion in the CDU Parliamentary Party which voted against his will.

The rebellion against Adenauer began over some policy issues, for the Adenauer course has proved to be a failure. It would be a mistake to think an alternative path for peace and reasonable coexistence would be accepted by his successor.

### TEMPORARY SATISFACTION

Removal of Adenauer would give temporary satisfaction for the people who agitated for ending his regime. Western papers are tomtomming Adenauer's era has ended. There is no reason to believe Dr. Erhard would follow a policy quite different from Adenauer in foreign and internal affairs.

Adenauer is the scapegoat of West German monopolists now. The CDU leadership also wanted to create an impression that a new era is going to begin for the West Germans with the exit of Adenauer.

Adenauer's policy has brought quite a great disaster to

# NOT THE END OF ADENAUER ERA

★ FROM P. KUNHANANDAN

the German people and the CDU.

First of all, the recent election results in the Rhineland and West Berlin and the 'opinion-poll' has shown to the CDU leaders that Adenauer leadership has caused considerable loss of influence among the people.

The major electoral defeat of the CDU was due to the fact that large parts of West German population, even though not quite clearly, has begun to think that Adenauer Government has led West Germany into an absolutely blind alley. The conception of conquering the GDR by force with the NATO army once for all proved an illusion when on August 13, 1961, the Berlin anti-fascist Defence Wall was erected.

With the Wall and the tremendous growth of the GDR, more intelligent among the bourgeois politicians have to admit that the GDR has come to stay and some kind of recognition of the reality is necessary.

Secondly, West Germany was the only State in the world which based its internal and foreign policy on the theory

that "the second world war has not yet ended" (former War Minister Strauss). Adenauer pushed the country from cold war to an insane arms race for continuation of "thirty year war against the Soviet Union", for Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals and recovery of lost German territories in Poland and Czechoslovakia and civil war against the GDR.

The bill for all this madness is to be paid by the people. An armament budget, the highest in Europe, has made the West German budget for the first time into a serious deficit budget. There is mounting distrust among European peoples on West Germany getting the atom bomb through the NATO.

Thirdly, the West German economic "miracle" has come to an end. Adenauer's narrow-minded trade policy and the Halsteine Doctrine, which threatened independent States with diplomatic ruptures and stopping aid and the boundless greed of large

monopolies for super-profit supported by Adenauer and Erhard has led to the failure of the so-called economic miracle.

From temptation of a miracle economy, Adenauer and Erhard are exhorting West Germans to be "moderate in consumption." The compulsion of a retrogression has set in now.

After curtailing democratic rights defined in the constitution and suppressing revolutionary forces, Adenauer resorted to legislations to give emergency powers to his Government. When these emergency powers are given the Government can further hit the civil rights of the people leading to fascist regimentation of social life.

These autocratic measures have intensified all contradictions in West Germany. Trade unions and influential liberal circles resented this move. The process was further accentuated with the attack on the news magazine *Der Spiegel* which led to a serious Government crisis.

### PRICE OF AUTOCRACY

The price paid by Adenauer for this attack on the freedom of the press was very severe. His closest associate and his Minister Strauss had to be dropped from the Cabinet following powerful publication demonstration, party splits.

The Franco-German War Pact credited as the greatest achievement of Adenauer, has brought back to the mind of people, the fear of the dreadful days of Hitler-Mussolini axis and war. The pro-American wing of the ruling bourgeoisie too, resented this narrow "union" within the NATO.

The Parliament ratification of this War Pact will be possible only if Adenauer agrees to add a new preamble to the pact ratification of fidelity to the United States and European Union.

The logical conclusion of all these extremist Hitlerite policies was the complete isolation of West Germany from the democratic world and suspicion and irritation in Kennedy administration. The Kennedy administration wants West Germany to fall in line with its European policy.

Unfortunately, the democratic movement in West Germany is not powerful enough now to bring into existence a Government that would follow a policy of peace and coexistence desired by the people. That is why it is felt that the Adenauer era would not end with the exit of Adenauer.

The leading circles in West Germany, the militarists and the monopolists and the clergy want no change in the former policies because a realistic programme would remove them from their positions and vested interests.

Bokaro Steel project. Rest assured. So we thought.

We awaited anxiously for the Report on Bokaro. The seven-volume Bokaro Feasibility report at least was submitted simultaneously in Washington and New Delhi. Only an official summary is available.

There are complementary comments galore about Indian personnel's congenital inability to handle machines, danger of breakdown of machines which Uncle Sam would supply etc., in this experts' report and thereas one said the other day, India hasn't responded with even the minimum gratitude.

Bokaro report, meticulously prepared by Uncle Sam's experts says that at the first stage the plant will not be profitable. It will only become so at the second stage when the plant will be in full production. The total investment, it is assessed, will be about 92 crore dollars. The share of Uncle Sam will be about 51 crore dollars.

And then comes Bell's ding dong. The Director of the Agency for International Development, David Bell (He is a VIP of Uncle Sam) announces after studying the Bokaro report, well, chums—good report; lot of questions answered and lot of questions raised. Hence our decision is—postpone decision to Indian government's request for a loan of 51 crore dollars for Bokaro indefinitely!!! Quite interesting, ain't it?

—CHARVAK

# No Amendment Of Article 311

## Fourteen MP's Seek Prime Minister's Intervention

The proposed amendment of Article 311 of the Constitution has been rightly construed by the government employees and the trade union organisations in our country as a further attack on the rights of the government employees. Apart from the trade union organisations which have very sharply criticised this move of the government, several members of Parliament expressed their apprehensions in a letter they wrote to Prime Minister a few days ago. The amendment bill will come up before Lok Sabha for discussion by the week-end it is learnt. The MP's have requested the Prime Minister to intervene in the matter. The Prime Minister referred the letter to the Law Minister

speech moving the Amendment Bill on December 8, 1962 and during his observations in the Joint Committee, the Law Minister emphasised that the purpose of the amendment is only to take away the employee's "constitutional right of asking for two separate sets of trials". He stated: "The purpose is to eliminate two enquiries; not two opportunities."

The Law Minister's assertion raises two important questions: (1) Whether the Supreme Court judgment interprets the present constitutional provision as one which necessitates two enquiries and whether the Law Minister's interpretation of the Supreme Court judgment is correct; (2) Whether the proposed amendment will only eliminate two separate sets of trials and not take away the two opportunities?

The judgment of the Supreme Court in the case of Khemchand not only does not state that there should be two enquiries, but unequivocally lays down that the reasonable opportunity conferred upon the employee by Article 311 envisages only one enquiry. We give below the relevant extract from the judgment:

"To summarise: the reasonable opportunity envisaged by the provision (Article 311) under consideration includes:

(a) an opportunity to deny his guilt and establish his innocence which he can only do if he is told what the charges levelled against him are and the allegations on which such charges are based;

(b) an opportunity to defend himself by cross-examining the witnesses produced against him by examining himself or any other witnesses in support of his defence; and finally,

(c) an opportunity to make his representation as to why the proposed punishment should not be inflicted on him, which he can only do if the competent authority, after the enquiry is over and after applying his mind to the gravity or otherwise of the charges proved against the Government servant tentatively proposes to inflict one of the three punishments and communicates the same to the Government servant."

Thus the Supreme Court has clearly laid down that there will be only one enquiry. The Law Minister at no stage gave any extract from this or any other judgment of the Supreme Court to support his theory about two trials.

All the three eminent jurists who gave evidence before the Joint Committee disagreed with the Law Minister and categorically stated

that the Supreme Court at no stage has stated that the existing provision would require two trials. Permit us to give brief extracts from their statements:

M. C. Setalvad: "I do not think any Court has held that the second opportunity involves a right of cross-examination. All that the Courts have held is that on an occasion when a certain punishment is decided upon, the servant should be told what the proposed punishment is and he should be given an opportunity of making a representation against the proposed action, which means that, being furnished with the report of the Inquiry Officer and what the Government proposed to do, he can make another representation to Government, which the Government may consider and then finally decided as to what punishment they are going to give him."

Purshottam Trikandis: "... the second opportunity is not a fresh inquiry at all."

S. T. Desai: "In practice there has never been the duality of enquiry. I can assure you this from a number of cases that have come before me..."

The apprehension about duality of enquiry and waste of

time and energy etc. is unfounded."

It is also relevant to point out that the Supreme Court in the Khemchand case had this to say about the two opportunities: "There is, as the Solicitor-General fairly concedes, no practical difficulty in following this procedure of giving some assurance to the officer concerned that the competent authority maintains an open mind with regard to him..."

All the three eminent jurists who gave evidence before the Joint Committee, emphatically stated that the present provision should be retained.

As a matter of fact, the Law Minister himself felt the force of the arguments put forward by the eminent jurists and took the position that "the law can be made clear on this point" and that "a resettlement (of the law) is not so useless". This seems to be a curious stand to be taken by the Law Minister.

For one thing, the existing provision needs no clarification as it has already been unequivocally clarified by the Supreme Court. Secondly, the idea of amending the Constitution to "restate the law" seems to be strong. Thirdly, what the amendment seeks is not to restate the existing provision. The amendment takes away a substantial part of the opportunity which the present provision confers on the employee. If the amendment is carried out, the employee will not get the opportunity to plead his innocence or plead for a lesser punishment on the basis of the report of the enquiry and he will not also have the chance to show extenuating circumstances. The Law Minister hinted that the rules pro-

vide for the representation about extenuating circumstances.

But it is obvious that once the provision in the Constitution is amended, the rules may also be amended and that the rules, without the legal force given by the constitutional provision, will not serve the purpose.

We may point out here that eleven members of the Joint Committee have submitted notes of dissent and have pleaded for the retention of the existing provision. The Working Committees of the INTUC, the AITUC and the HMS have disapproved of the proposed amendment and have pleaded for dropping it. All the Associations of the Government employees in the Railways, Defence, P&T, Audit & Accounts, Civil Aviation, Income-Tax and other departments have held meetings and appealed to the Government to drop the amendment. It has also been pointed out by them that if the Government's purpose is to dispose of corruption cases quickly, there is already a special provision in the Constitution under which such cases can be dealt with.

The Government employment has magnificently responded to your inspiring call and have donated liberally and worked very hard for the mobilisation of all resources for the defence of the country. They are particularly disturbed over the feeling that this amendment which vitally cuts at the root of security of service is being pushed through during the emergency. It is our most earnest submission that the proposed amendment is undesirable from all points of view and that in the present situation at any rate it should not be pressed.

(April 26)

## Under Uncle Sam's Umbrella

NATO is a body of Uncle Sam's Creation.

THE treaty setting up NATO was signed on April 4, 1949. NATO now has fifteen members—the United States, Canada, Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, Denmark, Norway, Iceland, Greece, Portugal and Turkey.

The senior military authority in NATO is the Military Committee in Washington.

Forces assigned to NATO in peacetime include six US, three British, two French, two Belgian and two Dutch divisions. West Germany provides the largest contingent—nine divisions totalling 180,000 men.

The NATO Supreme Commander, General Lyman L. Lemnitzer is an American, like all his predecessors. So is the Supreme Allied Commander of Atlantic, Admiral Robert L. Dennison.

Many ex-Hitler officers already hold key NATO jobs. They include: General Adolf Heusinger, former Chief of Operations on Hitler's General Staff, now chairman of the NATO Standing Group in Washington; General Hans Speldi, former Chief of Staff in Occupied France, now Commander of NATO Land Forces, Central Europe; Admiral Gerhard Wagner, former Chief of Operations Department of Naval Warfare leadership under Hitler, new Commander of NATO Naval Forces in Baltic Approaches. Uncle Sam likes Hitler-Generals appreciably well.

NATO has built over 220 airfields, many around the borders of the socialist countries. It has laid 5,000 miles of fuel pipelines for military use and over 25,000 miles of radio links.

In wartime NATO forces would total six million men; other forces would include 630 long-range nuclear bombers, 450-500 inter-continental ballistic missiles and 250 medium-range missiles.

This is the shape of NATO. Have a look at close ranges nearer Uncle Sam's homeland. The warlords of USA have decided to "sell" some obsolete "Bomarc" missiles to Canada. The controversy whether to accept it or not figured prominently in the recent elections in Canada.

The whole idea to impose such missiles, according to US Defence Secretary McNamara is that the installation of these missiles on Canadian soil will divert the Russian missiles from homing on to the United States.

He thinks through this method lesser number of missiles would hit the United States. Quite an interesting way of trying to save one's skin by exposing the neighbour to a mortal danger but that after all is Uncle Sam's philosophy of life.

Let us look at Uncle Sam's bounty in relation to

our own country, about which the CR-Ranga-Kamath-etc., etc., and Company shout hoarse day in and day out.

Incidentally, these are the gentlemen who tirelessly advocate in favour of India's seeking shelter under the uncle's umbrella to meet the Chinese menace.

They trot out time and again the benefits which India is enjoying through "generous" aid. In return, as one said the other day, India hasn't responded with even the minimum gratitude.

Therefore let us take that 'aid' programme business of Uncle Sam, Bokaro project for example, which has already been sufficiently delayed in relation to Third Plan targets.

Bokaro project is a unique combination of Reports. There is above all the Clay report. Then the experts' report and shall I say, finally the tallpiece: Bell report. How interesting it is to watch the process of Uncle Sam's softening up of the aid recipient countries.

Clay, a General of the Armed Forces, in his report said that Uncle Sam could not aid Indian Government's those projects which compete with existing private undertakings. Uncle Sam believes only in free enterprise. One lone professor dashed up to ally our growing apprehension: Clay report won't affect

# MAY DAY MANIFESTO OF THE W.F.T.U.

The World Federation of Trade Unions has issued the following May Day Appeal to the men and women workers the world over:

THE World Federation of Trade Unions sends you its most cordial greetings on the occasion of International Labour Day.



Thanks to your vigilance and militancy, your growing unity and the international solidarity you have repeatedly and magnificently displayed during this past year of great mass struggles. May Day 1963 will crown the great achievements against the forces of reaction and war, against imperialism and colonialism.

In many countries in Europe, Asia, Latin America and even in the United States these united struggles have, on several occasions, blocked the policy of the monopolies against the living standards of the workers and have helped win substantial demands and often new rights, and consolidate class brotherhood, as in France, Japan and Italy. These numerous struggles and their results have confirmed the correct orientation of the Programme of Trade Union Action adopted by the Fifth Congress.

On this May Day 1963, we address our especially warm greetings to the valiant

Spanish workers in their struggle for freedom and social progress. We greet and congratulate the workers of the socialist countries who are successfully building socialism in their countries. But while celebrating our victories, we cannot forget that our class enemy is still placing numerous and grave obstacles in the way of peace and social progress.

Colonial forces are continuing their criminal manoeuvres in South Vietnam and Angola. Working together, the monopolies and the governments in their service, both within and outside the European Economic Community, using the pretext of international competition, are attempting to freeze wages, suppress or restrict trade union rights, prevent a reduction of working hours and set the workers of different countries against each other.

—peace and general and complete disarmament; —the complete eradication of colonialism! Divided, we weaken our forces! United, we proceed faster towards the fulfilment of our aspirations for a better life and peace. LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR SOLIDARITY! LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL DAY OF THE WORKERS! WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE!



## Latin America III

# U. S. Domination Prevents Development

★ By Lajpat Rai

Before the war, there was a certain amount of manufacturing in Latin America consisting of foodstuffs, beverages, textiles and some other consumer goods, building materials and processing operations. The goods manufactured were meant for local consumption.

MANUFACTURING has continued to expand since the war mainly with the help of foreign capital. The value of industrial output increased by about 30 per cent between 1945 and 1950, by 28 per cent between 1950 and 1955 and 8 per cent between 1955 and 1957. Manufacturing now contributes about 18 per cent of the gross product of the region as compared with 23 per cent contributed by agriculture.

According to the UN Economic Commission for Latin America, the percentage for agriculture, industry etc. in the gross product of the region in 1957 was:

	per cent
Agriculture	23.3
Industry	19.7
Construction	3.4
Mining	3.5
Transport & Communications	8.4
Others	39.7

The same report further states that well over half the total output of manufactures comes from light industries producing consumer goods; 32 per cent is foodstuffs and beverages; 18 per cent textiles; 7 per cent footwear and clothing.

Regarding heavy industries, the region produced some 3.5 million tons of ingot steel, about half its consumption. It also produced limited steel products of simple type such as rails, tinplates, etc. It is well to remember that at the end of the Third Plan, India an underdeveloped country, will be producing near about ten million tons of steel, as compared with 3.5 million tons produced by 20 Latin American countries.

### Low Industrial Growth

The low consumption of steel, nearly 7 million tons in the entire region, shows the lack of development of the economy as steel consumption is one of the important indices of economic development. Moreover, most of the steel produced in the region is being produced by foreign capital.

The industrial growth is also being held up by an out-dated semi-feudal agricultural set up, which permits little use of agricultural machinery, creates terrible poverty among the mass of the people, thereby restricting effective demand inside the country.

Thus, land relations in Latin America, as everywhere else, where such relations persist, have become an unsurmountable obstacle in the way of industrial development. No wonder Castro's revolutionary Government decided to quickly smash the old land tenure system in Cuba.

Exports: Trade pattern of a country can significantly reveal the character of its economy. Latin America, according to ECLA report, exports

over 15 per cent of its total output. This is a very high proportion. The corresponding percentage is 5 for India and even less for China. Secondly, exports are nearly all primary products.

The Economic Commission for Latin America in its report gives the following data:

Country	Exports Imports
Bolivia	59 46
Brazil	47 37
Chile	41 52
Columbia	71 61
Costa Rica	52 55
Cuba (1959-60)	58 71
Guatemala	69 67
Honduras	64 68
Mexico	77 77
Panama	97 59

Percentage of value of gross exports at the 1956 prices

Commodity	Percentage
Oil	28
Coffee	23
Sugar	10
Cotton	9
Meat & Hides	4
Wool	4
Grains	4
Copper	4
Zinc, lead, tin, nitrates, bauxite	4
Cocoa	4
Bananas	4
Other commodities	6

Thus, you have here a great region comprising of twenty countries exporting only foodstuffs and raw materials and no manufactured or semi-manufactured goods, which it imports in large quantities from outside, mainly from the USA.

**Single Commodity Export**  
Moreover, most of the countries rely mainly or entirely on the export of a single commodity which provides sometimes anything from 50 to 80 per cent of their export earnings. Clearly the prices obtained for these exports are of greatest importance to these countries as they are the major factor determining the extent to which they are prosperous or depressed.

During the first decade after the war, the prices of most commodities (except grains) were relatively high and most of them were given a sharp, though a temporary stimulus by the Korean War of 1950-51. Recently, however, the prices of a number of commodities have fallen and the prospects for the next few years are not so bright.

It imports food and drinks, chemicals and products, machinery and machine parts, electrical apparatus, textiles, shoes, vehicles, ships and aircraft, fuels and lubricants, chemicals and pharmaceuticals, transport equipment, etc. Some of the countries import even food from USA or Canada, a commodity which they themselves can produce at a comparative advantage.

Writing about Cuba, a Cuban economist had the following to say in relation to trade with United States:

"We even bought from them agricultural products that our land was in a better position to produce than theirs. A typical kind of colonial relationship had been created between our two countries. We supplied them raw materials for their indus-

try; at the same time we remained a market for their industrial products. We were paid dollars for our sugar, sometimes over and above the international price. But these dollars were not used to foster new industries in Cuba. They all flew back to United States as payment for imports."

Latin American trade is dominated by the United States as is evidenced by the following table constructed from International Monetary Fund statistical abstract:

This trade is a typical colonial type trade—exporting raw materials, importing industrial goods and that mainly to one dominating country.

Latin American trade with socialist countries is extremely small. In 1955 it accounted for less than 300 million US dollars—under 2 per cent of the total turnover of the region and was even smaller in 1956 and 1957.

Latin American stands to gain much by trading with socialist countries which can be good buyers of its products, but the political impediments put by the United States stand in the way. However, there is a general desire in the region for diversification of market and sources of supply.

Thus, we complete the picture of Latin American economy, my with a feudal agriculture, undeveloped industries and a speculative trade pattern—all the features of a colonial economy. On top of this, we see another important hurdle in the way of the development of Latin American countries, viz., that of American economic imperialism. We shall discuss this in our next article.

## Indian Reaction On War-path

★ FROM PAGE 5

chauntistic elements who seek to split the nation can daunt the Indian Communists, the courageous sons of their people. They have the experience of decades of heroic struggle against alien imperialism, colonial jails and penal servitude, struggle for the vital interests of India's sovereignty. The Communist Party alone really speaks for the aspirations of the Indian people.

The chauvinistic atmosphere enabled the reactionaries and their Western patrons to create temporary confusion among the patriotic forces, especially those under the influence of the Indian National Congress. It is no chance accident that the country's biggest and most influential party did not take timely steps to rebuff reaction's subversive activities.

But the ultra-Right failed to achieve their main aim—to compel India renounce her independent peaceful policy and join aggressive military blocs, to undermine India's friendship with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and to split Afro-Asian solidarity.

### Cessation of Hostilities

The ceasefire and the hopes for a peaceful settlement of the Indian-Chinese conflict, made it possible for the proponents of neutralism and independent foreign policy to uphold their policy more resolutely and consistently than at the height of the conflict. Prime Minister Nehru has time and again stressed that for India it would be a mistake to give up the policy of non-alignment and that any policy different from that followed by India at present would be a calamity for the country.

The cessation of hostilities in the Himalayas will pave the way for all the patriots of India, irrespective of their party affiliation, to unite once again in support of peace and non-alignment, in a struggle for economic independence and democratic institutions.

with the Soviet Union" (re-translated from the Russian). The early settlement of the Indian-Chinese conflict would facilitate the solution of India's economic problems. This conflict has caused damage to her economic development, for it has increased expenditure on defence and the military enterprises, which had been manufacturing civilian goods, again began to produce arms.

The Indian example showed world public opinion that the policy of anti-communism, on whatever pretext, plays into the hands of imperialism and reaction and, consequently, imperils the independence of young sovereign states and contradicts the interests of all anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist forces, including the national bourgeoisie.

Early and full settlement of the border conflict will help bridge the reactionary elements, create favourable conditions for the unity of all democratic and patriotic forces on a nation-wide scale, and serve to strengthen world peace.

This struggle will naturally be difficult and complicated, all the more so since there are quite a few opponents of positive neutralism within the National Congress itself. This was revealed, for instance, by the statement by D. Sanjivayya, the Congress President, who asked the Congress members opposing the government's policy and supporting the reactionary elements in their attacks on the country's foreign policy to resign from the Congress.

The Indian government's neutralist policy accords with the people's national interests. The Soviet Union's stand on the Indian-Chinese dispute is dictated by its love of peace and conviction that all controversial issues should be settled peacefully.

"The 45 years of the Soviet Union's experience," N. S. Khrushchev said, "show us that there are no border disputes which, given good will, cannot be solved without resorting to arms. It is from this position that Soviet people assess the developments on the Chinese-Indian frontier."

Indian progressives highly appreciate the Soviet Union's stand and work for still closer friendship between the two countries. Addressing the Congress parliamentary party on December 10, 1962, Prime Minister Nehru said: "Our actions must not be allowed to prejudice our friendly relations

NEW DELHI: All the Opposition groups in the Lok Sabha joined in a walk out on Wednesday after the House had divided and voted to pass the clause in the Constitution (Fifteenth) Amendment Bill, amending Article 311 of the Constitution, which guaranteed the right of government employees to be heard for a second time before penal action is taken against them. The Bill was passed in the almost complete absence of the Opposition.

THUS a most thoughtless and undemocratic amendment has been written into our Constitution, only because the government would not listen to the repeated pleas from trade unions, eminent lawyers and members of Parliament, including members of the Congress Party, not to tamper with this fundamental right of the government employees enshrined in the Constitution of the land. (See also page 11.)

During the entire discussion in the Lok Sabha on the Constitution (Fifteenth) Amendment Bill, the Opposition tried its best to persuade the Law Minister to agree to retain the original provision in the Constitution. They pointed out that there was no need to amend the Article, and that the Supreme Court decision does not go against the Article as it is.

But Law Minister Asoke Sen maintained that the original Article had given rise to the feeling that even after the first enquiry, a second enquiry had to be conducted before action is taken. His

# OPPOSITION WALKS OUT: ART. 311 AMENDMENT PASSED

★ FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

position was that the amendment was necessary to dispel this impression.

A highlight of the discussion was the former Defence Minister V. K. Krishna Menon's scathing criticism of the amendment. Speaking on the Bill in the Lok Sabha on Tuesday, Menon said that the amendment would take away from a government servant "the modicum of liberty which he enjoyed even in the days of British rule." Menon termed the amendment as an "inroad into individual rights."

Among others who gave expression to the fears and anxieties of government employees on the amendment were Homi Daji and S. M. Banerjee, as well as a number of others from various Opposition groups. Daji said that the amendment would whittle down whatever protection Article 311 gave to government employees against injustice or victimisation.

Law Minister Asoke Sen introduced an amendment to the amending clause in the Bill which sought to ensure that if a penalty was proposed to be imposed on an employee after an enquiry, he shall be given "a reasonable opportunity of making representation on the penalty proposed" but only on the basis of the evidence adduced during the enquiry. While this was welcomed, still it was pointed out by many members that it would not go far to remedy the evil of the amendment to Article 311.

During the final reading of the Bill, speakers from every Opposition group as well as Congress members Amarnath Vidyalankar, again pleaded with the Law Minister to desist from the move to amend Article 311. Members recalled the patriotic response of government employees to the challenge of emergency and deplored government's move to take away their rights now. The House was reminded that such a Bill was being passed on May

Day, a sacred day for the working class everywhere.

Prabhat Kar said that Article 311 had given certain fundamental rights to civil employees who have not the rights under industrial legislations. There is no need to amend the Article.

Amarnath Vidyalankar said that the amendment moved by the Law Minister on giving reasonable opportunity of representation to the employees before penalty is imposed on him would still not satisfy. The

amendment of Article 311 would create, he said, a situation when attitude of officers would become stiffened and this would adversely affect employees.

Asoke Sen in his reply clashed with Krishna Menon, as the latter interrupted the Minister to say that what he had meant when he criticised the move was that it will remove Constitutional safeguards. Asoke Sen contended that the Menon's fears were "completely unfounded."

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## MAY DAY IN DELHI



May Day meeting at New Age Press. Photo: J. Ballabh

## C.D.S. BILL ...

★ FROM BACK PAGE

Sinha openly using his whip on party members against the motion — for which he received an admonition from the Speaker and brought the whole Opposition on his head — the House divided and voted 76 for the motion and 125 against. The entire Opposition and a large number of Congress members voted for the motion.

The victory for the government was illusory. The open division in Congress ranks and the feeling of bitterness at the stiff-neckedness of a Minister refusing to submit to the wishes of such a large number of members in the House belonging to all parties meant moral defeat for the government. When, therefore, Morarji made

before. It was like a child having cried for a doll and got it after a rebuke. It played with the doll for a while and threw it away.

The opposition to the scheme of Compulsory Deposits remained to the very last. The critics of the Bill sought relief to the lower income groups, the peasantry, salaried employees, shop keepers, etc. There were also grave misgivings about the repercussions of the scheme on the rural population and about the machinery to collect compulsory deposits.

But government would not change its mind. Morarji, in the end, accepted an Opposition member's amendment to reduce the penalty for non-payment of the deposit to half the amount of deposit due from the defaulter. The original provision in the Bill had fixed the penalty equal to the amount of deposit.

## Italian Communists' Victory

★ FROM FRONT PAGE

Italian Communists have put forward concrete policies which would put an end to the anti-people and anti-democratic measures of the Christian Democrats.

The ruling Christian Democrats claim that their Government is Centre-Left because of the support they had from the Nenni Socialists. But already before the elections, many in the Socialist Party wondered if the Christian Democrats were turning "Left", as they claimed, or actually Right.

After the elections, the Socialist Party must make up its mind. Nenni has stated that the period of cooperation with the Christian Democrats is at an end. But the Socialist Party Congress will have to decide its future course, now in the light of the election results.

On domestic issues, the

The Christian Democrats do not enjoy an absolute majority. The question is: Will the Socialist Party abandon its anti-Communism to join hands with the Communist Party in the Italian Parliament, for a policy of peace and people's well-being?

The victory of the Italian Communist Party is a victory of the Italian working class. Communists all over the world rejoice, the workers of all lands are proud and happy.

New Age wishes still greater successes to the Italian Communist Party, ever more victories for the cause which the Communists of the whole world, at the working class of the world cherish—peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

(May 2)

NEW AGE

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# NATURE'S RAVAGES ADD TO PEOPLE'S MISERIES

SHILLONG, April 28

The unfortunate state of Assam has once again fallen a victim of nature's wrath. This time it is a cyclone. With a monstrous sweep it blew over an area of about fifteen square miles of the western district of the state. According to reports reaching here, the terrible storm lasted for only a few minutes; but the devastation it caused has been terrible.

THE number of houses totally destroyed by nature's fury is yet to be fully assessed. As many as 108 deaths of human beings have so far been officially confirmed, but unofficial sources put the death toll at 300. The number of persons injured is estimated at about two thousand and not a few of them are so grievously injured that, according to physicians, it might take a few months before they are fit. Many of the injured who have since been hospitalised have lost some of their limbs and even if they survive, they will remain permanently crippled.

No less severe has been the loss of domestic animals, including cattle. Those who visited some of the devastated areas report that over vast tracts of land carcasses are lying scattered and it is next to impossible to make an assessment of the total loss of domestic animals.

The devastating gale that blew over the area in the evening of April 19 left behind entire villages totally destroyed. Only ruins of what once were happy homes

and carcasses and stumps of broken trees and ugly patches of gaping holes where stood trees that were blown away, are all that is left of some of the villages.

A large number of deaths and injuries was caused by falling trees, houses and flying corrugated iron sheets of house roofs. A large number of people are now left without any shelter. Stocks of food and other crops and edibles of the village people, including those of the village shop-keepers, have been entirely destroyed. In the areas over which this messenger of death blew no body could save anything even if he could escape with his precious life.

Non-official organisations rushed with all their means to assist the official agencies to render relief. The first major task was rendering medical relief to the injured. No doubt the government machinery moved with more than usual speed and it received ungrudging help from local doctors also. But still it was not enough to cope with the situation. Consequently, many of

the injured who might have survived if they had got timely medical care succumbed to their injuries.

It was not quite an easy job to rescue people from the village areas immediately after the devastation and bring them to the nearest hospital or dispensaries. It itself took some time and in some cases it became too late. When the rescue operation began transporting the injured also posed a problem, for communication in the village areas is far from adequate for speedy movement. And then there was not enough of accommodation in the hospitals, not enough of physicians and not enough of medicines and surgical instruments to meet the needs.

However, the Chief Minister made an air-dash to make an on the spot survey and this helped gear up the government machinery. Rs. 50 thousand, including Rs. 20 thousand from the Chief Minister's Relief Fund, have already been sanctioned for relief to the victims. A squad of physicians and nurses under personal supervision of the Deputy Director of Health Services left here for the affected area to render medical relief to the injured. The Deputy Director of Health Services has been empowered to take on the spot decision without waiting for formal approval of higher authorities.

The state branch of the Red Cross and other non-official bodies are working in cooperation with the government bodies. Students and youth have hastened with their helping hand to render relief to the victims of the cyclone. Women's organisations and other social service organisations have also come forward to help the relief operation. In addition to helping the relief operation with their physical assistance, non-official bodies have also been collecting monetary contributions in the storm-affected Goalpara district and other areas for the same purpose.

However, it is complained that the relief so far made available to the affected people has not been adequate. Already the food situation of the state as a whole has been rather difficult. It is said that the state government has got a stock of food enough for three months only. Prices of almost every commodity have been steeply rising. Together with the burden of taxation, over and above the rising prices, large sections of people of low income group find themselves in a difficult position even to eke out their bare existence.

The working people of the state who extended their unstinted support to the National Defence Efforts now have become restive, according to reports from various parts of the State, under the impact of the twin burden of high prices and indirect taxation. Most of them can no longer continue their voluntary contributions to the NDF.

How difficult the situation has become will be evident from the fact that even the state branch of the INTUC had to demand recently "special dearness allowance" for all workers in public and private

## DETENUS UNDER D. I. R.

### ABOMINABLE JAIL CONDITIONS

In Madhya Pradesh, several Communist detenues are being kept in abominable conditions, in violation of the notification of the State Government itself (State Gazette, February 21, 1963), which clearly stated that Class I conditions would be given according to the state of health, education, "status" and "mode of living" of the detenues.

AMONG those still kept in C class conditions are: • Indranath Bhattacharya, who is suffering from paralysis;

• Diwakar (Indore), a member of the Labour Advisory Committee, and Guru Dayal Singh (Gwalior), a prominent kisan leader—who are both chronic patients;

• Dalal (Indore), who is a B.Com., LL.B. and was a Class II official in the LIC;

• Lagu (Indore), also a B.A., LL.B. and an official of the LIC before his arrest;

• Jitendra Singh (Rewa) was first given A Class, but now has been reverted to C class;

• Hamid Khan and Chakravarty are both detained in Raipur jail in C class.

The campaign for release and better jail conditions is gathering momentum. In Indore, over 2,000 signatures on a release petition have been collected; besides workers, many small traders, persons from the middle class and several prominent advocates have signed the petition. Similar signature campaigns are being conducted in Rewa, Jabalpur, Raipur, Rajnandgaon and Bilhal.

sectors as an "immediate relief" in view of the rising cost of living and fall in the real wages. Incidentally, it also "regretted" the "scant attention" given to the Industrial Truce resolution by the employers.

In this situation the devastation caused in Goalpara district by this natural calamity, will put further strain on the slender resources of the State. Earlier the state government obtained from the Centre 10 thousand tons of rice. The state government has already asked the Centre for an additional despatch of one thousand tons of rice to meet the immediate needs of the cyclone-affected people who have lost their own stock and are now dependent on government supply alone.

Besides food stuff, the cyclone-affected people also need urgently cloth and speedy arrangements for construction of their houses for immediate shelter. The state government, it is understood, finds itself in a difficult position to meet the need of building materials, particularly of C.I. Sheets.

In addition to the various materials needed for immediate relief, the affected people will also require some long-term rehabilitation assistance like seed loan, cattle loan, etc., to get up on their own feet, for most of them are peasants. Petty village traders who have fallen victims of this natural calamity will also need some amount of assistance to resettle themselves, because few of them are now left with any capital to restart their trade.

It is felt here that the Centre should extend its assistance to augment the resources of the state government to meet the needs of the cyclone affected people.

## WORLD

★ By OBSERVER

# TRUTH ABOUT LAOS

Behind the renewed tension in Laos is not what is made to appear through the imperialist news agencies' reports published in the Indian press. There are no more sincere supporters of the 1962 Geneva accords on Laos than the Pathet Lao forces and the Neo-Lao Haksat Party. The murder of Foreign Minister Quinin Pholsena which sparked off the present fighting, was the handiwork of American intelligence agents, who are swarming all over Laos today.

TOTALLY unwilling to accept the Geneva accords and the decision to build a peaceful, independent and neutral Laos—the US imperialists have been encouraging the Rightist, pro-US factions to carry out disruptive and subversive actions against the neutralist Government. An essential part of US tactics is the attempt to drive a wedge between the Pathet Lao and the political sections led by the neutralist Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma: for this purpose, US interventionists seek to use the worst elements among the neutralists for their own nefarious purposes, and they stoop to the vilest crimes to reach their ends.

The Soviet draft for a message to be addressed by the Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on Laos contained the following passage (which the British refused to accept), which tells its own story, and rips the mask off the Laotian events:

"The Co-Chairmen have received from some of the States, participants in the Geneva Conference on Laos, statements expressing alarm at the present developments in Laos and quoting facts pointing to a violation of the Geneva Accords on Laos.

It is reported specifically in these statements that U.S. military personnel have not been fully withdrawn from Laos, and that the United States continues to render military aid to one of the political groups in Laos.

Weapons and ammunition are being delivered by US planes to subversive detachments, operating in the rear of the national patriotic forces. The statements further note that in recent times, a considerable number of South Vietnamese and Chiang Kai-shek officers have penetrated into the Valley of the Jars and other points of the country. Attention is drawn to the fact that US army servicemen remain in Thailand, which increases tension and threatens the security of Laos.

The aforesaid statements place responsibility for the tense situation in Laos on the U.S. Government, and the political forces in Laos it supports, whose activities are aimed at wrecking the agreement on a Coalition Government and the Geneva Accords.

The US Government has been throwing its weight about as though Laos were its private preserve. The US Seventh Fleet is making "purely precautionary moves" in the South East Asia area, according to American Defence authorities. Additional units of the Seventh Fleet are to be sent into the area of the Gulf of Siam. Two US battle groups and a jet fighter squadron has been assigned to Thailand, ostensibly to take part in SEATO exercises in mid-June. These movements constitute a grave threat to peace in South East Asia.

Meanwhile, Averill Harriman has completed a mission to Moscow and London. But the US military movements around Laos and the US activities inside Laos do not lead one to place much

## BATTLE AGAINST MALAYSIA

The news of popular actions against the imperialist plan to set up the so-called Malaysia continues to pour into India. The latest is a memorandum by opposition parties in Malaya. Earlier had come news of demonstrations in Singapore, demonstrations attacked by the police and leading to still more arrests of leaders of the progressive Barisan Socialis. British troop movements in Sarawak were a clear indication of the mounting popular upsurge against Malaysia.

IN Singapore, the Barisan Socialis has been attacked and its leaders thrown into prison, under inhuman conditions, precisely because of their opposition to Malaysia. Typical of the conditions under which the detainees are kept is the report about the jail treatment given to Fong Swee Suan, Secretary General of the Singapore Trade Unions and a member of the Central Committee of the Barisan.

1 He is kept all alone in a small cell. The cell is lit by a very powerful electric lamp 24 hours a day. He is not allowed to sleep in darkness and he cannot sleep.

2 A loud bell is rung non-stop. This is meant to further prevent him from sleeping.

3 He is given no bed to sleep on. He has been told to sleep on a cement slab in the cell.

4 He is not allowed to wear his own clothes, like all political detainees are normally allowed. He is given convict-prisoner clothes.

5 He is handcuffed like a criminal every time he is brought outside the cell.

6 He is allowed only five minutes for his lunch and dinner.

7 He is interrogated at least three times a day by a group consisting of two to five police officers. During interrogation some officers are extremely rude to him.

8 He is not allowed any form of exercise or relaxation.

THIS IS MALAYSIA! A speech by Dr. Lee Siew Choh, Barisan Chairman, on March 23 describes Malaysia as

"the political aspect" of the military British Far East Unified Command, which covers exactly the same area, and as only an "extension of the working room of SEATO.

The proposed formation of Malaysia has already resulted in serious differences in S.E. Asia, causing a threat to peace.

It is to be regretted that the Government of India, instead of expressing its solidarity with the anti-imperialist fighters against Malaysia, has tended to support Malaysia, with the rather doubtful argument that it supports the granting of independence through Malaysia to areas till now under colonial rule! The fact is that Malaysia is a plan to protect British interests in the region, it is a vehicle for neo-colonialism.

All anti-imperialists everywhere give their full support to the progressive forces of Malaya, Singapore and North Borneo (North Kalimantan) who are fighting against the imposition of Malaysia.

The Government of India's hesitation to join these forces is totally inexcusable: it is a violation of our non-alignment policy, which demands that we should have nothing to do with imperialist military pacts, of which Malaysia is only an extension.



I shall hang on till I fall, says Mao

## ARAB UNITY

Popular struggle against the pro-imperialist regime in Jordan has risen to new heights in recent days, following the formation of the new Federal United Arab Republic, in which Egypt, Syria and Iraq will be represented.

THE upsurge in the Arab countries against imperialism has been a remarkable phenomenon of the last few years. Will Jordan break its imperialist fetters and join the new Arab Federal State? King Hussein has thrown all his forces into an all-out drive to smash the popular movement—and his imperialist mentors will be always at his side to support him.

The new United Arab Republic will have one capital—Cairo—and a single citizenship. The Constitution, when drafted, will be submitted to a referendum within the next few months, and only after that will the new State be formally established. Meanwhile, Egypt, Syria and Iraq will take steps to establish a united military command, and to pursue a common coordinated foreign policy.

What appears clear, however, is that the new Republic will not mean a complete administrative and economic merger, as was the case when the UAR of Egypt and Syria was formed in January 1958.

Arab unity against imperialism will always be welcomed by progressive people in all countries. Nevertheless each Arab country has its own specific problems. Above all, Arab oil and its uneven distribution are a factor which makes those who profit from oil hesitate to merge themselves into a union, which would mean sharing the huge oil revenues (amounting to about 1,300 million dollars a year!)

Arab unity has, however, also been advocated for reactionary purposes by the imperialists and their hangers-on. Progressive forces have always to be on guard against the imperialist and reactionary Arab forces which will seek to give Arab unity a pro-imperialist direction.

The recent wave of anti-Communism in Iraq and Syria is a warning that the reactionary elements and their imperialist masters are doing their best to "blunt the edge" of the popular upsurge for Arab unity.

(April 30)

# BRITISH COMMUNIST CONGRESS CONCLUDES

A call to sweep out the Tories and elect "a Government which will make the monopolists squeal and the people rejoice" concluded the Communist Party's Congress in London yesterday.

CONGRESS chairman Frank Stanley made the appeal and the welcoming cheers showed that it will be acted upon.

Winding up this militant, forward-looking gathering, he declared: "It is a scandal that after its by-election defeats the Tory Government is still in office."

Stressing what was the keynote of the congress, he said: "We have the policy which can build a future free from wars, insecurity and poverty. Our congress has given us the tools, let us now finish the job."

He told the delegates at this hard-working, hard-thinking meeting that they represented a fighting, campaigning Party. He added: "If given the right kind of leadership, the British working class can show a fighting spirit and determination second to none in the world."

The final session saw a remarkable demonstration of affection for a man whose life has been devoted to the cause of the working people—former Communist MP William Gallacher.

John Gollan said that no other party in conference could have witnessed so genuinely spontaneous a tribute from the people to a man who was "no knight of the Queen or any other order."

With acclaim and vociferous cheers and singing of "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow," congress unanimously elected him an honorary member of the executive committee—the Party's first.

Earlier, delegates had discussed branch resolutions dealing with rates, leasehold reform, the Co-operative movement, Communist Party finance, education, the Beching rail closures plan, and other topics.

With one dissentient vote, they approved a comprehensive resolution outlining the Party's plan for Britain's future and another on the future of trade unionism.

A report by Bert Ramelson, chairman of the arrangements committee, showed how democratically congress had been conducted.

The committee had received requests to speak from 200 delegates, of whom 118 had spoken. Ramelson emphasised that everyone with a point of view at variance with those expressed in the resolutions had spoken.

No other political organisation, he declared with justifiable pride, reflected in the applause, gave so many opportunities to speakers from the floor.

That it was also a young congress was shown in the credentials report, which disclosed that 185 of the 481 delegates were under 35—and only 59 were over 50.

Concluding their congress in high spirits and confidence, the Communists left more determined than ever to achieve the Party's aims: lasting peace and a prosperous, Socialist Britain.

## Madhya Pradesh ★ From Our Correspondent

# Big Response to CPI Campaign

BHOPAL: The month of April has seen a powerful spurt forward in the activities of the Communist Party in the whole State. Public meetings were organised in different centres, and the attempts of the Jan Sangh and other reactionary forces to prevent the holding of these meetings were successfully foiled everywhere.

IN Bhopal, the police authorities had consistently refused to allow the Party to hold meetings. Finally the Party leaders were forced to inform the police that they would defy the ban on their meetings. If it was still persisted in. The result was good: the police lifted their ban and a largely attended meeting was held, addressed by Communist leader Shakir Ali Khan and others.

Similar public meetings were held at other centres in the State:

• There were two meetings at Jabalpur, which is considered to be a key centre of the Jan Sangh.

• In Balaghat District, the Party organised meetings at Lalbarra and Seoni, addressed by CPI National Council member B. K. Gupta.

• Shakir Ali Khan addressed another rally in Ujjain.

• At Gwalior and Lashkar, Homi Daji, M.P. addressed public meetings. The local Hindu Sabha, tried its best to disrupt the Lashkar meeting,

by raising anti-Communist slogans, but the audience refused to have any truck with the reactionary gang, and the meeting was a great success, all disruptive attempts being totally foiled.

Jansangharsha, the organ of the Madhya Pradesh Committee of the Party has registered an increase in circulation.

Trade union activities in the State have continued unabated, inspite of the attacks by the millowners and the INTUC, taking advantage of the emergency. The Party has been in the forefront in defending the workers' interests; it took up the case of Bhopal textile workers and also voiced its protest against the closure of the Rajnandgaon Mills.

Throughout its campaign, the Party has popularised the Party policies and exposed the conspiracies of right reaction. Special emphasis has been placed on the campaigns against the anti-people taxes and for the release of detenues.

## Karnataka ★ From Our Correspondent

# Release Campaign Stepped Up

BANGALORE: The campaign for release of Communist detenues will reach a new height with the observance throughout the State of May 12 as Release Campaign Day.

THE State Executive Committee of the Communist Party has decided to hold meetings all over the State on this occasion. Two thousand posters and 25,000 handbills will be centrally published; the campaign of sending postcards to the State Government demanding release will be intensified, and deputations will meet the Chief Minister and other Ministers on this day to insist on immediate release.

A meeting of the State Executive Committee on April 20 and 21, fully endorsed the decision of the Central Executive Committee. The Committee reviewed the progress of the release campaign and thanked the people of the State for their magnificent response. Resolutions had been adopted at meetings all

over Karnataka and telegrams and postcards demanding releases had been sent in huge numbers to the State Government.

The Executive Committee decided to enrol subscribers for the State Committee's weekly organ Janashakti. A target of 2,000 subscriptions will be aimed at, and the enrolment campaign will be the primary activity of all Party units in Karnataka during May.

The Committee welcomed the renewal of activities of the Raith Sangh (Kisan Sabha) and decided that campaigns should be conducted among peasants on distribution of waste lands, implementation of land reforms, against the heavy burden of taxation, enrolment of members, etc.



# LASTING PEACE : MOSCOW'S STIRRING MAY DAY CALL

★ From Masood Ali Khan

**MOSCOW, May Day:** On a sunny spring morning Moscow woke up early with music. Soon singing and dancing began in the streets as thousands converged on the Red Square. The Soviet capital blossomed out with all the colours of the rainbow, well dressed crowds filled the public thoroughfares and squares with youth, beauty, laughter and gaiety dominating the world's most spectacular celebration.

**T**HE Red Square was decorated with flags of all the Soviet Republics, huge portraits of Marx, Engels, and Lenin and the word Peace written out in many languages including Hindi. Opposite the Mausoleum in huge letters were the words 'Peace, Labour, Freedom, Equality, Fraternity and Happiness'.

At the stroke of ten, the Soviet leaders with Khrushchov and Castro in front appeared on the Lenin Mausoleum and were greeted with loud cheering and ovation. Smart units of the army, navy and airforce lined up on the Square and nearby and were greeted by Marshal Malinovsky who drove to each of them in an open shining grey limousine and greeted them standing in the car. A roar of hurrahs came as the mighty answer. The trumpets sounded. "Listen all" as the Marshal rose to the tribune to speak.

The Soviet Defence Minister in his speech declared that Soviet people were celebrating the First of May amidst a new blossoming of the creative forces and a glorious upsurge of economy. Towns and countryside were reporting new victories on the production front.

The Soviet Union will continue to fight for a stable peace and security, lessening of tension, for disarmament and ban on atomic weapons and tests and stood for the peaceful settlement of all questions of dispute. The Soviet Union will continue to follow the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence under the guidance of the Soviet Government headed by Khrushchov.

## Deterrent to War

The aggressive powers could not push humanity into the abyss of nuclear war and this had been the result of the economic and defensive might of the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries and the peoples' determination to bridle the aggressors.

But the imperialists headed by the U.S. go on with provocations and have learnt nothing. With their hatred of the Socialist countries they are ready to hurl the people into war.

They continue their aggression and provocations against Cuba which is building Socialism peacefully. Malinovsky greeted Fidel Castro and his words were drowned in thunderous applause.

Malinovsky said that the Soviet armed forces had to be vigilant and in full preparedness ready to destroy any aggressor who would dare to attack the Soviet Union or

any other Socialist country. Then the Soviet anthem was played and a salute of guns fired and after fanfares the traditional military parade began.

Young Drummers marched first and then came the different military academies led by the Frunze Academy. There were Generals leading the units; some of the old ones had even taken part in the storming of the Winter Pa-

lace. Behind came the light tanks, the amphibian tanks and armoured cars, the paratroops with their tanks and equipment, the ground to air missiles, two stage rockets, naval units with their rockets which are fired from under water and bigger and still bigger long range rockets in Khaki paint.

The whole military parade although it lasted only 20 minutes was a mighty demonstration of the strength and power of the Socialist Soviet Land.

Then came the mass demonstration of the workers of Moscow, marching in nine columns and filling the Square with flowers, portraits of Castro and Khrushchov and other Soviet leaders and of course Marx, and Lenin, charts and slogans, "Long Live the 22nd



Congress," "Long Live CPSU," "Viva Cuba," floats with "Workers of all Lands Unite," "Communism Shall Win" "Peace" in many languages. Thousands of foreign guests, Moscovities, the Cosmonauts,

the distinguished workers cheered and cheered. The bands played Soviet and Cuban tunes and many Cubans, students and youth also marched in the mass demonstration which lasted more than four hours.

# MORARJI PUT ON THE MAT

## VIGOROUS OPPOSITION TO CDS BILL

★ By Our Parliamentary Correspondent

*Shakespeare's Jack Cade rousing the rabble against the grammar and learning of the nobility in a mediaeval England is a forgotten figure even in literature. But last week, when we saw the demonstration of Ministerial English in our Parliament, the analogy seemed to be not so dead after all.*

**M**EMBERS grappling with the Official Languages Bill had to do some quick thinking on the grammar they learnt in the schools. The Law Minister showed that shall means may and the Home Minister assured him that may means shall. Frank Anthony, who perhaps knows more of English than these two, could equally well show that may means may not.

Naturally, many thought that there was no point in quarrelling over it. Though Fowler might say that the obvious is better than obvious avoidance of it, in fact it is only a matter of one's preference and also who legislates for whom. But the Opposition was not satisfied. They would have liked Shastri to be more precise in the wording of his Bill, so that English truly shall be used along with Hindi for a long time to come. They have been verbally assured that it shall be so, though their amendments were rejected, as Opposition amendments usually are.

In due course, this elasticity of outlook of the Treasury Benches was proved by the Finance Minister, Morarji Desai. Though he maintained all along that he will not call the Attorney General to the Lok Sabha to clear members' doubts on the constitutional validity of the Compulsory Deposit Scheme Bill, at the end Morarji showed that what he actually meant was that he would call the AG. That was a very convincing way of establishing the government's capacity for wide interpretation of its words.

Cynics might accuse Morarji of solecism. But his stubborn resistance to the demand to call the Attorney General to the House, even at the cost of allowing a floor revolt of his own party men led by A. P. Jain, and his final agreement to the demand really ought to be appreciated better. By taking such a position he has

actually contributed to Parliament's history in a big way. Any analysis of backbench opinion in Indian Parliament would necessarily draw rich material from this incident. Even more important for our people today, the incident revealed the man in Morarji.

The difficulty with Morarji Desai is that his convictions have got not the strength of logic but of dogma. Morarji has his own principles. As he told the Lok Sabha after the AG incident, he was prepared to accommodate the wishes of members as much as he could, but only consistently with what he thought was right. "It is possible that I may err in seeing what is right, but until I see the error, it is not possible for me to give up what I see is right". Since it is not easy to make Morarji see his error, A. P. Jain and his supporters had to do much arguing and finally precipitate a crisis in the party. Then the scales were lifted from the Finance Minister's eyes and he came leading the Attorney General to address the House.

When members raised doubts about the Constitutional validity of the CDS Bill—it was Indulal Yagnik who had first raised the question weeks before during the general debate on the budget—and later suggested that the Attorney General be called to give his opinion, Morarji Desai just could not understand the feelings in the House. He abruptly turned down the demand and the more he stuck to the word 'NO', the more the demand gained support in the House and grew like a snowball. A. P. Jain from the Congress benches was leading the battle and yet Morarji did not see the danger.

What was more, the moment he opened his mouth to deny the authority of the House to call the Attorney General, he put his foot into it and said things which he

had to regret afterwards. Even after the Speaker had declared that "widespread desire has been expressed on all sides" to hear the Attorney General and specifically mentioned that even Congress members had expressed this desire, Morarji declared:

"I have the greatest respect for the hon. members of the House, for the House and if it can be greater, for you. But that does not mean that I should accept every desire even if it is unanimous. There are some things where one has to do one's duty. I cannot be a party to having a wrong convention or a wrong tradition. The Attorney General is an officer of the government. It is only the government who can call him. I do not think it would be for the House to call him."



Then would the government call him? Morarji did not think it necessary and he said that calling the AG would do no good. "Because the Attorney General also is an advocate. An advocate has one view. The court can have another view. That is final for us. But, advocates differ."

As the row developed, the Speaker made it clear that he could not take the responsibility of calling the Attorney General, because there was no precedent to it. But he upheld the authority of the House to take its own decision and again cautioned the Finance Minister that it was not good parliamentary practice to defy the wishes of the House.

"In all democracies, as far as I can see, though I do not claim that I have very wide knowledge about it, it has

always been left to the House to decide it. If the government is not responsive, then the House can throw out that government".

Again, the Speaker remarked: "If the House is unanimous, or even a prepondering majority of the House desire that government has to respond to the wishes of the House. There are some words spoken by the hon. Finance Minister to which I take exception. He said that even if the House was unanimous, he would not succumb to it. That is rather not fair to the House."

Morarji Desai once again explained his position and put himself completely in the wrong by declaring, "Even if the House is unanimous, if it is outside the Constitution, it is my right and duty to say that I do not agree with it". This brought a firm admonition from the Speaker who said:

"If theoretically it has to be construed, then I would just put it again to the Finance Minister that if it is a responsible government, and this government is responsible to this House, then it should not be said that even if the House is unanimous, the government would not do it."

The Opposition burst into cheers. Soon A. P. Jain was on his feet moving an impromptu motion expressing the desire of the House to hear the Advocate General on the CDS Bill.

Congress party was cleft in two and there was an unmistakable odour of revolt against Authority from the backbenches. The situation was saved for the time being when the Speaker reserved his ruling on the admissibility of Jain's motion, objection being taken by the Finance Minister to it.

But it was already too late for things to relapse into good humour and therefore, when the next day, the Speaker ruled out A. P. Jain's motion on the ground that it could not be sustained as the House was already discussing another motion, namely Clause 4 of the Bill, A. P. Jain promptly moved for adjourning the discussion on the Bill.

In the presence of the Prime Minister and with Satyanarain