

7 JUL 14
Copy 1964

AFTER NEHRU . . . ?

THE PEOPLE

NEW AGE
CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

AFTER NEHRU? YES, THE INDIAN PEOPLE.

THERE IS NO OTHER ANSWER. THERE CAN BE NO OTHER ANSWER. THE BANNER OF NEHRU MUST BE LIFTED ON TO THEIR SHOULDERS BY THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES. THE MONEYBAGS HAVE RATTLERED ON THESE DAYS AND ARE CONTINUING TO RATTLE EVEN NOW IN A MAD BID TO PUSH INTO POSITIONS OF POWER, INTO THE CABINET, MEN NOTORIOUS FOR THEIR REACTIONARY POLICIES AND THEIR OPPOSITION TO ALL THE POSITIVE POLICIES ASSOCIATED WITH THE NAME OF NEHRU.

THEY failed to have their way in the first round in the battle for the Prime Ministership. But this defeat has not dampened their ardour; on the contrary, a renewed offensive for the remaining plums of office has been opened by reaction. Key portfolios,

seniority in the cabinet—these are the targets.

By this weekend, the shape of the new cabinet will be clearer, perhaps even earlier, perhaps even before this issue of NEW AGE is in the hands of the readers. All types of speculations are being made. It is reported that the names

of some of the worst Right reactionary former Ministers whom the people's struggle drove out of office last year, are being considered for key portfolios. This is itself a red signal for the people.

We cannot, in one breath, say we shall pursue the positive policies of Nehru, and in the other, speak favourably of the return to positions of authority, of those who are totally opposed to those policies. This is axiomatic.

There are those who argue, like Rajaji, that it does not matter who comes into the government leadership. It is after all, the Congress party which rules.

The Indian people have already blown up this false notion. They know that it is the people's business to know who are brought to power. During these days of suspense, at every street corner, at every point where men gathered, at the mill-gates, in the bustees, in the village centres, in offices, in meetings of homage... the Indian people were heard expressing themselves in no uncertain terms.

of nonalignment, the enemies of socialism to grab power for themselves.

There was one unanimous cry: Morarji Desai must not be the Prime Minister.

The people look on the defeat of this ring leader of reaction as a victory of their own, as the carrying out of their pledge to Nehru. The man whom Nehru had removed, when the mighty mass movement of the people demanded it, could not return to office despite all the tricks employed by his backers.

by the exponents of Right reactionary forces are bound to grow. And when there is no longer with us the strong and experienced Nehru to resist these pressures, the perils naturally grow.

Editorial Article

If the Right succeeds in its aim of increasing its strength in the new cabinet and government, it will mean that the banner of Nehru is in the greatest danger of being sullied and soiled. It will then be for the Indian people to rally once more to save the banner, to see that Nehru's positive policies are pursued relentlessly and without compromise.

The destiny of India after Nehru cannot be allowed to be jeopardised by a handful of power-seekers. That is why the people must act as they have never acted before. There must be no surrender to the imperialists and reactionaries. All steps by the new government to resist these pressures will meet with full support of the people.

If the progressive policies associated with the name of Nehru are to be carried forward, it is the Indian people who must act. No single individual can ensure this. Only the people as a whole can.

After Nehru, the people have taken charge....

Need For Vigilance

The winning of the first round has not led to complacency. The fear remains in the hearts of the people that the Right will increase its strength in the new cabinet, that men who are determined to sabotage what are known as the Nehru policies will come into positions of authority.

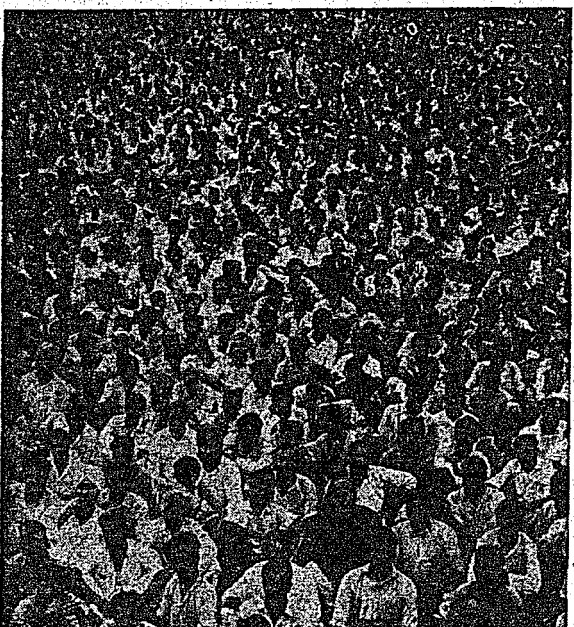
Whether these fears are real will be known in the next few days. But whatever happens, the very fact that these fears have arisen indicates the necessity for the greatest vigilance in the coming days.

Statements and declarations are bound to assure the people of complete adherence to the positive policies pursued by Nehru. But statements and declarations mean little unless they are backed by concrete action.

The pressure and blackmail

Reaction's Failure

There was universal hate for the shameless hustling for office. There was deep concern at the efforts of the enemies



CPSU EXPOSES CHINESE SPLITTERS

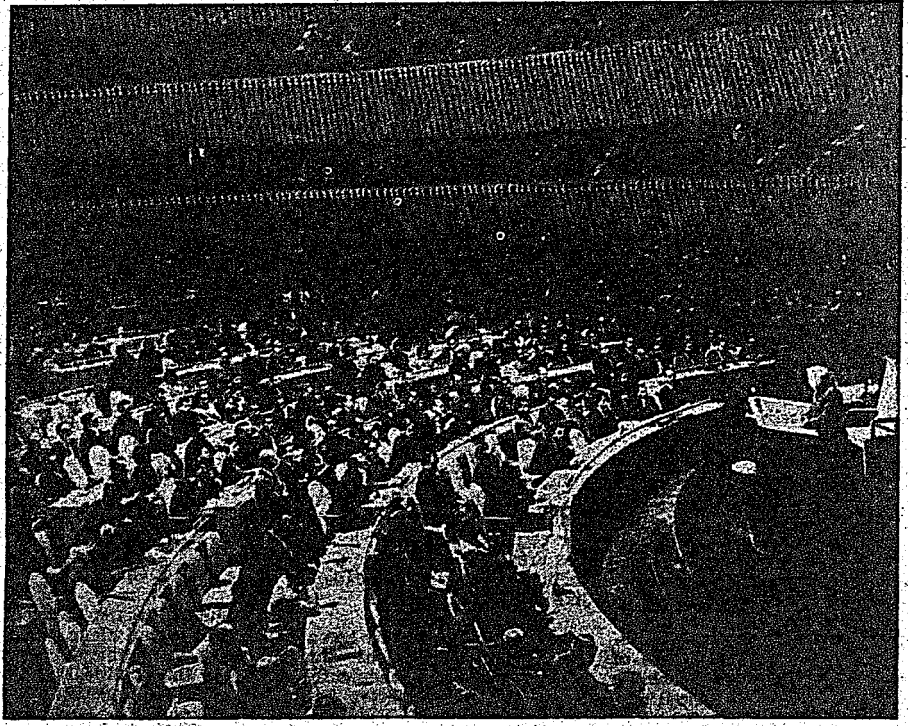
From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: An article in PRAVDA has condemned the splitting activities of the Chinese Communist leaders. It said that as a result of subversive activities of the splitters, some Communist Parties have been placed in a difficult position and are forced to divert their forces from the solution of the acute problems of the revolutionary workers and the national liberation movement.

The Communist Party of India also finds itself in such a situation. Beginning from the moment when in 1959 the Sino-Indian border conflict appeared, the splitting elements inside the CPI revile the policy of this party, trying to thrust on it their own incorrect evaluation of the internal political situation of the country and push it on to adventurist tactics.

"The seventh extraordinary conference of the Punjab organisation of the CPI in its resolution declared with full justification that the Chinese leaders are carrying out the present diversion against the Indian Communists which has considerably led to the intensification of the difficulties of our Party. We consider that the leadership of the CPC has attempted to disrupt our Party and destroy it."

The article described in detail the methods of bribery, corruption, slander and blackmail used by the Communist Party of China in other Communist Parties and the Chinese attempts to compromise and defame the leadership of the Communist Parties of many countries including India.



Nehru Addressing the U.N. General Assembly.

Price Inquiry Committee's Report Indicts Government For Bungling

The findings and recommendations of the Price Inquiry Committee, appointed by the West Bengal Government about two years ago, constitute a sharp indictment of the food policy pursued by the state government over the past few years.

THE Committee, in its 300-page report, has recommended state trading in cereals, including acquisition of the entire marketable surplus of rice and paddy, nationalisation of all rice mills in the State and banning all movement of rice and paddy from West Bengal.

The measures the government had adopted over the years of "control" the difficult food situation in this state had been, and still continue to be, diametrically opposite of those suggested by the Committee!

The Committee, headed by Dr. Bhabatosh Dutta, an eminent economist and Director of Public Instruction, West Bengal, consisted of eleven members, five of whom belonged to the state government, while the rest represented trade and industry. Two of the members have submitted a note of dissent.

The Committee, which made a detailed enquiry into the causes and extent of price increases of foodstuffs and almost all other essential commodities, is of the opinion that the major price problem in West Bengal is that of rice. The stabilisation of rice prices, it points out, would act as a corrective for the prices of other key commodities, including pulses, fish, mustard oil and cloth.

A significant point stressed by the Committee is that the fear that nationalisation of rice mills and introduction of state trading would lead to the unemployment of a large number of people is entirely groundless.

The Committee also does not place much reliance on the so-called "gentlemen's agreements" with big traders, in which the state government has exhibited a pathetic faith in recent years. The Committee stresses the need for the enforcement of decisions by government orders and not on the basis of such "agreements."

Other administrative measures suggested are: licensing of producers, importers, wholesalers and retailers in all areas; regulation of markets, mainly at the wholesale stage; setting up of price advisory boards and sub-committees for each major commodity; and maintenance of buffer stocks.

The more important recommendations with regard to cereals are:—

Administrative Measures

The West Bengal Government should procure directly Orissa's surplus rice of 300,000 tons and mobilise 300,000 tons from internal pro-

duction of rice. It should also arrange for supplies of 400,000 tons of rice and 1,000,000 tons of wheat from the Centre.

The Committee maintains that West Bengal deserves special attention from the Centre in the matter of rice supplies because of the following reasons: (a) Considerable diversion of paddy land to jute cultivation, resulting in an annual loss of 300,000 tons of rice; (b) influx of 32 lakhs of East Pakistan refugees after 1947. They consume 550,000 tons of rice annually; (c) presence of more than 55 lakh non-food-producing immigrants in West Bengal from other States. They consume about 900,000 tons of cereals every year.

Distribution Of Rice

The State government should distribute through Modified Rationing Shops 800,000 tons of rice in all urban areas and to families in deficit rural areas. The rate of supply per adult per day should be 12 oz., with an extra 4 oz for heavy manual workers, 50

Splitters Losing Ground In Andhra Pradesh

From MOHIT SEN

HYDERABAD: The secretariat of the Andhra Pradesh council of the Communist Party of India concluded a two-day meeting on May 31. After passing a condolence resolution on the death of Pandit Nehru, it passed on to a review of the situation in the state and the activities of the splitters.

MAKING a detailed district by district analysis it came to the conclusion that the CPI has made further gains in this period and the splitters have lost more ground. The initial confusion created among some Party members and followers is clearing up.

Some of the more striking examples of the continued headway being made may be cited. The splitters claimed that Srikakulam district was 100 per cent behind them because of their majority in the district council. After the explanatory campaign some 40 per cent of the membership has already rallied to the CPI, including prominent leaders like Naidu and Prasad.

In Guntur, not only has a very big majority of the membership vehemently condemned the splitters but

per cent of it being in rice and 50 per cent in wheat.

The state government should undertake large-scale modified rationing operations whenever and wherever the retail market price of average quality rice rises above

JAY WORKERS' STRIKE SETTLEMENT REACHED

FIVE-MONTH-OLD DISPUTE ENDS

The five-month-old strike of 7,000 worker of Jay Engineering Works—one of the longest strike in recent years—ended on May 27. The strike began on December 17.

A TRIPARTITE agreement to this effect was signed by Indrajit Gupta, M.P., President of the Workers' Union, the General Manager of Jay Engineering Works and the Labour Commissioner, Government of West Bengal.

Negotiations on behalf of the workers were carried on by Indrajit Gupta, Jyoti Basu, Leader of the Opposition, and Monoranjan Roy,

MLA, General Secretary of BPTUC.

The terms of the agreement are as follows:

1 Suspension orders will be issued against 25 workers and the management will enquire into their conduct. The Union and the management will jointly move a petition to the Labour Dept. for adjudication in case the union is not satisfied

with the action taken by the management with regard to the suspended workers;

2 Each worker will be paid Rs. 100 as an advance which will be recovered in ten instalments to begin from December 1964;

3 The profit bonus for 1962-63 will be paid to the workers by July 10 next without prejudicing the issue now pending before a tribunal;

4 About 250 workers who have already been charge-sheeted will resume work and in no case the punishment that may be imposed on them on account of alleged charges will involve discharge or dismissal;

5 No one will be punished for participating in the strike; and

6 There will be no payment for the strike period.

Six out of the original 22 demands put forward by the union have already been referred to a tribunal for adjudication. Rest of the demands will be negotiated between the union and the management through bipartite talks following the resumption of work.

The abusive and vulgar speeches being made by the splitters have disillusioned many of those who had some sympathy for them. They are now turning away in revulsion.

The exposure campaign against the opportunist policies of the splitters has been very effective. Addressing a very largely attended general body meeting of Party members and sympathisers in Hyderabad on May 31, Rajashekhar Reddy emphasised that the splitters also had a dual approach to the Congress, just as the CPI had.

The CPI advocated a policy of unity and struggle which the splitters termed as class collaboration. But they followed a policy of shouting anti-Congress slogans so as to keep off the Congress masses and at the same time indulged in a soft attitude and intrigue towards the Congress ministers.

Reddy gave the example of the recent kisan satyagraha where even while demanding anti-Congress slogans which would have kept away the Congress masses from the struggle, Sundarayya had gone to negotiate with the Chief Minister behind the back of the action committee.

Shift To Correct Line

In the Telengana districts, the splitters can claim majority only in Khamman but here too the political campaign has shown a shift in the

From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

attention of giving effect to the recommendations of the Price Inquiry Committee. While the food situation is rapidly worsening, the government has refused to engage in state trading or to take over the rice mills; it is not making any serious or determined efforts to unearth hoarded stocks of paddy and rice or to take effective steps to enforce price control measures and to muzzle the profiteers.

On the contrary, the government has decided to punish the people, whose sufferings now know no limits! It will soon promulgate an ordinance, making purchases of rice, wheat and wheat products, fish, mustard oil and sugar by consumers punishable with rigorous imprisonment (extending up to two years) or fine.

Rs. 25 a maund until the system of procurement and distribution recommended by the Committee is adopted.

From all available indications it appears almost certain that the state government has not the slightest in-

The central secretariat of the Communist Party of India took an important initiative for Party unity on May 29 by addressing a letter to the 32 suspended members of the National Council.

This appeal for unity was rudely rejected on behalf of the 32 in a letter dated May 31 signed by P. Sundarayya, M. Basavapunniah, E. M. S. Namboodiripad, A. K. Gopalan, Promode Das Gupta, Jyoti Basu, Harekrishna Konar, P. Ramamurti, H. S. Surjeet and Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri.

The letter rejecting the Party secretariat's appeal was released by its signatories to the press.

The central secretariat has replied to this letter through another letter sent on June 2.

We publish below both the appeal for unity issued on May 29, as well as the latest communication by the central secretariat.

—Editor

DEAR Comrade,

The question of unity in the Party is always an important question. But with the death of Pandit Nehru and the new situation that the country and all of us have to face, the question of Party unity has acquired an added urgent importance.

Whatever may be our assessment of the situation in the country as a whole, and whether we completely agree or not in that assessment, it is a fact that Nehru's death will sharpen the contradictions in the ruling class and face the country and the toiling masses with the problem of preserving whatever was progressive in his policies and defeat attempts of Right reaction, which has its supporters inside the Congress also to change the country's

course in a totally reactionary direction.

The Party will now be faced with the task of guarding the policy of peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism in our international relations, which India followed in the main so far, though with some occasional regrettable lapses. The pressure from the Right reaction on our foreign policy will be very heavy and if it succeeds, it will lead to dangerous consequences.

In internal policy, the threat will be even more serious in as much as even under Nehru, while economic progress was taking place in one direction, the monopolists were getting mor and more entrenched with the aid of foreign imperialist interests

REJOINDER OF CPI SECRETARIAT

WE have received with great regret and concern your letter dated May 31, rejecting our earnest appeal for Party unity sent to you on May 29.

We had made this appeal in the light of the new situation in the country following the death of Pandit Nehru. We had underlined the grave dangers which exist today for the country and the urgency for united action by the democratic forces to fight these dangers. It was in this light that our unity appeal was issued.

It is amazing that your reply has not one word to say about the problems facing our people today following the passing away of the late Prime Minister. It is evident that your attitude springs from a complete failure to see the new situation and to suppress old prejudices and factional interests in the light of this new situation, which calls not for a prolongation of polemics and mutual recriminations but for positive steps for Party unity.

Your letter might well have been written before the death of Jawaharlal Nehru. Not only does it omit all mention of this unparalleled event in the nation's life, but the whole spirit of your letter is one which has nothing in common with the desire for Party unity, which is the dominant reaction of thousands of members of our Party, irrespective of their views on other questions.

We do not wish, at this moment, to go into a detailed rebuttal of the points raised by you. It is not necessary for us to point out again how utterly wrong and mistaken is the position taken by you. This is not the moment for the kind of vituperations in which you have indulged. Lip-service to Party unity is not enough. It must be backed by concrete action.

The Secretariat sincerely hoped that the new situation would awaken in you a sense of urgency and you would be prepared, as we were and are, to forget and put aside for the time being the rigid positions which had been taken earlier.

It was in that spirit that we wrote to you on May 29. It was in that spirit that we earnestly hoped you would enable us to place before the National Council, a proposal for the immediate cancellation of the suspension resolution against you and other comrades.

It was in that spirit that we declared "your willingness to abide by the decisions of the Party bodies at all levels." Is this also something which must follow Party unity? Or is it an essential condition for Party unity and functioning, according to all accepted principles of Party functioning?

We are not seeking a united front of two parties. We are seeking the unity of ONE Party. And, therefore, if this Party is to function in a way in which it can carry out the heavy duties which face it today (heavier than ever in the new period), it is an elementary, basic proposition that all members should abide by the decisions of Party bodies.

No Terms Dictated

We did not, in our letter, say anything which could be interpreted as "dictating terms", as you suggest. All we did say was this: that, in order to be able to place before the coming meeting of the National Council, a proposal that the suspension resolution be immediately rescinded, "we would earnestly appeal to you to take the obvious steps of dissolving the rival committees you have set up and declaring your willingness to abide by the decisions of the Party bodies at all levels."

This is what you call "putting the cart before the horse." We are shocked at this attitude taken by you.

despite Nehru's insistence on building our own independent economy, his humanist sentiments for the welfare of the masses and his support for socialist thinking.

We need not recount all the issues that were agitating the country when he died such as the issue of Kashmir, the India-China border, the communal tensions, the struggle of the masses for better living and so on.

We also cannot forget the fact that Nehru was a defender of parliamentary democracy and despite its shortcomings, it is an asset of the Indian people in the present conditions. Everyone in India is thinking of these and many other problems and trying to figure out what role each party is going to play. The democratic forces in the Congress, are capable enough to defeat reaction and take the country forward on the path to progress.

In such circumstances, our Party members and even the masses feel rather sad that the Party is divided and on the

brink of complete split. We do not wish to go into all that has happened between you and the National Council. The documents speak for themselves.

But now, in the new circumstances, we should all reconsider the question. There is no doubt you have political and organisational differences with the National Council. And you say that our line has compelled you to set up separate bodies, hold separate meetings, etc. The National Council has already made known its decision on this in its last resolution by which it took action against you.

Proposal For Unity

We of the Secretariat are deeply anxious to be able to place before the coming meeting of the National Council a proposal that the suspension resolution against all of you comrades be immediately rescinded. But in order to be able to do this, we would earnestly appeal to you to take the obvious steps of dissolving the rival committees you have set up, and declaring your willingness to abide by the decisions of the Party bodies at all levels.

We believe that the urgent national situation demands such steps by you and by us.

Once this is done, we can together prepare for a united Party Congress as early as possible. In this regard we

can take some immediate steps even now, without waiting for the National Council meeting.

For example, the Commission appointed by the CEC for preparing documents for the Party Congress is there and as you know four of you are in that Commission. You refused to attend the meeting of the Commission when invited, and instead published in the press your own programme without reference to the Commission or the CEC.

The Commission is going to meet again on the eve of the National Council. We would like each of the four comrades, who refused to attend earlier to consider their decision anew in the light of the present situation, and attend the meeting of that Commission. That could be a beginning to lessen the differences and pave the way for restoring unity preparatory to the Party Congress.

We can discuss any further suggestions in this direction, keeping in view the fact that the National Council of the Party of which you are members (though under suspension) does exist and has to exist to guide the Party and that its views and decisions must be respected.

We would request you to consider this letter in all seriousness and let us have your reply.

Greetings,
(S. A. Dange)
Chairman,
for Central Secretariat

You have not merely rejected our appeal. You have put forward demands which go even further than the terms you insisted upon earlier. Instead of moving, as we attempted to do, have, by raising new issues, declared your determination to frustrate all efforts for unity.

The report of the Central Control Commission and the Secretariat's report "From Parallel Centre to Rival Party" have already informed Party members of the manner in which some comrades from amongst you acted to split the Party and prevent it from functioning. The setting up of rival committees, the launching of rival journals, the setting up of rival candidates in the Rajya Sabha elections in Andhra Pradesh—all these were parts of a consistent line pursued by a certain group with a view to establish a rival Party, with an ideological standpoint in complete contradiction to that of the Party and the international Communist movement.

After the last meeting of the National Council in April 1964, the disruptive and splitting activities have been intensified still further. Open rival committees have been made to grab and appropriate Party property. The name of the Party itself is sought to be usurped. Since the meeting of the National Council in February 1963, the Party leadership has been warning against the disruptive moves aimed at splitting the Party and the open

calls for such a split given by the leadership of Communist Parties of China and Indonesia.

It is not the disciplinary actions which began the split, as you would suggest. It was the open formation of parallel committees, rival functioning, spreading of slanders, violation of Party policies and decisions on the part of some comrades amongst you, which is the cause of the present split. All the relevant facts in regard to this, which are already before the Party members, completely refute the false allegations made so brazenly in your letter.

ASTOUNDING Proposal

At this moment, what is necessary is that the Party should be able to act with the greatest strength. For this, Party unity is essential. It is also imperative that the leading bodies should be able to take decisions on policy and other matters quickly and with the certainty that these decisions will be implemented.

In your letter, you make an astounding proposal. You demand that "the Secretariat, as such, including the posts of the Chairman and General Secretary, should be abolished" till the Party Congress and that "all the jobs of political and organisational guidance of the Party

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SHASTRI'S WELCOME DECLARATIONS

The Prime Minister designate has made his first policy statements. His speech at the meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party after his election, his press conference, his on-the-spot message to the nation—all these have given an outline of the policies he wishes to pursue.

THE dominant impression made on these first days after his election as leader of the Congress Party, is that Shastri has pledged himself to pursue the positive policies of Jawahar Lal Nehru. Amidst cheers, Shastri spoke of the objective of socialism. He emphasised secularism. Peace, nonalignment and disarmament were all clearly enumerated.

All Indians who sincerely stand for a continuation and strengthening of all that was progressive in the Nehru policies, will welcome and support Shastri's declarations.

He has rightly laid emphasis on the necessity to fight the menace of the price rise, which is eating into the vitals of the toilers of our land. He has spoken of putting an end to poverty and unemployment. All this is to the good.

In a few days, Shastri will take office. It will then be for him to put those declarations into practice. He can count on the people's support in any action he may take to strengthen the policy of non-alignment, to ensure adherence to secularism, to build relations of friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries, to hasten our independent economic development.

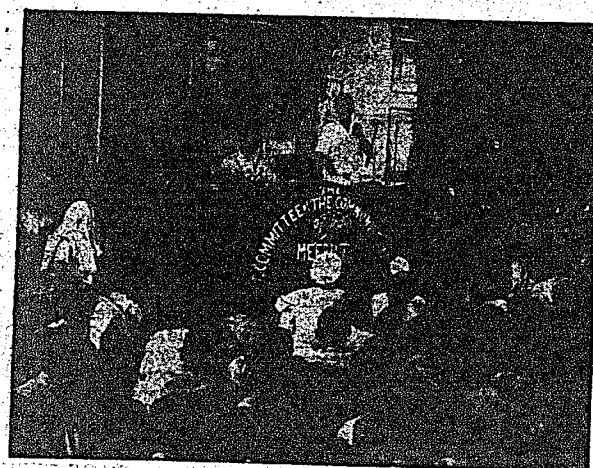
COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP

BUT it would be blindness to sit back contentedly because these noble declarations have been made. Congress President Kamaraj has stressed the fact that the new government will have to be based on the principle of collective leadership.

No single person, however competent or eminent, can alone replace the late Prime Minister. A group of leaders must work together to carry out the duties of the giant who has passed away.

The essential question is: who will constitute that group, that collective leadership?

The Party members' meeting at Meerut on May 29 being addressed by S. A. Dange.



PAGE FOUR

Left. Any new government which, under reactionary pressure, keeps out the Left will be all the less capable

notes OF THE Week

One cannot watch without dismay the jockeying for positions being indulged in by the worst Right reactionary elements in the Congress Parliamentary Party.

All the good declarations, all the pious pledges can and will be frustrated if a reactionary collective gathers round the new Prime Minister.

It is clear that the time to assess the real character of the new government will be after the cabinet is reconstituted. The Prime Minister will certainly exert a powerful influence on policies. But he alone will not and cannot be the decisive factor.

The collective leadership, of which Kamaraj speaks, must be a leadership from which all the enemies of the Nehru policies are excluded. But will they be excluded?

CONGRESS "LEFT"

THE air has been thick with rumours of a supposed pact between the leaders of the Congress Left and Morarji Desai. Despite the categorical denial by V. K. Krishna Menon and others, these rumours continued to be spread, deliberately and planfully.

The object of these rumours was to damn the Left as opportunists and office seekers, ready to ally with the devil himself, if need be, for their selfish purposes.

The rumours gained currency, it must be admitted, also because of a certain lack of clarity in regard to the issues involved among some of the top Left leaders. But the confusions, if any, were exaggerated out of all proportions.

The sinister game was intended to justify, if need be, the unjust exclusion of the Left from the new government.

The fact remains that the best exponents of the progressive Nehru policies in the Congress are precisely the leaders of the Congress

of continuing Nehru's work, as the people would have it continue.

FLOUTING THE WILL

WHO was not moved to-night, as Vijayalakshmi Pandit read extracts from the late Prime Minister's will? How beautiful were the words, how sharp and clear was Nehru's testament of faith....

He had an aversion to all the hypocrisy that goes in the



name of "organised religion". He wished the Indian people to rid themselves of the chains of dogma and superstition.

Nehru's will ordered that his cremation should not be trammelled with religious ceremonies.

How he would have hated to see the manner in which petty nobodies in saffron are seeking to exploit his death, moaning their tuneless chants at Shantighat, disturbing the meditations of those who came to pay homage to his memory.

It may seem to some to be a small matter—the flouting of Nehru's order in his will that no religious ceremonies be held at his cremation. It is not a small matter.

For, if Nehru's word is not prevailing today on such a simple question as to the way in which his body is to be treated after his death, how can we be sure that Nehru's policies will not be violated in the same way in the coming days?

—ROMESH CHANDRA (June 3)

Whispering Gallery

SCRAMBLE AND AFTER

THE 'who after Nehru' has been answered by the college of cardinals. The way it has been answered raises the question: 'after Nehru—what?'

The college of cardinals had a new composition. The substance of power vested in chief ministers and PCC presidents. They controlled the votes and all those who argued that the Congress Party in Parliament was the ultimate authority were silenced.

This indicates a new shift. The succession battle has been decided by a majority of chief ministers and PCC presidents. The majority of them were lined up behind Lal Bahadur Shastri. What was meant by the consensus was this alignment which has been in the making since Kamaraj introduced the plan that goes by his name.

Immediate Battle

The battle of succession had started the moment Nehru died. There was no issue except the question of personalities.

Kamaraj was the principal king-maker. His main advisers were Atulya Ghosh, Sanjiva Reddi and also S. K. Patil.

They lined up behind Shastri, the chief ministers and PCC presidents of Madras, Andhra, Mysore, West Bengal, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and the dissidents of UP, Andhra, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and so on.

Against them, behind Morarji, mustered Orissa, Punjab, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, the ministerial wing in UP, Kashmir (the Bakshi group) and some others.

The moneybags behind the Congress were correspondingly divided. The Bombay and Gujarat industrialists by and large backed up Morarji and the rest were behind Shastri.

But it will be more correct to say that they were financing both. THE HINDUSTAN TIMES openly supported Shastri but some of the prominent MPs intimately associated with the Birlas like K. C. Pant, Suresh Desai and others campaigned for Morarji.

PL-480 Money

PL-480 money is also reported to have come into play. The chief architect of PL-480, S. K. Patil, was on the side of Shastri but his chum, Raghunath Singh, who polled the highest votes in the last election to the Congress Parliamentary Party Executive, was on the other side of the barricade.

Most of the foreign correspondents, especially American, threw their lot with Shastri. A dozen or so flew in to cover the succession battle. Some of them are believed to be CIA men. They were assigned for on-the-spot reporting.

If reports are to be believed the price of vote by Saturday evening went up to Rs. 25,000. But it slumped on Sunday when the consensus idea gained momentum.

Most of the Working Committee members and Chief Ministers who attended the Working Committee meeting on special invitation were for this strategic consensus with the result that quite a few others who were originally behind Morarji changed over last minute.

Shastri vs. Morarji

The fight began almost even, of course, Shastri having an edge over Morarji. His supporters estimated him to win by a margin of 100 votes if a real contest had taken place. But ultimately the Kamarajians won over the vacillators in the name of unity and Morarji found himself deserted by most of his backers.

Morarji was originally relying on the Harjivan bloc of Jagjivan Ram. But it turned out to be more a myth than a bloc.

Since no principles were involved in the fight we are witnessing a series of manoeuvres for plums of office. One of these manoeuvres is to bring the defeated Morarji into the cabinet in an important position.

And it is some of those who defeated Morarji like S. K. Patil who are spearheading this move to bring him in.

Imagine a cabinet with Morarji, Patil, TTK and their ilk headed by a good man but a man with no passion for anything.

So, after Nehru—what?

—INSIDER

Steel is a vital necessity for the growth of a developing country like India. For steel forms the main plank for all economic activities in the modern world.

INDIA realised this truth especially on the eve of the preparation of Second Five Year Plan.

It is not often that three huge plants of one million ton capacity each are constructed simultaneously in an undeveloped country. But it was considered necessary, for India's steel consumption was only 1.5 kilograms per head as against 140 kgs. of Japan, 260 kgs. of USSR, 370 kgs. of UK, and 600 kgs. of USA. Hindustan Steel with an authorised capital of Rs. 3,000 million was floated for the purpose of undertaking the construction of these steel plants.

With the construction of Bokaro plant and the expansion of the three existing plants, the company hoped to achieve the target of seven million ton capacity. However, that was not to be. Bokaro was delayed because of the illusions the government had regarding American aid on which they pinned their hopes for assistance. That hope has been shattered. But now that the Soviet Union has again come forward to help with money and material and technical know-how, we can expect the Bokaro plant also to be completed in record time.

Plans are afoot for the construction of two more plants, one near Visakhapatnam port and another near Hospet.

The first project to start the work of construction was Rourkela, in 1956, with German collaboration. Around the plant a new township with all modern facilities also arose. Actual production started in the year 1959. Although the plant had some initial difficulties, by April 1962, the plant was in full operation.

The total cost of this million-ton steel plant is Rs. 234 crores, broadly divided as Rs. 208 crores for the plant and equipment, Rs. 14 crores for mines and quarries, and Rs. 14 crores for the township. Expansion work for increasing the production capacity from 1 million to 1.8 million tonnes is going on. This is expected to cost a further Rs. 130 crores. It is said that the authorities envisage a further expansion from 1.8 million to 2.5 million tonnes.

Gas, released from the coke ovens, where coal is converted into coke before being fed into the blast furnace, yields several byproducts. Tar distillation plant, benzol refining plant, ammonia, sulphuric acid, dephenolising units, etc., are parts of the byproducts plant.

There are some auxiliary plants also. An automatic pipe plant capable of producing 10,000 tonnes of pipes having diameters ranging from 8" to 20" is functioning. This plant was able to supply pipes for the oil line project of Barauni. This plant is now confident of supplying the requirements of Indian Refineries Ltd.

The grey iron foundry is designed to make castings required for this steel plant, blast furnaces, steel melting shop etc.

The fertilizer plant attached to Rourkela is the biggest in India, utilising the nitrogen from the oxygen plant, hydrogen from the coke oven gas and lower grade limestone from the plant's quarry. The fertilizer plant produces nitric acid, ammonia and calcium, ammonium nitrate, etc.

The construction of Bhilai steel plant with Soviet help was started in May 1957. The entire work was carried through with clocklike precision and on February 4, 1959, production of pig iron was commenced. Production of steel started on October 12, 1959 and rolling of steel started on November 7, 1959.

Bhilai was the first steel plant in India which attained its full rated capacity production of one million tonnes per annum in the shortest period of one year, after the completion of the works. During the year 1963-64 its production was 15 per cent above the annual rated capacity of the works. The main products are rails, sleeper bars, crossing sleepers, heavy structural angles, rounds, squares, billets, and foundry-grade pig iron. 12,500 tonnes of rails made to special specifications were exported to Sudan. The capacity of the plant is now under expansion to 2½ million tonnes ingot steel per annum. This expansion also is due to Soviet help. Later on the

A Visit To The Public Sector Steel Plants

NEED FOR CHANGE IN LABOUR RELATIONS

By P. K. KUMARAN, MP

authorities hope to expand it to 3.5 million tonne capacity. The byproducts plants at Bhilai produce 60,000 tons of various valuable chemical products from the coke oven gases, like ammonium sulphate, fertilizer, pitch, naphthalene, anthracene phenol, benzene, motor fuel, solvent etc.

A new township has sprung.



up in Bhilai and also at the mines not far away. Population is about a lakh.

Down of Steel Era

The construction of Durgapur steel plant was started in the year 1957 with British collaboration. The annual capacity of the plant is one million tonnes of steel ingots. Production began in December 1959. Products are wagon, wheels and axle sets, railway sleepers, rails rounds, bearing plates, fish plates, bars, squares, angles etc.

The by-products recovered from coke oven gas are as usual ammonium sulphate, crude tar, benzene, toluene, xylene, solvent, naphtha etc. Expansion work from 1 million to 1.6 million tons capacity is on at Durgapur.

The coming up of these steel plants has paved the way for establishing several industrial undertakings around these plants; several factories manufacturing machineries, carbon black, fertilizers, etc. utilising the products, byproducts and wastes from the steel plants have already sprung up. The country's per capita consumption of steel has risen from 1.5 kgs. to 9 kgs. All these developments are having immense effect in the industrial complex of India. The three plants employ more than 3,000 employees of which nearly 3,000 are engineers and technicians. They are all young and very enthusiastic about the job they are doing. They know they are engaged in building a new India. But from scrappy conversations we had with some of them, we have reason to suspect that disillusionment is slowly creeping in. The attitude of the large bulk of the employees also is very critical. It was clear that neither the government nor the manage-

ments of these plants have succeeded in creating a spirit or a feeling of participation in the noble task of nation-building among the employees in general. The predominant feeling is that large amount of money is being squandered by the management on unnecessary expenditures, prestige building, etc. The practice of employing contractors for expansion and other works is also disliked by the workers in general. They are of the opinion that this practice only helps in lining the pockets of a few bureaucratic officials.

The problem of the construction labour, skilled and unskilled, is a special one in these plants. Recruiting and training establishment should give preference to the construction labour over recruits from the open market.

In higher categories, which are normally filled in by promotion, a percentage should be set apart for experienced cadre from the construction side. An all-India organisation of construction cadre can be created and utilised by the government for construction and expansion work in all the industrial and engineering undertakings. That will give them security of service while the government will have their own experienced construction staff.

Unhappy Labour Relations

The worker-management relation is anything but satisfactory. At Rourkela it can be said that almost every worker of contempt with which an ordinary worker regards the management. One man to whom I talked was an executive committee member of the INTUC union. Rourkela also appeared to suffer from a lack of management control and coordination. When this question was put to some of the officers, no proper answer came forth.

The worker-management relation appeared to be better at Durgapur than at the other places. Evidently the bureaucratic approach of the government officials who are posted to run these plants has a lot to do with the unhappy labour relations prevailing in many of the public sector undertakings. It is our considered opinion, that not ICS or IAS officers, but technical personnel who know the industry, the production process and also the problems of the workers should be posted as administrative officers in charge of these plants.

A suitable standing machinery for exercising democratic control over the management has got to be evolved in each plant. Labour should be adequately represented in such bodies. At present even for regulating labour-management relations, there is no suitable machinery. At Bhilai the state government has arbitrarily advised the management to recognise an INTUC union whatever may be the membership claimed by that union. No scrutiny is required to arrive at the conclusion that the union does not represent the majority of the workers. Similarly at Rourkela and Durgapur also INTUC unions are recognised. But even these recognised unions are not feeling happy about the position.

The solution appears to be to adopt a uniform procedure throughout all the public sector undertakings. I have not understood why the public sector undertakings under the Central government should not be brought under the central labour laws and rules. The Chief Labour Commissioner and his assistants,

and conciliation officers and inspectors will be better suited for dealing with these establishments.

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I have stated earlier: the huge strides steel manufacturing has made in this country. Still there are many fields in which we have to advance, for example we are even now importing more than 90 per cent of our requirements of ship-building steel.

But why is it that the people at large, are not feeling or appreciating the impact of these improvements in our industry? Not even the workers of the plant concerned feel it. The question is, are we sure, that the wealth created in these state-owned undertakings is reaching the masses whose money is invested in these plants?

Financing Private Sector

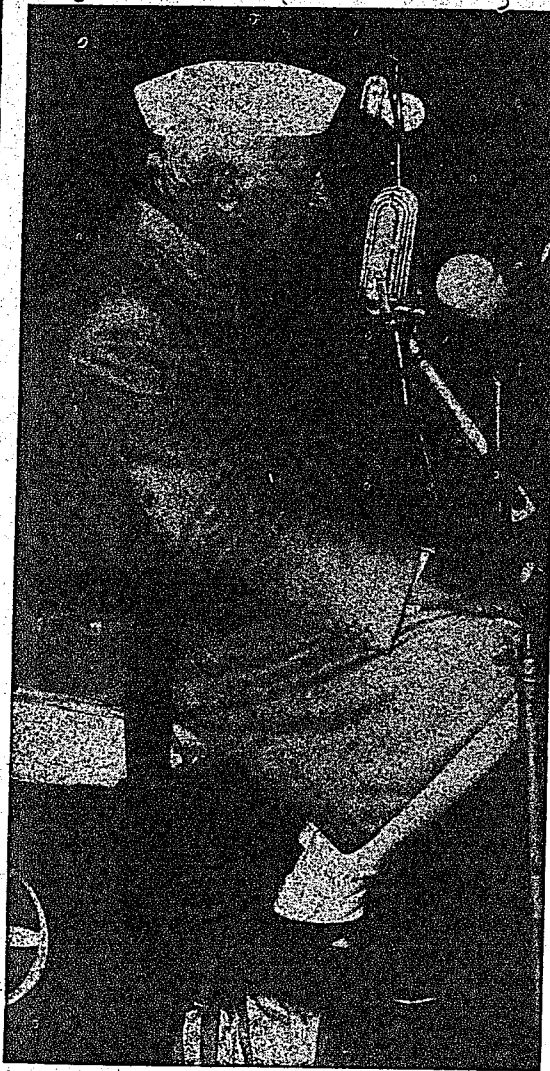
A particular instance came to my notice at Bhilai—Bhilai is manufacturing coke out of washed coal for the use of their furnaces. The consumption of coke at Bhilai is about 800 kgs per tonne of hot metal, which is the lowest in India. Hence they are in a position to supply coke to other steel plants and also to sell in the market.

The coal is supplied to Bhilai at Rs. 71 per tonne and the cost of one tonne of coke comes to Rs. 102. But they have to supply this coke to steel plants in the private sector at Rs. 67 per tonne, which is the market price fixed for coals. What do we call this arrangement?

This is a method by which the public sector is financing the private sector. This is how the common man's money is passed into the private profiteers' hands by the government.

It is very necessary to examine the economy of the whole public sector projects in the light of such incidents. Only such a study will reveal to what extent the public sector is really laying the foundation of economic independence and progress and to what extent it is feeding the monopolists of the private sector.

GRIEF OF SOCIALIST WORLD



KHRUSHCHOV'S RADIO TALK

IN his speech over the Moscow Radio and Television, on the evening of May 27, concerning his recent visit to the United Arab Republic, N. S. Khrushchov made a touching reference to the sad demise of Jawaharlal Nehru, news of which was received in Moscow a little while back.

"I cannot but tell you," he said, "about the sad news we received today from the capital of India, Delhi—the death of Prime Minister Nehru, an outstanding statesman of our time, a great and sincere friend of the Soviet Union.

"It is not only the people of India who are bereaved on the death of their friend and wise leader, the fighter for the independence and national regeneration of India. All progressive people mourn the death of Prime Minister Nehru, the man who, to the last hour of his life, gave all his strength, his mind of statesman and experience to the service of the lofty ideals of humanism peace and progress.

"I happened to meet this great statesman on a number of occasions and every time I saw him as a man who was clearly aware of the significance of the friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and India had for the peoples of both countries and for rallying all forces fighting for strengthening peace.

"On behalf of the Soviet people, the Soviet government and my own behalf I want to express deepfelt sorrow to the family of the deceased, to the President of the Republic of India Dr. Radhakrishnan, the Government of India and all the Indian people and extend our sincere condolences to them.

"The memory of Prime Minister Nehru will always live in the hearts of Soviet people, in the hearts of all those who prize friendship between the Soviet Union and India, and we, Soviet people, have always treasured this friendship."

KOSYGIN'S HOMAGE

"The name of Jawaharlal Nehru," said J. Kosygin, First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, "is dear to the Soviet people." He was speaking at Ramlila ground at a mammoth public meeting, held on May 29 to pay tributes to late Jawaharlal Nehru.

"The Soviet people take this irreparable loss to their hearts with particular feeling of sorrow as everybody in our country knows what invaluable contribution has been

made by the departed Prime Minister to the cause of development of Soviet-Indian relations and of strengthening friendship between our peoples, in order that our two countries, which earlier did not know each other, could become now not only good neighbours but sincere friends", Kosygin added.

Moscow children from school no. 23, where Hindi and Urdu are taught, came to the Indian Embassy in Moscow and signed their names in the condolence book. In a letter to Indira Gandhi they said, "we have been deeply moved and shocked as we loved him. We share your grief as it is our grief. We had proud privilege of receiving two letters from Mr. Nehru, which are our treasured possessions."

Three-Day Mourning in Cuba

THE Cuban government declared three days of official mourning beginning from Wednesday for the late Prime Minister Nehru. Flags on all public buildings flew at half mast and Jawaharlal Nehru's death was reported prominently on the front pages of Cuban newspapers.

BUCHAREST

IN Bucharest, the Rumanian President and other top-ranking representatives visited the Indian Embassy and offered their condolences.

George Apostol, Vice-chairman of Rumania's council of Ministers, who came to New Delhi to attend the funeral said that Jawaharlal Nehru was an eminent statesman and an outstanding figure in international political life. He had devoted his whole life and activity to the struggle for freedom and independence of India and its prosperity, at the same time contributing substantially to the strengthening of international peace and cooperation.

WARSAW

IN Warsaw, immediately after the receipt of the news of the death of Prime Minister Nehru, the Polish Prime Minister Jozef Cyrankiewicz and Foreign Minister Adam Rapacki called on the Indian Ambassador and offered condolences on behalf of the people and the Government of Poland.

In a telegram to Dr. Radhakrishnan, President Zawadzki said: "The Polish people would always cherish the memory of Jawaharlal Nehru as a great leader of the Indian people and a relentless fighter for the independence of the nation and peaceful co-

PRESIDENT TITO

PRESIDENT Tito of Yugoslavia, in a statement to his country's press, radio and television, said: "In his (Nehru's) death, the Indian people suffered a great loss because he leaves the scene of internal and international developments right at a time when his contribution was of great significance."

He said by his death the nonaligned countries, the developing countries and, in a wider sense, the entire world had lost a great peace fighter who was very well acquainted with the international circumstances, who did his best to prevent humanity from being brought to the verge of world catastrophe.

In a message of condolence addressed to Dr. Radhakrishnan Tito said that in Nehru's death the world had lost a "very big fighter for peace."

He said: "Mr. Nehru was deeply human not only towards his people but towards the peoples of the world in general."

The Yugoslav people shared Indian people's deep sorrow over the death of "our great friend and statesman," he added.

NOVOTNY'S CONDOLENCE

CZECHOSLOVAK President Antonin Novotny on May 27 sent a telegram of condolence to Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, on the death of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. Telegrams of condolence were also sent by Premier Jozef Lenart to Gulzari Lal Nanda, the new Prime Minister, and by Zdenek Fierlinger, Chairman of the Czechoslovak National Assembly, to Hukum Singh, Speaker of the Lok Sabha, and to Dr. Zakir Hussain, Chairman of the Rajya Sabha.

"With deep emotion and distress I have learnt the sad news of the sudden passing of the great son of India, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, whose name will always be remembered as a great leader of people for the freedom and independence of your great country, for her allround development," writes President Novotny in his telegram of condolence.

"All peace-loving humanity has lost in him an outstanding statesman. The Czechoslovak people will never forget that in the trying days of the imminent threat to our Republic by the Munich dictat in 1938, Jawaharlal Nehru raised his voice in support of the rights of our people for the defence of their country.

"On behalf of the Czechoslovak people, and myself I wish to express to you Mr. President, to the family of the deceased and to the people of India my deepest sympathy and condolence," concludes the telegram.

* ON FACING PAGE

JUNE 7, 1964

CLOSE TIES RECALLED

* From Facing Page

In his telegram of condolence, Czechoslovak Premier Jozef Lenart writes that the world has lost a great statesman because of the death of the Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, "a leading fighter for the freedom and independence of India, its allround economic and cultural development and the welfare of its people.

"Together with the nations of the whole world the Czechoslovak people will always greatly recall his fruitful life devoted to unceasing work and struggle for peace and peaceful cooperation," Premier Lenart's message concludes.

Zdenek Fierlinger, Chairman of the Czechoslovak National Assembly writes in his telegram of condolence: "I have received with deep

grief the distressing news of the death of the Prime Minister of the Republic of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, who was a great fighter for the freedom of India. His name will always be linked with the struggle for the maintenance of world peace and cooperation among nations. Please, accept my deepest sympathy on this great loss."

Ulbricht's Message

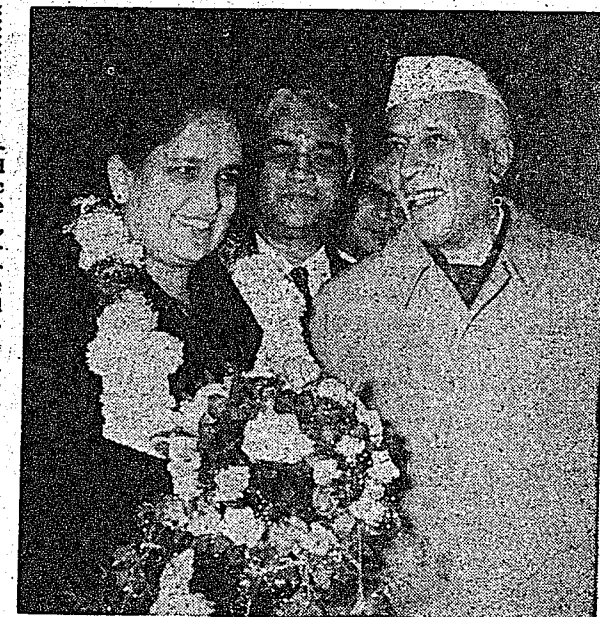
WALTER Ulbricht, Chairman of the GDR State Council, addressed a message of condolence on May 27 to the President of India, Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, on the death of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru.

"On behalf of the people of

the German Democratic Republic and the State Council of the German Democratic Republic and in my own name permit me, Your Excellency, to convey my deepfelt condolence and beg that our feelings be made known to the relatives of the departed and to the population of the Republic of India.

"The people of the German Democratic Republic share the sorrow of the Indian people and the whole of peace-loving humanity at the demise of the eminent statesman who tirelessly fought for the preservation of peace and who also clearly advocated a peaceful solution to questions concerning Germany.

"The State Council and the people of the German Democratic Republic will hold the memory of the great son of the Indian people in permanent honour."



Jawaharlal Nehru with Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon.

MESSAGES From Democratic Organisations

Messages received by the All-India Trade Union Congress:

ALL-INDIAN CENTRAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS, USSR

It is with a feeling of grief that we learned of the death of a great friend of the Soviet Union, Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru. The working people of the Soviet Union have highly appraised Jawaharlal Nehru's contribution to the cause of the struggle against colonialism, the strengthening of peace and friendship among nations, to the struggle for peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems. Together with the Indian working people, the Soviet trade unions grieve over this great loss.

CONFEDERATION OF FREE GERMAN TRADE UNIONS, BERLIN

"On behalf of working people of the GDR, the National Executive Committee of the FDGB sends condolence for the death of Prime Minister Nehru."

Dr. Berger, Vice-President

METALLURGICAL WORKERS UNION USSR

"On behalf of the Soviet metallurgical and engineering workers, we present our deep and sincere condolences in connection with severe loss in the death of Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, the great friend of the Soviet Union, prominent figure of national liberation movement, staunch champion of peace and friendship among the nations."

Novikov, General Secretary, and Semionov, Secretary, Central Committee.

ANGOLA

"The workers of Angola convey their deepest emotions

JUNE 7, 1964

and grief at the sad demise of Prime Minister Nehru."

YUGOSLAV TRADE UNIONS, Belgrade

"Expressing deep sympathies on the sudden death of great humanist, distinguished champion of peace and friendship among nations, supporter of closest cooperation and firm friendship between our countries, fighter for prosperity and better life of working men of his own country, great leader of India Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru."

Central Council of Yugoslav Trade Unions.

Youth of the World

FREE GERMAN YOUTH:

ON behalf of the Youth of the German Democratic Republic we convey our sincere condolence in the death of your Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, the peace-loving man in the fight for peace, peaceful coexistence, national independence and a happy future of the people. We would like to assure you that in these grave hours the youth of our Republic feel closely united with the Indian people and the Indian youth.

Horst Schumann First Secretary, Central Council of the Free German youth.

WEST INDIES JAMAICA UNIVERSITY

Heartfelt sympathy on loss of Prime Minister. World mourn death of great man.

—West Indies Jamaica University.

COMMITTEE OF YOUTH ORGANISATIONS: USSR

Soviet youth express most sincere condolences to Indian youth and all people of India on occasion of demise of Jawaharlal Nehru, outstanding statesman of India, great friend of Soviet people. Soviet youth knew Jawaharlal Nehru as active peace champion, fighter for peaceful coexistence and national independence who has done a lot for strengthening friendship between our peoples. Grieving together with you we express assurance that ideals of humanism and peace to which Jawaharlal Nehru devoted all his life will strengthen and develop.

—Committee of Youth Organisation, USSR.

SOVIET YOUTH GRIEVES

Fyotr Reshetov, Chairman of the Committee of Youth Organisations of the USSR, has sent the following message on behalf of the Soviet young people:

"On behalf of Soviet young people, I express deep condolences on the death of Nehru, an eminent statesman and public figure, a friend of the Soviet people, a man who did much to strengthen friendship and cooperation between the peoples of India and the USSR, between the youth of our two countries.

"We knew Jawaharlal Nehru as an active champion of peace, as a fighter for peaceful coexistence and national independence, for the strengthening of peace and friendship between peoples. Expressing our condolences to the Indian people and to Indian youth we are confident that those ideals of peace and friendship to which Jawaharlal Nehru devoted the whole of his life will develop and strengthen."

Peace Movement of the Whole World Shocked

Messages received by the AIPC

THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE:

DEEPLY shocked by Premier Nehru's death. Terrible loss to India and all peace-loving people everywhere. His historic contributions to the ideas of peaceful coexistence, the fight to end colonialism in all its forms and to solidarity of the Asian-African peoples will stay alive in the memory of mankind. Heartfelt sympathy to his family and people of India. We must preserve the heritage of Nehru's work.

THE SOVIET PEACE COMMITTEE

ALL Soviet peace supporters have been shocked by sad death news of great humanist, fighter for peace and friendship among nations, great friend of Soviet Union Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India. There is not single family in Soviet Union that did not know this man. We had deepest respect for him and we always highly appreciated his wisdom, his ardent heart, his kind words addressed to our people and our government.

We know whole life of Jawaharlal Nehru was a great exploit in the struggle against colonialism, for honour and freedom of new India. Nehru was most outstanding statesman of our time. It was he who took over from Mahatma Gandhi torchlight of freedom and through his activity, through his indefatigable struggle, he demonstrated to the world the insuperable strength and inordinate beauty of great people of India, their strivings and hopes.

On this sorrowful day we would like you to feel what is in our hearts, hearts of Soviet people—our grief, our sorrow, and our very deep belief that all good and great results accomplished by Nehru will not be allowed to stop halfway and

that it will develop. We believe in the great genius of the Indian people who, together with us, together with all peoples of world, will carry on with still greater energy the struggle for peaceful coexistence, cooperation and friendship on earth. Farewell, great son of India, you will always be alive in our memory, your great and noble deeds will remain immortal for ever.

Alexander Kornetichuk, Nikolai Tikhonov, Ilya Eherenburg, E. Federov, G. Zhukov, Victor Tchikhivadze, V. Tereskin, Michel Kotov, Wanda Wassilevska, N. Popova, Boris Polevoi, K. Simonov, Alexander Surkov, A. Sofronov, T. Nikolayeva.

YUGOSLAVIA

Deeply sorry for the loss of your Prime Minister Nehru great fighter for peace and friendship of people.

Yugoslav League for Peace

CZECHOSLOVAK PEACE COMMITTEE

Please accept our deepest sympathy at the death of the great statesman Jawaharlal Nehru which has filled our movement with deepest sorrow. We shall for all times remember his outstanding contribution to the cause of world peace and understanding between the peoples.

RUMANIAN PEACE COMMITTEE

On behalf of peace partisans of our country Rumanian Peace Committee conveys sincere condolences for the heavy loss you have suffered in the death of the great statesman Jawaharlal Nehru, fighter for peace the world over.

BULGARIAN PEACE COMMITTEE

Please accept sincere condolence of Bulgarian peace partisans on demise of Prime Minister Nehru, great son of Indian people, outstanding statesman and indefatigable fighter for peace.

GREAT BRITAIN

Deepest sympathy. Grave loss.

Ivor Montagu

* ON PAGE 14

PAGE SEVEN

What Is Non-Capitalist Path Of Development

Q How can there be a non-capitalist path of development? We can either have socialism or capitalism. (S. GHOSH, Monoharpukur Road, Calcutta)

A Many years ago Lenin had pointed out that life was always richer than any theory. Indeed, if theory is to be a guide to change, it must first of all thoroughly comprehend the reality it seeks to change.

So before asking how there can be a non-capitalist path of development it would be better to ask if there have been any examples of a non-capitalist path of development.

Exactly because there were such examples shortly after the October Revolution, Lenin put forward the thesis of non-capitalist path of development. It is more than odd that those who claim to be the "pure Leninists" now state that all talk of the non-capitalist path is humbug.

The examples Lenin had before him were the Asian Republics of the Soviet Union and Mongolia. In all these states capitalist relations of production had either not developed at all or existed in a very rudimentary state in the shape of imperialist capital. Without the development of capitalism there could naturally be no question of the existence, in any significant numbers, of the working class. And without the working class and its vanguard party there could naturally be no question of a socialist revolution or socialist development.

What then was to be the perspective of these states made up of tribal societies or slave societies or of feudal agglomerations? What path of development opened up before these tribesmen, shepherds, herdsmen and peasants?

Some persons argued that there could be no question of "skipping" the capitalist stage of development, that only after capitalism had become the decisive socio-economic formation could the question be posed of a transition to socialism.

Lenin combated these views. He pointed out that given the decisive influence of the victorious proletarian revolution in Russia it should be possible to take these states to socialism through the transitional form of a non-capitalist path. The victorious proletariat could aid and guide these peoples to develop along modern lines through industrial development, cooperative agriculture and a cultural revolution.

Change In Social Structure

In the very process of so doing the social structure of these states would undergo a profound change—a working class, a collective farm peasantry and a people's intelligentsia would surely develop. Thus in time the transition to a full-fledged socialist state and society would become a reality.

This is exactly how things developed in the Soviet Asian Republics and Mongolia where entire people bypassed the capitalist stage of development and arrived at socialism through the non-capitalist path of development. Practice, the only criterion of truth, proved the correctness of Lenin's vision.

It should be noted that the decisive part in this development was the leading role of the victorious proletarian revolution in Russia. It was the hegemony of the Soviet socialist state that drew these non-proletarian strata to the goal of socialism. Considering the weakness of the Soviet state at that time, the fact of geographical contiguity played an outstanding role.

What is the situation today? Why does the Moscow Statement of 1960 endorsed by 81 Communist Parties including the Communist Party of China again raise the question of the non-capitalist path? Two facts are of paramount importance here.

First, the role of the socialist camp. It is not a rhetorical flourish that made the 81 Parties write this formulation in the 1960 Moscow statement:

"It is the principal characteristic of our time that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society. Today it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism for a socialist transformation of society that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society."

Role Of World Socialist System

It can be said that the world socialist system has today the potentialities of playing the same role vis-a-vis the vast underdeveloped and newly liberated region of the world that was played by the single victorious Russian proletariat in the 1920s.

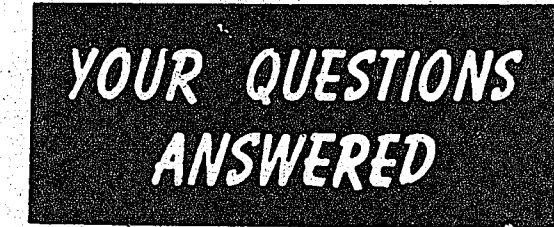
By the prevention of the export of counter-revolution, by the tremendous material aid to help lay the basis of a modern, industrialised and cultured society, by the example of successful, steady growth as against the convulsive, unjust and exploitative character of capitalism—through all these means the world socialist system can play a leading and guiding role and decisively influence developments in the newly liberated areas. And it has been playing this role at an ever-increasing pace since 1953.

The world socialist system becoming the decisive factor in the development of society and world capitalism entering upon the third stage of its general crisis, gives an altogether new meaning and dimension to the concept of working class leadership or proletarian hegemony.

Secondly, in the past fifteen years we have witnessed the breakdown of the colonial system and the emergence of some sixty sovereign states in Asia, Africa and Latin America. What is the perspective of development of these states in the new epoch?

Many of these new states are almost at the same level of development as the Soviet Asian Republics and Mongolia were in the 1920s, especially in Africa. Capitalist relations of production either do not exist or are present in a rudimentary form. If these states are to escape the clutches of neo-colonialism the only course is rapid economic development with the help of the socialist camp, especially the Soviet Union.

And this is what is happening in a number of such states, the most outstanding examples of which are Ghana, Guinea, Mali and in a different way Algeria. Under the



leadership of revolutionary democrats, rallying such workers as do exist, uniting the peasantry and intelligentsia and allying with the world socialist camp, these states have taken to the non-capitalist path as a form of transition to socialism.

Certainly it would be wrong to say that in these African states either the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat exists—and without such dictatorship neither capitalism nor socialism can be said to be in being.

An ever-extending state sector in industry, various forms of individual or cooperative forms of agriculture, a cultural upheaval, the creation of a working class and a national democratic intelligentsia—all these developments are proceeding at a fairly rapid rate. The capitalist stage of development is being bypassed.

Significant Development

An even more significant development is taking place in the UAR. Increasingly radical agrarian reforms have been initiated, including the abolition of compensation to landlords. The state sector in industry, starting out as the dramatic anti-imperialist measure of nationalising the Suez Canal, has steadily grown through the nationalisation of all banks and all major industries and trade with the minimum of compensation. Workers' rights in the state-owned industries are being steadily enlarged. Here again aid from and the alliance with the socialist camp plays an outstanding role.

What is happening in the UAR where capitalism had developed to the stage of the formation of monopolies is the severe restriction of the laws of capitalist development and the coming into operation of the non-capitalist path of development.

And this is happening when the UAR working class is not in power nor in the position of leadership, though the revolutionary democrats are increasingly turning to cooperation and alliance with it.

Similar developments are taking place in Burma. Through a process of struggle a stage has now been reached where all leading industrial enterprises are state-owned, no more privately owned enterprises will be built, and foreign private investment in the economy is practically excluded. Nearly all foreign trade has been nationalised and in internal trade the share of the private sector is only 50 per cent. New agrarian reform laws have been enacted which have hit at the landlords and usurers. The revolutionary council has called for the building of a socialist society, where the decisive force will be the peasant masses, industrial workers and intelligentsia.

in the UAR and where the political role of the working class is also far greater with a developed Communist Party having deep mass roots.

The advance towards and along the non-capitalist path is a path of struggle against imperialism and landlordism as well as against the unrestricted development of capitalism, where capitalist relations of production already exist. It is a struggle against neo-colonialism and against foreign and indigenous monopoly capital, where this exists. It is a struggle for rapid allround national development.

National-Democratic Front

In this struggle a broad national-democratic front is essential of all classes objectively interested in and profiting from national-democratic development, that is, the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, petty bourgeoisie and the patriotic non-monopoly sections of the bourgeoisie.

In this struggle friendship with the socialist camp, learning from its example and utilising its material aid and jointly combating imperialism is of paramount importance. There is no possibility of non-capitalist development if there is hostility to the socialist camp, especially the Soviet Union.

It can be seen how harmful in the context of all these developments, is the line of the CPC which seeks to turn the newly independent states against the socialist camp, especially against the Soviet Union. It can be seen also how oversimplified is its approach to the problem of the path of development of the newly liberated countries—the approach of "armed struggle" anywhere and everywhere, of people's democracy with exclusive working class leadership within each country.

Our is an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism which Lenin taught us is the crucial problem facing working class parties. In many newly liberated countries the non-capitalist path will be precisely the form of transition to socialism.

—MOHIT SEN

Burma, though not as capitalistically developed as the UAR, had entered upon the capitalist path of development but under the leadership of the revolutionary democrats and with the aid and influence of the socialist camp, is now advancing in the direction of the non-capitalist path of development.

Transitional Form

Thus, in some newly liberated countries, both where capitalism does not exist and where it has reached a certain stage of development, the peoples are building their states along non-capitalist lines, as a transitional form, to socialism.

It cannot be ruled out that similar developments will not take place even in a country like India where capitalism is even more developed than

CPC Leadership Distorts Role of National Liberation Movement

Assessment of R. PALME DUTT

The popular national-liberation movement and its success are indissolubly bound up with the proletarian revolutionary struggle and the growing might of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, who are giving increasing support to the peoples fighting for freedom and stronger national independence.

THIS proposition, deriving from Marxist-Leninist theory and world revolutionary practice, is now being revised and scouted by the leadership of the Communist Party of China, with tremendous damage thus being done to the unity of the international communist movement and to the aim of victoriously climaxing the effort to completely abolish the infamy of colonialism and neocolonialism.

The entire present-day development of the national-liberation movement demonstrates as completely untenable the CPC leadership's revisionist formulas and attempts to place the national-liberation movement in opposition to the forces of the socialist community and the successes of the working-class movement.

The victory of the Russian working class in the Great October Socialist Revolution resulted in the national-liberation movement's initial victories over imperialism. The peoples of Central Asia overthrew the yoke of tsarist imperialism, thereby showing the way to all the Afro-Asian and Latin American nations.

October lit the torch of the anti-colonial revolution throughout the world and paved the way for the anti-imperialist victory of all the colonies.

Before 1917 all anti-colonial revolutions were mercilessly suppressed by imperialism and it was not given to us to celebrate their victory.

October Inspires

However, after the Great October Socialist Revolution, and, still more, after 1945, when the world socialist camp arose, the international situation changed. In the national-liberation movement, victory followed victory. 1917 inspired the active fighters of the Chinese national revolution, who founded the Chinese Communist Party and later made the Chinese revolution victorious.

Soviet moral and material support, including weapons and military specialists, made it easier for the Chinese people to win. This help, as leaders of national-liberation movements admit for all to hear, is facilitating the great national-liberation movement of all the peoples struggling against colonialism.

By now most of the one-time colonies are sovereign states. Fifty countries have gained political independence

align with imperialist and militarist blocs, claiming that this policy is supposedly one of equal resistance to both socialism and imperialism.

The great importance today of having a still stronger alliance between the forces of socialism and the national-liberation movement is quite obvious to every true Marxist-Leninist. We take that as a sure guarantee of being able to spike imperialism's counterattacks and its attempts to infiltrate anew the economies and policies of the young independent states.

Disgust Roused

The position the leaders of the Communist Party of China have adopted in this respect can only arouse the disgust of fighters for the national liberation of the peoples, who condemn it. They have found it possible to echo the arguments of neocolonialist propaganda and are, more and more openly, making statements aimed at splitting the unity between the national-liberation movement and the international communist and working class movement.

To substantiate those splitting tactics, the Chinese leaders have put forward and are touting the following three points:

★ The main contradiction of today is not between socialism and imperialism but—as the CPC leaders claim—has "shifted" to the plane of relation between the national-liberation movement and imperialism.

★ Only the three continents of Africa, Asia and Latin America represent today the main arena of the world revolution and the outcome of the struggle in these three continents is supposedly decisive for the world revolution.

★ The tasks of peaceful co-existence put forward by the leaders of the CPSU and the other Communist Parties are viewed as the refusal to support the national-liberation movement; the task of averting a world nuclear war is reduced to castigation of war for national liberation and it is furthermore claimed that the Soviet Union has betrayed the interests of the national-liberation movement and is supposedly urging the oppressed nations to submit to imperialism until universal disarmament is carried out.

These points clash with the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the 1960 Statement of the meeting of the fraternal Parties; they crudely distort the concrete facts.

The 1960 Statement points out that the main contradiction of today is the contradiction between socialism and

imperialism. This definition formulated by Lenin, is a development of the analysis which Marx supplied of the basic contradiction between capitalism and the working class. Lenin said that from 1917 the national-liberation movement had become part of the world socialist revolution.

There is no doubt that today the national-liberation movement in Africa, Asia and Latin America is a fiery furnace of revolutionary battle against imperialism and is, as Lenin always taught us, of vital importance for the victory of the world socialist revolution. However, the national-liberation movement owes all its past, present and future successes only to the victories and might of the socialist camp and the respective weakening of imperialism. These successes depend on close cooperation with the socialist camp and the international working class.

The Chinese leaders say that their "three-continent theory", which claims Africa, Asia and Latin America to be the main centres of the world revolution today, does not rule out the desirability of contact with the world socialist camp. But what price these words if, in practice, the Chinese leaders dare to accuse the Soviet Union of "betraying" the interests of the national-liberation movement.

Blasphemous Charge

With this blasphemous charge, the CPC leaders are objectively erecting a wall, which, as they see it, should separate the national-liberation movement from the Soviet Union and the international working class. This only plays into the hands of the imperialists.

The "three-continent theory", which detaches the national-liberation movement from the socialist camp and the international working class, is pregnant with mortal peril to the vital interests of the peoples of these three continents. It was only from 1917 and, still more, after the general victory over fascism in 1954, that the national-liberation movement, previously throttled by overpowering imperialism, was able to score victory.

Suez in 1956, Syria in 1957 and Cuba in 1962 showed that only socialism's might makes it possible to defend newly independent countries from imperialist attacks.

A split in the anti-imperialist camp would signify the loss of the advantages and vast opportunities which alliance with the socialist system gives the national-liberation movement. The main aim of imperialist strategy is to facilitate this split. The imperialists seek to set the na-

tional liberation movement and its leaders at loggerheads with the Soviet Union, to make them regard the Soviet Union as a great power pursuing a policy in no whit different from that of the imperialist states.

The theory of "tri-continental separatism" is most strikingly expressed in racism. It seeks to replace a real distinction between the interests of the imperialist oppressors on the one hand, and the national liberation movement and working masses on the other, by spurious distinctions between the white and coloured races based on the colour of one's skin.

According to this "theory" the socialist camp in the person of the Soviet Union and the socialist nations of Europe, fall along with the imperialist powers into the category of "whites". While such a confusion between national and class oppression can be explained in the case of ruthlessly oppressed African or American Negro who has just awakened to active struggle, even a hint at such a view is absolutely unpardonable coming from a Communist.

So what justification can one find for the demand of the Chinese representatives not to admit Soviet delegates to a number of recent Afro-Asian conferences on the excuse that they do not represent Asia? This is being done, mind you, though it was precisely the Central Asian Republics of the Soviet Union who were the first Asian nations to throw off the colonialist yoke and gain freedom!

The charges levelled against the Soviet Union of having not supported the national liberation movement and of not supporting it now are so disgraceful that it is difficult to imagine that their inventors really believe what they say. These accusations completely falsify the facts.

All the socialist countries and Communist Parties have fought for the national liberation of the peoples and are continuing to do so. However, the prime assistance—military, material and technical—in the national liberation movement has been received and is being received chiefly from the Soviet Union.

There has never been in world history such infinite self-sacrifice, courage and consistent internationalism as shown by the Soviet people over all these years. It has helped and is helping all the peoples suffering from colonial oppression to achieve freedom and progress.

When this exploit is smeared by slander, moreover coming not from imperialist hirelings, but from Chinese leaders—who but so recently eloquently admitted the Soviet Union's decisive role in

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PEACE HAS BEEN NEHRU'S BANNER

I DO NOT KNOW ENOUGH ABOUT STOCK-EXCHANGES TO EXPLAIN IN ALL THEIR INTRICACIES THE REASONS WHY THE SHARES FELL ON THE INDIAN MARKETS, WHILE JAWAHARLAL NEHRU LAY IN STATE AT THE NOW-SACRED HOUSE ON TIN MURTI MARG. BUT I KNOW THIS: THE SHARES OF WORLD PEACE TUMBLED DOWNWARDS AS PERHAPS THEY HAD NEVER TUMBLED BEFORE ON THE DEATH OF A SINGLE OTHER MAN.

I AM not in the habit of exaggerating. And if I say what I have said above, it is only after deep deliberation. I have read through, as you must have done, all the messages which have poured in from every continent. And in them I have found the same pain, the same concern as I have, as we all who love humanity have, in this period of sorrow.

It is pain at the passing away of a giant among men. It is concern at the fact that we are left orphaned.

But even more, the pain in our hearts and the concern that blurs our eyes are for the deep, unhealable wounds which have torn apart all mankind, with the blowing out of the candle of life, which danced with so

triot. And its echoes have come from millions of hearts in other lands.

I will not speak of all the initiatives for peace and disarmament taken again and again in the years since independence by Jawaharlal Nehru. The time for that will come...

Grim Days of 1962

Just now, when the ashes of this man of peace are still warm, my mind goes back only to the grim days of November 1962, when, taking advantage of the conflict with China, jackals started to yelp and demand a reversal of Nehru's foreign policy of

tion of tremendous significance to the cause of peace. The non-aligned nations were part of the camp of peace, of the zone of peace.

★ Nehru's peace policy rested on the firm foundation of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This was its strength.

Again and again, the imperialists and their hirelings sought to give the policy of non-alignment an anti-Soviet, anti-Communist twist. They failed, because Nehru knew that non-alignment could survive, India could survive and be strong enough to beat back the attacks of the imperialists—only if they rested firmly on the bedrock of friendship with the socialist countries.

at certain moments were so costly. But I am not so blind as not to be able to see the great and mighty wood for the little trees... I can see the powerful total positive contribution, which gave such a gigantic heave to the world towards peace; and the mistakes here, the weaknesses there, do not change the totality in any manner whatsoever.

But what thrills me now as I write is above all the last phase—the phase when Nehru ceased to be on the defensive, as he had been forced to be since October 1962—when he took the offensive for peace as he had never taken before.

The last phase is perhaps best exemplified by the initiative taken by India for the participation of the Soviet Union in the Second Bandung. Here was an initiative having the grand sweep associated with the Nehru of our dreams—bold, clear, correct, casting off the fears of what the imperialists would say, Nehru plunged into campaign to

ensure the Soviet Union its rightful place in the Afro-Asian Conference.

Again, typical of the new phase has been the sharp tone of our statements and the clearcut decisiveness of our actions in regard to the colonial issues. Gone were the weaknesses of 1962-63 which cast a shadow over India's image—the weaknesses which accompanied the bitter days following the Chinese attack

for Bokaro, and above all, of course, in the preparations for the Second Bandung), of a sharper stand against colonialism and racism, a more emphatic assertion of the real content of non-alignment.

Nehru died at work. How else could this human dynamo have died? Can you imagine him dying in retirement?

The work for peace knows

attempt to do what they could never do as long as Nehru was alive.

But the Indian people shall not sit back and watch. They shall go into action in defence of the policy of peace and non-alignment, in support of every move made to carry it forward, ever forward... as its architect would have wished.

They say, Nehru wanted his ashes to be strewn in the fields of our villages... I do not know if that wish will be fulfilled.

But this again I do know. The flowers of Nehru's garden of peace are in the fields of every land. His inspiration lives in the heart of every peace worker in every corner of this globe.

And there are petals of a red rose falling in a continuous and unending rain, as the men of peace rally to make Nehru immortal, by carrying mankind faster to its goal of a world without war...

(June 2)

ROMESH CHANDRA

Nehru died just as this new, more forceful phase in foreign policy had begun to unfold itself. The last days will be remembered by men of peace as days of new initiatives, of greater forthrightness, of closer friendship with the Soviet Union (seen so vividly in the Security Council debates on Kashmir, in the acceptance of the offer of as-

no retirement. And the man of peace knows no rest.

What now? Will the new phase continue, as Nehru would have wished it? Or will the imperialist vultures, who have begun to grunt, have it their way?

This is for the Indian people to decide. If they sit back and only wait and watch, the gangsters of reaction will

With Nehru, in the Indian Peace Movement

It was a long way we of the Indian Peace Movement travelled with Jawaharlalji: from the earliest days when he scoffed at us ("Join the peace movement", he said, "and see the world") to the last phase when he sent a warm message of greetings to the All India Peace Congress at Amritsar (November, 1963), and capped this by himself inaugurating the National Seminar on International Affairs and World Peace in New Delhi (December, 1963).

It was a long, long way—and those of us who have had the privilege of being right at the centre of the peace movement from its very start, remember a hundred and more occasions, when Panditji helped us forward, as only he could.

Even in the earliest days, when publicly he scoffed at us—he had a respect for the peace movement which he expressed through his actions. Time and again he intervened personally in those days of the infancy of our peace movement, to ensure, for example, passports and other facilities for Indian delegations to peace conferences abroad. Time and again he encouraged leading personalities, who hesitated and then asked his advice on a personal basis, to join our movement.

True, there was once a ban imposed by the AICC on Congress members joining the Peace Council. How far away appear those days today. It was Panditji's intervention which again and again made that ban virtually a nullity... till the 1960s, when more and more official Congressmen began openly to take leading positions in the Peace Council.

Imagine the predicament of a bigotted and reactionary Congress boss, who sought to prevent Congressmen from taking part in the All India Peace Congress in Amritsar last November, when Panditji

himself sent a message of immense significance to the Peace Congress. The unfortunate Congress boss, subjected to much ridicule, wrote a pathetic protest to Panditji quoting the ancient circular of the AICC imposing the "ban".

Panditji's reply was prompt and unambiguous: the circular did not apply any more, it was out-dated and there was no objection to Congressmen participating in the movement!

In the years between, one recalls the graciousness with which Panditji himself intervened to accord us permission

to hold meetings in Delhi in 1958 and 1961 respectively of the World Peace Bureau and the World Peace Council. He went out of his way to meet the delegates and exchange views with them.

One of the impressions which Panditji had—till about 1958 at least—was that the language used by the peace movement was too belligerent. You must use the language of peace, he smilingly insisted when he met the members of the Bureau of the World Peace Council in the conference room of the Ministry of External Affairs in 1958.

As the years went by, he changed his mind... and began to see more and more the immense need for a people's movement for peace. In 1962, he enthusiastically gave his permission to all those Congress MPs and other Congressmen, who wanted to join the Indian delegation to the World Congress for Disarmament in Moscow, with

the result that the most influential and largest delegation ever of nearly 140 attended this greatest of all assemblies of the peace movement.

The crowning act of his association with us was, of course, his inauguration of the Seminar on International Affairs and World Peace last December. Few of us will ever forget his speech, his simple words, his appeal for action for peace by the people, his enunciation of his faith in non-alignment and peaceful coexistence.

It is not only the All India Peace Council which owes so much to Panditji's encouragement and support. Other peace bodies—like the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity, the Committee of Indian Parliamentarians for Peace etc.—all owe a great deal to Panditji. There were moments when interested people sought to create a barrier between him and the peace movement, attempting to raise the old Communist bogey. But they always failed.

In recent months, Panditji probably saw more clearly than ever the tremendous role



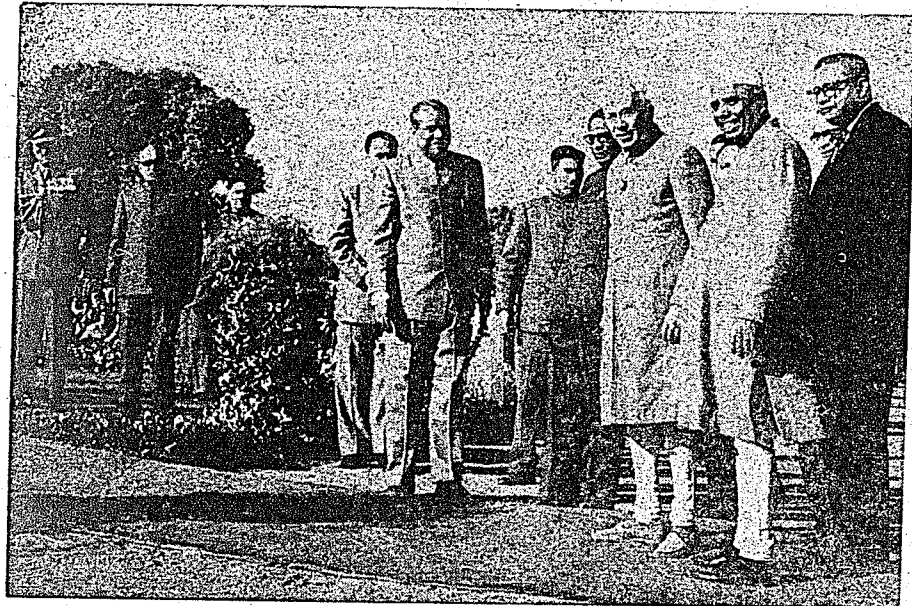
which public organisations can play in furthering the work for peace.

And the last phase saw, under his inspiration, the complete lifting of the bans

and prejudices, which had earlier prevented the peace movement from widening and embracing in its fold the broadest sections of our people.

As it salutes his memory, the Indian Peace Movement remembers with gratitude its great debt to Jawaharlal Nehru.

R.C.



Nehru at the Republic Day Parade (1964)

much vigour in the heart of Jawaharlal Nehru.

★ The Dove of Peace mourned most of all. Its tears were hot and scalding.

Nobody needs to be told why. Nobody needs to read through at this hour of grief the balancesheet of Nehru's contributions to the cause of peace. Suffice it to remember the fact that if India has held a place of honour in the world, it is primarily because of the peace policy which became inseparably tied with the name of a man with a red rose in his buttonhole.

With the withering away of the rose, the image of India itself darkened...

Recurring Question

Who would be there now to champion the cause of peace and disarmament, non-alignment and opposition to colonialism and imperialism, as Nehru had championed them? This question has kept beating like a pendulum in the hearts of every Indian pa-

peaceful co-existence and non-alignment.

How easy it would have been to succumb to the raucous clamour... How tempting were the offers of the imperialists... come into our parlour, said the spider to the fly...

But Nehru did not succumb. India remained non-aligned. The Nehru policy lived and triumphed.

NON-ALIGNMENT — to the creation of this very concept, the hands of Nehru contributed so much. And today, when the number of non-aligned countries has grown so rapidly, when we are preparing for the Second Non-Aligned Conference it does our Indian souls good to recall that it was an Indian who contributed so much to preach and win support for the doctrine of non-alignment.

Distort this policy as much as they could, the imperialists could never succeed in making of it what they wanted—non-alignment between the forces of peace and the forces of war.

The non-alignment of Nehru was always a contribu-

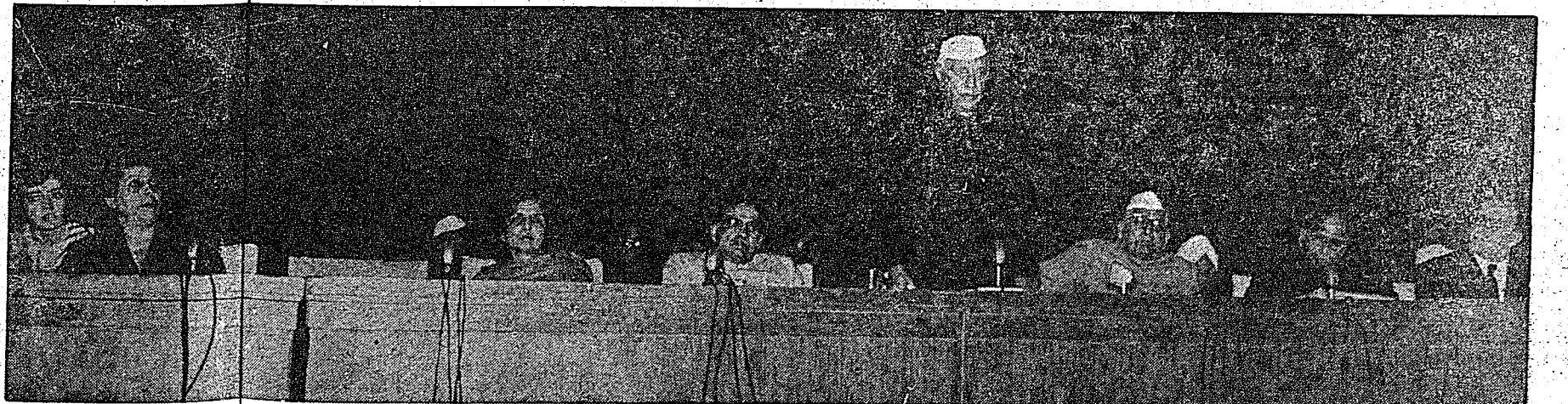
During the days since October 1962, again and again was non-alignment in danger. The Voice of America deal, the air umbrella offer, the Seventh Fleet manoeuvres, the pressures on Kashmir, the blackmail on Bokaro...

Non-Alignment by Deeds

It has become clear to every Indian in these days that it is not enough to pay lip service to non-alignment; it has to be proved by our deeds.

This is what Jawaharlal taught us when he boldly agreed that the VOA deal was a violation of our fundamental policies, when again and again he rejected the air umbrella, when he broke through the earlier hesitations and expressed his displeasure at the entry of the Seventh Fleet, when he resisted the Pak-imperialist conspiracies on Kashmir, when he refused to bow under the Bokaro pressures...

I do not forget at this hour the hesitations and the vacillations in our policies—which



Nehru speaking at the Seminar on International Affairs and Peace, New Delhi December 1963

Don't Have Any Delusions

By KONSTANTIN SIMONOV

All that has taken place of late because of the splitting activities of the leaders of the Communist Party of China has stirred up deep down inside some recollections and bitter feelings that I would like to share in PRAVDA.

THE first thing I felt on reading both last year's letter of the CPC Central Committee and some other similar articles and documents of the Chinese leaders was that they were not sincere and this was a feeling that gained the more I read.

In these articles and documents imperialism is cursed god knows how many times. Indeed, a whole ceremony of showering curses is observed. But each time you ask yourself: now look, you have just read one more document or article, so to whom is all the malice it contains, all the venom it spills addressed? Indeed, against whom is it actually written? Against imperialism? Not at all. It is only the words that are uttered against imperialism, only the lumbering empty, beer barrels. Meanwhile all the spite and all the poison is addressed not to the imperialists but to those termed "comrades" at the top, that is to us Soviet Communists, Soviet people and the Communists of other countries.

At once you ask yourself: Now how could that all have happened?

Because as far as I remember and I am a man close upon 50, we right from boyhood, from Young Pioneerhood, wholeheartedly wished the best to the Chinese people, we wholeheartedly rejoiced at every success of the Communist Party of China. We did more than rejoice. My generation will remember not a single year when our country and our Party would not have given every help it could to the Chinese people and the Communist Party of China.

Those years incidentally differed. We had it differently, and it was mostly no picnic. And we shared in brotherly fashion not anything extra—we still don't have that—but what we ourselves needed, and at times what we ourselves had, barely enough of to go round.

Mao Acknowledged

Meanwhile what our support meant for the Communist Party of China in the grimmest of times, I for one happened to hear from the lips of Mao Tse-tung himself. That was in the autumn of 1949 when the Chinese People's Republic was proclaimed. As leaders of the first group of Soviet cultural workers to come to People's China, the late A. A. Fadeyev and myself called upon Mao Tse-tung. I will remember that day and that room and I will remember how describing the grimmest times of the struggle against Chiang Kai-shek and the tremendous role of the

Soviet people's support for the Chinese Communists then, Mao Tse-tung picked up a match box and bending over put it in the corner of the floor next to the wall, saying:

"Now this big room is all of China, while that match box is what we were at that time. That was the territory into which we had been driven then. Nevertheless in that position," and he pointed a finger at the box, "we felt that the Soviet Union was with us! Can you understand now what it meant for us then?"

I also recollected some other things, especially when reading the paragraphs in sundry Chinese documents in which the authors make a farce of the struggle for peace and disarmament and in which they, in effect, demagogically place the peace movement in opposition to the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples, as if claiming that you can have only one of the two.

As I read that I recollected the peace congress of April 1949, the part that took place in Prague. I cannot say whether Kuo Mo-jo, the President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, who led the Chinese delegation there in Prague, remembers that, but I for one will remember how in the middle of the speech he was making in defence of peace from the rostrum of the congress, he waved a cable he had just received and exclaimed that the People's Liberation Army of China had just freed Nanking from the Chiang clique.

Cheers For PLA

As men and women convinced that the struggle for peace was our sacred duty, we peace supporters, from different countries, had warm sympathy for the Chinese people's struggle for liberation and did not take that at the time as a contradiction of any kind. Nor do we take it as a contradiction today. I will remember how we all, Russians, Czechs, Poles, Frenchmen, Americans, Austrians and Englishmen, jumped up like one man to congratulate our Chinese friends on the victory their People's Liberation Army had won.

I can't speak, of course, for Kuo Mo-jo but I myself will remember that because I wrote a poem about it. When writing that poem, incidentally, I recollected Mayakovsky's "My Best Poem" in which the poet related that during a recital in Yaroslavl in 1927 he had learned that Red Chinese troops had taken Shanghai

and that in response to the request of his audience to recite his best poems, he had read out this announcement instead and the Soviet people had stormily applauded him.

So how could it have come about, I think to myself today, how could it have happened, that after all that it was possible to slither down to the extent of trying to provoke a quarrel between peace supporters and the men and women struggling to free their peoples from the colonial yoke? Because that is precisely what certain Chinese politicians are trying to do today, a design of theirs that can be made out without a magnifying glass, as its blackness is only too obvious.

These last few days I have been thinking with a feeling of amazement which I cannot rid myself of, about the recent statement of Chen Yi, who demanded that the Soviet Union be refused the right to attend the Afro-Asian conference on the pretext that USSR was supposedly not an Asian country. The racist inner-meaning of this demand was clear. What was amazing was the rapidity with which this Chinese politician, a prominent commander of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in the past, had executed this ideological volte-face.

Tashkent Meeting

Nothing seemed to portend such an issue several years later when in Tashkent the preparatory committee for the Afro-Asian Writers' Conference was in session.

On the contrary when in this preparatory committee one, rather, dense-headed bourgeois personality stuffed with a racialist mess, suddenly sprang nearly the very same idea that Chen Yi has put forward now—the idea that the Soviet Union hold the conference at home in Tashkent but meanwhile attend it only as an observer being primarily a European country—it was no other than the Chinese delegates who were the first to resolutely rebuff him.

Though hardly six years have gone by since, in this matter too the Chinese leaders have managed to execute a truly amazing turn-about, from objective truths to geographical absurdities, from normal commonsense to mullah blind fury superimposed upon a racialist fabric.

So how could it have happened? How could it have all taken that turn? That is what I think when I recall my assignment as PRAVDA correspondent to the People's Liberation Army of China, a time when with its units I tramped up the mountain roads of Kwangsi, following on the heels of retreating Chiang troops.

The love and respect for the Soviet Union and its Communist Party I saw on the

part of people with whom I then was day and night, on the part of the men, commanders and political workers of the People's Liberation Army! So could this have happened? I think to myself as I recollect all that. How can the Chinese leaders now say all that they do say and write?

No, I tell myself, a thousand times no! The two things do not dovetail and never will! The Chinese people's friendly sentiments for our country and the fraternal attitude of the Chinese Communists to our party do not dovetail and will never dovetail with those accusations brimming with provocative inventions and bile which the leading functionaries of the Communist Party of China now throw into our face.

However bitter, we must, of course, soberly realise that by means of the long anti-Soviet propaganda campaign so insistently being carried on in China, it is possible to gradually delude some people including evidently some of the Chinese Communists.

But I for one don't want to believe that this delusion will persist for long! Because in too howling a contradiction is the spite-poking fervour of all these splittor documents, articles and speeches to the true interests of the Chinese people and the Communist Party of China, in too howling a contradiction is it to the great traditions of our friendship, in too howling a contradiction is it to true internationalism.

Crude Double Cross

Still, I did want to add something, proceeding from my own feelings and thoughts, from my own experience and observations.

This inner urge has been particularly demanding right now because it is precisely of late that we have come to see especially clearly the crude primitive double cross which the Chinese leaders are now playing both in their own utterances and the press and radio comments they inspire. They, you see, have no bones to pick with the Soviet people, the Soviet intelligentsia, the rank-and-file Soviet Communists, the peoples of the socialist countries or the Communists of the world! They, you see, are disputing matters only with the leadership of our party; they have nothing to argue about with us.

They are possessed with a hope which though reeking of provocation is withal naively absurd, that some of us might fall for this line and believe that there is no dispute between them and us, between the Chinese leaders and the world communist movement, but only between them and our leaders; so to say, in a plane above our heads.

It seems to me that it is this hope that has engendered both the attempts to sell us clumsily contrived, boring, battle-axe propaganda by radio and the attempts to circulate privately sundry documents containing nonsensical attacks against our Party and its leadership.

I want to say that nothing will ever come of it! Neither generally nor in particular, neither anywhere nor in the case of anyone. That bait with which you are trying to hook

at least something in our country is mouldy and our people are not of the sort who can be hooked by such mouldy stuff.

The argument that our Party and the other Marxist-Leninist Parties are conducting from points of principle so patiently—sometimes even with amazing patience—with you is an argument that is between us and you too!

It is we who think that the tangible achievements of our construction and the tangible improvements in the life of the people building communism, not your arch-revolutionist bombast, support revolutionary forces throughout the world, impart energy to revolutionaries and strengthen their faith in the future.

It is we Soviet people, reared in the spirit of proletarian internationalism who count it our duty to help the national-liberation movement not with talk but with deeds. And we believe that with time the difference between what we do and you say will become plainer and plainer to anyone, anywhere in the world.

It is we Soviet people, the millions who are occupied with peaceful labour, each and everyone at his post, that are against a "brink of war" policy. It is we who want a lasting peace. It is we who are doing all in our power to save humanity from a nuclear holocaust. And that is why we are taking issue with you, with your adventurist approach to the questions of war and peace, with your misanthropic monstrous estimates of the hundreds of millions of people whom you have no regret about plunging into the cauldron of nuclear death in order, as you put it, to build a world socialist system as soon as possible on the ruins of the world.

It was we who smashed the heads of fascism's mailed "tigers," we Soviet people including the men and women now at the head of our Party and country. So when you try to accuse them of imperialism in the face of imperialism's "paper tiger" we take this slander of yours as being a slander against us as well and we feel ashamed for you, for your having been able to say such a thing.

It is we who believe in the reason and intellect of mankind, in its growing forces for peace, and that is why we take issue with you, with your capitulatory disbelief in both this reason and intellect and these forces, with your cynical attitude to the world-wide peace movement, with your double-entry book-keeping of paying lip-service to this movement while actually being sceptical of its results.

It is we who both at home and throughout the world generally refuse to divide people into friends and foes, into kin and strangers because of the colour of their skin. It is we who abhor any obvious efforts, or attempts bashfully veiled at first, to peddle racial theories be they white, yellow or of any other colour. That is why we take issue with you when you begin to push forward more and more stubbornly these racial theories in which you meanwhile still shyly camouflage the counter-posing of races by the counter-posing of continents.

It is we Soviet people and the working folk of other

For the third time in the last two years, the small remote country of British Guiana is passing through a civil strife; state of emergency has been declared and British troops have been flown in to maintain law and order.

This crisis is, in appearance, due to the inability of the two major elements in the country, i.e. Indo-Guianese and Afro-Guianese, descendants of Indian indentured labourers and Negro slaves, to live in peace with each other.

IT is a fact that members of these two racial groups are indulging in acts of extreme violence against each other and the protection of British troops is needed to prevent acts of wanton arson, loot and murder. This is the position so far as the overt actions of the people in British Guiana are concerned.

And yet the real fact of the matter is that this violence and counter-violence are due to the hopes and fears—fears more than hopes—of these groups being exploited by powerful interests in the country which still retains ultimate political authority over British Guiana—the latter is still a colony of the former—and the United States which has developed an inordinate fear of British Guiana becoming another Cuba in Latin America.

The economy of British Guiana is still completely a colonial economy. Her two major industries—sugar and bauxite—export and import trade, which is of crucial importance for the well-being of the country, and her credit structure are entirely owned and controlled by very powerful foreign interests and all the mainsprings of the economy are not even located within the country.

The people of British Guiana have been carrying on a valiant struggle for independence since 1950, and though in principle grant of independence has been conceded by Britain, and three conferences have been held to discuss the problems of transfer of power, actual transfer has been repeatedly put off to prevent the most important and well-organized political party—the Peoples' Progressive Party led by Dr. Cheddi Jagan—from acquiring control of the political apparatus after independence.

This party has thrice—in 1953, 1957 and 1961—won majority in the legislature by victory in elections and it is almost certain that again the verdict of the ballot box would go in its favour if the existing electoral system is retained.

But she is a focus of the cold war relentlessly carried on since 1953 under the soiled banner of anti-communism which is unfurled everywhere when forces of truly independent nationalism and radical social change of whatever description manifest themselves and win popular support. The crisis of British Guiana is the crisis of cold war faced with the prospect of inescapable defeat.

There are, however, internal difficulties, which if British Guiana had been left to herself would have been resolved by mutual adjustment but which have acquired a much longer lease of life owing to the cold war intervention in a variety of forms.

These internal difficulties are largely due to the stresses between the two major communities belonging to the Indian and African ethnic origin.

The Indians, East Indians as they are called, in 1960 were nearly 48 per cent of the total population of 560,406 and the Africans 33 per cent. Their proportions were 36.62 per cent and 40.14 per cent in 1951, but progressively owing purely to demographic factors, the East Indians having relatively speaking, gained ground and the Africans lost it in spite of the fact that the population of Africans has since 1951 increased by nearly 60 per cent.

Civil liberties have not been infringed, the rule of law has been maintained, freedom of association and expression has not been diminished in the least and Dr. Jagan has declared repeatedly that he and his party

will win independence only by constitutional means and use the means to build a socialist society in independent Guiana.

In spite of these professions and unblemished record in the exercise of such political power as has been granted so far, the accusation is being freely levelled that he and his party would, after independence, establish communism, which is taken to mean, a ruthless totalitarian regime, and become a centre of political subversion and contamination in the whole of Latin America.

This is the reason why a clear verdict of the ballot box is not being accepted, rules of the game of parliamentary government are being violated and after independence has been granted, to ex-colonies like Jamaica, Trinidad and Barbados, by Britain, British Guiana is being denied the right to independence.

She has internal difficulties, but that is not the reason for the denial of her birth-right. She is certainly as much, if really not more, ripe for inde-



pendence as the Caribbean Islands which have already become independent.

But she is a focus of the cold war relentlessly carried on since 1953 under the soiled banner of anti-communism which is unfurled everywhere when forces of truly independent nationalism and radical social change of whatever description manifest themselves and win popular support. The crisis of British Guiana is the crisis of cold war faced with the prospect of inescapable defeat.

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CRISIS IN BRITISH GUIANA

By Dr. GYAN CHAND

This demographic imbalance is almost entirely due to the birth and death rate differentials. The birth and death rates of East Indians which were 27.7 and 30.4 per thousand in 1891-1911 was in 1956-60 51.3 and 9.7 and of Africans for the same period 32.1 and 31.4 per cent per thousand in 1901-1911 and 36.9 and 12.5 in 1956-60.

The rate of natural increase of Indians in 1956-60 was 39.7 and of Africans 24.7 per thousand, and if the present trends continue, in 1975 East Indians will be 51 per cent of the total population and the Africans 28.2 per cent.

These figures are cited here in detail to show that demographic differentials are an important factor in the situation, and if the mutual antipathy between these two communities are accentuated, would increase tensions and make peaceful coexistence a matter of great difficulty.

But there is no reason why the incipient differences should become permanent animosities unless the Americans and the British are intent upon bringing about this result in order to make it impossible for a truly independent, democratic, socialist society to be established and developed in this very much under-populated country (of the total area of 85,000 square miles only coastal belt of 3,000 square miles is inhabited) and a country of enormous economic potential.

Process Of Assimilation

These two ethnic groups are distinct, but the process of assimilation has already been started and has made progress. They speak the same language, wear the same dress, go to the same schools and have increasingly developed the same cultural outlook.

The differences are there and they cannot be removed all at once. They have been and, largely speaking, are living peacefully together. Inter-marriages between the two groups are not common but they are not unknown and are increasing in number.

There is, owing to historical reasons, economic segregation. The East Indians mostly live in rural areas and are engaged in agriculture and the Africans are mostly urban and are pursuing non-agricultural occupations.

But if economic development of the country on a planned basis in a new social framework is undertaken with a big drive and both communities collaborate fully in this great task and realise the potential of their country, the process of integration would proceed apace and any gulf between the two groups would be progressively narrowed and eventually completely bridged.

In 1953 leaders of both groups — Dr. Jagan and Mr. Burnham — worked together and won a resounding victory in election.

The split, however, occurred in 1955 and since then owing mainly to extraneous factors, became a disturbing factor and in the disturbances of February 1962, April-July 1963 and the present disturbances has un-

fortunately taken the form of ugly racial conflict.

But this was not and is not inevitable and this development has taken place owing to foreign monopolies, powerful local commercial interests and backing of the forces referred to above, local unscrupulous factions and union leaders.

If a truly comprehensive policy of integrated development with special solicitude for the well-being of the retarded sections of the people is followed, racial pressures can be very greatly mitigated and, as stated above, the process of social integration can be started and developed and priority given to the good of the lowest and the lost.

Demographic imbalance referred to above can, given the drive needed for the purpose, also be countered by measures for rapid economic development and wellthought out population planning. British Guiana, as already pointed out, need not have any fears of excessive population pressures.

Demographic imbalance could be used for creating tension by using conscious and sub-conscious fear for anti-social purposes. But given the right approach and the will to action this imbalance can cease to be a matter for concern or even a subconscious disquietude.

It is necessary to say a few words about communism. Jagan and the party that he leads are definitely leftist and have a Marxist outlook. They, ever since he entered politics in 1947, have declared their socialist faith and aspiration.

But that does not mean that they rely upon violence for realizing their objectives or have plans to establish a totalitarian regime. They have since 1953 won political power by constitutional methods, and it would be an act of folly on their part to think in terms of violence.

Socialist Ideals

As, given a fair chance, they can win political power by legitimate and proper constitutional methods, it is not at all necessary for them to choose or adopt the path of suppression of their opponents. It is necessary for them to win the confidence of Africans, give them an assurance that they can and will participate fully as partners in the great task of building up a socialist Guiana.

The People's National Congress—the party which is mainly African in composition—also, though in an amorphous manner, professes a socialist objective and there are no cardinal differences in their programme and the programme of the Peoples' Progressive Party.

Dr. Jagan has since 1957 offered the formation of a coalition government a number of times; and if the outside forces had not intervened by devious methods, a coalition government could and would have been formed.

Coalition is the only answer to the future of British Guiana and it will emerge if Britain and USA have a genuine

desire for British Guiana to become master of her own destiny and realize her unlimited potential.

This has to mean, first and foremost, the decolonization of her economy and attainment of economic independence as an integral part of her political independence. This is a prospect which the colonial powers cannot accept with equanimity and that is why the dangerous game of fomenting and exploiting divisions in being played with such sinister consequences.

Support Needed

It is necessary for us to India and all countries of Asia and Africa to know clearly the cause of the ordeal of British Guiana. The UN Committee of 24 has already taken a sympathetic view of her problem, but it is necessary for all newly independent countries to throw their weight in favour of the struggle for independence of this small, trouble-ridden and unfortunate country.

It is a country of fascinating interest in which not only East Indians and Africans—but also four other racial groups have achieved a lot in spite of the servile or semi-servile conditions under which their ancestors were brought to this country and are a credit to themselves.

They can and will work out a new and great destiny for themselves. All newly independent countries have to range themselves on the side of these heroic peoples.

Now that we are mourning the tragic loss of Jawaharlal Nehru, let us remember that he always supported the countries and the people struggling for independence and contributed in full measure to the realization of their aspirations.

The British government by imposing a perverse system of proportional representation are trying to overthrow Dr. Jagan and his party and splinter the political life of this country. If they succeed in their object, they will have carried out the behests of USA, but replaced the peaceful road to independence in British Guiana by the road of turmoil, violence and conflict.

The final issue is not in doubt. The ultimate result will be independent Guiana under, let us hope, the alliance of Jagan and Burnham, well set on the road to socialism and democracy.

But before this goal is realized this unfortunate country will have passed through a period of severe trials, tribulation and suffering.

The responsibility for this completely avoidable misery and acute stress will be entirely that of the senior member and a junior member of NATO Alliance. May we hope that this alternative can and will be avoided. But as it is, it seems somewhat unrealistic to cherish this hope.

Let us in India with the cooperation of all nonaligned countries do what we can to rally round this country and a number of other countries which are victims of an unholy and entirely unnecessary cold war.

PEACE MOVEMENT'S SORROW

* FROM PAGE SEVEN

HUNGARY

WE have been deeply afflicted by the grievous loss and the immeasurable grief of the people of the Republic of India caused by the death of your great, highly honoured Prime Minister Nehru mourned by all peace-loving people. The name of Prime Minister Nehru has been linked for ever with the cause of the independence of India and her free existence and evolution.

Your late Prime Minister has been respected all the world over far beyond the frontiers of your great country as a great thinker, a fighter for the most progressive ideas of mankind—freedom, independence and peace. We are deeply participating in your grievous loss and we should like to be allowed to express our firm conviction that the name of the deceased great man will for ever survive in the memory of peoples wanting a better life and peace.

On behalf of the Hungarian Peace Council Arpad Szakasits, President, Laszlo Dezsery, Secretary-General.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

The Peace Council of the German Democratic Republic conveys deep-felt sympathy to you at the death of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, outstanding politician and peace-friend which is a tragic loss to you and the people of India.

Prof. Friedrich, President

ITALY

We take part in the great sorrow of the Indian people.

Vello Spano, Italian Peace Committee.

FRANCE

With profound emotion we have heard the sad news of death of Prime Minister Nehru. Please accept our sincerest condolences and solidarity with the entire people of your country.

We will always respect the initiative of this great man for the cause of peace, peaceful coexistence, disarmament and earnest support to the people who oppose a world war.

The demise of Prime Minister Nehru is a great loss to the world people who want to solve all conflict by negotiation.... His passionate struggle for national independence, his initiative to promote the success of the Bandung Conference will never be forgotten by people. At this hour of grief and sorrow please, dear friends, accept our sincerest condolences.

Andre Souquiere, General Secretary, French Peace Committee.

J. D. BERNAL IN A TELEGRAM TO DR. RADHAKRISHNAN SAID:

"May I offer you and the Indian people, the heartfelt sympathy and deep condolences of the World Council of Peace on the death of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, one of the greatest men of our century. Peace workers throughout the world will mourn the passing of a noble spirit who devoted his life first to the liberation then to the wellbeing of the Indian people, and above all to world peace and disarmament. They will know how to honour his memory by working yet harder to establish that world for which he strove so mightily—a world without war, a world from which poverty and human inequality will be banished forever."

AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY

The Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity has received the following messages of condolence on the grievous death of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru from abroad:

YOUSSEF EL-SEBAI, SECRETARY GENERAL, AFRO-ASIAN PEOPLE'S SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATION, CAIRO.

DEEPLY touched by the death of Shri Nehru, great fighter and prominent Afro-Asian leader. Nehru's example will always shine throughout history for Afro-Asian peoples and for all humanity as a great man and valiant leader on behalf of the Afro-Asian peoples. I extend to you and through you great Indian people our most-sincere sympathy."

SOVIET AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE, MOSCOW.

SOVIET Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee presents you and through you entire Indian people its profound condolence on the demise of prominent statesman and public leader Prime Minister of India Jawaharlal Nehru. Soviet people knew Jawaharlal Nehru as courageous fighter for freedom and independence of peoples against colonialism for peace and democracy. He unwaveringly advocated strengthening friendship between Indian and Soviet peoples and promoted by all means unity of Afro-Asian peoples in their joint struggle for achievement of complete political and economic independence. Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee together with you, dear friends, mourns untimely death of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. His death is great loss for all friends of India, for all fighters for national independence and peace."

MONGOLIAN AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE, ULAN BATOR.

MONGOLIAN Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee together with its people ex-

WORLDWIDE NEHRU MEMORIAL PEACE MONTH DECLARED

THE month of June has been declared a Nehru Memorial Peace Month by the All-India Peace Council. The Secretariat of the Council, which met on May 30 under the chairmanship of Diwan Chaman Lall, MP, has called on lovers of peace throughout the world to hold memorial meetings during the month to pay homage to the unparalleled contribution to the cause of world peace made by Prime Minister Nehru.

PEACE PLEDGE

During the month, meetings in India will launch a campaign for the collection of signatures to a peace pledge, declaring the signatories' resolve to uphold by all means the Nehru policy of peaceful co-existence and non-alignment, disarmament and opposition to colonialism.

DELEGATION TO PAY HOMAGE

A special meeting of the All-India Peace Council has been called at the end of June.

A high level delegation of the World Peace Council is expected to arrive in India to take part in Nehru Memorial Peace Conferences

and Seminars to be organised in all States during July, and to convey the homage of the peace movements of all continents to the memory of the late Prime Minister.

MEMORIAL VOLUMES

In cooperation with the World Peace Council, the All-India Peace Council has decided to set up an editorial committee of some of the world's most eminent figures, to prepare the publication of two Nehru Memorial Volumes—the first containing a selection of Nehru's writings on international affairs and the problems of peace; the second being a volume of homage, containing tributes to Nehru's work for peace from outstanding personalities of all countries.

ble world peace and friendship between nations."

CHAIRMAN OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE PAYS TRIBUTES:

"For the Czechoslovak people the loss of Jawaharlal Nehru is the loss of a friend of their country". Ladislava Klenhova-Besserova, Chairman of the Czechoslovak Committee for Solidarity with the Asian and African countries, told CTEKA on the death of the Indian Prime Minister.

"In the death of Jawaharlal Nehru, the Indian people have lost an outstanding leader, the world a brilliant statesman, a consistent fighter for peace and peaceful coexistence between states

with different social and economic systems", she said.

"Jawaharlal Nehru entered the annals of history not only as a man who led India during the 17 years of her independence and in her endeavour to build up a strong and flourishing consolidated state of the Indian people".

"His effort for friendship with the Soviet Union and with the other socialist countries became a model for the other Asian and African countries who now rightly consider these countries as their best friends and allies.

"The Czechoslovak people will never forget the great son of the Indian people and one of the leading statesmen of our times which Jawaharlal Nehru was" concluded Ladislava Klenhova-Besserova.

Pakistan People's Grief

PROFOUND grief has struck the people of Pakistan over the death of the late Prime Minister of India. The leaders of the people put the people's grief in words. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan sent a telegram to Mrs. Indira Gandhi expressing his wish to be by her side "in this hour of national bereavement."

Later, in an interview with a leading Peshawar journalist, who called on him at his home village, Mohammad Nari, the Red Shirt leader and Pandit Nehru's fellow-fighter during the freedom struggle, repeatedly explained that in Nehru lay the hope of Indo-Pakistan amity.

Secularism Lauded

"He was essentially a man of peace. Mr. Nehru was a great believer in secularism, and was its principal pillar. He had absolutely no communal or any other parochial prejudice," the Frontier Gandhi said.

"He was not a man of any particular religion. As such he was a great solace to In-

dia's minorities", Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan added.

The Frontier Gandhi expressed his fervent hope that Mr. Nehru's successor would follow in the foot step of the late Prime Minister.

From his nearly 20 years of political association with him the 74-year-old leader said, he could say that Nehru was a man of the masses to whom the cause of the minorities had a special obligation, his death has created a void, which is very difficult to fill.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's movements are restricted to his village, Mohammad Nari 25 miles from Peshawar.

Maulana Bhashani, President of the Pakistan National Awami Party, said in a condolence message from his village home that Nehru was a great freedom fighter of the sub-continent and in his death the world has lost one of the great politicians.

All the 12 newspapers of East Pakistan published the news of Pt. Nehru's death under banner headlines.

In a two-column editorial, the mass circulation daily

Ittefaq said that words were not adequate to analyse the impact of this great man on contemporary world history. Mr. Nehru did not belong to one country or to one age. "He has made history and will live through it for ever and for all ages."

Will Live Through Ages

It added that besides bringing new ideas in international politics, Mr. Nehru had made realistic contributions in tackling many burning international problems.

It was Mr. Nehru who invented the idea of neutralism and fought for world peace in a world divided by Power blocs and threatened by nuclear danger. It was Mr. Nehru again who launched a crusade against imperialism and colonialism and championed the cause of Afro-Asian unity.

"A product of thousands and thousands of years old civilisation of ancient India, Mr. Nehru identified himself with the whole world. Though a citizen of a particular country, he belongs to the world."

I met the news of Jawaharlal Nehru's death with a feeling of deep sorrow which was shared by all the Soviet people. In him India has lost an honest and courageous man who had fought long for her independence and spent years in jail, a man who was treated with respect by every decent Indian, even by those who do not share the ideas and judgements of the late Premier.

IN him the Soviet people have lost a person who loved their country. In him the world lost a statesman who in the most difficult periods of his country upheld the beacon of peace and cooperation of nations, the policy of non-alignment.

India was preparing to celebrate in November the 75th birthday of this pupil and follower of Mahatma Gandhi. Only recently did I write a message of congratulation for inclusion in the book which was to be published on Nehru's jubilee. But death intervened.

Asia and all the continents are now lacking in a staunch fighter for peaceful cooperation and general disarmament.

I had the great fortune of knowing Nehru personally and of spending an evening in conversation with him. Nehru had once said that he was afraid of philosophising because it was the business of professional philosophers.

I am not a professional politician and think that it is the business of others to judge of him as a statesman, of what he has done or failed

ILYA EHRENBURG'S HOMAGE TO NEHRU

to do in an ancient, colourful and vast country plundered and pilloried by the colonialists.

I want to speak here of the man with whom it was easy for me to talk, a man of diverse and great intellect.

Nehru could do much more than think over political problems. His wonderful ability to work out questions not connected with the daily routine of a statesman perhaps, might be the manifestation of the spiritual nature of his country with its centuries-old

traditions. He was an Indian every inch.

However, he had never identified the distinguishing features of national genius with spiritual insulation. It was with a feeling of fondness that he spoke to me of Leo Tolstoy, Roman Rolland and Bernard Shaw whose lectures he had occasion to hear.

And he told me of how the news of the October Revolution in Russia had reached him. He spoke with great respect about Lenin and described him as a man who had done much for the development of mankind's consciousness.

Once, when the World Peace Council gathered in Delhi, we were received by Jawaharlal Nehru. He spoke with inspiration of the struggle for peace as one of the greatest movements of the peoples of our times.

In a talk with me he recalled Emperor Ashoka, who solemnly pledged never to

resort to arms. Nehru realised very well the danger of nuclear weapons and the language he used was that of "Panch Shila" and not that of the cold war.

Jawaharlal Nehru had great love for the Soviet people, for their culture. He found that this feeling was reciprocal when he came to Moscow. The Muscovites showered him with the modest flowers of a northern summer.

I would like to express feelings of deep condolence to the people of India, so near and dear to me and wish them to find strength to continue the policy of peace which was pursued by Jawaharlal Nehru, a policy against war, racism and chauvinism.

I wish them to retain the desire to preserve in Asia, which we all respect as the cradle of civilisation, human dignity, the cooperation of nations and lasting peace. This will be the best possible monument to the profoundly humane man who is no more with us...

NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY (U.S.S.R.)

"The great son of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, will for ever remain in our hearts", says Boris Burkov, Chairman, of the Novosti Press Agency, in a message of condolence to the Indian Ambassador in Moscow. The text of the message is given below:

"In connection with the grave loss for the Republic of India, for the entire Indian people—the death of Jawaharlal Nehru—may I, Mr. Ambassador, express the deepest condolences on behalf of the Novosti Press Agency and on my own behalf. Soviet journalists have always admired the statesmanship, the nobility and great erudition of the late Premier. We shall never forget the great contribution made by Jawaharlal Nehru to the development and strengthening of friendship between the peoples of India and the Soviet Union, nor shall we forget his passionate desire for peace.

"The great son of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, will for ever remain in our hearts." In an article released by the Novosti Press Agency, Burkov recalls the role of Nehru as "an outstanding statesman and public leader, an active fighter for peace, a big friend of the Soviet country." Recalling his meeting with Nehru in February last year in Delhi, Burkov says: "When we gazed into his kind and intelligent eyes, we understood perfectly this man who gave the whole of his life to the cause of peace." Burkov speaks admiringly of Nehru's gentleness and courtesy "and youthful cheerfulness in spite of illness, his big plans for India's development. "We, Soviet journalists", concludes Burkov, "together with the entire Soviet people, are grieved over the death of Jawaharlal Nehru."

clated by all the peace-loving forces of the world.

ment of the people's nationalised sector of the economy and the continued expansion of the social services for the fullest satisfaction of the ever-expanding needs of the masses of the people.

"With the passing of Nehru, the world has lost a great personality and champion of peace and human rights, and India has lost a revered leader. Yet there can be no doubt that great new leading figures will emerge to carry forward the good works the mighty Indian nation so nobly began under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru."

L'HUMANITE (France)

The French Communist Party daily L'Humanite wrote: "Nehru passionately wanted a world without war and he contributed with all his might to the progress of mankind on this difficult path."

PRAVDA (U.S.S.R.)

The news of Premier Jawaharlal Nehru's sudden death, wrote PRAVDA, organ of the Central Committee of the Soviet Union's Communist Party, has deeply moved the Soviet people just as all others who cherished this wise man who for many years stood at the helm of a great Asian power. Jawaharlal Nehru thrice visited the Soviet Union—in 1927, 1955 and 1961. Twice he received in his country Nikita Khrushchev as a welcome guest—in 1955 and 1960.

These close personal contacts were a token of the growing and strengthening cooperation between our peoples for whom neither the high summits of the Himalayas nor the difference in climate or social systems were an obstacle.

Jawaharlal Nehru, PRAVDA emphasised, will go down in history as a convinced and staunch champion of the Indian people's independence. It was precisely Jawaharlal Nehru who had the honour of working out India's policy of neutrality and non-alignment, so highly appre-

Communist Press Mourns

DAILY WORKER (U.K.)

The world Communist press paid rich tributes to Jawaharlal Nehru. The London DAILY WORKER said:

"HUNDREDS of millions felt sorrow yesterday when they heard the news. He was identified with the struggle of the people of India for independence, and, therefore, associated with the struggles of all oppressed peoples for their liberation.

"Under his leadership India's policy though sometimes wavering and occasionally succumbing to imperialist pressures, has served the cause of peace at crucial moments of crisis in the post-war period."

The editorial concluded by saying:

"All friends of the Indian people earnestly hope that the progressive, democratic, popular forces in the country will find the way to unite and throw back the reactionary offensive."

Writing in a front-page article in the same issue of May 28, R. Palme Dutt, Vice-Chairman of the British Communist Party, under the heading, This Great Figure Of Our Times, said:

"...The world has lost one of the great figures of history of our time..."

"For over forty years he was leader and idol of the Indian national movement. Head of Government of the independent Republic of India for the past 17 years without a break, co-architect of Bandung, Afro-Asian positive neutrality and the Panch Shila or five principles of peace, even though, during the last few years, beset by the pressure of the powerful reactionary forces in the Congress leadership and Anglo-American imperialist intervention in the guise of 'military aid'..."

"In world politics India advanced under the leadership of Nehru to a foremost role in the development of the 'non-aligned' camp on the side of peace..."

"He was the leader of the great age of transition of India, of the first era of Indian independence: the contradictions of Nehru reflected all the contradictions of that era. But his positive achievement in the cause

WORKER (U.S.A.)

of India and world peace outweighed all that was negative. "Now the battle for India's future opens between the forces of reaction and the popular forces of democracy, progress and Communism."

In its editorial titled On the Death of India's Great Statesman, the New York Worker, US Communist Party's weekly organ, said in its issue dated May 31:

"On the world stage Nehru was a towering figure. He made important contributions to the cause of peaceful coexistence between countries of differing social systems. He was a champion of the method of negotiating differences between nations and worked for the outlawing of war from the world and from the strategic considerations of the nations.

"Nehru's prestige and support was always committed on the side of struggles of the colonial masses and oppressed peoples rising for their freedom."

"Philosophically and in theory, Nehru counted himself a socialist. Within India itself he fostered a development of a strong public sector of the economy and looked forward to a time when it would become the dominant characteristic of the total agricultural and industrial scene in the country. He had written in his Autobiography that 'the only solution for India's problems lies in socialism, involving vast revolutionary changes in the political and social structure in land and industry, as well as the feudal-autocratic states system...'

"The heirs to his power can pay no greater tribute to this historic figure than to continue to build upon the foundations of policy which Nehru elaborated for the Republic of India, that is: in foreign affairs—to pursue a policy of peace, friendship and cooperation among all nations; in domestic affairs—to further the develop-

SWAZILAND

By BERTA BRAGANZA

SMALLEST AMONG OPPRESSED IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Swaniti, which the intruders have transformed into Swaziland, is the smallest of the three British "protectorates" in Southern Africa. Like Basutoland it is an enclave in the Republic of South Africa. It has South Africa almost all around and Mozambique in the north-east.

SWAZILAND has a population of 287,000 out of which about 9,000 are Europeans. It measures 17,400 square kilometres. It is richly vegetated, has a mild climate and considerable mineral resources.

The main occupation of nine-tenths of the population is agriculture and cattle-breeding, but as usual, the

naked plunder of their huge national wealth.

The Africans have no voice in the administration of their country. The legislative council which is supposed to exist as a mark of self government in the colonialist sense, is entirely a white settler affair. Authority is concentrated in the hands of the British

But South Africa's white supremacists have been more and more vociferous for its legal incorporation.

In 1919 they demanded the transfer on the plea that it was in the interest of Swaziland's own economic development. The truth was that they wanted to build a railway from Transvaal to Swaziland which would link Transvaal with the coast and the Delagoa Bay in Mozambique.

In 1921 the settlers in Swaziland wanted the country to be represented in the South African parliament and de-

This is the third and last of a series of articles on British protectorates in Southern Africa.

manded that there be separate administrations for the whites and Africans.

All these have been strongly opposed by the Africans. Faced with a powerful anti-colonialist movement, the British are resorting to all sorts of tactics in order to delay the inevitable independence of the people of Swaziland.

Till 1962 Swaziland had no constitution. But under the impact of the popular movement for freedom the colonialist government was forced to grant one.

When the draft of "proposals" for the constitution were published in 1962, it was seen that it was nothing but a fraud. According to the proposals, the 97 per cent Swazis were to have the same number of seats in parliament as the three per cent Europeans.

The British resident commissioner was to continue to hold full executive powers as hitherto. Besides, there were to be two different electoral rolls: one for the whites and one for the blacks.

The African reaction was tremendous. All the parties, the Swaziland Progressive Association, the Democratic Party, the Mbandzeni National Convention and the Burasian Welfare Association issued a joint appeal to the people to reject the racist constitution which the British perpetuate colonial slavery.

They demanded universal

adult franchise and one single electoral rolls.

In the wake of this political agitation came the biggest strike in Swaziland. The strikers together with their labour demands asked for the termination of the racist, anti-democratic regime.

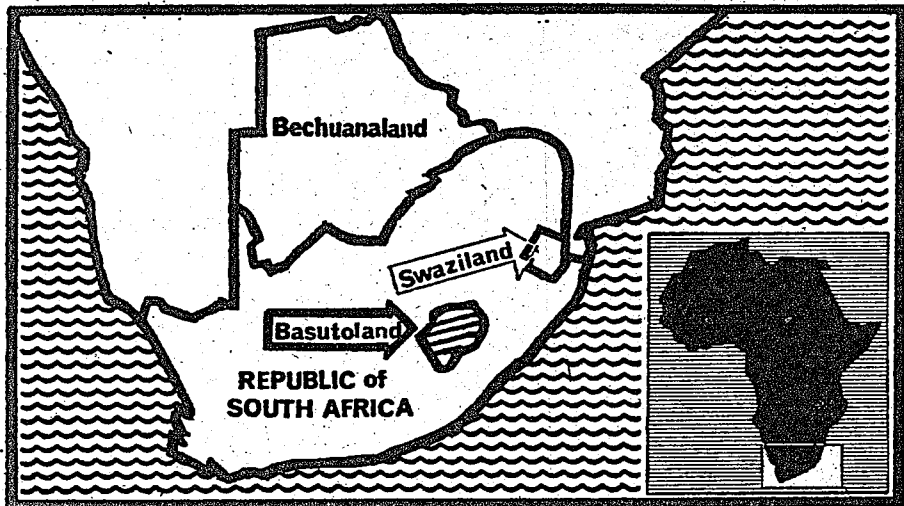
Making a show of response, the colonialists promised to insert modifications in the constitution. But when that constitution was promulgated, it was seen that the modified version hardly differed from the original proposals.

This unleashed a new wave of protest. A general strike, which began at an asbestos mine, spread like lightning to other mines, factories and plantations.

In Mbabane, the capital, the strikers attacked the prison demanding release of the patriots jailed by the colonial regime. The police opened fire and numerous people were injured.

The agitation did not collapse because of this, rather it gained momentum. The British then put into operation their anti-freedom military machinery.

Troops poured in from Bechuanaland, from Kenya and even from Aden. But no matter how small the country of Swaziti be, not all the colonial military might can hold back the urge of the Swazi people to be free. Swaziland is Africa, and the people of Free Africa are with the people of Swaziland.



fruit of colonial domination has been for them acute land hunger.

resident commissioner who is armed with dictatorial powers.

The Europeans who do not comprise more than three per cent of the population own 60 per cent of the arable land. Extensive areas are held by the settlers and the British Colonial Development Corporation which owns plantations of sugarcane and citrus fruits and processing factories.

With the administration packed with bureaucrats imported from South Africa, racial segregation is the law of life. The Africans, that is 97 per cent of the people, are forced to live in special reserves, of which there are 30.

As with Bechuanaland and Basutoland, the settler government of South Africa is bent upon the absorption of Swaziland into the Republic of South Africa.

As in the case of the other two "protectorates", actually South Africa and Britain have been co-partners in the domination and looting of Swaziland almost throughout the British regime there.

From 1890 to 1894 Swaziland was administered as a joint dominion of Britain and Transvaal. From 1894 to 1898 it was ruled as a part of South Africa.

The Americans control the asbestos industry which is the second largest in the world.

When iron was discovered in Swaziland in 1960 American and Japanese companies were seen rushing to seize hold of it.

The Africans of Swaziland living in stark poverty, forced by hunger to abandon their homes and families to earn starvation wages, toiling like beasts of burden in the European plantations and enterprises, watch in revolt the

WORLD CONFERENCE OF WORKING WOMEN

The Second International Trade Union Conference on Problems of Working Women, organised in Bucharest by the World Federation of Trade Unions from May 11 to 16 adopted a Charter of Economic and Social Rights of Working Women.

THE conference urged that the ILO in its proposed convention on women workers should lay emphasis on the right to work and on freedom from discriminations "which should not only be guaranteed by national laws but also effectively applied in practice". The convention should insist on the principle of "equal pay for equal work" as well as on the necessity of doing away with discriminations in wage tariffs, which, the conference felt, were still tolerated by Convention No. 100.

It was also demanded that the proposed document should stipulate the right to vocational training, to free choice of profession, the creation of suitable conditions for qualification at the place of work, promotion, etc.; the right of women and children to special welfare measures as part of the social security system and in the sphere of labour hygiene and labour security.

The Bucharest conference requested the ILO to investigate and draw up studies on the following subjects:

of agriculture, and economic, social, professional and technical conditions lagging far behind those of other States with the working women labouring under special disfavour.

Consequently, the Conference proposes that the International Labour Organisation should lay down in its programme, new initiatives and activities enabling a more rapid settlement of the problems facing women workers in those countries, thus extending to them the international juridical support which is within the province of the ILO.

Chinese Opposition

The Charter, it is learnt, could not be adopted unanimously because of the opposition of the Chinese delegation which wanted to include in the document, a number of political issues. The Indonesian delegates as well as those from North Korea supported the Chinese and Japan abstained. The overwhelming majority of the delegates including those from the ILO (a nine-member delegation led by AITUC Vice-President, Mrs. Parvathi Krishnan) are reported to have deplored the tactics adopted by the Chinese delegation at the Working Women's Conference.

★ Repercussions of technical progress, of mechanisation and automation on employment of women's labour, on women's vocational qualification and training;

★ The laws on dismissal of married women and practical facts;

★ New occupational diseases and safety measures against them in the branches of industry and the professions where large numbers of women are employed;

★ The vocational training of young girls, obstacles and discriminations against them;

★ Working and social security conditions of women employed in agriculture, plantations included.

Referring to newly-independent countries, the conference observed: "The colonial system, the long rule of imperialism and its survivals, have left as a heritage to the developing countries an economy whose main features are extreme backwardness, an under-developed industry, predominance

The Swatantra's last ditch battle against the Constitution (Seventeenth) Amendment Bill has met with the inevitable fiasco. On Tuesday the Lok Sabha passed with overwhelming majority the Constitution (Nineteenth) Amendment Bill, renaming it as the Seventeenth Amendment, thus repairing the lapse of the last session in which the Bill failed for want of requisite majority in the House.

THOUGH the special session of Parliament had been called precisely for this purpose, every attempt and argument was used by the opponents of the Bill to stall it for a second time. Even the circumstances of Jawaharlal Nehru's death were used by them to oppose the passing of the Bill in this session; it was their brazen plea that this "controversial" legislation should be postponed in view of the strain to Parliament and the country caused by the great national loss.

At the very face of it such an argument had no truth in it and certainly no grace. For there was none more keen on this measure, intended to protect land reform enactments in the states, than the late Prime Minister. Yet Acharya Kripalani, supporting the Swatantra, asked the government to act "graceful" by not pressing for the adoption of the Bill in this session.

Fortunately these councils and influences did not prevail. It is well known, and the debate in the last session had revealed it fully, that there are strong opponents to this measure even in the Congress party. The failure of the Congress majority to turn up at the time of voting, which caused the defeat of the Bill in the last session, had naturally given rise to many con-

clusions and doubts, including that of sabotage. However, the strong whip issued this time ensured attendance of the ruling party members and the Bill could be passed with the majority required under the Constitution.

Divisions And Filibustering

But not before it had passed through a series of divisions forced by the Swatantra and like-minded opponents of the Bill and a good deal of filibustering from the same quarters. Beginning with a walk-out on May 27 when the Bill was introduced, the Swatantra tried its hardest to obstruct the passage of the Bill in the lower House.

Among the untenable arguments and points of orders raised by them were such as P. K. Deo's appeal to create healthy conventions "for posterity", another plea that a "caretaker government" should not proceed with such an important legislation, Rangas's request for a ten-hour debate and Masani's final attempt to get the third reading put off by one day. On the last, Masani found support from H.V. Kamath also.

These however had no leg to stand on. While the points of

MAHENDRA ACHARYYA RELEASED

MAHENDRA Acharyya, secretary of the Parliamentary office of the Communist Party of India, who was arrested in New Delhi under the DIR on October 16, 1963, was released on June 2 under an order of the Supreme Court.

A habeas corpus petition filed on his behalf before the Supreme Court contended that Mahendra Acharyya was being kept under detention contrary to the provisions of the DIR and his case had not been reviewed within six months since his arrest as required under the rules.

The Supreme Court concurred with the legal point raised in the petition in this regard and ordered government to release the detenu immediately.

Don't Have Delusions

★ FROM PAGE 12

countries who take issue with you when we see rearing its head higher and higher with every year in your articles and speeches that great-power nationalism, which is incompatible both with the very idea of communism and with faith in its possibility.

It is we Soviet people, Communists and non-Party men and women, who with anger and bitterness wholeheartedly condemn the lawlessness and arbitrariness of the time of the personality cult and who will never let those times return, however sweetly and in whatever key the Peking roster, preoccupied with the fostering of the Mao Tse-tung cult, sings of Stalin.

Consistently defending from points of principle the general line of the world Communist movement and refuting

your attempts to distort Marxism-Leninism and split the world Communist movement, the leadership of our Party talks to you on behalf of our common legion of many million strong. It has the inalienable and unquestionable right to do so. It has our unanimously expressed authority to do so, an authority confirmed for all the world to see and hear at the 20th and 22nd Congress of our Leninist Party.

We would not like you to labour under any delusions on that score and imagine that you might be able to find at least one fellow-thinker in our country, among our people.

Don't have any delusions! Because he who obstinately persists for long in building his calculations on sand may ultimately either fall into a swamp from which he will never be able to climb out!

(PRAVDA, May 24)

Constitution (17th) Amendment Bill

SWATANTRA LOSES LAST DITCH BATTLE

BY OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

order and objections were efficiently and judiciously disposed off by the Speaker, Prime Minister Nanda answering the point about the "caretaker government" said that the Constitution did not know of any such arrangement, and even if it was considered a caretaker government, it was its duty to take good care of the measures enunciated by the previous government.

Besides the Swatantra, opposition to the Bill was voiced by the Jan Sangh and a few others like Acharya Kripalani and L.M. Singhvi. In the final voting, the Bill was passed by 381 votes against 27.

The Communist group in the House which had all along supported the measure

gave powerful rebuff to the arguments of the Swatantra and laid bare the reasons for the opposition of vested interests to the Bill and to land reforms as a whole. Among those who participated in the discussion from the Communist group, Homi Daji made special mention of the present day conflict between those who believe in a divine right to property and those who wanted agrarian and social changes. This conflict was bound to increase more and more until a decisive result is achieved, he said.

While therefore supporting the Bill, the Communist members at the same time sharply criticised the government for its failure to really and effectively implement

land reforms all these years. The concentration of land in a few hands side by side the growing rural impoverishment and unemployment was pointed out and the government was also criticised for not distributing the waste lands in its own possession.

The replacement of the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act by a retrograde legislation just at the time when the Select Committee was considering the 17th Amendment Bill and the inclusion of the latter in the place of the former in the Ninth Schedule, as well as the Select Committee's recommendation not to include a number of state enactments in the Ninth Schedule against the original proposal in the Bill were also criticised by the Communist speakers.

A Word of Caution

★ FROM BACK PAGE

rial posts of the new government is still ahead, but PRAVDA declared, the decisive word will be spoken by the people of India.

The first days after Nehru's death have convincingly shown how popular his policy was in India. The main thing now is that this policy should be followed as before defending the achievements of the Indian patriots in the anti-imperialist struggle, PRAVDA wrote.

Indian Communists have declared themselves for national

unity in the country and on behalf of the CPI, Hiren Mukerjee has assured the Parliament that if the Indian government would carry out the policy of Nehru, it could count on the support of the Communist Party, the paper said. But if the reaction wants to use Nehru's death for its own ends, then it would be routed, Mukherjee declared.

Fierce struggle took place for the election of the successor, said PRAVDA. Even Morarji Desai who has been shown by the press to be the symbol of the Right and their hope came

to understand that his present chances were equal to nil.

Lal Bahadur Shastri is called the leader of the centre in the National Congress. That is why both left and right wing Congressmen voted for him. The latter had no choice as their attempts to foist their own man on India did not succeed, said the paper.

PRAVDA also published a portrait and biographical note on Shastri and said that he was known in India as a supporter of the nonalignment and peace policy carried on by Nehru.

Sect's Rejoinder

★ FROM PAGE THREE

... will have to be done by the CEC through some mechanism evolved by agreement."

This proposal means in fact the complete reworking of all Party bodies and offices, and functioning through an agreed machinery set up by the CEC.

Functioning by agreement is always to be desired. But the creation of conditions in which,

in the name of "agreement" there is always a complete deadlock, will not strengthen the Party, but paralyse it and doom it to a slow death.

The National Council was elected by the Party Congress. To argue, as you argue, that it does not command a majority of Party comrades' confidence and, therefore, it should be put in cold storage, is fantastic.

The National Council majority has a far bigger majority in the Party membership than it has in the Council itself. This is evident from any honest evaluation. We mention this only to counter the utterly false premise on which you seek to base your proposal for the abolition of all Party bodies, and their replacement: by an "agreed machinery".

We have again and again suggested united preparations for the Seventh Party Congress. We invited you to attend even now the meetings of the Drafting Commission. But you have refused to do this. Again, let us repeat, it is not enough to talk of united preparations for the Party Congress; it is necessary to show by your actions your sincere desire for such united work.

We would, however, not like to give up all hope of a positive response to our appeal, merely because of the tone of your

letter and your rejection of our appeal.

We have every confidence that the situation in the country which you can see unfolding before you, will convince at least those amongst you, who sincerely desire that our Party should be able to serve our people well at this juncture.

Greetings,
for Central Secretariat
(S. A. DANGE)
Chairman

A Correction

IN last week's issue of NEW AGE in the article "Secularism and Nehru" on page 4 the first sentence of the third paragraph in column 1 should read as follows:

"Secularism became integral to India's anti-imperialism because of British imperialism's policy of divide and rule—a calculated and conscious policy which was laid down at the very dawn of India's freedom struggle to frustrate that struggle".

The omission of the words "British imperialism's policy of divide and rule" made the sentence meaningless. The mistake is regretted.

NEW AGE

Subscription Rates

Inland: Yearly	Rs. 12
Half-yearly	Rs. 6
Quarterly	Rs. 3
Foreign: Yearly	Rs. 20
Half-yearly	Rs. 10

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MIGHT OF SOUTH VIETNAM FREEDOM FIGHTERS GROWS

Eye-Witness Account By Burchett

BERLIN: The balance of forces is steadily moving in favour of the popular liberation forces and against the American supported puppet regime; this fact is admitted even by the backers of the government: this is how Wilfred Burchett described the situation in South Vietnam to a group of journalists in Berlin.

BURCHETT has recently returned from a five-month tour of South East Asia which took him to the liberated areas of South Vietnam also. He is the only foreign correspondent who has had as yet the opportunity to visit these areas as a guest of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front (FLN).

"The leaders of the FLN do not exclude the possibility of an anti-imperialist coup in Saigon by a progressive group in the army, possibly not known yet. Such a coup would in any case get FLN support."

"Still, the main road towards final victory of the liberation forces in South Vietnam is the change in the balance of forces", Burchett said.

The liberated area is large and the FLN is practically a government; the place of ministries is taken by corresponding committees which are in loose connection with respective bodies down to village level, he said and gave some figures of the achievement of the liberation forces.

By November last the National Liberation Army had dismantled as many as 1607 strategic hamlets (20 per cent of the total number of such barbed-wire enclosed villages), killed or wounded 8000 mercenaries including US advisers and captured 1000 men. Another 7000 had defected to the side of the liberation army by that time.

The present tactic of the FLN is to select whole districts for establishing liberated zones where the strategic hamlets are immediately dismantled and all villages are fortified against the return of the enemy.

Burchett described several battles during which small detachments of the FLN for-

ces, which consist of local and regional guerrilla groups as well as regular army units, had completely over-run the well-trained and US-equipped numerically stronger units of the regime.

"I observed through my binoculars from a jungle command post how these mercenaries run away when hit by hot pursuit of guerrilla bullets. US military advisers tried in vain to keep them fighting."

He had opportunity to interview four captured American sergeants who told him that the Vietcong were everywhere. But the fact is that the actual number of liberation fighters in this battle is only one-eighth of the Saigon troops.

"The main reason for the continuous defeat of the US supported government troops is the superior fighting morale of the liberation army troops", he said.

The mercenary soldiers often wonder why they should kill innocent villagers. On several occasions they turn their weapons against the US helicopters spraying chemicals on fields and orchards under the 'scorched earth' policy of the imperialist masters.

An increasing number of regular army units is joining the anti-imperialist liberation fight. Burchett said that the FLN-initiated "Alliance for Unity of Action" was being successfully implemented. Under this, the FLN provides non-FLN forces fighting US puppet regime with military, material and financial support.

"There are already numerous 'autonomous companies' and quite a big unit of the Cao Dai sect fighting under their own flag and rules. If their area is threatened with an attack, they soon launch

coordinated military action along with the FLN force."

Burchett toured most of the liberated area, which comprises the bigger part of the country including almost complete borders with Cambodia and Laos, in the company of a small FLN unit. The escort was provided to counter any unexpected attack by the puppet regime's forces.

The tour took him very near Saigon, since the liberated area reaches even the outskirts of the capital. On one trip he went up to seven kilo-

metres of Saigon and on another he visited a strategic hamlet near Saigon airport which was guarded at the other end by a government military post.

One trip with the FLN units took Burchett to a jungle workshop where mines were being produced, the mines which sank a 9,000 ton US transport ship in the port of Saigon recently. This explosion crippled a US aircraft ferry on the Saigon boulevard and killed eight GIs. It was a big setback for the US imperialists in South Vietnam.

About the jungle workshop Burchett said: "Go there, you will meet a whole line of former Saigon watchmakers in a jungle workshop. They are not repairing watches, but making mines."

The FLN units are today using their own weapons including carbines, tommy guns and a great variety of specialised types of mines. All these are produced in jungle workshops by sup-

porting units of the liberation army.

However, a major part of the FLN army's military equipment is American-made and comes from captured military posts of the puppet government, mainly in the Saigon region. Equipment of this kind include 57-MM guns.

Heavy artillery is not yet in use due to lack of transport facilities on the part of the liberation forces. This lack of mobility is however more than compensated by an excellent network of information on the enemy movements, plans and even their intentions, he said.

Burchett concluded by saying that there was no doubt that the South Vietnamese liberation fighters were marching towards victory under the leadership of the FLN.

Most of the members of the FLN presidium are former members of the Saigon peace committee founded in 1954 after the conclusion of the Geneva agreement and who were arrested a few months later by the Diem regime.

Chinese Leaders Carry On Military Dictatorship

Former Military Advisor Tells NEW AGE

From P. KUNHANANDAN

BERLIN: The militarisation of public life in China was sharply criticised by 63-year old veteran German Communist who had participated in China's historic long march as a military adviser to Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh.

AN interview with NEW AGE Otto Braun said that the Chinese leaders have changed beyond recognition in their political and organisational practices now.

Invited by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Otto Braun went to China in April 1928 as a military adviser. He was a Party leader in Hamburg and a military specialist of the Communist Party of Germany. The KP had sent him to help in the Chinese revolution.

In China he became a member of the Revolutionary War Council of the Red Army and worked in close collaboration with Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh. He participated in battles against Chiang Kai-shek's army in South China and later lectured at the military academy in Yanan.

Braun told NEW AGE: "The socialist construction in China can be tackled successfully only if socialist democracy within the Party is restored according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism."

He termed the methods of military dictatorship being continued in China, in violation of the decisions taken at the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1956, as "one of the characteristic features of the wrong and hazardous policies of Chinese leaders."

"I participated in the battles of South China in the legendary long march and worked at the military academy in Yanan. During the years of the national liberation struggle I supported the generally correct policy of the Chinese Party leaders. Not sparing my life I fought for the creation of social conditions of socialism in China together with the Chinese Party leaders."

"I raise the question: Who entitled Mao Tse-tung and the rest of the Chinese leaders to sweep away the decli-

"In order to gain victory in the national liberation fight it is absolutely necessary to carry through orders unconditionally and to observe strict discipline", Otto Braun said, "but to carry through necessary measures in socialist economy exclusively by orders without conviction is detrimental and not Marxist."

He said: "Intoxicated by their military victories and their first economic successes they succumbed to petty-bourgeois radicalism and national arrogance. They ignored the generally acknowledged law proved by experience of other socialist countries in building socialism and attempted to achieve communism directly through the 'big leap' and 'people's communes'. The disastrous consequences of this hazardous economic policy are well-known."

Finally, the veteran long march hero said: "It pains me very much to think how far the Chinese leaders have departed from Marxism-Leninism and retreated from their own former correct positions. Their deviation from the decisions of the Eighth Congress render a very bad service to socialist and humanist ideals for which innumerable Chinese people, Chinese Communists and I myself have struggled."

Chinese Distortion

*FROM PAGE 9

the victory of their revolution, in the destruction of the Japanese armies and in the build-up of the foundation for the PRC's industrial reconstruction—this can only evoke sincere indignation.

The Chinese leaders will fail to conceal the full depth of the abyss into which they have fallen. Their present propaganda objectively echoes imperialist propaganda of neo-colonialism and is in no way different from the course of the Right-wing among nationalist leaders

and of Right-wing Social Democracy.

Anti-imperialist unity and cooperation between the world socialist system headed by the USSR, the national liberation movement and the international working class, in the struggle for the common cause of liberating mankind from all exploitation is of paramount importance for the victory of world socialism and peace. It is our conviction that this unity will be achieved and that it will crown with success the great cause for which we are all fighting, (Pravda, May 14. Retranslated from Russian)

The immediate and most pressing question that faces the post-Nehru Government of India is that of taking a correct stand towards the new and pending US moves in Southeast Asia, particularly in the states of Indo-China.

THE current high-level meeting of US officials in Honolulu is reviewing the entire range of questions connected with the developments in this region and how best the US can meet the situation. Dean Rusk has had discussions in New Delhi and another trouble-shooter, Bundy Assistant Secretary in charge of Far Eastern Affairs, has been in London and held high-level confabulations there as to how Britain and the US could gang up on a quid pro quo basis.

The US is threatening to go to the brink over the issue of South Vietnam, shouting at the top of its voice that it is the link with North Vietnam that is responsible for the particularly devastating blows that the so-called Vietcong have recently been striking against the US and its puppets. All this hue and cry is in the classical style of thief shouting thief.

Placed in the dock in the UN Security Council over the issue of the repeated violations of the Cambodian border by the South Vietnamese troops and their US "advisers", again the same tactics of protesting too much and shouting the loudest were adopted by Stevenson to divert attention and to drown little Cambodia's complaint.

Worst however is the attitude adopted by the US over the crisis in Laos. While it is obvious that if the neutrality and independence of Laos have to be preserved it is necessary to review the entire working of the Geneva agreements of 1962 rather than of any particular clause of it, and to see what has stood in the way of its implementation and how the implementation and how the implementation

Instead of showing any willingness to embark upon a serious effort of that kind the US seeks to get away with its plans by pointing to all concerned the Chinese threat, as if the struggle of the people of the Indo-China states has no indigenous roots and is all a product of Chinese Machiavellian manoeuvres.

It is clear that falling for the US line can only mean isolating ourselves from the people of Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam and handing over the anti-imperialist struggle there completely to the machinations of Peking.

Moreover, in regard to Laos, it can be said that it provides a perfect case study of how neutrality of a country while accepted in words is systematically subverted and destroyed by the US.

The US imperialists have been and are feverishly sabotaging the independence, peace and neutrality of Laos, especially over the past two years, since the formation of the Laotian tripartite National Union Government. All their schemes and activities have been directed towards this end.

At the meeting of the leaders of the three political parties in Laos held in the Plain of Jars on April 17, 1964, Phoumi Nosavan, leader of the pro-American forces in Laos failed to give the reasons for rejecting the suggestion of Princes Souphanouvong and Souvanna Phouma on the neutralisation of Luang-Prabang, put forth a series

of unacceptable demands. The meeting broke up. The next day a coup d'etat broke out in Vientiane.

Leading the coup were General Siho Lanaphouthakul, commander of the police forces in Vientiane, and General Kouprasith Abhey, commander of the Vientiane military sector. Both had been officers of the pro-American party in Laos and had been fostered and trained by the US. The Siho-Kouprasith clique arrested Premier Prince Souvanna Phouma and other members of the neutralist group and its troops stationed in Vientiane, clamped curfew on the city.

On April 19, the U.S. State Department issued a statement pretending to "oppose" the coup d'etat and support Premier Souvanna Phouma.

A few days later, US propaganda organs spread the rumour that the Siho-Kouprasith clique had "begged" Premier Souvanna Phouma's pardon, handed over power to him, and that the situation in Vientiane had returned to normal. But in fact Premier Souvanna Phouma and the neutralist forces were still being kept under duress and the coup clique was still completely controlling Vientiane.

US Sabotage of Agreements

It will be recalled that the US dragged its feet for long and signed the July 1962 agreement with much reluctance. Despite signing the agreements the US has not implemented provisions of Geneva on the withdrawal of US military advisers and troops from Laos.

★ Many among the US military personnel who were supposed to have been withdrawn from Laos have simply changed their military uniforms for civilian clothes and returned to Laos.

★ The US still maintains in that Kingdom thousands of military advisers working in various military sectors and units of the Savannakhet troops or disguised as members of the US embassy, or "aid" organs. 490 such persons were there in the US embassy in Vientiane alone.

★ In addition, there are now thousands of troops of Thailand and South Vietnam, and Chiang-Kai-shek bandits who are carrying out secret activities in Laos. The US still continues to give arms and financial aid to the Savannakhet party to help it recruit and train troops.

★ Under the "Air America" label the US continues to use its aircraft to transport troops and weapons for the Savannakhet Party and drop supplies to their commandos in Upper Laos.

Before the National Union Government headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma returned to Vientiane, the US and its henchmen had carefully prepared to sabotage this government. They had altered the whole State machinery, planned their men in important posts. Besides scheming to destroy the Neo-Lao-Haksat and exclude it from the National Union Government, the US and its henchmen have paid special attention to splitting the government ranks so as to domi-



WHAT HAS LED TO CRISIS IN LAOS?

nate the neutralist party.

They have bought over a number of persons and resorted to slander, threats and assassination against those who firmly upheld their patriotic stand. The murder of late Foreign Minister Quinim Pholsena in April 1963 was an extremely brazen act of the US and its henchmen to sabotage the National Union Government and the neutralist party in Laos.

The provocative measures and attempts at murder by the stooges of the US have compelled Khamsouk Keola, Minister of Public Health and Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Lieutenant General Huon Monkho-vilay, Secretary of State for Veterans of the neutralist party, Prince Souphanouvong Vice Premier, and Phoumi Vongvichit, Minister of Information, Publicity and Tourism, of the Neo-Lao-Haksat, to leave Vientiane for other places.

The US imperialists and their lackeys have put heavy pressure on General Kong Le, sought to win over a number of officers of the neutralist party and smuggled troops of the Savannakhet group into the neutralist forces so as to control them.

In the military field, the US and its stooges carried on activities against the Neo-Lao-Haksat and the genuine neutralist forces. They have launched many big attacks on Xieng-Khouang, the Plain of Jars and Vang-Vieng (Upper Laos) and many areas in lower and Central Laos, and encroached upon many localities controlled by the Neo-Lao-Haksat and the neutralist party. Armed bandits and commandos fostered by the US imperialists continued to sabotage and disturb areas under the control of the Neo-Lao-Haksat, especially in Upper Laos.

The henchmen of the US in Laos also worked hand in glove with the puppets of the US in South Vietnam, launching raids to disturb the Vietnam-Laos border and violating the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Generally speaking, the US and its stooges have failed to achieve their main objectives on the Laotian question. Except the quings of the US, all sections of the Laotian people and progressive and patriotic personalities adhere to the policy of peace and neutrality, support the National Union Government, struggle for the implementation of the Geneva Agreements and other agreements reached between the three Laotian parties.

The US and its stooges cannot isolate nor annihilate the Neo-Lao-Haksat. On the contrary, the political and military forces of the Neo-Lao-Haksat have been consolidated and strengthened, and its

prestige has grown.

The genuine neutralists do not follow the stooges but continue to unite with the Neo-Lao-Haksat in the struggle against the US and its stooges. Whole battalions went over to Neo-Lao-Haksat when they found that Souvanna Phouma had been made virtually a prisoner by the Rightists.

Meanwhile in South Vietnam and Cambodia, the US has lost the initiative of action. The resistance war of the South Vietnamese people has won ever greater victories in the military and political fields and the Cambodian people's movement against US imperialism has developed vigorously. The movement against US aggression in South Vietnam, its armed intervention in Laos and its sabotage of Cambodia's independence and neutrality has gained strength.

In this background in March 1964, the US Defence Secretary, Robert S. McNamara, ordered the stooges of the US in South Vietnam and Laos to work more closely with each other to oppose the people of South Vietnam and Laos. Obeying this order, Nguyen-Khanh and Phoumi Nosavan secretly met in Dalat (Central Vietnam). Following this meeting a series of collusive acts were carried out. An ambassador of the Savannakhet party was posted to Saigon.

In defiance of the agreements reached by the three parties, Phoumi Nosavan agreed that the South Vietnam administration should send its ambassador to Vientiane. Units of the US fostered S. Vietnam army appeared and operated in Central and Lower Laos. The troops of Nguyen-Khanh and Phoumi Nosavan co-operated with each other and disturbed many areas in the Vietnam-Laos border region. US aircraft taking off from S. Vietnam spread noxious chemicals on several areas controlled by the Neo-Lao-Haksat.

In mid-April, the ministerial conference in Manila of the SEATO military bloc headed by the US brazenly declared Laos to be in the "protection" zone of that bloc, although the 1962 Geneva Agreements resolutely rejected this protection.

Then, at the meeting of leaders of the three parties in the Plain of Jars, General Phoumi Nosavan turned a deaf ear to the proposal of the Neo-Lao-Haksat and the neutralist party on the neutralisation of Luang-Prabang. The coup d'etat of April 19 in Vientiane followed.

The Siho-Kouprasith clique has destroyed the Geneva Agreements on Laos and abolished the tripartite National Union Government in Laos. They have insisted that Premier Prince Souvanna Phouma "reshuffle" the gov-

ernment and let them assume the ministries of Interior and national defence.

They also saw to it that this government was put under the control of the so-called "national defence council", an illegal organisation of the pro-American party. They blackmailed S. Phouma that if he did not accept their demands, they would set up a "new government" with Phoul Sananikone, a pro-American as Premier.

The US and its stooges have tried to make it an accomplished fact. But they have met with strong opposition in Laos and the world. Not only the Neo-Lao-Haksat and the Laotian people but also many members of the neutralist party, opposed them.

Knowing they could not continue to act with impunity, the US imperialists sought to make use of Prince Souvanna Phouma. Phoumi Nosavan came forward advancing a very "sensational" measure, announcing the handing over of the Defence Ministry to Prince Souvanna Phouma and merger of the Savannakhet Party's troops into those of the neutralist party under the command of the Prince.

By so doing General Phoumi Nosavan first of all admitted that so far he had been holding Defence Ministry which the three parties had agreed to hand over to Prince Souvanna Phouma.

More serious still, this measure has exposed the perfidious designs and deceitful tricks of the US and its stooges towards Prince S. Phouma. Who can fail to see the game of the pro-US Savannakhet party in "merging" its armed forces that are ten times larger into the neutralist party's?

Vongvichit has pointed out that it is only a "fraud". At the tripartite meeting of May 4 in Khang-Khay, Prince Souphanouvong clearly pointed out to Prince S. Phouma the designs of the Savannakhet party to swallow up the neutralists.

Back in Vientiane, under the pressure of the US and its stooges, Prince S. Phouma has continued to let them make use of him. On May 8, the henchmen of the US in Laos, using the name of Premier Souvanna Phouma, issued a communique dismissing Khamsouk Keola, Minister of Public Health and Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Major General Huon Monkho-vilay, Secretary of State for Veterans, both belonging to the neutralist party, under the pretext that they had refused to return to Vientiane.

Khamsouk Keola and Huong Monkho-vilay as well as the Ministers of the Neo-Lao-Haksat had to leave Vientiane precisely to avoid assassination and provocations by the henchmen of the US.

YOUTH AND STUDENTS PAY HOMAGE TO NEHRU

The Secretariats of the All-India Youth Federation and All-India Students Federation issued the following statement on June 28 on the passing away of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru.

WITH the passing away of our beloved Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru there is a void in our national life, in the mind of every Indian, which will be hard to fill.

"Pandit Nehru the valiant fighter for freedom and the builder of new India was a great source of inspiration to our youth."

"His rational and dynamic approach towards society, his internationalism and his determination to uphold the cause of

oppressed people anywhere in the world are some of the ideals which our youth will always cherish in their hearts."

"While paying homage to our beloved Panditji we pledge once more to carry forward the mission of building a new India where the door to prosperity and happiness will be opened to every man and woman. We pledge to continue to struggle for a world without war for which, as the people all over the world have acclaimed, our Panditji was a front rank fighter."

NEHRU'S TESTAMENT

Following are some extracts from the Will and Testament of Jawaharlal Nehru dated June 21, 1954:

I have received so much love and affection from the Indian people that, nothing that I can do can repay even a small fraction of it, and indeed there can be no repayment of so precious a thing as affection. Many have been admired, some have been revered, but the affection of all classes of the Indian people has come to me in such abundant measure that I have been overwhelmed by it. I can only express the hope that in the remaining years I may live, I shall not be unworthy of my people and their affection.

To my innumerable comrades and colleagues, I owe an even deeper debt of gratitude. We have been joint partners in great undertakings and have shared the triumphs and sorrows which inevitably accompany them.

* * *

I wish to declare with all earnestness that I do not want any religious ceremonies performed for me after my death. I do not believe in any such ceremonies and to submit to them, even as a matter of form, would be hypocrisy and an attempt to delude ourselves and others.

When I die, I should like my body to be cremated. If I die in a foreign country, my body should be cremated there and my ashes sent to Allahabad. A small handful of these ashes should be thrown into the Ganga and the major portion of them disposed of in the manner indicated below. No part of these ashes should be retained or preserved.

My desire to have a handful of my ashes thrown into the Ganga at Allahabad has no religious significance, so far as I am concerned. I have no religious sentiment in the matter. I have been attached to the Ganga and the Jumna rivers in Allahabad ever since my childhood and, as I have grown older, this attachment has also grown. I have watched their varying moods as the seasons changed, and have often thought of the history and myth and tradition and song and

story that have become attached to them through the long ages and become part of their flowing waters.

The Ganga, especially, is the river of India, beloved of her people, round which are intertwined her racial memories, her hopes and fears, her songs of triumph, her victories and her defeats. She has been a symbol of India's age-long culture and civilisation, ever-changing, ever-flowing, and yet ever the same Ganga. She reminds me of the snow-covered peaks and the deep valleys of the Himalayas, which I have loved so much, and of the rich and vast plains below, where my life and work have been cast. Smiling and dancing in the morning sunlight, and dark and gloomy and full of mystery as the evening shadows fall; a narrow, slow and graceful stream in winter, and a vast roaring thing during the monsoon, broad-bosomed almost as the sea, and with something of the sea's power to destroy the Ganga has been to me a symbol and a memory of the past of India, running into the present, and flowing on to the great ocean of the future.

And though I have discarded much of past tradition and custom, and am anxious that India should rid herself of all shackles that bind and constrain her and divide her people, and suppress vast numbers of them, to prevent the free development of the body and the spirit; though I seek all this, yet I do not wish to cut myself off from the past completely. I am proud of that great inheritance that has been, and is, ours, and I am conscious that I too, like all of us, am a link in that unbroken chain which goes back to the dawn of history in the immemorial past of India.

That chain I would not break, for I treasure it and seek inspiration from it. And as witness of this desire of mine and as my last homage to India's cultural inheritance, I am making this request that a handful of my ashes be thrown into the Ganga at Allahabad to be carried to the great ocean that washes India's shore.

The major portion of my ashes should, however, be disposed of otherwise. I want these to be carried high up into the air in an aeroplane and scattered from that height over the fields where the peasants of India toil, so that they might mingle with the dust and soil of India and become an indistinguishable part of India.

MOSCOW WELCOMES SHASTRI'S ELECTION

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: The reaction in Moscow to the election of Lal Bahadur Shastri as Prime Minister has been favourable. It has been pointed out here that he is likely to be the more consistent follower of Nehru.

THE withdrawal by Morarji Desai of his candidature is taken to be a defeat for those circles who want India to follow the Western camp and to give up ultimately her independent and non-aligned policies and industrialisation in the public sector.

IZVESTIA in a comment under a bold four column headline "Who Shall Be The Successor Of Nehru" said that the sharp struggle in the lobbies which preceded the official election of the successor had ended. Desai having taken into account the correlation of forces had withdrawn his candidature.

"The leadership of the Party has decided to elect the most consistent follower of Nehru, Shastri. He is supported by Nehru's daughter and a politician with authority, Indira Gandhi, who, it is believed, is likely to enter the new government."

IZVESTIA points out that the problem of Nehru's successor was raised by the Western press even eight years ago when Nehru was in good health. Some American obser-



The Prime Minister Designate.

vers did not doubt that if Morarji Desai came to power it would lead to India changing her course; the doors of the country would be opened to foreign private capital and nationalisation of private property would be stopped; the share of the state sector in the economy of the country would be reduced or even nullified and India would go closer to the West and would

limit her relations with the socialist countries.

IZVESTIA says that no successor of Nehru—if he is a successor and not an opponent—could cross out the ideas which determined the course of all the previous governments headed by Nehru.

NEARER TO NEHRU

IZVESTIA said that Lal Bahadur Shastri in his views was nearer to Nehru than Morarji Desai whom the Western press had started again to put in the first place. It said, according to the Indian press Desai relied on the majority support of the parliamentary group of ruling party whereas Shastri had more convincing support both among the lower ranks of the party organisation and in its working committee.

The whole tone of the comment of the official government organ of the Soviet Union indicates that official circles welcome the election of Lal Bahadur Shastri as successor to Jawaharlal Nehru as the new Prime Minister of India.

PRAVDA in its first comment on the election of Lal Bahadur Shastri as successor to Jawaharlal Nehru and head



Two champions of peace: Nehru with Khrushchev

of the Indian government added a note of caution pointing out that the election did not at all mean that the struggle for power in India had ended.

The big capitalists and all re-

actionary forces consider this sorrowful moment in India's history as opportune to extend and strengthen their positions. Therefore, the battle for the ministe-

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