

SEPARATISM DENOUNCED

Rousing Call For National Unity

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In a powerful speech in the Rajya Sabha on May 1 Bhupesh Gupta, member of the Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India and leader of the Group, denounced the separatist call of DMK leader Annadurai. He analysed the sources of the rise of right reaction in the country and called upon Congressmen and other patriotic elements to join with Communists to defeat this menace. He called upon Government to strive more actively for peace and disarmament. Following are extracts from his speech:

I ASSOCIATE myself and my party with the sentiments that have been expressed here in this House towards the President of the Indian Republic. I hope that wherever he is placed, his statesmanship, wisdom, counsel and experience will be available not merely to one party but to the people at large for helping our country to find our bearings in the midst of certain very wrong things that are happening today under the Congress rule.

I would like to deal with the Address from different angles. Right at the beginning I must say that this Address recapitulates the old mantras of the Congress rule, and it refuses, even after the third general elections to take into account the facts of our national life.

The failure, therefore, is on two scores. It lacks in approach, in perspective, in the sense of realism that the Government should develop. There is no leadership in this Address although with the Address the new Parliament or the new Lok Sabha has been initiated to the tasks and labours that lie ahead.

In that respect the Address is disappointing, to put it mildly.

I feel provoked to answer right at the beginning and repudiate the speech that was made by C. Annadurai when he advocated his dangerous theory of separation.

I can tell him point blank from this side of the House that India is united and one. Whatever may be our quarrels between the various parties, the unity of India shall be maintained at all costs. Annadurai may be flourishing in his own ideas and dangerous thoughts, but I have no doubt in my mind that the democratic movement in the South will combine with the democratic movement of the working people in the rest of the country, to give a burial to this dangerous theory of separatism, by going outside the Republic of India.

Peace— Supreme Issue

I would not like to say much on this subject at this stage. Let me proceed to my other theme, a theme of supreme importance and urgency for all mankind, namely, the question of peace on earth. To avert war and deliver mankind from the threat of thermonuclear war should be considered, by all right-thinking men, irrespective of party or other affiliations, as the most sacred task that we can fulfil today.

In this connection, I am dis-

tressed sometimes when I hear some hon. Members equating the Soviet Union with the United States of America. I would invite those hon. Members' attention to the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in which the question of peace and war has been dealt with and placed before the Soviet people as a task of prime and supreme urgency and importance, in which the entire Soviet humanity is called upon to dedicate itself to the service of humanity, for the preservation of world peace, for peaceful coexistence and in particular, for the realisation of the objective of complete and general disarmament.

Contrast Of US & Soviet

It is the Soviet Union, that listens to India's plea for peace.

As far as the Communists are concerned, the Communist Party, that Party is in control of the government of the Soviet Union and they are today building communism, and they say in their programme itself: "Peace is our ally".

Peace is the ally of communism and this is how the Communist Party and the world communist movement view the problem. The Soviet Union is carrying out this policy, in its internal life, in the construction of communism. Therefore, it is an article of faith with them. Peace and communism go together.

So they cannot be put in the same category with those in the United States of America. In the USA it is said that peaceful coexistence is a most dangerous idea of our times.

I say this because we have got in the Soviet Union a staunch, redoubtable ally and a fighter for the cause of peace. Friends are there and I think the Prime Minister to an extent, certainly recognises this role of the Soviet Union.

Just as here we are discussing the international situation and the question of peace and war, they are having in London a meeting of the CENTO and there discussions are going on how to equip Pakistan with modern weapons. We know against whom the weapons will be directed and to what political results and tensions that will lead.

I would ask the Government of India to lodge a strong and powerful protest against the attitude of the United Kingdom in this matter and also of the United States of America, because to help and encourage Pakistan on this sub-continent is to rouse and foment tension and to create mis-

givings and to bring about factors that make for war and to counter factors that make for peace.

In a matter of two or three days again, in Athens, there will be a meeting of the NATO Council to plan and formulate schemes and so on, to equip West Germany with nuclear weapons. Everything is ready and the mad men of Hitler regime will be given nuclear weapons to play with the fate of mankind once again.

We know how the former Nazis, the military Generals, the murderers, assassins, hoodlums, plunged mankind twice in one generation into a holocaust and terrible disaster. They are once again to be armed but now with nuclear weapons, with which to throw the world again into a holocaust.

That is the prospect that America presents and I think the voice of our Parliament should be raised loudly so that the appeal is heard. We have the moral stature. I agree with G. S. Pathak that we have some moral stature in the world today and that should be fully utilised in this service to humanity.

I would like to request the Government of India, while discussing foreign affairs, to give recognition to the Algerian Provisional Government. There should not be any delay. I do not know why the Government is hesitating. When the sympathies are known and are in favour of the Provisional Algerian Government, why is there this hesitation? I think the time has come—to help the process of Algerian independence—for the Government of India to extend full recognition to the Provisional Government of Algeria.

Recognise Algeria, GDR

In this connection also, I would ask them to recognise the German Democratic Republic in order to help the process of lessening tension in Europe and also to disarm ideologically to an extent, if not wholly, the regime which has come to rule the West German Republic.

Let me now come to the problems within the country. Now, here is the Address of the President and it is very interesting. He expresses confident hope in our Parliamentary institutions. I share his sentiments but a politician

must be something more than one who merely expresses hope.

The Prime Minister, speaking at a Press Conference after the General Elections, dwelt at length upon the rise of the communal forces and that of right reaction. He rightly spoke in annoyance and indignation against communal forces and the forces of right reaction.

Now, we share these sentiments. The other day, speaking to the new Members of Parliament, at the general body meeting of the Congress Party, the Prime Minister expressed similar sentiments of concern due to the rise of the communal forces and the reactionary forces.

Here I find so much of common sentiment between the right-minded, democratically-minded Congressmen and ourselves; but the question today is not merely one of expression of excellent and fine sentiments.

The question today is, how are we going to meet the situation as revealed by the Third General Election of the country?

In this connection, I cannot but draw your attention to certain disturbing facts as have emerged from the Elec-

* SEE OVERLEAF

DELHI WORKERS MARCH ON MAY DAY—See P. 15



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* **Communique Of** *
* **National Council** *
* **Of C.P.I.** *
* —See Centre Page— *
* **RESOLUTIONS** *
* **ON CENTRE PAGES** *
* **& PAGE 4** *
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ADVANCING MENACE OF RIGHT REACTION

tion mostly. Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan—leave alone Hariyana—comprise what we call the Hindi region of our country. They account for 17% crores of the population out of a population of 43 crores and these account for again 197 seats in the Lok Sabha and 1,212 seats in the Assembly of the country out of 3,000 seats.

that the fabric of Indian unity is founded on solid foundation. I wrote a letter to the Prime Minister and I got a reply. I know that we are a secular State and by and large we people are secular-minded despite the provocative and aggressive communalism of the party that has come in this House, the Jana Sangh. And in this matter we do not take the credit alone. We know that we share that credit with many who are sitting on the other side of the House.

Common Heritage

It is a common creation of the Indian freedom movement but this heritage has to be protected and maintained at all costs, not in sentiments alone but by taking measures. That is more important.

Those who cherish the future of the Parliamentary institution who want to see that it grows on secure, solid, secular foundation cannot but take serious note of this advancing menace of right reaction and communalism in the country. How are you going to meet it?

The Prime Minister's speeches and utterances at Press Conferences and the Congress Party find no reflection whatsoever in the Address which embodies the Government policy.

Am I then to understand that this question is a matter only to be talked about at Press Conferences, at public meetings, at the general body meeting of the Congress Party of the Parliament or is it a serious enough matter to be indicated clearly, embodied clearly, in the policy of the Government in the sphere of State?

If it were to be indicated there, taken to the level of State then, of course, it should have been given some expression and consideration in the Address itself which represents the policy of the State but there is complete silence. All is quiet on the State front. All is vociferous in the front of the Congress Parliamentary Party, talking inside and outside their party meetings! What about the State? Now, let me deal with it.

Maldah & Rajshahi

Take the communal issue. Even in these few days we have information of riots. For example, in Maldah, the minority community has been subjected to terror and rioting. Now, it is a serious matter and I do not wish to deal with this matter very much but what are we doing today?

It is not a question merely of administrative measures. Undoubtedly these have to be taken because every time there is any danger of the minority community being attacked we should go all out to protect it; it should be done with all the power that we can command.

Then you have the chain reactions in Dacca and other places.

Our answer to such ugly disturbances in East Bengal should not be retaliation; our answer to that would be greater protection to the minorities in our country, greater affection for them, more effective measures for them and greater integration of the minority with the majority community so

whole nation combining in a common stream of political activities throughout the country.

No doubt we differ on many things but on such questions like communalism, can we not, Congressmen, Communists and others, come out on a common platform and rouse the country's public opinion against such ugly, distorted forces? That is the question I put to the Congress Party on behalf of my Party.

If today Uttar Pradesh is taken over by Jana Sangh or if these people become stronger, there will be ruin and disaster all around us and we shall all be pushed from one position to another. The country will be plunged in the uncertainty of fear and terror all the time and the fabric of our national life will be torn asunder.

Are we to go in for such a state of affairs or are we to meet the challenge with statesmanship, courage, unity and resolve so that we suppress the serpent before it comes to be in a position to bite at the very fundamentals of our institutions? That is how I would view this matter.

Coming to the question of the Swatantra Party, Panditji was right when he said that the Swatantra Party was growing largely in the feudal areas. But how is it that after 14 years of independence a Maharani who had never known how to spell politics could get elected with a thumping majority from a State? How is it that 70,000 votes go against the Prime Minister of the country, against men like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru?

How is it that the Maharani of Jaipur routed a Congress candidate? How is it that some other Congress leaders also were defeated in this manner?

Fight Feudalism

Therefore ideologically, politically, we have not attacked the forces of reaction. It is not merely enough to say that feudalism helps them. We are not fighting feudalism with all our best. We have not gone there to impart ideas of democracy, organise the masses and rouse them from their stupor of backwardness into the light of democracy, so that the Rajahs and Ranis had the courage to go and seek mandate from the people.

It is a shame on us, on each one of us, that in our country after 14 years of independence the toadies and hirelings of imperialism who obstructed at every step the freedom struggle had the temerity to contest the elections, then got votes and now come to Parliament pretending as if they are going to be the first Opposition today and in the Treasury Benches tomorrow. Meet this challenge before it is too late.

In this connection, a question is posed before the country. In a parliamentary system you need opposition. Today the question before the country is, which opposition do you need. The choice is

restricted on the one hand to the Communist Party and other progressive parties and on the other to those people in the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra and a choice has to be made.

I know there are differences between Congressmen and ourselves but then the choice is not that you are having a liberal party. Here we and our allies together constitute the Opposition. If these other forces were to grow as Opposition, it will be ruin for the country.

Big Business Backing

As you know, G. D. Birla in his address at the Annual General Meeting of the United Commercial Bank expressed satisfaction that the Swatantra Party had become the major Opposition today. I say, with all respect to Birla, that we are here to see that the Swatantra Party does not become the main Opposition in the country, no matter what happens. And we have seen to it this time.

No wonder, Tata gives, for example Rs. 75 lakhs to the Congress Party—openly of course; secretly it may

be more—and Rs. 25 lakhs to the Swatantra Party. He says, 'You in the Congress are my friends and you in the Opposition are also my friends.'

He will tell the Congress Minister 'Do this thing for me' and he will tell the Swatantra Party, 'If Swaran Singh will not help me, if the Minister of Commerce and Industry will not help me, put pressure on these Ministers so that you can take them in a reactionary direction.' This is a wonderful thing.

The monopolists have thus developed an interesting strategy in the country: feed the Congress and maintain its monopoly of power and in order to see that pressure is put from the Opposition, put the Swatantra Party and the Jana Sangh in the Opposition so that democracy gets distorted, so that democracy is vulgarised, broken up, humiliated and humbled and the entire State machinery works in favour of Big Money and the monopolist. I would ask Mr. Sapru would he like that?

P. N. SAPRU: I won't. BHUPESH GUPTA: No; he would not like it and there-

* SEE PAGE 13

IMPERIALISM'S OPEN SUPPORT

IN course of a scintillating speech on the President's Address in the Lok Sabha, Homi Daji said:



HOMI DAJI

"I want to put one heart-searching question to the Members opposite. Has it occurred to us why in this third General Elections, 15 years after independence, 15 years after you claimed that you have abolished zamindari, jagirdari and princedom, after 15 years of planned development, right reactionary and communal forces have grown so powerful that they have become a major challenge to the Congress Government in at least five of the States? I beg to say these are dangerous developments. These forces stand for the very negation of socialism, planned development, and democracy and are a danger to the orderly development of our country."

"Not only is this a question of internal reaction, but with the internal reaction is aligned foreign reaction and we cannot blind our eyes to it. Washington Post, writing on the election results of North Bombay said, 'Krishna Menon won; all the rest of us lost.' Who are the rest of us with whom the Washington Post sympathises? What right has Washington Post got to bracket itself with any persons of Indian origin?"

"Foreign reactionaries take this keen interest in our elections, and their friends in India are not ashamed to emerge out into the open and constitute a growing challenge to the forces of socialism and democracy."

"This is a matter of concern to all sections of our honest, democratic and socialist people. It ought to be, I do not know whether it is or not. I therefore, put this question: Why have these forces raised their head after 15 years of independence?"

"The root cause lies in the socio-economic power which they still wield. Not a single prince has been defeated in this election. Whether he has stood on Congress or Swatantra ticket or as an independent, wherever a prince stood from his own area, he won."

(More Next Week)

Reaction Has Lost Wherever Progressive Forces Have Combined

FOLLOWING are extracts from the speech of Hiren Mukerjee, Deputy Leader of Communist Group on Motion of Thanks on the President's Address in Lok Sabha. The speech was delivered on April 26:

We are discussing in the House the last address of the President who is relinquishing his exalted office. As far as we are concerned, in point of ideology, we are very far removed from the President, but for him, personally, we have real respect. Nearly all his life has been devoted to the national movement for freedom—a life of service and sacrifice in that cause.

And the characteristic of the President has been that he carries with him almost automatically the simple dignity of our great people and a humility which overcomes even the gaudy trappings of the Rashtrapati Bhavan.

In spite of our differences, therefore, our sincere good wishes follow him in his retirement.

USA Flouts World Opinion

Only this morning, by a coincidence which appeared to many of us rather dismal, we got the shocking news regarding the explosion by the United States authorities of that dreaded bomb over the Pacific about which only the other day the Prime Minister here made a statement. Christmas Island has been the venue of a performance, unchristian and inhuman.

I say this because the United States Government in this particular case has flouted in the face of world opinion, has flouted the resolution of the United Nations General Assembly, and has refused to consider in spite of its promise the proposal which was made by India and other non-aligned countries asking the United States to postpone this particular performance. We remember in this House so vividly how the Prime Minister said the other day that he stood not to blame but to beg of the nuclear powers that this kind of thing should not be done. And yet, this calamity has taken place.

Community Of Interest

I wish to emphasise that in regard to issues relating to world peace we have noticed a real community of interests between the non-aligned countries like ours and the socialist countries of the world. I wish to emphasise that we can derive other lessons also and in regard to our internal reconstruction policies we can pursue the co-operative processes in the real, full sense of the term which exists between our country and the socialist countries of the world.

The hope expressed in the President's Address that the dreaded bomb would not be released over the atmosphere of our world has been dashed for the moment, but we never say die, and new initiatives have to be taken by our country in particular, and we

have to work out ways and means in alliance with countries which are really and truly concerned about world peace to prevent the consequences which might follow the performance which has been perpetrated by the United States.

Turning to the President's Address, I have a grouse, and that grouse is against the advisers of the President who have put words into his mouth. Here we are in the first session of a new Parliament, a Parliament whose job is to operate the Third Plan, and we get an Address from the President which is scanty as far as policy indications are concerned, which catalogues a number of legislative measures which my hon. friend Sri Harish Chandra Mathur read with his eloquence.

Then it makes complacent, unsatisfactory and, if I say so with respect, inaccurate generalisations about the food situation being quite satisfactory, but the agricultural production steadily moving up and the Third Plan having made a good start.

My grouse against the Address is that it fails to place before the country the perspective of today; it makes no effort to enthuse our people for the tasks that are ahead.

I have this grouse but it is no surprise to me. I have been to this House long enough to know the mind of the Government at least to a limited extent—and it brings no surprise to me that it is a rather colourless character of the President's Address—because we have just emerged from the general elections which have shown up the glaring weakness in the ruling party.

I do not refer to the factionalism which is found everywhere in the Congress organisation. It is their 'business to look after it. But I refer to their failure to prevent the rise of communal and rightist reactions on account of their own internal defects and that is a matter to which I do wish to make a very serious reference.

The Prime Minister, in his public speeches, makes tirades against former princes and other feudal elements but his party has run a large number of such people as its nominees in the general elections, and the purpose precisely was to utilise their feudal influence wherever the masses are backward.

The Prime Minister has made repeated references in so many public pronouncements to the elongated Hindi belt which is weighed down by the hang-over of zamindari, taluqdari and jagirdari systems—so on and so forth. He has talked about them. He said that these things accounted for the reactionary results which have emerged during the elections in these particular areas.

My question is only this: Is it only the detached sociological analysis, the idiosyncratic expression of opinion by the Prime Minister—an opinion which the Government as a body nods though the head of the Government makes it—or, is it to be the indicator of an action to follow and follow at once, an action truly to put an end to the zamindaris, taluq-

daris and jagirdaris and all their consequences?

I say this in all seriousness because the encouragement, the connivance which is given by the powers that be to the reactionary forces in our country have brought about economic regression and also social backwardness.

It has vital social and political repercussions which are seen all over the country through eastern Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and right up to Rajasthan—the whole belt which is an enormous area—where reactionary things come to the forefront and the Congress is reaping the fruits of its own labour—the lack of interest in the real condition of the people and the efforts to ameliorate the condition of the people in the way in which it has to be done.

The former vested interests have had to face from Government only a very partial, half-hearted and ineffective attack. Whatever land reforms have been sought to be attempted

have been completely inadequate, completely half-hearted and completely futile. The masses are still under the economic and political control of the former vested interests.

It is exactly because the Congress's land reform programmes have gone very much less than half way in hitting the vested interests that mass discontent can be whipped up against the Congress by reactionary groups and parties.

That is why we find how even against such a thing as the Nagpur Resolution of the AICC on co-operative farming, a crusade was conducted by many of the reactionary elements which we find so very much in the picture in our country today.

This is a matter to which Congress must give its real attention. Drastic steps must be adopted to curb the economic power of these vested interests in the countryside. They must be rigorously dislodged from the commanding heights of the rural economy. Land reforms, truly speaking, have got to be pursued. Otherwise, you cannot fight successfully against their growing political influence.

Reduced To Mantram

The mere incantation of the panchayati raj—this mantram which is supposed to dispel all our troubles—is not going to lead us anywhere, because you have not got a really well thought-out policy in regard to the implementation of land reforms, a policy which will bring real relief to the condition of our suffering people.

Because of this allergy towards the condition of the people, we find that Govern-

ment has not hesitated, the ruling party in particular at election time have not hesitated to take recourse to methods which ought to have been the monopoly of extreme rightist elements in our country. In their propaganda, many Congress leaders and even official Congress publications made open appeals in the name of religion.

The pastoral letter of the Kerala bishops calling upon the Catholics not to vote for the Communists was disavowed by the Prime Minister. He disapproved of it, but it is known that papers reported how Congress leaders were behind the publication of that pastoral letter.

The principal election pamphlet of the West Bengal Provincial Congress Committee contained a whole number of appeals in the name of religion. Here is a document in Bengali produced by the West Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, with an introduction by Sri Atulya Ghosh, which makes appeals in the name of religion, so that people do not vote for the Communists.

Here is a document where you will find lucid references

time. We find that to the vocabulary of the Punjabi language a new word is added: "Katron Shahi". We hear about that. This is only because of the complete indifference of the Congress to the real problems facing the country.

After the elections, what takes place? The Prime Minister forms a new Government. The only thing to note about the new Government is much of a muchness; there is no new look about it. We had a general election.

Where Reaction Combined

In certain areas of the country where reaction made it a point to combine together to defeat the radical aspects of the Government, they lost. They lost only because in those particular areas, there was a real combination of effort on the part of progressive forces. That is the most essential aspect of this election, which has taken place.

After the election you form a Government, but this great

Most Essential Aspect Of Election Results

—Says HIREN MUKERJEE

to what is happening in socialist countries, friendly countries like the Soviet Union and other socialist countries of Europe.

The Soviet Government comes to our assistance over Goa, when in the UN and elsewhere our friends of the free world were trying to give us a kick on our pants in as hard a manner as possible. Now, in spite of the services rendered by a friendly country, we talk about a friendly country at election time through the mouth of the official body of the Congress Committee in a manner which is really shameful.

I also find here another document published by the West Bengal Provincial Congress Committee where there are articles written in a rabidly communal Muslim paper of Calcutta called Palgham, which can hardly be read, because it is so fantastically alliterative, where all kinds of religious frenzies are sought to be roused in order that the Communists do not get votes. That is something which is taking place under the auspices of the Congress.

I know during the election time, things have been done only because you wanted to corner the Communist Party and beat them, particularly in those areas where the Communists, as servants of the people, have got the confidence of the people. This is not the right way to set about building up a kind of country where all combine, as my friend, Sri Mathur, suggests, in order to achieve national integration, national achievement and national fulfilment. This is not the way in which the country has to be given a lead.

That is why we hear of things happening in Jammu and Kashmir at election

change, this capacity of our people to give a proper answer to the machinations of reaction is not reflected in the composition of the Government, and in the fiscal policies of Government which were announced only the other day by my friend the Finance Minister. I am very fond of him, because I understand where I stand in regard to him. It is very clear.

But the fiscal policies of Government show that anti-socialist trends are appearing again in all their viciousness. It is a process which is beginning. The symptoms are dangerous.

I turn to the question of the condition of the people. As soon as our Parliament met, we heard reports from a Union Territory, which is almost without any communication with the mainland—the Andamans. We heard how the CP-UD workers claimed pay commission benefits and struck work.

There was a firing and six were killed and fifty injured. We are getting letters which suggest that in Andamans something like a reign of terror continues.

If Andamans are far away, UP is quite near. In Allahabad ghastly events took place. An undertrial prisoner was beaten to death; there were some demonstrations and some people were fired upon by the police.

Some time back in Kanpur, nine people were killed by the police on account of very similar incidents, and a Judge of UP, Justice A. N. Mullah, made certain remarks about the police force, which I do not say should be accepted by everybody just like that, but that is a very severe indictment.

SEE OVERLEAF

REFUGEES' PLIGHT

ment of the conduct of the police in our country.

This indifference to people's sufferings goes on and that is why there is dismay in West Bengal, for instance, over the Government's decision to wind up the Rehabilitation Ministry. I know we have been told that something still remains to be done in West Bengal and it will be done. But I fear that Government is not giving sufficient attention to this question of the refugees from East Pakistan.

I hope, Sir, I do not have to hear in this House, in this Parliament the very cheap gibe that East Pakistan refugees are an indolent lot, they do not look after themselves, they have not got the guts to find jobs for themselves, they won't go to Dandakaranya or any other place where the Government wants to send them and so on and so forth.

I think if you go into details—I have not got the time for that and this is not the occasion either to go into the details over it—you will find out how far as the refugees from East Pakistan are concerned, very little really has been done, how over a million of them, and most of them on their own initiative, have settled down outside the borders of West Bengal State and how, compared to a place like Delhi, for instance, where you have spent a good deal of money upon the refugees, and very rightly too, in a place like Calcutta, which has had the influx of refugees impinging upon its life even more dreadfully than has been the case in Delhi, the amount of money spent has been very much less than in the case of the refugees from West Pakistan.

The problems of rehabilitation of refugees from East Pakistan remains even now such a very serious matter that I do ask the Government not to take any hasty decision which will, even remotely, affect prejudicially the interests of the refugees from East Pakistan.

It is from this aspect, again, I find there is, on the part of the Government indifference to tasks of national integration. I notice in Government something like blindness, sheer blindness, to the requirements of our people in different areas of our land.

There is complete indifference, for instance, to the demand of the people in the South on the plea that some people in the South are asking for secession from the country. I do not know how far they are really serious about it.

I cannot conceive of any party in its senses asking for secession from the country.

South's Genuine Grievances

But on the plea that some people are asking for secession of the country, this Government is ignoring the legitimate demands of the people of the South.

Even such a thing as the renaming of Madras State as Tamilnad on which, I believe my hon. friend the Minister of Heavy Industries and Steel would support me, the legislative assembly of Tamilnad, the Government of Tamilnad has in fact already

accepted a decision to call Madras the State of Tamilnad, you do not do, because sitting in those upholstered chairs of authority you have become bureaucratic in your ways of thoughts, your thoughts are administrative, your thoughts are not political.

I was saying that there is indifference to people in the backward regions, to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and as far as political opponents are concerned, quite apart from the elections, I notice instances of what I can only call pettifoggery, bureaucratic, small-mindedness, in regard to such people as myself, Communists, and there have happened some recent instances which are rather egregious.

Political Discrimination

In Kerala, for instance, it has been published by Sri E. M. S. Namboodripad who is the leader of the Opposition there, that under the instructions and with the knowledge of the Union Government before people are appointed to Government posts there is a police verification of character, and if you are a Communist or a Socialist or an undesirable person of some sort, undesirable according to the contemporary definition of Government, you are pushed out. This is terrible. I say this is terrible because in West Bengal there happened an instance of a man who was chosen by the Public Service Commission but who was not appointed in the Metric Weights and Measures Department. He was not appointed.

The matter was brought up in the Assembly and the Chief Minister of West Bengal, surely with the knowledge and consent of the Union Government, said: "If Communists come to power you can push out every non-Communist person from the administration". His actual words were:

"When the Communist Party forms an alternative government they can drive out every Congressman from the administration if they want to. That makes no difference, but so long as this does not happen, you have got to accept the position of the law as we understand it."

This is what Dr. B. C. Roy said in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly on March 27, 1962. Nobody makes such a fantastic formulation that if the Congress Government comes to power all non-Congress personnel in the administration should be kicked out, and if a Communist Government comes to power the Communists would have the right to kick out all non-Communists.

This kind of thing is said in the confidence that as long as Dr. B. C. Roy wishes to foresee there would be a Congress Government and therefore everything would be well in the garden.

But this kind of vindictiveness, this kind of indifference to the real rights of the people and the interests of the people is something which you have got to take note of and correct the behaviour that you are pursuing.

At page 454 of the Third Plan Report there is the statement that in the industrial sphere "the shortfalls have occurred in some of those very industries which are of crucial importance and have deprived the economy of the benefits reckoned on for the start of the Third Plan". This is a matter which you cannot obliterate just trying to forget it in Parliament because you have a majority.

The target for steel when the Third Plan started—we have made some progress since—was 4.3 million tons. But the target was reached only to the extent of 2.2 million tons. In regard to food production, the Third Plan Report at page 123 says:

"The relative stability of the foodgrain prices lately has been due largely to PL 480 imports."

That stability has been disturbed. Papers all over show how the price is rising, and it is the most dangerous phenomenon that the stability of foodgrain prices has to be buttressed by imports from United States on certain conditions which in certain respects are very dubious, and that is what the Third Plan report says.

The Third Plan Report says on page 224:

"The impact of tenancy legislation on the welfare of the tenants has been less than was hoped for. One of the principal reasons for this is that in a number of States ejections of tenants have taken place on a considerable scale under the plea of voluntary surrender." Again the Third Plan Report says on page 229:

"On the whole, it would be correct to say that in recent years transfers of land have tended to defeat the aims of legislation for ceilings and to reduce its impact on rural economy."

What P. M. Said

Let all these things be noted by this House. The Prime Minister said sometime ago—he said it in August 1960:

"We have to avoid and prevent too much accumulation of wealth. If, after all this additional income, only five per cent or ten per cent of the population have benefited by it and ninety per cent have not, that is not a good result."

He said it. The new evaluation has not been reported to Parliament as to which part of the increase in our national income has gone to the working people, common people, and which part has gone to the people at the top of the social ladder.

During the elections, almost on the eve of the elections, the Prime Minister made the statement that Indian big money interests have made more profits in the last twelve years than in the century which preceded it.

I do not want to go into the details—we shall have many more opportunities during this session to go into the details—but my point is that the picture of the country today has got to be faced, it is there, whether you like it or not—and we are not doing it.

Resolution SUPREME NEED FOR GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

The National Council of the Communist Party of India strongly condemns the deliberate efforts of the imperialist powers to prevent any progress towards general and complete disarmament. For years the Western powers, led by the U.S. imperialists, have, under one pretext or the other kept the disarmament talks deadlocked, while they have continued and intensified the arms race. Plans for general and complete disarmament, put forward repeatedly by the Soviet Union and having the support of all peace-loving people, have been again and again rejected by the U.S. and other imperialist powers.

Today when peoples everywhere, including the people of the imperialist countries themselves, are demanding an immediate halt to the arms race and are hoping for success in the Geneva negotiations, the U.S. Government, ignoring the people's will, has launched a new series of nuclear tests in the Pacific Ocean—an action which places obstacles of a serious nature in the way of the success of the conference at Geneva.

The Indian people stand wholeheartedly for general and complete disarmament and support all efforts being made towards this end. Disarmament has become the most crucial issue facing all humanity today.

India, participating with other non-aligned nations in high level disarmament negotiations for the first time, has a special responsibility and duty to join hands with the Soviet Union and other countries which genuinely desire disarmament, and thus ensure the signing of a disarmament treaty in 1962.

The under-developed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are particularly interested in an early disarmament treaty, which must allocate a definite percentage of the large sums of money saved from armament manufacture, to the economic development of the regions kept backward till now by years of imperialist domination. Disarmament can thus be of vital help given the necessary social conditions, in the struggle being waged against poverty, disease and hunger in these regions.

The imperialist powers utilise military pacts and bases to impose their domination over various parts of the world. All peoples struggling for national independence can see clearly that their struggle and the worldwide struggle for disarmament are inseparably linked.

The Communist Party urges the Government of India to redouble its efforts to end the danger of nuclear annihilation which threatens all mankind. The entire Indian people will give their whole-hearted support to all steps taken by the Government of India, which lead to an early disarmament agreement.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India extends its support to the worldwide campaign organised by the World Council of Peace and by all other peace bodies, for general and complete disarmament. It calls on all branches, members and supporters of the Party to join hands with all other patriotic Indians in this mighty peoples' effort.

On Rahulji's Deteriorating Health

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its deep concern over the deteriorating health of Maha Pandit Rahul Sankrityayana, who lies ailing at present in Darjeeling.

An erudite scholar and writer, Rahulji is respected as a great national figure by the vast masses of our people. One of the greatest authorities on Buddhism, he won the Sahitya Akademi award for his monumental work "Madhya Asia ka Itihas". For his great learning and his services to our people and specially to the peasants of Bihar, he is called Maha Pandit and Rahul Baba.

The National Council notes that, though the President of India and the Government of West Bengal have given some help for his treatment and the upkeep of his family, it is inadequate. The National Council demands that immediate attention be paid by the authorities in this respect and the best possible arrangement be made for treatment etc. of this great son of India.

The National Council also calls upon all its committees and all men of goodwill of our country to see that Rahulji is provided with full and adequate facilities for his treatment, etc.

GIVEN below are some extracts from the speech of Dr. Ranen Sen in Lok Sabha on April 23 on the Railway Budget:—
Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir the budget presented by our new Railway Minister is a wonderful gift to this House. No Member of this House, who has any love or sympathy for the common people would support this budget. The people outside, millions of our countrymen, would curse the Railway Ministry for the new taxation measures, for the enhancement of the freight rates and passenger fares, which alone will bring misery to millions of our countrymen already groaning under poverty and other difficulties.

Saloon cars for officers are not necessary. They can easily travel in first class. Therefore, I suggest that when the new Minister has taken over this portfolio, he should look into these things and think about the sufferings of the common people.

Labour Relations

Now, one good thing he has mentioned is that he will try to improve labour relations in the railways. I want to bring some general points in connection with labour relations that is today obtaining in the railways. How can labour relations improve? If even today the SNS rules operate, rule 49 of the Railway Establishment Code operates, if people are thrown out under police report, if people are at the mercy of the whimsical officers, how can there be any improvement in the labour relations in the railways. Everybody knows that the willing co-operation of the workers, the willing co-operation of the employees is the first thing necessary to run the railways in a better way. But what is happening in the railways. May I quote a few points in this connection?

First of all, employees who are connected with the trade unions have been thrown out and they are still being thrown out. Services have been terminated of many people.

Secondly, I was surprised to find that in the Railway budget, the Railway Minister has not uttered a word about the necessity of giving amenities to the poor travelling public of our country. Our Ministers never travel in trains. Even officers do not travel in third class compartments. Therefore, they do not realise the difficulties that the third class passengers and sometimes even second class passengers feel today while travelling.

T. U. Workers Victimised

I will give you certain examples to show how bureaucratically, how stupidly the Railway Administration behaves in respect of railway employees.

One gentleman, Saropendra Nath Rakshit, a clerk at the Kancharapara Workshop, was given a charge-sheet. The charge-sheet issued against him is like this:

"You are reasonably suspected to be engaged in subversive activities."
"You are a sympathiser of a political organisation. You took an active part in a meeting in May, 1957 in order to felicitate a leader of that political organisation for his success in election."

The charge-sheet is signed by the Chief Mechanical Engineer and is dated November 20, 1961.

Many people have been thrown out for their participation in the last general strike in 1960. Nearly five lakh people had taken part, but only the cream of the trade union movement has been picked up and they are still being picked up and thrown out, all in the name of democracy, discipline and, probably, in the name of socialism.

Obnoxious Rule

There is another type of case. I would like to read out a little bit of these charge-sheets. Rule 149 of the Railway Establishment Code has been applied on many people. I have got a few sample cases here. I will not mention the names. The charge-sheet against one gentleman is like this:

"You are a labour agitator and a member of a subversive political party, which is

COMMUNIST MPs



Ranen Sen



U. Misra

ATTACK RAILWAY BUDGET

against the Service Conduct Rules."

If anybody is against the Service Conduct Rules or if a party is against the Service Conduct Rules a railway employee cannot be connected with that organisation. I do not say that this charge is correct, but even if this charge is correct, what a stupid charge is laid by the Railway Board, the railway authorities or the General Manager. Then it says:

"In 1957, after the General Elections you raised funds from the workers and organised a meeting and procession to celebrate the victory of the candidate on his being returned to the West Bengal Legislative Assembly."

This is another charge. All these charge-sheets are being issued just after the strike in 1960 or 1961. The charge says:

"In January 1957, your house became the venue of the meeting of a subversive political party wherein discussions were held about the selection of the office-bearers of the South Eastern Railwaymen's Union."

It was a recognised organisation. If a few people sit together and discuss who is to be elected in the coming elections of a recognised union that becomes an offence and they are at the mercy of the officers.

So, in this way show-cause notices were issued and people were thrown out till now. I do not know whether our new Minister knows about it, that people have been demoted, that the General Secretary and the Secretary of the Eastern Railwaymen's Union still remain suspended and the General Secretary of the South Eastern Railwaymen's Union has been demoted and there have been hundreds of cases like that.

Sir, he mentioned about better labour relations. There is the question of casual labour. It is a very important question. It is known that the Central Second Pay Commission made certain recommendations in respect of this casual labour.

They had recommended gradual absorption of the casual labour. But what is done? Day-before-yesterday, an hon. Member, who himself was a Railway employee said in this House—and I know it myself what is happening in our parts. A man is employed for 5½ months or a little less than six months, then he is sacked and he is again taken in after one month in order to obviate the difficulties that have been created by the recommendations of the Central Second Pay Commission.

The Minimum Wages Act has not been implemented and it is not in force. The Railway Board is issuing letters to everybody saying that it is in force, but I say that it is not in force.

In West Bengal the State has decided that under the Minimum Wages Act the schedule rate is Rs. 2 per day. What is happening in Kharagpur and other areas? There the casual labour get from Rs. 39 to Rs. 45 per month, which is less than what the State Government has decided in that State. Still the Railway Board goes on saying something which is not true.

Therefore, what I say is this, Then, take the station at

If the Railway Minister wants to do something, if he wants to help the public, help the people, help the employees, help the workers, he should immediately take a sympathetic view towards the common employee and thereby he can improve a lot in the situation; otherwise, simply making a Budget Speech and increasing the fares will only bring the curse of the people on the Minister, whoever he is.

Tatanagar. It is a fine station built only few months back. But how is it kept? It has become very dirty because enough sweepers are not employed. Whereas they go on adding to the number of officers, when it comes to a question of the sweepers there is the economy drive.

Another matter to which I would like to refer is safety. One of the causes of the accidents is the troubled state of mind of the running staff. The driver or the fireman works for more than twelve hours. And when he goes home he has not got a place to sleep in.

No Medical Facilities

As a visiting doctor I have seen the houses of these men which were built forty years ago for the "native coolies" as they called our people. There are no amenities there. As for the rent, from Rs. 3-8-0 it has gone up to Rs. 25 without any amenities. I have seen the drivers and firemen working for twelve hours with not a place to sleep in.

The Railways have built certain hospitals. One has been built in Tatanagar from where all I come. The building is alright. But what does it cater, except aqua pura and medical certificates for their earned leave? There is not much of facility for clinical investigation. The medical officer becomes helpless. The hospital looks magnificent from outside. But go inside, there is no apparatus for investigation.

The Railways are the biggest employers. But have they ever thought of industrial diseases, occupational diseases and of investigation of the occupational diseases amongst their employees? The fireman or the driver deals with coal. He may be suffering from silicosis. Have they got any provision or any arrangement for the investigation of occupational diseases?

I have seen the incidence

Therefore, what I say is this, Then, take the station at

TERROR IN SOUTH AFRICA

A gruesome tale of the life of nearly 12 million non-White people in South Africa, and of the heroic struggle of these people against the apartheid policy that is the shame on human civilisation was told by Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, an outstanding freedom fighter of the South African people, during his visit to Delhi recently.

In a damning indictment on the prevailing conditions in Verwoerd's hell, Dr. Dadoo declared with passion that to the champions of the apartheid "we are just barbarians, just cattle, we don't count".

And to perpetuate this hell, Verwoerd's government is increasingly resorting to arms. Its army of 20,000 is to be

increased to 60,000. Arms purchases from Western countries, including war planes and rockets, are being stepped up. South Africa is now an armed camp and a definite threat to peace in the region and the world.

Today, when three-fourths of Africa is liberated from colonial domination, the most atrocious form of racial

tyranny is being practised in South Africa, eighty per cent of whose laws are against the non-White people.

Let alone the elementary rights of a citizen like the right of franchise or association, these laws deny an African even his right to have a stable home, to go from one place to another, or to eat where he wants to.

An African can't stay anywhere he likes, but only in certain areas allotted by the Government. If a person loses his job in one place, even say after fifty years of stay there, he must immediately leave that place and

go wherever the Government sends him.

Every African must carry a passbook — a sort of reference book — which can be checked at any time and in any condition by the police. The harassment of the people under this law is such that every year about one million people are arrested in this connection. In other words, one African in every ten goes to jail annually just because he could not produce his passbook straightaway from the bed at night when the police had asked for it.

A whole series of laws has been enacted to force the African people to work on whitemen's farms. A third of the African population work on these farms as labourers and another third is forced to live on government allotted land to serve as cheap labour reserve.

Characterising the present government as the Government of white farmers Dr. Dadoo said that 87 per cent of the land, including, of course, the most fertile land, is owned by these White farmers, whereas 80 per cent of the total population, who are non-White people, have a share of only 13 per cent of the land.

There is another series of legislation to force the remaining third of the African population to work in industrial areas, mines, factories and homes of the white population.

There are about half a million non-White people working in the mines, as compared to about 3,000 white people. But the wage level of the Whites is 30 to 40 times that of the non-White people for the same work.

All skilled jobs are the monopoly of White workers. If it happens that a non-White person gets a skilled job, even then he is condemned to work on non-skilled wages because of the colour of his skin.

Under the Group Areas Act, which aims at creating areas of reserves of cheap labour for mines and factories, there are a number of instances where 70 per cent of the population is forced to work elsewhere than the place to which they belong to.

Alliance Of Congresses

Speaking about the South African population of Indian origin — about half a million — Dr. Dadoo said that nearly 80 per cent of them are workers, an overwhelming majority of whom living barely on a bread line. Among the rest are mostly small traders, skilled and semi-skilled workers.

But today, even this Indian population together with the other coloured (mixed) people inhabiting South Africa (about two million in all) are threatened by unemployment by various legislations concerning group areas, racial classification and job reservations.

Citing the instance of a major South African city, Durban, which has a popula-

tion of African, Indian and White origin of 1,00,000 each, Dr. Dadoo said that today there are already 20,000 Indians unemployed there.

It is to ensure a life of luxury and plenty for the three-and-a-half million Whites that the 12 million non-White people are condemned by apartheid tyranny in South Africa.

And it is against this racial tyranny that the people of South Africa are waging a heroic fight.

A recent instance of mass action of the non-White people was the hartal to protest against the imposition of the White, fascist Republic in South Africa. To break this hartal, the Government had not only mobilised the military and police force in full strength, but had also enlisted White civilians, both men and women, to supplement it.

On the very first day of the hartal the armed forces of the government had surrounded all areas where the non-White people live and had forced them out of their homes and dwellings on point of the bayonet. But despite the use of mass terror, in many of the large centres of South Africa, Dr. Dadoo said, as many as 70 to 80 per cent of the people had responded to the call of the hartal.

People Of Indian Origin

The liberation movement of the African people is headed by the Alliance of the Congresses, which has brought on a common platform, the African National Congress (a banned organisation of non-White people), the African Indian Congress and the coloured People's Congress.

Besides the above political organisations, there are in South Africa, a Democratic Congress and a Progressive Party in which some sections of White intellectuals are coming in who realise that the present situation cannot last for ever and are for some kind of reforms to ease the position of non-White people with the hope of reducing the existing tension.

The demands of the Alliance of Congresses are embodied in the Freedom Charter which was adopted in 1955 at a Conference in which five thousand delegates from all over South Africa had gathered. The draft Charter was widely circulated and discussed by the people on the eve of the Conference.

The Freedom Charter demands that South Africa should be a non-racial democracy with equal rights for all including of course, the franchise right.

It demands land reforms, on the principle that the land should belong to the people who till it. Among its other demands are the freedom of movement, the freedom of expression, cultural freedom and the repeal of all suppressive laws.

The struggle of the non-White people in South Africa today is in fact against every

*SEE FACING PAGE

FIFTY YEARS OF PRAVDA

During the night of May 5, 1912 an old newspaper press was roaring away in a small printshop in old Petersburg (now Leningrad).

GROUPS of workers from the factories and mills of the Tsarist Capital gathered in the courtyard waiting for the copies of their own first daily paper, the Bolshevik Pravda.

By 10 o'clock in the morning 60,000 copies of Pravda have been printed; the leadership of Lenin and the Communist Party had its first mass, legal expression.

It was the most historic turning-point in the life of the Party since its foundation and a mighty step toward the triumph of November 1917; and Pravda's 50th birthday, this Saturday, will be a great Soviet occasion.

It is a far cry indeed from the modest printshop at No. 14 Ivanovsky Street (Now Leningrad's Socialist street), and the nearby equally modest editorial offices at No. 37 Nikolaevsky Street (now Marat Street) to the vast offices and plant of Pravda in Moscow today.

VOICE OF CPSU

It is, in fact, all the difference between that first night's, 60,000 run and the present nightly run of 6,500,000 — far

wildly at this real menace to their rule.

From the summer of 1913 to the summer of 1914 Pravda was closed down no fewer than eight times — and each time successfully reappeared under a new name, usually incorporating in a changed form the word Pravda (Truth).

At last, on the eve of World War I, the police managed to effect — a more lasting suppression; but directly the Tsardom was overthrown in the March revolution of 1917

Through thick and thin the workers of old Russia stood by their "daily workers' paper," as its title-line proclaimed it (the Party being illegal, of course).

In its first year alone it was confiscated by the Tsarist police 41 times and there were 36 prosecutions of its editorial staff — costing them an aggregate of over 47 months in jail sentences.

But in its first year its circulation — holding at 40,000-60,000 a day — it had printed over 11,000 items of news and views contributed by its worker-readers, the pioneers of the "worker correspondents."

No wonder the Tsarist authorities began to hit out

times — and did not resume, for good and all, its historic title Pravda until two days after the revolution, on November 9.

During those crucial methods of 1917 the surging tide of revolution brought ever more impressive working class support to Pravda.

To us on the Daily Worker, remembering how in the autumn of 1942 our readers speedily raised £30,000 to buy the printing works their born paper needed, there is a familiar and fraternal ring

special one-day collections."

"Let every Party branch, every factory get down to collecting right away. Go to it, comrades."

The Pravda plant today can be roughly described as a combination of the Daily Express — or any other large newspaper printing works — and Odhams or the Sun at Watford.

It has its rotary letter press, colour gravure and litho-offset sections, well-equipped and organised, and pouring out an immense volume of newspapers, magazines and periodicals.

Its half-a-hundred linotypes, its massive foundry, its long lines of rotaries (the English Hoes, put in 30 years ago and still working well, plus new Soviet, East German and Swiss machines) produce two other mass-sale dailies — the youth paper Komsomolskaya Pravda and the Russian Federation Party paper Sovetskaya Rossiya — as well as Pravda.

Most characteristic, perhaps, of the scale of Pravda's operations is the elaborate arrangement for its simultaneous production in a score of local newspaper plants; the only way, indeed, in which it can appear as an up-to-date national paper over the vast distances of the Soviet Union.

By ALLEN HUTT of LONDON Daily Worker

Pravda reappeared, this time openly as the organ of the Party.

Next month, when Lenin returned from his exile abroad, he assumed the leadership of its editorial board.

There were still bitter struggles to face. The paper was as fiercely persecuted by the capitalist Provisional Government as it had been by the Tsardom.

Between the summer of 1917 and the Socialist Soviet Revolution in November it had to change its name four

about the raising of 100,000 roubles in a few days in June 1917 to buy a printing works for Pravda.

When that plant was ransacked and ruined by reactionary gangs a new appeal was launched — in September — to raise another 100,000 roubles in a week.

Giving concrete details ("our machines have been smashed and we've lost over a ton of type") it urged the readers to "follow the lead of the lads at Putilov (now the giant Kirov works) and take

TERROR

★ From Facing Page

aspect of the apartheid policy of the Government.

A broad non-cooperation movement against the government is spreading throughout the country, embracing various forms, from the non-payment of high rents to the boycotting of Bantu authorities, who are the Government stooges recruited from various ethnic of African people and appointed as "chiefs" to collect the taxes and deal with the local administration in some measure in the reserved areas.

So unshamed is Verwoerd's government in its efforts to perpetuate the racial tyranny in South Africa that it tried to impose a Bantu variation among the Indian population as well by establishing so-called Indian Advisory Councils consisting of those Indian representatives who are prepared to accept apartheid.

Both the Indian and the coloured people have rejected these "Councils" by boycotting them.

As an instance of popular opposition to these Government schemes, Dr. Dadoo mentioned Transkei which is hailed as a model of Bantustan by the government. There, in the area of Pondoland, the people have gone to the extent of establishing their own courts, after rejecting the Bantu authorities.

State Of Emergency

A state of emergency exists there today, the army and police occupying the place, after they have killed many people, banished the chiefs hostile to the government, and imprisoned hundreds of leaders.

Bravely facing white terror, the South African people are militating for a National Convention, elected on the basis of universal adult franchise, to draw up a new Constitution of South Africa. A broad movement is now being built up around this demand.

With the struggle of the South African people gaining momentum, and with important developments taking place on the northern borders, in North and South Rhodesia and the Portuguese territories of Angola and Mozambique, the position of the Verwoerd's government is becoming more and more precarious.

Many countries of the world, particularly newly independent States of Africa, are doing a great deal for the South African people.

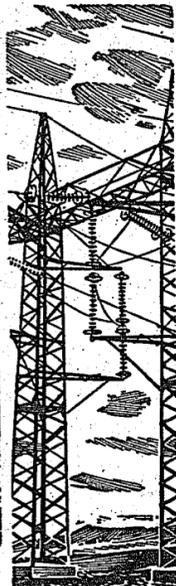
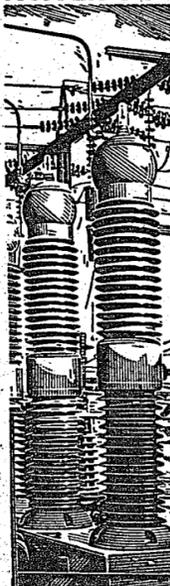
In Dr. Dadoo's view, economic sanctions by the U.N. is the most important and it should be the duty not only of the independent African States, but also of Asian States, particularly of India, to see to it that the U.N. imposes these sanctions, and both USA and Britain play the game.

There is no doubt that Indian people have many links with South Africa, and India has been forcefully championing the course of the South African people.

India's abstention from voting on an earlier resolution in the U.N. that sought to impose sanctions on the South African Government was hence still less understandable for the South African people than even for our own people.

The Indian Government should, therefore, take up the cause of the South African people in the U.N. with renewed vigour.

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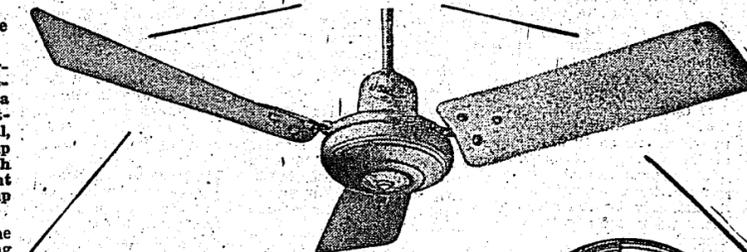
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CPI WILL INTENSIFY EFFORTS TO BUILD NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT

COMMUNIQUE OF NATIONAL COUNCIL

Below we publish the texts of the communique and resolutions adopted by the Communist Party's National Council, which met in New Delhi from April 23 to 29.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India has issued the following communique:

The Meeting of the National Council of the Communist Party of India which began on the April 23 concluded on the 29th evening. The meeting was attended by 97 members from all State organisations of the Party.

The Council began its session with condolence resolutions on the deaths of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, the Party's General Secretary, Comrade Bankim Mukherjee and Comrade Srinivasa Rao and stood in silence to pay homage to the memory of the departed leaders.

The Council expressed its profound gratitude and thankfulness to the millions of people who had supported the Party in the last General Elections and thus helped it to carry forward the struggle for peace in the world and for democracy and a better life for the people at home. The Council noted with profound satisfaction the manner in which the Party units at all levels, the Party members and sympathisers and thousands of working people worked tirelessly for the cause of the Party in the election battles.

Election Results

Members of the Council from all States gave their reports on the election results in their respective States. From the preliminary review of the elections through such reports and other election

materials prepared by the Central Secretariat of the Party, the following broad conclusions emerged:

The process of weakening of the position of the Congress among the people which had started from the first General Elections and continued in the 2nd General Elections has gone still further ahead. But the most disturbing feature is that the forces of communalism and Right Reaction have emerged much stronger in these elections.

The Swatantra Party, though it failed to secure the position of the major Opposition Party, has however won many seats and become the principal Opposition in four States. This, the Swatantra Party has been able to achieve by skilfully and demagogically utilising the discontent against the Congress policies as well as taking advantage of the traditional pull of the feudal and reactionary elements.

The Jana Sangh which is a rank communal organisation has also increased its strength and become the principal Opposition in two States by utilising this discontent and by rousing religious and communal revivalist ideas.

The combined strength of these two parties has become sufficiently menacing for all democratic elements to become vigilant against the grip of the communal reactionary and fissiparous trends variously represented by these two parties. This should cause serious concern to all progressive and democratic elements in our national life.

FOR THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

The National Council of the Communist Party of India sends its warmest greetings and congratulations to our comrades in Tamilnad who have been released after long years of imprisonment. It is a matter of great joy for us that these comrades of ours are back among us and will have now the opportunity to actively serve the cause of the working people and the nation.

Last September, a deputation on behalf of the National Council, led by Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, met the Prime Minister and also submitted the Party's Memorandum demanding the release of all long-term political prisoners. This demand was voiced from all sections of public opinion and from Parliament and the State Legislatures.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India

appreciates the action of the Madras State Government, in responding at long last to the popular demand by releasing the twelve long-term prisoners. Indeed, this action will be appreciated by all throughout the country. In this connection, the Council appeals to the Madras State Government to release the remaining four long-term political prisoners who were convicted in the Pappankulam case about two years ago.

Now that the twelve long-term prisoners have been released, it is hoped Comrade C. A. Balan who was convicted in Coimbatore several years ago but was later sent to Kerala to serve his sentence, will likewise be released without delay.

The National Council, however, notes with regret that the Governments of West Bengal, Bihar and Uttar Pra-

The communal forces represented by the Akalis in the Punjab and the separatist trend of the DMK in Madras have also acquired new strength to cause concern for all those who stand for national unity and integration.

Hence all the strength of the broad democratic forces must be roused and mobilised to fight these communal and separatist trends and find correct democratic solutions to the country's future.

The efforts of the Congress and other political parties to discredit the Communist Party and dislodge it from the position of the principal Opposition Group in Parliament and in the State Assemblies of Kerala, Andhra and West Bengal have failed. The Communist Party has not only maintained its position but has indeed increased its representation in Parliament as well as in a number of State Legislatures.

With its bankrupt banner of anti-Communism, the PSP hoped to become the major Opposition, but it miserably failed in its efforts. The PSP and its policy of anti-Communism and disruption have received a staggering blow in the elections.

In these elections, there was unshamed open interference on the part of US and other imperialists which was particularly seen in the case of the North Bombay Parliamentary Constituency.

The election also revealed limitless malpractices and abuse of Government machinery by the ruling Party. The power of big money was also in full play.

While the situation demands the most determin-

ed efforts to prevent the growth of reactionary and communal forces or separatist trends in the various parts of the country, the Congress is, however, by its policies facilitating their rise and growth. Furthermore, the deterioration in the living standards of the people together with the corruption that is rampant in the ruling party is giving rise to widespread discontent among the masses of the people.

This popular discontent provides a fertile soil for all sorts of demagogic and adventurist elements that spell ruin to the country's future, to gather new strength and acquire new bases for their operations.

The Council therefore came to the conclusion that the general line of the Sixth Congress of our Party of striving to build the unity of all democratic and popular forces in the struggle against Right Reaction and of directing into popular channels the discontent of the masses against the policies of the Government, which hit the people rather than allowing the forces of Right Reaction to take advantage of this to consolidate themselves, should be carried forward.

In this context, naturally, the struggle for mobilising the popular forces against the attempts of Reaction to push the policies of the Government in a reactionary direction on the one hand, and for defending the interests of the working people and for the adoption of progressive policies on the other, assumes great urgency.

Having taken into account the various aspects of the present situation in the country as a whole in general and the rise of the communal, reactionary, pro-imperialist and disruptive forces in particular, it becomes all the more necessary today to devote the energies of the Party to unite all democratic, secular and progressive forces including those within the Congress in common struggles.

The entire situation emphasises the need for vigorous efforts for building the National Democratic Front.

Resist Attack On People

The Council noted that the Congress Government has launched further attacks on the living standards of the common people. The additional burden of indirect taxation imposed by the Central Government in its recent budget amounting to Rs. 45 crores will hit the common people heavily, particularly since it is coming in the wake of the Rs. 57-crore burden that had been imposed by certain State Governments in their budgets.

These increasing burdens of

indirect taxation, together with the steady increase in the price of several consumption goods, are making it increasingly difficult for the common people to make both ends meet.

The few steps in the direction of imposing taxes which fall mainly on the rich—which the Government have been made to impose by the widespread discontent against indirect taxation—are far behind the possibility of adopting policies which will put a reasonable share of the tax burden on those who can afford to pay.

The Council, therefore, decided to call upon all its units to launch a campaign against the taxation and price policies of the Government.

The Council discussed the question of General and Complete Disarmament and called upon its members to join others in moulding public opinion for this great cause.

The Council demanded the immediate recognition of the Algerian Government.

Though a preliminary exchange took place on some of the important problems that have emerged in the post election political situation, the Council felt it necessary to defer a full discussion on the same till its next meeting for finally summing up the election experiences and drawing necessary lessons.

The Council then proceeded to have a preliminary exchange of opinion on the organisational position of the Party. It noted that the ideological-political activities of the Party are unsatisfactory and that there is need for remoulding in certain vital respects, the ways in which Party units at various levels have to function.

It was, however, felt that it is necessary to have a fuller discussion on the basis of a more thorough study made by the Secretariat and the Central Executive Committee.

The Council also made the necessary amendments in the Constitution of the Party unanimously.

The Secretariat was entrusted with the job of preparing four draft documents—(1) On the ideological and organisational questions facing the Communist movement, (2) The significance of the decisions of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, (3) Post-election political situation in the country and (4) Organisational problems.

These documents are to be discussed at a meeting of the Central Executive Committee to be held towards June end.

The void created by Comrade Ajoy Ghosh's death was deeply felt by all the members of the National Council.

The Council decided to have

AJOY GHOSH'S WRITINGS

A Tass release says that a collection of articles and speeches by the former General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, the late Ajoy Ghosh, has been brought out in Moscow. The book is published simultaneously in Russian and English.

The articles and speeches

a Chairman, a General Secretary and seven Secretaries who will together form a Secretariat of nine and carry on the function and responsibilities on behalf of the National Council and the Central Executive Committee.

However, since all the comrades who have been elected to fill the posts of members of the Secretariat cannot be made available to work as whole-time functionaries of the Party, it was resolved to permit some of them to work in their respective States and to come to the Centre for such work as is assigned to them from time to time.

It was also resolved to add six more members to the Central Executive Committee. The names of the newly-elected members of the Central Executive Committee are as follows:

Comrades P. Sundarayya (Andhra), G. Adhikari (Maharashtra), Jyoti Basu (West Bengal), Harkishen Singh Surjeet (Punjab), H. K. Vyas (Rajasthan), and Avtar Singh Malhotra (Punjab).

New Secretariat

Names of the members of the Secretariat are:

Comrade S. A. Dange (Chairman), Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad (General Secretary), Comrades Bhupesh Gupta, Z. A. Ahmad, M. N. Govindan Nair, P. Sundarayya, Jyoti Basu, Harkishen Singh Surjeet and Yogindra Sharma.

All these decisions were unanimous.

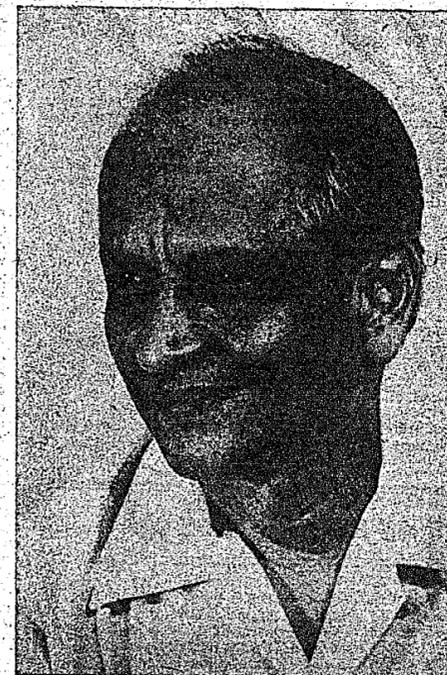
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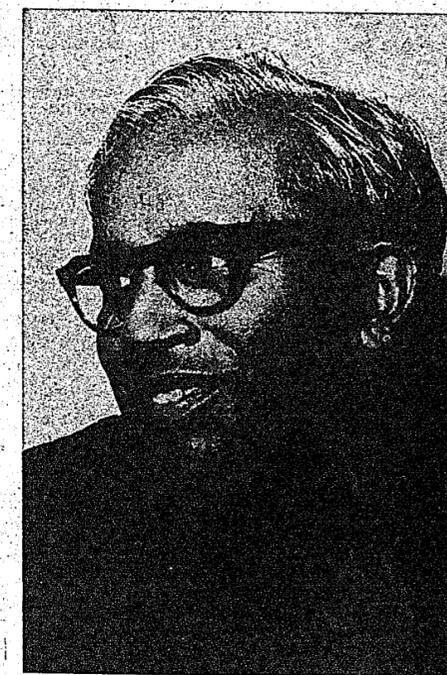
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S. A. Dange



E. M. S. Namboodiripad

U. S. NUCLEAR TESTS DENOUNCED

The National Council of the Communist Party of India strongly condemns the launching of a new series of nuclear tests by the United States Government in the Pacific Ocean. Spurning worldwide protests and appeals, President Kennedy and his administration have, by the very first explosion, plunged humanity deeper than ever into the whirlpool of the perilous arms race.

The opening of negotiations between the 17 powers participating in the UN Disarmament Sub-Committee meeting at Geneva had created new hopes among millions in all continents for an agreement on complete and general disarmament. These hopes grew with the accord reached at Geneva on the preamble for a disarmament treaty, following the line of the earlier US-Soviet Agreement on the principles of disarmament.

The participation of non-aligned countries for the first time in high level disarmament negotiations, made possible as a result of the initiative and efforts of the Soviet Union, gave an entirely new character to the Geneva meeting. On the question of nuclear tests, first of all India and later all the non-aligned countries at Geneva placed concrete proposals, which deserved serious consideration and provided a basis for agreement.

The US Government, however, refused to consider any proposals and was evidently determined to conduct its tests under any circumstances. The entire Indian people supported Prime Minister Nehru's appeal to President Kennedy to halt the proposed tests, at least while the Geneva negotiations are continuing, with a view to give them a chance to succeed. Mass popular demonstrations in the

United States of America, in Great Britain, in Japan and all over the world made the same demand.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India joins the rest of mankind in denouncing this action of the US Government. These tests create grave risks for the health and future of peoples all over the world, particularly for the peoples of countries like India which lie in the path of the radio-active fall-out from explosions over the Christmas Islands.

The US tests seriously jeopardise the Geneva negotiations, create a sharp rise in international tension and may lead to a chain reaction. The responsibility for this deterioration in the world situation rests squarely on the US Government. The US Government will face the censure of all humanity for lighting the fuse which ushers in a new and most dangerous lap in the nuclear arms race.

The National Council urges the US Government even at this stage to abandon further tests. The continuation of the tests will earn for the USA the hostility of all peace-loving people who see in these tests a proof of the refusal of the US Government to agree to a disarmament treaty at Geneva.

The Communist Party is confident that the Government of India will, at this critical moment, redouble its

efforts for the signing of an agreement for complete and general disarmament in 1962 itself.

The Communist Party calls on all its committees and branches, all its members and sympathisers to join hands with all other patriotic Indians to voice their protest against the US tests by all possible means—public meetings and demonstrations, signature campaigns, adoption of resolutions, etc.

In particular, the National Council appeals to the working class of India to observe the coming May Day with special emphasis on the demand for disarmament and on the protest against the US nuclear tests.

CONGRATULATIONS, ALGERIA

The Communist Party of India congratulates the Government and people of Algeria on the ceasefire agreement signed by the Government of the Algerian Republic. Its units and branches have participated in the campaign in support of the Algerian struggle conducted by various organisations in the country. Hundreds of members of our Party had been ready to volunteer to fight side by side with their Algerian brothers, at any moment that the Algerian people should have called for an international volunteer army.

The Communist Party rejoices today at the great victory won by the Algerian people, after so many years of relentless combat, over colonialism and war. The Party dips its banner in homage to the memory of the thousands of brave Algerian men and women who gave their lives in the battle against the imperialists.

The Communist Party salutes also the brave democratic forces of France and in particular the Communist Party of France, whose firm and courageous actions against the war policies of the French Government played so important a part in bringing about the ceasefire.

The united support of the peoples of the world helped and assisted the Algerian people in their road to victory. Of profound help, above all, were the assistance—military and economic—of the Soviet Union and of other socialist countries and of the Arab countries, the solidarity of Asia and Africa and of the democratic forces in the imperialist countries themselves.

The Communist Party, while hailing the ceasefire, warns that the battle is not over. The forces opposed to full Algerian independence are acting madly through the OAS. The world demands

swift and effective action by the French Government against the criminal gangs of the OAS.

The Communist Party urges full implementation of the ceasefire agreement and further steps to ensure complete national independence for Algeria.

Recognise Government

The Communist Party calls upon the Government of India to assist the Algerian people on their way to complete independence, by extending immediate recognition to the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic. Such recognition, long delayed, would be a concrete expression of Indian solidarity and great help to the Algerian people's struggle against the fascist OAS forces at this time.

Little Country Playing Big Role In India's Renovation

AT the close of the year 1961, new trade arrangements were finalised for 1962 by representatives of India and Czechoslovakia which envisage a turnover of Rs. 24 crores in the current year as against Rs. 18 crores in the last year.

While India will continue to buy capital goods and industrial equipment, Czechoslovakia has undertaken to further diversify her purchases of raw material and finished and semi-finished goods.

The trade turnover will, thus, increase almost five times in comparison with the year 1954 (Rs. 4 crores 46 lacs).

This rapid increase in the trade turnover between the two countries is due to the fact that it is mutually advantageous and the economic requirements of both countries complement each other.

Secure Market

Indian products are finding a long-term secure market in Czechoslovakia which, in the first place, does not suffer from trade cycles and offers an ever-growing demand for goods. At the same time, trade with industrially advanced Czechoslovakia is a source for supplying modern technical equipment to India needed for her industrialization programme.

In 1956, Czechoslovak exports of machinery and machine equipment represented 48.4 per cent of total

exports to India, today they account for almost 80 per cent.

An agreement concluded in 1959 between the Governments of Czechoslovakia and India, paved the way for Czechoslovak participation in the establishment of a Foundry-Forge Plant, Heavy Machine Tool Plant, Heavy Power Equipment Plant and High Pressure Boiler Plant during India's Third Five Year Plan.

Forge Foundry

The Foundry-Forge Plant in Ranchi — its construction is now in full swing — ranks amongst the biggest plants Czechoslovakia has supplied abroad and is also the biggest engineering project of its kind in Asia.

In size and importance this plant will be comparable with the famous Skoda Works of Czechoslovakia and will be having the most up-to-date equipment.

The importance of it will be seen when the fact is taken into account that the output of cast steel in India will increase four-fold as it goes into operation. Its semi-finished products will be used in Heavy Machine Building Plant and Heavy Machine Tool Plant, both at Ranchi.

For building these projects, Czechoslovakia has granted to India an eight-year credit of As. 23.1 crores, on terms which are advantageous to India, as the loan will be repaid in deliveries of Indian

goods beginning after the completion of projects and the production of the projects will itself be sufficient to pay the instalments.

To avoid, as far as possible, the drain on India's foreign exchange reserves, the Czechoslovak suppliers have included in the Detailed Project Reports some machines and equipment which are available in India.

Moreover, these projects are so designed as to keep room for their further expansion.

Czechoslovakia has also undertaken to share all technical know-how for the erection and production in respect of all projects.

The Czechoslovak technicians will pass on, in the

personnel; Machine tool research; Research and metal cutting; Documentation centre.

In addition, Czechoslovakia is providing for the training of Indian technicians in Czechoslovak industrial works and scientific institutes.

Czechoslovakia has a highly advanced engineering industry and is one of the biggest engineering exporters in the world. As a socialist country, it has come forward to help India to build her own heavy industry and her engineering industry. This type of cooperation was never extended willingly by the West.

Another noteworthy feature is the establishment of even

world population, but contributes two per cent to the total world production. This means that her per capita industrial output is approximately four times higher than the world average.

That is why her hand of cooperation is quite big and its economic significance is growing every day with the progress of the planned Czechoslovak economic development. A country with a population of 1 crore 37 lacs had extended a total aid of Rs. 40 crores to India — Rs. 23.1 crores by the Czechoslovak Government and Rs. 17 crores by Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Corporation, Messrs. Technoexport.

Czechoslovakia has to supply machines and also to make available financial resources to other Asian, African and Latin American countries. Therefore, she is trying to use her resources as rationally as possible. She lays emphasis on those projects which help industrialization and does not like to waste her resources on secondary things. For example, she could have competed for the project of a People's Car in India, but she preferred to keep aloof.

On the other hand, Czechoslovakia realizes the importance of economic relations with a big country like India which has vast resources.

Indian supplies, such as iron ore, pig iron, aluminium, ferro alloys, polythylene, as well as other raw materials, semi-products and finished products are needed by Czechoslovakia for her own economic development plans and the growing needs of the rising standard of living of her people.

Czechoslovakia has become the second largest buyer of Indian iron ore and the largest as regards low-grade iron ore.

Of tremendous significance for our developing economy is that economic relations between India and Czechoslovakia are bound to grow more and more. They are mutually beneficial and are based on firm foundations.

Whole Factories

But now many Indian engineering firms are making sub-deliveries of some equipment to the Czechoslovak deliveries for sugar mills. Recently a sugar mill was built in Ceylon, to which a part of the equipment was made available by the Walchandnagar Industries.

Similarly, work has been completed or commenced on the construction of a motor-cycle factory in Mysore, tractor-factory in Baroda, tyre-factory in Calcutta, refractories factory and many others by Czechoslovakia in India. Czechoslovak Corporations are freely joining hands with the private sector in this connection.

In addition, Czechoslovakia is cooperating with many State governments for the establishment of cement factories, brick and ceramic plants, power-plants and also sugar mills.

Czechoslovak exports to India also include a wide variety of machine tools, diesel generating sets, welding machinery, tractors, textile machinery, electrical measuring instruments, pneumatic instruments, foundry products, special types of steel, chemicals, pharmaceutical raw materials, asbestos-cement pipes, heat-resistant material for the steel industry, technical glass etc.

Czechoslovakia accounts for only half per cent of the total

by
RAJEEV SAXENA

CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S 17 YEARS

SEVENTEEN years is not a long period in the life of a nation, but there are years which stand for a whole epoch. Seventeen years of New Czechoslovakia have really proved to be epoch-making.

Emerging from horrible ruins, war-ravaged Czechoslovakia could not only heal the physical wounds inflicted by the barbarous Nazis, but also build an all-round healthy personality and achieve a leading position in the race for human progress.

Western economists take pains to point out that in most cases the countries which began to build socialism were countries with an insufficiently developed industry and precisely this, namely the low level of the industrial base, was reason of the rapid rate of growth of industry in the socialist countries. Czechoslovakia proved their theories as incorrect and although her industrial base was as developed as in the West, she achieved and maintained a higher rate of industrial progress than any other western country.

Growth Rate Double

The rate of Czechoslovak industrial growth has been more than double (10.9 per cent) in years between 1950 and 1960 compared with the average of the entire capitalist world (5.1 per cent). Within this period the annual rate of the growth was 3.1 per cent in Great Britain, 3.8 per cent in USA, 9.6 per cent in German Federal Republic, 7.2 per cent in France and 3 per cent in Belgium.

In 1961, industrial production in Czechoslovakia increased by 8.9 per cent, in the USA by 1 per cent, in the German Federal Republic by 5 to 6 per cent as compared to 1960.

Another important factor is that Czechoslovak production grows not only more rapidly, but also systematically, while in the western countries the periods of rise alternate with periods of a drop in production.

There are neither capitalists nor landlords to grab the rise in national income, nor the results are offset by a rise in prices.

The index of the costs of living gets lower and lower from year to year. In 1958, it was by 20 per cent lower in comparison with the year 1953, while in the same period it went up by 10 per cent in Federal Republic of Germany, by 19 per cent in Great Britain, by 22 per cent in France and 12 per cent in USA.

Since 1953 it has been found possible several times to reduce retail prices, the population thus saving 1,470 crowns (Rs. 580) annually per head.

On the other side, nominal wages have gone up, the average monthly wage rising

from 1,186 crowns in 1955 to 1,383 crowns (Rs. 522) in 1961. As against 1960, the gross monthly wages in 1961 increased by 2.5 per cent.

It should be pointed out that measures adopted in the social and cultural fields (health care and education are completely free) are most beneficial to families with a large number of children and a low per capita income.

For example, the State spends 800 crowns (nearly Rs. 540 crores) for providing allowances for

Czechoslovak households are well-equipped with various labour saving devices, wireless and TV sets etc. Thus, there is one electric washing machine per 5.7 inhabitants, one wireless set (not counting the relay system) per 3.5 inhabitants and one TV set per 11.8 inhabitants.

Man does not live by bread alone. Rising standard of living, reduction of working hours to 40 and 42 per week, complete social security, and other worldly gains pave the way for the cultural and

Socialism's Triumph In An Advanced Industrial Country

every child in the family and health insurance benefits. School children and students are provided with textbooks and school aids to the tune of 40 crore crowns (nearly Rs. 27 crores) annually free of charge.

If the amount spent on education in 1960 had been directly distributed among the population, every family would have received 362 crowns per head.

In the case of university education, there were 545 graduates per one lakh inhabitants in Czechoslovakia while there were 236 in German Federal Republic, 259 in France and 185 in Great Britain. And there was one doctor per 554 inhabitants as compared with 957 in France and 729 in West Germany.

The mass character of the cultural life is borne out by the fact that the annual average per 100 inhabitants is 94 visits to theatres, 1,427 to cinemas, 15 to concerts of professional musical orchestras, 40 to museums, 32 to exhibition and galleries, 674



Socialism — The Joy of Life.

to events organised by cultural clubs etc.

The number of copies of different periodicals issued is now more than 50 per cent higher than in 1948. Nowadays the average number of copies of periodical press per inhabitant is 100 a year, 63 of which are daily papers.

The annual average of the number of books published is almost four books per inhabitant i.e. more than in France, German Federal Republic and USA.

economic and cultural relations with other countries.

With Newly Free Countries

On the one hand, because of her highly developed engineering industries, she is able to offer basic industrial plants for the industrialisation programme of the developing countries, in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and, on the other, because of her planned and crisis-free economy, she is able to provide a regular and ever increasing market for the goods from these developing countries.

For example, Czechoslovakia participates in the Indian Third Five Year Plan by constructing a big modern Forge and Foundry Plant at Ranchi which would lay the foundation for building up a heavy industry and is delivering, among other things, equipment for a heavy machine tools plant, a heavy power equipment plant, a high-pressure boilers plant etc.

She has also supplied power stations, cement works, sugar factories, technical porcelain works, tyre factory, scooter and motorcycle plant, tractor factory etc., in both public and private sectors.

She has advanced a long-term loan of Rs. 40.1 crores and also furnished a technical institute worth Rs. 80 lakhs as a free gift.

Czechoslovak experts are working at construction sites and training centres in India and Indian technical experts are being trained in factories and institutes in Czechoslovakia.

All Czechoslovak towns and villages celebrated Tagore Centenary on a mass scale and the people eagerly witness Indian films and the shows of Indian cultural troupes.

Similar relations exist between Czechoslovakia and all other developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. These relations are strengthening every day because they are based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence.

Plan And Peace

Czechoslovak people are devotedly working for further peaceful construction and fulfilment of the targets of their Third Five Year Plan (1961-65). They know, peace is essential for the success of their glorious labours for human progress.

In conformity with the aspiration of her people and the people of the whole world, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic constantly works for safeguarding peace, achieving disarmament and eradicating war from human life.

To this end, Czechoslovakia cooperates and develops friendly relations with all countries irrespective of their social order.



Socialist Machines For India.

NEW AGE
COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

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GIZENGA DEMANDS OPPORTUNITY TO FACE PARLIAMENT

Interview With TASS Correspondent

Bolabemba Island, April 23:

TASS Correspondent in the Congo, G. Fedya-shin, reports that in view of rumours about the death of Antoine Gizenga, which spread in Leopoldville, Congolese authorities allowed foreign correspondents to visit Bolabemba Island in the mouth of the Congo River and meet Gizenga.

G. Fedya-shin writes: Accompanied by top officials of the Security Service, together with a reporter of a London television company, I flew to Moanda, a small health resort on the Atlantic coast near the Congo estuary, and thence went by launch to Bolabemba.

HORRIBLE CONDITIONS

Escorted by a group of officers and men we went to the house where Gizenga is detained. On the one side the road was flanked by the river, and on the other, by an impassable bog. Nearer to the house the road turned into a narrow street. Soldiers of the local garrison, their wives and children looked with surprise and curiosity at Whites whom one rarely meets here.

A single-storey house stood in a small clearing with several sentries at the entrance. The glazed porch around the central part of the house was solidly entwined with barbed wire on the inside. A cot of the sentry covered with mosquito net stood in the hall.

We were taken to a small room with two cots—one belonging to Gizenga, the other to a sentry. Antoine Gizenga was sitting at a small table.

Since I saw him last—that was in Leopoldville exactly three months ago, on January 20, the day he came from Stanleyville—Gizenga had changed noticeably. His chin was covered with a curly beard. Despite the dark colour of his skin, his face was sickly pallid and he was strikingly thin.

Gizenga met us in a guarded way. "I shall not conceal it from you," he said, "that this visit puzzles me because I have already become accustomed to the position of a prisoner, and the attitude of the authorities and the guards was such that I did not think that any visits were possible."

When I asked him about his health, Gizenga replied with bitterness: "I think it is no use speaking about my health. You can hardly help me. A medical commission had been here and my condition is well known to it. I am surprised that despite the promises of the official authorities no doctors have been allowed to see me for more than a month."

"And my personal physician, I learnt, was arrested, but I do not know why. My request to send a doctor to me remained unanswered. Special conditions have been created to prevent doctors from coming."

I asked Gizenga whether any official charges have been brought against him.

"No charges have been presented to me to this day," he said firmly. "My parliamentary immunity has been crudely violated. I am accused of something and I would like to reply to those accusations before the body to which I have been elected by my people."

"I want one thing only—to face Parliament and answer before it, so that the Congolese and international public opinion themselves should judge whether I am guilty or not. I was thrown into the strategic Bolabemba base."

"I consider this to be unlawful and protest against this. I demand that charges be presented against me and considered."

Asked whether he is permitted to maintain any contacts with the outer world, with relatives and friends, to receive newspapers, listen to the radio etc., Gizenga said:

"Formally this was promised to me. Practically, all my letters to the United Nations and other organisations remain unanswered. From this I concluded that they do not reach their destination. I do not think that such methods of the Security Service are legal and correct. I have full right to correspondence as an individual and as a member of Parliament."

"I am allowed to take walks but I do not want to make any

trouble for the plain people in the vicinity and refrain from taking walks."

Gizenga hinted that local residents displayed great interest and sympathy with him which is resented by the guards and the authorities. As usual Gizenga spoke quietly and with reserve, and only when he mentioned his relatives his voice betrayed his emotions and indignation.

"How is it possible to qualify otherwise than deception," he said, addressing Matube, the Assistant Chief of the Security Service, "the attitude of the authorities to my request to be permitted to meet my mother and wife. Why did they summon my family from Europe where they were well off (Gizenga's wife and children were in Yugoslavia—G.F.)."

"All of them, my wife and my old mother were deceived. They were told that they would be permitted to be at my side to take care of me. Why this deception? Now they find themselves without means of subsistence. Despite promises, they are not allowed to see me even for a short time. They are not given my parliamentary allowance, and, in contrast to some others, I have no bank account."

"Instead of books, the Chief of the Security Service, Ndaka, has sent me Mobutu's

magazine Rearmament Morale for which I have no use."

Gradually the conversation became more free. Gizenga started to ask questions about the latest events in the country and the world. The officers and men closely listened to the conversation catching each word. They smiled approvingly when Gizenga expressed his indignation at the fact that Congo, (a town in North Katanga) which had been liberated from Katanga gendarmes, by troops of the Congolese army under Gizenga's direction, has been given back to Tshombe.

During the conversation, Gizenga resolutely denied the rumours spread by certain officials that he "himself asked to be permitted to take a rest in Moanda."

"HEALTH RESORT"

"When Gizenga is asking you for rest," Gizenga told Matube, "you send him to Bolabemba, this marshy mosquito infested island and call it a health resort. I do not know where you will send me tomorrow, perhaps to the Portuguese," he remarked pointing to the wooded Angolan shore beyond the river. "The contention that I am well off," Gizenga went, "is a lie pure and simple."

"How can a man thrown without trial or investigation, without any reason, to an is-

land isolated from the outer world, be well off?"

In reply to another question, Gizenga said:

"Tell the world that I regard such attitude towards me an iniquity, as violation of elementary democratic rights and parliamentary immunity. I demand to be immediately given a chance to face the Parliament and answer to it and to the people of the Congo."

It was plain that imprisonment failed to break the fighting spirit of the faithful son of the Congolese people, the staunch fighter for the freedom and independence of the Republic.

Gizenga warmly bid us farewell and again asked us to tell the truth about his position. This trip and the talk with Gizenga which lasted more than an hour resolutely refute the claims of certain official spokesmen and the reactionary press about the "lawfulness" of Gizenga's arrest and the "humane" treatment of this outstanding patriot of the Congo.

Hope Tinged With Caution Over W. Berlin

★ From P. K. KUNHANANDAN

Berlin, April 28: AS I indicated last week Washington talks on Berlin have been put off till mid-May. U S Secretary of State Dean Rusk, under heavy pressure from Bonn, has also withheld submission of new US proposals on West Berlin to the Soviet Ambassador.

The talks that have been put off (after three meetings between Rusk and Dobrynin) because of "need for full adjustment with West Germany, Britain and France" and NATO chiefs, are expected to be resumed only after Dean Rusk's returns from NATO meeting in Greece.

Before the Washington talks resume President Kennedy will have conferred with British Prime Minister Macmillan and the Secretary of State with West German Foreign Minister Gerhard Schroeder and the NATO chiefs in Athens in the first week of May.

Gromyko's Speech

While imperialist powers, with conflicting interests keep wavering on the German question, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko in his Supreme Soviet speech has once again appealed to Western powers to negotiate a settlement of the West Berlin question.

The Soviet Foreign Minister was calm in the face of provocative US atmospheric tests in Pacific blasting hopes of mankind for a halt in the deadly arms race. He said there are some glimpses of hope of a Soviet-American agreement to settle the German question peacefully.

He noted following cardinal points in the recent negotiations with US for settling the German question.

1) Understanding had been reached "in principle" on the need for a non-aggression pact between NATO and Warsaw Treaty powers. This is "a shift in a useful direction".

2) The United States now realised the importance of the question of preventing supply of nuclear arms to Germany. Gromyko commented this was "a positive factor, if of course, glimpses of commonsense are not extinguished under the influence of other tendencies".

3) America now said it saw no obstacle to combining free access to West Berlin with the demand to respect sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic (America's new proposals say access to West Berlin is to be controlled by an international authority of which GDR will be a member). Gromyko said this was a step forward.

The Soviet Foreign Minister also emphasized (a) the necessity to end imperialist occupation of West Berlin and

agreed to the replacement of troops of US, Britain and France with the forces of neutral States for a definite period, (b) the legalisation and fixing of existing borders of East and West Germany in accordance with the spirit of the Potsdam agreement.

Occupation Must End

Although these are some glimpses of hope that agreement is possible on West Berlin, Gromyko also cautioned: "The experience we have accumulated in the course of many years of negotiations with Western powers on disputed international issues makes the Soviet Government restrained in evaluations and proposals before the work is completed."

But Dean Rusk in his news conference on April 28 said: "Presence of Western forces in Berlin is not a negotiable issue". This is considered to be a reply in the negative to Gromyko.

Imperialist powers while refusing to quit West Berlin hope in vain for the "unification" of Germany under imperialist flag and to "unite" Berlin as its capital, destroying Socialist Germany.

Though the Soviet Union has stopped flights of air transport in reserved Berlin air corridors to ease tension, Willy Brandt, Lord Mayor of West Berlin is keeping up provocations and creating border clashes. He now plans to organise a counter May Day de-

monstration just on the Berlin border.

While contrast between Socialist and Imperialist policies is thus laid bare, fear of West German militarists that America would ultimately let them down is growing. Most influential West German paper "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" wrote editorially on April 4:

"In the negotiations Dean Rusk plans to continue not everything will correspond to our wishes and hopes, even if the final result appears just acceptable as a whole. It would be a good thing if the Germans were not too surprised then and if on their flight from lost illusions they did not succumb to the obstinacy of those who again feel especially maltreated by fate."

New Realisation

This obviously is the outcry of the revanchists and militarists shocked by disclosure of new US proposals on West Berlin which practically recognise the existence of GDR and some measure of recognition of the existing borders in Europe.

Most of the West Germans are now realising that the two systems in Germany will have to coexist side by side for a long time to come and the ultimate victory of socialism in Germany as a whole is an accomplished fact. They also feel that the line of forceful unification of Germany is a mad policy which would bring world war and total wiping out of the German nation.

ANTI-COMMUNISM REJECTED

★ FROM PAGE TWO

fore I need not dwell upon it very much. So this is the poster before the national today.

As far as our PSP friends are concerned, Ganga Saran Sinha says "extremists". I do not know what he means. But if he has us in mind, as a colleague I would tell him that the PSP which was trying to thrive under the banner of anti-communism in the third General Elections has miserably failed. Asoka Mehta declared from the top of the house almost at every public meeting that in the third general elections the PSP was going to be the first Opposition Party. I am very sorry for Asoka Mehta, but I am happy for myself.

Therefore, this anti-communism does not work. The PSP's anti-communism has been rejected by the democratically-minded people. That is why there has been a demotion. In every State the PSP has lost its position, has been demoted to a lower position. Where it was the first opposition, it has become the fourth.

And I regret to say that even in Parliament they have gone down from the second to the fourth place. I am not happy. I would like the PSP to sit in the place of Swatantra rather than Swatantra in the place of PSP. That is how we, Communists, view this matter.

We are not anti-PSP and all that. We have certainly our hatred against the exploiting classes represented by the Swatantra Party. Our hatred against communalism is like a consuming fire. There will not be any compromise on it, but friends of the democratic opposition should take note of the development and see how we can stand in the present situation. Therefore, I do not want to say much on this subject.

DMK

Separatism

As far as the DMK is concerned, I wish to tell Annadural that we shall not allow the forum of Parliament to be used in order to spread

this dangerous and dismal idea of separatism in the country.

From this side of the House we shall counter it every time. Annadural and his DMK friends speak of separatism, because that is the philosophy not of goodness, not of democracy. That is one of the most deadliest thoughts that one can have after independence. As free citizens of the country we unite all the States. There everyone says. We shall fight for the redress of the grievances of the working people.

I have no doubt in my mind that should it come to that, should it come to fighting this idea of separatism, it shall be fought, I tell you.

B. D. KHOBARAGADE (MARHARASHTRA): May I know from the hon. Member whether the Communist Party in Madras has decided by a majority vote to cooperate with the DMK?

BHUPESH GUPTA: Take it from me that no Communist in India supports separatism and our Party is quite clear on it. Separatism has to be countered, fought and eliminated as a political ideology.

A. D. MANI: May I ask a question? Has the Communist Party agreed to cooperate with the DMK? There is no question of separatism. Please answer that question.

BHUPESH GUPTA: What is that question. You know very well that we are two. If we had been opportunists in politics as some hon. Members here are, then we would have been in the Assembly not two members with ten lakhs of votes. Today in the Madras Assembly we have paid the price of fighting the DMK, in not allying with them. Just because we fought the Congress, we did not ally with the DMK.

I do not wish to say very much. I have spoken at length, but I think the DMK's separatism is the most dangerous, disruptive idea that one can have. I would appeal to the Members, all those who have supported the DMK, to disabuse themselves of this horrible, dangerous idea and seek redress of their griev-

Railway Budget

From P. 5

of pulmonary tuberculosis, it is increasing among the railway workers. Although they are the biggest employers the Railways have not got any provision for mass X-ray check-up. They can do it.

I am referring to mass X-ray check-up to investigate the incidence of pulmonary tuberculosis among the workers and also the occupational diseases from which they might suffer due to their handling of coal and other things. It is not about the hospital. It is a preventive measure to which I am referring. And in the hospitals I want that provision should be made for modern clinical investigation.

Then, if we want to promote labour relations, this nepotism and double standards must stop. I know of one examination for wireless operators. Because somebody to somebody else's liking could not pass, the whole examination was cancelled.

Even though the employees who passed, got their increments, the examination was cancelled because somebody's somebody could not pass that examination. That should stop.

My hon. friend on the other side belonging to the INTUC said many things yesterday. I do not want to go into the controversies. There is a double standard for the unions. I can cite cases; I have got photos. The railway building of the INTUC union was used as Congress campaigners.

I do not suggest, I may not be misunderstood, that some action should be taken against them. I do not suggest that. Compared with the cases that were cited by my hon. friend Dr. Ranjan Sen yesterday, there are double standards. This double standard, one for the sarkari union and the other for the other unions should stop. Very few Class III or Class

DR. MOHAN LAL

WITH the passing away of Dr. Mohan Lal at Delhi on April 30, India lost one of her greatest sons in the realm of Medicine. Dr. Mohan Lal, who was the founder and head of one of the biggest eye hospitals in the country, devoted his entire life and all his skill and abilities to the task of carrying the benefits of modern medicine to the poverty-stricken masses. Millions in the Western districts of Uttar Pradesh are indebted to him for saving their eyesight.

Dr. Mohan Lal was only 22 when he established a small eye clinic in Allahgarh in 1928. From the beginning he worked on the principle that the poor should be treated free and spent all his income in improving the clinic.

Gradually, after great sacrifices, and spurning the large income which would have come to him had he established himself as an eye-specialist with high fees in a big city, he succeeded in gathering sufficient funds to found the Allahgarh Eye Hospital, which was later renamed the Gandhi Eye Hospital. The British Government sanctioned an annual grant of only Rs. 10,000; and the Hospital had to run largely on money collected from ordinary people.

Government grants increased after independence, and these along with the establishment of an Ophthalmological Institute in collaboration with the Allahgarh University helped to expand the Hospital. It has now the most up-to-date equipment and a large and very highly qualified staff. But Dr. Mohan Lal and his colleagues never lost sight of their chief object and insisted that the Hospital should all the time increase the number of people it serves.

Not only is the treatment free for the poor, with the Hospital providing cheap board and lodging to thousands who come, but the best treatment is available to anyone who needs it.

In addition to the Hospital, Mobile Ophthalmic Units tour small towns and rural areas of Western U.P., and the number of operations performed by these Units amounts to almost half of those performed in the Hospital. In all about 2 lakh patients are treated annually, and some 10,000 operations performed.

Dr. Mohan Lal also took interest in the welfare of the mind, was General Secretary of the U.P. Association of the Blind, and one of the founders of the National Association for the Prevention of Blindness.

In the last years of his life his services won increasing recognition in the country and only last year the distinction of Padma Shri was conferred upon him. But Dr. Mohan Lal, amidst all the honours accorded to him, never lost his sense of mission. To the end he punctiliously deposited the high fees paid to him by his rich clients into the account of the Hospital, taking for himself only his fixed salary.

Dr. Mohan Lal concentrated his energies in serving his people in the one sphere he had chosen. But his devotion here was inalienably connected with and sustained by his strong progressive convictions. Any type of social prejudice was alien to his nature, and he was uncompromisingly secular in his outlook.

In the city of Allahgarh, so tragically torn by communal passions, his name is uttered reverently from all lips, and there is today sadness in every home as the news of his death spreads.

Moscow Celebrates May Day

★ FROM BACK PAGE

Baltic marines in their sailors' uniforms and white caps, then the border guards with green cap bands—in readiness every hour and every minute to deal with all uninvited guests.

Then the youngest of the army and navy, the cadets of the Suvorov and Nakhimov schools. Then from both sides of the History Museum motorised divisions and artillery and parachute troops and rockets filled the Red Square.

The flood of steel became heavier and mightier and its film and rumble reached the skies and made the earth tremble. I saw a foreign military Attache bite his lips unconsciously as he saw all this power. Steek anti-aircraft rockets and giant several metres long on heavy armoured vehicles—they were all there to curb the atomic maniacs of the Christmas Islands.

This was followed by a mass sports demonstration which made the Square look like a huge garden in spring. Young men and women in colourful costumes marched in from both ends of the Square and intermingled. They became living waves of a mighty sea and fountains of all colours and blossoming flower-beds and slowly moved to the rhythm of the song "Russia my motherland".

Then the demonstration of the people of Moscow began and a forest of flags, banners, portraits, flowers moved through the Square. Fathers carried children on their shoulders, the youth danced and cheered and the tribunes waved and cheered in answer.

The demonstration lasted till two in the afternoon and later the gay crowds thronged the

streets in spite of spring showers. In the night a firework display lit up the Moscow sky.

Moscow Radio brought the voice of our Party Chairman S. A. Dange giving May Day greetings to the Soviet people who are to have the shortest working day and the highest standard of living in the world. Television linked up Moscow, Kiev, Leningrad, Riga, other Soviet towns and Warsaw, Berlin, Budapest and Prague viewers saw holiday celebrations in all these cities.

Simultaneously Fidel Castro greeted Soviet people on a TV screen and interview and Kong Le the heroic military leader of Laos attended the parade. Cosmos 4 landed after circuiting the earth for three days covering two million kilometres and Lenin peace prizes were announced—among them Picasso and Faiz Ahmed Faiz. Isn't it wonderful!

MAY DAY IN OUR PRESS

WORKERS OF NEW AGE PRINTING PRESS celebrated May Day with songs, a film show and refreshments on May 1 morning. In brief speeches they were greeted by the Chairman of the National Council of the CPI, S. A. Dange, also by Muzaffar Ahmad, Anandan Ambekar, M. Elias and Sarla Sharma.

Adopting a resolution paying homage to the memory of Ajoy Ghosh, the participants stood in silence for two minutes.

D. P. Sinha presided over the function.

Khrushchov Answers U. S. Journalists' Questions ON CHINA, ALBANIA

On April 20, 1960, N. S. Khrushchov, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers granted an interview to prominent American publisher G. Cowles. The interview covered a very wide range of subjects including prospects of the Geneva Conference, the German question, etc. We are printing here an extract from this interview — one relating to China, Albania, etc. Corry was another U.S. newsmen accompanying Cowles.

G. Cowles: Permit me to ask you a question from an entirely different field.

We in the capitalist world have come to think that communism always speaks with one voice, and it is the voice of Moscow. But lately we have begun to hear different communist voices from different countries.

The question arises: what does this mean — division in the communist world or jealousy from some quarters because the Soviet Union is developing much faster than some other parts of the communist world?

WRONG POSING

N. S. Khrushchov: I think that it is entirely wrong to put the question in this way. The basic ideas of communism are common to all who stand on communist positions, who abide by the communist teaching and use it as a guide to action.

But different peoples have attained different levels of economic development, each has its own historical course of development, its own culture, its own national traditions. Therefore, all cannot be made to conform to a common standard, no single pattern may be established for all the peoples which embark on the road of building socialism, on the road of building communism.

Moreover, the peoples profit by the experience of other peoples, take into account their experience in their development. Had we, for instance, accomplished the October Revolution now, and started the construction of socialism, it is possible — and not only possible but a sure thing — that we would have avoided certain things which had taken place here in the past, would have solved certain problems in a different way.

For we could then have availed ourselves of the experience of socialist construction in other countries. But when the Soviet people were building socialism, there was no such experience, and we often had to feel our way along.

LEADERS' TRAITS

Even the individual traits of leaders play a certain role in determining how to solve some problem or other. Yes, even they have some part to play. We had V. I. Lenin, the great theoretician, the leader and founder of our party, of our state. It would be a waste of time to speak about his deep devotion to communism. He is one of the great founders of scientific communism. And we had Stalin.

Is there anyone who doubts that Stalin was a Communist, that he was devoted to com-

munism? If there is, it is a man who does not understand anything. Stalin was devoted to communism with all his being and was doing everything for communism.

And yet V. I. Lenin wrote about Stalin that he was becoming intolerable as Secretary General, that he was too rude, and capricious, and could abuse his power. Lenin's words proved to be true. Stalin indeed committed unforgettable abuses of power and we condemned him for that.

But it would be absolutely wrong to present Stalin's negative features as negative features of communism. What mattered here was not communism, but Stalin's personal traits. And after Stalin's death we eradicated the consequences of the intolerable distortions he perpetrated, having deviated from the Leninist standards of party and government life.

Now many countries have already taken the road of socialism, and in the future the number of such countries will continually increase. I do not know exactly when such conditions will arise in the United States that the American people too will embark on this road. Clearly, when the Americans start building communism in their country they too will be guided by the main principles of the Marxist-Leninist teaching. But the United States has its own national features, its own traditions, its own culture, its own economy.

And Americans, of course, will take all this into account in building communism in the United States. The United States will use our experience too but it will not copy us but take our experience into account. This is what other socialist countries are doing now. And we have nothing against this. On the contrary, we consider this policy to be absolutely correct.

REFUSAL TO CORRECT

Of course, it sometimes happens that someone adopts a wrong decision and then displays obstinacy and refuses to correct this wrong decision. Well, even then one can say that people learn from experience.

In real life it happens that when a child's powers of perception begin to develop he must experience much himself. If a mother tells a child: this is hot and this cold, the child will not understand these words anyway until he himself touches the thing with his finger and learns by experience what is hot and what cold.

Theory is verified by practice. Sometimes people do know the theory but deviate from it in practice. Sometimes they apply theory reasonably, in a creative way, but sometimes they decide to go their own way, but it turns out that

it is wrong and they burn their fingers. Well, they try it, blow on their fingers, shake them and henceforward know what is hot.

G. Cowles: And China tried to rise too quickly?

N. S. Khrushchov: No, why? What has China got to do with it? We are sure that the People's Republic of China conducts its policy taking into account its own possibilities.

We, Communists—Chinese, Russian and others—proceed from the fact that one should not indulge in wishful thinking. The desirable should be subordinated to the practicable, which means that in the construction of socialism, of communism, we must be guided not by subjective wishes but by objective possibilities.

Subjectively I would want us already to have communism in our country, and abundance of material and spiritual benefits. But today our economy cannot as yet ensure this. Therefore such a desire on my part would be wishful thinking, without realistic support. That is why we say: we need 20 years to create the material and technical basis of communism.

Of course, in order to complete the construction of communism, we shall have to develop our economy further, above the level which will be achieved in 20 years, because the material and spiritual requirements of people increase continually, and the economy must ensure satisfaction of these growing requirements.

I am convinced that such is the position of all Communist parties, including the Communist Party of China.

NO INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS

G. Cowles: Mr. Chairman, earlier in our conversation you spoke about the desirability of wars of liberation for the liberation of colonial peoples. But cannot a situation arise where it would be necessary to wage a liberative war for the liberation of the territory of some communist country, whose leaders had gone astray? To be specific, what I have in view is Albania.

N. S. Khrushchov: You are confusing altogether incompatible things. With such a conception it would follow, that since you are capitalists and we are communists, we should start a war to liberate the American people from capitalism, and vice versa. That would be foolish and dangerous. That would have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism.

Speaking about wars of liberation, it would be stressed that we have never tried or try to impose upon other peoples the laws of conducting wars of liberation.

We recognize the right of the people of this or that country to wage a war of liberation against an alien yoke. What does this mean? It means, for instance, that Communists recognize the right of the Algerian people to wage a war of liberation, and sympathize with this struggle, just as with the struggle of other peoples for freedom and independence.

The political development of this or that state is a diffe-

rent matter. We firmly stand by the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, and consider that problems of the internal development of any state must be decided by the people of that country themselves. This is not a question of a war of liberation but of solving internal problems.

Who may be the judge of what is right and what is wrong in this or that state? Only the people of that state. No one has the right to interfere in the internal affairs of other states.

As far as Albania is concerned, you know that we and the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour have a different understanding of certain questions. We argue with them on these questions but Albania's internal political development is the internal affair of the Albanian people themselves, and we strictly observe now, as we always did, the principle of non-interference in the affairs of other peoples, including the Albanian people.

E. Corry: Allow me to take advantage of your hospitality and ask one more question. May I?

N. S. Khrushchov: Please do.

"CONCERN" FOR CHINA

E. Corry: In the West many people are concerned over the fact that the 700-million Chinese people, which is growing very rapidly, experience difficulties in meeting its requirements. Are there any grounds for such concern on our part?

N. S. Khrushchov: What are the motives behind the concern you speak of? What is it: sympathy with the Chinese people, or perhaps the very opposite?

The Chinese people for many years were subjected to colonial exploitation. Then they achieved independence and are now building their life along socialist lines. The Chinese people have scored great successes on this road.

Of course, every people can encounter difficulties at this or that stage in its development, and the Chinese people is presently apparently experiencing some difficulties which were mentioned in the communiqué of the third session of the All-China National People's Congress.

But we are absolutely convinced that the great Chinese people will soon overcome these difficulties of growth, raise its economy to a higher stage, achieve new successes in cultural construction—and the culture of Chinese people is a most ancient one—and will be able to satisfy its material requirements to a greater extent.

This is why we do not feel the anxiety you spoke of. There are extremely able, extremely gifted people in China. Great opportunities have been opened up before the Chinese people and it will use these opportunities.

Every people can encounter difficulties. Our difficulties, for instance, were incomparable greater forty years ago than they are now, but still we have some difficulties, some problems, though of a diffe-

rent nature than those we had then. The Chinese People's Republic, too, has its difficulties.

But if we consider the conditions which existed in our country in the years after the October Revolution it will become clear that we were then in much more difficult conditions than the Chinese people are at present. And yet we overcame our difficulties.

We are certain that the great Chinese people is facing bright prospects in its further development.

G. Cowles: Mr. Chairman, a final, political question.

N. S. Khrushchov: Certainly. G. Cowles: As far as I know, under your constitution, your government is going to resign next week and a new one will be appointed. Tell me, Mr. Chairman, are you afraid that someone else might be appointed?

N. S. Khrushchov: Do you want me to tell you the truth? I am not.

G. Cowles: Then we can already congratulate you. N. S. Khrushchov: No, this would be premature. You see, my hopes, my confidence is one thing and the decision of the Supreme Soviet is another. I am convinced that the Supreme Soviet will ask me to form a government, but then it may not. It is not I who decide this, but the Supreme Soviet.

You do not always correctly understand our political structure, our constitution. There has developed a strong moral and political unity of the Party and the people in our country, but it should always be remembered that a constitution is a constitution.

Therefore, he who takes it for granted that he will be supported tomorrow, because he was supported yesterday, may be surely disappointed one day. Here is an example for you. —1957. The anti-party group which came out against me and my comrades, came out against the line of the Central Committee of our Party, consisted of people puffed up with their own importance. They were convinced that their names could not be rejected. Molotov, Kaganovich, Voroshilov, Malenkov thought themselves omnipotent. True, Malenkov was not of the stature of the first three, who in the past had done quite a few good things as well. But they fell behind the times, misunderstood the situation and misjudged the prospects.

NO RETURN TO PAST

We told them: things cannot continue as they were under Stalin. They replied: So it has been, so it will continue. We said: So it has been, but so it will not continue. Then they said: We shall remove you. But our Party, our people dumped and removed them because they interfered with the efforts of the Party and the people to rectify all the wrong and harmful that was done by Stalin and by them in the period of the personality cult. This is what our constitution means.

NOTE: All remarks by the Americans are retranslated from the Russian.

DELHI CELEBRATES MAY DAY MANIFESTO ADOPTED

May Day, like so many previous years, was this year also celebrated by the workers and employees of Delhi, with great enthusiasm. Flag hoisting in localities in the morning and a central demonstration in the afternoon culminated in a rally in the evening at least ten thousand strong.

THE celebrations were organised by a May Day Committee comprising unions affiliated to the AITUC, several independent unions such as the Bank Employees' Union, the Newspaper Employees' Federation and the Shop Assistants' Union.

Like as in previous years, the rally adopted a "Manifesto of the Working people of Delhi" which reads in part as follows:

STRUGGLES REVIEWED

In the Capital city of Delhi determined struggles have been fought by different sections of working people to secure acceptance of their legitimate demands and to defend their trade union rights. Hundreds of workers employed in scores of Engineering Metal and Chemical Factories successfully fought for wage increase, for improvement in working conditions and for recognition of their trade unions. Thousands of employees in the shops and establishments were able after sustained and wide-spread agitation to win a spectacular victory resulting in reduction of their total working hours and spread-over from fifteen to ten hours.

The newspaper employees of Delhi also gave fine example of organisation and solidarity by leading and developing a sustained and well directed agitation in support of their demands and in defence of their trade union rights.

The Hotel Workers, the Textile workers as also employees in a number of commercial establishments were also able to win a number of demands involving wage increase and other privileges.

The General Elections in the country which are just-over, have once again highlighted certain disquieting features of the political situation in the country which were taken note of by us in previous years.

It is gratifying to note that the organised working class in our country has opposed these forces and has also succeeded in returning to the State Legislatures and the Parliament a number of its tried representatives.

AGAINST RIGHT REACTION

We resolve on this historic day to courageously and relentlessly combat and expose the forces of right reaction and boldly propagate the ideals of socialism and democracy.

We find that the words and deeds of the Government in the field of labour policies continue to be at sharp variance. The labour machinery of Delhi Administration, for example, has signally failed to prevent serious encroachments by employers on the trade union rights of workers. Victimisation of trade union activity even by resort to violent means goes on with impunity.

Awards and settlements are being openly violated by the employers. Few employers are prepared to fulfil their obligations under the

Code of Discipline. Resort to High Courts and the Supreme Court on the slightest pretext has become a rule with the majority of employers.

Instead of curbing these anti-working class activities of the employers, the Government itself becomes a party to the violation of democratic rights of trade unions by resort to Section 144, and similar other measures. In August 1961, the Delhi Trade Unions staged a massive demonstration before the Parliament House in order to focus the attention of the Union Government on these serious developments. It is regrettable that matters have shown little improvement despite the assurances given by the Union Home Minister.

The Trade Union organisations of Delhi will have to mobilize in yet greater numbers and unleash still greater united struggles to compel the Government to discard its present callousness and apathy towards legitimate demands and grievances of the working class.

We must admit that the gains achieved as a result of our struggle have been nearly offset by the failure of the Government to hold the price line. The other day, the Labour Minister was forced to admit that the real earnings of workers, in spite of monetary gains achieved through struggle, have registered a decline.

The latest budget proposals have further broken the back of the workers by raising the prices of articles of daily use like cloth, tobacco, tea, match-box etc.

Significantly while the workers are called upon to make sacrifices for fulfilment of development plans the big financial sharks are allowed to devour more and more of the products of labour.

Neither the Government and the various local bodies nor the private employers are alive to other human needs and welfare of the workers. It is scandalous to note that despite all the fanfare about labour welfare, employers in public as well as private sectors have failed to implement any housing scheme for their employees, knowing full well that the accommodation problem in the capital continues to be the most difficult and baffling one especially for people in the low income group.

The local administration's blindness towards workers welfare can be gauged from the fact that almost entire Second Five Year Plan allotment for subsidised canteen facilities was allowed to lapse. The Labour Welfare Centres of the Delhi Administration are run in a tardy manner and hardly serve the purpose for which large sums are squandered away.

Without in any way minimizing the necessity to utilize the machinery set up by the Government for settlement of the disputes through Conciliation Adjudication etc., the working class must take heed that the said machinery besides being heavily loaded, against the workers and delaying settlements, does in no way substi-

tute for mass agitational and combative actions which are the essence of trade union movement. Such measures, united struggles and movements, alone can be relied upon as the most effective instruments for safeguarding and extending the rights, privileges, unity and the overall interests of the toiling people.

WORKERS' DEMANDS

The working classes of Delhi hereby pledge to win the following demands during the coming year:

- (1) Compulsory recognition of Trade Unions.
- (2) Nationalisation of basic industries like banking etc.
- (3) Setting up of Wage Board for Engineering and News Papers Industries.
- (4) Immediate increase of 25 per cent in wages.
- (5) Complete merger of Dear-

ness Allowance with basic wages.

(6) Guaranteed payment of Bonus.

(7) Compulsory Gratuity Scheme in factories and establishments employing 10 or more persons.

(8) 50 per cent reduction in workers' contribution to Employees' State Insurance Scheme and radical improvement in the administration and management of the Scheme by increased participation of workers' representatives.

(9) A separate full-fledged hospital for insured workers in Delhi.

(10) House Rent Allowance @ 15 per cent of the wages to compensate for high rents prevailing in the city; Government and employers should undertake house-building programme on a mass scale.

(11) Extension of Minimum Wages Act to un-covered Industries and Commer-

cial Establishments.

(12) Immediate re-establishment of Labour Appellate Tribunal. Abolition of Court Fees duty and security deposits to workers' organisations in the Supreme Court.

(13) Appointment of separate Judicial Personnel for the administration of Labour Laws.

(14) Removal of all restrictions and curbs on normal lifting of Section 144 from Trade Union activities, Chandni Chowk, and Connaught Place; no restrictions on use of loud-speakers and no administrative or police interference in Trade Union activities.

(15) May Day to be declared public holiday.

(16) Abolition of Contract Labour System.

(17) Workmen should have the right to be defended by a representative of Trade Union during the enquiry.

NEW CONSTITUTION FOR USSR

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

Moscow April 30.

THE Soviet Union is to have a new Constitution. This was decided at the first Session of the newly elected Supreme Soviet which met here in Moscow this week. The Soviet Parliament elected a Commission to draft the New Constitution of the State.

The Commission which is headed by Nikita Khrushchov includes members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPSU, noted statesmen, Party workers, heroes of Labour, prominent Soviet scientists, well-known journalists, writers and others.

Khrushchov speaking on the proposal explained that both at the 21st and the 22nd Congresses of the Party the question of changing the present Constitution of the Soviet Union had been raised. But the Party Programme came first.

Now that the Programme had been adopted the conditions had been created to draft a new Constitution. Introducing separate amendments or additions to the present Constitution would not be enough the Soviet Premier declared.

When society passed from one stage into another the Constitution of a Socialist State had to change with it. The Constitutions of 1918 and 1924 corresponded to the periods of revolutionary changes and the first phase of Socialist construction when the main thing was the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The present Constitution adopted in 1936 was meant for the stage when Socialism consolidated itself and the building of Socialist society was mainly completed. "This Constitution has now outlived itself as regards its main propositions and does not reflect the changes that have occurred in the life of society during the past quarter of a century, does not correspond to its present state."

Now the Soviet Union had entered the period of the all-

out construction of Communism.

This was a new stage in the development of the State when the dictatorship of the proletariat had developed into a Socialist State of all the people and proletarian democracy had become democracy for all citizens.

It was too early to give the details of the new Constitution but the main tasks were clear: to reflect the new stage in the development of Soviet society, to raise the Socialist democracy to a still higher level and to provide even more solid guarantees for the democratic rights and freedoms of the working people, guarantees of strict observance of socialist legality to prepare the conditions for transition to Communist public self-government, Khrushchov said.

It became clear from the Soviet Premier's speech and the speeches that followed that one of the aims of the new Constitution will be to make impossible, the illegal crimes and excesses committed during the days of the Stalin personality cult.

The new leadership of the country is determined to fortify by law and strengthen by convention and tradition the democratic changes that have come about since the 20th Congress so that any return to the aberrations of the thirties and forties would be barred by the ascending Soviet freedoms and vital democracy.

Khrushchov stressed that the ideological heritage of Lenin who had created the first constitution of the Young Soviet State would be made the basis of the new draft.

In the sphere of foreign relations and policy the present constitution is deficient too. It only mentions the procedure of declaring war and concluding peace. It was drafted before the other Socialist States came into being and does not reflect the new inter-State relations between friendly Socialist States.

The deputies of the Supreme Soviet reported to the nation on the success on the production front as the country prepared to celebrate, May Day, the great international holiday of the working-class of all lands.

The present Supreme Soviet shall perform the historic task of drafting the new Constitution of the USSR and adopting it after country-wide discussion. As Khrushchov said, the Soviet people will continue to be the pioneers in the creation of new forms of State organisation and social systems. The ideals of communism, peace, work, freedom, equality, fraternity and happiness of all mankind shall be made the basis of the new Soviet Constitution.

NEW GOVERNMENT

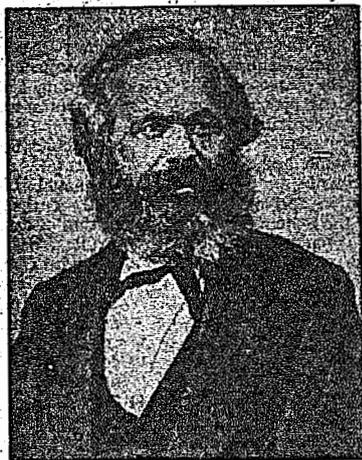
The new Supreme Soviet again asked Nikita Khrushchov to form the Government of the USSR. Most of the main portfolios remain unchanged. A new-comer is Konstantin Pysin, Minister of Agriculture. 52-years old he was First Secretary of the Altai Territorial CPSU Committee some time back and recently served as Deputy Minister of Agriculture.

Sergei Romanovsky, the new Chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Cultural Relations is 38. He has been a youth leader and Deputy Minister of Culture before joining the Cultural Relations Committee.

The Foreign Policy debate of the Supreme Soviet was highly critical of American war-mongering policies and the sabotage of the Geneva Conference by the resumption of atomic tests although on Berlin and Germany certain rays of hope seemed to have appeared during the last days but talks with the US had to continue for a final outcome, as Gromyko pointed out in his speech.

The deputies of the Supreme Soviet reported to the nation on the success on the production front as the country prepared to celebrate, May Day, the great international holiday of the working-class of all lands.

his name will endure through the ages



KARL MARX (May 5, 1818—Mar. 14, 1883)

JUST as Darwin discovered the law of development of organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of development of human history: the simple fact, hitherto concealed by an overgrowth of ideology, that mankind must first of all eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, art, religion, etc.;

that therefore the production of the immediate material means of subsistence and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given epoch form the foundation upon which the state institutions, the legal conception, art, and even the ideas on religion, of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which they must, therefore, be explained,

instead of vice-versa, as had hitherto been the case.

"But that is not all, Marx also discovered the special law of motion governing the present-day capitalist mode of production and the bourgeois society that this mode of production has created. The discovery of surplus value suddenly threw light on the problem, in trying to solve which all previous investigations, of both bourgeois economists and socialist critics, had been groping in the dark.

"Two such discoveries would be enough for one lifetime. Happy the man to whom it is granted to make even one such discovery. But in every single field which Marx investigated—and he investigated very many fields, none of them superficially—in every field, even in that of mathematics, he made independent discoveries.

"Such was the man of science. But this was not even half the man. Science was for Marx a historically dynamic, revolutionary force. However great the joy with which he welcomed a new discovery in some theoretical science whose practical application perhaps it was as yet quite impossible to envisage, he ex-

perienced quite another kind of joy when the discovery involved immediate revolutionary changes in industry and in historical development in general. For example, he followed closely the development of the discoveries made in the field of electricity and recently those of Marcel Deprez.

Above All A Revolutionist

"For Marx was before all else a revolutionist. His real mission in life was to contribute, in one way or another, to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the state institutions which it brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the modern proletariat, which he was the first to make conscious of its own position and its needs, conscious of the conditions of its emancipation.

"Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity and a success such as few could rival. His work on the first *Rheinische Zeitung* (1842), the *Paris Vorwarts* (1844), *Deutsche-Brüsseler Zeitung* (1847), the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49), the *New York Tribune* (1852-61), and in addition to these

a host of militant pamphlets, work in organizations in Paris, Brussels and London, and finally, crowning all, the formation of the great International Working Men's Association—this was indeed an achievement of which its founder might well have been proud even if he had done nothing else.

"And, consequently, Marx was the best hated and most calumniated man in his time. Governments, both absolutist and republican, deported him from their territories. Bourgeois, whether conservative or ultra-democratic, vied with one another in heaping slanders upon him. All this he brushed aside as though it were cobweb, ignoring it, answering only when extreme necessity compelled him.

"And he died beloved, revered and mourned by millions of revolutionary fellow-workers—from the mines of Siberia to California, in all parts of Europe and America—and I make bold to say that though he may have had many opponents he had hardly one personal enemy.

"His name will endure through the ages, and so also will his work!"

— F. ENGELS

Workers' Holiday In The First Capital

There is a grand holiday today in the streets of Moscow. The people of the Soviet Union celebrate the First of May, the international holiday of the workers of the world. Citizens of the first Socialist State, where for the first time in human history the working class took power in its own hands make merry and greet the proletarians and men of goodwill wherever they may meet.

MOSCOW woke up early today to sounds of laughter, music and dancing as thousands from all parts of the city moved towards the Red Square, the heart of the Soviet land. Here the tribunes were packed and thousands of happy Muscovites and visitors from other Soviet towns and excited foreign guests with impatience waited for the great demonstration to start.

Hundreds of flags and banners fluttered all around; the coat of arms of all Soviet Republics adorned the ancient walls of the Kremlin and opposite the Mausoleum on the huge building of the Gum department store there were three portraits on red background—Marx, Engels and Lenin—and underneath the words: "Forward to the Victory of Communism".

LEADERS ON TRIBUNE

At three minutes to ten Khrushchov, Brezhnev, Kozlov, Mikoyan, Suslov and other Soviet leaders came out of the Spassky Gate walked over to the Lenin Mausoleum and mounted the tribune as mighty cheers echoed from the walls of the surrounding historic buildings. The old Marshal Voroshilov was also among them.

At ten sharp as the clock on the Spassky tower chimed the hour Marshal Malinovsky drove out of Kremlin standing in a shining open Eimousine and greeted the troops assembled for the parade on

the Red Square and on streets and squares nearby. As he greeted each detachment a mighty hurrah went up in answer from thousands of youthful soldiers.

The Defence Minister returned to the Red Square and mounted the steps to the top of the Mausoleum of polished marble. The fanfares sounded the signal "listen all" as Malinovsky approached the microphones to speak.

In a short speech the Marshal declared that today the Soviet people celebrate the holiday of the first of May in the midst of a political and productive upsurge after the 22nd Congress of the Party when all of them were building the material and technical basis of Communism.

The Soviet Union was doing everything for peace, for a solution of the German problem and of West Berlin, for disarmament under international control, and for the liquidation of atomic weapons. These efforts were supported by progressive forces all over the world but the USA and the Western powers opposed the Soviet proposals and refuse to sign an agreement for the banning of atomic tests.

Malinovsky referred to Kennedy's statement that the USA would not stop before launching a preventive war against the Socialist countries. The people have to be vigilant against the warmongers Malinovsky declared.

The Soviet armed forces devoted to the people, the Party and the cause of Communism

were prepared to defeat any aggressor. The Soviet people need peace for the realization of their Programme and shall do everything to make peace secure.

Then the Soviet anthem was played by a thousand strong military band and the gun salute boomed out and fanfares

opened the triumphant military parade. According to tradition, young drummers came first then the Frunze military academy founded by Lenin in 1918, followed by other military academies, army engineers who take part in peaceful reconstruction in peacetime. Came the air force men of the Zhu-

kov academy with their blue shoulder straps—with whom today study the heavenly brothers Gagarin and Titov.

They all marched smartly, their youthful energetic steps all in unison their rows straight and heads held high. Then the

* SEE PAGE 13

MORE AID FOR INDIA Mikoyan To Visit Here

NEW DELHI, APRIL 30
SOVIET assistance for this country's Third Five Year Plan is likely to be further increased substantially.

It is expected that several of the important projects included in the Plan for which foreign exchange has not been arranged so far, will be underwritten by the Soviet Union. Of the 19 such projects, Soviet Union is understood to have shown interest in providing assistance for at least six key projects.

Among these projects are: Alloy and Steel plant, Heavy Compressors and Pumps project, additional capacity for machine tools, Second Plate and Vessel Works, Ball and Roller bearing project and the Second Heavy Structural Works. Besides these six projects, there are also indications that Soviet Union will provide credit for developing petrochemical industries in the public sector during the Third Plan itself.

A preliminary report on

the possibility of developing this complex industry has already been submitted by Soviet experts to the Oil and Natural Gas Commission.

Talks in respect of the new offer of larger Soviet economic help for the Third Plan are already underway and will take more concrete shape in the next few months. They are expected to be finalised by the autumn of this year.

Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Anastas Mikoyan is expected to visit India, in response to a long-standing invitation of the Government of India. The formal announcement of the new Soviet credits is likely to be made by him at that time. The exact time of Mikoyan's visit is not yet decided but is expected to fall sometime between September-November this year.

The latest Soviet offer of assistance has come as a great relief to this country. The efforts to find foreign exchange for the 19 projects included in the

Third Plan had presented serious difficulties to the planners and no institution or Government in the West had shown its willingness to take up any one of them.

The Soviet offer at this stage has brightened the picture, which was regarded highly gloomy hitherto and the successful launching of several of the key projects has now become possible.

Meanwhile, speedy utilization of the already announced Soviet assistance of Rs. 240 crores for the Third Plan is under the active study of the Planning Commission and the Ministries concerned.

The subject was discussed last week with Soviet officials headed by Sergeev, Vice-Chairman of the USSR's Committee for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries. India has not been able to utilize Soviet help as speedily as was earlier envisaged and this lag must be overcome if fresh credits are to serve the purpose for which they are intended. (IPA)