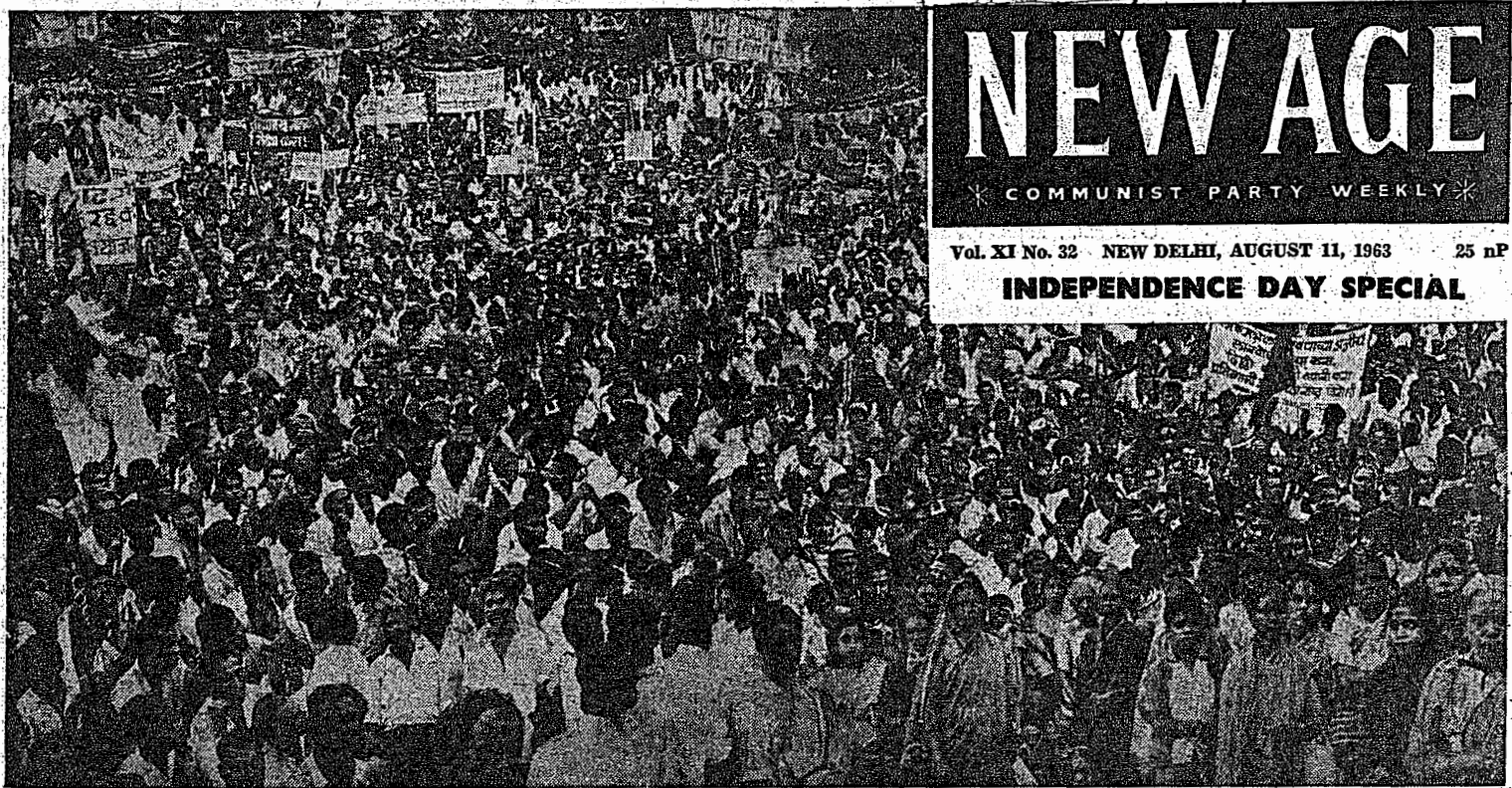


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# NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

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INDEPENDENCE DAY SPECIAL

## Our Banner Of

It is sixteen years since the flag of imperialism was lowered all over India, sixteen years since our Banner began to wave over the soil of an independent country.

It is possible to prepare a balance-sheet of these years of Independence—and put down what has been positive, and what negative over this momentous period in the history of our Motherland. But this would be the work of a dead, calculating machine, of a robot. For the living there is no need to add up the figures—the picture is clear, the image is sharply focussed in our eyes.

Put this picture of our country in 1963 slap up against the wall, side by side with the picture of the dreams of the Free India, for which our martyrs mounted the British gallows or were shot or beaten to death by British bullets and lathis.

This picture and that... our martyrs did not die for this...

The stature of the Republic of India in the world has been high. Our adoption of basic policies, coinciding with the best interests of our people—and in particular the policy of peaceful coexistence and nonalignment—brought honour and prestige to our country.

The Soviet Union and the Socialist countries—by their friendship and cooperation, their concrete assistance—have enabled us to stand up against the onslaughts of imperialism, against their attempts to get their claws again around our necks, by one way or the other.

While the masses moved to implement these policies, the Right reactionary forces led by the monopolists and those rich big business interests which were tied to the monopolists, conspired and intrigued to wreck these very policies.

The masses fought against the attacks on their living standards: the working class led the way by its strike actions, by its determined insistence on the carrying out of national policies against the sabotage of the nation's enemies.

The millionaires threw wads of currency notes about to buy "tickets" for seats for their henchmen in Parliament and the state

legislatures, to secure licences and contracts, tax-exemptions, facilities of one sort or the other to amass more wealth.

The lobby of the anti-national moneybags, of the agents of imperialism became a peril to the nation's progress.

But the lobby of reaction and imperialism was held back and prevented from running riot by the vigilance and power of the working class and all the national democratic forces. The actions of the masses again and again registered victories, gains for the country and its basic policies.

The year that has passed, the year we are looking back upon, was the year of the Chinese invasion.

Our patriotic masses once again demonstrated their courage and their devotion to the Motherland. They sacrificed and gave of their best to

name of defence, new burdens were heaped on the backs of the toilers...

This shift to the Right is most markedly demonstrated today in the shameful deal to permit the notorious Voice of America to broadcast from our soil, and in the agreement for joint exercises with the US and British Air Forces. The Prime Minister himself has admitted that the contract with the Voice of America is an infringement of our policy of nonalignment.

Anti-national, pro-imperialist reaction—not yet satisfied by its success in driving out of the Cabinet two defenders of the basic policies like Menon and Malaviya—has now set its target at the Prime Minister himself, and openly demands his resignation.

The shift to the Right can be halted, the conspiracy of imperialism and reaction can be frustrated.

The masses are already coming into action, taking into their own hands the banner of independence, of the basic national policies, of the defence of our freedom and integrity, of the raising of living standards.

India's patriotic forces are hitting back with vigour and determination at the nation's

# Independence

defend the Independence they had given so much to win. And again it was the monopolists and the anti-national forces, who lined their pockets, made profits out of the emergency, while the workers and peasants added to their hunger to swell the defence efforts.

The Trotskyist adventurism of the Chinese leaders cost the Indian progressive forces dearly. The invasion which began on October 20, the tension which was kept up even after the cease-fire, the refusal to accept the Colombo proposals, were a boon to the imperialists and Right reaction. From the defensive, they swung to the offensive against the national policies, against the interests of the masses.

The Right inside the Congress and inside the Government strengthened itself, openly allying itself with the Right outside.

Government policies began to shift to the Right... in the name of defence, the doors began to open to the imperialists... in the

enemies. They are demanding a progressive reorganisation of the Government and the dismissal of those like Morarji Desai and S. K. Patil responsible for the worst anti-people policies.

India's friends abroad—the socialist and non-aligned nations—are ever ready to assist us with their friendship and solidarity, and concrete action.

Independence Day comes this year on the eve of the mighty demonstration before Parliament with the millions of signatures to the Great Petition.

The national democratic forces are on the march: They are forging their unity.

The enemies of the nation shall not be allowed to drag our Motherland away from the path of freedom and progress, democracy and socialism—carved out for us by the martyrs with whose blood the flag of our country was made...

# AUGUST 15 IN GOA

★ by Berta Braganza,  
Chairman, Popular Front

Once again August 15 is with us, the greatest date in the history of Indian people. Sixteen years of independence. For years on this day in the recent past, the people of Goa mingled their joy with a bitter sadness and disappointment at not being able to be full participants in the great emotion that linked the rest of the Indian people, but left them out. For they were still colonial slaves.

TODAY, however, the liberated people of Goa and in particular the freedom fighters of that little bit of Indian territory, cannot but recollect with pride the fact that the independence of India which was incomplete for fourteen years, came to be completed by their own unshakable determination and long and tireless efforts, that Operation Vijay that completed India's independence and sovereignty, was the fruit of their sufferings and sacrifices.

On this day, too, they do not forget that it was through the united efforts of the entire Indian people that it became possible to achieve their goal. They cannot fail to remember on this day the numerous compatriots—Goan and non-Goan, but all Indians—who fell in the long and tortuous battle and whose memory will for ever remain as an incentive and inspiration in the future battles in the interest of the collective interests of the Indian people.

It is with emotion that we, the old fighters for Goa's freedom, remember on this great day the splendid solidarity and active and comradely cooperation the people from every nook and corner of India extended to the people of Goa through their support to the National Campaign Committee for Goa under the leadership of Aruna Asaf Ali and others. India's political independence is complete. But the battle for India's real freedom: freedom from poverty, freedom from ignorance, freedom from black-marketiers is yet not over. That battle is still on. The people are growing impatient. They are determined to triumph. They shall triumph; that is the inevitable course of history.

If, however, the people of the great part of India have—slow as might be—made some headway, the people of liberated Goa are still struggling in the quagmire of colonial conditions. To the people of Goa, enslaved for 450 years by the most oppressive colonial system in the world,

## DEFEND NON-ALIGNMENT SCRAP VOA DEAL

### Delhi Peace Conference Call

DELHI, August 4: The Delhi State Peace Conference today unanimously adopted a resolution on non-alignment, in the course of which it warned that:

"Taking advantage of the situation created by the continued Chinese intransigence in not accepting the Colombo Proposals in toto to settle the border dispute, interested forces from inside and outside the country are engaged in sinister efforts to drag India, directly or indirectly, in one form or the other, into the system of Western military pacts."

PRESIDED over by Rana Jang Bahadur Singh, the Conference was inaugurated by the internationally celebrated Lenin Peace Prize winner Rameshwari Nehru. Speakers who addressed

the Conference included the Cuban Ambassador, Aruna Asaf Ali, Dr. Tara Chand MP, C. N. Malaviya, Ramesh Chandra, B. D. Joshi and Shaila Pendse. All speakers stressed the signi-

## FIFTH COLUMN

HUGE posters are up all over Delhi, denouncing the Great Petition campaign as "proof" that the Communist Party of India is China's Fifth Column! How dare anyone speak against high prices and anti-people taxes, when the Chinese are at our doors, say the posters...

The perpetrators of this slander are the so-called "Committee Against Chinese Aggression". Suffice it to recall that the main organisers of this Committee were the three writers of that notorious anti-Nehru letter, which was issued at the height of the crisis last year. Embracing the worst representatives of all the Right opposition parties, financed liberally from the special funds available to the generous dollar donors, this Committee, under the cover of fighting Chinese aggression, fights India's basic policies and works non-stop for the removal from office of those Ministers, led by the Prime Minister, who support those basic policies.

The "Fifth Column" posters are up side by side with the posters of the Jan Sangh, calling for a demonstration before Parliament on August 14, against taxes and CDS. But the "Committee Against Chinese Aggression" includes the Jan Sangh itself!

It is "Fifth Column" when the Communists organise a Petition against taxes. It is "patriotism" when the Jan Sangh does the same. Of course, the Jan Sangh does not demand nationalisation of banks, oil, etc. as the Communist Party does. That probably is the basis of its patriotism—love for the monopolists.

The Fifth Column of Washington attacks the Indian Communists, to ward off attention from itself. The thief

shouts "Catch, thief!" But the Indian people know the record of the Communists well, they know they can trust them at any time to defend the Motherland, if it is ever attacked from any quarter. They also know that the Communist Party stands fully for the raising of resources for defence. The Party opposes burdens on the poor and concretely suggests alternative resources.

The Indian people know who are the Fifth Column inside the country: those who seek to sell this country to the imperialists, through a military pact, and the abandonment of nonalignment.

### TAIWAN LOBBY

ONCE again, that dollar-paid institution, styling itself the "Asian People's Anti-Communist League," has sent out a gem of a pamphlet, with "compliments" from one Ramia Swarup, self-titled "Con- venger for Indian Chapter" of the League.

Can you guess what this gem is? Believe it or not, it is Chiang Kai-shek's "New Year Message" for 1963. Old and stale stuff, of course. And it stinks.

Needless to say, the US stooge's speech is directed, not only against the People's Republic of China, but also against the Soviet Union. It is full of vile abuse against the Soviet Government and its leaders, and, of course, equally full of fawning praise for the dollar-lords.

The Government of India has declared again and again that despite everything, despite the Chinese aggression and all it meant—we shall not extend recognition to the stooge Government of the

Chiang Kai-shek gang in Taiwan.

And yet it appears that an unofficial "embassy" of the discredited and rejected Kuomintang is running in New Delhi, under the mask of this so-called Anti-Communist League. It is distributing the ravings of the US-puppet regime, which are aimed at slandering India's friends, especially the Soviet Union.

It is the existence of such crude dollar-financed organisations on Indian soil, which helps our enemies to paint our country as already aligned with the West.

It is time someone intervened and asked the "Indian Chapter" of the so-called "Anti-Communist League" to go back to Wall Street, from where it came.

### U. S. LOVERS, UNITE!

IT is not strange at all that one of the doyens of the "Committee Against Chinese Aggression"—Acharya J. B. Kripalani—has been touring Punjab for the last four days, "reassuring" all and sundry that the Pakistan Government is a lamb and no hostile action may be expected from that side!

Nobody was fooled by all this baby talk. Everyone who heard easily saw that one US-lover had to side with another. Long live the axis between Ayub Khan and the Indian Right: it is well-cemented with precious US gold!

With gibes and attacks on the government and the armed forces thrown in, the Acharya's pro-American speeches (together with those of the motley crowd of Akalis, Jan Sanghis and Swatantraites who organised his Punjab tour) have evoked the wrath of many.

—Vigilante

fiance of the Moscow test ban agreement and appealed for redoubled efforts to carry forward the first victory of the forces of peace. A resolution on the test ban paid special tribute to the peace efforts of the Soviet Union, and Prime Minister Khrushchov.

While supporting the Government of India's decision to sign the treaty, the resolution strongly condemned those who seek to frustrate the Moscow agreement. Several speakers roundly condemned the manner in which the Chinese Government was

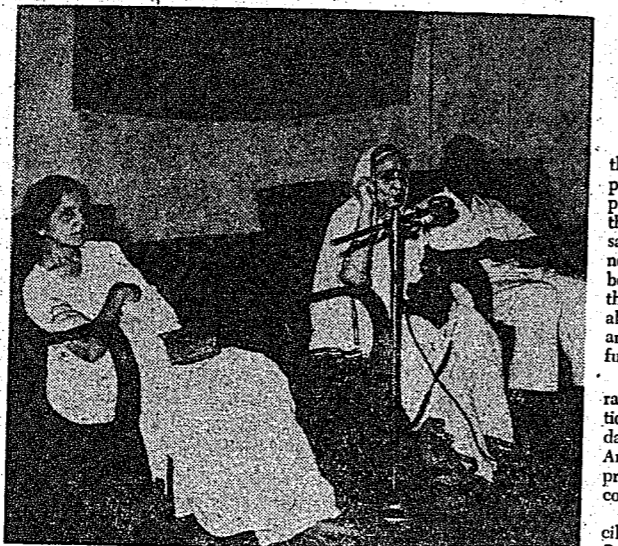
acting in describing the treaty as a "fraud" and in hurling abuse at the Soviet Union. Of special importance was the resolution adopted by the Conference calling for the total rejection of the AIR agreement with the Voice of America.

Speakers described the deal as a serious infringement of our country's sovereignty and integrity, as a national humiliation and as being totally opposed to and inconsistent with the basic policy of nonalignment.

Another resolution called on the Colombo Powers to act "to persuade China to desist from provocative actions and to accept the reasonable Colombo Proposals". Deploring the recent Chinese military build up on our borders, the resolution reiterated the Peace Movement's support to all efforts to defend the country and to settle the dispute peacefully and honourably.

The Conference adopted separate resolutions of support to national liberation struggles, of solidarity with Cuba and Latin America and on the German problem. It wished success to the coming All-India Peace Congress.

A new Delhi State Peace Council was elected with Rana Jang Bahadur Singh as president and Ram Chander Sharma and B. P. Maheshwari as general secretaries.



Aruna Asaf Ali, Rameshwari Nehru and C. N. Malaviya at the Delhi Peace Conference

Ever since the achievement of independence, on every August 15, India celebrates its national day. This year all patriotic hearts are heavy with anxiety, the menacing advance of the Indian Right, during the year, causes the deepest worry. Prime Minister Nehru has frankly admitted that India stands at the crossroads.

THE Indian Right is alien to the national ideals of India. It is pro-imperialist and opposed to the foreign policy on which our independence rests and through which India makes its contribution to the struggle for world peace and the cause of colonial liberation.

The Indian Right is against the planned progress of India towards economic independence and for the unchecked flow of foreign monopoly capital. It is hostile to the path of people's welfare and an unashamed campaigner for policies of never-ending concessions to the big landholders and the monopolists. It is all out to turn India's Plan upside down.

The Indian Right, true to the line and practice of its imperialist patrons in every other country of the world, seeks to inject the poison of anti-communism into India's national political life. No progressive individual or organisation is spared. Their hands are out-reaching themselves. Even Prime Minister Nehru and his loyal lieutenants are branded, for the kill, in time. Their mad hunt is on and they have already tasted blood.

The Indian Right is symbolised in the Swatantra, Jan Sangh and other reactionary parties and with them are aligned the Praja Socialists as much as the Lohia Socialists. For all practical purposes, this motley political grouping acts together.

Against this far-flung, but well-planned and perfectly coordinated front of the Indian Right, must not all the national democratic forces of our country unite? The Communist Party firmly believes that this is the supreme demand of the hour, the solemn duty of Indian patriotism.

It needs no new details, no great arguments; living experience has underlined the fact that the Indian Right could not advance as far as it has, could never acquire its present confidence and boldness, without the aid and the support it plentifully receives from the Right within the ruling party, the Congress itself. This is no mere a political secret, but the worry of all with a national conscience and an unclouded vision.

### Right: Inside & Outside Congress

The Right outside the Congress is only the noise-making, dust-raising campaign group, it is the Right inside the Congress that is the strong arm of Indian reaction. Patriotic India must, of course, gag this monster but its claws must also be clipped before it is rendered harmless!

The Congress is the ruling party, its responsibility the greatest to keep India on the even keel and defend its own declared national policies.

We, Indian Communists, have readily recognised that the bulk of our country's patriotic and democratic elements are inside the Congress. We have, however, also stressed that the masterminds of the Indian Right are also strongly entrenched inside the Congress leadership and the Government, and have become powerful enough to force policy and practical concessions to the demands of Indian monopoly and Western imperialism, despite Prime Minister Nehru, despite the national popular policies of the Congress, despite the desires of the mass of loyal Congressmen.

★ On this National Day, all good and honest Congressmen could make no better re-

Minister Nehru publicly and indignantly rejected it.

Undismayed, the West offered another, though modified, version of the same in the form of joint air exercises. Under it, foreign planes will fly over Indian skies, foreign technicians will be planted on Indian soil. The Indian government stresses the changes from the original proposal, what, however, needs to be noted and fought is the imperialist sting that remains intact and the inevitable strings without which there is no military "aid" from the US or the UK.

The most humiliating evidence of the degeneration that has set in top ruling circles is the shocking AIR-VOA agreement. It is imperative to get at the guilty

★ On this National Day, we Indian Communists, will solemnly pledge to redouble our efforts to help build an anti-Right national democratic alliance in our country.

★ On this National Day, the fraternal appeal of the Communist Party to all fellow patriots and democrats and, above all, to Congressmen is, let us maximise our efforts jointly and generally to halt the advance of the pro-imperialist reactionary Indian Right and resume India's march towards its historic destiny.

Grave developments on the borders and no less grim developments within the country and the worsening life of the common people stress the imperative necessity for realising such a progressive national orientation to successfully battle with burning problems, on which depends the present and the future of our country.

The Chinese invasion, last year, shook the country to its roots. Chinese resistance to the Colombo proposals came in the way of the restoration of normal conditions. Now the Chinese massing of troops all along the border is again heightening tension. Indian anxiety is enhanced by simultaneous sword-rattling from the Pakistan side. China's new found CENTO-SEATO ally in the com-

mon unholy, anti-Panchsheel, anti-Indian crusade. We, Indian Communists, belied the Rightist slanders by supporting national defence against the Chinese violators of our country's borders. We are pledged to defend Indian territory and integrity from all possible threats.

The Indian Right has exploited the national emergency to push India westwards as the quickest and most effective means to secure massive and generous aid for Indian defence.

What, however, is the actual experience of the last eight months?

1 Defence "aid" from the West is not even a fraction of the Indian need.

2 The West has refused to give India the weapons, equipment and planes that will make India strategically strong and independent.

3 The West seeks to keep India strategically dependent. It offers to defend our country for us!

4 The West demands surrender of Kashmir to Pakistan as the price of its "aid."

5 The West refuses to pull up Pakistan against ganging up with China. It calculates that the Chinese pressure from one side and the Pakistani from the other will panic India enough to accept its terms.

The imperialist West is acting the role of the gleeful cat, prematurely thinking that India is as helpless as the proverbial mouse and thus out-reaching itself!

The proteges of the West, the Indian Right had softened the situation to an extent that the Western powers thought it timely to offer their Air Umbrella for India's protection. It was such an outrageous proposal that Prime

★ by P. C. JOSHI

balancing trick. The situation can be transformed in India's favour by using the friendship of the Socialist camp to make the imperialist powers behave and stop exploiting Indian weaknesses. This is the way to recover the heavy loss to Indian honour and non-alignment already suffered.

The Chinese are breaking up the de-militarised zone they had themselves set up and the Colombo Powers had proposed. The Communist Party is for India to rally increasingly the Colombo Powers to make the Chinese respect their own words and heed the voice of common friends.

Provoked by the Chinese aggressive posture, if India turns towards the imperialist West for aid and succour, it would only prove the Chinese slanders against India and lead to the moral-political isolation of India.

Despite seeming odds and as a principled and realistic way out of difficult situation, if India proudly stands firm on the policy of non-alignment and strengthens the policy of cooperation with the Afro-Asian and socialist countries, it would lead to the moral-political isolation of China.

India's national path is clear. India is not so bereft of friends that it must surrender to Anglo-American blackmail in the name of defence aid.

Indian self-respect demands that all efforts be made to achieve self-sufficiency in national defence production. There is no easy short-cut.

We, Communists, have been systematically warning against the unpopular policy of mounting

The Right has had its way long enough and has gone quite far. It is not only changes in national policies that it seeks, but a reactionary change in the very composition of the Union Government at the very top. It successfully hounded Defence Minister Menon out, followed by Oil Minister Malaviya.

The antics of Food Minister Patil are a mockery of the Cabinet system. Progressives are being thrown out; reactionaries are becoming dominant inside the Central Cabinet. The weakness and the helplessness of the Prime Minister is the dismay of all who love and respect him.

The Right is relentlessly pursuing the tactic of achieving a more and more REACTIONARY reorganisation of the Government to seize control of the country. The tide can be turned here and now by the mass of Congressmen and above all the majority of Congress MPs, who valiantly broke through the Rightist stranglehold over the Parliamentary party leadership demanding instead a PROGRESSIVE reorganisation of the Central Government.

The Western Aid Consortium is not only delaying but cutting its "aid" year after year. The aim of the giant Western monopolists is clear: exploit economic weaknesses and the greed of Indian monopolists to get their hold over Indian economy, its vast market and great resources.

Industrial targets are falling behind. The public sector is under fire. Monopolists demand an end to the Industrial Policy Resolution and then total control over national economy.

The Western Aid Consortium is not only delaying but cutting its "aid" year after year. The aim of the giant Western monopolists is clear: exploit economic weaknesses and the greed of Indian monopolists to get their hold over Indian economy, its vast market and great resources.

Indian official policy of continuing concessions to the vested interests, both Indian and foreign, reached its climax under the cover of Emergency and this was reflected in the unprecedented defence burdens on the people.

It is true many influential Congress MPs spoke against them. It is true that some State Governments have demanded the withdrawal of CDS and others, some modification.

The people's unbearable discontent was sought to be exploited by the Rightwing parties. Our Party boldly intervened to save the situation and to give hope to the suffering.

The campaign for the Great Petition to Parliament demands an end to all the unjust burdens on the working people and prompt adoption of the policy of nationalisation of

### For Nation-Wide Crusade

The cause of India demands a national crusade from above, as well as below, against the Indian Right, whether operating outside the Congress or lying hidden but deadly effective inside the Congress. There can be no more solemn and appropriate pledge on this August 15.

Let loyal Congressmen, Communists and all good patriots and democrats of our great land think together, so that we may act together against the common Rightist menace and to achieve the destined future for our ancient nation, ever-growing esteem for our country in the world community, and the long-promised prosperous life for our common people, honest and hard-working.

(August 6)

# D. I. R. Patently Unconstitutional

★ By Our Legal Correspondent

On August 5, M. C. SETALVAD, former Attorney-General of India contended before a Special Bench of the Supreme Court hearing the appeals of detenus under the DIR that Section 3(2) (15)(i) of the Defence of India Act and Rules 30 and 30A of the Defence of India Rules were patently unconstitutional and clearly discriminatory.

IN his view Parliament had exceeded its competence in enacting these provisions which authorised detention without trial. The detenu is denied the right to know why he is detained. No opportunity is afforded to him to represent that he ought not to have been detained. Even if he is detained for more than three months, no Advisory Boards have been constituted to review the case of the detenu. Parliament has not laid down in what classes or cases the detention could continue for more than three months without consulting the Advisory Boards.

Nor has any maximum period of detention been provided in the Defence of India Act or the Rules. The absence of these safeguards was a clear violation of Article 22 clauses (4) (5) and (7) of the Constitution.

The result was that there existed on the Indian Statute Book two detention laws. It cannot even be contended, said Setalvad, that the procedure prescribed by the Defence of India Act and the Rules was not violative of the guarantee of equality before the laws or equal protection of laws as contained in Article 14 of the Constitution. DIR provisions were, therefore, clearly discriminatory.

In his view the result of the violation of the fundamental rights guaranteed under Articles 14 and 22 was that the Defence of India Act was no law and the detention of the detenus was without the authority of law.

He contended that the High Courts had a duty under Section 491 CrPC to set at liberty all persons detained without the authority of law.

The State's contention is that the citizen is without a remedy even if its laws are invalid and unconstitutional, because the President has power to suspend the right to move all Courts for the enforcement of Fundamental Rights specified in the Presidential Order issued under Article 359 of the Constitution.

## TWO QUESTIONS

These two questions are before the Supreme Court:

- 1 Are the provisions of Defence of India Act and Rules 30 and 30-A invalid?
- 2 Is the High Court prevented from ordering the release of persons illegally detained even if these provisions are found to be invalid?

Both these questions are of far reaching consequence to the citizens of India. The decision of these questions rest on the determination of the scope of competence of Parliament and the limits of executive authority while in operation. The State has claimed the power during emergency to administer all laws enacted in violation of the Fundamental Rights and deprive the citizens of their fundamental rights in disregard of the mandatory injunction contained in Article 13(2).

M. C. Setalvad contended that the Presidential Order suspending

## BIGGEST LEGAL BATTLE SINCE INDEPENDENCE

Legal history was made in the Supreme Court when the doyen of the Indian Bar and former Attorney-General of India M. C. SETALVAD led a team of eighty-eight advocates, including fourteen Senior Advocates of the Supreme Court and advocates from Allahabad, Chandigarh, Patna, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Mysore and Hyderabad, and appeared on behalf of the Communist MLA MAKHAN SINGH TARSIKKA, to open the attack on the provisions of the Defence of India Act and the Rules before the Bench consisting of Justices P. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR, A. K. SARKAR, SUBBA RAO, K. N. WANCHOO, HIDAYATULLAH, K. C. DAS GUPTA and J. C. SHAH.

AMONGST the eminent lawyers who are appearing for the detenus are N. C. Chatterjee, A. V. Viswanath Shastri, A. S. R. Chari, S. Mohan Kumaramangalam, C. B. Agarwala, Sarjoo Prasad, D. R. Prem, S. G. Patwardhan, Dr. W. S. Barlingey, Durghabai Deshmukh, Veda Vyas, Etharajulu Naidu (former Advocate-General of Mysore) and S. N. Kakkar (former Senior Standing Counsel of U.P.).

M. K. Nambiar specially came from Madras for consultations with M. C. Setalvad, but it is regretted that owing to his prior commitment to inaugurate a Seminar at Bangalore on August 6, he could not appear in the case. But he has kept himself constantly informed of the proceedings in the Court on telephone.

or repealed by a competent legislature. Parliament had not taken away the right conferred by Section 491.

Advocates C. N. Kakkar, Asif Ansari, Shantti Swaroop Bhatnagar, Brij Raj Kishore and Pandit Ganga Dass came from U.P., Ajit Singh Bains from Chandigarh, Ali Ahmed and Brij Kishore Prasad from Patna, Naonarayan Gooptu and Tapesh Roy from Calcutta, M. K. Nambiar, S. Mohan Kumaramangalam and V. G. Row came from Madras (despite the release of all Madras detenus); K. V. Raghunath Reddy from Hyderabad and Etharajulu Naidu from Mysore.

A large number of advocates of Supreme Court of India agreed to appear, even though no fee was offered.

The issue that is being debated in the Supreme Court, at the time we go to press, has assumed the greatest importance in the post-independence constitutional history of India.

ON BACK PAGE

## The Patil Story

The main topic of excited conversation in the last one week in New Delhi has been: How was it that the Prime Minister wrote to Patil, suggesting that he could carry on as the Food Minister, after S.K. had actually submitted his resignation?

MANY rumours are afloat in the Capital about what actually happened. Conflicting versions are current—some obviously spread by Patil's admirers saying that the PM had second thoughts, realising his folly in listening to the woolly-headed half-baked planners at the Yojana Bhavan, and so thought of retaining the dynamic pragmatist S. K. Patil.

The other school which finds it difficult to swallow that the PM could ever make such mistake, tries to interpret Nehru's gesture in writing once again to Patil to stay on, as a move to defer a decision on portfolio reshuffle: they hold that Patil would quit the Food portfolio, at the time of a general reshuffle of portfolios which is supposed to be impending. In other words, the PM has only spared Patil from the ignominy of being singled out for a change of portfolio which he has badly handled.

Whatever might be the purpose or the objective of

the PM's rather strange action in withdrawing his insistence on Patil's transfer from the Food Ministry, the actual fact how this came about is worth recording. It appears that immediately after Patil's resignation letter was sent to the PM, Home Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri got going. He had a fairly prolonged talk with the PM and repeatedly stressed the need for a settlement, for he felt that a showdown at this juncture would be harmful.

Meanwhile, Patil himself was not slow to move. It is learnt that the Bombay PCC President Yagnik received a trunk call message from Delhi, intimating him about Patil's resignation. Yagnik immediately issued a statement to the press, protesting against Patil having to resign. He also announced a mass reception on the Sunday following to welcome Patil back to Bombay.

It was only when the news thus had a big boost in Bombay, that agencies and newspapers rang up New Delhi men to hunt for the story. And that was how most of the newspapermen got this hot news via Bombay.

This way the initiative was taken by Patil and company, and Food Minister also announced a press conference for the next day to explain to the pub-

lic why he offered his resignation from the Cabinet. Time was thus running short for Lal Bahadur and his men to work out a compromise arrangement. Patil's men also stepped up the sense of crisis by saying that at this press conference, he would be giving out many an embarrassing thing, particularly about the Planning Commission.

A new development took place the same night. Patil rang up President RADHAKRISHNAN who was then at Hyderabad. He made it clear that he could not see eye to eye with many things in the government, and he had no other option but to resign when the PM was forcing him to give up his portfolio.

The President, it is reported, rang up the Prime Minister and advised him not to precipitate a Cabinet crisis at a time when so many difficulties beset the nation. In other words, Patil got a new lease as Food Minister, mainly through the intervention of President Radhakrishnan.

Reports are widely current here that Patil might condescend to give up the Food portfolio, when a reshuffle takes place. By no means, can such a step be regarded as a good face-saver. In fact, Patil has now made his score. He has shown the public that he can stand up to Nehru and made him give him back his office. This is a very big asset for Patil. For now he can brag that

he cannot be touched even by the highest in the land.

AMERICAN opinion is still largely pro-Pakistan as could be gauged from recent reports from Washington. It appears that official American circles, though worried about Rawalpindi's entente with Peking, are reluctant to write it off.

So the old understandings still prevail there. The high-ups there still keep an understanding ear open for Pakistan, when she proclaims her worries about India's military build-up. Little realising that this build-up is for the purpose of defending the land from any new Chinese aggression.

The strong Pakistan lobby in Washington is doing good business, though it finds it difficult to sell Ayub's pro-Peking line.

The impression is strong in America that Bhutto's bluster about getting the support of Asia's biggest power is mainly for the purpose of impressing the restless Pakistani critics of Ayub's government.

New Delhi, however, does not take such a simplified view of Pakistan's hobnobbing with Peking. It is suspected here that Pakistan's deal with China is something deeper and sinister, and the danger of a two-pronged move is not ruled out.

-Diarist

(August 7)

India's independence is no longer in its infancy. It is now very much in its teens. Its growth too has not been left to be governed by spontaneous forces, but has been subject to plans worked out by competent bodies. It would therefore be surprising if its achievements do not come up to the people's or even the planners' expectations. And the surprise will turn into positive regret if this "shortfall" occurs at a time when the country has to meet the demands of defence as well as development.

A recent study, entitled "Indian Economy—1961-62—Conditions and Prospects", brought out by the National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER) has thrown some light on these "shortfalls". The national income, according to this study, recorded a maximum rise of 3 per cent during 1962-63 as against the Plan target of 5 per cent. The same deplorable state was brought to light by the U.N. Year Book of National Accounts Statistics which placed India at the 41st position among 55 "non-communist countries", placed in order of increase in their national incomes.

Agricultural production—the kingpin of the Plan programme—remained stagnant, while the rise in industrial production, which showed an annual average rate of 8.1 per cent in the Second Plan, was only about seven per cent. Some alloy and special steels, non-ferrous metals, engineering components and electronics, fertilisers and chemicals, showed marked gaps between their actual production and the targets.

A logical corollary of the shortfalls, both in agriculture and industry in the context of increasing numbers would, naturally, be growing unemployment. "Even after 10 years of planning", says the NCAER study, "industries only employed 4.6 per cent of the population in 1960-61", and with agriculture, already over-burdened with people, a good many of whom remain under-employed, it is obvious that gainful employment continued to elude vast numbers of our population.

## GOVERNMENT IN EMERGENCY

The government will perhaps hold the Chinese misadventure at the borders and the consequent emergency responsible for the country's economic difficulties in 1962-63. But will it be proper for it to claim that it did all it could to make a proper use of the emergency to mobilise the nation in accordance with its "socialistic" professions? Or did it retreat from a position, which these professions demanded under the pressure of the reactionaries?

1962-63 was no doubt a difficult year for India—its government and the people. A trusted neighbour, turning its face away from the noble principles of "Panchsheel" and Marxism-Leninism, decided to turn what was hitherto a frontier of friendship into a battlefield.

The right-wing elements aided and abetted by their kinsmen inside the ruling party found in this breach of faith a god-sent opportunity to assail the authorities for their unpreparedness. They did their level best to hustle India into making a somersault—albeit in a different way.

They wanted the country to turn its face away from

planned development and leave both economy and defence to be managed by their economic wing—the monopoly-dominated private sector. Failing in this they wanted the Plan to be overwhelmingly oriented towards defence, with only scant consideration for development.

And when the National Development Council, under the guidance of the Prime Minister, to whom 85 per cent of the Plan programme was crucial for defence, rejected their advice, the Economic Times took the rightists within the NDC to task for "throwing away the towel".

## NEW STRATEGEM OF THE RIGHT

Rebuffed in their design, the rightists adopted a new strategem. They began asking the government to give up what they called its "doctrinaire" and "ideological" approach to economic questions. Since the Industrial Policy Resolution, which reserved certain key, including defence, industries for the public sector, was the most clear-cut manifestation of this approach, it became their special target. They demanded an end to the division of industries into various schedules under the Resolution, and asked for the creation of an omnibus defence sector instead.

The Swatantra MP, M. Rethnaswamy even brought in the example of Hitler's Germany where the "civil factors could at a moment's notice be switched over to defence". He also suggested that "for the duration (of emergency), the Industrial Policy Resolution may be put into the discard" and the "Government must look upon businessmen and industrialists in this matter of defence production as partners, collaborators and comrades". A proof of this trust and camaraderie, in his view, would be for the government to help "civil factories with finance, capital, and maintenance grants and subsidies and other facilities" for thus alone can India have "its Vickers and Zaharoffs" (Sunday Standard, April 28).

Thus in one stroke the Chinese "misadventure" and the resultant Emergency threw the Industrial Policy Resolution into jitters, and emboldened the Rightists not only to question its fundamentals, but also to dream to one day flaunt quite a few armament kings in their ranks.

The Rightwing's attitude to the Emergency and the rigour it entailed was also reflected in the stand it took vis-a-vis mobilisation of resources for defence. To begin with its response to the voluntary subscriptions to the Defence Fund was rather poor—a fact noticed and commented upon even by the Prime Minister. Later, when the budget was presented it exercised enormous pressure on the Finance Minister to

# Independence And Our Economic Perspectives

● by ESSEN

whittle down those of its provisions which could even marginally affect its interests.

## SUPER-PROFITS TAX WHITTLED DOWN

The Super Profits Tax was its special bugbear, because this tax, although very mild in itself, had for the first time in India's fiscal history sought to curb the high profiteering by the private sector. So well organised their pressure was, and so amenable was the Indian Finance Minister to it, that he whittled it down drastically even before it could be put on the statute book. Against other provisions of the budget, which levied a total tax of Rs. 275 crores, they had no grouse because their incidence fell largely on the common people.

The government's approach towards resource-mobilisation, as reflected in the budget, however, had its own anti-people edge. Refusing to come out with a supplementary budget just after the proclamation of the Emergency, it ultimately brought forth a budget which made the common people liable to bear about 60% of tax burden.

No item of mass consumption—tea, tobacco, kerosene—was left out of the purview of the new budget. On top, even the people, earning as low as Rs. 125 per month were asked to "compulsorily save" for the exchequer. The postal rates were also raised. The people had no doubt given ample evidence of their preparedness to shoulder a heavy burden for the sake of national defence, but they had not bargained for this all-out "squeezing" out of their meagre earnings.

As against this heavy burden on the masses, the well-to-do people—those liable to income tax—were made to shoulder a burden of Rs. 40 crores only. Out of this Rs. 25 crores were to be gathered through the super-profits tax, which was whittled down subsequently. Even this tax was not as radical as it appeared to be at first sight.

In fact, journals like the Economic Weekly, even considered it to be only a ruse, or at best a clever device, to lull the people into believing that the Finance Minister was after all not so conservative. It will not hit the big business, the Weekly said, but would rather help its growth by affecting the growth of the middle sectors.

While the Finance Minister could climb down on the issue of the SPT, he made only a marginal concession on the duty on kerosene oil and raised the exemption limit for the compulsory deposits by the agriculturists from Rs. 1 to Rs. 5.

A question that could justifiably be asked of the government in this connection is: Could it not have raised all the resources it needed without taxing the poor, and did

it live up to its claim that it would insist on equality of sacrifice by all sections of the people?

According to competent authorities, abolition of prohibition, nationalisation of banking, foreign trade and oil could bring in more than the indirect taxes levied in the budget. The government's failure to move along these lines is all the more regrettable because the Emergency was particularly propitious for undertaking such bold steps.

## FREE HAND TO PRIVATE SECTOR

And how did the government react to the Rightists' offensive on its basic economic policies? It allowed the private sector to intrude on a large-scale into the defence sector. Even more dangerous than this direct intrusion was the association of private sector leaders with the formulation of policy in respect of defence production. The notorious Tata report on aircraft production is the latest though by no means the only example of the Rightwing being allowed a free hand in influencing policies in vital matters.

This "free hand" was not limited to the defence sphere, although this sphere was the most coveted by the monopolists—dreaming to be armament kings. It was as much noticeable in other economic spheres. The price line—which was never known for its steadiness—was completely upset by its free play.

The government, unmindful of the harm that spiralling prices can do both to the people's livelihood and their morale, continued to rely on "normal trade channels" to hold the price line. And when it could persuade itself to think in terms of controls and rationing—considered inevitable by the NCAER study—its intentions were frustrated by open opposition by some of its own stalwarts.

S. K. Patil's ignominious role in this sphere, being in line with his reactionary outlook is not surprising, but that a government "socialistic" in its intentions, should continue to tolerate him and his costly fads is inexcusable.

A much trumpeted about step which the government took was its Gold Control Order. This order was said to have two objectives: to curb the demand for gold and eliminate the national waste involved in gold smuggling. The government's measures did not, however, attack the problems directly by requisitioning all gold in the lockers. What it did instead was to

enjoin upon the people with gold to declare their non-ornamental possession. This certainly was a major loophole which provided a convenient way out for anti-social elements.

## CURSED GOLD RULES

Even the stipulation about the new ornaments not exceeding 14 carats purity did not deter these elements from continuing with their business of making pieces with a higher fineness. In fact, according to press reports, jewellers in Bombay converted their residences into "pedlis" where they could carry on their business as usual. Further, although existing dealers and refiners were asked to obtain licences, and thus be subject to regular scrutiny by law, there was no guarantee that new licensed dealers and refiners would not spring up to cater to the business as usual.

These loopholes in the Gold Control Rules could not be obscure to the government. Still, they were left unplugged to provide escape to the unscrupulous gold traders, even as the high sounding title of the rules would make them appear as quite radical.

In this gloomy picture there were a few flickers of hope. The ready response of the people to shoulder the burdens of defending the country as well as helping its development, provided they were equitable, was one such flicker.

The other was the purposive solidarity of the socialist countries, and particularly Soviet Union, to make the country go ahead with creating its own capacities for defence equipment, as well as basic industries. Foreign trade, in which India's traditional partners in the industrialised capitalist countries had chosen to ditch its interests at a critical moment was also given a new shot in the arm by the readiness of the Soviet Union to increase its trade with India. The current Moscow fair is a symbol of this solidarity in action, and the Indian Government and the traders' enthusiasm for it is a token of India's appreciation of it.

Resistancy and half-heartedness, resulting in half measures in the economic sphere have thus been the bane of India's ruling circles in the sixteenth year of its Independence. They have let the opportunities offered, by the emergency, slip out of their hands—to be exploited by the Right-wing reactionaries to pressurise them into making serious departures from their accepted policies.

If they had not faltered in this respect, they could have turned the present difficulties into a call for action by the entire nation to build up its defences of defence as well as development.

What it did instead was to

enjoin upon the people with gold to declare their non-ornamental possession. This certainly was a major loophole which provided a convenient way out for anti-social elements.

# POLITICS OF INSTABILITY

★ by Mohit Sen

The Chinese aggression did in the first few months generate an upsurge and unity, unprecedented since freedom. This was a natural enough reaction of a nation, that is old but yet in the making, and whose most recent memories of thrill and heroism are all those of the movement for emancipation. India was defending her right to become, in the most general and the most desperate sense of the word.

WHATSOEVER the Establishment might say, a very great deal of all this is now only a memory. This is not to say that when another challenge comes, India will not again stand up four-square to all the winds that Blow. Patriotism is not ephemeral and it is the one shared bidding emotion of the overwhelming majority.

Why, then did the glory pass so soon? Are we back to where we were? And is retreat now to be the central feature of our politics? What is the specific feature of the new instability which has come to be the central manifestation of the politics we are now engaged in?

## Changed Situation

But this is not the situation now, with the daily mounting evidence that eruptions on the border are not to be precluded. In any event, the lack of actual hostilities is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for the relapse and for the gnawing sense of frustration that came with it.

Nor, to pursue this line of argument further, is the present condition to be explained by the military reverses, though they do form an important element in the complex of feeling. Indeed, the anxiety and the courage and the feeling of unity never shone so far as it did in the days when it looked as if the Chinese forces might sweep down to the Brahmaputra and beyond.

Contrary to what the tub-thumpers might say, the ordinary man was quite aware of the fact that the Chinese military machine was superior and they were prepared for the eventuality that there would be initial military retreat and that the initial period might be quite prolonged.

They were not thirsting then nor do they now for an armed resolution of the conflict with China or with Pakistan for that matter, though they certainly want that the territories now under Chinese or Pakistani occupation should be restored to the Motherland.

Nehru is not quite right when he says that the glory of military might is not part of our tradition or of our emotional heritage. Certainly there is a desire to be strong and there have been periods when we have been as feudalist-militarist as any other people—traces of this are evident enough when one reads the "histories" prepared by otherwise quite sedate gentlemen. But he is right that this tradition is not, perhaps, as strong as in some other big countries.

Similarly, it is quite wrong to claim that our national movement was a miracle of non-violence.

Gandhiji himself was inconsistent on this issue—his blessing of the military defence of Kashmir, to give one example.

The Congress, to say nothing of the other segments of the national movement, never accepted non-violence as a creed but as a policy—the desire to join the battle against fascism through a national government in charge of the armed forces, for instance.

Besides, there were glorious episodes of violence which are also a part of the legend of our national movement—1857, the terrorists and the Great RIN revolt, to mention a few.

Yet these episodes and these memories are not the dominant ones when one looks back at our freedom struggle. The characteristic feature of our national movement was an ever-widening and deepening mass upsurge, coming in spurts, with a consistently more radical national and democratic programme and an increasing alignment with the world democratic forces as well.

As a people wanting to be free, we met and offered successive challenges to the British imperialists on an ever ascending plane of radical consciousness and forms of mass struggle. That is why the setbacks never became defeats and never led to retreats. We may not have always fared well but we always fared forward.

It is necessary to recall this fact today when the Jan Sangh tries to build up chauvinism on what purports to be the solid base of the ancient glories of Hindustan. And, equally, when the parabolising Rajaji tries to make surrender a part of our national ethos.

Whatever criticisms one may have of the way in which Nehru is handling the crisis, and they are many, there can be no doubt that the way out suggested by these conservative-communal forces would not only bring disaster, but run counter to the deepest springs of national memory and tradition.

The trend of radicalism in our national movement continued in the post-independence period. There were the early years of groping, hesitation and illusion. Moreover, the different sets of theorists and mass leaderships, both on a national and international scale, had neither sorted out their ideas nor themselves. This was the time of platitudes and of polemics of passion without understanding.

Around 1953 there were tremors to indicate that radicalism was about to resume its march. And with the Panchshila, Awadi and the Plan-frame as the basis of the Second Plan, it was clear that the change had come.

Without in any way belittling the contributions of others in bringing about this turn, there is reason for the Communist Party to congratulate itself on the heroism it displayed and the manner it met the challenge, especially after 1953.

The implementation of this new

turn by the Congress leadership was halting and half-hearted, marked by a more than usual amount of hypocrisy and double-dealing. It was easy enough to be cynical and "militant" and to point to the gaps as well as the way in which practice was betraying profession. Yet there was an advance in the very consciousness of the nation and the advance in practical execution, while needing to be forced, was only facilitated by this.

The challenge to the nation in the form of the path of development to choose and the position to be taken up in international affairs had been met by an extension of the programme of the national movement in its last phase, which was radical enough.

## Basic Cause

The basic cause of the demoralisation now visible and the sharp increase in instability has, of course, its roots in the material conditions of the people and the totally unjust burdens that are being thrust upon them in the name of the crisis facing India.

The basic cause, however, is the fact that the new challenge has not been met, at the level of national leadership, by a fresh advance in the direction of radicalism. The response, again at the level of national leadership, has been one of bafflement and retreat.

Powerful pressures operated to create the conviction that national policy has to move Right to meet the challenge of what is, after all, a socialist and Left state.

One can see this conviction operating at various levels. It is sought to be made out that the foreign policy of non-alignment has not only proved to be a failure but that it has become a menace to national security. Planning for a self-reliant economy and equality came under heavy fire. Sickening sycophancy towards Washington replaced the previous posture of dignity and self-respect.

There was the remarkable connivance at the stubborn refusal of the more affluent sections to make anything like a proportionate contribution to the defence effort. Simultaneously with the speedy and markedly discriminatory moves against the fundamental rights of the citizens, there was the astonishingly tardy approach to any action against the Dalmia-Jaina.

The catalogue can be extended; but enough, perhaps, has been said to support the point that, contrary to the tradition of our national movement, a new challenge was sought to be met by retreat, by a turn to the Right and conservatism.

One can challenge any of the spokesmen of the new conservatism, or those who have compromised with them to show that this shift has produced anything but mass demoralisation and confusion and, to an extent, anger.

The central feature of the politics of instability, in which we are all involved, is the already evident failure of the New Conservatism to stimulate mass response, to say anything of enthusiasm.

In India, with its overwhelming problems, its traditions, its political balance of forces, any compromise with New Conservatism, and the thing itself, cannot be long sustained. Its inherent impulse is towards the establishment

of an authoritarian regime of official-military control with a veneer, perhaps, of politicians who have lost faith in the power and potentiality of the free play of political forces.

Nobody disputes that the danger from beyond the frontiers continues. By a strange display of the force of dialectics, the danger comes, however, in the shape of this New Conservatism and its compromisers, posing the menace of ending politics as we have known and cherished it.

There are those who seem to be of the opinion that this menace can be met by some sort of organisational panacea. They imagine that if the ministers were different or if some powerful and relatively better ministers went back to organisational work, the dangerous drift could be stopped and a turn for the better could be achieved.

Ministers do have their importance and sometimes their symbolic importance can be very great indeed. We sincerely need to be reminded of this after we have witnessed the way in which Menon and Malaviya were run out. And it is certainly about time, some of the more blatant Rightists were made to quit, if only to demonstrate that we are a mixed country which should not be pushed too far in one direction!

It may also do some good for the Congress, if some of its leading lights took to organisational work. Some education of its rank and file in the fundamentals of the socialist pattern and non-alignment would create a better atmosphere.

But this would be only tinkering with the problem and may well turn out to be nothing but a way of evading the real problem. Besides, the main function of a ruling party must be to rule and its best talents must be concentrated to ensure that this main function is best carried out. It is a false analogy to compare the present position with that of the days of the Congress ministries in the thirties.

What is, above all, required is a return to the tradition of radicalism. To make this return will not be at all easy. For, now the time is past when a mere verbal reiteration will either meet the requirements of the situation or satisfy the mass mood. The stage has been reached when actual implementation alone will carry us forward and out of danger.

## New Stirrings

What is of great significance and of hope is that there have been stirrings among the Congress and the unattached Left in the recent period, showing that awareness of the danger and of the need and opportunity exists in their midst also. Till the New Conservatism manifested itself in a very direct and forceful manner, this segment of public opinion was strangely smug and inactive.

Content with the positions of vantage it had won in various ministries and institutions, satisfied with its own sophistication and believing that the position of the Prime Minister was impregnable, it seemed to have lost its momentum and crusading zeal. It thought little, if at all in terms of mass mobilisation and still less in terms of advance, as being the only real alternative to the gathering forces of the Right.

It is a testimony to the resilience and deep-rooted nature of this segment of India's national life and tradition that the recent success of reaction and the impact this has made in the form of the rise of the New Conservatism, have not only not unnerved them but made them far more active and organised.

Whether we consider opinion-making papers or journals, or mass contacting or interfering in the various political and official

organisations, there has been a big step-up in thought, planning and concerted action.

## Nehru As a Force

Nobody is discounting that the Prime Minister still represents a vast force in himself and that the reiteration of the basic principles by him does exert an enormous amount of good. But just as all his strength has not prevented the axing of prominent and close friends (and the pushing through of the air-c Exercises plan and the yet unresolved state of the VOA deal), his failure to do more than reiterate principles has not deterred this segment of the Left from pushing its ideas and personalities.

One is not discounting Pandit Nehru as a force for progress, when one points to the crystallising of Left opinion (other than Communist) around a more advanced platform and more committed personalities. Indeed, there is no conflict between this force and the vast masses who rightly see Nehru as a symbol of their radical aspirations and of the radical tradition of the national movement.

One is also quite aware that the process has only just begun and that it is yet to emerge as a very clear-cut force on a mass basis. Nevertheless, not to see the process and its potentialities would be wilful blindness.

Apart from the greater coherence of all the forces of the Left, what is further required is the working out of such programmes and, above all, such forms of mass activity and action as will draw the anxiously waiting and watching uncommitted mass, to whom an alternative has to be offered which is sufficiently distinct and yet which has the attraction of familiarity. And the alternative has to avoid both demagogic irrationality as well as overdone sophistication, combining both the defence of the previous gains and the necessary minimum of advance.

## Great Petition

It is against this background that the Great Petition and the Great March to Parliament acquire their enormous significance. Anybody who has participated in the campaign even to the very minimum extent would agree that a great initiative has been taken and a great force unleashed.

It is far from being a matter of the Communists' and their following alone. It is, above all, a matter of the most organised segment of the Left breaking the well-nigh political monopoly which the Right had enjoyed since the Chinese aggression.

The demands for relief that it makes and the measures of nationalisation that it proposes are not only what India needs but are also a continuation of the radical tradition of the national movement. The form of action is also at once familiar and an aid to the raising of consciousness.

A very great deal, will depend on the sweep and the depth that this campaign is able to acquire. Already it has drawn the attention of friend and foe and neutral alike. There is every chance of its doing much more turning the tide and clearing the ground.

The success of this campaign might well see the beginning of the reassertion of the radical tradition at a time when India needs it more than ever before. If we are now fairly well launched into the politics of instability it does not mean that we can afford to forget the lessons of what have been till now the finest days for our nation, even if some who did so much to make the glory of those days, now seem bewildered and even a little lost.

Agrarian reforms and agricultural projects had raised high hopes in the first decade after independence but it is followed by as much disappointment in this second decade, after two years of the Third Five Year Plan. Even the modest rate 3.5 per cent annual increase in agricultural production at the close of the Second Plan is now slowed down and the so-called "silent revolution in the countryside" is nowhere in sight.

THE unpalatable truth that after sixteen years of independence and 12 years of planning, stagnation prevails in Indian agriculture and agrarian relations is today undeniable. There is no production upsurge which alone could have furnished the national economy with an investible surplus adequate for rapid economic development.

It is sometimes claimed that meagreness of financial resources advanced for agricultural development is at the root of all evils, but a careful study of the problem makes the hollowness of the diagnosis obvious even to the layman.

In the course of the First Five Year Plan, a sum of Rs. 568 crores was advanced for agriculture and community development; it was followed by Rs. 925 crores under the Second Plan. Over and above this sum, Rs. 589 crores were spent for major and medium irrigation projects. These sums together exceed Rs. 2,000 crores for the 30 crores acres of land under cultivation, and it is not a negligible sum.

How can it be explained that 50 per cent of the irrigation potential is not utilised by the peasant producers, that the irrigation potential created is not evenly distributed, that the problems of soil erosion and waterlogging are not seriously tackled and that the flood preventive measures have, by and large, failed to fulfil the expectations?

How can one account for the fact that fertilisers produced are not only inadequate, but inaccessible to the poor peasant at a price which is within his means? Is it not a fact that money pumped into rural economy and the resources created thereby bear very little relation to the productive initiative of the peasant, who is almost out of the picture either in making the plans or in their execution?

## Difficulties

If you ask any peasant, the actual tiller of the soil, what are his difficulties, you will receive various answers. Someone will say that improved seeds and fertilisers are beyond his reach, because the rich banias grab them first, and they demand exorbitant prices. Even the most fortunate peasant who can manage to secure them will complain, more production in agriculture invariably depresses the market and therefore, even in good years of bumper crops, he cannot expand his productive capital. Such questions as waterlogging, drought and crop diseases, the common peasant says, he is helpless against them. He has no access to the officials. Even for obtaining agricultural loans, he is dependent on the village tout.

All these answers mean that a new class of rural rich, standing between the red-tape officialdom and the poor tiller of the soil, grab the resources pumped into rural economy and use the same to enrich themselves.

In an official report on the Market Arrivals of

Foodgrains (1953-59), it was frankly admitted (page 145) that "on the trade side, therefore, there has been no lack of funds or shortage of credit in the market. In fact the major complaint of most of the dealers and millers has been that their funds are lying idle."

The report came to the conclusion that there was no shortage of trade credit, "but productive credit was in short supply, particularly for small farmers."

## Experience

Their observation corroborates the experience of all village-level workers that the large landowners whose holdings have been statutorily reduced by the ceiling laws could manage to sell much of their property, by deceiving the law and invest the proceeds in rural trade.

Others, who have been able to retain the holdings by diverse mala fide ways, have also turned to money lending and marketing of agricultural products. Some of the rich peasants who know how to win favours of the bureaucrats have also been able to get resources only to expand their money-lending and trading operations.

The trading monopolies of the cities have now better links in the rural sector and the large landowners as well as the rich peasant profiteers are now closely tied to the monopolies. Thus the large landowners, the wholesale dealers and the money lenders are linked up with the big business in the metropolises; they together constitute a new vested interest having tremendous influence over bureaucrats who are in sole charge of disbursing the plan resources in the countryside.

It is they who grab the resources in the countryside. It is they who grab the resources meant for the peasant, even the cooperative societies are within their grip.

HOW is it that the land reforms, instead of promoting the basic producers to the status of prosperous farmers, have set forth a whole network of commercial-cum-usurious money grabbers and profiteers who reap the most of the benefits conferred by agricultural and community development projects?

HOW is it that the great social transformation sought to be brought about by the abolition of intermediaries, imposition of ceilings and elimination of the remnants of feudalism does not come about?

HOW is it that the growth of capitalist relations of production in agriculture, the natural result of reforms promised or even introduced, makes its appearance in such a maimed and mutilated form that there is neither revolutionisation of the technique nor an upsurge in agricultural production?

One can give detailed answers to these questions by analysing every statutory means that has been introduced under the caption "Land Reform", but the

# AGRARIAN QUESTION: A REAPPRAISAL

★ by Bhowani Sen

essence of the whole question is that these statutory measures were introduced with a pro-landlord bias, the projects are often set up without a scientific appraisal of rural economy and the resources are distributed without taking the needs of the actual tillers of the soil into account.

On top of these, the implementation of the official measures is the monopoly of the ruling party whose active agents are solely concerned with the strengthening of the rural vested interests, a gang of corrupt anti-social reactionaries.

Though intermediaries have been abolished, sharecropping and illegal inferior tenancy are not yet uncommon. Though a ceiling has been imposed on landholdings, yet barely four per cent of agricultural households possess about 33 per cent of the area under cultivation; 40 per cent of the agricultural families are landless labourers but not more than 16 per cent can be considered as wage-workers in the capitalist sense. Small holdings constitute 40 per cent of the area under sugarcane, 32 per cent in jute cultivation and more than 50 per cent of land under ground rent. In the production of foodgrains, tiny holdings continue to predominate.

## Land Ceiling

Such is the balance-sheet of land reforms. It speaks eloquently of the pro-landlord bias of the powers that had framed, enacted and implemented them.

Take the simplest case of the laws on the ceilings. It is not the peasant-tiller who is given the choice which area he wants to take, it is the landlord who is to opt his area. It is again not the sharecropper but the landlord himself who is to declare the extent of his holdings.

The surplus land cultivated by a sharecropper is not conferred to him outright, but it vests first in the government. It is retained under the care of the landlord before the government is prepared to distribute the surplus holdings and in case of mala fide transfers by the landlords, the onus of proof is with the sharecropper, while the judicial bodies which adjudicate the issues, are traditionally biased in favour of the landlords as a class.

Under these conditions, the reforms which have indeed brought about many changes in agrarian relations, bear within them the following negative features:

1. The old semi-feudal agrarian relations are curbed but not eliminated;
2. New capitalist relations of production are too weak to revolutionise production;
3. Corrupt vested interests get the upper hand in rural economy;

4. Conditions of the mass of peasantry improve very little i.e., not even to the extent warranted by the reforms and the projects; and

5. The agricultural workers and other landless tillers, who constitute at least 50 per cent of the agrarian population, if not more, are economically, culturally and socially down-trodden, depressed and therefore unresponsive to agricultural progress for which society offers them no facilities to play a creative role.

The tolling humanity in the countryside thus stands demoralised having no access to the banking capital flourishing profusely, to the expanding industrial structure out of which the Tatas and Birlas are expanding their financial tentacles, and to the feast of money-making which offers to the commercial profiteers the grandiose prospects of enriching themselves through an inflation-ridden economy.

The slow rise in the standard of living of the common people, relatively to the past, fails to reach the fringe of the lowest strata of the basic producers in the countryside. Even socially they still continue to be the victims of the age-old caste-prejudices.

This trend of development arises out of the fact that in the national economy, the trio, consisting of large landowners, money-lenders and traders linked with the private monopoly sector is gaining at the cost of the peasantry as a whole, though a certain differentiation has grown amongst the peasantry so that the middle and the poorest among them are the worst sufferers.

In the countryside, this trio is the main base of Right reaction, both inside and outside the Congress. It vitiates the working of parliamentary democracy by unscrupulous corrupt practices and now assaults the basic national policies of the country.

Therefore the whole question of land reform must be reopened, discussed de novo and reformulated so as to give it a pro-peasant orientation. It must be completely divested of its pro-landlord bias.

The banks and the wholesale trade in agricultural goods ought to be nationalised so that the parasitic vested interests can be checked and crippled. This step alone can upset the apple-cart of the rural trio.

The implementation of projects in the countryside must be entrusted to some sort of a popular organisation, divested of anti-people bias, representing the peasantry as a whole. Without this step, the progressive essence cannot be infused into the structure of the reforms.

The cooperative movement must be put on a sound footing so that the political bias in favour of the

ruling party does not act as a cover to protect the domination of the vested interests. Congressmen must answer the question why the famous Nagpur resolution has been reduced to a dead letter:



Cooperatives of various types can really divest our rural economy of vested interests provided the honest elements within the ruling party cooperate with the genuine servants of the people without any political prejudice. But they can do so only by taking a firm stand against the electoral machinery of the Congress. It is there that the germs of corruption have settled their nests.

Not only cooperatives but the working of the agricultural and community development projects can be put to proper use to the extent the honest elements within the Congress cooperate with the Communists in order to break the chains of corrupt links.

They can do so only if they realise that the reactionaries and corrupt elements within their party cooperate with those outside, while anti-Communism is their main weapon to keep honest social workers inside and outside the Congress divided. So long as this division persists, the future of the country and of our people is very dark indeed.

The first and the most important step they have to take is to bring about a reform of the whole administrative apparatus. It is nothing but political nepotism which is responsible for the existence of an officialdom linked with the corrupt vested interests.

This again is dependent upon a change in the composition of the ministries which are overwhelmingly pro-Right. It is only common knowledge that a chain binds together the Rightist politician, the rural vested interest and the corrupt officialdom. Therefore, a reconstitution of the Ministries, for a shift to the Left is a pressing need for a general reorientation in the policies as proposed above.

There can be no fruitful re-appraisal of the land reform unless the Ministers are rid of pro-landlord elements.

# KERALA GOVT. WHICH WAY?

Anti-People Measures Drawing Fire On All Quarters

★ S. Sharma Interviews M.N. Govindan Nair

TRIVANDRUM, August 2: In Kerala today, discontent and protest against certain of the policies of the State Government have reached colossal proportions and the Government stands condemned in its isolation said M. N. Govindan Nair, member of the Central Secretariat of the CPI, in an exclusive interview to your correspondent. M. N. Govindan Nair was leaving Trivandrum for Delhi after a week's stay in Kerala.

He had attended the two-day State Council meeting of the Communist Party in Trichur and addressed rallies at Trichur, Ernakulam, Kayamkulam and Attingal on the present political situation, with special reference to the Great Petition movement. He had met and had discussions with persons belonging to various political parties and groups. Finally, he had called on both the Chief Minister and Revenue Minister in Kerala to impress upon them the need for the government to retrace its steps on such issues as bus fare increase and the agrarian question.

## Government Isolated

M. N. said that his ten days stay in Kerala and meeting people from all walks of life had made one thing clear: The present Congress Government stood isolated from the people more than ever before. The landslide had come during the last three months particularly, when after the byelections, the state government began implementing its taxation measures and imposing new burdens on the

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and confidence that by unity and peaceful protest, they will force the government to beat a retreat.

M. N. went on to say that the state government had now come out with another decision of theirs to bring in a new Agrarian Relations Bill



after burying the Agrarian Relations Act passed during the period of the Communist-led Ministry. The motive and purpose behind this move were clear as day light. Sankar and Chacko had made a commitment to the landlords and their spokesmen; the NSS, that they will bury the Communist Act fathoms deep, and bring in a new legislation wherein their interests will be safeguarded. The Agrarian Relations Act passed after the approval of the Union Ministry and the Planning Commission, was considered to be one of the best pieces of Agrarian Legislation passed in any state in India.

people, who were already crushed by the central taxes, the compulsory deposit scheme and the phenomenal rise in prices of essential commodities. The increased rates of bus fare imposed in the face of the united warning from the opposition had put all political parties, including even the Congress (that is the KPCC) against the fare rise. All the leading dailies in Kerala had editorially and otherwise pleaded for reconsideration of the increases.

The Joint Executive of the Pradesh Congress and the Congress Legislative Party, a couple of days ago had expressed themselves in favour of a review of the decision. That the government lost their case and face, was clear from the fact, that three weeks after the implementation of the new fares and in the face of the growing opposition to it, from people, the government had set up a committee with exhaustive terms of reference to go into the cost and fare structure of the state transport system.

M. N. said that the three wise men whose names have been announced and the long months given to them, show that the government firstly had not taken into consideration all the factors relating to the fares and cost, and now they had no appreciation of the great hardship that had been inflicted on the common people of the working and lower middle classes in towns and villages. Apart from this, it had now gone back on the Fast Passenger Fares also, besides giving the concessional rates to students.

The right thing now for the government was to go back wholehog to the old rates and await the committee's recommendations.

The protest movement against the bus fare increase which was spearheaded by the Communist Party and which today embraced all political parties, excepting the Congress official trade unions, and non-party individuals, civic bodies and panchayats, was peaceful and constitutional. The Communist party desired that this should be peaceful and constitutional. But the government should not treat our desire to be peaceful and constitutional as a sign of our weakness, M. N. said.

If the people remain peaceful and constitutional and do not resort to violence, picketing and destruction of transport buses—all modus operandi which the present rulers as leaders of the liberation struggle at one time goaded the people to resort to—it was essentially due to their maturity

Though the High Court had struck down certain provisions as null and void, the Union Ministry had moved certain amendments to the Constitution in the Lok Sabha, by which these invalid provisions could be validated. The Kerala Government was rushing with an entirely new bill—a landlord protection bill—and urging the union cabinet not to go ahead with the Constitution Amendment Bill.

## Landlord-Protection Bill

This unabashed, open surrender to the vested landed interests on the part of the Kerala Government has evoked condemnation and protest from all quarters interested in the development of our agrarian economy on scientific and progressive lines. The Kerala Karshaka Sangham, the Kisan Panchayat and the Kisan labour party of Father Vadakkan—the three organisations of Kisans—are today agitating against the moves of the government.

Apart from these, Congressmen and Congress legislators, who have the good of the peasants at heart, are unhappy at the turn of events and have raised the issue in the KPCC and their discussions. Influential independent dailies like Kerala Kaumudi and Pothujanam have expressed themselves strongly against these moves of surrender on the part of the government.

The storm of protest against this has been so powerful that Chacko has had to come out with a statement that the new Bill contains all the essential features of the old Act and it is being brought in as a new bill, with a view to removing the legal technical lacunae in the draftsmanship of the old Act. This itself exposes the hollowness of the claims of Chacko, said M. N. Why then a new Bill at all, M. N. asked. The third issue on which the feeling of protest and disgust is universal is that relating to the clear charges of

corruption, that have been repeatedly raised against the Chief Minister and the Minister of Industries. M. N. said that everyday more and more charges appear to be coming up and the only way the air can be cleared and people made to feel any sense of confidence in the government is to order a judicial enquiry into the charges and give opportunity to all to bring in materials and prove their charges. A clearance from even the Prime Minister will no longer satisfy the people of the State.

M. N. said that on all these three issues, the stand of the government was reactionary and anti-people. And the more they were isolated, the more they were becoming. He referred to the unprovoked police action on the KPAC squad, the growing curbs on democratic and civil liberties which the police were imposing and the latest arrest of over a dozen sympathisers and members of the Party, on charges of stone throwing and abetment to it. The curious order banning demonstrations and processions in the main street of the capital was something unheard of in the history of our state since freedom. In Trichur, Ernakulam and Attingal, one had to depend on the sweet will and whim of the police authorities to obtain permission to hold even a meeting.

## Dangerous Tendencies

M. N. stated that these tendencies on the part of the government were dangerous and had to be effectively combated. He added that the Communist party would be in the forefront in resisting these inroads on civil liberties. He was confident that the powerful movement against the bus fare increase and the pro-landlord moves of the government and for an open judicial enquiry into charges of corruption would very soon force the government to retreat.

# PEOPLE'S MAGNIFICENT RESPONSE TO PETITION MOVEMENT

Dr. Ahmad's Madhya Pradesh Tour Impressions

"Enthusiasm in Madhya Pradesh for the Great Petition campaign is at its peak," Dr. Z. A. Ahmad, Member of the Central Secretariat of the CPI told New Age, on his return from a five-day campaign tour (July 26 to 30) of Bhopal, Indore, Gwalior, Ujjain and Ratlam.

DESPITE heavy rains, huge public meetings and rallies were addressed by him at all these places. There were seven to eight thousand people present at each of the public meetings in Bhopal and Indore, 10,000 in Gwalior, five to six thousand in Ujjain.

At each place, the workers and middle class employees rallied in large numbers. But what was specially significant, reported Dr. Ahmad, was the participation of all sections in these public rallies. Several Congressmen attended and listened attentively to the speeches. Non-party persons, as well as adherents of other parties, flocked in large numbers to hear the Communist Party's policies explained.

Local Jan Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha units, which had previously attempted to disrupt Communist Party rallies,



did not dare to do so this time—owing to the huge mass support for the Petition and its aims. In Gwalior, a day before Dr.

The papers placed before the 21st session of the Indian Labour Conference by the Labour Ministry at least did this service that the charges made openly by the trade union movement that the employers are exploiting the national emergency for private gains, and that it is only the working class that has fulfilled its obligations under the Industrial Truce Resolution, have been fully substantiated.

THE charge-sheet against the employers contains some points which are of national concern, affecting as they do the life of all sections of the people while others are of particular interest only or primarily to the working class. Of the former, the most important is the question of prices.

That prices have risen sharply and are continuing to rise is no longer a matter of argument. But what can be done about it and who is primarily to blame—these questions are still debated. Previously the employers and many erudite gentlemen serving their interests, used to blame rising prices on the inflationary spiral caused by a non-existent, imaginary, rise in nominal wages. And the theory was built that wages should be frozen. When life and the working class blew up this theory, and it was realised that wage freeze will not work in a period of rising price level, the slogan was given that any wage rise must be conditional on rise in productivity and it was urged that wages should be linked with productivity. "Produce more cakes, before you eat any," was the motto.

## Increased Production

During the period of emergency, the working class did produce plenty of the cakes—much more than what was being produced previously. Extra hours were worked on Sundays, off-days and holidays. Overtime was voluntarily worked. The earnings from such work were donated to the NDF, thus depriving the employers of the argument which may otherwise have been urged that extra money in the needy pockets of the working class contributed to price rise through speedy spending. Even during the normal working hours, responding to the call of the nation, workers in many factories produced more. This

was direct increase in productivity. Nominal wages remained stationary.

## Soaring Prices: Whose Responsibility?

Prices still continued to rise. Faced with this hard reality, the spokesmen of Big Business advanced another line of argument. Naval Tata, speaking at the 21st session of the ILC said that price rise was a natural economic consequence of a massive defence expenditure. In addition, he blamed the traders. In his anxiety to save the Big Business from blame, he tried to turn the anger and discontent of the people due to price rise against the defence expenditure (thereby supplying grist to the Swatantra argument for arms aid on "any terms" from USA) and also sacrificed his smaller brethren of the trading class. On the other hand, the Secretary of Delhi Hindustani Mercantile Association has blamed the manufacturers and the government for the rise in prices.

What, however, is the reality? While the traders are no doubt to blame, the big industrialist cannot claim innocence. While the index of prices of industrial raw materials rose by less than 2 points from 137.4 to 139.3 between the period July 7, 1962 and July 6, 1963, prices of cotton textiles showed a jump from 124.7 to 135.3, silk and rayon from 128.8 to 135.8, and sugar shot up from 141.1 to 194.0. (Base: 1952-53)

This shows that prices of essential finished goods of common consumption have risen much more than the increase in the cost of raw materials. Nominal wages have remained more or less stationary and the dearness allowance, whether it was enhanced following the price-rise, did not close the gap fully. In cotton textile mills nominal minimum wages including D.A. have actually declined in most

## DURING THE NATIONAL EMERGENCY

# Prices, Production & Profits And The Working Class

★ By SATISH LOOMBA, Secretary, AITUC

cities i.e. in Bombay from Rs. 135.76 in 1962 (average) to Rs. 134.25 in April 1963; in Ahmedabad from Rs. 126.52 to Rs. 118.37; in Kanpur from Rs. 193.43 to Rs. 101.75. The conclusion is plain. Industrialists raised prices much more than circumstances warranted. The gains have gone into their coffers.

Precise figures of profits are unfortunately not available. But from the figures of production, some idea can be had of the increased profits if the price level is kept in mind. The following figures for some items are indicative.

by poorer sections have shown comparatively a greater rise.

	Week ending July 7, 1962	Week ending July 7, 1963
Cereals	105.8	114.8
Pulses	103.9	109.1
Milk and ghee	123.7	134.7
Tobacco	95.5	117.1

It must also be borne in mind that these are indices of wholesale prices. If you add to them, the increased margin of profits which even according to Tata, the traders are extracting, the price rise would show a still more sharp upward trend.

## INDEX OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION (1952-53=100)

	Oct. 1962	Feb. 1963	Highest Index during the period
Cotton Textiles	102.5	111.1	113.0 (Jan. 63)
Textile group	105.6	113.9	117.4 (Jan. 63)
Food group (Industry)	140.6	149.9	157.6 (Jan. 63)
Mining & Quarrying Group	157.6	172.2	183.7 (Jan. 63)
Coal	150.7	189.0	175.0 (Jan. 63)
Basic Metals	245.9	249.0	257.8 (Jan. 62)
Metal Products	150.6	185.8	197.5 (Dec. 62)
Machinery (except electrical)	254.8	309.6	332.2 (Nov. 62)
Electrical Machinery	182.0	239.5	239.9 (Dec. 62)
Transport Equipment	130.0	141.7	153.1 (Nov. 62)
Electricity generated	220.0	240.9	240.0 (Feb. 63)

(Monthly Abstract of Statistics)

The total number of workers employed in these industries did not go up. Rather the trend was in the opposite direction after October 1962. Taking equipment and investment to be constant, which is not an unreasonable assumption, these figures prima facie show a big increase in the productivity of labour.

Figures for cotton textile industry, one of our major industries brings out this trend sharply. The number of cotton textile mills rose from 480 to 493 in December of that year and to 500 in January 1963. Yet the number of workers employed went down from 9,25,641 in January 1962 to 9,23,262 in December 1962 and 9,15,777 in January 1963.

When the rise in price is related to this, it is clear that profits must have gone up considerably. At the same time, exploitation of labour increased through a bigger appropriation of surplus by the employers.

Big Business is still clamouring for further rise in prices. FICCI President and textile magnate, Bharat Ram, has pleaded for increase in prices of textile goods. Tata was outspoken enough to declare that price rise was inevitable in the conditions prevailing today.

Along with this rise in prices of industrial goods, there has been a marked rise in prices of food articles too. Index of food articles as a whole have advanced from 126.6 to 138.0. But if you further break up this, then it emerges that articles of use

class not to resort to strike or let production suffer when the nation needed it most. However, such motives never troubled the employers, who, safe in the belief that the workers would not resort to action, intensified their attack.

It is universally acknowledged that the Industrial Truce Resolution was honoured by the working class and that the violations were mainly by the employers. In fact, such was the restraint observed voluntarily by the working class that G. L. Nanda in his address to the 21st session of the Indian Labour Conference characterised it as the most peaceful period in India's industrial history.

At the same time, contrary to its obligations under the truce, the employers by and large refused to agree to voluntary arbitration of disputes. Most state governments practically stopped compulsory adjudication and the worker was thus denied all avenues of settlement of his urgent grievances.

## Bursting Discontent

The accumulated discontent of many months is now bursting. The worker donated his labour power to increase production. He however saw that the employer was concerned more with profits than with national needs.

The worker donated a good part of his meagre earnings to the NDF. He however saw that most employers donated far less than what they could and should have done, and then too, mostly from the corporate incomes.

The worker increased production and productivity at the same wage level. But he saw that the net result of this was increasing prices and mounting profits.

## Emergency Misused

The worker observed restraint in his demands and grievances. He saw however that the restraint was utilised for launching attacks on him. And, throughout this period, government remained a silent spectator, unable or unwilling to check the predatory activities of the capitalist class.

When at last the government has moved, it has come out with a taxation policy which, while putting some burden on the richer class, in the main, hits the common toiling people. Crushed between the millstones of rising prices and heavy taxes, now the worker is called upon to save compulsorily.

The recent strikes have to be viewed in this context. The causes for the strikes have to be sought in what has happened and is still happening to our economy during the national emergency and the role of the different classes during this period. These must be dispassionately studied and adequate remedies adopted. Threats or remorses will not be of much use.

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## GUJARAT

★ From Our Correspondent

### TEXTILE WORKERS' DEMONSTRATION

AHMEDABAD, July 30: Under the auspices of the Communist Party and the Mill Kamdar Union (affiliated to the AITUC) a large procession, 20,000 strong, led by Dinkar Mehta and other party and trade union leaders was taken out on July 28, winding its way through the main roads of Ahmedabad.

THE processionists carried Red Flags and placards bearing the slogans—“Scrap the VOA and Joint Air Exercises”, “Sign the Great Petition”, etc. Thousands of workers from all the 60 textile mills and other factories and thousands of the clerical staff and others joined the huge procession.

After over one hour and a half, the procession reached the sands of the Sabarmati river, the place where Gandhiji used to hold public meetings forty-five years back.

Since the last six weeks and more, the campaign of collecting signatures on the Great Petition has been going on in Ahmedabad and all over Gujarat. Already over 75,000 signatures have been collected.

In the city of Ahmedabad, in the working class areas and at mill gates, over 60 meetings have been held explaining the Petition, opposing the Compulsory Deposit Scheme and exhorting the workers to prepare for a one day general strike on August 8, the Martyrs' Day, on which all over Gujarat a general hartal will be observed in response to the call of the Janata Parishad.

This campaign by the Communist Party and the Red Flag Union has received tremendous response and support from the workers, students and merchants. INTUC leader Vasavada has

printed lakhs of lengthy leaflets, abusing the Communists and supporting the CDS. During the last three months, over 20,000 workers have stopped paying the dues of the Major Mahajan (INTUC) and Vasavada has dismissed over 35 men from the INTUC staff.

The procession of July 28 and the huge meeting of over 50,000 surpassed the most optimistic hopes of the organisers.

On July 30, last year a hartal had taken place all over Gujarat in response to the call of the Janata Parishad, but the workers had participated only in the big meeting and procession. This time, the workers of Ahmedabad, through the procession and meeting of July 28, have expressed their decision and determination to join the hartal by observing a strike in the mills.

Thousands of workers have signed the Petition, whereas very few have signed the CDS forms and thousands (from about 25 mills) refused to accept the pay cuts for a day in protest against CDS.

This movement is rapidly spreading, which is the cause of the panic, which has stricken the INTUC.

The huge procession terminated in a mammoth public meeting, of over 50,000. Thousands had reached the meeting place before the procession. Scenes of unprece-

dent enthusiasm were witnessed on the banks of the Sabarmati, when thousands of working men and women and thousands of middle class citizens merged into a huge human mass.

The meeting, presided over by Dinkar Mehta, opened with a few songs in Gujarati and Hindi, after which representatives from over 25 mills garlanded the well known Janata Parishad leader Indulal Yagnik, who had recently visited the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries of Eastern Europe as a member of the Goodwill Delegation of the All India Peace Council. (It may be recalled that Yagnik had defeated Vasavada in the Lok Sabha elections of 1962 from Ahmedabad, mainly with the votes of the textile workers.)

Yagnik received a tumultuous ovation from the meeting while he was being garlanded.

A number of resolutions were adopted at the meeting, demanding scrapping of CDS, urging nationalisation of banks, foreign oil companies, foreign trade and textile industry, demanding the resignations of Moraji Desai and Patil from the Central Government, scrapping of the emergency legislation and demanding immediate release of all political prisoners, condemning the agreement regarding Voice of America

and joint air exercises, exhorting the workers to stop paying the subscription to the INTUC and demanding of the Gujarat Government to take measures for relief to the peasantry, when the threat of famine is hanging over the state.

The meeting also demanded the resignation of the Minister in charge of distribution of iron and cement, as a huge fraud had been unearthed recently in the Controller's Office and eleven officials had been suspended.

G. M. Khan, the 75-year old president of the Red Flag Union, Nalini Mehta, Gordhan Patel, Ratilal Shah and others spoke on the resolutions and made rousing appeals for the strike on August 8.

Indulal Yagnik, rising to thank the people who felicitated him, congratulated the Communist Party and the Mill Kamdar Union for having roused the workers, who had been dominated so long by the INTUC. He drew a vivid picture of the happy life of the people in socialist countries.

Yagnik greeted the workers and said that his recent visit to the socialist countries had given him a new vision and new strength.

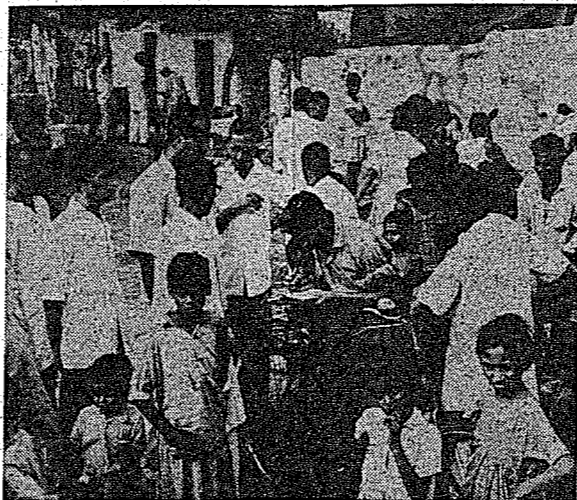
The meeting dispersed late at night amidst deafening slogans for complete strike on August 8.

## PUNJAB

★ From Prem Singh

### INTENSIVE WORK IN ALL AREAS

The three-day meeting (July 26 to 28) of the Punjab State Council of the CPI took important decisions to further step up the campaign for the Great Petition. It decided to concentrate the entire strength of the Party on the issue. The Council heard reports of intensive work carried out in the districts.



Signature collection in Delhi

THE response has been encouraging and the results good, though a great deal remains to be done in the coming weeks. Following are the highlights of the campaign that emerged from reports in the State Council:

In Bhatinda district, over 35,000 signatures have been collected so far. At places, Congressmen have helped in the signature drive. At Mansa, a sub-divisional headquarter, all the lawyers have signed the petition. A cycle jatha of 100 youth will proceed to Delhi under the leadership of Joginder Bhasin.

The Ludhiana district has collected 18,000 signatures so far. In Ludhiana city, one public meeting is held daily and nearly 10,000 signatures have been collected so far. A women's squad at Ludhiana and another at Khanna have carried out an intensive drive for signatures. A hosiery worker has collected nearly 2,000 signatures. One hundred and fifty meetings have been planned. Comrades are confident that they would fulfil their quota of signatures, marchers and women marchers.

In Amritsar district, more than 10,000 signatures have already been collected, out of which city workers alone have collected 7,000. A big chunk of this was collected by the women's squad. Prominent leaders of the Party have addressed big and small meetings. At Patli, comrades are regularly taking out prabhat pheris. The Ajnala area committee has decided to collect 30,000 signatures.

## ASSAM

★ From Suren Bhatta

### GOOD RESULTS

GAUHATI, August 1: Latest reports received from different districts, indicate that the Great Petition movement has drawn people from all walks of life to its support and collection of signatures on the petition forms both by the Communist Party squads and non-party people including those affiliated to different trade unions, kisan organisations, cultural organisations etc., show an encouraging result.

It may be recalled here that the Assam state council of the Communist Party of India met at Gauhati in the 2nd week of July and decided to collect a lakh of signatures and send a contingent of about fifty persons to join in the national rally before Parliament.

In the third week of July itself, public meetings were held in many places. As the campaign is being geared up, a favourable tempo is growing amongst the non-party people too and many non-party men have now become active in collecting signatures and explaining the demands of the Petition.

In Mokameh about three thousand signatures have been collected.

In Dinapur Ramanand Singh, president, Patna District Kisan Sabha is leading the campaign. Communist workers with Red Flags and microphones brought out squads for four days in the town and collected about a thousand signatures to the Great Petition. Signature booths were established in Dinapur Court for two days.

In Khagraul (Dinapur divisional headquarters of the Eastern Railway) signature squads were brought out with Red Flags for two days and more than 600 signatures were collected.

In Mokameh about three thousand signatures have been collected.

## BIHAR

★ From Jagannath Sarkar

### POPULAR RESPONSE

PATNA: The campaign for collection of signatures to the Great Petition is gathering momentum in Bihar.

UPIL now Patna district has made the largest collection of signatures. More than 20,000 signatures have been obtained in this district. From reports it appears that over 75,000 signatures have been collected so far in the state as a whole.

We expect the campaign to reach its peak by the beginning of August. The secretary of the state council of the Party has given the slogan of mobilising all party members for signature collection from August 9 to 15. We hope to reach the target of five lakh signatures by that date.

In Patna, apart from door to door collection of signatures by general squads, some special squads are approaching the High Court lawyers, District Bar lawyers, University teachers and others. On July 22 a group of comrades led by Indradeep Sinha, secretary of the state council of the Party went to the Patna High Court and obtained the signatures of seventy advocates. On July 24 the lawyers of the Patna District Bar were approached and one hundred lawyers put their signatures.

In other districts too special efforts are being made to obtain signatures of pleaders, teachers,

leader Hazarilal obtained about one thousand signatures from the workers of the Bihar Cotton Mills Ltd. and the Hindustan Vehicles Ltd. Kisan leader Ramnarain Singh is moving in the villages and so far has secured signatures of about a dozen Mukhtias of Gram Panchayats apart from others. In Naubatpur thana also the majority of the Mukhtias have signed the Great Petition.

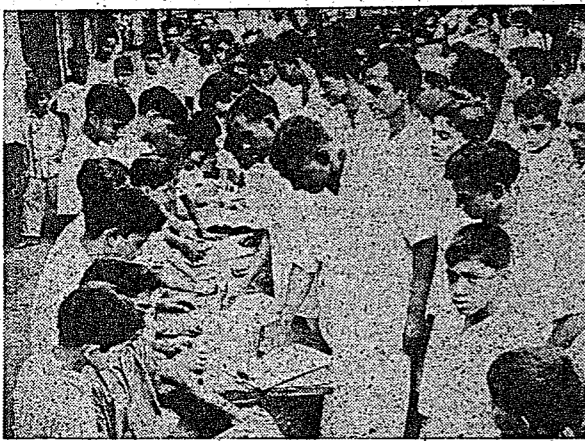
In Bihar Sharif, Gauri Shankar, secretary, Patna District Council of the CPI is leading the campaign with a local leader Vijay Kumar Yadav, advocate. More than 6,000 signatures have already been collected.

In Dinapur Ramanand Singh, president, Patna District Kisan Sabha is leading the campaign. Communist workers with Red Flags and microphones brought out squads for four days in the town and collected about a thousand signatures to the Great Petition. Signature booths were established in Dinapur Court for two days.

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In Mokameh about three thousand signatures have been collected.

In Phulwari Sharif, trade union



Bombay workers signing the Great Petition

Rally at Bombay's Nare Park, July 28, being addressed by S. G. Fatkar (PARO: SHARAD PAWAR)

In Karnal district, where 15,000 signatures have been collected, 90 out of 110 lawyers have signed the petition in Karnal town. One hundred meetings, including eight big rallies have been planned.

In Ferozapore district, 25,000 signatures have been collected. One thana committee—Jalalabad—has already overfulfilled its quota of 8,000 by collecting 11,000 and hopes to collect 25,000. 100 panchayat members have signed the Petition in this area.

The President of the Municipal Committee and a member of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabhndak Committee have also signed the Petition. Marchers of Nihalsingh-wala decided to take a whole bus for themselves. A convention of panches and sarpanches of Nihalsingh-wala block affixed their signatures to the Petition and resolved to collect more signatures in their respective panchayat areas. In village Adhman the whole panchayat of seven members has signed.

In Patiala city, workers have already collected over 4,000 signatures. Joginder Singh has collected signatures from students and Bibi Amrit Kaur has collected 350 signatures from among the workers. 35 corner meetings have been held in the city. Out of one hundred lawyers, 60 have signed the Petition. Supporters of other parties have also signed the Petition. The Chaggar thana committee shall send a cycle jatha and shall collect 8,000 signatures.

In Ambala district, public meet-

ings have been held in Chandigarh and other towns. A women's squad, led by old mothers, is moving from house to house for signature collection. Four MLAs have signed the Petition. Gurbax Singh, a worker, has alone collected 1,400 signatures.

In Jullundur city, over 2,000 signatures have been collected so far. A women's squad has started work. Area committee meetings have been held, wherein quotas have been allotted. Local jathas have been planned. The district council of the Party has recently decided to collect Rs. 10,000 to meet the travelling expenses of 500 marchers.

In Sangrur district, five conferences and seven big meetings were held recently wherein the Petition issue was highlighted. Signature collection drive is going ahead in Sangrur city and in rural areas. In Malerkotla and Ahmedgarh blocks, already twenty thousand signatures have been collected and many members of the Samiti including one of the Chairmen, have signed the Great Petition.

In Kangra district, 46 out of 55 members of the Zila Parishad have affixed their signatures to the Petition. Despite a busy sowing season, signature campaign has developed. Good meetings have been held in hill villages and people's response is good. Workers are systematically approaching panchayats and cooperative societies for signatures and to enlist support.

In Hoshiarpur district, 3,000 signatures have been collected so far. In the industrial town of Nangal, funds are being collected to meet the travelling expenses of the marchers. Buses are being arranged. It is hoped that the quota of signatures and marchers from the district will be fulfilled.

In Hissar district, 5,000 signatures have been collected. Bhuwani branch will collect 2,000 signatures and Rs. 200 to meet the expenses of the marchers. In Gurdaspur district, the Party committee has fixed quotas for various ilaqas.

From the discussion on the review report of work done so far and future proposals of the state executive, placed by Secretary of the State Council Astar Singh Malhotra and on the district reports, the following conclusions emerged:

★ Preparatory work has been done inasmuch as two Party Letters giving the Central Secretariat line, the approach, points for speeches and guidance for the different aspects of the campaign had been issued and a number of articles written in the Party daily. In six dozen conferences and rallies held by the Party and almost an equal number by the Kisan Sabhas, the campaign has been widely propagated. Besides these, over 150 mass meetings of street corner meetings in towns such as Amritsar, Ludhiana, Patiala, Chandigarh, Panipat etc. thus covering not less than four lakh people.

16,000 copies of a poster on the issue have been pasted in towns and villages in Punjabi, Hindi and Urdu.

a day in this railway junction town in the district of Nowgong and people of various income groups and professions and trades had put their signatures.

In North Coalpara, the Party district unit has decided to collect 10,000 signatures in its meeting held at Patiladaha on July 20 and 21 last, although the quota for

this district had been fixed at 3,000 signatures in the last state council meeting.

In the Gauhati University campus at Jalukbari, the Party squad collecting signatures from teachers, employees and students says that already more than 500 signatures had been collected up to July 29.



Bombay workers signing the Great Petition

LAST-STAGE OF CAMPAIGN: ALL-OUT TO OVERFULFIL SIGNATURE TARGETS

# KERALA KISAN CONVENTION STEPS TO RESIST SCUTTLING OF AGRARIAN RELATIONS ACT

★ From S. Sharma

The attempts at burying the Agrarian Relations Act passed during the Communist Ministry and to bring in a new legislation in deference to the wishes of the landed interests in the State by Kerala Government has been roundly condemned by all right-thinking persons.

THE Kerala Kaimudi, in a powerful editorial, warned that the Kerala Government was throwing to the winds all sense of decency and democratic decorum, and inviting an open revolt on the part of the kisans by reopening this issue in the present context of national emergency. According to the newspaper, the Agrarian Re-

lations Act was hailed as a model piece of legislation and the Central Government and Planning Commission were anxious to revalidate the entire Act by bringing in certain amendments to the Constitution.

In response to the call of Kerala Karshak Sangham, a special convention of kisan workers was held in Can-

more on July 28 to draw up a detailed programme of agitation. In a message to the convention, K. Chandrasekharan, PSP MLA and former Revenue Minister in the Congress-PSP Coalition, roundly condemned the government's move to scuttle the old Act and defeat all efforts at agrarian reforms. He assured the convention that the Kisan Panchayat will be second to none in fighting the government's sinister conspiracy.

V. R. Krishna Iyer, MLA also greeted the convention.

The convention decided to organise a mass satyagraha of not less than 1,000 kisans in front of the six taluk offices on August 13 and organise mass satyagraha in front of all village offices on September 11, when the Kerala Assembly meets.

A deputation met the district Collector of Cannanore later and presented memorandum embodying the resolution adopted at the convention.

A. K. Gopalan, president of the All India Kisan Sabha, is touring important centres in

the state. After a three-day tour in the High Ranges in Kottayam District, Gopalan stated that it was a great shame that the Kerala Congress Government was violating the clear directives of the Union Government, the Planning Commission and the Kerala Legislature by talking of new Agrarian Relations Bill. The Lok Sabha was considering an amendment to revalidate the Agrarian Relations Act passed after moun-

tainous labour and considering all aspects of the question. If Minister Chacko goes ahead with his attempts in this direction, he and the government will have to face the resistance of all the kisans here.

Communist leader E. M. S. Namboodiripad, recalled the great movement of the kisans for over two decades which had culminated in the passing of the Agrarian Relations Act during the period of Communist Ministry.

When the High Court struck down certain provisions of the Act, the Communist Party had called on the State Government not to suspend the entire Act as the government later did it. Then the Revenue Minister had stated that his government was suspending the entire Act in view of the fact that almost all the majority provisions of the Act had been struck down by the High Court. Let not Chacko shift his ground by stating that he is prepared to consult all the Opposition Parties as well before he brings in his new Bill.

## Kerala Promises to Overfulfil Signature Target

TRIVANDRUM, August 2: Reports from villages and wards in all the districts of the state go to show that the Kerala State will overfulfil its targets of ten lakh signatures.

The padayatra in Mandalam by the squad of the Communist Party, house to house campaign, collection of signatures through the trade unions and other mass organisations are some of the forms adopted in areas to carry forward the Great Petition movement.

All the Opposition parties now demand that the Agrarian Relations Act be included in the 9th Schedule of the Constitution. Amendments to the Act could be then discussed in the direction of greater benefits to the peasantry.

The Kisan Labour Party of Father Vadakkan has repeatedly called for a joint campaign and announced its decision to organise satyagraha in the district collectorate of Trichur and extend the agitation all over.

The following statement by the Soviet Government was carried by PRAVDA on August 3:

The peoples joyfully welcomed the news of the initialing in Moscow of the treaty on banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water.

MESSAGES, telegrams from the heads of states and leaders of governments, from the most prominent political and public leaders of the world, from rank and file people are arriving at the address of the Soviet Government and its head, Comrade N. S. Khrushchov, in an endless stream. They stress the tremendous service of the Soviet Union which set forth the proposal for ending nuclear weapon tests, a proposal which became the starting point for the Moscow talks that ended successfully.

These messages and telegrams express gratitude to the Soviet Government for its wise statesmanlike approach to the solution of one of the most important problems of our time.

A practical step was taken and good beginning was made in settling international problems in the spirit of the peaceful co-existence principles.

The governments of many states have already declared their intention to sign the treaty.

On July 31, the Government of the People's Republic of China made a statement concerning the outcome of the Moscow talks on a nuclear weapon tests ban in the atmosphere, space and under water. In this statement, the PRC Government announces that it is opposed to the nuclear weapons test ban treaty and refuses to join it.

The PRC Government even characterises the treaty as a "fraud" which allegedly "fools the peoples of the whole world" and "contradicts the hopes of the peace-loving peoples of all countries."

In this connection the Soviet Government deems it necessary to state the following:

The treaty to ban nuclear tests has a significance of principle from the viewpoint of continuing the search for ways to settle the outstanding issues that divide the world. The fact that states with different social systems, great powers, the contradictions between whom more than once threatened to plunge mankind into the whirlpool of world war, have been able to find a mutually acceptable solution of an international problem of moment proves the correctness and viability of the policy of peaceful co-existence.

The peoples perceived a real possibility of reducing international tension, the possibility of reigning in the arms race, the grave burden of which weighs down on them.

The results of the Moscow talks give hope that the unsettled international issues, on which the strengthening of the cause of peace on earth depends, can be settled.

It is exactly this that the Soviet Government is working for, having again advanced, during the Moscow three-power talks, a broad action programme aimed at consolidating peace. The programme envisages a number of urgent measures to remove the danger of a thermo-nuclear conflict, primarily the signing of a non-aggression pact between NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries. The Soviet Government has once more called for eliminating the remnants of World War II, for signing a German peace treaty and normalising the situation in West Berlin on this basis.

The programme of struggle for strengthening peace, advanced by the Soviet Union, accords with the fundamental interests of the peoples.

It has met warm support of the governments and peoples of the

# Test Ban Treaty

bellicose circles of imperialism there is nothing surprising in it. But when the treaty on banning nuclear weapon tests is opposed by the Communists standing at the head of a socialist country, this cannot but arouse well justified amazement.

How can the leaders of a socialist country reject off-hand an international agreement which serves to strengthen peace, accords with the wishes of the peoples, conforms to their vital interests? Only disregard of the vital interests of the peoples who have long been demanding an end to nuclear testing could suggest such an interpretation of the aims and meaning of the treaty as the Chinese Government seeks to give in its statement.

The Government of the PRC claims in its statement that con-

Having in its possession the most perfect nuclear weapon and the most perfect means of its delivery, the Soviet Union has been persistently and consistently fighting for many years for outlawing the atomic and hydrogen weapons, for discontinuation of its production, for destruction of all stockpiles of this weapon, for ending its tests and for scrapping of the entire military machine of the states.

In 1959 the head of the Soviet Government, N. S. Khrushchov, speaking from the rostrum of the United Nations General Assembly, advanced the proposal for general and complete disarmament, which has become the banner of the peoples in the struggle for lasting peace. The basis of the Soviet disarmament programme, its backbone, is the prohibition and complete destruction of all nuclear weapons, as well as of all the

world, the lives of millions of people.

It is not too difficult to throw right and left the simple and easy formula: all or nothing. In practice such a demand is devoid of any real content. Can such an approach to international affairs be regarded as realistic? It is the duty of Communists, above all Communists who are leaders of states, to work, let it be step by step, to relieve the peoples of the danger of nuclear war and annihilation.

The Soviet Government is convinced that there is not a single country on earth, the people of which would give their seal of approval to a policy that dooms human beings to breathe radioactive air, which would approve peace. The basis of the Soviet disarmament programme, its backbone, is the prohibition and complete destruction of all nuclear weapons, as well as of all the

# Soviet Government's Reply To Chinese Slanders

clusion of the treaty has for its aim to "consolidate the nuclear monopoly" of three powers and that the Soviet Union's participation in such a treaty is "capitulation to American imperialism."

One cannot imagine a greater absurdity. In pressing for the conclusion of a treaty banning nuclear weapon tests, the Soviet Union, all the peace-loving forces, see in it an important measure protecting mankind against the dangerous consequences of the pollution of the atmosphere, the water, and outer space by radio-active substances.

## No Greater Absurdity

And those who level accusations against the USSR, bracketing the socialist power with capitalist states, seek to present this as a striving of the Soviet Union for some nuclear monopoly, and even as "capitulation."

This it follows that if the nuclear weapons spread throughout the world, if the way was open for the West German reactionists to the possession of this weapon, if one series of nuclear explosions carried out by scores of states was followed by another one, this would, it appears, meet the interests of peace and would not constitute capitulation to imperialism!

No, it is just the other way round. This would mean irresponsible playing with the destiny of millions upon millions of people, and everyone who shows concern for the present and future of his people; for preservation of peace not only in oratory but in practical deeds cannot but realise this.

The Government of the Chinese People's Republic is trying completely to ignore the facts known to the whole world. The groundlessness of the attempts to cast aspersion on the Soviet Union's position on the nuclear-weapon question is proved by the fact that it was precisely the Soviet Union that as far back as 1946 was the first to come out with a proposal to outlaw the atomic weapon once and for all and to destroy its stock-

means of delivery thereof to targets.

It is well known that the Soviet Government is also waging a struggle for the immediate realisation of such measures to check the nuclear arms race as the establishment of demilitarised zones in various areas of the world, the dismantling of military bases in foreign territories.

Can one say that in proposing all these measures the Soviet Union is guided only by its own interests, not by the interests of the entire socialist community, of all the peoples?

Is it not a fact that what the statement of the PRC Government terms a nuclear monopoly, i.e., the possession by the Soviet Union of such weapons, played a definite, one may even say, the decisive, role in the fact that the socialist countries, including the PRC, did not become the object of imperialist aggression and are able to build victoriously socialism and communism?

Further, the statement of the Chinese Government contends that the nuclear weapons test ban treaty does not solve in its entirety the task of banning of all kinds of nuclear weapons, of destroying nuclear stockpiles, of discontinuing production thereof. There is no argument but that the treaty does not solve all these questions. It is of course plain to all that the wider the agreement the better. An ideal solution would be to immediately conclude a treaty on general and complete disarmament. We insist on such a treaty now, as we did before.

Maybe the Chinese leaders know the secret how to solve this problem at one fell swoop? As far as we are concerned, we consider it better to do a part than to do nothing when an agreement on such a partial measure is in the interests of peace, in the interests of socialism. If in present day conditions it is not yet possible to solve the problem at once in its entirety, the only reasonable way out is to solve it step by step.

One must be absolutely out of touch with realities to advance the alternative: "all or nothing" with regard to matters involving the destinies of the

realist camp, including the West German revenge-seekers. No, there is no such people!

The test ban treaty can be objected to only by people who stand aside from the struggle of the peoples against nuclear war and who cover up with a flashy phrase about the most radical disarmament measures their lack of readiness or desire to achieve disarmament. Only those people may object who view the struggle for general and complete disarmament as mere bystanders, to whom real success in the struggle for peace is of no consequence.

To those, on the other hand, who do wage this struggle, every step towards this great goal is important.

These Chinese leaders, by the way, had to admit themselves in their statement that the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons should be advanced to, "gradually". But if they recognise the need for this approach—and there is no other in the present conditions—why then, one may ask, is the Soviet Union being reproached for not being able to secure the solution of the entire problem at one go?

## Logic Not Obligatory

Apparently, the Chinese leaders, carried away by the polemic, consider that logic is not obligatory for them in this case. On the one hand, the statement by the Government of the PRC contends that the treaty banning nuclear weapon tests does not give anything to the peoples as it does not provide for the complete prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons. And on the other hand, the statement says that the treaty is, had because it does not cover underground nuclear tests.

Consequently, the Chinese Government, too, recognizes in principle that the ending of nuclear weapon tests is a good thing, and that the peoples demand this. But virtually a few lines later in its statement, the Chinese Government produces one by one contrived arguments against this treaty, like the claim that the treaty on the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests is a "fraud" as it

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## BUS FARE INCREASE PROTEST SATYAGRAHA ENTERS FIFTH WEEK

TRIVANDRUM, August 2: The peaceful protest satyagraha against the bus fare increase organised by the Communist Party, entered the fifth week yesterday and has extended from nine district headquarters to over 50 taluk centres all over the state. A bulletin issued from the state headquarters, greeted the 20,000 volunteers who in batches had participated in the protest movement, and appealed to all Taluqs concerned and branches to extend the movement and organise meetings, rallies and squad propaganda against the callous obstinacy of the government.

THE batches that offer satyagraha are increasing in their strength and composition. Workers, women with babes in arms, kisans and people from all strata are joining the campaign, donating their mite and signing the Great Petition.

In the meantime, the Palghat Municipal Council and the Kozhikode Corporation have adopted resolutions urging the government to review the fares. Thus the majority of the Civic Councils in the State have joined in the campaign. A. K. Gopalan, MP inaugurated the satyagraha at Alwaye while K. R. Gouri, MLA greeted the satyagraha at Shertallal in Alleppey.

## PSP Demonstrations

The state Praja Socialist Party is organising a demonstration of volunteers from all districts on August 9, in front of the Secretariat at Trivandrum to demand revision of fare increases and cancellation of the prohibitory order on processions and jathas. Ponnara Sreedhar, MLA has warned the government that in case they do not rescind and cancel the prohibitory order by August 9, the PSP will be forced to defy the ban. The ban on processions was provocative and most uncalled for.

All this appears to have been inadequate to open the eyes of the government. From the reports received

here on returns in the District Transport Office, the revenues from bus fares in Alleppey district have diminished by over 68,000 rupees, and in Quilon district by 75,000 rupees in the one month of the new fares. The Fast Passengers with the increased fares ran almost empty for over three weeks to make the gods decide on the cancellation of the fare increase in those services.

## Government's Show Of Force

To crown this blindness to reality, the government made a second attempt at show of forces in the capital by organising a midnight raid in certain wards and suburbs, presumably in search of certain elements who, according to the information, had organised stone-throwing on buses during the past few days.

A fifty-strong police party, led by inspectors of police and supervised by the Deputy Commissioner, surrounded houses and shops, broke open doors and windows, threatened people and arrested over a dozen active sympathisers of the Party. They have been charged with stone-throwing and abetment of strikes of students.

Home Minister Chacko preferred to remain silent and evade answers to questions put him regarding these excesses of the police and the unprovoked assault on the KPAC squads.

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SEE TEXT OF CHINESE STATEMENT ON PAGE 18

# Atomic Diplomacy & Test-Ban Agreement

★ BY DILIP BOSE

On August 5 an agreement has been signed in Moscow to ban nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in the outer space and under water by the Soviet Union, the USA and the United Kingdom. It marks a new stage in the biggest struggle of our nuclear age—the struggle to eliminate the dangers of a third world war hanging like a Damocles' sword over the fate of humanity. This test-ban agreement is only the beginning but in its preamble is already mentioned the possibility of an overall agreement to be signed in the near future for general and total disarmament.

**E**XACTLY eighteen years ago, on August 6 and 9, 1945, two Japanese towns, Hiroshima and Nagasaki were obliterated off the face of earth by a Uranium-235 and a Plutonium-239 bomb respectively.

The number of people killed directly as a result of the explosion of these atomic bombs was 70,000 and 40,000 respectively, while a lakh of people succumbed later to a more prolonged and painful death, following radio-active burns. All buildings in an area of 6 square miles from the epicentre, where the bomb exploded at a height of 1,000 to 2,000 feet from the ground level, were completely destroyed.

The destructive potential of these bombs was, however, only 20,000 tons of TNT. Hydrogen bombs have been developed now with destructive capacity of a million tons or more TNT. In fact, the Hiroshima-Nagasaki type of bombs would be only used as nuclear warheads in atomic missiles in a future third world war, as is generally accepted by military theorists of our time.

## Practical Tests!

The Government of USA declared at that time that this A-bomb was the one weapon to end all weapons for all time and that it helped to shorten the Second World War considerably. Prof. Blackett in his 'Military and Political Consequences of Atomic Energy', as also Prof. Flemings in his recent detailed study on the history and origin of the cold war, have proved beyond doubt that the two atom bombs were rather the first shots in the cold war which officially began in the midst of the second world war itself. These A-bombs were also

in a sense a kind of actual test operations carried out with impunity in actual war conditions over the people of an Asian country considered inferior by the supermen of the Pentagon. The State Department had already started on its A-bomb programme after it became known that Otto Hahn, a German Nazi scientist had successfully split the atom in Berlin in 1938.

Albert Einstein wrote to President Roosevelt in the summer of 1939, requesting him to commission an atomic bomb programme. By 1942 under the innocuous name of 'Manhattan Project' and under the administrative leadership of General Groves and with Oppenheimer as the key scientist, America launched its A-bomb programme.

In the terms of reference of this Manhattan Project, since disclosed, it is clear that there was no illusion whatsoever that the A-bomb programme was also to be directed against the Soviet Union in a future war. In the official report of the Oppenheimer Hearing in 1954, General Groves, when questioned about security matters, said:

"I think it is important to state—I think it is well known—that there was never from about two weeks from the time I took charge of the project any illusion on my part but that Russia was the enemy and that the project was conducted on that basis. I didn't go along with the attitude of the country as a whole that Russia was a gallant ally. I always had suspicions and the project was conducted on that basis. Of course, that was reported to the President." ('Atomic Weapons and East-West Relations' by Prof. P. M. S. Blackett, P. 70. Emphasis mine).

This was, of course, in September 1942 at the very height of the battle of Stalingrad. From 1945 to 1949, USA

alone had the A-bomb. It was, therefore, thought that the manpower superiority of the East was to be met and cancelled out by the technological superiority of the Western powers. Atomic retaliation, "instant and condign punishment" a la Dulles were the watchwords of US State Department and the Baruch Plan.

## Four Phases Of Atomic Diplomacy

After the successful detonation of the A-bomb by the Soviet Union in 1949, America started a crash programme of developing H-bombs and successfully exploded one at Einewetok in November, 1952. The Soviets caught up with their H-bomb in 1953. This period of 1949-53 could, therefore, be described as one of numerical superiority of the nuclear weapons for USA.

The third phase, 1953-57, the period of effective atomic parity ends with the successful launching of the sputniks by the Soviets and the consequent demonstration of the strength of its rocket weapons.

In the post-1957, i.e., the fourth or the last phase, with the highly developed precision rockets, which can hit the moon or make a successful rendezvous in space, the Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) and Intermediate-Range Ballistic Missiles (IRBMs), with nuclear warheads, make a mockery of any civil defence and even the giant superbombers, the B-29s etc. are rendered somewhat obsolete. The rocket missiles take, hardly a few minutes to travel from Washington to Moscow and vice versa. It is, therefore, impossible to intercept it in the last minute or so of its flight, only when it can be viewed in the radar screen.

## Destructive Power Of H-Bombs

According to Prof. Blackett one H-bomb alone can destroy an area of 400 square miles. It is evident, therefore, that in the event of a third World War, where thermo-nuclear weapons are sure to be used, human civilisation as such will come to an end. Remnants of mankind will probably still survive in the remote regions of the southern hemisphere and a good portion of the earth's surface will become totally uninhabitable and inaccessible for the next couple of hundred or even a thousand years. Chances are that mankind will revert to barbarism in such an eventuality.

While, therefore, every step has to be taken to make a third World War an impossibility, the nuclear weapon tests already affect the health of future generations.

Every human being inherits



some genes from the parents, approximately about 50,000 each from the father and mother. Many genes, some hundreds or thousands are grouped together into a structure called a chromosome, of which there are 46 in every human body. The total genes of the entire humanity of 300 crores of people, if collected together, would form a sphere about a quarter of an inch in diameter.

## Danger to Mankind

This is the pool of human germ plasma that has determined the nature of the human race as it is today and it is precisely this which can be affected, mostly in a bad way, by radio-active fall-out, arising from the tests of Atom and Hydrogen bombs.

In the first thirty years of our life, we are subjected to a total of 3.3 roentgen of radiation due to natural causes, arising out of rocks and a little dose of cosmic ray bombardment that reaches us at the ground level. Estimates will differ for people living in high altitudes as also for some population in Kerala living near the monazite sands. There is a mutation of our genes due to radio-activity and almost as a rule, with very rare exceptions, the mutation leads to the birth of defective children.

Every year about 7.5 crores of children are born in the world. About 2 per cent of the children that are born have obvious serious defects that are due to heredity, to bad genes. Thus about 15 lakh children with serious hereditary defects are born in the world each year. Nobody has yet been able to calculate with a fair amount of accuracy how many of these mutations are the result of bad genes arising out of natural radiation. Estimates differ as widely as from 50 to 2 per cent. According to Prof. Linus Pauling in his book 'No More War', 10 per cent may be a safe guess for the birth of defective children due to bad genes arising out of muta-

tions due to natural radio-activity.

Prof. Blackett in his latest 'Studies of War' published in 1962 points out that in contrast to a total test of 170 by the Americans, the Soviets have concluded 60. According to Prof. Pauling:

"The bomb tests at the present rate will, in the course of time, lead to an increase of one per cent in the number of defective births—this corresponds to the 1 per cent increase in the mutation rate. When this steady state has been set up, in case that testing is continued at the present rate of 10 megatons of fission per year, there will be born each year in the world 15,000 seriously defective children (1 per cent of 1,500,000, seriously defective children whose defect is to be attributed to the bomb tests)." (P. 72).

Without going into any further attempts at guessing the number of children born defective due to radio-active fallout from Atom and Hydrogen bomb tests, our conclusion should be simple enough that THERE IS NO JUSTIFICATION TO CARRY OUT THESE BOMB TESTS EVEN IF ONLY ONE CHILD WAS TO BE BORN DEFECTIVE.

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# CUBAN REVOLUTION INSPIRES ALL PEOPLES STRUGGLING FOR FREEDOM

The spectre of socialism is haunting the western hemisphere. The socialist revolution of Cuba has thrown a whole continent into turmoil, giving rise to new perspectives, new ways of thinking, new political and social movements, and theory and practice of a new revolution. It has opened up new vistas of people's struggles, unleashed new forces and blazed a new trail across the vast Latin American horizon.

**T**HOUGH it first sprouted on the soil of Cuba; this revolution is the plant of tropical South America—an indigenous plant, whose roots lie deep embedded in the lives of the people. It is a plant which is growing rapidly, spreading its branches all over the continent, getting sustenance from the rich soil which is now fully prepared for its nourishment.

Latin America is the proverbial land of "revolutions"—revolutions which changed only the dictators, presidents and juntas, leaving the lives of the people untouched.

But the Cuban revolution changed everything. It was because Cuba had its first real revolution of the continent—a real revolution and not the changing of the guards or a shuffling of leaders. It was, as a well-known American journalist put it, "a social revolution in the direct line of the great French Revolution of 1789."

The Cuban revolution has done away with the "geographical fatalism" which half a century of US domination had instilled in some sections of Latin America. Prior to 1959, many Latin American politicians, including those who had no illusions about the disastrous consequences of Yankee domination, seldom ventured to oppose it openly, owing to the blind belief in the omni-

"The Cuban revolution has a wide appeal throughout Latin America. It has achieved a continental projection... It inspires people in other countries as if stands for curbing of the local vested interests, anti-Yankeeism, social security and political honesty, which few Latin American countries ever had."

But it is not for curbing the vested interests and fighting against Yankee imperialism that the peoples of Latin America support the Cuban

revolution. It is also for what the revolution is doing to change the lives of the people, that they admire it.

This new type of a revolution has smashed the latifundia and other vested interests, nationalised foreign capital, begun a process of rapid industrialisation, expelled the American military mission, built houses for the rural poor and reduced the rent on urban houses.

It abolished the casinos and the gambling dens, eradicated prostitution and illiteracy and converted the national lottery into a scheme for providing low-cost housing for the people. And finally, it was able to bring about the unity of all ethnic groups in the Cuban society.

The Cuban revolution has given to the people of the Island, for the first time in

fining Havana's gaudy Casinos to the relatively few tourists."

"Public corruption in Cuba has entirely been eradicated—smuggling and custom house corruption were ended and public begging was suppressed."

This is an achievement of great significance for the Latin American peoples who never had anything like an honest government."

Another achievement to the credit of the Cuban revolution is in the sphere of racial integration. Although there were no "Jim-crow" laws in Cuba and much intermarriage at lower levels of society took place, there was definitely a colour line in the army, industry, professions and politics.

In Socialist Cuba of today, there is no colour line now. The present writer was himself a witness to this when he visited Cuba last year. All citizens irrespective of colour or race are equal and racial discrimination has been made a criminal offence.

## Cuba & USA: A Contrast

On the contrary, the so-called "image" of United States is tarnished by the inhuman segregation practised in that country. The recent anti-Negro riots in Alabama have roused the wrath of all decent Latin Americans, where the US police countered the Negroes—men, women and children—with water hoses and ferocious police dogs.

Again Cuba stands as a shining example of racial integration and equality of all men and women irrespective of colour of the skin or position by birth. The Cuban revolution has broken the ideological monopoly of the United States in the Western Hemisphere. This ideological monopoly stood for free enterprise, exploitation by US capital of Latin American countries, a so-called democratic system of government based on elections and an evolutionary development of Latin American societies. Revolution and not revolution was the central core of this ideology.

The new revolution of Cuba has projected, for the first time, a new ideology into the Western Hemisphere—the ideology of socialism.

Adlai Stevenson, after his long trip of Latin American countries in April 1960, made the following observation:

"Latin America is in revolution. The dictators are being swept aside. The whole continent is on the verge of great economic development, and they are going to build a new society under our methods of free enterprise, if possible, and if not, under socialism."

That the people of Latin America are sure to reject the ideology of free enterprise is clear beyond all doubt. To quote Herbert Matthews again:

"In Latin America, capitalism and free enterprise have not operated to raise the general standards of living, to distribute wealth, to give the worker and the farmer ever greater share of the produce of their toil, to bring them leisure and means to enjoy it. It has, on the whole, meant wealth, privilege and power to a few at the top and good profits to American investors. It has not altered the traditional hierarchical social system, with its exclusivity, its aristocracy of family and wealth, its colour bar, its immobility, its caste privileges."

The capitalist ideology is doomed in Latin America, and thanks to Cuba, a new road lies stretched before the people—the new road of socialism.

And lastly, the Cuban revolution has challenged the hegemony of the United States in this western part of the world. Latin America was an exclusive preserve of the United States, both economic and political. No European power was permitted in. The "Colossus of the North" stood sentinel over it and the Monroe Doctrine proclaimed this hegemony to the whole world.

With the Cuban revolution, Latin America has forged links with a new type of great power—the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics. The warning of Premier KHRUSHCHOV that the USSR will use all its nuclear might against USA, if the latter invaded Cuba, has shaken the imperialist circles out of their wits. The recent agreement over the withdrawal of missiles and an assurance from President Kennedy that Cuba will be left unmolested, is an indication that American hegemony over Latin America is no more.

The "geographical fatalism" is now a thing of the past. People of Latin America now realise that there are forces in the world other than the United States, which can help them to refurbish their links, raising their living standards and, if need be, defend them against aggression.

## Significance Of Revolution

But it is not only the Latin American people who learn from the Cuban example; the Cuban revolution inspires people all over the world fighting for national liberation and against imperialism. The example of little Cuba standing against the mighty Goliath gives heart to the people in Asia, and Africa, who want to attain their "lost" freedom and human dignity.

Hence people all over the world love and defend the Cuban revolution. No wonder the Continental Congress for Solidarity with Cuba which met in Brazil on March 28-30, 1963, adopted a statement which ended with the words:

"We solemnly declare that America will never abandon the cause of Cuba, symbol of the emancipation that our people will achieve."



People of Cuba—Negroes and Whites—Stand Together. The colour line does not exist.

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# A PEACE GAIN, NOT A FRAUD

## CPGB Statement on Test Ban

The Political Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain issued the following statement on July 31:

**T**HE Test Ban Treaty has been universally welcomed by supporters of peace as a first step toward the total abolition of nuclear weapons and general and complete disarmament.

- 1 It has been welcomed because it means a halt to the poisoning of the atmosphere by the main nuclear Powers;
- 2 it opens the way to further negotiations on nuclear disarmament; and
- 3 it opens the way to further negotiations on all key issues with a view to making a break in the cold war and reaching agreement on specific questions.

All supporters of peace recognise that this is only the first step. The treaty does not in itself end the war danger, the arms race, or the manufacture of nuclear arms. A prolonged and arduous struggle is needed to carry forward this advance to the banning of all tests, including underground tests, the prevention of the spread of nuclear weapons, the abolition and destruction of all nuclear weapons and general and complete disarmament.

In Britain we have the special duty to step up the fight for the removal of the American nuclear bases, the renunciation of nuclear weapons by Britain, and to liberate our country from the American NATO nuclear strategy. The people must be roused to defeat the multilateral nuclear force, insisted on by America, which would give West Germany nuclear weapons.

It is essential that international negotiations for disarmament should include the Chinese People's Government. The fight for the recognition of the Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations must be won not only as the just right of the Chinese people, but because it is indispensable for peace and coexistence.

### Chinese Stand Regrettable

It is regrettable, however, that the Chinese Government's statement on the Test Ban Treaty should have accompanied the aim of Summit conference for the abolition and destruction of all nuclear weapons with a "denunciation of the treaty as a fraud and a deception."

The aim of the Summit conference for the abolition and destruction of all nuclear weapons is shared by all peace supporters. But it is not the best way to the realisation of the final aim of abolition to denounce every partial step along the road as a deception.

While struggling for general and complete disarmament and a meeting of Heads of States for this aim, the Communist Party supports every partial demand in

that direction, such as a non-aggression agreement between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation; limitation of troops in Germany; a German peace treaty; negotiation of nuclear-free zones; reduction of military budgets, and the like. They would be steps on the road to general and complete disarmament and the ending of the cold war.

The socialist countries are able to play a tremendous role in the fulfilment of these aims. It is not in our opinion the best use of the tremendous influence which the socialist third of the world can exercise in the cause of disarmament and peace, for one Socialist Power to denounce another for the achievement of a Test Ban Treaty. Such a treaty has only been made possible by the support of the peoples of the world and the long and patient negotiations of the Soviet Union.

### Untrue & Irresponsible

To talk of a "nuclear monopoly" of nuclear Powers is to equate socialism and imperialism in a way that is unthinkable from any Communist standpoint.

It is equally wrong to make the existing situation an argument for the further spreading of nuclear weapons. This could not help, but would gravely hinder, the aim of the complete abolition and destruction of all nuclear weapons and disarmament.

The Soviet Union has led this fight consistently since 1945, and also the fight for the rights of China in the United Nations. It is the imperialist powers that have opposed.

The Chinese Government statement that the Soviet Union has

sold out its own people and the peoples of the world, and is allied with the forces of war against the forces of peace, is totally untrue and irresponsible.

When the Chinese Government makes its concrete proposals for the work of a Summit Conference, these are identical with the proposals which the Soviet Union, the various Communist Parties, and indeed most of the Peace movement have consistently advanced and struggled for. It is the most extreme aggressive reactionaries of the war camp in the United States and West Germany,

along with de Gaulle, who have denounced the Test Ban Treaty. How can it be that the Chinese Government in effect finds itself in company with such reactionary and bellicose circles?

The Test Ban Treaty is not a fraud, but a gain for the peace forces. The supreme task now is for all supporters of peace to unite their strength and intensify their efforts in order to carry forward this preliminary gain to the further aims of the abolition and destruction of all nuclear weapons, general and complete disarmament, and the ending of the cold war.

## RELEASE SIQUEIROS

### Delhi Peace Conference Demand

On August 9 falls the third anniversary of imprisonment of the great Mexican artist DAVID ALFARO SIQUEIROS, known the world over not only as a great painter of our times but also as a great fighter for world peace.

**J**AILED under an unjust McCarthyite law called "Social Dissolution", the artist suffers, above everything, interruption of his aesthetic creation. "Is there any other place in the world with a law which not only punishes the right of opinion but also the work of the creator because he declares that his work is symbolical of his ideology?" asks his wife Angelica in a letter to an Indian friend.

While preparations are being made in world's Capitals for observing the third anniversary of the artist's imprisonment, the Delhi Peace Conference held on August 4, noted with grave anxiety that the health of the great artist had been steadily deteriorating for sometime

mainly on account of the fact that continued detention had deprived him of his freedom to complete his murals.

The conference, appealed to the Mexican President to personally intervene and secure his release, as further confinement in prison would, apart from impairing the health of the artist permanently, constitute "an irreparable loss to humanity and world culture."

The Delhi State Peace Council has decided to lead a delegation to the Mexican Embassy on August 9 in co-operation with the India-Latin America Solidarity Committee, to address an appeal to the President of Mexico urging upon him to release Siqueiros immediately.

# WAY OPENS FOR WORLD PEACE

★ From Masood Ali Khan

MOSCOW, August 6: India will be one of the first to sign the test-ban treaty when here in Moscow on August 8 the many countries that have expressed their willingness to join the agreement attest their signatures at a big ceremony.

**I**N the historical hall and the marble Catherine Hall of the grand Kremlin Palace, under gorgeous chandeliers and facing floodlights and television cameras which brought the ceremony into the homes of millions in nearly all countries of Eastern and Western Europe, the three Foreign Ministers of USSR, USA and Britain at 10.34 on August 5, 1963 signed the treaty banning all nuclear tests which contaminate the atmosphere with deadly radioactive fallout.

There was a solemn sense of the occasion's great importance felt by all those present. Although it took less than four minutes to sign, the efforts and sacrifices of millions of courageous peace fighters all over the world and years of struggle of all progressive humanity had brought the three ministers to this table in Moscow's Kremlin Palace. This is the first treaty of atomic control to be signed since the deadly nuclear weapons were invented.

And one could not help remembering that exactly 18 years ago on August 6, 1945 the appalling and probably the most cowardly crime in human history was committed when the first atom bomb was dropped over Hiroshima by the order of US government. The people of the whole world had brought the Western governments to this first step of common sense and sanity.

The Soviet Premier, Nikita Khrushchov, who has done more than anybody else to bring this day about, Leonid Brezhnev, the Soviet President, and other leaders were present at the signing ceremony which showed the importance the Soviet Union attached to this happy development. After the signing, toasts were drunk in champagne, to peace and friendship among nations.

Cromyko speaking after the signing ceremony said, "For many years the Soviet Union has been advocating the cessation of nuclear weapons tests. Now this has been settled as regards the banning of nuclear explosions in the three environments—in atmosphere, in outer space, and under water.

"The Soviet government consider it a success of the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union, a success of all the states advocating the averting of the danger of a new war and the maintenance and the consolidation of peace."

He said that the treaty might pave the way for the solution of still more important international problems, including the problem of disarmament.

Lord Home declared that the treaty had been made possible because responsible leaders both in the Soviet Union and the West had come to the conclusion that a major war was unthinkable in the nuclear age and, therefore, to threaten by force or to use force was wrong.

The presence of U Thant, the Secretary-General of the United Nations at the signing of the test ban treaty gave it greater international significance. Speaking on the problem of the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons, to the elimination of the means of delivery, the establishment of denuclearised zones and of steps to prevent surprise attacks. He welcomed the indications that the

three governments will continue to negotiate with determination. Following the signing ceremony, a big reception was given by the Soviet Government to honour the happy occasion. A friendly and free and easy atmosphere prevailed. Nikita Khrushchov spoke at the reception.

Khrushchov described the treaty banning nuclear weapon tests as "a document of great international significance." Its conclusion, he said, meant a major success for all people of goodwill. Khrushchov expressed the hope that the treaty would have a positive effect on the international climate and relations between states.

Ending nuclear tests did not mean disarmament, he said. "Consequently, the danger of a thermo-nuclear war is not eliminated by the treaty. This danger will hang over mankind so long as the arms race continues."

No treaties or agreements could overcome the basic differences between the two social systems. "But we, Soviet people, hold firmly that social class questions, of internal socio-political system, should be settled not by war between states but by the peoples of each country without outside interference."

Khrushchov pointed out that in the present conditions, the question stands thus: either peaceful coexistence or world thermo-nuclear war. And the Soviet Government, he said, firmly stood on the Leninist position of peaceful coexistence of states and for settling urgent international problems through negotiations.

"We are of the opinion that the most important thing now is not to rest content with what has been achieved, not to stop the struggle against the threat of another war and for easing tensions. The people want complete disarmament, solution of the German problem. "The success achieved in the Moscow talks must be developed. The next step, in our opinion, should be a non-aggression pact between member states of the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty."

Expressing satisfaction at the test ban treaty, Khrushchov called it "a good thing for all mankind." India's Ambassador T. N. Kaul congratulated the Soviet Premier on the conclusion of the test ban treaty on behalf of Prime Minister Nehru.

Earlier R. K. Nehru, at a press conference in Moscow, also expressed satisfaction at the developing Indo-Soviet cooperation. He said that as a result of his journey, he had come to the conclusion that the "socialist countries do not approve of Chinese actions against India."

"I do not think they believe the nursery tales that India attacked China."

While refusing to comment on Soviet-Chinese relations, R. K. Nehru said that the Soviet Union had shown that its policy of peace and peaceful coexistence will not change under any pressure. The Soviet Union was helping India in many ways, he said. The Indian delegation of experts headed by Bhoothalingam had discussed problems connected with India's defence in Moscow. While he could not disclose details of the talks, he could say that they had been satisfactory.

# TEST BAN TREATY

The Communiqué issued on initialling the treaty on July 25 in Moscow states the following jointly held views of the three governments on the further course visualised by them:

**T**HE heads of the three delegations agreed that the Test Ban Treaty constituted an important first step towards the reduction of international tension and the strengthening of peace, and they look forward to further progress in this direction.

The heads of three delegations discussed

the Soviet proposal relating to a Pact of Nonaggression between the participants in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and the participants in the Warsaw Treaty. The three Governments have agreed fully to inform their respective allies in the two organisations concerning these talks and to consult with them about continuing discussions on this question with the purpose of achieving agreement satisfactory to all participants. A brief exchange of views also took place with regard to other measures, directed at a relaxation of tension.

## TEXT

**T**HE governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America, hereinafter referred to as the "Original Parties",

Proclaiming as their principal aim the speediest possible achievement of an agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict international control in accordance with the objectives of the United Nations which would put an end to the armaments race and eliminate the incentive to the production and testing of all kinds of weapons, including nuclear weapons,

Seeking to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time, determined to continue negotiations to this end, and

Desiring to put an end to the contamination of man's environment by radioactive substances,

have agreed as follows:

### Article I

1 Each of the parties to this treaty undertakes to prohibit, to prevent, and not to carry out any nuclear weapon test explosion, or any other nuclear explosion, at any place under its jurisdiction or control:

- (a) in the atmosphere; beyond its limits, including outer space; or underwater, including territorial waters or high seas; or
- (b) in any other environment if such explosion causes radioactive fall-out outside the territorial limits of the state under whose jurisdiction or control such explosion is conducted. It is understood in this connection that the provisions of this subparagraph are without prejudice to the conclusion of a treaty resulting in the permanent banning of all nuclear test explosions, including all such explosions underground, the conclusion of which, as the parties have stated in the preamble to this treaty, they seek to achieve.

2 Each of the parties to this treaty undertakes hereafter to refrain from causing, encouraging, or in any way participating in, the carrying out of any nuclear weapon test explosion, or any other nuclear explosion, anywhere which would take place in any of the environments described, or have the effect referred to in paragraph 1 of this article.

3 Any party may propose amendments to this Treaty. The text of any proposed amendment shall be submitted to the depositary Governments which shall circulate it to all parties to this Treaty. Thereafter, if requested to do so by one-third or more of the parties, the depositary governments shall convene a conference, to which they shall invite all the parties, to consider such amendment.

### Article II

1 Any party may propose amendments to this Treaty. The text of any proposed amendment shall be submitted to the depositary Governments which shall circulate it to all parties to this Treaty. Thereafter, if requested to do so by one-third or more of the parties, the depositary governments shall convene a conference, to which they shall invite all the parties, to consider such amendment.

### Article III

1 This Treaty shall be open to all states for signature. Any state which does not sign this Treaty before its coming into force in accordance with paragraph 3 of this article may accede to it at any time.

2 This Treaty shall be subject to ratification by signatory states. Instruments of ratification and instruments of accession shall be deposited with the Governments of the Original Parties—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America—which are hereby designated the depositary Governments.

3 This Treaty shall come into force after its ratification by all the Original Parties and the deposit of their instruments of ratification.

4 For states, whose instruments of ratification or accession are deposited subsequent to the entry into force of this Treaty, it shall come into force on the date of the deposit of their instruments of ratification or accession.

5 The depositary Governments shall promptly inform all signatory and acceding states of the date of each signature, the date of deposit of each instrument of ratification and accession to this Treaty, the date of its entry into force, and the date of receipt of any requests for conferences or other notices.

6 This treaty shall be registered by the depositary Governments pursuant to article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

### Article IV

This Treaty shall be of unlimited duration.

Each party shall in exercising its national sovereignty have the right to withdraw from the Treaty if it decides that extraordinary events, related to the subject matter of this Treaty, have jeopardized the supreme interests of its country. It shall give notice of such withdrawal to all other parties to the Treaty three months in advance.

### Article V

This Treaty, of which the Russian and English texts are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the depositary Governments. Duly certified copies of this Treaty shall be transmitted by the depositary Governments to the Governments of the signatory and acceding states.

In witness whereof the undersigned, duly authorized, have signed this Treaty.

Done in triplicate at the city of Moscow the Fifth day of August one thousand nine hundred and sixty-three.

For the Government of the United States of America  
Dean Rusk

For the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland  
Home

For the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics  
A. Gromyko

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# CHINESE STATEMENT AGAINST TEST BAN TREATY

The following is the text of "Statement of the Chinese Government Advocating the Complete, Thorough, Total and Resolute Prohibition and Destruction of Nuclear Weapons and Proposing a Conference of the Government Heads of All Countries of the World" July 31, 1963.

A TREATY on the partial halting of nuclear tests was initiated by the representatives of the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union in Moscow on July 25.

This is a treaty signed by three nuclear powers. By this treaty they attempt to consolidate their nuclear monopoly and bind the hands of all the peace-loving countries subjected to the nuclear threat.

This treaty signed in Moscow is a big fraud to fool the people of the world. It runs diametrically counter to the wishes of the peace-loving people of the world.

The people of the world demand a genuine peace; this treaty provides them with a fake peace.

The people of the world demand general disarmament and a complete ban on nuclear weapons; this treaty completely divorces the cessation of nuclear tests from the total prohibition of nuclear weapons, legalizes the continued manufacture, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons by the three nuclear powers, and runs counter to disarmament.

The people of the world demand the complete cessation of nuclear tests; this treaty leaves out the prohibition of underground nuclear tests, an omission which is particularly advantageous for the further development of nuclear weapons by US imperialism.

The people of the world demand the defence of world peace and the elimination of the threat of nuclear war; this treaty actually strengthens the position of nuclear powers for nuclear blackmail and increases the danger of imperialism launching a nuclear war and a world war.

If this big fraud is not exposed, it can do even greater harm. It is unthinkable for the Chinese Government to be a party to this dirty fraud. The Chinese Government regards it as its unshirkable and sacred duty to thoroughly expose this fraud.

The Chinese Government is firmly opposed to this treaty which harms the interests of the people of the whole world and the cause of world peace.

Clearly, this treaty has no restraining effect on the US policies of nuclear war preparation and nuclear blackmail. It in no way hinders the United States from proliferating nuclear weapons, expanding nuclear armaments or making nuclear threats. The central purpose of this treaty is, through a partial ban on nuclear tests, to prevent all the threatened peace-loving countries, including China, from increasing their defence capability, so that the United States may be more unbridled in threatening and blackmailing these countries.

US President Kennedy, speaking on July 26, laid bare the substance of this treaty. Kennedy pointed out that this treaty did not mean an end to the threat of nuclear war, it did not prevent but permitted continued underground nuclear tests, it would not halt the production of nuclear weapons, it would not reduce nuclear stockpiles and it would not restrict their use in time of war. He further pointed out that this treaty would not hinder the United States from proliferating nuclear weapons among its allies

and countries under its control under the name of "assistance", whereas the United States could use it to prevent non-nuclear peace-loving countries from testing and manufacturing nuclear weapons.

At the same time, Kennedy formally declared that the United States remains ready to withdraw from the treaty and resume all forms of nuclear testing. This fully shows that US imperialism gains everything and loses nothing by this treaty.

The treaty just signed is a reproduction of the draft treaty on a partial nuclear test ban put forward by the United States and Britain at the meeting of the Disarmament Commission in Geneva on August 27, 1962. On August 29, 1962 the Head of the Soviet Delegation Kuznetsov pointed out that the obvious aim of the United States and Britain in putting forward that draft was to provide the Western powers with one-sided military advantage to the detriment of the interests of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. He pointed out that the United States had been using underground tests to improve its nuclear weapons for many years already, and that should underground nuclear tests be legalized with a simultaneous prohibition of such tests in the atmosphere, this would mean that the United States could continue improving its nuclear weapons and increase their yield and effectivity.

The Head of the Soviet Government Khrushchev also pointed out on September 9, 1961 that "the programme of developing new types of nuclear weapons which has been drawn up in the United States now requires precisely underground tests," and that "an agreement to cease only one type of testing, in the atmosphere would be a poor service to peace; it would deceive the peoples."

But now the Soviet Government has made a 180 degree about-face, discarded the correct stand they once persisted in and accepted this reproduction of the US-British draft treaty, willingly allowing US imperialism to gain military superiority. Thus the interests of the Soviet people have been sold out, the interests of the people of the countries in the socialist camp, including the people of China, have been sold out, and the interests of all the peace-loving people of the world have been sold out.

This indisputable facts prove that the policy pursued by the Soviet Government is one of allying with the forces of war to oppose the forces of peace, allying with imperialism to oppose socialism, allying with the United States to oppose China, and allying with the reactionaries of all countries to oppose the people of the world.

Why should the Soviet leaders so anxiously need such a treaty? Is this a proof of what they call victory for the policy of peaceful coexistence? No! This is by no means a victory for the policy of peaceful coexistence. It is capitulation to US imperialism.

The US imperialists and their partners are with one voice advertising everywhere that the signing of a treaty on the partial

halting of nuclear tests by them is the first step towards the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. This is deceitful talk. The United States has already stockpiled large quantities of nuclear weapons, which are scattered in various parts of the world and seriously threaten the security of all peoples.

If the United States really will take the first step towards the prohibition of nuclear weapons, why does it not remove its nuclear threat to other countries? Why does it not undertake to refrain from using nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries and to respect the desire of the people of the world to establish nuclear weapon-free zones? And why does it not undertake in all circumstances to refrain from handing over to its allies its nuclear weapons and the data for their manufacture?

On what grounds can the United States and its partners maintain that the United States may use nuclear threat and blackmail against others and pursue policies of aggression and war, while others may not take measures to resist such threat and blackmail and defend their own independence and freedom? To give the aggressors the right to kill while denying the victims of aggression the right to self-defence — is this not like the Chinese saying: "The magistrate may burn down houses but the ordinary people cannot even light their lamps?"

The Chinese Government is firmly opposed to nuclear war and to a world war. It always stands for general disarmament and resolutely stands for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. The Chinese Government and people have never spared their efforts in order to realize this aim step by step. As is known to the whole world, the Chinese Government long ago proposed, and has consistently stood for, the establishment of a zone free from nuclear weapons in the Asian and Pacific region, including the United States.

The Chinese Government holds that the prohibition of nuclear weapons and the prevention of nuclear war are major questions affecting the destiny of the world, which should be discussed and decided on jointly by all the countries of the world, big and small. Manipulation of the destiny of more than one hundred non-nuclear countries by a few nuclear powers will not be tolerated.

The Chinese Government holds that on such important issues as the prohibition of nuclear weapons and the prevention of nuclear war, it is impermissible to adopt the method of deluding the people of the world. It should be affirmed unequivocally that nuclear weapons must be completely banned and thoroughly destroyed and that practical and effective measures must be taken so as to realise step by step the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, prevent nuclear war and safeguard world peace.

For these reasons, the Government of the People's Republic of China hereby proposes the following:

- (1) All countries in the world, both nuclear and non-nuclear, solemnly declare that they will prohibit and destroy nuclear weapons completely, thoroughly, and resolutely. Concretely speaking, they will not use nuclear weapons, nor export, nor

import, nor manufacture, nor test, nor stockpile them; and they will destroy all the existing nuclear weapons and their means of delivery in the world, and dismantle all the existing establishments for the research, testing and manufacture of nuclear weapons in the world.

(2) In order to fulfil the above undertakings step by step, the following measures shall be adopted first:

- (a) Dismantle all military bases, on foreign soil, and withdraw from abroad all nuclear weapons and their means of delivery.
- (b) Establish a nuclear weapon-free zone of the Asian and Pacific region, including the United States, the Soviet Union, China and Japan; a nuclear weapon-free zone of Central Europe; a nuclear weapon-free zone of Africa; and a nuclear weapon-free zone of Latin America. The countries possessing nuclear weapons shall undertake due obligations with regard to each of the nuclear weapon-free zones.

- (c) Refrain from exporting and importing in any form nuclear weapons and technical data for their manufacture.
  - (d) Cease all nuclear tests, including underground nuclear tests.
- (3) A conference of the government heads of all the countries of the world shall be convened to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and the question of taking the above-mentioned four measures in order to realise step by step the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons.

The Chinese Government and people are deeply convinced that nuclear weapons can be prohibited, nuclear war can be prevented and world peace can be preserved. We call upon the countries in the socialist camp and all the peace-loving countries and people of the world to unite and fight unwaveringly to the end for the complete, thorough, total and resolute prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons and for the defence of world peace.

ATTENTION, Indians, who stand for peace. Here is the disgraceful document of the Chinese Government, opposing the test ban agreement, calling it a "fraud". We are publishing this statement in full so that our readers may judge for themselves how far the Chinese leadership has strayed from the path they claim so vigorously to espouse. —Editor

# SOVIET GOVERNMENT STATEMENT From Page 13

does not give a complete solution of the problem of liquidating nuclear weapons.

A treaty banning nuclear tests, even if it extended to underground tests, is of course only a partial measure, only a step in the direction of disarmament, providing more favourable conditions for it.

But the question is: Does this measure facilitate or impede the solution of the cardinal task, the solution of disarmament? With the exception of the most outspoken enemies of peace in the camp of the imperialist powers, everybody admits that the reaching of agreement on ending nuclear tests creates more favourable prerequisites for progress in disarmament.

The Communists in the capitalist countries, the Communist Parties standing at the head of the socialist countries, reply to this question in the affirmative: the conclusion of the treaty on banning nuclear tests facilitates the struggle for general and complete disarmament.

But the Government of the Chinese People's Republic asserts the opposite. Thus it follows that the whole world is in error and only the PRC Government knows the truth.

## Who Is Deceiving

Who then is actually deceiving the people? Those who, having achieved first real results, call for developing further the achieved success, for stepping up the efforts in the struggle against the aggressive forces of imperialism, in the struggle for the solution of other important problems, or those who treat with disdain the efforts of the fighters for peace and their achievements and sow disbelief in their ability to prevent war?

The whole of this concept of the PRC Government reeks of hopelessness and pessimism. Its essence could be compared with the saying that was in use in our country in the past: "Neck or Nothing". This concept could probably be understandable if coming from those who are doomed by history, from those under whose feet the ground is shaking.

But it is incomprehensible how the Government of a country building a socialist society can take such a stand.

Who can be inspired by such concept of hopelessness? No, people draw energy not from advancing nearer and nearer to the black abyss of a thermo-nuclear war but from deep faith in their ability and possibility of fettering the forces of war, of ensuring genuine peace and progress.

The Government of the PRC claims that the conclusion of the treaty of banning nuclear weapons tests leads to "American imperialism gaining a military advantage" while peace-loving countries, including China, lose the "possibility of strengthening their defensive might".

Strange logic this! Even our foes admit that it is the Soviet Union that has the most powerful nuclear weapons in the world today, the most advanced means of their delivery to any targets.

This powerful rocket-nuclear shield ensures the security of not only the Soviet Union but of all the socialist countries, including the PRC, and is the mainstay of peace throughout the world.

Does conclusion of a treaty banning the tests alter the present balance of forces? No, it does not.

The Soviet Government would never have agreed to the conclusion of such a treaty if it placed us in an unequal position, if it gave unilateral advantage to the other side. All this does not require special proof.

Lastly, if the question of who would benefit most by this treaty is to be raised, would it not be more correct to assume that in the question of nuclear tests, the Soviet Union, as the nuclear power in the community of socialist states, is in a better position to judge whether the balance of forces will change or not and if it does change, then in what direction.

Does not the Government of the PRC take too much upon itself in drawing conclusions in this question for the Soviet Government, for the Soviet Union?

No, it is not concern for the potential of the socialist camp that has prompted the statement of the PRC Government. What stands behind all this apparently is a desire, regardless of the position of the socialist camp, of all peace-loving forces, to follow a special policy on the question of what is to be done about the most destructive weapons—the nuclear weapons—whether to destroy them or open the sluice gates for their unbridled spread all over the earth.

The Chinese leaders should ponder over the fact that refusing to sign the treaty to ban tests of nuclear weapons they found themselves in company with those in the imperialist bloc who oppose the treaty. No one would be able to convince the Soviet Government that such a position accords with the interests of any people, be that the people of Europe, America, Asia, or Africa—be that a people of a small or big state.

Apparently, the PRC Government itself realizes how unpopular in our time is a negative position on problems of strengthening of peace, on problems of disarmament. It is exactly because of this that in its statement it tries to present matters in such a way as if it had "its own" programme of some kind of nuclear disarmament problems, and one even more radical than that advocated by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

## Essence Of The Matter

But in the first place, this "programme", set forth in the statement of the PRC Government contains nothing new. All the proposals listed in it, in their time had been advanced by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The PRC Government only repeated these proposals.

All the world knows that the Soviet Union and the other socialist states are continuing to conduct, as they did before in alliance with the peace-loving forces throughout the world, active struggle for the realization of the programme of general and complete disarmament they have advanced, which includes complete destruction of nuclear weapons.

Secondly, the gist of the statement of the PRC Government does not lie at all in the radical programme which lists proposals long since submitted by others, but in the fact that in the given case they are trying to use this programme to cover up the refusal of the PRC Government to sign a treaty to ban nuclear weapons tests.

The Chinese Government has not a single persuasive argument in favour of its negative attitude

to the test ban treaty. And, indeed, a government cannot have such arguments if it builds its policy exclusively in the interests of peace and socialism, in the interests of the peoples.

The Soviet Union, shoulder to shoulder with the other socialist countries, fought and fights indefatigably for the realization of general and complete disarmament. The Soviet Government invariably rejoiced that in the past the PRC was in the same ranks, making its contribution to the struggle for disarmament, to the consolidation of peace among nations.

## Most Regrettable

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries regard the statement of the PRC Government as an unprecedented, most regrettable act.

All friends of peace and socialism cannot but regret that on a question involving the vital interests of all the peoples of the earth, the Government of a socialist country undertook a step which is in gross contradiction to the common line of the socialist states in the international arena, in gross contradiction to the fundamental principles that guide states in foreign policy, under which on two occasions—in 1957 and in 1960—the leaders of the People's Republic of China affixed their signatures.

The position of the PRC Government runs counter to the Leninist policy of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems. Thereby the Chinese leaders openly place themselves in opposition to the socialist commonwealth, to the whole of the world communist movement, to all peace-loving peoples of Europe, Asia, Africa and America.

The Chinese Government cannot fail to understand that by embarking on such a road it inflicts direct damage on the unity of the socialist camp, weakens the united front of the struggle against imperialism.

Such actions can only bring joy to the enemies of peace whose cherished aim is to disunite, to alienate the socialist countries, to break the great unity of the peoples of the socialist community, to undermine the world system of socialism from inside.

It is impossible to see also that the statement of the Chinese Government containing attacks on our country, on the policy of the Soviet Union is one more evidence that the Chinese leaders transfer the ideological differences to the inter-state relations. It is impossible to explain otherwise the appearance in this document of such impudent allegations that by concluding the treaty on banning nuclear tests the Soviet Government "betrayed the interests of the Soviet people, betrayed the interests of the peoples in the socialist countries, including China, betrayed the interests of the peace-loving peoples of the whole world."

It is difficult to say what predominates here—political irresponsibility or irritation of the people whose expectations are dashed to the ground by life itself.

Who empowered the Government of the PRC to speak in the name of the Soviet people and for it? Who asked it to speak for the peoples of the other socialist countries? The authors of the statement must be losing their nerve if—dis-

regarding the elementary standards of relations between states, let alone standards of relations between fraternal socialist countries—they seek, in their statement, to counterpose the Soviet people to the Soviet Government.

The hopelessness of such attempts has long been realised even by the imperialists who, in the years of the intervention, and then in the years of World War II, broke their teeth on the monolithic unity of the Soviet people with the Soviet Government and the glorious Communist Party.

This was a vote by blood and life for Soviet power in our country, for the policy of the Communist Party and our own Soviet Government. And today, by their magnificent labour achievements in building communism, the Soviet people vote for the peaceful policy of their government and express unlimited confidence in and support for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Central Committee.

In whose footsteps do the Chinese leaders intend to follow? In the statement of the Government of the PRC one cannot discover, even with the help of a microscope, the least trace of respect for the sovereignty of the Soviet state, though Communists, the socialist countries, not only proclaim, but must consistently uphold, the principles of sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs in international relations, including relations between socialist countries.

What can one oppose in the question of national sovereignty to the imperialist policy of trampling upon the sovereign rights of peoples, if the government of a socialist state flouts the principle of respect for sovereignty and goes so far as to make insulting attacks on fraternal countries, on fraternal peoples?

Only people who have fenced themselves off with a wall of dogmatic notions from what agitates mankind, from the concerns and hopes of the men of labour, can either fail to see or pretend not to see the tremendous changes taking place on our planet and not believe in the reason and will of the peoples who are today capable of preventing a world thermo-nuclear war.

Expressing the will of the entire Soviet people, the Soviet Government rejects the fabrications concerning the foreign policy of the Soviet state contained in the statement of the PRC Government. No conjectures or attacks can change the foreign policy course of the Soviet Union charted by the great Lenin and further developed in the decisions of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of our Party, in the Programme of the CPSU and unanimously approved by the entire Soviet people, by the international communist movement.

## Futile Effort

The Government of the PRC is trying to find some contradictions in the position of the Soviet Union. But while artificially selecting quotations and juggling with words they forget the simple truth that life does not mark time. Science and technology are developing tempestuously. And what was unacceptable only yesterday might prove useful, even most useful, today.

So it is, precisely, with the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. There can hardly be any doubts as to who is more competent to be the judge in this—those who possess nuclear weapons and hold their tests, or others who know about them only from literature. There can be no two opinions on this score.

As regards the proposal of the PRC Government for calling an international conference with the participation of the heads of governments for discussing the relevant problems, including the problem of disarmament, the Soviet Government, of course,

cannot object to it since it is its own proposal. This is one of the suggestions repeatedly made by the Soviet Government. In making such proposal we proceeded from the fact, and we stated so, that no one can assume any commitments for the People's Republic of China except its government, and that, consequently, the question of China's commitments can be discussed only with the participation of the PRC Government.

The Soviet Government continues firmly adhering to this position.

In this connection the question arises why did the PRC Government find it necessary right now to put forth the proposal for an international conference for dealing with the disarmament question and a number of other international problems and to claim that this is some novelty?

Again in order to camouflage their refusal to sign the treaty on banning nuclear weapon tests.

## Aggravating Tension

In an effort to discredit in the eyes of the peoples the doubtless successes in the struggle for diminishing the war threat, to vilify the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union, the Chinese leaders have shown to the whole world that their policy leads to the aggravation of international tensions, to further stepping up of the nuclear arms race, to still further expansion of its scope and scale.

This position is tantamount to actual connivance with those who advocate world thermo-nuclear war, who are against the settlement of the disputed international problems at a conference table. There is no doubt that this position cannot but meet and does meet with resolute condemnation by the peoples of the socialist countries, of all peace-loving states, all those for whom the cause of peace and progress is dear.


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Guided by this course, the Soviet Union will continue to steadfastly pursue a policy of peace and international friendship, to fight for general and complete disarmament, for the peaceful settlement of international issues, including those that involve the security of Europe, for the triumph of the Leninist principles of peaceful co-existence.

It goes without saying, that the Soviet Government would be sincerely glad had the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China been based on the cohesion of socialist states, whose banner is the struggle for averting the danger of a thermo-nuclear war, for peaceful co-existence, for the freedom of all the peoples and their right to build their life as they see fit. This is what the interests of international communist solidarity, the interests of socialism and communism, the interests of peace, demand.

## RELEASE SISULU

The South African Government, more isolated from world opinion than ever before, is preparing a horrible crime. It is preparing to send up for trial WALTER SISULU, former general secretary of the African National Congress, under the new "treason laws" the VERWOERD Government enacted some time back.



Walter Sisulu

THE idea is that with a sentence of death sure to be handed out under the barbarous laws with which the white racialist government has armed itself, Sisulu along with several of his colleagues will be got out of the way. The thinly-veiled judicial murder will strike a terror in the hearts of South Africa's freedom-fighters and make the white dictatorship secure. That is what Verwoerd thinks.

Public opinion all over the world protests strongly against this dastardly criminal plan. The Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee has issued a statement sharply condemning the South African regime for the plot it is hatching. It has drawn the attention of the UN Security Council to the threat that hangs over the life of Walter Sisulu and 17 of his colleagues. It has alerted the world organisation to the grave consequences that are bound to follow if the crime that is being prepared were allowed to be perpetrated.

The London DAILY WORKER states editorially: "It seems likely that a show of trial is being prepared, with the aim of intimidating the growing opposition to the regime. . . . Certainly there is no possibility that the defendants will get a fair trial in a country which has now been turned into a fully-fledged police state, and where the rule of law has been destroyed by the government itself."

Sisulu, born in Transkei in a small clay hut with a straw roof above, started life as a shepherd, moving to Johannesburg, where, in course, he became the leader of the workers' struggle against inhuman conditions in the gold mines. Traversing the hard road of an

# THOUGHTS APROPOS A STATUE

On August 1, this year, thousands of workers and middle class people gathered near the Flora Fountain in the Fort area of Bombay City. This area is the centre of big business houses, banks, government offices and stock exchange, of this great city of monopoly capital and a fighting working class.

It was a holiday, as this day is observed in the memory of Lokmanya Tilak, the founder of the Swaraj movement, the initiator of the national democratic revolutionary movement in India.

But these thousands had not gathered there only to pay homage to the memory of the great patriot. They had gathered there to raise a unique statue right in the centre of big business activity, as memorial to those who had given their lives on November 21, 1959, in the fight for the establishment of the linguistic State of Maharashtra with Bombay City as its capital.

In November 1959 and January 1960, thousands upon thousands defied the armed battalions of the Congress Raj and marched to the legisla-

tion of such a memorial to a struggle that "belonged to all".

Yet when the struggle was on, it was just this monopoly press which had denounced all those who were in the struggle. But the opposition failed. The people did not back them; and another reason was that the Chief Minister, Chavan, on whom they relied to support them, did not do so. In fact, later he helped to raise the memorial.

I have not had opportunity to see all the thousand and one memorials in our country. But from whatever I have seen, I find that this is the only memorial, wherein the two great classes, the foundation of our country, the real toiling mass of our people, the creators of wealth and makers of the world stand in such majesty and in unity. There

by

**S. A. DANGE**

tures to denounce the plan of the bi-lingual state, and to assert the democratic right of a linguistic state. The City of Bombay, led by the working class, was on a political general strike and the marchers were shot down first here at this spot: the Flora Fountain.

The Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti, after winning the struggle, decided to erect a memorial on this spot, where the first demonstrators were shot. This statue is that memorial.

The statue is a unique one. In what respect? It is a memorial, representative of the two great classes, that were the foundation and leader of the movement. The statue is composed of two figures, holding together a flaming torch and marching together in unity. One is a worker and other is a peasant. Worker-peasant unity in action for the defence of a national democratic demand.

And it stands right in the heart of monopoly capital of the city, reminding all of the democratic fight that had ended in victory and a fight for the socialist future that also must end in victory. Is it not a fit and unique memorial?

When the idea of the memorial was conceived and the plans and models drawn, the monopoly press raised a howl against it. As I was the President of the Samiti which drew up the plans, they said that the statue was a communist statue, that it was a model of the one that stands in Moscow and is being copied here, that all non-Communists must oppose the installa-

stands creative man before you, with the past and the future of his country and people, of humanity everywhere. I do not know if really there is such a memorial statue anywhere else in our country.

We do raise memorials. Almost every year statues keep on going up. In Bombay itself, there are statues of Police Commissioners, millionaires, British conquerors and emperors and a few philanthropists and liberal leaders. There are also statues of national leaders like Lokmanya Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi, Sardar Patel and so on. There are statues of Shivaji in many places. In other parts of India also, such memorials are there.

But rarely do we find the representative figures of the toiling fighting masses being put before our people, in memory of our struggles of the past. Hundreds have fought and died in the national liberation struggle. Their rank and file leaders are known. Their images still stand vivid in people's minds.

But where are our artists, who can recreate them in statues and paintings?

I have seen many exhibitions of paintings by well-known artists. In some of them, you have to struggle to find what they want to say. You are required to hear a lecture on futurism, cubism, modernism, before you know what it is. What are our people, our country, our great past and hopes of future to them?

Statues are expensive to make. But what about paint-

ings? The capitals of Europe abound in the paintings of their great battles. But our people in India can hardly see a great canvas of the 1857 struggle, the great uprisings and battles of Lucknow and Kanpur of 1857 and the great uprisings of Peshawar, Sholapur, Bombay in this century.

Why are our artists not inspired by our living history, instead of being sunk in the obscene gloom of indefinable meaningless shadows, in colours of the tomb?

If one turns to the great monuments of the past in stone and paintings in various parts of India, in Ellora, Ajanta, Mahabalipuram, etc.—even where the theme seeks to speak of gods and mythology, the moment you look at them, the whole thing becomes alive with ordinary men and women taking part in life and action. Even round a presiding Buddha, what surrounds him and stands out is the great living, working humanity. Why does this not happen with the work of our artists of today?

In the carvings of the greatest temples, men and women with harvests of the fields look at you with happy smiles. When I saw the temple of Bhuvaneshwar first, I thought I was looking at a vast ear of maize fresh from the field, standing there on its stem as the monument of life, creation and achievement. That temple has a peculiar structure of creative thought.

Such were my random thoughts when I saw the worker-peasant statue in Bombay. But I do not make it a random thought—but a real serious question: Why does not our liberation struggle come up before us through our artists, composers and writers in a true, living, inspiring form?

May be that our scholars, who present our history are to be blamed. When two eminent historians presented such a rotten, uninspiring and treacherous picture of the 1857 saga, it is no wonder that artists born out of such studies will not turn out inspiring figures of the heroes of that war for our people to see or read.

Maybe the present grab of wealth and stink in the ruling circles disgust many and throw them into the arms of darkness and brooding and formless futurism, centred in a soul in torment.

But, side by side, why do they not see the heroic peo-

ple the Aarey colony in Bombay go on strike and fight to get a living wage, to get a drop of that very milk for their own children, and get shot at the hands of the exploiters, is it not an inspiring subject?

Ancient battle, ancient classes and weapons and tools are gone. They inspired the makers of Ajanta and Ellora. But now there are new men, new classes, new weapons, new ideas and horizons for man. Who could have dreamt that the new working man could really go into space and on to the road to the moon?

Why does it not inspire our artists, our sculptors, our singers, our novelists?

Not that none is inspired. Tagore wrote of the revolutionary battles of the toiling peasant in his Achalayata and in his great poems. Premchand painted in words, the great, patient and exploited peasant of U.P. for us, but without his struggles. There are a few fine strokes of the brush on canvas setting forth the figures of the common man.

But these are exceptions, not the common dominant trend in our art, not the basic theme of all our artistic thinking. That is the shortcoming, even a tragedy. Why so?

Because many of them shun the fighting man, the labouring man, because many of them believe individual egoism alone is freedom and productive art.

Please, my friends, think of this and turn your face to the toiling people. Then you will be worthy of the masters of the past and the people of the present. Then you will be able to create August 15, the day of freedom, in its real form and content.

The Bombay statue is only a small beginning to show the way. Hence the opponents of the working class did not want it. But it is there. See it. It is your creation, to speak of past struggles and think of future ideas on this day of August 1 and August 15—this day when the country demands defence of its integrity, and the people demand the defence of their living, which is ruined by the monopoly grabbers of wealth and power.



The Memorial.

ple battling for honest life of labour and truth, fighting the exploiters with bare hands and even winning?

May be a milking machine is not an inspiring subject to them compared to the gopis or Yashoda milking the living cow with the prankish child Krishna standing by as is seen in the now fading yet fine rock cutting in Mahabalipuram.

But when the workers of

## D.I.R.—Unconstitutional

\*FROM PAGE 4

away the provisions of Section 491 by enacting that it would have no application to persons detained under Defence of India Act.

Continuing, he said, by no stretch of imagination can the executive be authorised to repeal, suspend or nullify the provisions of laws made by competent legislatures.

N. C. Chatterjee, appearing for Jyoti Basu, leader of the opposition in West Bengal Legislature questioned the powers of Parliament to create a parallel legislature by conferring vast powers on the executive to enact any rules of procedure authorising the detention of persons without trial. He drew the attention of the Court to Section 40, 41, and 43 of the Defence of India Act which provided that Rules and Orders inconsistent with valid laws made by Parliament could be made by the executive. If that could be done, it amounted to giving the executive, a power to repeal valid laws which was impermissible.

The result of such vast delegation was that the executive has not hesitated to take away even

fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution. The D.I. Rules are a drastic invasion on the liberty of the citizen.

According to him Article 359 could not receive liberal construction so as to suspend the laws of Parliament and take away the remedy given by Section 491 CrPC. The powers of President could not be so enlarged by virtue of Article 359 as to give the President a charter to circumvent even the mandatory injunction contained in the Constitution.

He drew the attention of the Court to the celebrated English cases and pointed out that there was no such rule of construction applicable to the interpretation of written Constitutions. If Parliament had unfettered powers to make laws—it was a different matter. If the text of the Constitution was explicit no Court could ignore the text. The text was conclusive. He pointed out that the doctrine of liberal construction has been viewed with strong disapproval.

A. S. R. Chari appearing for A. B. Bardhan of Nagpur and Saad Ullah of West Bengal contended that the scope of the Article 359 was merely to suspend

during emergency only the democratic luxury guaranteed under Article 32 to the Indian Citizen to approach the highest Court of the land on a complaint of the infringement of his fundamental rights. It was only this luxury that was taken away. There was no warrant for taking away the powers of courts other than the Supreme Court and for construing the Presidential Order in a way that it sterilises the powers of other courts.

Chari attacked the validity of the Presidential Order on the ground that the President had no power to discriminate. Can it be contended that the President could order Harijans to be subjected to *begar* whereas all other castes would enjoy the fundamental right not to be subjected to *begar* during emergency? Such an order would be on the face of it patently unconstitutional.

S. V. Parulekar, who argued his own case with distinction, was seen being congratulated by M. C. Setalvad and N. C. Chatterjee, as soon as he concluded his arguments, which had lasted for two hours.

The hearing is continuing. (August 7)