

GREETINGS, ALL

Copy 1974

NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

Vol. XI No. 37

New Delhi, September 15, 1963

25 nP.

GREAT MARCH NUMBER

THIS number of NEW AGE is dedicated to the crore who have signed the Great Petition, and to the tens of thousands who are taking part in the Great March to Parliament on September 13. They are the vanguard of the mass determination to change government's anti-people policies, which heap burdens on the workers and peasants, on the middle classes.

The signatories and the marchers represent the will of the hundreds of millions of this land.

There has been no Petition as mighty as this... there has been no March as great as this...

Copy 1974

PATIL IN HIS TRUE COLOURS

nation

★ by VIGILANTE

Ex-Food Minister S. K. Patil is terribly, terribly angry with the Communist Party. Whatever anybody else may or may not believe, it is clear that Patil at least is dead certain that the Communists are responsible for his sack.

PATIL has pledged himself to destroy the Communists, this is now his "life's mission" evidently.

The Hindustan Times headlines a report of Patil's speech on September 7 in Bombay at the so-called International Club of India: "Complete Beat of Reds is Patil's Objective".



The report says that the speaker said "he would not rest till the Communists were completely routed."

There have been many "mighty" men before Patil who made anti-Communism their religion. And Patil should remember that they never succeeded. Communism marches on triumphantly.

Patil's whine appears to be that some people are committing the dreadful "crime" of calling some Congressmen Leftists and some Rightists. And he is stated to have declared proudly that "No Rightists or Leftists exist in the Congress, as such, and every Congressman is a Congressman only."

The concluding portion of the UNI report on Patil's speech (omitted in Hindustan Times, but published in other papers) makes interesting reading. Patil is reported to have said: "I will secretly help a party like the PSP if it gets in a position of capturing power..."

I am not sure what to make of this statement by one who is supposed to have left the Congress government... to strengthen it. Evidently Patil would be ready to help secretly by an opposition party, which opposes the basic policies, if it becomes strong enough to capture power.

NEW AGE

Our next issue dated September 22 will be a bumper issue, giving detailed accounts of the Great March with photographs and stories of marchers. Those who did not have the opportunity to join the March, will see the March through the pages of NEW AGE.

Make sure of your copy.

Strange loyalty to the Congress! Of course, the High Command need not worry; Patil will help his Rightwing friends only secretly, and his help will depend on how near they are to power.

And, oh no! This is not opportunism at all. This is the new blood which is being injected into the Congress to revitalise it!

It is time to ask the question whether such open Right reactionaries, who proclaim their creed as anti-Communism so brazenly, will not carry the Congress organisation even further to the Right.

Patil is out of the Cabinet; he seeks now to influence policies through the Congress party, in which he expects to have ever-growing power.

Will Congressmen, who want to drag their party out of the mire of reaction, see that the wings of the opponents of our basic policies,

BOWLES AND LEFT-RIGHT

BIRDS of the same feather flock together. And it is not an accident that Patil's Left-Right talk has found an echo in the speech of US Ambassador Chester Bowles at the Delhi University on September 9.

"It was absurd," Mr. Bowles said, "to use the terms 'Left' and 'Right' to classify those who followed either the USSR or the US" (Hindustan Times)

"Mr. Bowles called it wrong for people to think that a 'Rightist' in the general policy context meant a follower of the USA, and a Leftist a follower of the USSR. He said students should not think in terms of capitalist, Communist or Socialist blocs. The aim of all the systems of the world

97 LAKH SIGNATURES

According to reports available till September 10, the total number of signatures collected on the Great Petition has already exceeded 97 lakhs. Following is the statewide break-up of signatures:

Andhra	Pradesh—15 lakhs,	West Bengal—4.08 lakhs,	Maharashtra—10.00 lakhs,	Bihar—5.15 lakhs,	Assam—1.25 lakhs,	Karnatak—2.75 lakhs,	Orissa—3.27 lakhs,	Punjab—11.38 lakhs,	Kerala—11 lakhs,	Delhi—1.75 lakhs,	Madhya Pradesh—2.68 lakhs,	Rajasthan—2.63 lakhs,	Tamilnad—13 lakhs,	Uttar Pradesh—10 lakhs,	Gujarat—1.13 lakhs,	Tripura—0.65 lakh,	Jammu & Kashmir—1 lakh.
--------	-------------------	-------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------	-------------------	----------------------	--------------------	---------------------	------------------	-------------------	----------------------------	-----------------------	--------------------	-------------------------	---------------------	--------------------	-------------------------

The figures from Himachal Pradesh and Manipur have not yet been received.

was to raise the living standards of the people" (Patriot)

The distinction between Leftists and Rightists must be obliterated; as for socialism (which is India's official objective) it is all so much nonsense, according to Bowles. For all systems are for the common man!

Dear Mr. Bowles, you DO put your foot into it, don't you? And it doesn't make it much better to be in the same company as ex-Minister Patil!

HINDU SOCIALISM

FOR a tailpiece, here is a gem. The All India Committee of the Hindu

Mahasabha, meeting in Poona last week-end, discussed "a blueprint of Hindu Socialism". There are 16 points in the blueprint.

Hitler called his Nazism "National Socialism"; the pro-imperialist communal forces in our own country, unable to sell their rotten, decadent policies seek to mask them with the word Socialism.

No Indian will be taken in by the talk of "Hindu Socialism".

It is perhaps not an accident that the worst reactionary groups and newspapers in Pakistan are preaching Islamic Socialism.

(September 10)

MORARJI'S POLICIES MUST GO

Economic notes

ON refusing to accept a Congress MP's resolution on nationalisation of banking, it would appear perhaps the government intends to continue the policy of the ex-Finance Minister, who had earned a notoriety for his fidelity to the bank tycoons.

But the question is: has government been able to provide answers to many questions raised during the debate on the resolution — questions which concerned the role that the banks have to play in building up the "socialist" pattern, even of the Congress concept? Does the new Finance Minister intend to grapple with the problems confronting the banks? The country expects a change of policies and awaits concrete proof of such change.

The problems facing the banks concern squarely the use to which the private banks' enormous resources have to be put: whether these resources will continue to be allowed to add to the ill-gotten wealth of a dozen or so unscrupulous individuals, who, making nonsense of the "socio-economic" objectives, enshrined in the Plans, continue to expand their industrial empires, or will they be directed into channels which, while adding to the nation's production, serve those objectives.

To refuse to give a clear cut

answer to this question, is to deny to the banks their due role in the country's development, and thus deprive the country of the assistance which they alone can render in encouraging and mobilising the people's savings. The remedy of an amendment of the Banking Companies Act to "check the control of banks for undesirable purposes" and proposals for formation of unit trust and conversion of the Industrial Finance Corporation into a Development Bank are no substitute to a positive policy towards banking as such.

The Industrial Finance Corporation has since its incorporation in 1948 upto the end of June last year, sanctioned loans totalling Rs. 130 crores only, while the banks' total advances in a single year total Rs. 1420 crores or more. And it is this pigmy organisation that is proposed to present as a counterblast and corrective to the well entrenched banks.

To leave the banks in private hands, would be to disregard the country's crying need for resources to develop its industry and agriculture. It would be proof of unconcern for the millions of people who, by appending their signatures to the Great Petition, have demanded nationalisation of banks to yield a part of resources which, under Morarji's back-breaking budget, they have been made liable to provide.

The new Finance Minister must in the coming days,

respond more positively to the people's will.

SHADOW OF OLD POLICY

THE failure to make a departure from Morarji's policy in relation to banking is not fortuitous. In respect of the Life Insurance Corporation too, it appears that for the present, the old pattern will prevail.

In an enunciation of the investment policy of this public sector institution in the Lok Sabha last week, the Finance Minister had to make it incumbent on this body to make "investments in the private sector which would appreciate" to meet its "obligation to make profit", as if there were no public sector undertakings which could provide the same or even larger profit to the LIC.

The Finance Minister, however, did not fail to point out that the LIC should serve certain "socio-economic" objectives, but these he felt could be taken care of by increasing its investments in "low-income housing and warehousing facilities".

The LIC's concern for profits is understandable, but was it correct to put this consideration above the "socio-economic" objective of building the socialist pattern, which will ensure this profit for the mass of the people?

September 10

—ESSEN

We March for The Nation

On September 13, we shall march to Parliament with a crore of signatures to the Great Petition. No march like this has ever taken place in post-independence India.

EVERY state has sent its contingent to take part in the Great March: no other demonstration held in India's Capital in front of India's Parliament, has ever had amongst its participants the sons and daughters of the working people of every part of our Motherland.

The Great March will be a spectrum of all the peoples inhabiting this great country of ours.

No demonstration before Parliament in the history of independent India has been as disciplined and simultaneously as militant as shall be the Great March.

The March is organised and led by the Communist Party. But the Petition and the March speak not for the Party alone, but for the vast masses of our people, irrespective of Party.

Ninety per cent and more of those approached with the Petition signed. Only a tiny insignificant number refused to sign.

The crore of signatures we carry to the Lok Sabha are the

proach in the short time at our disposal. Crores more are ready to sign the Great Petition, but we were unable to meet them and carry the Petition forms to them. The crore who signed represent the overwhelming will of our people.

We Communists are proud of the work our members and supporters have done in connection with the Great Petition campaign. We know that this has been the greatest national campaign conducted by our Party, through a form of action, which has enabled ten million people to set themselves, as they have never acted before.

We are proud of our Party, of its work, of its success. All the attempts of the enemies of our Party, of the Right reactionary forces to destroy our Party, of those in authority to smash our Party by throwing so many of members into detention, have failed. Our Party has shown through the Petition campaign that it lives in the hearts of the millions of toiling people of India.



Yes, we are proud of our Party. And we glory in our people. It is the Indian people, who took the Great Petition to their hearts, who saw in it the continuation of the dear-est aspirations of our freedom movement... When the tens of thousands march on September 13, they march in the footsteps of those who gave their lives for the freedom of this country.

Our martyrs did not die so that the monopolists should fatten, and the hungry continue to starve. Our martyrs did not shed their precious blood, so that pro-imperialist reaction could ride roughshod over our dearest principles and policies, and dare to attempt to sell our independence to the imperialists in one form or the other, once again...

We march to complete the unfinished task of our martyrs...

Our March is in the best traditions of the national movement, which won us our independence. It carries forward the struggle of the Indian people for an end to hunger and poverty, to exploitation and misery... leaving behind those who have betrayed that struggle.

It is no accident that the Right reactionary forces are foaming at the mouth, as they see the marchers pour into the capital from all directions.

It is no accident that the joint front of the worst reactionary parties, headed by the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party, has simultaneously demanded the removal from his post of Prime Minister NEHRU, the trial for "treason" of V. K. KRISHNA MENON, and the

boycott and banning of the Great March.

The American-paid press is vomiting abuse at the Communist Party. The Great March is painted as an act which somehow stands in the way of national defence. Posters to this effect have been put up in the Capital in the names of the Right parties.

These are the same forces which came out with identical slogans against Nehru, Krishna Menon and the Communist Party in the crucial days of November last year. In the name of defence of the country, these enemies of the nation sought to attack the very forces which stood for the basic policies of the country.

Today again the same reactionary gangs are up in arms against the progressive forces. This time they look in vain for support. The Indian people have come to understand well enough the true nature of Right reaction.

The Indian people know the Communist Party. The lies of last November no longer can fool the masses. To keep the prices down is to help national defence. To tax those who can afford to pay and lift the burden on those who cannot, helps national defence. Nationalisation of banks, oil and export and import trade will help national defence. It is the CDS, the hated anti-people taxes, corruption, the price racket, the black market, which weaken defence.

Let the Right reactionary gangs yell themselves hoarse. The Great March goes on to victory.

Salute, the Marchers! Salute the best sons and daughters of India!

FIRST FRUITS

Editorial

THE GREAT PETITION campaign is over. The Great March carries the Petition to the Lok Sabha.

Parliament must pay heed to the demands of the ten million signatories and the millions more who stand behind them.

During the two and a half months of the signature campaign, even before the Petition reached Parliament — it began to assert itself.

Morarji Desai and S. K. Patil — against whose policies the Petition was principally directed — have gone. And now on the eve of the Great March, comes clear and unmistakable news of the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister announcing to the Congress Parliamentary Party, possibilities of drastic changes in the CDS. The tree of the people's will has already begun to bear fruit.

For all the declarations of the powers-that-be that the policies of Morarji-Patil were government policies and hence cannot and will not change just because they have quit — everybody can see already that under one cover or another, some of the worst anti-people measures may be modified, now that their architects have gone.

The policies that the people hate MUST go. At this moment, as the men, who have replaced Morarji-Patil in their key portfolios, take over, the people are waiting and watching. They are ready to give the new Ministers of Finance and Food time to reverse gear; they are ready not to judge them in advance.

But judged they shall be ... by their performance in regard to the specific demands of the people embodied in the Great Petition. On what is done about each of these demands in the coming days will depend the people's concrete assessment of the latest shifts in the political situation.

The first fruits of the Petition have appeared. Do they herald a bumper crop? The answer to this depends on the continuing action of the working masses in the days following the Great March.

There is plenty of reason to rejoice at the first victories, at the doubling of quotas of signatures, at the March without parallel. But there is no reason to be complacent, no reason to imagine that the struggle is over.

The men have changed — but the policies are not yet reversed in favour of the people.

There is TALK of modifications in the CDS and in the Gold Control Order. But no official orders have yet been made in this regard.

The resolution on nationalisation of banks introduced in the Lok Sabha has been virtually rejected — though the door is evidently not finally closed.

The prices are not yet under control. The anti-people taxes and levies continue to be a burden.

We must build on our victories; we must nurture the tree that has yielded the first fruits.

The Great Petition signature campaign is over. But the struggle for the people's demands continues, grows in intensity, takes on new forms...

A crore signed the Petition. Crores more will take part in the struggles of the working people in support of the Petition's demands, in the coming days. More victories for the people are ahead.

MASK OFF U. S. "BENEFACTORS"

notes OF THE week

★ by Romesh Chandra

The popularity graph of the US imperialists in India has dropped to a new low. VOA, Bokaro, Kashmir, and now on top of it all the demand for super publicity for the joint air exercises... all these have not exactly endeared our beloved "benefactors" in this land of ours.

"NDIA has been informed," reports the Political Correspondent of Indian Express, "that the US government is not approaching Congress this year for funds to provide the VOA transmitter, which has been the subject of an intense controversy in this country... the deal is as good as dead."

What has happened to the generous American godfathers, who are so anxious, it is said by their agents, to help us to strengthen our defence? It seems they do not care if we have a transmitter or not; their only interest was to secure a foothold on Indian soil for their cold-war broadcasts.

That is why, now that we have made it absolutely clear that we shall have nothing to do with such a deal and that in no circumstances will we permit VOA broadcasts from our soil, the godfathers have cooled right off.

The VOA transmitter was NOT meant by the US imperialists to strengthen our broadcasting capacity. It was meant only to help drag India away from non-alignment.

A question is being asked all over the world by our friends: why does the Government of India not negotiate with other countries for a powerful transmitter, since the Americans refuse to give us one, on terms consistent with our national honour and dignity.

In this connection, it is being pointed out in political circles that countries like Czechoslovakia have the capacity to provide us, within

a fairly short period, with a transmitter as powerful as any the Chinese have. Perhaps there are other countries too which could do this. Are we negotiating with such countries?

It should however be noted that the Indian Express story has been promptly contradicted by Hindustan Times which published a report on September 10 that "the US Government is waiting for India to make specific proposals to modify the VOA agreement..." The Washington correspondent of the paper says:

"US officials feel that since India is seeking modification of a signed agreement, it is up to it to suggest alternatives that would incorporate Prime Minister Nehru's desire for a radical review of the agreement, and yet keep US interests in mind."

The fact is that the US lobby in high places in New Delhi continues to try to keep the VOA deal alive, and the Americans appear to want us to keep on "negotiating", thus preventing us from discussing the matter with any other country.

Bokaro : What Next ?

It has been the same with Bokaro. We have been kept hanging outside the benefactor's door waiting for

the promised crumbs... till now at last we have had to leave the begging door, because the gods of Washington have said they cannot consider aid for Bokaro at least till next year. And then? Who knows?

At last, government has taken the bold step of informing the US government that we shall not "embarrass" it further by continuing to ask for Bokaro dollars. The comic opera is over, and the Prime Minister has announced that we shall go ahead with Bokaro with help from elsewhere.

Air Exercises : Super Publicity

THE last straw has been the ugly manner in which the USA has been clamouring for publicity opportunities for the joint air exercises. They want their cameramen and news-hound spies roaming all over our borders, and they want to publicise the exercises, as they have been doing all these days, as a virtual surrender to US and British imperialism of our entire defence.

The rebuff given by the Government of India to this demand for

*ON BACK PAGE



THE OTHER MARCH

DO you remember, Comrades, when we marched last to Parliament? It was on August 3, 1959, to protest against the Central Government's arbitrary action in dismissing the Communist-led ministry in Kerala.

It was the most powerful demonstration Delhi had seen till then. New Age described that procession in these words: "Never before during the last decade had the citizens of the Capital of India come out in such large numbers on any political issue..."

Take a look at the scene outside Parliament House... the North Gate, where the Great March of September 13 will also terminate.

The Great March is much, much bigger than the Protest Procession of 1959... As we march on September 13, we shall remember and recall with pride that other glorious march of the working people.

DELHI, September 10: The first groups of marchers from other States have already reached Delhi. They come from far away Kerala and Andhra, from Uttar Pradesh and Punjab... By tomorrow many more will be here.

THIS morning at the railway station, several leaders of the Communist Party were present to receive the

Doctors are in attendance at a medical booth. A laundry is available on the spot. So also were present to receive the



A. K. Gopalan addressing a public meeting in Delhi

rains and the fact that so many of our leaders and members have been so busy with the preparations to receive the marchers from the other States," said the Communist leader.

He told me of the manner in which the Right reaction-

which have played a vital role, non-AITUC, independent unions have also participated actively in the campaign.

The Party in Delhi, Farooqi told me, has been given a big push forward through this campaign. We have won added prestige.

organisations" to observe September 13 as "Ban the CPI Day"... but there is no indication of the names of any such organisation, and it is clear that the whole thing is the figment of the imagination of the Right reactionary parties and such notorious

DELHI PREPARES A GREAT WELCOME FOR MARCHERS

★ By Our Staff Correspondent

ary parties had tried to dissuade people from signing the Petition. But all along they failed. Even their own supporters refused to listen to

The city as a whole is agog with excitement at the news of the March. The Rightist forces are busy putting out all sorts of cooked up news of so-called 'opposition' to the march. For this purpose, statements of long-dead 'unions' have been manufactured.

Hindustan Times has put the story of a call by 'student

pro-US agencies as the so-called "National Marxist Association".

This is going to be something totally unprecedented even for Delhi, this city of big events. And Delhi's arms are wide open to welcome and embrace the marchers as they come in from all over India...



M. N. Govindan Nair addressing the Volunteers

first group as they came in. Among them were members of the Central Secretariat of the Party Z. A. Ahmad, M. N. Govindan Nair, Yogendra Sharma and Romesh Chandra; Communist Members of Parliament led by A. K. Gopalan; Secretary of the Delhi State Council of the Party M. Farooqi; and many others.

A city of tents has gone up in the Talkatora Gardens to house the tens of thousands of marchers, who will stay over the night. For those other tens of thousands, who come from nearby places and will be in Delhi only for the Great Petition Day, a transit camp has been set up near Rajghat, on Bela Road.

The gigantic organisation necessary for the reception of the marchers has been set up, under the guidance of the Central Secretariat of the Party, by the Delhi State Council of the Party, in co-operation with the comrades of the Party Headquarters.

Nearly two hundred volunteers are on duty whole-time at the railway stations, at the camps and at the five main approach roads to Delhi. On these roads, welcome arches and gates are up, and as each group arrives by bus or on cycles, local workers will give them a special welcome.

At the Talkatora Camp, all efforts have been made to make the delegates as comfortable as possible. Food stalls sell tea and snacks.

loud speakers installed all over the vast camp enable the organisers to keep in touch



Preparatory meeting at the Delhi P.C. Office

with all the thousands of marchers in every tent. Your correspondent had an interesting interview this evening with the Secretary of the Delhi State Council of the CPI M. Farooqi. Though tired at the end of a hard day's work, Farooqi was nevertheless full of enthusiasm. He told me how over a lakh and a half signatures had been collected.

"We are quite sure we could have collected even five lakhs, had it not been for the heavy

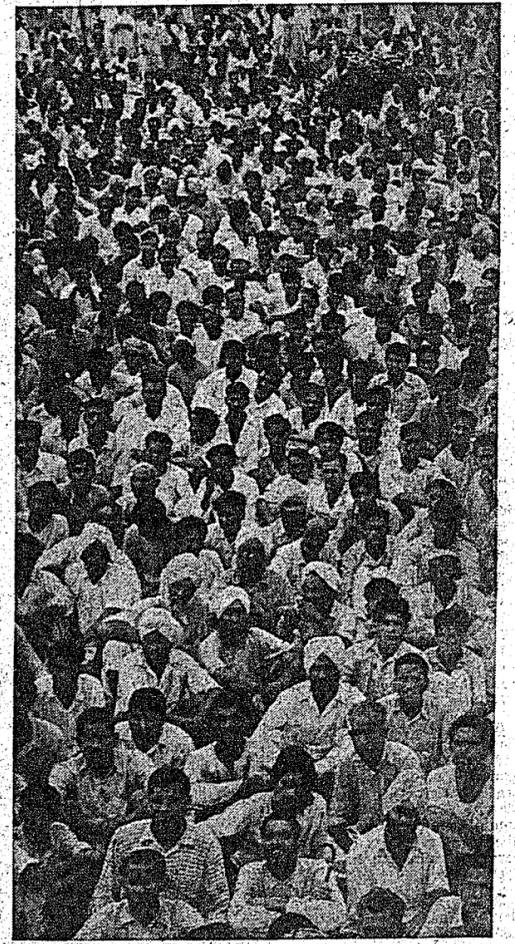
them, and advised them not to oppose what was so obviously a national cause and not a party affair."

Some 20 big mass rallies have been held in connection with the campaign, and hundreds of street-corner, gate, bathak and katra meetings have been organised during this period.

The biggest support, said Farooqi, has naturally come from the trade unions. Apart from the AITUC unions,



S. M. Banerjee addressing a rally of Delhi workers at Karampura on September 9.



All-Set for Great March

★ About 10 Lakh Signatures

★ 1500 Marchers.

BOMBAY, September 3: Maharashtra is all set for the Great March. 1,500 people belonging to various walks of life would participate in the March to Parliament.

THE state has responded to the signature campaign on the Great Petition in an unprecedented way. 9.25 lakhs of workers, kisans, students, intellectuals, middle class employees, women, and others have till now put their signatures on the Great Petition.

Reports about crossing their respective quotas from the districts in Maharashtra are pouring in every day. Party workers and volunteers in various districts and in the city have made preparations for the last round of activity. More people are expected to join the March. The number of signatories on the Petition is also expected to go up by another two lakhs.

During the last fortnight when the Ganesh-Utsav was celebrated in the city, songs, skits and discussions were held almost every night in workers' localities highlighting the points in the Great Petition. Describing the signature campaign and the morcha a worker poet said: "Indian tolling masses are going to Delhi from all corners of the country holding red flags in one hand and the Great Petition in another. It is going to be a sea of red flags which will engulf capitalists and their agents in the government."

Wide Response

In the background of the recent general strike in the city, the campaign generated a great response from the masses. People subscribing to the policies of other political parties including the Congress have joined in the Morcha.

From Bombay 500 people will be joining in the March. They will leave for Delhi on September 11 by Varanasi Express. They will be joined by 1000 people from Marathwada, Nagar, Poona and South Maharashtra at Manmad. Vidarbha morcha will proceed directly from Nagpur to Delhi.

Almost all the state Party leaders and functionaries, trade union comrades, Kisans, leaders, students, women etc., are participating in the March. Elaborate arrangements for uniformity in dress, display of red flags and placards on trains etc. have also been made.

In the signature-campaign Bombay leads the state with 8,00,000 signatures collected

till now. Nagpur and Kolhapur come second with 1,00,000 signatures each. Some of the other large collections are: Poona—30,000; Sangli—30,000; Nasik—20,000; Jalgaon—25,000; Bhdh—30,000; Nanded—30,000; Osmanabad—15,000; Buldhana—15,000; Amravati—15,000; Wardha—10,000; Ghandia—10,000; Sholapur—25,000; Satara—25,000; Dhulla—25,000; Thana—15,000; Farbhani—25,000; Auranga-



A view of the rally in Bombay on September 1.

bad—15,000; Nagpur—20,000; Akola—15,000; Yeotmal—10,000; Bhandara—20,000. Total—9,25,000.

All the receipt-books for

funds for the Delhi March have been sold out. In a public meeting organised by the Action Committee on Sunday last at Kamgar Maidan nearly

Rs. 200 were collected by volunteers. The meeting was addressed by CFI Chairman S. A. Dange and attended by nearly 50,000 people.

SPOTLIGHT

PSP: Myth and Reality

(How true for the habitual wobblers, our PSP friends!)

And yet Bhasinji has talked in the same breath of "a great debate" being on about whether PSP, Jan Sangh, Swatantra and others should rally together under Kripalani's "minimum programme" banner. That gives away the true worth of Shri Bhasin's solemn argumentation. Fact is that our PSPers move in the same orbit as do the other reactionary opportunists. Whatever the issue, you never find them out of the "catastrophic" company of the ragtag and bobtail of reaction.

Hence the "great debate" continues and as Bhasinji says, its "echoes reverberate the four corners of India", despite categorical assertions and hefty resolutions.

"Kamaraj or Yamraj"

THE uproar among the reactionaries over the Kamaraj Plan is interesting to watch.

Current, pampered pet of the anti-Indian Lobby, has caustically described Kamaraj as Kamaraj Kamaraj and called out in a shrieking headline, "Patil and Gupta will offer Nehru stiffest opposition in future".

Swatantrite Swarajya has a cartoon on the subject — "The Moscow Pattern". It shows Khrushchov kicking out Bulganin, and Nehru kicking out Morarji in conformity with the "pattern".

RSS-Jan Sangh megaphone Organiser has declared:

"It isn't the Kamaraj Plan, it's the Nehru Plot!" Editorially, it has insinuated viciously: "We do not know whether Shri Desai and Shri Patil have been sent away to placate Mr. Khrushchov, or to

make way for Indira..." These comments show that the Don Quixotes of reaction have lost their nerves. There is indeed, deep pathos in Organiser's quip: "Kamaraj or Yamraj?"

Current's Karaka, who claims to be a dear friend of the former Finance Minister, has sought to bring himself solace with these words:

"Fate has a definite hand in removing Morarji from the present scene. It only needs time to reveal what role he is to play in the future."

The question arises: Could the reactionary gang ever have felt so hurt if Morarji had not figured in Nehru's list?

I suppose not. Kamaraj would not then have become "Kamaraj" and his Plan would have remained only a plan to retrieve lost Congress prestige; it would not have become a "plot".

Morarji, indeed was the reactionary opposition's blue-eyed boy despite all its mock-theories against his CDS and Gold Control Order.

Bombay Bandh

PERUSING Organiser's brave little editorial "Well Done Bombay", feigning happiness that "Bombay was truly bandh (closed) on August 20" I was reminded of what the RSS-Jan Sangh's "Labour" front leader Thengadi had said about the matter only two months earlier. Referring to Dange's call for Bombay Bandh (it was the CPI Chairman who first gave the slogan), he wrote:

"At long last, the so-called Dange faction of the CPI has come out in its true colours. These hundred per cent nationalists are boasting that they could paralyse the normal life of the city of Bombay."

Organiser published Thengadi's thesis with the searching headline: *Communists Threaten To Paralyse Bombay* (June 24).

But the same Organiser cheekily claimed in its editorial of August 26 that the Communists joined the Bombay Bandh action "after opposing it all along".

The great August 20 action has now shown to Organiser and its ilk "that workers can't be cheated of their livelihood in the name of emergency". When Dange had uttered the same truth, it was to them treachery to the nation and a "boast". At that time the PSP too had raised the question in the Bombay legislature asking for government action against the Chairman of the CPI.

Now they sing a different tune!

His Master's Voice

THE game started by the American press of playing the President against the Prime Minister has become the favourite pastime of their henchmen in India. This week we had two sharp instances of the same. A news item in Bombay's Current declared: "President Radhakrishnan advised Nehru against the release of Morarji Desai".

Organiser, in Delhi, had this cute little bit from its America trained editor:

"Among those who called on Acharya Kripalani last week while the veteran opposition leader lay ill was President Radhakrishnan. Among those whose omission to call was particularly noted by all was Prime Minister Nehru."

Thus continues the foreign-inspired game — of building up the President to play down the Prime Minister!

—GABUDA

The detention of Communists in jail is being debated on the highest possible moral-political plane, the sanctity of the Constitution, the limits of powers of Parliament and the extent of authority of the executive in the sovereign democratic Republic of India.

THE judgment of the Supreme Court has clarified these vital issues authoritatively, though it has pleaded helplessness in granting relief. It has thrown the ball back into the court of the Indian Parliament and the Executive which is responsible to Parliament. The Supreme Court has called upon public opinion to speak up and act and it is speaking up very well too.

The first press summaries of the Supreme Court judgment were unfortunately defective and created the impression that the majority of the bench of the highest tribunal of the land had given its final verdict against the detenus and the battle for liberty was over.

New Age aims at doing real good service by publishing the extracts from both the judgments, which when circulated among Parliamentarians of the Lok and Rajya Sabhas, made the MPs, irrespective of all party differences, sit up.

We all share common pride in our democracy and know that its defence and peaceful growth depends upon the Indian Parliament, the Indian government and the Indian people respecting the inviolability of the Indian Constitution, despite all other differences.

Supreme Court Judgment

The majority verdict of the Supreme Court is the law of the land. Let us rely upon the majority judgment (the minority one goes much further) to understand where the issues now really stand.

The majority judgment has admitted that the Defence of India Act and Rules violated the provisions of the Constitution guaranteeing fundamental rights. It clearly states:—

"Parliament has chosen to pass the Act under challenge and has disregarded the Constitutional provisions of Articles 14 and 22". "It is quite true that if the Act has contravened the citizens' fundamental rights under Articles 14 and 22, it would be void and the detentions effected under the relevant provisions of the said Act would be equally inoperative."

Further, Article 359 does not widen the powers of Parliament or the Executive, it merely suspends the remedy during the emergency. There is literally no room for any doubt or controversy left after the above that both Parliament and the Executive had no powers in "emergency" to detain persons in contravention of Articles 14 and 22.

After conceding that the Constitutional provisions have been ignored and the detenus are being held in illegal custody, they express their inability to give the legal remedy because of Article 359 and the Presidential Order. Article 359 has bound the Supreme Court judges like Section 144 Cr. P.C. does the workers in a strike! Even the Times of India has felt so outraged that it wants Article 359 to go.

The Courts of justice thus denied, the forum of public opinion must function. It is the tribunal of all tribunals under any self-respecting principled democracy.

The only legal hope the Supreme Court has held out to the detenus is to come back again after the emergency is over and the Presidential Order is revoked and claim damages for their illegal detention throughout. Must the present scandal go further to the stage of the government spokesman pleading before Parliament that during the emergency they proposed a bad law and now an indemnity law should be passed to protect the Exchequer from paying out lakhs and lakhs of rupees as damages.

The Constitution, however, only permits Parliament to pass indemnity laws to protect executive actions under Martial Law. Emergency is no Martial Law. Supreme Court casts serious doubts about the validity of such a law of indemnity.

The legal minions of the government could mislead Parliament once in the background of armed Chinese invasion. They ought not to succeed a second time and in normal times. The Supreme Court judgment already contains the veiled warning.

Must the Lok Sabha await this awful stink to be blown up before the august house or take up the broom and clean the dirt right now?

It is a Constitutional-political mess that brings no credit to Indian democracy. The majority judgment of the Supreme Court has itself called upon Indian public opinion to act.

"It may be permissible to observe that in a democratic State, the effective safeguard against the abuse of executive powers, whether in peace or in emergency, is ultimately to be found in the existence of enlightened, vigilant and vocal public opinion."

Principles At Stake

The very first principles common to all Indian citizens are at stake. Intellectual sluggishness will be a crime and narrow partisanship out of place.

India's sovereign democratic Republic was founded by the people of India who created a Parliament to make laws in conformity with the Constitution and bound it by a solemn oath. It created express fetters on its authority. It gave to Parliament a mandatory injunction (Article 13) not to make laws in contravention of fundamental rights. If such laws were ever made Constitution declares that such laws, without the intervention of Courts, are void (Article 13).

Our MPs loyal to their oath cannot but heed the words of Justice Subba Rao.

"Whatever it may be, the result is we have now a void Act on the statute book and under that Act the appellants have been detained illegally. To use the felicitous language of Lord Atkin, in this country, 'amid the clash of arms the laws are not silent; they may be changed but they speak the same language in war as in peace'."

He warns politely if Parliament disregards the Constitution, laws may be disregarded by the people, because lawlessness is contagious.

CONSTITUTION AND CONSCIENCE

Loyalty to the Constitution demands that the Defence of India Act and Rules be immediately changed and brought into conformity with the Constitution. A void law cries out to all Parliamentarians, not devoid of democratic conscience.

Executive's Power

Again under the Indian Constitution, the Executive is not the dictator. It is a creature of the Constitution. It has no authority whether in peace or in emergency to take executive action in violation of fundamental rights. It has only those powers that are given to it by valid laws. Under an invalid law the executive acquires no new powers. Therefore, its actions are without the authority of law.

Both Parliament and the Executive are expected to look up the Constitution before they act. In normal times if they go wrong the Courts are there to correct them. In emergency, when the executive acts and jams the doors of the temples of Justice, a decent democratic government has to act and be its own judge. Its responsibilities are heightened doubly.

In the present emergency, it has thrown its responsibilities to the wind and refuses to let its eyes and ears be opened despite the clear pronouncement of the Supreme Court.

If in violation of the Constitution Parliament keeps a void law on the statute book and the government illegally denies liberty to hundreds the sorry spectacle of today will become a grim tragedy tomorrow. The casualties will be:

1. Liberty of the individual. Today mostly the Communists are in detention, and the Socialist George Fernandes cannot be forgotten. Tomorrow it may be any one, me or you! Communists are always the first to take the blow first, but the rest cannot escape if lawlessness becomes the law. Therefore all must act in time, in defence of fundamental rights, dear and common to all.

2. Respect for the rule of law. Can Home Minister Nanda or Prime Minister Nehru argue with any pride or decency that our justification for assuming powers which Constitution does not give us, is that we have prevented the detenus from approaching the Courts.

A theft in your house does not cease to be a theft merely because the police thana has been closed temporarily. Does it make the theft legal?

The democratic and moral conscience of India will not permit the theft of fundamental rights. In fact, just because Nandaji is the Home Minister and Panditji the Prime Minister, it is possible

to stir their conscience and the future of our democracy can be saved. A candid admission that a wrong was done is the minimum that is necessary.

This is no abstract issue but of great practical importance to any responsible government that seeks to maintain law and order on the basis of instantaneous respect for laws. Justice Subba Rao has pointedly drawn attention to this aspect of the problem:

"The tendency to ignore the rule of law is contagious and if our Parliament which unwittingly made a void law, not only allows it to remain on the statute book but also permits it to be administered by the executive, the contagion may spread to the people and the habit of lawlessness, like other habits, dies hard."

No warning can be clearer and it is from an eminent Judge of the Supreme Court.

3. Respect for the Constitution. If Parliament and the executive do not respect the laws of the Constitution, how can the people respect the government or its laws??

opined that the Defence of India Act and Rules are bad in law. They stand vindicated.

The present Attorney-General, arguing before the Supreme Court admitted unconstitutionality and only harped on denial of legal remedy.

The presiding Judge Gajendragadkar's interjection at the time of hearing that unconstitutionality was writ large on the face of the Defence of India Act has been the basis of both the majority and minority judgments of the Supreme Court.

The democratic conscience of even the Times of India and Statesman is shocked. After the judgment, they are pleading for deletion of Article 359 and revocation of President's Order if not the emergency itself.

On the floor of the Lok Sabha, Law Minister Sen admitted that only the insane will claim that the Defence of India Act and Rules were enacted in consonance with the fundamental rights provisions of the Constitution.

Will he be sane now to bring them in conformity with the Constitution?

by P. C. JOSHI

If Parliament and the government show scant respect for democratic rights under the Constitution they are playing into the hands of reaction which will not hesitate to destroy all fundamental rights and step by step, destroy democracy and establish a real dictatorship. Such dark clouds are visible on the Indian horizon. Let us preserve all the light that can be saved.

The Supreme Court has pleaded helplessness under Article 359. There are two opinions about it. But Article 359 is not available to Parliament or the Executive not to do its duty!

In fact, just because the executive is both the actor and the judge in emergency, it must honestly rethink in the light of the Supreme Court judgment.

Denial of the legal remedy does not make a void law valid. To go on administering a lawless law and under it, hold Indian citizens under illegal detention, is to make a mockery of the Constitution and a laughing stock of ourselves.

Enlightened Indian public opinion, including many with nothing in common with Communism and no love for Indian Communists, have spoken up.

The eminent jurists of India headed by the former Attorney-General had

The next step obviously is for Indian democracy to assert itself and demand with one voice—

1. Parliament respect the Constitution and change the Defence of India Act.

2. Government admit its mistakes and release the detenus forthwith with the necessary grace.

Loud words about emergency must not paralyse the government's thought and action. Under the national emergency, must the Nehru government do in India what even the Churchill government did not do during World War II for the Indians much less for the Britons? This is the real poser.

Again, let the facts speak for themselves. All the Communist detenus have been released in Kerala, Andhra, Madras, Karnataka, Orissa and Rajasthan and the country is none the worse for it. Why must they be kept detained in the other States?

Living facts, elementary democratic principles and India's national tradition cry aloud. All will act in the sacred cause of the sanctity of the Constitution and the defence of the fundamental rights of our citizens. The very foundations of our national life have to be saved and reinforced.

(September 9)

RELEASE ALL POLITICAL DETENUS

Gopalan's Resolution On D. I. R.

On behalf of the Communist Group in the Lok Sabha, A. K. Gopalan moved the following resolution on September 6:

"This House is of opinion that the powers under the Defence of India Act have been abused, with a view to carrying on attack on the Communist Party and a number of trade union and other organisations, and calls upon the government to release all political and mass leaders, detained under the Defence of India Rules."

In the course of a detailed and well-documented speech, A. K. Gopalan referred in particular to the recent Supreme Court judgment. Extracts from the concluding portion of his speech which deals with the judgment are given below:

There are about 900 Communists all over the country who have been arrested. There are several others including workers in Bombay and in other places. Why is it that they were arrested? It is because, as we have seen in Bombay and other places, the moment a strike takes place the leaders are arrested under the DIR. It is feared that these active trade unionists and kisan workers would defend the workers and peasants in the face of such attacks on the common people.

Since then about 300 have been released. The government cannot say that those who have been released have acted in any manner which would weaken the defence of the country. This itself proves that the excuse that the government puts out for the arrest of these people is totally unwarranted.

Even today hundreds of Communists continue to be detained in West Bengal, Tripura, Punjab, Maharashtra and other States. As far as the southern States are concerned, all of them have been released.

In this connection I want to point out that the provisions in the Constitution, which empower the President to suspend the right of a citizen to go to a court for the enforcement of his fundamental rights have actually been used to subvert the Constitution.

Supreme Court Judgment

There is the judgment of the Supreme Court. There was a majority judgment and a minority judgment. Both the minority and the majority have agreed on certain things.

Despite two differing judgments of the Supreme Court, the majority as well as the minority are agreed on two important constitutional points raised by Shri Setalvad on behalf of the detenus. They constitute the basis on which Indian democratic opinion, irrespective of differences, can and must assert itself.

Firstly, both the judgments agree that the DIR and Rules have been enacted in contravention of the fundamental rights provisions of Art. 22(4), (5) and (7). The majority judges draw attention to the fact that the Attorney-General himself had no answer to Shri Setalvad's contention that these provisions were unconstitutional.

Secondly, both agree that the officially much-quoted Article 359 or the Presidential Order issued under it does not enlarge the legislative power of Parliament during the emergency. Despite the President's Order the DIR and Ordinance were void and would continue to be void in law. But the detenus have no right to get relief because there is the Presidential Order.

till the DIR exists they cannot have any relief.

So the Supreme Court judgment in the DIR case has expressed that it is the responsibility of Parliament to amend



the DIR and the Rules framed under it to bring them in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution. At the end of the judgment, a warning has been administered by the majority regarding liability after the emergency is withdrawn. They have said:

"If on the expiration of the Presidential Order, Parliament passes any legislation to protect executive action taken during the pendency of the Presidential Order and afford indemnity

D. I. R. ULTRA VIRES OF THE CONSTITUTION

Bhupesh Gupta Demands Govt. Action

On September 3, the leader of the Communist Group in Parliament, Bhupesh Gupta raised the question of the Supreme Court judgment in the Rajya Sabha. We give below relevant extracts from the proceedings:

BHUPESH GUPTA: Since both the Prime Minister and the Home Minister and also the Law Minister are present in the House, I would like to invite your attention to the Supreme Court judgment yesterday in regard to the appeal cases against detention. All the Judges are agreed that the relevant provision of the Defence of India Act which we passed in this House and Rule 30A were enacted in disregard of article 22 of the Constitution and other articles in Part III.

The majority is of the view that the detenus did not have the right to enforce the remedy provided in the Constitution. After the pronouncement of the Supreme Court, the law as it stands today is not in compliance with the provisions of the Constitution.

Therefore, the matter has now shifted from the plane of the judiciary, that is the Supreme Court, to the forum of this House and I would like to know what the government now proposes to do. I may add here that the Law Minister himself said in the other House that the law was not in accordance with the Constitution....

LAW MINISTER A. K. SEN: I did not say so.

BHUPESH GUPTA: ...and the Attorney-General also made the same contention before the Supreme Court and the Supreme Court has now sustained this position. We are not now con-

to the executive in that behalf, the validity and the effect of such legislative action may have to be carefully scrutinised.

Many of the leading papers have commented on the Supreme Court's judgment. Most of them have said that though the Supreme Court could not go into the merits of the question and order the release of the detenus because of the emergency and the Presidential Order, Parliament should do something and the prisoners who are detained under the Defence of India Rules must be released.

Since both the majority and minority judgments agree that it is a void law and since they say that they cannot release the prisoners because of the Presidential order, I would submit that they must be released forthwith and the Defence of India Rules must be withdrawn.

As far as the provisions of the DIR are concerned, they have been misused by the government. As I have stated earlier, they have not been used against those who are indulging in anti-social activities.

Even in countries like USA and Britain, even when there is a war going on, the emergency is not used in the way in which our government is using it.

Why is the emergency kept on? It is not because some people are doing something against the defence of the country. It is not as if some people are standing in the way of strengthening the defence of the country or strengthening the morale of the people or increasing the food production of the country.

The DIR are used against the workers and trade union leaders. Even the resolutions of the tripartite conference are not implemented under this pretext and no action is taken against the employers. Yet they are taken

LOK SABHA

advantage of for persecuting the working class.

I do not understand the necessity for the emergency except for keeping some of the trade union and kisan leaders inside the jails. Except for that, there is no reason why the emergency should continue.

How long will the fundamental rights of the citizens be taken away when it is not necessary and when there is no necessity for the emergency?

I would request the government at least after the judgment of the Supreme Court, to withdraw these rules. If that is not done, if the DIR are not withdrawn and the prisoners are not released immediately, certainly the country will understand that even in spite of the Supreme Court judgment, government is not prepared to act according to the spirit of that judgment.

If Parliament does not set right the wrong immediately and the executive chooses to persist in violating the Constitution, liberty alone will not be the casualty. With it will be buried the rule of law, respect for the Constitution and the democratic traditions of national and individual freedom.

Here is the question of individual freedom, which is very important. It has been curtailed for the last eight or nine months. I want to know from the government whether on some pretext or excuse they are going to see that the freedom and liberty of the citizens of this country are going to be curtailed for an indefinite period or whether after the Supreme Court judgment, they are going to release all those prisoners who are detained under the DIR and withdraw the emergency.

RAJYA SABHA

BHUPESH GUPTA: I hope the government will make a statement.

CHAIRMAN: Not just now.

BHUPESH GUPTA: I do not want it now but I would personally request, through you, the Prime Minister to apply his mind to this matter and tell us exactly how he feels about it. Let him take any advice he likes but I would like to hear from the Prime Minister what he thinks about this matter.

CHAIRMAN: I would not allow the Prime Minister to say anything now. I have allowed you to say what you had to say.

BHUPESH GUPTA: I shall be more grateful if the Prime Minister makes a statement.

STATEMENTS ON D. I. R. Home Minister & Law Minister

Relevant Extracts from the speeches of the Home Minister in Rajya Sabha on May 10, 1963 and of the Law Minister in Lok Sabha on August 29, 1963.

INTERVENING on May 10, 1963 in the debate on Bhupesh Gupta's Motion on the DIR and Presidential Orders in which he challenged the constitutional validity of the DI Act and Rules on the ground that the impugned provisions and rules violated Article 22 of the Constitution, the Home Minister was pleased to say in his intervention:

"I need not go to say what articles 14, 21 and 22 contain. It has already been read out. We had then and even now, consulted the Law Ministry and they hold the opinion that when article 359(1) provided for suspension of enforcement of this right, it ipso facto suspends the rights themselves for the duration of the emergency."

ON August 29, 1963 debating on the same subject, the Law Minister said:

"The very reading of the rules will show that they are not in accordance with article 22, and it is only an insane person who would say that that article, as specifically worded, not providing for the setting up of the advisory bodies, would be in accordance with article 22."

SUPREME COURT ON D.I.R. CASES

Observations Made In Majority & Minority Judgments

Per Mr. Justice Gajendragadkar's (Majority Judgment)

Responsibilities Of Parliament

1 "It may be permissible to observe that in a democratic State, the effective safeguard against abuse of executive powers whether in peace or in emergency, is ultimately to be found in the existence of enlightened, vigilant and vocal public opinion.

2 "As Lord Wright observed, in the case of Liversidge, the safeguard of British liberty is in the good sense of the people and in the system of representative and responsible government which has been evolved."

Per Mr. Justice Subba Rao's (Minority Judgment)

1 "I cannot for a moment attribute to the august body, the Parliament, the intention to make solemnly void laws. It may have made the present impugned Act bona fide thinking that it is sanctioned by the provisions of the Constitution. Whatever it may be, the result is, we have now a void Act on the statute book and under that Act the appellants before us have been detained illegally. To use the felicitous language of Lord Atkin, in this country "amid the clash of arms, the laws are not silent; they may be changed but they speak the same language in war as in peace." The tendency to ignore the rule of law is contagious, and, if our Parliament, which unwittingly made a void law, not only allows it to remain on the statute book, but also permits it to be administered by the executive, the contagion may spread to the people, and the habit of lawlessness, like other habits, dies hard. Though it is not my province, I venture to suggest, if I may, that the Act can be amended in conformity with our Constitution without it losing its effectiveness."

2 "I would close with a few observations. In the view I have taken, there are three courses open to Parliament: either it can make a valid law without infringing the fundamental rights other than those enshrined in Art. 19 or amend S. 491 of the Code in order to maintain the enforcement of void laws, or do both. It is not for me to suggest the right course."

Constitutional Position On Validity Of The Defence Of India Act And The Rules

(Majority Judgment)

1 "Article 14 guarantees equality before law. Article 21 provides, inter alia, that no person shall be deprived of his personal liberty, except according to procedure established by law, and Art. 22(4), (5) and (7) lay down Constitutional safeguards for the protection of the citizen whose personal liberty may be affected by an order of detention passed against him. Art. 22(4) requires that an advisory Board should be constituted and that cases of detenus should be referred to the Advisory Board for its opinion as provided therein. Art. 22(5) imposes an obligation on the detaining authority to communicate to the detenu grounds on which the order of detention has been passed against him with a view to afford him the earliest opportunity of making a representation against the order. Art. 22(6) provides that in giving notice to the detenu under Art. 22(5), facts need not be disclosed which the detaining authority considers to be against public interest to disclose, and Art. 22(7) prescribes certain conditions which have to be satisfied by any law which the Parliament may pass empowering the detention of citizens. It is thus clear that the Constitution empowers the Parliament to make a law providing for the detention of citizens, but this power has to be exercised subject to the mandatory conditions specified in Art. 22(4), and (7)."

(Minority Judgment)

1 "Neither the Act (Defence of India Act) nor the rules made thereunder satisfy the conditions laid down in that clause. The Act and the Rules do not provide for the maximum period of detention, for the communication to the detenu of the grounds of detention, for affording him an opportunity of making representations against his detention, or for an Advisory Board consisting of persons with the requisite qualifications. The power to review given to the detaining authority cannot conceivably satisfy the condition of an Advisory Board provided for under Cl. (4) (a) of Art. 22. It is, therefore, a clear case of Parliament making a law in direct infringement of the relevant provisions of Art. 22 of the Constitution, and, therefore, the law so made is void under the said Article."

2 "The result of the aforesaid discussion may be summarized in the following propositions: (1) Whether the Constitution affirmatively confers powers on the legislature to make laws subject-wise or negatively prohibits it from infringing any fundamental right, they represent only two aspects of want of legislative power; (ii) the Constitution in express terms makes the power of a legislature to make laws in regard to the entries in the lists of the Seventh Schedule subject to the other provisions of the Constitution and thereby circumscribes or reduces the said power by the limitations laid down in Part III of the Constitution; (iii) it follows from the premises that a law made in derogation or in excess of that power would be ab initio void wholly or to the extent of the contravention, as the case may be...."

This view was accepted by a later decision of this Court in Mahendra Lal v. State of U.P. (2). "It is, therefore, manifest that if the Act and the rules framed thereunder infringed the provisions of Art. 22(4) and (5) of the Constitution, they would be ab initio void; they would be still born law and any detention made thereunder would be an illegal detention."

3 "It is contended that when remedy is suspended in respect of infringement of Art. 22, the right thereunder also falls with it. It is said that right and remedy are reciprocal; and if there cannot be a right without a remedy, there cannot also be a remedy without a right."

4 "Where they intended to suspend the right, they expressly said so, and where they intended only to suspend the remedy, they stated so. We cannot, therefore, accept this contention."

5 "It is one thing to suggest that in view of the amplitude of the phraseology used in Art. 359, the right to move for the enforcement of fundamental rights infringed by a void law, even deliberately made by Parliament, is suspended, but it is a different thing to visualize a situation when the Constitution permitted Parliament under the shelter of executive fiat to make void laws."

period of more than 3 months unless an Advisory Board constituted for that purpose reports before the expiry of three months that there is sufficient cause for detention; and (3) the authority making the order shall communicate to such person the grounds on which the order has been made and afford him the earliest opportunity of making representation against the order. At the same time Cl. (7) enables Parliament to make a law prescribing the circumstances under which and the class or classes of cases in which a person may be detained for a period longer than three months without obtaining the opinion of the Advisory Board, Clause (8) of Art. 22 enables an authority not to disclose facts to the detenu which it considers to be against the public interest to disclose. While Clauses (4) to (8) of Art. 22 provide for the minimum safeguards for a detenu in the matter of preventive detention, but Cl. (7) removes them by enabling Parliament to make a law for preventive detention ignoring practically the said safeguards. The only outstanding safeguard, therefore, is that Parliament can only make a law in derogation of the said safeguards by defining the circumstances under which and the class or classes of cases in which a person may be so detained. Parliament did not make such a law."

D.I. Act Inconsistent With Constitution

(Majority Judgment)

1 "It is common ground that the Preventive Detention Act of 1950 complies with these requirements inasmuch as it has enacted sections 7 to 13 in that behalf. It is also clear that these Constitutional safeguards have not been provided for by the impugned Act. (Defence of India Act, 1962)."

"Parliament has chosen to pass the Act under challenge and has disregarded the Constitutional provisions of Articles 14 and 22."

2 "It is quite true that if the Act has contravened the citizens' fundamental rights under Articles 14 and 22, it would be void and the detentions effected under the relevant provisions of the said Act would be equally inoperative."

3 "What the Presidential Order purports to do by virtue of the power conferred on the President by Art. 359(1) is to bar the remedy of the citizens to move any court for the enforcement of the specified rights. The rights are not expressly suspended, but the citizen is deprived of his right to move any court for their enforcement. That is one important distinction between the provisions of Art. 358 and Art. 359(1)."

4 "It would be noticed that the Presidential Order cannot widen the authority of the legislatures or the executive; it merely suspends the right to move any court to obtain a relief on the ground that the rights conferred by Part III have been contravened if the said rights are specified in the Order."

5 "At the commencement of the hearing of these appeals when Mr. Setalvad began to argue about the validity of the impugned provisions of the Act and the Rules, it appeared that as regards the validity of the impugned provisions of the Act and the Rules he (Mr. C. K. Daphtary, Attorney-General for India) was not in a position to challenge the contention of the appellants that the Act contravened Arts. 14, 21 and 22(4) (5) and (7)."

(Minority Judgment)

1 "Neither the Act (Defence of India Act) nor the rules made thereunder satisfy the conditions laid down in that clause. The Act and the Rules do not provide for the maximum period of detention, for the communication to the detenu of the grounds of detention, for affording him an opportunity of making representations against his detention, or for an Advisory Board consisting of persons with the requisite qualifications. The power to review given to the detaining authority cannot conceivably satisfy the condition of an Advisory Board provided for under Cl. (4) (a) of Art. 22. It is, therefore, a clear case of Parliament making a law in direct infringement of the relevant provisions of Art. 22 of the Constitution, and, therefore, the law so made is void under the said Article."

2 "This Court, in Deep Chand v. The State of Uttar Pradesh. (1), laid down the effect of a law made in infringement of fundamental rights; and observer at p. 40: "The result of the aforesaid discussion may be summarized in the following propositions: (1) Whether the Constitution affirmatively confers powers on the legislature to make laws subject-wise or negatively prohibits it from infringing any fundamental right, they represent only two aspects of want of legislative power; (ii) the Constitution in express terms makes the power of a legislature to make laws in regard to the entries in the lists of the Seventh Schedule subject to the other provisions of the Constitution and thereby circumscribes or reduces the said power by the limitations laid down in Part III of the Constitution; (iii) it follows from the premises that a law made in derogation or in excess of that power would be ab initio void wholly or to the extent of the contravention, as the case may be...."

*ON PAGE FOURTEEN

THE GREAT CAMPAIGN

AS THIS ISSUE OF NEW AGE IS GOING TO THE PRESS, THE DAWN OF THE FATEFUL DAY OF SEPTEMBER 13 IS SLOWLY BREAKING. THE POINT OF CULMINATION OF A GREAT MOVEMENT IS DRAWING NEARER. THOUSANDS OF MARCHERS FROM ALL OVER THE COUNTRY HAVE CONVERGED ON NEW DELHI TO TAKE PART IN THE BIGGEST EVER POST-INDEPENDENCE ACTION OF THE COMMON PEOPLE AGAINST THE RETROGRADE POLICIES OF THE GOVERNMENT. IT IS ON THIS EVE, WE RECAPITULATE THE PREPARATIONS OF THE GREAT PETITION MOVEMENT.

HOW this movement was launched and what was the prime mover behind it are being elaborated once again elsewhere in this issue. Here are some salient facts of this campaign:

The decision to launch this campaign was taken on June 1, 1963 in a meeting of the secretariat of the Communist Party which briefly reviewed the situation in the country, especially with reference to the severe economic burdens heaped on the people and growing discontent that the masses have begun to show against them.

The secretariat came to the conclusion that "it was necessary now to shift the emphasis of our work to the defence of the people, especially the working masses, from the stage of criticism to that of concrete prospects of mass actions."

In this context, all the questions of defence and development, prices and taxes, alternate means of securing resources for the country, democratic control of administration and end of corruption etc., were taken into consideration and it was decided that a nationwide movement of a Great Petition to Parliament urging upon this august body to redress the grievances of the common people will be made. The Great Petition signed by about 10 million people, it was decided, will be presented to Parliament by a rally of thousands of people.

On June 7, Communist Party Chairman S. A. Dange announced the de-

tails of the signature campaign at a press conference in New Delhi.

The call was endorsed the same week in the Andhra Pradesh TTC conference, in the meetings of the Organising Committee of the West Bengal

Bihar kisan conference on June 18 endorsed the call for the campaign

By the third week of June, the call was endorsed by all Party committees in all states and additional support was lent by the trade unions, kisan, youth

**INCREASE
D. A. 25%**

Kerala conducted a successful movement against increase in the bus fare. BPTUC held a convention of trade unions in the last week of June, which was followed up in Delhi. Bombay held a convention on dearness allowance, prices and tax burden. In these conventions, unions of different affiliations as well as independent unions participated.

At the call of the AITUC, pay strike for a

terms of revising the quotas they had earlier undertaken. On July 4, Hyderabad saw one of the biggest demonstrations of the toiling people protesting against the tax burden.

By the third week of July, almost all sections of people, who are affected in any way by the new imposts, were drawn into the fold of the movement. The Indian Labour Conference met in Delhi on July 13

gths, could by the end of July properly work out the details for the collection of signatures.

The Communist group in the Lok Sabha tabled a motion of no-confidence against government on seven specific points of Censure and demanded resig-

nary manoeuvres of the Rightists in this no-confidence move.

On July 14, on one day the Cannanore district in Kerala collected more than 50,000 signatures. Delhi had collected about 45,000 signature by July 15. By August 4, more than 20 lakhs of signatures were collected. Every state once again revised their quotas, for example, Andhra Pradesh increased its quota from 10 to 20 lakhs.

Meanwhile Bombay workers held out an open declaration to the Maharashtra government that unless immediate steps were taken to improve their conditions, they would resort to a one-day protest general strike.

Hundreds of rallies, demonstrations all over the country marked the

**NATIONALISE
BANKS!**

unit of the CPI, in Orissa and in Delhi.

The secretariat of the CPI fixed the following dates:

June 10 to July 5: completion of all preparatory work;

July 5 to August 5: intensive signature campaign to be launched by the top leaders of the Party.

August 5 to August 20: collection of signatures at district and taluq headquarters.

August 20 onwards: preparation for March to Delhi with send-off functions on the way.

Orissa observed a campaign fortnight in the second half of June at the call of the state secretariat. On June 14, the Bihar state secretariat worked out a detailed programme to enlist the widest support for the campaign. The Punjab state committee met the same week and chalked out its programme. The Kerala executive of the Party met on June 19 and 20; U.P. on June 18; Karnataka on June 10 and 11; Rajasthan on 21 and 22 and so on. The

and other mass organisations.

By the end of June, work for the collection of signatures had been started by the signature squads. The National Council of the Communist Party meeting in Delhi from June 26 to July 3, took stock of the work done and fully endorsed it. It also chalked out a scheme for bringing about the most effective response from the masses and cooperation from the mass organisations in this respect.

Simultaneously with the signature campaign, local issues were also effectively



day was observed in all industrial areas protesting against the CDS in the first week of July.

By the beginning of the second week of July, people

**DOWN WITH
CORRUPTION!**

and some of the extra-efficient people in the Labour Ministry thought that the trade unions could be made to accept the CDS as part of the undertaking flowing from the industrial truce.

But the reply was sharp and clear despite the INTUC supporting the move. Government had to take back the proposition and the impact of the movement began to make itself felt. Simultaneously there also started a string of malicious campaigns against the movement, but that could hardly produce any dent in the massive framework of the campaign.

The Punjab state committee of the CPI taking stock of the work done so far, decided on July 18 to raise the state quota to 12 lakhs. At the same time Andhra Pradesh also revised its quota. Hyderabad alone raised it from 25,000 to one lakh. Even Assam which was confronted with numerous problems, including those of border security, floods and drou-

**NATIONALISE
OIL COMPANIES!**

tackled by various Party units. There were massive demonstrations of kisans, workers and middle-class employees all over the country. Protest days, against CDS and taxes were observed in almost all states.

had swung into action. Maharashtra in the first week itself collected about 90,000 signatures. Perceiving the great enthusiasm among the masses in most of the places, Party committees began thinking in



was not admitted for lack of requisite number of members. Another no-confidence motion moved by Acharya Kripalani was admitted for discussion

good progress of the signature campaign during this period. Tamilnad, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Maharashtra—most of the states exceeded

**DOWN WITH
C. D. S.**

which was supported by the opposition excluding the Communist Party. The CPI MPs made it clear that the Party could not identify itself with the reactio-

their quotas and set new targets.

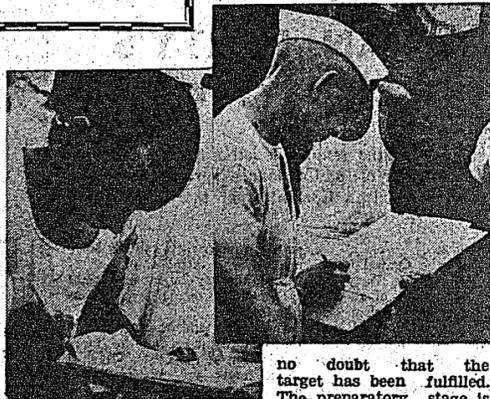
The results of the massive campaign already began to appear. There was



**CHANGE
ANTI-PEOPLE
TAX-POLICY!**

an effective change of position on VOA-AIR deal and Prime Minister Nehru made it clear that the agreement was not acceptable in its existing form. S. K. Patil tried to pose a threat by making a great show of an alleged resignation—he had no idea of the things that were coming.

The 21st session of the Standing Committee of the Indian Labour Conference that met in Delhi on August 5, offered measures like opening of fair price shops, study of cost of living indices, etc. to



no doubt that the target has been fulfilled. The preparatory stage is over. The exit of reactionary men in the government have been secured now. It is the struggle for scrapping their reactionary policies. And so all-in-unity we march towards newer heights of movement for securing the justified demands of the common people.

**NO SURCHARGE
ON POOR!**

alleviate the effect of price rise in the wages of workers.

And then came the Kamaraj Plan. As also the Great Strike of the people of Bombay on August 20. The no-confidence motion was lost in the Lok Sabha but there was a scathing indictment of government's policy in food and finance. And then came the news: Morarji and Patil, as also the minister responsible for VOA deal, Gopala Reddi—were out from the Cabinet. It was a significant victory for the movement.

By the middle of August about 50 lakhs of signatures had been collected all over the country and by the end of that month, it swelled to about 80 lakhs. Every state had overfulfilled its original quota, and was nearing the new targets it had set.

According to an estimate about 4,500 signature collection squads moved round



**NATIONALISE
FOREIGN TRADE!**



SOVIET UNION BEST FRIEND OF ARABS

Syrian Communists Denounce China's Abusive Campaign

The Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party has declared itself in full accord with the Open Letter of the CPSU Central Committee on the question of relations with the leadership of the Communist Party of China, according to a statement published in the Lebanese paper Al Akhbar.

SYRIAN Communists fully agree, says the statement, with the Communists of the Soviet Union and the other countries in that the problem of problems now is the task of preserving and strengthening world peace, that the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries can only be peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems and that the new correlation of forces in the international arena makes a third world war not inevitable.

reaching general and complete disarmament.

The struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence leads to the weakening of the front of world imperialism, to the isolation of the most aggressive circles from the popular masses and creates conditions more favourable for national-liberation movement and the revolutionary struggle of the working class in all countries.

It is to be regretted that with respect to all these great problems vital for all the peoples of the world the Chinese comrades have adopted a stand serving, whether they want it or not, the purposes of world imperialism which is trying to impress the peoples that it is the socialist countries and Communists in general that aspire for

war, prepare for it and instigate it.

The rash attitude of the Chinese comrades to the danger of a nuclear war and the fact that they call the hydrogen bomb a 'paper tiger', their assurances that after a thermonuclear war peoples will build a wonderful future on the ruins of imperialism—all this is absolutely unacceptable.

The Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party deems it its duty to give a resolute answer to the deplorable aspersions cast on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Blinded by Chauvinism

Such assertions cannot possibly come from internationalists true to Marxism-Leninism. They may come only from people blinded by extreme nationalism and overcome by chauvinistic feelings.

The Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party expresses its regret over the fact that the Chinese comrades are trying to introduce distortions and perversions into the problems of the national-liberation movement, its development, the relations between it and the world socialist system, and the world revolutionary movement of the working class.

The assertions of the Chinese leaders coincide almost word for word with what Right-wing nationalists say in our countries. These Right-wing nationalists put the developed socialist countries on a level with the developed capitalist countries in relation to the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The desire of the Chinese comrades to isolate the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America from the socialist countries and especially from their vanguard, the Soviet Union, coincides with the plans and hopes of world imperialism.

The course followed by the Chinese comrades means depriving the national liberation movement of political, economic and military assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This will lead to the Asian, African and Latin American peoples falling with tied hands into the clutches of imperialism.

However, all efforts of the Chinese comrades, substantiated with 'ultra-revolutionary phrases', to cause a split between the Soviet Union and our people are doomed to failure.

Our people, like other fraternal Arab peoples, have learnt from their own experience of many years that the Soviet Union is the best friend and the best support in our struggle to gain

national independence, to consolidate this independence and to follow the road of independent national economic development.

Every Communist and every Arab patriot well knows that the weapons with which the Algerian people fought and with the help of which they won their independence, the weapons with which the sons of Port Said were defending their city during the tripartite aggression, the weapons with which Yemen is defending its independence, the weapons the Syrian people took up to defend their sovereignty in 1957, were first of all Soviet weapons.

To preserve the unity of the socialist camp headed by its main force and vanguard, the Soviet Union, to preserve the unity of the world communist movement headed by its true and tested vanguard—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of great Lenin—is the task of every Communist. And every Communist who is worthy of this name must guard this unity as the apple of his eye.

Any differences existing between Communists are by far smaller and more insignificant than the great problems uniting them. They have one enemy—world imperialism, one aim—the victory of the cause of peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism throughout the world.

The position of the Chinese Communists, violently opposed to the agreement for the prohibition of nuclear tests, has deeply and sadly struck wide strata of people and of public opinion.

THIS prohibition, despite the limitations to which it is still subjected, has for years and years been an essential demand of a wide and strong mass movement, the contents of which was not merely humanitarian, but which fought against imperialism and its policy.

Further, the prohibition is a real conquest; it gives all men a concrete, immediate advantage, because it prevents the further atomic pollution of the atmosphere on the earth and on the seas—probably the cause (some say certainly) of many of the infirmities afflicting us today.

Why, therefore, have the Chinese comrades declared to be against this measure and in such a violent manner, so much so that they have accused the socialist governments—which have approved it—of having betrayed the interests of the people and of peace, starting from the Soviet government which has promoted it and presented it for approval to the whole world?

What's Wrong With Them?

Have the Chinese Communists, therefore, completely lost their heads, carried off by the very incomprehensible and inconsiderate violence of the struggle and polemics which they have for some time led against the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union?

This is not the case; it is a serious political error, coherent with the whole series of false positions appearing from all the papers and documents which the Chinese comrades have produced and issued in the course of the last few years. Examining the question from this point of view, some of the fundamental problems for a right orientation of the Communist movement in general and at present in particular, emerge with great evidence.

At first sight, what strikes us most is the dramatic and haughty refusal of a limited and partial conquest, schematically counterposed to the final aim, still far from being reached.

Let us, therefore, start off by saying that we know very well that the present ban of atmospheric and underwater atomic explosions agreed upon does neither mean a general ban nor a definitive abolition and destruction of nuclear weapons.

These more advanced aims remain and they will not

be reached without a long and new struggle in which both the authority and the strength of the socialist countries (and therefore also their diplomacy) and the democratic and working class movement of the whole world will have to pledge themselves with intelligence and decision, against the leading imperialist circles and particularly against their diabolic wing.

The partial result does not cancel the final aim; on the contrary, it makes the action to reach it more necessary, but also more efficacious. But the presence and awareness of the final objectives does not make the partial conquest—as the Chinese state—absurd, treacherous and even criminal.

We, therefore, once more face one of the biggest errors of that sectarian and boasting working class movement has suffered in the past, at its start. We all know that there has been the tendency to consider even the struggle for wage increases superfluous and damaging, as, once obtained, they would have conciliated the worker with capitalism, causing him to forget his revolutionary task. Simple good sense on the part of the workers, together with Marxist doctrines, have long disposed of these aberrations.

The Chinese comrades have had a complete relapse. All their doctrinary elaboration moves in the framework of this error, which they repeat in the most diverse forms accompanying the refusal of the movement and of partial conquests (sometimes half-heartedly admitted) with a profuse reasoning of revolutionary sentences.

Chinese Proposal: Nothing New

As a matter of fact, the Chinese government has opposed the proposal for a conference for a total ban on atomic arms to the Moscow agreement. But this proposal has already been made, I don't know how many times. A conference of this sort, in substance, is what has been going on in Geneva for some years and which, for the moment, has achieved no results.

As the development of relations amongst the greatest powers, the experience of the tragic collision of policies which took place in the Caribbean in October 1962, the successive considerations and the further contacts have led to a point where a

On The Agreement Banning Nuclear Tests

★ by Palmiro Togliatti

partial result could be reached: why reject it, why condemn it?

The same Chinese government, on the other hand, is far from being coherent in its proposals. In fact, it proposes the creation of nuclear-free zones in some parts of the world as one of the objectives of an international conference.



Would this not also be a limited agreement; would it not be a partial agreement which would enable, at the summit of the international meeting, terrifying atomic arsenals of the bigger powers, armed beyond measure, to subsist?

Therefore the Chinese position, which started off from a maximalist and primitive, radically false, point of view appears even 'faully' owing to its incoherence. Having come down to a proposal of a diplomatic nature, Chinese government leaders are forced to recognise that, in this field, one cannot but proceed by degrees; they are forced to propose and accept limited and partial results as possible conquests, as steps forward towards final aims.

But now our Chinese comrades raise another question, which perhaps is at the base of their opposition to the Moscow agreement and which is the true motive of it. This agreement—they assert—pledges its signatories not to furnish to other countries the raw materials, the means and technical advice necessary for the production and testing of nuclear weapons. The socialist countries, except one, the Soviet Union, could therefore never have these terrible war instruments available, while their deadliest enemy, American imperialism, has ample means of this kind available.

To this criticism we can add also the revelation that, since 1959, the Soviet leaders refused to furnish the Chinese People's Republic with a sample of atomic bomb and the necessary instructions for its manufacture and use. This revelation touches problems concerning relations between states that escape our knowledge and partly our competence.

But the general judgment on nuclear disarmament of the socialist states in the present phase of international relations does not escape our competence. And our judgment is dictated by two types of considerations, some relative to the cost of atomic armament, and therefore to the very heavy weight which it represents for an economic system of any nature; the others relate to the necessity of preventing, with every legitimate means, the production and possession of nuclear arms spreading to all the nations of the world.

It is well known that even for the United States of America, despite their exceptional industrial and financial power, the production of atomic and nuclear weapons is

a very heavy burden and that one part of the American public opinion considers that it would be better to get rid of it.

To reach and surpass the United States in this field has been an enormous effort for the Soviet Union, an effort from which the first socialist state could not withhold itself, because its very existence depended on it but which costed and costs sacrifices, renunciations, actual distortions in the economic development, owing to which the whole socialist system suffers.

Would it have been right, would it have been logical, for such an effort to have been accomplished also by other socialist states, when we know that all these states have faced and partially still face serious economic problems concerning industry, agriculture and the living conditions of working people?

Is it logical, is it right, that an enormous effort to produce nuclear weapons be accomplished by a country like the People's Republic of China, where we know that economic conditions and standards of living are still far from being flourishing?

Soviet Responsibility

Our answer is clear and simple: the Soviet Union had the precise duty, before the whole working class and Communist movement, to accept the challenge to atomic competition, with all the heavy and negative aspects it includes. Its effort and its sacrifice, however, implied and imply as a consequence the exoneration of the other socialist countries and of People's China, in the first place, from this same task.

This is one of the fields in which it is more evident how the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union, its grand economic development and its world power are one of the most powerful aids for the advance and strengthening of all the states where the power has passed into the hands of the working class.

This is all the more true in so much as all socialist countries (except Yugoslavia) are linked to the Soviet Union by mutual assistance agreements. The Soviet atomic armament, is today equal and perhaps higher to that of the United States, is a shield for all these states, with no exception. Why should they wear themselves out to have their own personal nuclear armament?

Naturally, our argument is valid, unless one turns the production and possession of atomic bombs into a question of national prestige. But this is General de Gaulle's position. We do not wish to write our Chinese comrades putting them on this level.

But there remains another type of consideration, even more serious because it interests every country and the whole of our struggle for peace. Today the states which have an atomic arsenal available are three, two capitalist ones, one socialist. Things have gone in such a way that the other states accept this situation, from which a particular structure of international relations emerges.

It is a structure which causes a certain simplification of these relations, but this simplification substantially is not unfavourable to the socialist cause and to socialist countries, provided the necessary solidarity, cooperation and mutual assistance is maintained.

If this situation is broken, where do we end up? First one, then two, then three, then every state will wish to create and have its own atomic stock. De Gaulle's France has already placed itself on this path. Bonn's militarist and revanchist Germany aims with all its force at doing the same, which is the real motive for its NOT wanting to adhere to the 'Moscow' agreement.

In Italy, today, there is no war-mongering party calling for a national nuclear armament; but let us not fondle too many illusions; the sympathies towards de Gaulle, and the bonds with Adenauer, are powerful. Can a socialist state, demanding its own atomic armament, assume the heavy responsibility of breaking the present situation and, consequently, of starting a new ruthless race to nuclear rearmament, which might end up in a war?

Therefore, if it is true that the Soviet Union in 1959 refused to create the conditions for Chinese national nuclear rearmament, it is our opinion that she acted well, that she served the cause of peace, of international relaxation and disarmament, for which we all fight and on which the destiny of mankind depends.

The irresponsible and even ridiculous lightness with which the Chinese comrades dare accuse the Soviet Union of agreeing with the United States in wanting to suppress the German Democratic Republic and to favour the atomic armament of Bonn's Germany does not help us to modify this judgment; instead confirms it.

Irresponsible Attitude

Now every limit to polemics is passed: the Soviet Union is already treated as an enemy! If we had to reach the conclusion that the 1959 refusal of the Soviet Union has stimulated the polemics and struggle of the Chinese comrades against the political positions of the international Communist movement and therefore also against the Soviet Union, this would aggravate the negative judgment which must be given of this struggle.

Amongst other things, if it was that refusal which annoyed them and drove them to such violent criticism, why did they not say so openly, in the course of the international meetings that have taken place and where privacy during the debates was ensured? We can all gain something from a greater and open sincerity in our reciprocal relations.

One point must still be examined and deserves to be examined. To which consequence does the position, which we maintain (according to which it is absurd to reject partial conquests and progress, schematically opposing to these a final aim), lead with regard to what concerns the development of political and class struggles in the countries where the bourgeoisie is still in power and where, the advance towards a new power, towards socialism must be carried on under these circumstances? It is a point which, particularly for us, is of the utmost importance. It is well worthwhile to be examined aside and with attention.

(This is the full text of the Rinasca, August 24, article summarised in our issue of last week. It is being reprinted from the English language bulletin of the Italian Communist Party.)

IRANIAN PARTY'S MESSAGE TO CPSU

Following is the text of a letter addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party of Iran:

Dear Comrades, On behalf of the Central Committee of the People's Party of Iran (Tudeh), on behalf of all our party, allow us to congratulate you and in your person the CPSU and all the Soviet people on the 60th anniversary of the 2nd Congress of the RSDLP.

The Party of Bolsheviks—now the CPSU—which was founded at this Congress, has passed a path of glorious struggle for these 60 years. Skillfully utilising, under the leadership of its great founder V. I. Lenin, the experience of every defeat for the future victory, steered in a Bolshevik way, it led the Russian working class to the epoch-making victory which changed the course of world history—the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Based on the granite foundation of the socialist system, following the way illumined by the behests of Lenin, the Soviet system, guided by the CPSU, has overcome all difficulties of the building of socialism in a country surrounded by the capitalist world, swept away obstacles, created by the period of the personality cult, and is now building the world's first communist society, revolutionising the peoples by its example alone.

Mercilessly fighting against the Right-wing and Left-wing opportunists, branding dogmatism and sectarianism, revisionism and reformism of every stripe, and at the same time strengthening the unity and solidarity of the communist movement, the CPSU has always vigilantly guarded the purity of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The correct combining of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence with the selfless support of the national-liberation movement of the peoples characterises the wisdom of the foreign policy of the CPSU.

The successes recently scored in the sphere of the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests are a fruit of the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and its Party. They gladden all the peace-loving peoples. They are especially valuable for our people in the light of those plots, pre-

pared by imperialists and the home reaction who intended, in case of war, to destroy by atomic bombs the most blossoming parts of our country.

Our Party and the people are the best witnesses of the internationalism of the CPSU. We shall never forget the Russian social-democrats—revolutionaries who gave up their lives in the struggle for the cause of the Iranian revolution. The resolution of the Prague conference of the RSDLP which branded tsarist Russia and defended the Iranian revolutionaries, will always be fresh in our memory.

Example of Internationalism

The best example of internationalism and equal relations with all peoples was the annulment by the young Soviet state of all privileges of tsarist Russia in Iran and of all unequal treaties with our country. We highly value the friendship with the fraternal Party which is nearest to us, the friendship written down in the history of the struggle of our people by the blood jointly shed by our fighters.

We are sure that by the efforts of the CPSU, supported by other parties, the communist and labour movement will also eliminate the present difficulties connected with the dangers of dogmatism and revisionism and with the splitting tendencies. The socialist camp must be and will be united.

We wish your Party, its CC, Comrade Khrushchov personally new big achievements in all spheres of the activity of the CPSU, its foreign and home policies, in the carrying out of the great Programme, approved by the 2nd Congress of the Party.

Long live the CPSU—the recognised and worthy vanguard of the world communist and labour movement!

Workers of all countries, unite! THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY OF IRAN (TUDEH)

NORTH EUROPEAN PARTIES HAIL TEST BAN, REJECT CHINESE 'GENERAL LINE'

Representatives of Communist Parties of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden meeting in Copenhagen in the third week of August discussed the urgent problems of mutual interest arising from the Moscow Test Ban Treaty and the Chinese Communists' rejection of the test ban and disarmament.

In a communique published in the Central Organ of the Communist Party of Denmark, the participants said that complete identity of views was achieved on all questions under discussion.

With this Conference and its unanimous decisions, the efforts of the Chinese Communist Party to split the Scandinavian Communist Parties and to plant in their ranks dissenters, have come to utter failure.

This Conference deeply regretted that the Communist Party of China had rejected the Moscow Test Ban Treaty and firmly backed Soviet foreign policy.

The Conference also discussed the Open Letter of the CPSU on Chinese dogmatism and fully agreed with Soviet criticism of the Chinese position on the general line of the international Communist movement and other questions of ideology, economy and foreign policy.

Representatives of the four Communist Parties stated that the struggle waged for many years by the Socialist countries and all peace forces of the world has now been crowned by a positive result by a partial nuclear test ban. This ban prevents the poisoning of the atmosphere and is a first and vital step toward the easing of world tensions.

Most of the states of the world, the Scandinavian countries and Finland included, have already acceded to the ban treaty, which creates greater possibilities for the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons and for universal disarmament on an international scale. "Our parties approve this move on the part of their respective Govern-

ments. It fully accords with the aspirations of our Parties and wishes of the broad sections of the public of our countries who demand that vigorous efforts be continued in securing world peace", said the communique.

The signing of the nuclear test ban treaty gives Europe's Northern countries fresh possibilities to ensure peace in that area. The time has come to declare the North of Europe an atom-free zone in keeping with the ideas contained in the Under Plan and with the proposals formulated by President Kekkonen of Finland.

Atom-Free Zone: Now

These plans had earlier been declined by other Governments with reference to the fact that sufficient progress had not been achieved in international negotiations on a nuclear weapon test ban. This pretext has now been dropped.

The representatives of the Communist Party of Denmark informed the Conference of the initiative of the Party. Its appeal to the fraternal Parties of the Socialist States, the nearest of Denmark's neighbours (USSR, Poland, German Democratic Republic) resulted in these Socialist countries' pledge to respect the integrity of Denmark and jointly with other Socialist countries to give Denmark a guarantee in the event of Denmark taking the road of neutrality and renouncing claim for atomic weapons. These fraternal Parties of the socialist countries have further expressed their readiness to be among the guarantors

of nuclear weapons not being used against such neutral States. The Conference declared that this will pave a new path for the creation of an atom-free zone in North Europe.

The Conference also stressed the ever-growing possibilities of ensuring peaceful transition to socialism. On the unity of the international Communist movement, the Conference regarded the statements of joint meetings in 1957 and 1960 as the general line of all Communist Parties and rejected the new general line unilaterally given by the Chinese Communist Party in its letter to the CPSU on June 14.

The Conference hoped that all Communist and Workers' Parties of the world will stick to the 1957 and 1960 stipulations on the general line and will contribute their utmost to the efforts of securing the unity which is most reliable guarantee of new victories of peace, democracy and socialism all over the globe.

NEW AGE

Subscription Rates

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

All Cheques, drafts etc. art to be made payable to T. Madhavan and not to New Age.

Managerial Office,
7/4 Asaf Ali Road,
New Delhi
Phone: 271002 & 271794

Indian MPs Welcome Test Ban Treaty

In a resolution on Test Ban Treaty the Committee of Indian Parliamentarians for Peace welcomed the Test Ban Treaty signed recently in Moscow by the three powers, UK, USA and USSR.

The resolution adds: "It considers this as the first step towards the relaxation of tension in the world and urges upon the great nuclear powers and others to proceed as early as possible towards the achievement of a treaty for

a total ban on thermonuclear weapons, the destruction of nuclear stockpiles used for warlike purposes, complete and general disarmament and the solution of other international problems which have been causing in recent years tension among the nations of the world.

The Committee is happy to note that it was India that originally in 1954 suggested this measure and is happy to note that India was the first country in the world to adhere to the Test-Ban Treaty signed in Moscow.

Leipzig Autumn Fair Closes

INDIA'S WIDESCALE PARTICIPATION

★ FROM P. K. KUNHANANDAN

LEIPZIG, September 8: Germany's 800-year old traditional Leipzig fair, now the largest meeting ground of East-West trade, opened here last Sunday and after brisk business and signing of several contracts closed today.

THE September fair which is called the autumn fair mainly trades in consumer goods while the spring fair in March is world's biggest industrial technical exhibition.

This autumn fair was held in an atmosphere of somewhat relaxed international tension following the historic Moscow Test Ban Agreement, already signed by a hundred states. This treaty has also had a favourable effect on international economic relations and has already helped to promote East-West trade. For example, the exhibition ground occupied by foreign countries has increased 50 per cent compared with 1962. Space covered by non-socialist countries has increased by 20 per cent.

The same upward trend is found in areas booked by West German and West Berlin industrial concerns and trading firms. The West German area is one-fifth larger than last year's while West Berlin exhibitors have more than doubled the size of their pavilions. Foreign trade minister Balkow attributed this growth to the present lessening of international tension. After the Moscow

test-ban agreement there had been onrush of applications for pavilions from firms from NATO and other Western countries.

The GDR has been consolidating its economic bases in its struggle for all-round construction of socialism. In the first six months of this year the volume of exports as compared with first six months of 1962 was stepped up by 13 per cent, exceeding the planned rate. It is noteworthy that a 13 per cent increase over last year has been recorded by hardly any capitalist country of Western Europe in first half of this year.

GDR's exports to countries of Comecon has increased by 11 per cent and exports to capitalist countries by 9 per cent.

Inadequate development of trade with West Germany and West Berlin which increased only by four per cent is primarily due to the hard line of the West German government.

India continues to occupy position of the largest trade partner of GDR outside socialist countries. This, thanks to cordial and persistent efforts

of GDR to improve our trade. It is the GDR which looks after our sales and purchases in East Germany, for we have no agency here for this work.

However, this position (of largest trade partner) could not be kept up for ever, unless the Government of India made serious efforts to step up trade. Afro-Asian countries like UAR, Indonesia, Nigeria, the Congo and several small states with rich supply of valuable raw materials are entering the GDR market as powerful competitors in delivery of raw materials and several items of finished goods.

GDR foreign trade officials as well as Indian businessmen have bitterly complained of a negligent and somewhat callous attitude on the part of Government of India in our trade with GDR. Indian businessmen spoke with disgust of a new licensing system introduced by our trade departments which has practically held up several deliveries already contracted.

Bureaucrats sitting in New Delhi secretariat under several excuses delay issuing of licences to firms for trade with GDR and thus sabotage our flourishing trade. West German agents in India are working very hard (according to information gathered from

businessmen who came from Frankfurt and Bonn) to undermine India's trade with GDR and to sabotage the issue of licences. Their agents are very active in Delhi.

Refusal of Government of India to open a trade representation in Berlin to look after our own interests, openly desired by GDR authorities as a necessary step to improve India's purchases and sales, is another reason why our trade with GDR is not developing to the maximum capacity conditioned by GDR demand and our requirement for industrial plants and equipment which they barter for our raw materials and consumer goods. It is a well-known fact that the West Germans have threatened India with reprisals if India opens a trade mission in GDR and our Government seems to have meekly submitted to this threat.

During a reception at our pavilion, Indian exhibitors received congratulations on ten years of Indian participation in the Leipzig Fair. The Director of the Fair, Herr Kurt Schmeisser handed over as a present an ornamental plate of Dresden China.

International Press Conference

GDR Minister Tells New Age About Indo-GDR Relations

At an international press conference in Leipzig on September 3, attended by over 500 journalists from all over the world, the question hour was opened by New Age representative asking a number of questions on India's trade relations with GDR and on GDR's international positions.

DEPUTY Foreign Minister Otto Winzer, Trade Ministers Bal-cow, Weiss and Kerber answered questions.

New Age: What is the present position of your trade with India? What further improvements are possible? Are there any difficulties to be overcome?
Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Herr Weiss: Within the first six months of 1963 GDR trade with India remained at about the same level as in 1962. Exports are lower by only a few per cent in comparison with the first half of 1962.

At present the GDR has taken advantage of the swing agreed upon with regard to the trade

★ ON FACING PAGE

AFRICA, LATIN AMERICA GREET WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

Two important delegations of the World Council of Peace are at present touring Africa and Latin America. Everywhere, they have been received by the heads of governments and have been assured full support of the broadest sections of public opinion.

THE Chinese leaders' non-stop campaign against the World Peace Council has been a complete fiasco. And the success of the work of the delegations proves how utterly false Chinese leaders' claim is about getting support for their dogmatic position in Africa and Latin America.

The delegation to Africa is led by the well-known Negro publisher and editor Dr. Carlton Goodlett and includes South African leader Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, O. P. Paliwal of India and Karim Mroue of the Lebanon.

It had a most cordial interview with President Nkrumah of Ghana, who was able to help in the foundation of a representative Ghana Peace Council delegation and the new Ghana Peace Committee which states:

THE World Peace Council Delegation visiting Ghana met the Ghana Peace

Committee and exchanged views of common interest. They agreed that it was essential to coordinate efforts of peace forces all over the world against the dangers of the thermonuclear war and for general disarmament and world peace.

Both parties agreed that the Moscow Test Ban Treaty is an important achievement for which all peace-minded people have contributed. They further agreed to work for the total banning of nuclear tests and prohibition of nuclear and other weapons of mass annihilation.

The delegation of the World Council of Peace together with the Ghana Peace Committee expressed support for the aspirations of African peoples for their unity and total liquidation of colonialism and racial discrimination. These aspirations were clearly expressed in the Addis Ababa Conference.

Both parties agreed to cooperate on such specific issues as the stopping of nuclear tests in the Sahara to make Africa a nuclear-free zone, support for the liberation of the Portuguese colonies and the end of apartheid in South Africa.

In Kenya, the members of the delegation were guests of the Kenya government and had the honour of presenting the World Peace Council Gold Medal to Home Minister Ogega Odhinga at the residence of Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta.

The delegation visiting various Latin American countries, consists of Professor Liang Pauling, the well-known American scientist and Nobel Prize winner for Chemistry, Professor Nicolas Matkovsky,

member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Jacques Mitterand, leading French socialist and former councillor of the French Union.

The aim of this visit is to congratulate the governments which have expressed their support for the idea of making Latin America a nuclear-free zone.

The delegation, accompanied by Dr. Valerio Konder representing Brazilian peace workers, was received on August 22 by President Joao Goulart of Brazil, who was handed over a message from the World Council of Peace.

Five days later, at Santiago de Chile, the delegation was received by the Chancellor, Carlos Martinez Sotomayor. On August 28 it was to have a special audience with the President of Chile, Jorge Alessandri and then continue

its journey to various Latin American countries.

Professor Pauling visited Argentina during his trip. He visited various scientific institutes, and met a number of leading scientists and politicians. He was asked to give a lecture at the University and take part in various other gatherings.

The Argentinian press gave wide coverage to Professor Pauling's visit describing him as "the missionary of peace".

In reply to journalists' questions on the Moscow Agreement, Professor Pauling stated that he was very satisfied with this treaty and that the conclusion of the Moscow Agreement represented the most important thing that could happen if we want to be spared from atomic war.

MPs, WRITERS PROTEST AGAINST VOA DEAL

The campaign initiated by writers and intellectuals against the ignominious deal with the Voice of America is receiving increasing support.

THE All-India Peace Council is receiving letters from writers all over the country endorsing the statement against the VOA deal initiated by a number of the topmost writers of the country.

Among those whose signatures have come in recently are: S. K. Pottekatt, MP, well-known Malayalam writer; Balraj Sahani, the celebrated actor; Mangal Singh Suman, the outstanding Hindi writer; Professor Mohan Singh, the famous Punjabi poet.

A joint statement against the VOA agreement has been issued by several Punjabi writers headed by

Guru Sarau, G. N. Pandit, V. K. Mutatkar, Madhukar Shridonkar, Balj Nath, Shamin Farhat, and Kanti Singh.

Chief editor Uttam of the Progressive Sindhi monthly, NAEEN DUNIYA, has sent us the signatures of several Sindhi writers, namely, Gobind Punjabi, Mohan Gehani, Moti Prakash, Tahal Ram Azad, Kiroi Basani, Gobind Mali, Lachman Sathi, Ashok V. Kishorani, Vasdev Nirmal, Sundri Uttamchandani, H. D. Rautani and Kola Prakash.

It will be recalled that NEW AGE (August 18) had published the names of several writers who had issued the statement. They included Malk Raj Anand,

Mahadevi Verma, Sumitranandan Pant, Yashpal, Firaq Gorakhpuri, Mahakavi Sri Sri Bhagwati Charan Verma, Naresch Mehta, Ganga Prasad Pandey, Rabindranath Deb, Prakash Chandra Gupta, Mahadev Saha, Anant Rai, Ghulam Rabbani Taban and Hans Raj Bahbar.

The coming All-India Peace Congress to be held at Amritsar (October 25-27) will have a special writers' and artists' session to decide steps to be taken by writers and artists for more effective action for peace.

The executive committee of Indian Parliamentarians for Peace adopted a resolution on September 4 on AIR-VOA deal, which says:

The Committee of Indian Parliamentarians for Peace notes with regret that the Union government has entered into an agreement with US Administration allowing the VOA for certain hours to operate from our country for the purpose of broadcasts to South East Asia.

The Committee looks upon this agreement as utterly inconsistent with the policy of nonalignment to which this country is committed. It urges that the agreement should be so revised as not to permit any broadcast by a foreign country from Indian soil to South East Asia or any part of the world.

The development of trade this year, Herr Kerber underlined that at the present time tendencies were visible showing a continued expansion of the goods exchange between the two countries supported wholeheartedly by the GDR.

The Deputy Foreign Trade Minister said, "We now await the negotiations on agreements for 1964. We are well prepared and know that the negotiating delegation of the People's Republic of China is likewise preparing carefully for them. We are ready, as with all other countries, to work towards attaining a maximum rate of increase also with People's China, and if possible double the volume of trade."

"We hope that our optimism is justified as the close of negotiations through gratifying facts."

It will also be easily understandable to every specialist that the process of modifications in the planned economy of the German Democratic Republic connected with this involves difficulties and cannot be solved overnight. But, in this respect also we have made very, very great strides ahead, yet we very much regret this development.

Referring to these replies, the representative of the Chinese Hsinhua news agency, attempted to polemize against the statement by Herr Kerber. He queried about

SUPREME COURT JUDGMENT

★FROM PAGE 9

Difference In Views On Question Of Remedy

(Majority Judgment)

1 "The sweep of Art. 359(1) and the Presidential Order issued under it is thus wide enough to include all claims made by citizens in any court of competent jurisdiction when it is shown that the said claims cannot be effectively adjudicated upon without examining the question as to whether the citizen is in substance, seeking to enforce any of the said specified fundamental rights."

2 "Thus, the true legal position in substance, is that the clause "the right to move any court" used in Art. 239 (1) and the Presidential Order takes in all legal actions intended to be filed, or filed, in which the specified rights are sought to be enforced, and it covers all relevant categories of jurisdictions of competent courts under which the said actions would otherwise normally have been entertained and tried."

3 "Therefore, our conclusion is that the proceedings taken on behalf of the appellants before the respective High Courts challenging their detention on the ground that the Impugned Act and the Rules are void because they contravene Arts. 14, 21, and 22 are incompetent for the reason that the fundamental rights which are alleged to have been contravened are specified in the Presidential Order and all citizens are precluded from moving any Court for the enforcement of the said specified rights."

(Minority Judgment)

1 "Section 491 of the Code is one of the pre-Constitution statutory provisions continued under Art. 372 of the Constitution. It does not in terms posit any right to move the High Court

for the enforcement of fundamental rights. Therefore, the argument of the learned Attorney-General involves considerable strain on the express language of Art. 319, for, he in effect asks us to equate the expression "a right to move for the enforcement of fundamental rights" with "relief asked for in any proceedings in any Court, whether initiated at the instance of the party affected or not, or whether started suo motu by the Court, if it involves a decision on the question whether a particular law was void for the reason that it infringed the fundamental rights mentioned in the President's Order."

2 "If a person approaches the High Court alleging that he or some other person has been illegally detained, the Court calls upon the detaining authority to sustain the validity of the action. The onus of proof lies on the custodian to establish that the person is detained under a legal process; but if it fails to establish that the person is detained under law, the said person may be released. It is true that the detaining authority will have to satisfy the court that the law under which the detention is made is a valid one. It may also be true that in scrutinizing the validity of that law the court has to go into the question whether the law offends any of the fundamental rights mentioned in Part III of the Constitution. But that circumstance does not by any process of involved reasoning make the said proceeding one initiated in exercise of the right to move the High Court for the enforcement of the petitioner's fundamental right. The distinction between the two lies in the fact that one is an enforcement of a petitioner's fundamental right and the other, a decision on the unconstitutionality of a law because of its infringement of fundamental rights generally."

3 "My view on the basis of the aforesaid discussion may be stated thus: (1) The detenus cannot exercise their right to enforce their

fundamental rights under Arts. 14, 21 and 22 of the Constitution, during the period for which the said right was suspended by the President's Order (2) This does not preclude the High Court to release the detenus in exercise of its power under S. 491 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, if they were imprisoned under a void law, though the voidness of the law arose out of infringement of their fundamental rights under Arts. 14, 21, and 22 of the Constitution.

Warning Administered By The Majority Regarding Liability After Emergency Is Withdrawn

(Majority Judgment)

"The inevitable consequence of this position is that as soon as the order ceases to be operative, the infringement of the rights made either by the legislative enactment or by executive action can perhaps be challenged by a citizen in a court of law, the same may have to be tried on the merits on the basis that the rights alleged to have been infringed were in operation even during the pendency of the Presidential Order.

If at the expiration of the Presidential Order Parliament passes any legislation to protect executive action taken during the pendency of the Presidential Order and afford indemnity to the executive in that behalf, the validity and the effect of such legislative action may have to be carefully scrutinized.

(Article 34 permits indemnity laws to be passed in respect of infringements of fundamental rights only when Martial Law is in force, not otherwise).

LEIPZIG FAIR

★FROM FACING PAGE

turnover, since the GDR deliveries — mainly machines and other products, due to their structure and speciality, i.e., the manufacturing time etc., will take place within the second half of the year.

We hold that the licensing system now introduced in India involving certain modifications regarding the issuing of licences which have somewhat delayed, at the moment, the delivery of number of products earmarked for India. This question was discussed yesterday with the competent gentlemen from India. I suppose that when this question will have been solved, our trade with India will be essentially above last year's level.

New Age: The West German government while signing the Moscow test-ban treaty has sent a memorandum to go states claiming representation for whole of Germany while every one knows there is different government in East Germany. What is, Sir, your reaction and what could be the consequences of such a claim?

Deputy Foreign Minister Otto Winzer: The government of the German Democratic Republic in a public statement has commented on this statement of the Bonn

government and has stressed that the government of the West German Federal Republic used even the signing of the Moscow agreement banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water to heat the international atmosphere and to increase international tension so as to sabotage further measures of detente.

Bonn Stunt Stands Exposed

All these Bonn statements are of course illusory. I could refer, for example, to what such an influential paper as the Industrie Kurier wrote the day after the signing of the Moscow agreement by foreign minister Dr. Lothar Bolz. It wrote that the signing had of course been done by a STATE for, after all individuals and choral societies were not allowed to sign that agreement.

This very simple and logical argumentation is perhaps somewhat primitive, but nevertheless much to the point.

Regarding the move of the Bonn government towards about 90 states, I can assure you that the government of the German Democratic Republic has not been inactive either. As follows from the reports of our representations.

abroad, so far diplomats and statesmen in many neutral and nonaligned states hold the view that the Bonn government by disputing existing realities, only makes a fool of itself in international politics, and that one, therefore, should not take the Bonn statement in this matter too seriously. And in accordance with the opinion of these diplomats of non-committed states, we are far from taking this Bonn statement seriously.

Question: Sir, a socialist country, the People's Republic of China, has been boycotting this fair continuously for two years or more. In a recent GDR statement your government said China had caused considerable economic losses to GDR by dishonouring trade agreements. Could you tell me the nature of these losses and some more details?

Deputy Trade Minister Herr Kerber: In the statement of the government of the German Democratic Republic referred to by the questioner a clear and very precise assessment has been given of the development between the German Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of China from 1958 till 1962. During these years we imported from the People's Republic of China raw materials and on a large-scale also finished products and in return supplied mainly complete plants and production equipment.

The statement says that we

ANDHRA LEADS IN SIGNATURE COLLECTION

Over 15 Lakhs Already Deposited

★ From Mohit Sen

HYDERABAD, September 9: Reports reaching the CPI state committee office indicate that over 15 lakh signatures have been collected all over Andhra. The final figures may go quite a lot beyond this.

MENTION must be made of Krishna District where over 2½ lakh signatures have been collected—the leading district in Andhra and perhaps, all over India. Nalgonda comes next with 1,80,000 signatures. Over 500 persons are leaving for Delhi to join the Great March on September 13.

50,000 signatures have been collected.

It should be remembered that Andhra's original target was 5 lakhs, later raised to 10 lakhs by the State Council. Andhra had counted on being the first state in India in this great campaign. Its dream seems to have been fulfilled.

In Hyderabad City, the last phase of the campaign was splendidly carried out in the industrial area where about 11,600 signatures have been collected. N. Satyanarayan Reddy led and planned this massive spurt in the strongest base of the Party in the city. This was done despite strikes and struggles going on in this area right through the campaign period which took up much of the time of the Party members and trade union organisers. There will be six MLAs, professors, doctors, students, youth and women leaders and party organisers also in this contingent. Star collectors of different districts will find "place of pride" in the contingent.

The signature campaign in this area was preceded by well-organised demonstrations. A signature camp was erected at Charminar crossroads and on the evening of September 5 five hundred comrades formed squads and collected signatures at bus stops, cinemas and hotels.

Apart from the workers, lawyers, teachers, lecturers and doctors also signed the Petition.

It was a fitting finale to the most sustained political campaign Hyderabad has seen.

3.5 Lakhs Collected In West Bengal

FROM AJAY DAS GUPTA

CALCUTTA, September 8: From West Bengal, more than two hundred people will join in the biggest ever march to Delhi on September 13. By now more than 3.5 lakh signatures have been deposited at the P.C. office.

THE West Bengal contingent will be led by Bhowani Sen, secretary of the Provincial Organising Committee and will include secretaries of almost all district councils. The biggest section of this contingent will be composed of workers from factories and trade union organisers. There will be six MLAs, professors, doctors, students, youth and women leaders and party organisers also in this contingent. Star collectors of different districts will find "place of pride" in the contingent.

From Khidderpore, the industrial area of Calcutta 53 will go, all of them workers and trade union leaders. From Garden Reach, another industrial area, which has collected largest number of signatures in Calcutta—nearly 20,000 will send 10 people. Altogether from Calcutta nearly 100 will go. From 24 Parganas—36; Midnapore—12;

Hugh—14; Howrah—3; From the districts in far away North Bengal Jalpaiguri and West Dinajpore, 5 people will go from each district.

These are the bookings in trains made through the provincial office. Many more have booked tickets independently, both in Calcutta and distant districts. Every train from Calcutta to Delhi on September 10 and 11, will carry marchers from West Bengal.

Calcutta is till now leading with 85,298 signatures, closely followed by 24 Parganas with 85,209 and Midnapore with 83,550.

PUNJAB CYCLE JATHA BEGINS THE MARCH

CHANDIGARH: The cycle jatha led by Avtar Singh Malhotra started its march from Chandigarh on September 8. People gave it a hearty send-off.

THE jatha was received all along the route to Ambala. It was given a warm welcome at Singhpura village and then at Derabassi town, where gates were put up in honour of the marchers. Next day it was received at Shahabad, Pindri, Nilokheri, Ladwa, Indri, and Karnal.

KARNATAK: 2.5 LAKH SIGNATURES

BANGALORE, September 9: Fortyfive days campaign for collecting signatures to the Great Petition to Parliament has ended this week. The volunteers participating in the March before Parliament are on their way. Seventy-one volunteers representing the wishes of two and a half lakh signatories are going to raise their voice to be heard by the country's highest democratic organ—PARLIAMENT.

ORIGINAL target fixed for the State was 50,000 signatures and 25 volunteers. The State Council revised and fixed the target at two lakh signatures and 60 volunteers. But to-day it has exceeded the target and over 2.5-lakh signatures have been collected and seventy-one volunteers are participating in the Delhi demonstration.

Credit goes to a number of workers, peasants and other cadres who tirelessly worked during the campaign, going from house to house, village to village and from one area to another, explaining to the people the real significance of the campaign and getting their signatures affixed to the petition. But for them and the response and enthusiastic support from the people, the target could not have been overfulfilled.

The number of signatures collected to the petition has special significance for our State in view of the Party not being such a strong political force in the State when compared with the neighbouring ones. The campaign has opened a new vista for the cadres to go to the people and break the slumber of isolation. This has given a new confidence to the Party for future work.

Experience of our cadres during the collection of signatures has been a varied one. Not one voiced opposition, barring a few diehard anti-Communists. Women folk volunteered and came forward and affixed their signatures, and also assisted in collecting others signatures.

In working class centres people collected around the volunteers and enthusiastically affixed their signatures. In villages most of the adult population have come forward and signed.

Chairmen of Panchayats, municipal councillors and other sections of people including the members of other political parties, came forward and affixed their signatures. This is a clear indication of the popularity of the demands contained in the petition.

A number of big and small meetings have been held during the campaign period in all centres. The culminating rallies were held in Mangalore, Bangalore, Mysore and other centres.

A culminating mass rally was held in Mangalore on the 29th of last month where the signatures collected numbering over 85,000, highest in the state, were ceremoniously handed over to the marchers. The meeting was addressed by B. V. Kakkilaya, member of National Council of the CPI.

In Bangalore, a large public meeting was held at the Town Hall on September 1. M. N. Govindan Nair, M.P. member of the Central Secre-

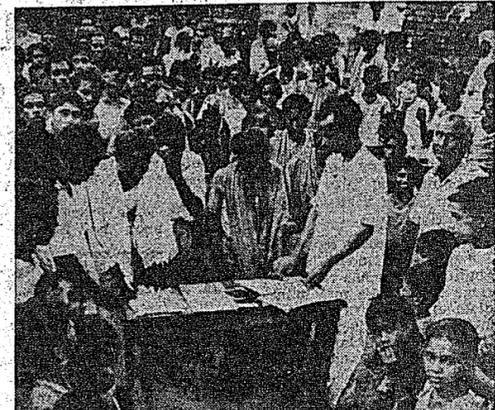
by C. R. Krishna Rao

sed the gathering. The volunteers were given a rousing send off.

Volunteers going from different centres to participate in the demonstration before the Parliament were given warm receptions at railway stations, bus stands, etc. In Bangalore the volunteers were given a big send off at the Bangalore City Railway Station by large number of workers and party members and sympathisers. This happens to be the last going to Delhi.

Sixteen out of nineteen districts have sent volunteers to the Great March and signatures have been collected in all these centres.

Most of the volunteers from our state who will be in the demonstrations before the Parliament are active participants in the signature campaign. Many workers have taken leave from their factories, losing wages to go to Delhi. Many peasants and peasant leaders are also in the batch.



Simpson Soans, Secretary of the State Council of the Party, is leading the batch.

District Figures

The districtwise breakdown to date is:

- Krishna 2,50,000; Nalgonda 1,80,000; Guntur 1,50,000; Warangal 1,02,000; Anantapur 1,09,000; Nellore 81,000; W. Godavari 75,000; Khammam 77,000; Kavnirunagar 59,000; Kurnool 58,000; Vizag 50,000; E. Godavari 50,000; Hyderabad City 40,000; Srikakulam 36,000; Mahabubnagar 34,000; Medak 32,000; Cuddapah 30,000; Adilabad 28,000; and Hyderabad (rural) 10,000.

These figures do not include the collections in two other districts—Chittoor and Nizamabad. Earlier figures from these two districts indicate, however, that well over

Punjab In Last Phase Of Collection

★ From Prem Singh

JULLUNDUR, September 8: The last phase of the campaign is almost over in Punjab. The tours of CPI chairman S. A. Dange and later of Dr. Z. A. Ahmed and Yogendra Sharma, secretariat members, have given it tremendous impetus.

AS the state Party leadership gives finishing touches to the campaign, reports of activities continue to pour in the Party headquarters. Some areas which so far were lagging behind have rapidly caught up with others.

In Bhatinda district Akkanwali village with a population of 1900, has given 1452 signatures. 26 marchers will go to Delhi. This village has thrown a challenge to the whole state that it will lead in number of marchers from any single village.

Ferozepur: 1.5 Lakhs

The Ferozepur district has already crossed 1,50,000 figure today. Latest to join was Moga town where 4,000 were collected. Nobody refused to sign.

Hoshiarpur is rapidly catching up with its commitments. Jasawal branch has twice overfulfilled its quota. They have collected Rs. 100 to meet the expenses of the marchers. This district will also send twice its quota of women marchers to Delhi.

The Ludhiana City Committee has increased its quota to 50,000. Its collection today stands over 35,000. There is hardly any doubt that it will overfulfill its quota. One full bus of marchers shall be going from Khanna.

Ferozepur-Jhirka tehsil of Gurgaon district has alone fulfilled the quota for the entire district: 5,000.

Sangrur reports that 66,182 signatures have been received in the office a few days back. Dalip Singh Masat, a prominent cultural worker, has collected 5,223 signatures. Bibi Jagir Kaur Bhatnagar has collected 1,000 signatures. Malekoti town has given over 2,500 signatures.

In Amritsar rural areas, the Party is moving fast to reach the targets. Dr. Surjan Singh, Gill of Khalia village has collected 4,000 signatures. The list of this area included 105 signatures of panchas and sarpanchas.

In Kangra district, with its far flung areas, a quota of 30,000 has been fulfilled. These signatures include 47 members of zilla parishads, 100 block samiti members and many presidents of mandal Congress committees.

for pure ayurvedic medicine depend and rely on...



SADHANA AUSADHALAYA

DACCA

(Branches throughout India)

66, Sadhana Ausadhalaya Road

Sadhana Nagar, Calcutta 48



BIGGEST CONCERN OF PURE AYURVEDIC MEDICINE

OIL LOBBY ACTIVE

THE Oil Lobby is angry. All the strenuous work that the ESSO and the Burmah-Shell men have been doing for months seems to be lost, despite the hope that had sprung with the exit of K. D. MALAVIYA.

This lobby vehemently denies that it had anything to do with Malaviya's resignation, though its principals in London and New York heaved a sigh of relief when Malaviya resigned. Enrico Mattei and the Russians and the Rumanians, they feared, had put too many ideas into Malaviya's head. And Dame, the Oil Ministry secretary is a thorn on their path, so unlike the Finance Ministry officers who are so pliable!

But the latest grouse of the foreign oil lobby centres round the question of refinery expansion. The three private sector refineries of the Esso, the Burmah-Shell and the Caltex have been clamouring for expansion. In a nutshell, their objective is to capture the growing oil market inside the country so that very little room would be left for the public sector refineries.

Malaviya was opposed to the expansion project of the private sector refineries. He could see through their game. But strong pressure came from both the Planning Commission and the Finance Ministry. Inside the Planning Commission, C. M. Trivedi quite frankly pleads for the private sector refinery expansion. He insisted that there should be a market survey and he wanted also to show that the target of petroleum products could be no means be reached by the public sector refineries.

Meanwhile, the Chinese aggression last October-November came as a godsend. The imper-

atives of immediate demand for petroleum products forced government to let the foreign refineries step up production beyond the allocated figure. Emboldened by this opening, they pressed through their men in Planning Commission to re-open the question of expansion of refineries.

Another line of pressure was provided by the Finance Ministry. Here L. K. Jha is reported to have taken the lead. According to this school, unless expansion is permitted for the foreign refineries, the climate for Western aid would be spelt. The big ESSO lobby in Washington is quoted as a warning.

WITH all these pressures, Malaviya only agreed to examine the question. When Malaviya had to go, the ESSO and the Burmah-Shell were jubilant. Alagesan might be easier to handle, they calculated. And perhaps they were not very much off the mark.

The Lobby set to work and those who are in the know are rather surprised by the goings on in the Oil Ministry in recent months. Confabulations have been taking place. And Alagesan has given the impression of having relented, though not yet capitulated.

The first warning came in his reply to a question in the Rajya Sabha sometime ago, in which he almost gave the impression that the question of expansion of foreign refineries was actually re-opened during Malaviya's tenure.

panson of foreign-owned refineries. This time too, Alagesan dithered and in his replies, he almost gave the impression as if he was on the point of giving in to the proposal. At the nick of time, the Prime Minister intervened and made the categorical declaration that no expansion of private sector refineries would be permitted at the cost of the public sector refineries.

The press gallery in Lok Sabha noted that Alagesan's vacillation was set aside by the Prime Minister's categorical declaration. The Oil Lobby is sorely disappointed. But temporary demoralisation cannot paralyse such a powerful pressure-group. After all, the oil monarchs have the record of upsetting governments.

HOW elaborate is the ESSO Burmah-Shell network is to be seen in another episode which is now before the Oil Ministry.

The state-owned Gauhati refinery is hard hit because of wagon shortage. The products of the Gauhati refinery are carried by metre-gauge railway upto a point, near Barauni in North Bihar and from there the broad gauge wagons carry the products to the markets in North India.

Why this shortage of broad-gauge wagons? The wagon allocation is done in Calcutta. There is a railway official specially in charge of this work. And there is a committee with representatives of oil companies, government and the

public sector oil concerns. This committee has laid down clear rules as to the zone and the number of wagons to be allotted for the transport of indigenous oil and imported oil products.

But all these rules are only on paper. The railway officer concerned in Calcutta could be "tackled" by the oil monarchs. And curiously enough, more wagons have been released beyond the allotted quota for the transport of the imported ESSO and Burmah-Shell products from the Calcutta port to North India. The result is that there is a shortage of wagons to carry the products of the Gauhati refinery. Our railways are supposed to be state-owned. But even then the public sector concerns have to suffer from unfair competition with the giant foreign private sector concerns at the hands of the railway authorities!

SOMETIME ago, Jyotsna Chanda, the Congress MP from Assam was found to be commenting on the poor record of the public sector oil, advising the minister to take a "pragmatic" and not a "dogmatic" stand. Looking through a recent issue of the House Magazine of the Assam Oil Company (a Burmah-Shell subsidiary), I found that her son has got a cushy job in the AOC. Pragmatism, indeed!

Incidentally, Jyotsna Chanda is the sister-in-law of Asok Chanda who as Auditor-General came into prominence as Krishna Menon's critic, but has recently been heard of widely in connection with the Bird & Co. affairs.

It is a wide net that the oil monarchs have cast in our country. How many can escape this octopus grip. I wonder.

—DIARIST

Stop the Atrocities in South Vietnam

AIPC Calls for Steps in Defence of Human Rights

The secretariat of the All-India Peace Council passed a resolution on September 5, condemning the repression in South Vietnam. The resolution says:

The unheard of repression against Buddhists in South Vietnam has reached a stage which calls for immediate and effective action by civilised nations in every continent. The declaration of martial law by President Diem is only the latest act of terror of a regime of unsurpassed brutality and barbarism.

The United Nations should take measures without delay to halt atrocities against the people of South Vietnam by

a government which continues in power only because of the military and financial support of the US government.

The All India Peace Council urges upon the Govern-

ment of India to take initiative for the convening of a meeting of the Afro-Asian group in the UNO, with a view to take united steps and action in defence of human rights in South Vietnam.

AIYF Statement

The All-India Youth Federation also has expressed its deep concern over the shocking developments in South Vietnam.

SARADA MITRA, AIYF's general secretary, in a statement issued in New Delhi on September 6, appealed to all young men and women of

India to express their solidarity with the South Vietnamese people's heroic struggle against the criminal atrocities of Diem regime. He said: Ever since the Ngo Dinh Diem regime came to power in South Vietnam, it has been, with the help of the United States, incessantly carrying out heinous attacks on all the democratic elements of South Vietnam. This regime has not only proved to be the greatest hindrance to the re-unification of Vietnam but has turned South Vietnam into an inflammable spot in South Asia.

"The All-India Youth Federation expresses its strong protest against the actions of the Diem authorities—against their brutal repression of the democratic youth and students, and against their fanatic assault on the Buddhists".

The general secretary of the AIYF hailed the courageous youth and students of South Vietnam and assured them every support of the Federation in their struggle.



US "advisers" and Nhu's bandits terrorise peasants in South Vietnam

CONTRAST BETWEEN TWO GERMANY'S

Indian Peace Marchers' Experience

INDIAN peace marchers E. Prabhakar Menon and Satish Kumar who left Delhi on June 1, 1962 have now arrived in Paris. Their journey through the Soviet Union and stay in Moscow was reported in New Age.

Now the Times of India has brought their story up to date. We give below an extract from M. V. Kamath's story in that paper of September 8. The extract highlights the sharp contrast in the attitude of the two German regimes to people demanding peace, to whatever country or views they might belong.

When did you arrive in East Germany and what were your experiences there?

We arrived in East Germany on June 4. We were in the country for eighteen days. We had written to Chancellor Ulbricht stating that we wanted to see him and would arrive at his office and would not

leave until we got his interview. We found this was the only way we could see top men. Letters normally brought no replies.

When we were about six kilometres from East Berlin, we were surprised to find an emissary waiting for us in a car with an answer from the East German government. He said Ulbricht was ill and in hospital, but that Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Lothar Bolz, would see us. And he did. He said that East Germany was willing to give a guarantee that it would not make atomic arms and would even be willing to get out of the Warsaw Pact if West Germany got out of NATO.

What was the reaction in West Germany? Well, first we went to West Berlin. Willy Brandt was away in the United States and his deputy could not see us. We met nobody of any consequence in West Berlin, but the Press Officer gave us a car to see Berlin and the Wall. That was not what we went to Berlin for.

And in West Germany? There were a few people belonging to the Easter Marchers who were interested in our march. But most people would not even accept our literature which we had printed in German. On the road, people

thrust coins into our hands, but we did not want money. West Germany has so far been the only country where the people were generally indifferent and the officials were against us.

What do you mean? Well, we had written to Chancellor Adenauer asking for a brief interview, but were informed that he could not see us for political reasons. We went to his chancellery to see him anyway and were stopped at the gate. We stated our mission to the guards. We waited there the whole day from eight in the morning. Around four in the afternoon, the guards must have telephoned to our embassy, for an Indian official came to us asking in the name of Bapu to quit our satyagraha. We replied that this was impossible since we had come to Bonn in the first place because of Bapu's mission of peace.

At five p.m. we left after the police had snatched away from us our two peace placards and about a thousand leaflets. But individual Germans, some of them at least, were kind to us. One priest supplied us with warm clothes. One young man walked with us from Dortmund to Bonn and another girl from Bonn to Aachen. But people seemed scared to accept our leaflets.

USA LEADS THE WORLD —IN CRIME!

CRIME in the United States is increasing rapidly. It has gone up by 27 per cent since 1958.

Bank robberies have increased almost three times since 1956 — from 450 to 1,250 last year. It has almost become a national habit, according to some, who point to "little old ladies in tennis shoes" who have robbed the local savings bank for pin money.

Juvenile crime increased by 9 per cent last year. Youth under 18 committed 62 per cent of car thefts, 51 per cent of larcenies, 49 per cent of burglaries, 29 per cent of all robberies, 19 per cent of forcible rapes, 8 per cent of murders.

Crime has increased in the most unlikely places. Washington now leads the nation's cities in assault (993.3 for every 100,000 of population) and is seventh in robberies (205.8 @ 100,000). On the other hand, Chicago, which is still a lawless city, has reported a reduction of 19 per cent this

year in murder, assault, robbery, and rape.

The reasons for the overall increase are obscure. Mr. W. H. Ham Parker, the chief of police in Los Angeles and perhaps the most respected in the country, believes that the breakdown in parental authority and the growth of cities are partly responsible. There is also a high incidence of crime among racial minorities, who also happen to be the poorest in most communities.

These, however, he sees as symptoms of growing materialism, and is frankly pessimistic about the future. In an interview arranged by the Centre for the Study of Democratic Institutions, he said:

"It is hard for me to believe that our society can continue to violate all the fundamental rules of human conduct and expect to survive. I think I have to conclude that this civilization will destroy itself as others have before it. That leaves only one question — when?"

—TIMES, London, August 22, 1962

WARSAWA—Poland

Exports:

ORGANIC AND INORGANIC CHEMICALS

FIND CHEMICALS

COAL-TAR DERIVATIVES

PRESSED CARBON PRODUCTS

DYESTUFFS

PAINTS, VARNISHES AND ENAMELS

PLASTICS

PHARMACEUTICAL PRODUCTS

COSMETICS

ESSENTIAL OILS

MINING EXPLOSIVES

PHOTOCHEMICAL PRODUCTS

Available on Rupee Payment

For particulars please contact:

The Polish Commercial Counsellor's Office
42-44 Sunder Nagar, New Delhi

Or

The Consulate Of The Polish People's Republic

28-Stephen Court, 18-A, Park Street, Calcutta

Mewar Building, 40-A, Peddar Road, Bombay

Interads

Forward from Test-Ban Agreement UN Assembly's Great Responsibility

★ by Zia-ul Haq

The 18th General Assembly of the United Nations opening on September 17 in New York meets in an atmosphere of comparatively relaxed international tension. This naturally follows from the signing of the partial test ban treaty.

THE focus of attention for those assembling in New York will now be the further steps promised to follow up the test ban agreement, steps like a non-aggression pact between the NATO and the Warsaw Pact groupings, measures to safeguard against

surprise attacks, etc. The foreign ministers of the three original signatories of the Moscow treaty are expected to meet at the opening of the General Assembly and to discuss these possible steps. President Kennedy is also scheduled to have a meeting

with the Soviet Foreign Minister, Gromyko.

What has happened in the Western camp since August 5 last when the three foreign ministers signed the test ban agreement in the presence of the UN Secretary-General, U Thant, is not something to lend much hope to an easy advance forward. For one thing, the debate on the test ban treaty in the United States itself, the testimony before Congress preceding ratification, has been of a character calculated to vitiate the atmosphere, to defeat its purpose even while seeking to secure its approval.

(Norman Cousins, editor of the Saturday Review, has had to point out in a letter to the New York Times that "the testimony seems to have gone far beyond the requirements of reasonable reassurance into provocation and even cynical argumentation. Indeed the air is filled with all sorts of apocalyptic statistics on the ease with which vast numbers of Russians can be killed.")

Vitiating The Atmosphere

The other factor vitiating the atmosphere is the intense manoeuvring by West Germany against any further advance from the Moscow agreement that has been carried on ever since it was initiated. The NATO Permanent Council in Paris discussed the lines of Western strategy on the eve of the UN General Assembly and West Germany, according to press reports, took a "tough position" and with active French support was able to establish a "negative prospect" for the foreign ministers' New York meeting.

What the die-hards in the West are afraid of, however, is the tremendous pressure they are going to face at the General Assembly from the large number of newly independent non-aligned states. That is the reason why they find it necessary to indulge in such intense manoeuvring on the eve of this session. The signing of the partial test ban treaty itself owes much to this pressure, as pointed out by U Thant in his foreword to the UN Annual Report. And this pressure is bound to be felt ever more powerfully for steps to achieve total disarmament and complete liquidation of colonialism. Even during the intervening period between the two General Assembly sessions the non-aligned and newly independent have given the Western powers a foretaste of what is in store at the General Assembly: The Security Council session on South Africa in which foreign ministers of many African countries participated, the discussion on the Portuguese colonial territories, the pillorying of South Africa at the ILO session and its

hounding out from at least a few of the specialised agencies—all this provides an ominous setting for the 18th General Assembly so far as the West is concerned.

Africa's Enhanced Role

It must again be attributed to the enhanced role of the newly independent, particularly African, countries' role and that of the Soviet Union that Hammarskjöld's Asian successor in the office of the Secretary-General is enabled step by step to call off the so-called UN operation in the Congo, which constituted the biggest US operation since the Korean war to distort the very purpose of the world organisation. The basis can thus be laid for the return of the Congo to the African community and its full participation in its evolution.

It is significant that the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report on the activity of the United Nations has dwelt at good length on the process of "attainment of national independence by a large number of countries and peoples formerly under colonial rule".

The significance of this historic and dynamic process, says U Thant, "to the international community and to the future course of world events can be gauged from the transformation of the United Nations itself". Highly evaluating the establishment of the Organisation of African Unity at the Addis Ababa conference in May 1963 he has extended recognition to it as a "regional organisation" in terms of the UN Charter.

S. Vietnam's Cry Must Be Heard

Among the questions foremost on the list of issues to be raised at the United Nations by the Asian-African countries is that of repression and persecution of the people of South Vietnam at the hands of a regime propped by American bayonets. Ngo Dinh Diem has of course declared the matter "closed" and the Americans, after all the put-up show of a lot of sound and fury against the Nhus and Diem, have made a public climb-down. The French ambassador in Saigon supported by those of West Germany, Italy and the representative of the Vatican, has reportedly prevailed upon the US ambassador to persuade Washington to "soften" its criticism of the Diem regime. This while students and schoolchildren in Saigon and elsewhere are coming out again in open defiance of the martial law and are being arrested and sent to concentration camps by the hundreds.

PAK PRESS GAGGED

PAKISTAN journalists all over the country, from Rawalpindi to Dacca, observed a complete strike on September 10, protesting against new sweeping curbs placed on the freedom of the press by the Ayub Government.

The new press curbs reduce the sessions of the National Assembly of Pakistan to mere official meetings. Only official handouts about these will be allowed to be published.

The freedom of the judiciary is also sought to be attacked. Only censored versions of court judgments will be published. Protests are continuing throughout Pakistan.



Vietnam Women Protest

WEST GERMAN SECRET POLICE DISTRIBUTE CHINESE PROPAGANDA MATERIAL AGAINST USSR

BERLIN, September 9: The West German secret police (Office for the Protection of the Constitution), saturated with former members of Hitler SS organisation and other former Nazi officials is financing and distributing Chinese propaganda material against the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries.

THIS is disclosed by Freies Volk, organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of West Germany (underground) in its latest issue. A secret Police Bureau is making available to Chinese sources particular addresses, names of members and officials of the Communist Party.

The Bureau is publishing forged falsified materials of the Communist Party, for example a number of the theoretical periodical Wissen Und Tat—and also pamphlets—all in the hopeless effort of penetrating into the Communist Party, using the Albanian

and Chinese theses, and in this way to paralyse its fighting strength.

FREIES VOLK writes that the Anti-Communist People's League for Peace and Freedom had offered 25,000 marks for the purpose of the immediate publishing and dispatch of the 25-theses Open Letter of the Communist Party of China to Communists, Social Democrats and trade unionists. These funds were approved after consultation with the Department 4 of the Federal Interior Ministry.

To The Great Petition WANTED: A QUICK & POSITIVE ANSWER

DANGE'S PRESS CONFERENCE

NEW DELHI, September 11: Addressing a largely attended press conference this afternoon at the Talkatora Gardens, where camps have been set up to house the marchers coming from various states, S. A. DANGE, Chairman of the CPI, announced that according to reports received at the central headquarters of the Party, by September 10 about 97 lakhs of signatures had been collected on the Great Petition. It was obvious, he said, that the quota of one crore signatures would certainly be fulfilled.

DISCLOSING that earlier the Party was modest in its estimate and expected only about 50 lakhs of signatures, Dange said that "we may rightly be accused of

well be imagined, how wide is the discontent among the masses.

Dange said: "We do not consider that the Great Petition concerns only the Com-

the Great March and in other ways oppose it, Dange said:

"Every party should have the right to demonstrate on any point it chooses and no party should obstruct such demonstrations. There have been demonstrations earlier and no body has ever attempted to obstruct them."

Dange expressed the hope that "this democratic convention will continue to be observed in this case too and we hope there will be no attempt to disturb us." Amidst laughter, he added: "Plenty of commonsense is at the moment going round the Capital."

Explaining the correctness of the timing of the Petition, Dange observed that the Great Petition "is serving history correctly. Part of it is already being acted upon. They (the government) are at the moment discussing the CDS, levies and so on and reconsidering these measures."

Whatever may be the decision on the Great Petition, Dange said, it "will have to be quick and a positive answer". When a pressman pointed out that some of the Congressmen have stated that the ministerial changes and other reconsiderations were being made according to their own requirements and had nothing to do with the Petition, Dange said: "We do not mind if Congress takes the credit. We want the demands of the Petition to be fulfilled. We will only say in such an event that our Petition and the Congress decision were a wonderful coincidence of history."

Dange said that the Communist members of Parliament would carry the bundles



Posters for the Great March are being written.

of Petition to the House and it would be presented to the Lok Sabha by A. K. Gopalan, leader of the Communist group. The total weight of the papers of the Petition is estimated to be 70 maunds.

As regards marchers, Dange said that the Party expects about 50,000 people from outside Delhi and the total number of Marchers will be about one lakh. He said that the employers have not reached an understanding in regard to granting facilities to the workers for participating in the Great March. Though this would pose "some diffi-

culty", Dange said, "workers would make their own arrangements although they would not go on strike."

He added that the procession would take about 3 to 4 hours to reach Parliament from Ramilla ground where the marchers would assemble. The secretariat and the members of the executive committee of the CPI would be at the head of the procession.

Asked about further programme following presentation of the Petition, Dange said that this would be announced at the rally which would be held after the presentation.

NOTES OF THE WEEK

* From page four

publicity is heartening. But the very demand should open the eyes of the votaries of these joint exercises as to the real purpose, which the imperialists have in mind when they so generously offer to "train" our men in radar....

Punjab : No-Confidence

THE No-Confidence motion against the Punjab government moved by the Communist Group in the Vidhan Sabha at Chandigarh this week has been supported by the Right wing opposition parties. Their motives in doing so are not particularly honest quite obviously.

The Communist Party has made clear the specific issues on which it seeks to censure the Punjab government. These include: serious growth of corruption and arbitrary interference in the administration; imposition of unjust and anti-people taxes; failure to take steps to prevent flood-damage and water logging; failure to release Communist detenus and refusal to give better class treatment and family allowance to the detenus; and increasing mass discontent and disaffection due to anti-popular measures, which has created fertile ground for the reactionary and communal forces in the state, and failure to take steps to counter the dangerous moves of those reactionary groups who are undermining national policies of non-

alignment, planned development and democracy."

The censure motion of the Communist Group is equally directed against the Right reactionary parties; and the Communists totally oppose the demands for the taking over of the State under President's rule.

The Supreme Court judgment in the Dr. Pratap Singh case against Chief Minister Kairon must be taken into account by the Congress itself, and a suitable alternative found to the Chief Minister, against whom such severe strictures have been passed. But the way is not President's rule and the abrogation of democracy.

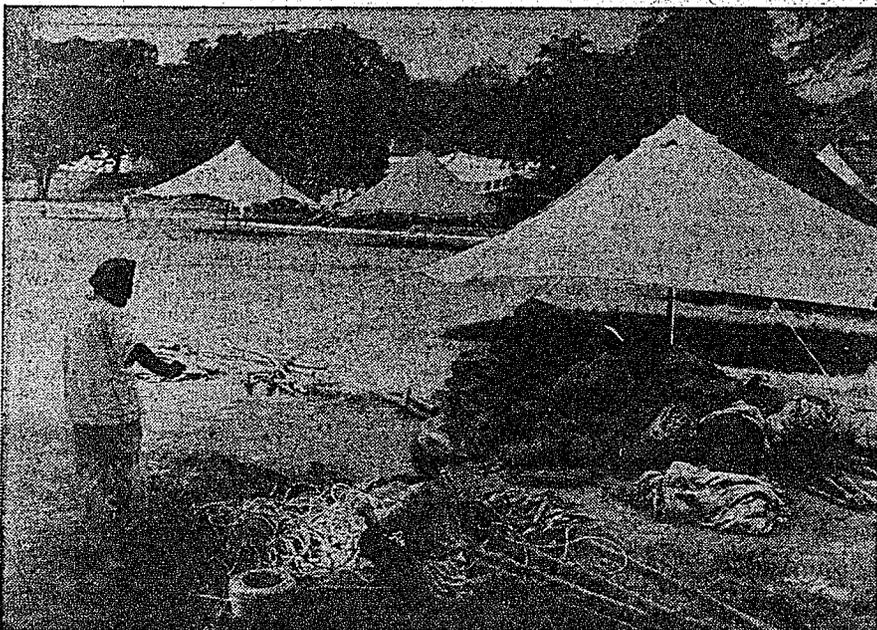


underestimating the depth of feeling among the masses", now since the estimate has been doubly fulfilled.

These one crore signatures, Dange said, represent a body of the politically conscious people and constitute the vanguard of protest of the people against the unjust burdens. From this fact alone, it can very

minist Party of India; it includes in its fold various sections of people; it is the democratic expression of people's protest against the economic burdens."

Referring to the recent spurt of activity on the part of various political parties in the Capital, particularly the parties of the Right, who have called upon people to boycott



Talkatora Gardens: Camps are being set up to receive the Marchers.

TAMILNAD :
13.5 LAKHS

* From R. Ganesan

MADRAS, September 11: A batch of 171 marchers left Madras yesterday to take part in the Great March to Parliament. They are carrying 13.5 lakh signatures to the Great Petition with them.

A PART from the send-offs given in the districts, on September 8, a send-off was specially organised for them in Madras. The rally held on the occasion was presided over by Manali Kandaswami, secretary of the Tamilnad state committee of the CPI. Among others, Kalayanasundaram and A. S. K. Ayengar addressed the rally. A 5,000-strong demonstration was also held.