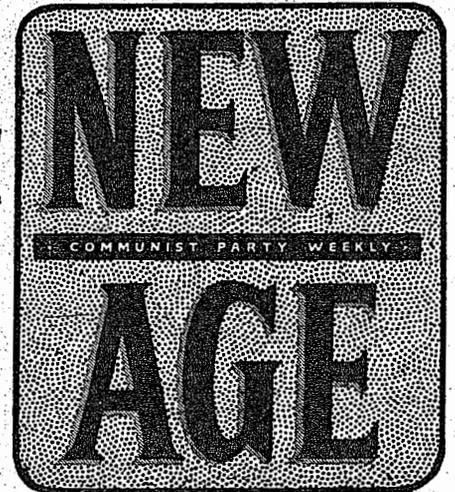


# AWAY FROM ABYSS; GROPING FOR PATH FORWARD



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## CONGRESS AT CROSSROADS

by P. C. JOSHI

Perhaps for the first time after independence, the Congress rank and file had a field day at the Jaipur session of the AICC. They have boldly asserted their dissatisfaction with the state of affairs and passionately demanded a break from the past, and new national policies and uplifting urgent actions.

SO widespread and popular is this national feeling for a decisive move forward, that Indian Reaction dare not publicly oppose it. In the past so great have been the sins of omission and commission of the Congress leadership, and so universal the frustration caused thereby, that the favourite weapon of the reactionary press is to intensify cynicism and lull hopes. For example, Frank Moraes,

Editor, Indian Express (November 4) writes: "dressing up old ideas in new garments deceives very few". Commentator D. R. Manekar expresses the wishful dream of his foreign and Indian monopoly patrons:

"If this is however Congress Democratic Socialism, nobody need quarrel with it; every one has a place in this spacious umbrella-even Barry Goldwater of the US!"

(Indian Express, November 6.)

Reactionaries can go on wishing that nothing much will happen, but what thinking progressives outside the Congress realise is that a new wind is blowing inside and over the Congress, the ruling party and as yet the most influential and broadbased national force within our country despite all its failings.

Every patriotic Indian, not befogged with petty partisanship, realises that the older mood of complacency among Congressmen is yielding place to a new mood of introspection, not of the passive type but active and healthy, be-

cause it is based on living experience.

A little serious look at the recent Indian background is enough to realise that the new stirrings inside the Congress are deeper than before and cannot be held in check. The isolation of the Congress from the people is an old story.

During the general elections of 1952 and 1957 and to an extent in 1962 as well, the Congress lost to the Left, an expression of the peoples' discontentment that they were not getting their due out of the national plans. The Right representing the most greedy vested interests registered a big advance during

1962 and, after its dramatic victory in the three parliamentary bye-elections, demonstrated that it can successfully divert the discontent of the people.

Knowing very well how strongly Reaction is entrenched inside the Congress itself the top Congressmen could not but sit up and think. A very honest realisation of this big Congress isolation from the people is contained in the confidential report of the NANDA Committee into these bye-election reverses, which was

\* ON PAGE THREE



## Valentina, Nikolayev, Bykovsky Send . . .

Уважаемые читатели ай вей  
и наши любимые пожелания  
читателям "Нью Эйдж"  
Пусть в крепкой индо-советской  
дружбе.  
Да здравствует мир во всем  
мире!

Космонавты  
СССР

Н. Терешкина  
А. Николеев  
В. Быковский

We send our cordial greetings and the best of wishes to the "New Age" readers.

Let Indo-Soviet Friendship grow stronger.  
Long live peace all over the world.

(Signed)

N. Valentina Tereshkova,  
Andrian Nikolayev,  
Valery Bykovsky.

Pilot Cosmonauts  
of the USSR.

## ... Greetings To Readers Of New Age

# SPOTLIGHT

## Swatantra Foreign Policy

**THE SWATANTRA PARTY IS PRESENTED**—is the title of a neat little exposition of this party's programme by J. M. LOBO PRABHU, one of the intellectuals of the party and a former ICS man. A commendable feature of this exposition is that it mimes no words in stating the Swatantra position on the question of Indian independence. Lobo Prabhu says:

"The Swatantra Party is against the foreign policy of the government because it has missed military aid of democratic countries, which would have spared the people from oppressive taxation. The Swatantra Party must emphasise that a common front with democracies is not only consistent with the constitution of the country but with the territorial and economic interests of the people." (emphasis added).

Here is a plain advocacy of self-out because military aid of the "democracies" (the people of India recognise them as Western imperialists) has never been available on any other condition. And what is euphemistically described by Lobo Prabhu as "common front with democracies" is actually a master and valet-relationship.

The Swatantra politician throws the bait of "freedom from oppressive taxation" to the people in order to win their willingness to get into the yoke of imperialist "military aid", although it is nothing more than offering "laddees" in exchange for a man's life. Only the Swatantra leaders can be so unenlightened as to throw such a bait!

Nowhere has Western military aid been given

without securing the right to order about the country which takes it. Secondly the "democracies" give such aid only to dictatorships. In fact, no regime which takes the aid can be or remain democratic. The regime has to be dictatorial and corrupt, because it is a regime of self-out.

Lobo Prabhu, if he is an honest intellectual, can have a look round and see all the countries where the "common front" is in existence. He will see the same sordid story everywhere, whether it be South Korea, Formosa, Thailand or South Vietnam. All these places are stinking cesspools of graft, corruption and tyranny.

Democracy is the first casualty in all these places. So is freedom. The CIA and Yankee brass-hats rule the roost in all these countries. And we betide the puppet regime which completely loses face by its misdeeds. The CIA promptly throws it out and sets up another puppet show in its place. The discredited "allies" are either killed or sent into exile.

Let our Swatantra leaders, from Lobo Prabhu upward to revered RAJAJI who sing identical tunes, realise at least this personal danger. They can ponder over the fate that has overtaken DIEM and NHU. The "common front" to safeguard vested economic interests does not always remain a noose for the toiling people; sooner than later it catches the necks of those who help set it up in their own country.

Will Lobo Prabhu realise that the Swatantra Party, as he has presented it, is not so presentable as he thinks. It is in fact, dangerous for all concerned including its own sponsors and exponents.

### MASANI'S TRAVELS

The same lesson can well be drawn by M. R. MASANI, who has

just returned from a five-day visit to Formosa singing poems of praises for that discredited corpse, CHIANG KAI-SHEK. He has spoken of "remarkable economic, social and educational progress" in that island which is for all practical purposes another state in the United States.

Dollars, painfully poured, prop up its economy and American arms keep it safe for the puppet regime of Chiang Kai-shek. Even Masani had to confess to the want of civil liberties there. He cited the case of an editor who was sentenced to a ten-year term in all "for his line of advocacy."

But the Formosan regime is the Swatantra ideal, for it did not miss military aid even if the toiling masses there have not been relieved of economic burdens. It is a grand example of "common front with democracies" which Swatantra Party so ardently advocates for India. It is precisely for the path which Chiang Kai-shek is treading that the Swatantra pleads.



**JAI PRAKASH NARAIN** recently revealed this about a fellow-travelling PSP'er:

"A certain gentleman of Bombay had been given a material like private letters and official documents connected with the life of MEHERALLY, with a view to writing a biography of the leader. However, nothing was since heard from that person, nor about the material put in his possession."

JP appealed to the person, or others who know him, to contact the Meherally Centre and at least return the biographical material.

(Janata, October 6)

—GARUDA

## FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

**WE** feel concerned over the action taken by the government of Maharashtra against P. K. Atre, Editor of the *Marathi* daily. We do not wish to enter into the merits of the case, but the way in which the action has been taken calls for a strong protest.

Most of the state governments and the Union government at Delhi have press advisory committees, and consulting them on all matters concerning the press has been an accepted convention. It is surprising that for Maharashtra, no such press advisory committee exists at present. On enquiry, we learn that only a convenor has been appointed for the purpose but no decision has yet been taken. The Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting during his visit to Bombay, it is understood, had drawn the attention of the go-

### READERS' LETTERS

vernment to the delay in forming the press advisory committee.

Before taking action against the press, the healthy practice and established convention, even during the war, had been to consult the press advisory body first. The government of Maharashtra would have been well advised to speed up the formation of the committee before rushing into action against the press. The direct action resorted to by the government in the present instance is not a healthy precedent and we therefore feel concerned about the freedom of the press.

S. R. TIKEKAR  
M. G. DESAI  
Bombay

## SAVE 200 DOCKERS' FAMILIES

**THE** Cochin Dock Workers (Regulation of Employment) Scheme came into operation at the Port of Cochin on November 5, 1962. The Scheme provides for the registration of the dock workers employed by stevedore contractors and shipping companies and assures minimum guaranteed number of workdays and other benefits that are enjoyed by similar workers in other major ports such as Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The scheme envisages the registration of these workers who were in employment prior to 1954. The rules laid down by the Dock Labour Board, constituted for the purpose of registration provide that those who have been registered by the administrative committee in 1954 and those who have applied for registration in 1959 and are medically fit shall be eligible for registration as per the scheme.

But there is a good number of workmen who have satisfied all these criteria, but left over by the Dock Labour Board without any justice or adding any reason except that the two unions

represented in the Board did not find it convenient to recommend their names. The reason for not recommending these unfortunate men whose number comes to 200 can only be found in the nepotism and favoritism rampant among the leaders of the representative unions. This is all the more tragic when one can see that all these unfortunate men are members of these two unions namely the Cochin Thurmughu Thozhilal Union and the Cochin Port Thozhilali Union.

Disappointed and driven to desperation these workers have formed an action committee of the dock workers who are unjustly and unfairly left over and have started constitutional methods of agitation.

We request that the Transport Ministry, Government of India, should do something at least now to save 200 innocent families from the starvation.

CONVENOR,  
Dock Workers' Action Committee,  
Cochin

# Congress at Crossroads

\* From Front Page

presented in this AICC session. Politically, the Chinese attack not only strengthened the Right but emboldened it to attack national policies all along the line and the leadership of Prime Minister Nehru. This by itself was worrying enough for loyal Congressmen and it became worse when they were made to realise in more ways than one that their own Morarjis and Patils were working in league with anti-Congress Rightist elements. The simple questions for Congressmen became: The popular base is being lost, how to win it again? Their leadership and progressive policies are under fire and how to face up to the challenge?

The inevitable result was the Kamaraj Plan, that led to the long delayed purge of the worst but very influential reactionaries from inside the central government, Morarji and Patil. What is more, it also began to dawn on many that organisational reshuffle and traditional moral sermons were not enough and did not meet the needs of the situation any more.

The problem was of purifying and revitalising the Congress Party itself and this was no more organisational problem but involved an intellectual moral struggle to evolve a new programme, that will give flesh and blood to the national aims and clearly embody a break with the empty wordiness of the past.

The way Congress Governments had functioned and distorted or violated the implementation of the national policies was writ large in the present day mess. This earthy realisation was the basis of the forthright criticism made and the forward moving ideas pressed in the Jaipur AICC.

The back-drop was provided by the phenomena that the growing isolation of the Congress from the people and the discussion of this problem, had led to a step by step greater isolation of the Right within the ruling party itself. A good evidence of this was the total silence of the Congress Rightists during the Session, even including the ever-ebullent S. K. Patil.

The Right dare not openly proclaim its policy aims; they are against the people and for monopolists, against India's foreign policy and for the Imperialist West. Similarly they dare not reveal their organisational blueprint transforming the Congress in the image of Swatantra Party and replace Pandit Nehru as the Prime Minister.

Everybody knew that the Right is allergic to Nehru's foreign policy. But they swallowed the foreign-policy resolution drafted by Nehru; they even spoke in its favour. They hate the Kamaraj Plan, but it was Morarji Desai who moved the official note on the subject.

### Right Kept Its Counsel

The inherent weakness of the Right stood spotlighted but it will be folly to underestimate it. They fight to realise their political and organisational aims, not by the method of public campaign and 'any ideological appeal to the people, but by resorting to the wea-

pon of internal lobbying, faction building, intrigue and conspiracy.

The top Congress leadership as it has developed even after the Kamaraj plan, was obsessed with the fear of the Right and its hold over the Congress organisation. This is clearly reflected in the original draft on Democracy and Socialism prepared by Steel and Heavy Industries Minister C. Subramaniam. He is no diehard Right but Centre-Right, and the very fact that he was called upon by the leadership to make the first draft was symptomatic. Secondly in his major ideological propositions he made serious concessions to the Rightist view point.

It is very much worthwhile to note the difference between Subramaniam's original draft and Nanda's final draft: Subramaniam's draft committed the Congress to the ideological standpoint of anti-communism, the flag of reaction the world over.

The Congress categorically repudiates the philosophy of action based on Marxism, philosophy of class war, establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and complete socialisation of ALL means of production and distribution of goods.

Anti-communism embodies the international and national aims of Indian reaction, it is alien to Indian national tradition and destiny as formulated by the Congress itself. This reactionary standpoint was thrown overboard inside the Working Committee itself.

The historic continuity of the Indian national movement progressively developing definite social objectives was expressed by Nanda in the proposition, "Congress is working for economic and social revolution."

The very word "revolution," symbolising break with the backward colonial status-quo, was conspicuously missing in the original draft.

The original draft did not go beyond the proposition that planning of economic development involves "a certain amount of control" at various levels, but who does not know that it exists even in the leading countries of monopoly capital like USA and UK. Nanda's draft embodied a far more advanced position that planned economy involves "a considerable amount of control" at various levels.

Nanda's draft demanded that the public sector must play a strategic and predominant role in industry as well as in trade in essential commodities. It was for the first time that TRADE was being brought under the umbrella of public sector.

The original draft called for rapid economic development so that "it may provide" basic needs to every individual. Nanda's draft was more categorical and demanded that it be "substantially realised by the end of the Fifth Plan."

It will thus be seen that the original draft left intact the old and built new bridges for Indian monopoly to take over Indian economy.

It is a welcome sign of the new climate and new maturity in the country as well as the Congress that Subramaniam's reactionary draft was unceremoniously but politely rejected. Inside the Working Committee itself, nobody defended it, neither Subramaniam himself, nor the Morarjis and Patils who are still more to the Right.

Nanda in consultation with Nehru was hurriedly asked to

make another draft that became the basis of subsequent discussion. The Nehru-inspired Nanda draft was of course better than the original and perhaps the best that could come out of the existing setup inside the top Congress leadership, but it would be an utter exaggeration, a bad mistake to call it a blueprint for building Socialism in India. Nanda's draft is in essence a plan for a more progressive mixed economy and not Socialism.

It is good for Congressmen sincerely desiring Socialism to have a look at the official draft in terms of its image in the mirror held in the hands on the other side, Dalmia-Jain's Times of India, (November 5) editorially states:

"The paper (Nanda's draft) shows that the party is determined to steer clear of all pressures which seek to make it swerve from the middle course it has set for itself."

The existing middle course is seriously sought to be rescued from slipping into the hands of the monopolists and a solemn pledge is given to the people that their basic needs by way of food, clothing, shelter, education and medical aid will be substantially met by 1975. The real implementation of the solemn assurance will demand a rate of development at least twice as fast as in the last 12 years. It is this effort that will usher in changes in policy and practice. It is this struggle

mination of capitalism itself. This bold vision is just what the Nanda-Nehru leadership lacks.

### Imperialist Menace

Another serious weakness, not only of the original but also of the final draft, is the complete omission of any reference to the imperialist economic menace of foreign capital in India. It not only exists but has greatly grown after independence and constitutes a standing challenge to Indian progress towards Socialism. The Congress leadership have not only forgotten their pre-independence pledges, but remain blind to the existence of the foreign monopoly firms that forced their Malaviya out of their own Ministry.

The most tell-tale significance of the session was that the leadership expected opposition from the Right, but instead was faced with opposition from the Left. Malaviya proposed what was virtually an alternative draft—because the official one was "neither flesh nor blood"—a draft based on land to the tiller and national ownership over all the commanding heights of economy.

Krishna Menon brought Congressmen face to face with facts: that while they were talking about Socialism, it was capitalism that was being built in India.

## Jaipur in retrospect

that alone can light the flame of Socialism in India, and not anything else.

The Statesman (November 6) is also not scared and has taken a correct measure of the ideological weakness of the Nehru-Nanda position:

"Production and economic growth have readily been given precedence over doctrine and for the first time there also emerged a refreshing emphasis on Science and Technology as objective of the Congress as a political party. Further restatement of the Socialist objective at this juncture is unlikely to contain anything more dramatic than reduction of privilege and large disparities in wealth and social position, and a steady broadening of welfare and social security measures. Anything specifically more radical may divide the party."

It is also worthwhile having a look at how the official thinking on "Socialism in India" is sold in the USA, the Capitalist-Monopolist Power No. 1. Indian Ambassador to US B. K. Nehru pleading for more US private investment in India explained "the concept of Socialism in India" and said, "in terms of the definition, the US was perhaps the best Socialist country in the world." (Hindu, November 10)

Wherein lies the main weakness in official Congress thinking, even of the progressive type as represented by Nanda and Nehru? They visualise mixed economy as a permanent feature of Indian reality. It was of course necessary to have mixed economy in the first phase of Indian economic development. But Socialism can be built only through ceaseless uninterrupted struggle against capitalism.

It is in the nature of capitalist development that it produces monopoly formations, as is happening in India today. Building of Socialism presupposes preventing the growth of monopoly and step by step eli-

more, with official facts and figures he proved how monopoly interests control land, industry and banking in our country, and virtually function as a parallel government, "that without breaking down the monopolies there can be no advance to Socialism, and further that Socialism cannot be built without the means of production and distribution being under community control and ownership."

Malaviya and Menon were not alone. The special correspondent of Hindu (November 6) wrote:

"Speaker after speaker at the AICC session found Nanda's plan for achieving the social objectives of the Congress inadequate and demanded more urgent and more radical measures."

The Times of India found the delegates "brutally blunt. They were impatient and even angry that the Congress showing after 16 years of power was not impressive enough."

Another hopeful development was the responsiveness of the Nehru-Nanda leadership to this new but sharp criticism from below. "The lack of urgency" was admitted, so was growth of monopoly, the delay and drift in land reforms, and that the people were really discontented, and everything possible had to be done to give them a square deal, the alternative was facing popular explosion.

Criticism from below and admission of failure by the leadership acquired a new dimension from the unprecedented decision of this AICC session to give only general acceptance to the draft and throw it open for party and public discussion. This is rightly interpreted as a sign that the best in the Congress leadership are prepared to go as far as the rank and file, and the people are ready to push forward.

The Congress Left is after years

coming into its own. It has acquired a new awareness of its strength as well as weakness. It is planning to launch a big discussion campaign to clarify the issues and win the Congress for popular progressive policies and the path of Socialism.

So far it was the Right that used to pressurise the Centrists and tame or smash up the Left. The welcome change is that it is now the progressive Left within the Congress which has begun to pressurise the Congress Centrist leadership. The Right is cunningly biding its time and is silent, but it is neither defeated nor disarmed.

This struggle is good for the health of the Congress and the progress of India. It outcome does not depend on the ideological struggle alone. The party organisation and most of the state governments are in the control of the Right, the executors of the will of Indian vested interests and proteges of alien imperialist powers.

The Kamaraj plan fired a few shots at them and they are now fighting back their hardest to keep their grip on the party machine and strategic ministerial posts.

Kamaraj plan is creaking along like the proverbial Jagannath Car and producing a situation in which Prime Minister Nehru said the other day, "seeing such a picture I feel disheartened and begin

to feel some times that to do some constructive work I should have to leave the Congress Party."

The future of the Congress in the Mahabharata that is beginning in India demands the will and wisdom of the Pandavas, before the Kauravas within the Congress can be routed and path cleared for advance towards Democracy and Socialism in India.

These Kauravas are the representatives of big business and the old influential landlords inside the Congress. Everybody knows how influential they are and that they are the new base of the Right within and matter very much in moulding the national policies.

A very welcome statement was made by Pandit Nehru that there were various organisations in the country which professed faith in Socialism, some of them fake and others genuine.

"I would like to work with all such elements as sincerely desire to take the country towards Socialism. This can be done by their joining the Congress or by adopting some other means." (Hindu November 6)

We, Indian Communists claim no monopoly of establishing Socialism in India. It was the Congress that claimed the monopoly of patriotism and after the advent of independence, of building the Socialistic pattern, true to Indian tradition. Such tall claims never fructify.

Nothing can be better for the country than mutual consultation, principled discussion and common action among all Indian patriotic elements who desire and fight for a happy and bright Socialist future for India. The Communist Party would always respond to every initiative that comes from the Congress side in the endeavour to enhance the welfare of our people and earnestly seek India's path to Socialism.

A successful strike by the employees of the Ashoka Hotel has compelled the management to agree to refer the workers' demands for bonus and increase in dearness allowance to arbitration.

**THE** Ashoka Hotel Employees Union had earlier submitted a charter of demands. Though negotiations were held between the representatives of the union and the management, no agreement could be arrived at because the management was prepared to offer only a paltry increase of five rupees in food allowance and a month's wages as interim bonus.

The union, affiliated to the AITUC and commanding the membership of 95 per cent of the employees, served strike notice on the management to back up their demands. (NEW AGE dated October 27). At the same time it explored further avenues of settling the dispute.

The management however took an uncompromising stand and started provocations against the workers and the union. And finally the workers were forced to

go on strike on November 8. The strike started at 4 a.m. and by morning it was complete, immobilising the hotel services completely.

**Deserted Look**

The post showpiece hotel of the capital wore a deserted look on that day. The bathing beauties could not enjoy a dip in the picturesquely set swimming pool; the crisp delicacies were not available to satiate the palates of the idle rich, because the ovens were not lit, and the guests had to be satisfied with buffet instead of the red-carpet service they normally received.

The management got bewildered by the complete nature of the strike. It was a surprise to them.

## ASHOKA WORKERS WIN

persuaded as they had been by the minority union belonging to the INTUC to believe that the AITUC union had no backing of the workers. In their bewilderment the management went berserk. Police was called in and six union leaders were arrested. Attempts were made to recruit black-legs. And rumour was set afloat that the strike had been declared illegal.

But none of these was of any avail. The employees stood firm. By the evening Labour Commissioner Gangesh Mishra intervened. Negotiations followed in which the AITUC leader A. C. Nanda also participated. Finally, the management agreed to refer the dispute to arbitration by Delhi Chief Commissioner Dharam Vira. The strike was withdrawn at midnight, after a duration of 20 hours.

The fact that after insistently refusing to refer the dispute to

arbitration—a demand made by the employees union when negotiations broke down last month—the management climbed down to accept it, is no mean victory for the employees. But that however has not lulled them into complacency.

The employees realise that there are forces at work who want to wreck the smooth functioning of the Ashoka Hotel, the premier public sector enterprise of its kind. The agents of the private hotel owners have been incessantly at such a game for the past few years. The strike itself was forced on the workers by these agents of private sector.

The days ahead will be critical. Brig. Raj Sarin, the man who converted the Rs. 56 lakh loss-showing Ashoka Hotel into a Rs. 32 lakh profit-bearing concern, has been relieved from the post of general manager. Of course, Sarin had resigned, but the fact is that he was

compelled to resign in the face of the disgusting manner in which many of the members of the director board worked to promote the interests of private hotels and run down the public sector Ashoka Hotel.

The way this board of directors had been functioning has been amply proved by the "discovery" they made now that the contract with Sarin was void. It took them four years and a resignation by the man concerned to find out that Sarin's appointment was made without the concurrence of the President!

The man who has taken over in Sarin's place is S. Ratnam, the chairman of the board of directors. Formerly, he was the finance secretary to the government of India. After retirement he joined the Delhi Cloth Mills as their financial advisor and has ever since served the private sector well.

# TWO NOVEMBERS

A year has gone by since the full-scale Right reactionary offensive against our basic policies began, in the wake of the Chinese aggression. It is November again, but it is a totally different November.

IN 1962, November was the month during which the Right reactionary forces were on the offensive and held the initiative for political action in their hands. The Chinese aggression gave them a base among the masses which they could never have had otherwise. The streets resounded to their fascist cries for the blood of all Indian democrats—Congressmen, Communists, every patriot who stood for India's independence and honour.

A symbol of India's non-alignment policy, V. K. Krishna Menon, was sacrificed: but the appetite of the imperialist and Right reactionary wolves was not satisfied. They howled for the head of the Prime Minister himself.

War hysteria, chauvinism, hate, cringing and fawning on the imperialists, begging servilely for military "aid"—these were the characteristics of the Rightist offensive of last November.

This year's November sees the launching of the counter-offensive by the national democratic forces against imperialism and Right reaction.

During the last three months or so, the Right reactionary forces have been receiving their first setbacks since November 1962. The shift to the Right has been

slowed down. With the Great Petition movement and the Great March of September 13, the progressive forces of the country were galvanised and given confidence and began to gain ground.

November 1963 began with the All India Peace Congress at Amritsar which has carried the battle against reaction and for the unity of patriotic and democratic forces to new heights.

November 1963 has seen also the AICC session at Jaipur, where the rank and file at-

## notes OF THE Week

tacked as never before the Right inside the Congress and the anti-people policies of Congress governments.

The differentiations on political and economic issues within the Congress came into the open at Jaipur; and the result was totally different from that of November 1962.

It was the Right which was silenced this time, and the democrats took the offensive. This is a significant development, despite the obvious fact that requires no emphasis—that Congress policies

## Birthday Greetings

In a letter to Prime Minister Nehru on the occasion of his birthday, the Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India writes:

"On behalf of the Communist Party of India, we send you our warm greetings on the occasion of your birthday.

"Together with the rest of the people of India, we wish you many happy returns of the day, many more years in the service of the country and humanity."



are to be judged by the practice of the governments and not only by the words which are spoken.

November has also been marked by the unprecedented unity of mass organisations and all patriotic sections in the tumultuous reception given to the Soviet cosmonauts. The formation of a joint reception committee for the cosmonauts in the capital or organisations with widely differing viewpoints, including Congressmen and Communists, was itself an important development.

The All India Trade Union Congress, the Women's Department of the AICC and the All India Women's Federation, the All India Youth Federation and the All India Youth Congress—along with the All India Peace Council, the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity, the Indian Council for Africa, the Bharat Sevak Samaj and the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society—all joined hands to form a single Reception Committee and organised, under their joint auspices, on one platform the mass reception at Ramilla Grounds, in which the Prime Minister also took part.

On October 2, 1962, the last such joint demonstration had taken place—when most of these organisations and Congressmen and Communists had joined together to observe Gandhiji's birthday as Disarmament Day in the capital. Then too the Prime Minister had addressed a mass demonstration, under the joint auspices of all these organisations.

But the Chinese aggression of October 20, 1962, which followed, destroyed the unity in action which took such an important form on October 2.

It has taken a whole year to begin the process all over again.

The Rightist attack, had been directed specially against this developing united action: anti-Communism was used to build a wall between Communists and other patriotic forces.

November 1963 has seen the beginning of the breaking down of this wall, and the opening up of new possibilities of that unity of the patriotic and democratic forces, which is so essential for successful struggle against Right reaction.

It is necessary to understand and grasp the full meaning of the differences in the political situation of November 1963 and November 1962. It is necessary for the Communist Party and all other democrats to build on the positive changes that have taken place.

There is, however, no occasion for complacency. The menace of the Right remains, as long as there is no decisive

shift away from the policies which help to strengthen monopolists and other vested interests, at the cost of the country's development and living standards of the working masses.

The imperialists and the Right seek to use the current joint exercises (Shiksha) also as a thin end of the wedge against the policy of non-alignment.

Shiksha is not the air umbrella or the slot system which the imperialists wanted—but nevertheless, the danger remains. Once the military forces of imperialist countries, in however small a number, are allowed on our soil, vigil-

ance of the highest order is needed to prevent this being used as the imperialists wish, to destroy or weaken our basic policies.

The weapon to fight the Right is national unity of all democratic forces. This November sees the first signs of the possibilities of forging this weapon once more.

The grim days of November 1962 must never return. Let us build on the positive developments of November 1963, to rout the Right, change the reactionary policies and defend the interests of the people.

(November 13)

Romesh Chandra

## Whispering Gallery

### THE UGLY INDIAN

AN important diplomatic conference has just concluded in New Delhi—the conference of our envoys in Africa and West Asia. It reviewed Indian policy and its implementation in those two vital regions pulsating with anti-imperialist struggles.

It is not known what the change is going to be except that we are going to lend some of our technicians to the newly-independent countries of Africa on handsome emoluments.

What is necessary is a sea-change in our attitude towards African countries. All our representatives in Africa are dyed-in-the-wool bureaucrats. Whatever the contours of Nehru's foreign policy, they get blurred at the hands of these gentlemen. Most of them are indifferent to the Africans; some are even contemptuous.

I know of one ambassador in a West African capital who made it a point to tell his buddies that he washed his hands whenever he shook hands with an African! Happily he was shunted off to a Scandinavian country.

I have heard of another Indian stiff-neck who flew down to New Delhi from the Hague paying his own fare on hearing that he was posted to Nairobi. He pleaded for cancellation of the assignment. A change from a civilized West European country to a tribal patch in East Africa! Was it not a demotion for him? And what had he done to merit this exile? Ultimately he was persuaded to believe that the change was actu-

ally adding a peg or two to his diplomatic stature.

I am certainly not saying that our diplomats alone are to be blamed in Africa. Certainly they are not responsible for pushing India at the tail end of the queue when the question of the recognition of independent Algeria came.

Again, Indian journalists who attended the recent Afro-Asian journalists' conference at Jakarta reported their confrontation with African delegates who cursed India for accepting two million sterling pounds worth of copper from that butcher Roy Welensky when the Chinese attacked.

It is such aberrations that are tarnishing the image of India a great deal in Africa. It is to be hoped that the New Delhi conference has done something to correct the 'Ugly Indian' approach.

ON the morning of November 2 there were about 300 people in the premises of the Jaipur airport. And when Nehru's plane taxied to a halt one of them shouted: JAWAHARLAL NEHRU-KI . . . ! And then silence! Utter silence.

Why? I found out later that all those who were present at the terminal were businessmen and their representatives who had converged on Jaipur to host Congress VIPs. They were not interested in shouting 'Jai' to Nehru or anybody.

—INSIDER

# THE SOVIET ACHIEVEMENT IN SPACE

★ By DILIP BOSE

By the time this reaches the general public, VALENTINA TERESHKOVA, world's first woman cosmonaut, her husband and comrade ANDRIAN NIKOLAYEV, and her partner-in-space VALERY BYKOVSKY with his wife will have left New Delhi. There would however be no dispute about the fact that during their short stay in Delhi they won our hearts by their modesty, simplicity and ready wit. Now, the rest of India waits for them with bated breath.

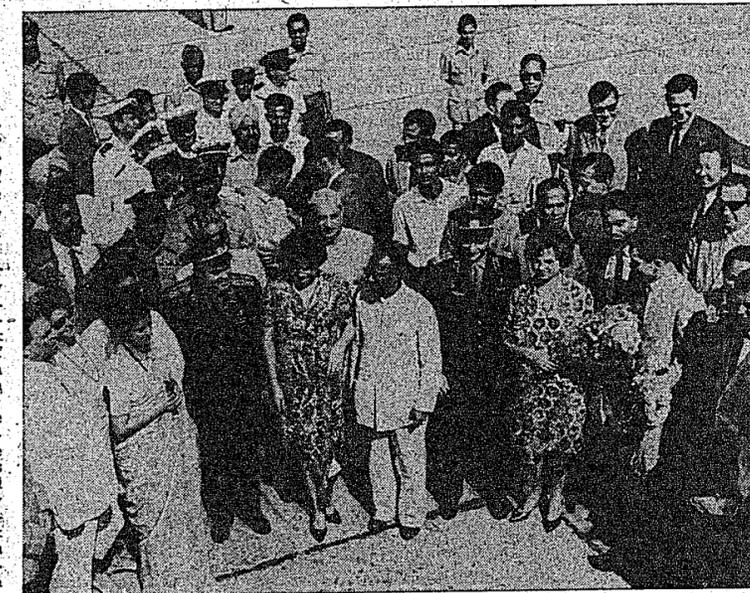
IN India, our achievements in space science cannot be much, but they are still worth mentioning. The researches done by our late lamented national Professor SISIR MITRA into ionospheric physics and the facts discovered were largely drawn upon by Soviet and American scientists in calculating the frictional air resistance that a sputnik or a space-ship like the Vostok, encounters both in its take-off, in calculating its life (in the case of a sputnik) and in its safe descent through the denser and denser layers back to terra firma (in the case of a space-ship).

Some of our laboratories, particularly the one at Nani Tal, have helped in the work of tracking the artificial satellites. We can be sure that our equatorial rocket (projected from Thumba near Trivandrum which again is situated very near the equator) will give us valuable information regarding the atmospheric drag at the equator. This is of particular interest, because the rotational velocity (round its own axis) of the earth is the highest at the equator, as this is the region which is rotating fastest, as the poles are rotating the slowest. (Is this not so in the case of a spinning top also?)

The dual space flights point to such a possibility and the recent manoeuvrable space vehicle Polyot-1, launched by the Soviet scientists on November 1 is a big portent for the future. The point is that the manned rocket has first to be placed in the same orbit as the tanker robot rocket, then it has to be manoeuvred into a position near enough the tanker, so that refuelling can take place.

Eventually, as Lt.-Col. Bykovsky mentioned in his press conference at New Delhi on November 10, a permanent station in space will be set up by assembling parts of it projected in the payload of many rockets.

Already blueprints have been made and as usual there are not one but many designs. One such design visualises a wheel-like



The Soviet Cosmonauts Nikolayev, Tereshkova, and Bykovsky with his wife arrived at New Delhi on November 10. Here they are seen with Indra Gandhi and Education Minister Humayun Kabir. In the back row at the right are seen ambassadors of Czechoslovakia, Cuba, Mongolia and Bulgaria. (Photo: R. Parashar)

structure, 250 feet in diameter, revolving round itself to give a simulated sense of gravity and therefore of weight to the space crews whose living quarters will be situated in the circumference.

No doubt there are all sorts of complicated manoeuvres, calculations and the like which cannot be discussed here.

By the time this reaches our readers, our dear and honoured

and valued guests from space belonging to a country bound to us in bonds of profound friendship and fraternity will have reached other parts of India. They belong to us as much as they belong to the Soviet Union, in fact they really belong to the whole world—they are the flowers of a new humanity, which has seen the world in its entirety, in its pristine glory of cosmic space.



Valentina and Andrian at the press conference on Sunday.

of refuelling in orbit, by sending a tanker robot rocket in orbit and then a manned rocket making a successful rendezvous with it and getting refuelled.

The lead in this difficult and complex area of scientific progress is still held by the Soviet Union.

Mstislav Keldysh stressed that "the main quality of space apparatus, capable of solving new tasks in space research, is the ability to carry out extensive manoeuvres during space flight."

He explained that the ability to manoeuvre "makes it possible to change the angle of inclination of the sputnik's orbital plane to the equator." This gives the opportunity to carry out measurements in various zones of outer space, to receive information on the change of properties of near-earth space at various altitudes, to use sputniks in meteorology and in areas of particular interest from the standpoint of meteorology.

Keldysh evaluated the launch-

ing of Polyot-1 as a considerable step "toward the creation of steerable satellite ships."

"The ability of the ships to manoeuvre," the scientist said, "makes it possible to create heavy orbital scientific research stations in space, and to ensure a constant supply of this station with everything necessary."

Concerning the importance of Polyot-1 for long space flights, Keldysh remarked that "flights of automatic space vehicles and also manned spaceships to the moon and planets of the solar system are practically impossible without their making corrective manoeuvres along the trajectory of the flight and near the planets."

"Moreover, one of the methods of preparing heavy spaceships for manned flights to the Moon, Mars or Venus is their assembly from separate parts in orbit around the earth. The individual parts of such spaceships should be steerable space apparatuses."

Mstislav Keldysh stressed in his interview to the TASS correspondent that "the launching of manned interplanetary ships to the moon and the planets of the solar system would be made much easier if permanent heavy orbital stations would be orbited around the earth."

Elaborating on this, the scientist noted: "The assembly of these stations on orbit, replacement of crews and equipment are possible only with the help of steerable space apparatuses."

discussing the importance of the launching of Polyot-1 space vehicle, the President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, MSTISLAV KELDYSH, said in a TASS interview a few days ago:

● The launching of Polyot-1 space vehicle marks the transition from flights along mainly pre-set orbits to flights with extensive manoeuvres.

● These spaceships will enable man to move about in space as he wants.

● Steerable spaceships will make it possible to land on a pre-assigned cosmogrome from any orbit and to effect space link-ups.

● This is a new step toward the solution of complex problems of long-distance space flights.

● This is a new qualitative leap forward in the planned exploration of space by Soviet science.

● The lead in this difficult and complex area of scientific progress is still held by the Soviet Union.

### The Latest Flights

On the occasion of this historic visit of these cosmonauts, let us discuss particularly their achievements. On August 11, 1962 Major Andrian Nikolayev was placed in an orbit round the Earth in Vostok III. He did 64 orbits in 96 hours, but the most interesting point to note is that next day he was joined almost on the same orbit by Lt.-Col. Pavel Popovich in Vostok IV, who did 48 orbits. They both came down almost at the same time at a predetermined spot.

The accuracy of their descent and the excellence of the precision instruments are simply amazing. Imagine a cosmonaut after going round the globe 64 or 48 times getting down not just somewhere in New Delhi but say, in Ramilla grounds, already predetermined.

Our Soviet cosmonauts during their press conferences and other public utterances have already drawn attention to the significance of this successful rendezvous in space. For a manned landing on the moon we require fuel which can produce a velocity of 25,000 mph (to reach the moon, already attained), plus at least 20,000 for a soft-landing on the moon and take-off, plus another 25,000 mph for a safe journey back to earth. The aggregate being in the order of 70,000

mph. The dual space flights point to such a possibility and the recent manoeuvrable space vehicle Polyot-1, launched by the Soviet scientists on November 1 is a big portent for the future. The point is that the manned rocket has first to be placed in the same orbit as the tanker robot rocket, then it has to be manoeuvred into a position near enough the tanker, so that refuelling can take place.

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Already blueprints have been made and as usual there are not one but many designs. One such design visualises a wheel-like



Cosmonauts at the AIR.

## Intensify Release Campaign

THE MIGHTY RELEASE campaign, conducted by the Communist Party with the support of other democrats, has already won major victories. The latest is the release of all the remaining Communist detenus in Punjab, following a High Court judgement. Punjab is thus added to all the other States, where every single Communist detenu has been released.

Certain State Governments refuse to act in response to the popular demand for immediate release. The most adamant are the Government of West Bengal, where the largest number of detenus continue to be in prison and the Government of Maharashtra, where detenus, even when released by the High Courts, are rearrested. Other States in which Communists are also detained till now, are Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Assam, Tripura and Manipur.

The Defence of India Act violates the provisions of the Constitution, guaranteeing fundamental rights. Eminent jurists have publicly expressed this view. The Supreme Court has also held the Act contrary to the provisions of the Constitution on fundamental rights.

The issue of release is not a party issue. It is an issue of personal freedom, of democracy, of the rights of the citizen. It is, therefore, the duty of all who stand for these cherished principles, irrespective of the party affiliation, to join in demanding the immediate release of all Communist detenus and the scrapping of the illegal Act.

In the coming weeks, Communists everywhere and specially in the States most concerned, will carry the movement for release to still further heights, drawing into it the broadest sections of the people.

(November 13, 1963)

**HYDERABAD:** The Andhra Pradesh Council of the Communist Party of India, which met here some time ago, passed a resolution on the next round of the peasant movement in the state. A big stir and organised action of the mighty kisans of Andhra is clearly in the offing.

A spokesman of the council told your correspondent that the resolution has three important aspects.

First, it should be recalled that under the leadership of the All-Parties Action Committee a big mass peasant

movement had been unleashed in September 1962. The demands of the kisans were the withdrawal of the Additional Land Levy Bill and the distribution of banjar land to the agricultural labourers.

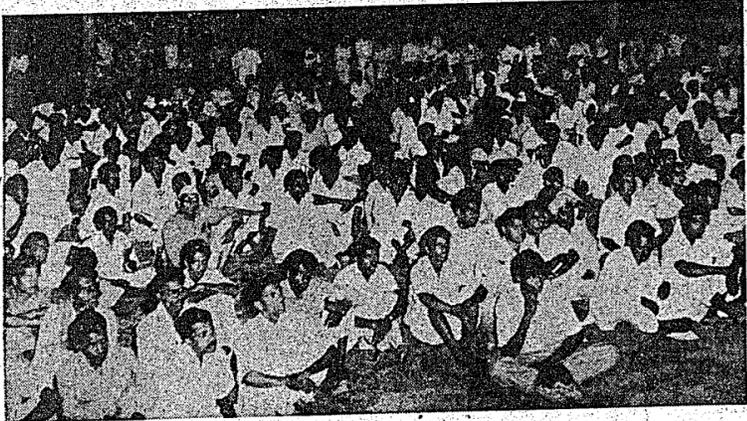
The committee was composed

# PEASANT STIR

## PLANNED

★ FROM MOHIT SEN

of the Communist Party, Praja Party, the Ryots Sangham, Agricultural Labourers Union and prominent individuals. Apart from other leaders mention must be made of Tenneti Viswanathan and Vavilala Gopalakrishnaiah. In



Audience at the meeting addressed by P. C. Joshi in Hyderabad.

## WORKERS PREPARE FOR DIRECT ACTION

**THE** working committee of the Andhra Pradesh Trade Union Congress (APTUC) has called upon the working class to observe the month of November for popularisation of its demands and to prepare for statewide direct action. In December 1963 the campaign will be reviewed and a detailed programme of direct action worked out.

The APTUC has reiterated its demand for state trading, reduction of excise duties on essential commodities and for the nationalisation of banks, oil and foreign trade. It has called for the deferring of payment of privy purses, compensation to landlords and for control on profits of foreign firms and monopolies.

It declared its full support to the demand of the peasants for scrapping the additional land levy and for dis-

tribution of banjar lands to the agricultural labourers. It draws attention to a ten-point charter of demands of the different sections of the trade union movement:

(i) immediate revision of dearness allowance with a view to fully neutralise the rise in prices, and link the DA with the cost of living index;

(ii) constituting a tripartite committee to compute the real cost of living indices to replace the fake and unreal indices computed by the government;

(iii) immediate wage revision on the basis of the agreed wage norms;

(iv) implementation of the jute wage board recommendations;

(v) revision of the minimum wages fixed for all the scheduled employments under the Minimum Wages Act;

(vi) appointment of minimum wages committees for small scale engineering industries, printing presses and salt manufacturing;

(vii) revision of recommendations of textile, sugar and cement wage boards;

(viii) appointment of wage boards for engineering, transport and tobacco industries;

(ix) payment of one month's bonus to all industrial workers irrespective of profit and loss; and above all

(x) the protection of employment.

The central government employees, NGOs, teachers are also agitating for immediate revision of dearness allowance and controlling the prices besides other demands.

the districts many Congressmen joined the campaign.

Over six lakh signatures were collected and a huge march to Hyderabad organised, the biggest the capital of Andhra had ever seen. The Red Flag and the Congress tricolour were carried by the demonstration.

The Chinese aggression led to the deferring of the next round of the movement. The action committee called for postponement and urged the kisans to go all-out for production and donation and contributions to the national defence effort.

Secondly, the spokesman pointed out, we must remember that in the name of the emergency additional burdens, in a most iniquitous manner, were heaped on the peasants. Prices soared and mass misery increased. The anger of the kisans mounted and their determination grew to organise and fight so that the tasks of defence and development should be carried out in a manner that was just and democratic.

The Andhra kisan noted that in Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh the new ministries had yielded to the demand of the democratic movement and withdrawn the additional surcharges on land revenue that had been proposed or imposed a year ago. He felt that the Congress government in Andhra should also note these developments.

Thirdly, the spokesman said, there was the tremendous impact of the unprecedented Great Petition campaign. Over 16 lakh signatures had been collected in Andhra—the highest in India. Intensive campaigning had convinced millions that there was an alternative path for defence

money, raising of production and efficiency.

The APTUC, therefore, urged the state government to

put an end to these policies and honestly implement the tripartite decisions. And to this end it called upon the workers to organise and fight.



P. C. Joshi addressing the meeting with Makhdoom Mohiuddin (centre) and R. B. Gaur listening.

### Andhra Pradesh

and development other than the pro-monopoly and pro-landlord policies espoused by the Congress government.

The success of the Great Petition campaign not only in mass mobilisation but also in the gains registered in the shape of change in government policies and the removal of the foremost representatives of Right reaction in the cabinet, gave added confidence to the kisans. The conviction grew that struggle and unity could win concessions.

The concessions announced earlier by the Congress government and the double-faced policy of collection of the additional land revenue have only whetted the kisan's desire for action. The despicable game of trying to pit the poor against the poor of the government by pleading that banjar land was needed for the jawans and their families has deceived nobody. There is enough banjar land for the servicemen and for the landless labourers if the government sheds its pro-landlord policy.

"The time for fresh collections is approaching. The Communist Party serves notice on the government that it still has time to withdraw the additional land levy. Or else it must face the consequences. A state-wide satyagraha will be organised from January. We have appealed to the all-parties committee to take up the matter and work out the details of the massive kisan rebuff to the oppression of unjust burdens before the next Budget session," concluded the spokesman.

# WEST BENGAL'S BATTLE FOR BONUS

## First Round Won

★ From Our Correspondent

The pujah bonus movement in West Bengal was most intense this year and the first round of victories has been won in many cases. The workers are now poised for action to realise their bonus from those employers who refused to pay it before the pujahs.

**S**TRIKE notice has been served on Birla's Hindustan Motors. Despite a profit of Rs. 3.58 crores, the Birla management has refused to pay bonus. The 6,000 workers of the factory conducted a number of demonstrations and there were mass hunger strikes but the management has remained adamant in its refusal to pay bonus.

The biggest achievement in the bonus struggle was of the jute workers numbering more than two lakhs. But the bonus movement in West Bengal, in which the workers of the engineering industry under the leadership of the National Federation of Metal and Engineering Workers of India took a leading part, had other aspects of significance too.

### 2,500 DISPUTES

Nearly 2,500 disputes on bonus were pending before the labour directorate of the state government before the pujahs for settlement. Unlike previous years, this year the directorate took initiative to settle the bonus disputes due to the tremendous pressure of the movement of the workers.

The employers' attitude from the beginning of the movement in early August was very stiff. The Bengal Chamber's decision was not to concede any increase in the quantum of bonus but try to decrease it. This was because any increase in bonus, they thought, would prejudice the Bonus Commission in favour of the workers.

However, in many factories especially in the engineering industries, the employers adopted their policy according to the situation in each unit. In some places they came to settlement with the unions and the workers, which was at variance with the policy of the Engineering Association and the Bengal Chamber.

Thus, the 11,000 workers of the Jesso factory received more bonus than last year. The quantum was 4½ months' wages last year, while this year it was 6-7/16 months' wages.

The management of the Braithwaite company did not want to increase the bonus this year over the 5½ months wages last year despite their net profit increasing from Rs. 31.27 lakhs to Rs. 35.86 lakhs in the current year. After

ed to the Labour Minister's residence led by Mohammed Elias and Ram Sen.

After this, just two days before the pujah, the Deputy Labour Commissioner made another proposal of 14½ weeks' wages as advance and an assurance that the dispute will be taken up by him in the second week of November for settlement. The workers have decided that if there is no settlement in November there will be a general strike on this issue.

The shipbuilding and ship repairing factory of the Defence Department earned Rs. 12 lakhs profit this year against Rs. 2 lakhs last year. Naturally the workers expected better amount of bonus. Last year the 5,000 workers of this factory got one week's wages as bonus. This time they demanded eight weeks' wages. But the authorities refused and the workers began agitating through mass meetings, demonstrations and badge-wearing. On October 3 all workers and employees, stopping overtime work, went to the residence of chairman B. B. Ghosh, led by Mohammed Elias, Indrajit Gupta and Gaur Goswami. When the union decided to serve strike notice, the management climbed down and offered one month's wages as bonus and ten days' wages as advance for this year.

The 1500 workers of Hooghly Docking, another shipbuilding and ship repairing factory, had to go on stay-in strike four times before

the company agreed to the offer of the Deputy Labour Commissioner. Last year the company suffered a loss but this year they had made a profit of Rs. 3.09 lakhs. Hence the workers forced the company to give one month's wages as bonus and three weeks wages as advance.

### BIG VICTORY

The workers of Bharatiya Iron and Electron Company demanded 39 days' wages as advance. The company refused to pay at first and then offered to pay the same amount as last year. The workers staged a sit down strike in front of the general manager's office for more than 48 hours. The management decided to lock out the factory and armed police was called to clear the workers. But due to the timely intervention of Mohammed Elias on behalf of the Federation and his discussions with the board of directors, the company came to a settlement. The workers got 65 days wages as total bonus in place of 35 days wages they received last year. It was really a great victory for the workers.

Similarly the 1,000 workers in Mackintosh-Burn and Co. in the same area went on a stay-in strike for a day and forced the company to concede an increased amount of bonus.

The 700 workers of Philips Radio assembling factory, among whom more than 400 are girls coming

from middle class families, also conducted a bonus struggle. The company made a net profit of Rs. 31 lakhs more this year than last year, but showed no inclination to increase the quantum of bonus. A number of mass deputations to the general manager's residence and the head office were taken. The company then came to a secret agreement with the stogie union and declared five months and 13½ days wages as bonus for the 2,000 workers of the Philips all over India. The workshop employees boycotted the bonus and did not accept it for a few days, but on the assurance of the Deputy Labour Commissioner that the matter would be taken up by him after the pujahs, the workers accepted the bonus on protest.

The 4,000 workers of Jay Engineering staged a stay-in strike for more than 48 hours for increase in the bonus, but the matter is still unsettled. It will be discussed after the pujahs.

The J. K. Steel made a profit of Rs. 28 lakhs—Rs. 7 lakhs more than last year. But the management offered only 4½ months' wages and a movement is going on there.

Apart from the above mentioned factories, the workers of numerous small, middle and big factories conducted a series of struggles for increasing the amount of bonus in view of the huge profits earned by the employers and the tremendous rise in prices of the main food articles and other consumer goods.



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You feel tired to work... do not get energy to work or suffer from colds... or perhaps you have not a desire for food or what you take does not digest even.

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## OPEN LETTER

of CPSU Central Committee to Party Organisations, to all Communists of Soviet Union

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# Spotlight on NDC

# TYPES

THE recent meeting of the National Development Council in New Delhi has brought disappointment to different people, though for different reasons. Those who hoped for a vigorous lead from the NDC to end the uncertainties and hesitations in our planning and take it out of the present stalemate are disappointed that the NDC did not do anything in that direction. Others are angry that the NDC has not killed the Plan and called the private sector to manage the show.

PATRIOT of November 11 regrets that the NDC did not help to take the plan from the 'blind alley' into which it has strayed. In a reference to NDC discussions on agriculture and the proposed committees on land reforms and agricultural production, the PATRIOT wrote:

'Our planning has never suffered from a dearth of committees and the two latest ones are not likely to improve matters. The Committee on Land Reforms, it is true, is under a minister more sincerely disposed towards land reforms than his predecessor, but it also includes a number of state Chief Ministers, whose record in this respect has not been inspiring. Some of them, like the Chief Minister of Kerala, are associated not with furtherance of land reforms, but with their scuttling.'

PATRIOT finds the function of the Agricultural Production Board, 'to coordinate and push up the production programme'—'an amorphous charge, which is not measurable in any concrete terms'. It criticises NDC's reliance on state administrations for land reforms.

'Why should it not obtain a mandate from Parliament to centralise the formulation and implementation of land reform measures in consultation with states' representatives? This is not a counsel for ending states' autonomy, but of making them act in accordance with the people's will.'

## Shift The Emphasis

'Shift the emphasis' is the advice of THE INDIAN EXPRESS. It says that something is radically wrong with our agriculture because production has remained stagnant and there might be even a shortfall.

'But does the stagnation in agriculture stem entirely from the tardy progress in the implementation of land reforms, as Mr. Nehru seemed to imply? Is it not likely to have been due to such changes in the land policy as have been enforced by many of the states?', asks the paper.

Also THE INDIAN EXPRESS shows its appreciation of the views of the former Minister of Agriculture, S. K. PATIL.

The dismal failure of agriculture suggests that there is considerable force in the view held by quite a few experts, among them a former Agriculture Minister of the ruling party, that agriculture has deteriorated precisely where the land reforms have made the fastest progress. These have tended to restrict the operation of the free land market, and the curbs on land transactions have inhibited the flow of money into agriculture.

Another paper which has

land reform measures as still remain to be completed should be sought in their productivity rather than ideological implications. And yet it is not evident that this view got expressed forcibly enough at the meeting.'

Also its complaint is that NDC did not show due interest in certain other areas of planning about which THE HINDUSTAN TIMES is very much concerned.

'Nothing appears to have been said about organized industry, especially in the private sector, the rate of capital formation and investment in the economy, the impact of fiscal and price policies and infrastructural problems.'

Poor private sector! What is TTK doing?

THE TRIBUNE considers the 'main weakness' is administration.

'The need for stepping up

agricultural production is far too obvious to require any emphasis or reiteration. If land reforms have not been fully carried out and agricultural production has not registered adequate progress, the reason is not that the resources for development projects were inadequate and the methods for ensuring higher production were not sufficiently known but that those entrusted with agricultural development lacked enthusiasm for their work and could not impart sufficient dynamism to it.'

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA criticizes the Chief Ministers for failing to grasp the sense of urgency which the Prime Minister sought to impart through his speech before the NDC. The performance in the agricultural sector as revealed in the mid-term appraisal of the Plan has caused anxiety all around. The Prime Minister had, therefore, no alternative to reiterating the

off-repeated platitudes on the importance of agriculture in the economic set-up of the country.

'But no evidence of the sense of urgency he sought to create could be traced in the speeches of some Chief Ministers who tried to enlighten the Council on the specific problems in their respective states. Possibly they are still suffering from the hang-over of the complacency fostered by Mr. S. K. Patil through imports under PL 480 as also his castigation of the targets fixed by the Planning Commission.'

Commenting on Nehru's emphasis on speeding up land reforms, the paper wrote: 'Promises and assurances' came as promptly from the Chief Ministers as in the past. But they will require continuous prodding by the Centre to shed their inertia.'

—SANJAYA

## INDIA SIGNS FIVE-YEAR AGREEMENT Trade With Czechoslovakia

### Minister Assures All Help

At the ceremony of signing the Indo-Czech trade agreement in New Delhi on November 7 providing for a doubling of trade between the two countries in the next three years the Czech foreign trade minister F. Hamouz said:

SINCE 1947 when India became independent you have achieved remarkable results. After the liberation India depended almost in all branches on the imports of food, textile articles and especially machines from abroad. Nowadays the situation has changed a great deal. The production of electric energy, steel and coal has increased almost five times and in many articles previously imported, India is now not only self-sufficient but is even becoming an exporter.

The buildup of the heavy industry is no doubt a right way being followed by India. Since the day when your country became independent huge factories have been built just as Bhilai, Roukela, Hindustan Machine Tools, chemical and other factories.

I am pleased to see that our republic too can participate in the industrial buildup of India. In spite of the fact that our possibilities of aid are limited by the size and volume of the production of our country, our contribution and aid is not without importance.

### Changing Structure

As I mentioned before, Czechoslovakia will continue to grant all the assistance in the industrial buildup of India and naturally gradually, step by step the structure of our imports from India will be modified.

As you probably know we started to study this question already last year. In the past Czechoslovakia was a traditional buyer of the Indian raw hides. We are ready to change the tradition as far as the

specification is concerned and our technicians here on the spot are doing their best to make possible the imports of finished hides to Czechoslovakia. Our technicians closely collaborate with several Indian tanning factories which are preparing the hides according to our requirements. As soon as your people will master the proper tanning and finishing of the hides you may be able to export these products to other foreign countries.

In a similar way we wish to buy larger quantities of jute products while reducing at the same time this production in Czechoslovakia. Here I wish to stress that we need not only a definite assurance but the firm quotas so that we can depend on your supplies to meet our requirements.

The agreement that has been just concluded provides for our imports of further industrial products. It is necessary that the Indian manufacturers and exporters of these products take the first steps and get in touch with the Czechoslovak buyers and this especially in view of the fact that the sale of these products require special arrangements as the supply of spare parts, service etc.

While negotiating this agreement we agreed on the principles and possibilities of new credits to be granted by Czechoslovakia to India. The importance of this credit cannot be judged only by the volume and terms for the repayment but firstly by the nature of the equipment which is to be supplied.

I am confident that your technicians together with ours will be able to find and choose the com-

plete equipment that is essential for India and that would fit to our manufacturing programme.

On behalf of my colleagues and in my name I am extending best wishes of success in our future collaboration.

Speaking later at a press conference, Hamouz said:

The mutually advantageous trade and economic relations is proved by the volume of trade achieved over the period of last



Foreign Trade Minister Hamouz

three years. While in the year 1960 the volume of trade was at the level of about 13 crores of rupees, the turnover of trade in the year 1962 reached a level of about 30 crores of rupees.

The new Trade and Payments Agreement has been concluded for the period of five years and I am confident that such a long-term arrangement will certainly help to stabilise and strengthen our trade relations and at the same time enable us to plan the exchange of goods and economic collaboration according to our mutual possibilities and requirements.

The new Trade and Payments Agreement forms a solid basis for further expansion of trade and at the same time provides for the

exchange of larger quantities of non-traditional products.

In the course of my official collaboration and the achievements made so far, it has always been the view of both sides that the economic collaboration has developed successfully and its continuation is desired by both the countries.

In this connection I expressed the opinion that Czechoslovakia may be in a position to extend to India further credit facilities for the establishment of various industrial plants in technical collaboration with Czechoslovakia.

Further details will be discussed between the representatives of both countries in the near future.

FIRST ISSUE OF HAYAT COMMUNIST PARTY'S URDU WEEKLY out on November 15 Write to Manager 7/4 ASAF ALI ROAD NEW DELHI 1

NOVEMBER 17, 1963

# peace movement strides forward AMRITSAR CONGRESS—a brilliant success

Beyond all expectations, beyond all forecasts, was the success of the All India Peace Congress on November 1, 2 and 3, 1963. It was certainly the biggest Peace Congress ever held in India. But it was much more than that: its impact will be felt in the entire political life of our country, and indeed far beyond our borders, in the world movement for peace in all the continents.

IN their statements after the Congress, the many distinguished foreign guests who participated in it were unanimous in their assessment that the echoes of Amritsar would be heard all over the world. The leader of the Soviet delegation, Professor S. V. Romyantsev (Rector of the Lumbumba University), told a press conference in Delhi after the Congress, of the vital significance of the Amritsar deliberations and decisions, and was full of praise for the Indian Peace movement's work in organising such a giant demonstration for peace. Romyantsev's opinion was

and Right reaction against our basic policies. The policy of nonalignment was rightly the central theme of the Congress. A great deal of attention was paid to the discussion on nonalignment. The main key document of the Congress—the Declaration of Amritsar—is a stirring call for the defence of the policy of nonalignment. Linked with the discussion on nonalignment were the discussions on the problems of security. Two of the most important resolutions of the Congress are those on the Colombo proposals and on Kashmir.

It was precisely because the Amritsar Congress devoted such special attention to those questions of peace, which are of particular national interest—that the Congress received such wide mass response, so many delegates attended and listened with such deep attention to all the discussions.

The policy of nonalignment is under attack as never before. And it was right and proper that the Peace Congress should give a ringing call for its defence to all patriots. It is round the Declaration of Amritsar, which reflects our true national interests by championing the policy of nonalignment, that the Indian Peace Movement will seek to build the broadest possible unity in the coming days.

The emphasis on the NATIONAL necessity of a policy of peace—for every aspect of our progress, for the protection of our sovereignty and integrity, for our economic advance—was a major reason for the overwhelming success of the Peace Congress.

At the same time, the Amritsar Congress succeeded in bringing to the forefront the importance of the great world problems of peace—of disarmament and of national independence. The Amritsar Congress was the

maniacs, and ever greater mass action for further steps towards complete and general disarmament and a lasting peace.

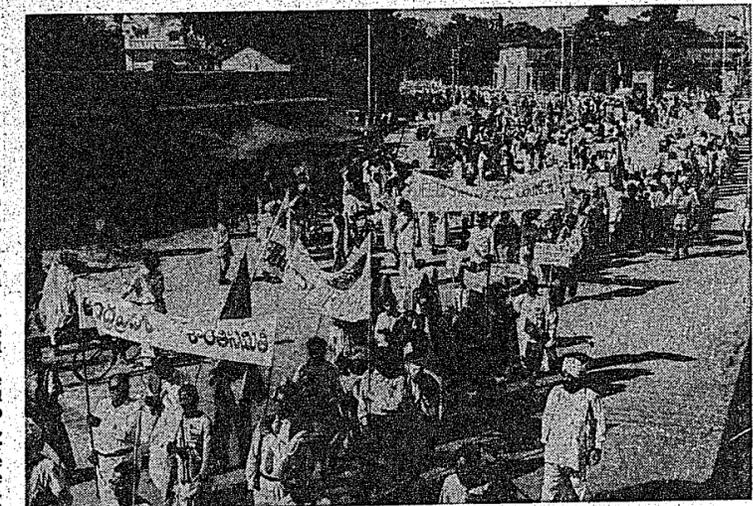
Amritsar proclaimed India's solidarity with all those who are with us in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racialism. The unending cheers which greeted the foreign delegates at every session were vivid proof of this solidarity. In its Message to the Peoples of the World, the Congress proclaimed this solidarity in the common work for peace, for disarmament and for national independence.

Amritsar has worked out a programme of action, which can help to unite the broadest sections of patriotic opinion against the imperialist-counter-revolutionary offensive. It was a thrill for every Indian democrat to see the thronging thousands at Amritsar. One could not but remember the dreadful days exactly a year earlier, when the Right reactionary gangs had roamed the streets denouncing our basic policies, and demanding the heads of the architects and best supporters of those policies.

The wheel had turned full circle. November 1963 was not November 1962. In November 1963, at Amritsar, united Indian national democratic opinion launched a counter-offensive against the enemies of the nation. Democratic India was up on its feet again, revived after the grim ordeals which followed the Chinese aggression, and was giving orders to the offensive of reaction to halt.

It is this fact which has sent a current of joy flashing through the patriotic masses of our land. The words of the Amritsar resolutions are words of confidence, of hope, of courage, of patriotism and of that great devotion to peace and humanity, which is so characteristic of the Indian working people.

The work of the commissions and sectional meetings



A view of the huge demonstration on the concluding day of the Amritsar Peace Congress



Representative of Arab League, Farid Abu Izzeddin.

shared by all other foreign guests at Amritsar.

The unprecedented number of messages received for the Congress from scores of national peace committees was itself an indication of the fact that the eyes of the world were on Amritsar.

While the friends from abroad saw clearly the importance of the Congress for the entire world struggle for peace, Indian participants naturally hailed the Amritsar Congress first of all for the unparalleled contribution which it made to our own battle against the offensive of imperialism



Balraj Sahni

Amritsar truly reflected the Moscow spirit—the spirit of the test ban accord, of triumph and confidence at this victory over the forces of war and imperialism, and equally of vigilance against the war-



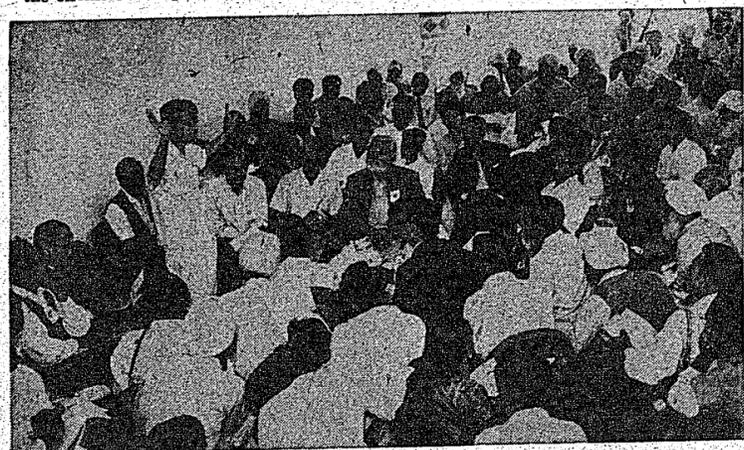
Ambassador of Cuba in India, Manuel Stolyk, Novygrad

at Amritsar was unique. Largely attended, each commission became in many ways a study group. Painstakingly, each issue was explained, the doubts removed, unanimity achieved.

One of the features of the Congress was undoubtedly the fact that in each commission, the wrong position and actions of the Chinese dogmatic leadership were condemned, after detailed answers had been given to the false propaganda

\* ON PAGE 15

REVIEW ARTICLE by ROMESH CHANDRA

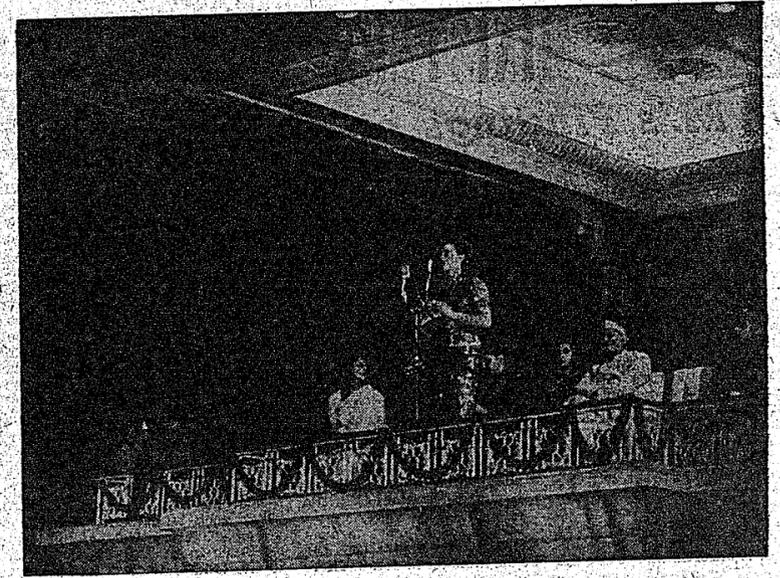


Romesh Chandra speaking at the commission meeting on organisation and tasks of the peace movement

NOVEMBER 17, 1963

NEW AGE

PAGE NINE



# DAY WITH COSMONAUTS

★ by PAULY V. PARAKAL

Delhi went wild with excitement on Sunday last when 'seagull' VALENTINA TERESHKOVA, the working girl from the Krasny Perekop textile mills who became the starry-eyed first queen of space, came to the capital accompanied by 'falcon' ANDRIAN NIKOLAEV, her husband of one week, and 'hawk' VALERY BYKOVSKY, her cosmic brother.

THE Soviet space heroes received a tumultuous welcome in the Indian capital. An uproarious cheer went up as Valentina stepped down the gangway of the sleek Russian plane at Palam airport, followed by Nikolae, Bykovsky and his wife VALENTINA BYKOVSKAYA. The smiling cosmonauts raised their hands in 'namaste' and joined in the clapping of hands, capturing immediately the hearts of the people who had crowded to welcome them.

## 'NAMASTE'

Valentina, in simple, green and orange cotton prints and red shoes, wore two medals—the badge of the Hero of Soviet Union and the cosmonauts' star. Andrian and Valery were dressed in the Soviet air force uniform: striped blue pants, green shirts and grey khaki coats with golden lapels. They also wore their medals and ribbons, earned for valiant service to their country and its people.

The first to welcome the Soviet cosmonauts was Delhi's mayor NURUDDIN AHMED. He was followed by Union Minister HUMAYUN KABIR and INDIRA GANDHI. Chief of protocol S. K. BANERJEE represented the government of India.

Then it was the turn of the crowd to welcome the space heroes. They were profusely garlanded on behalf of mass organisations and trade unions and individuals. Flower petals were showered on them. Two Young Pioneers from the Soviet Embassy presented bouquets and welcomed them on behalf of the Soviet citizens in India.

The entire route from the airport to the Soviet Embassy was lined by enthusiastic men, women and children who shouted "Tereshkova Zindabad". A crowd had gathered in front of the Embassy also.

The first engagement which Valentina and her companions had in Delhi was addressing a press conference. The world press, including many representing Western agencies and newspapers, had gathered in strength at the press conference. The Soviet embassy's hall was full and spilling over with pressmen and officials from the Press Information Bureau. That Valentina had caught the

imagination of even the seasoned pressmen was amply demonstrated by the outstanding ovation they gave her as she entered the hall.

All the three cosmonauts answered questions from the pressmen after Valentina and Bykovsky had made a statement each. Valentina said she had always "felt a great interest in, and love for, this ancient and enchanting country and have learnt many good things about it not only from books but also from the accounts of my friends cosmonauts GAGARIN and TILOV and my husband Nikolae, who have already visited India."

Referring to her own flight she said: "There are still some people who think and try to prove that a woman is an inferior creature and is intended by god and destiny to be a slave of the husband and family without any rights of her own. Such statements were made and maintained for many centuries but the Soviet power utterly disproved and discredited them; it brought light into the lives of women and gave them freedom and happiness."

Valentina described the achievements of Soviet science which made the space flights and the recent launching of the manoeuvrable spaceship Polyot-I possible and said: "The only thing necessary for the further accelerated

development of science is stable peace on earth and friendship and trust among nations. All my comrades, the cosmonauts and I, are boundless happy that our meetings with the Indian people serve the cause of strengthening mutual understanding, trust and friendship between the peoples of India and the Soviet Union."

Bykovsky said that "the flights of Soviet spaceships serve exclusively the purpose of science, the cause of consolidating peace on earth, the cause of promoting mutual understanding among peoples. We cosmonauts are especially happy at the agreement that has been reached on banning the launching into space orbits of rocket-carriers of nuclear weapons."

Thanking all the organisations and individuals who invited them to India, he said: "I am very much pleased that economic, trade, scientific and cultural relations between the Soviet Union and India are being carried on and are gaining in strength. The present family group visit of us, cosmonauts, is another testimony to these growing relations."

Bykovsky expressed the hope that "Soviet-Indian friendship and cooperation will further develop successfully for the benefit of the Soviet and Indian peoples and in the interests of peace in the whole world."

Valentina said in reply to a question how she reacted to the space flight that the training programmes on earth did not differ for men and women cosmonauts in any manner. The intensive training programme which she underwent before the flight proved

that female organism could stand the strains of a space flight well. After the flight a prolonged and complete medical check-up was made and the doctors pronounced the verdict "healthy" and no change in any organism because of the flight.

Valentina was asked about her romance with Andrian, too. Though coy and bashful, she replied to these questions straight and "with pleasure" in her melodious deepthroated voice. The first question was, did she think of getting married while in space? The cosmonaut's life is so tight-scheduled that there is no time to think of anything, was the reply.

## MOONSTRUCK

She added that the romance was not "all space-inspired". She had known Nikolae even before the flight, while she was in the cosmonauts' town undergoing training.

Did she propose to send her children also into space? "That we will consider when a child is born to us", she replied and looked towards Andrian for concurrence which was readily forthcoming through a smile.

Bykovsky was asked how many years it would take for man to make interplanetary flights. He replied: "Let us not make guesses. It might take years, or it might take months. But what is important is that it will happen soon."

He explained the mechanism of sending a spaceship to moon or some other planet. Either a spaceship weighing scores of tons would

have to be sent up or arrangements for assembling a big spaceship would have to be made by sending it in sections. The Soviet Union is coming nearer the second objective. His own group flight with Valentina and the earlier group flight of Nikolae and PAVEL POPOVICH and the recent launching of the manoeuvrable Polyot-I had shown that such assembly of spaceships in space was possible.

In reply to a question whether the spaceships could land in India, Bykovsky said that "when complete disarmament is achieved, spaceships can land in any country."

A question why the Soviet spaceships always made their descent on land and of the United States on sea, was replied by Nikolae. He said that the orbit into which Soviet spaceships were launched made it easier for them to come down on land, while the United States' spaceships orbited in a trajectory which made it easy for them to come down on sea. The Soviet Union had vast tracts of land also to facilitate a descent on land.

However, he made a distinction between the two: The American spaceships were designed to land only on sea, while the Soviet spaceships were designed for landing both on solid earth and sea. "In an emergency we can land anywhere", he said.

Earlier, the Soviet Ambassador in India, I. A. Benediktov, welcomed the cosmonauts to India and introduced them to the press. He showered praises on the space heroes and wished well for the newlyweds, Valentina and Andrian. "I want to greet you not only in the traditional style of wishing that you live for a hundred years, but I also want to do it in the Indian style, wishing that each day of those hundred years be equal to hundred years of happiness," Benediktov said.

A lunch by the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society followed, and then the space heroes went sightseeing. Places visited were Red Fort and Jama Masjid. They also visited Rajghat and laid wreaths at the samadhi of Gandhi.

A public reception was accorded to the cosmonauts in the evening at Ramlila Grounds, attended by thousands of wildly cheering crowds. This reception was attended by Prime Minister Nehru, who, in his own words,

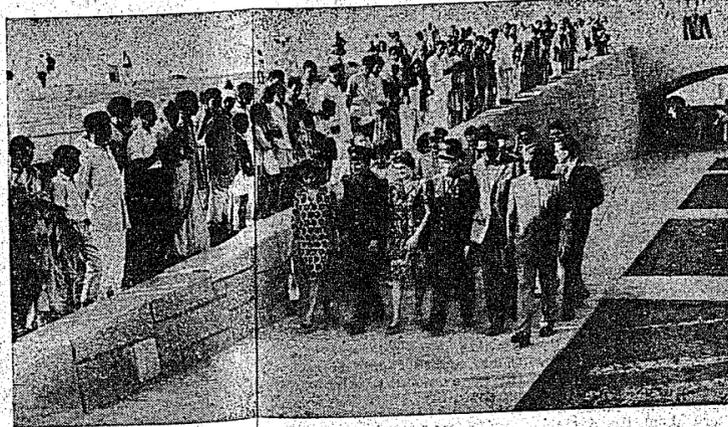
ON PAGE 16

## PHOTOS

by  
Virendra Kumar



Top: Prime Minister Greets at Civic Reception; Centre: Indira Gandhi garlands Tereshkova as she alights from plane; Below: The rush and crush at Palam.



Arriving at Rajghat to pay homage to Mahatma Gandhi; Above: Addressing the pressmen at the Soviet Embassy.



Arriving for the ISCUS lunch amidst shower of flower petals; Above: World's first woman cosmonaut speaks at the civic reception. Seated (on left) Aruna Asaf Ali (on right) Indira Gandhi and the mayor.

Kerala

# MINISTERS MUST FACE JUDICIAL ENQUIRY

## P. M.'s Findings on Corruption Charges Unsatisfactory

TRIVANDRUM: The Kerala state council secretariat of the Communist Party has reiterated its demand that the ministers of the Kerala government, against whom charges of corruption were levelled, should clear themselves of the charges by facing an open, impartial and judicial enquiry.

THE secretariat in a statement issued on the Prime Minister's findings on the charges against Kerala ministers has asserted that the Communist Party's attitude to the issue remained unchanged even after the Prime Minister's findings.

The secretariat stated that it had studied the statement of the Prime Minister with the earnestness and care it deserved. "We regret very much to have to state that the judgement of the Prime Minister is unfortunate, to say the least. The judgement may be adequate to silence the grum-

blings inside the Congress Party but it will not satisfy the people.

The judgement of the Prime Minister has only gone to confirm our firm view that charges of corruption when levelled against persons holding high offices such as that of the chief minister of a state should not be treated as a domestic problem of the ruling Congress Party.

We do not attempt to analyse the statement of the Prime Minister in detail. There is no need whatsoever for such an attempt. But we want

to point out that the statement bristles with certain assertions which go to raise doubts whether the Prime Minister has understood the nature of the allegations of corruption at all.

### Statement Not True

In the judgement of the Prime Minister is a statement as follows: 'She (Mrs. Sankar) is said to have developed a 100 acre plot of land, like many others, in the course of about 10 years' and that in doing so 'she did not get any special privilege in terms of which such lands were being developed'. It is clear that the reference in the statement is to the land that Mrs. Sankar got on lease from Kavalappara Moompl Nair.

If that is so, the above statement that the land (which in actual fact has been acquired by her in 1960 after Sankar became a minister) has been in possession of Mrs. Sankar for over 10 years and was being developed is far from true. Such statements do not help to prove that the Prime Minister has gone into the charges carefully and earnestly. In this background, his judgement cannot also be accepted.

We had made it clear that it was wrong for the Prime Minister to have taken upon himself the responsibility of probing into the case and passing a judgement on the same. We desire to reiterate the same once again. As the leader of the Congress Party, it is his responsibility to protect the foundation and stability of his party in any state in India.

However great one might be, it is but natural that one might become prone to pressures to safeguard one's own party rather than be mercilessly objective in the dispensation of justice. That is why we assert that these charges of corruption should be made the subject matter of an impartial judicial enquiry.

### Why This Difference?

In the case of the charges against Pratap Singh Kairon, the Punjab Chief Minister, though the Prime Minister himself was not personally convinced of the charges, he has agreed to order an impartial enquiry by a retired Supreme Court judge. It is difficult to appreciate the reasons that impelled him to adopt a different approach and attitude regarding Kerala. There is no other reason except that in Kerala, his party

is far weaker than in the Punjab.

We protest strongly against the reference to the Communist Party in the Prime Minister's statement which, to say the least, is improper and unfair. Panditji says that the charges were raised by the Party due to political animosity. Excepting the fact that the persons against whom charges of corruption were levelled were Congress ministers and that the first to publish the allegations happened to be Communist dailies, there is nothing to warrant the Prime Minister's conclusion. Moreover, he has conveniently forgotten the fact that the KPCO president had with equal vehemence insisted on an enquiry into these charges against the ministers.

He has helped to provide a first class alibi for the corrupt in the ruling party. This will only help not to fight corruption, but actually encourage it. The problem of rooting out corruption has come up as an important all-India question in recent months. Even in the meeting of the AICC at which the judgement of the Prime Minister was circulated, this problem of corruption was discussed at length.

If this judgement is any indication, expectations of effective steps for rooting out corruption flowing out of these discussions and deliberations will be unfounded.

The chapter of the corruption charges may end with this so far as the Congress Party is concerned. But the Communist Party does not consider it necessary to change its attitude to the question. We repeat that those ministers against whom charges of corruption have been levelled have to prove their innocence by facing an open, impartial and judicial enquiry."

## INDUCHOODAN'S REJOINER

V. T. INDUCHOODAN, editor, DESABHIMANI, who was called by Prime Minister Nehru to explain the charges of corruption against Kerala Chief Minister and Industries Minister has expressed profound regret that the Prime Minister has rejected all the charges as baseless. "I have only to remark that the enquiry he has conducted is neither impartial nor fair," Induchoodan said in a statement. He said: "When I met the Prime Minister in the last week of August to place before him the evidence I had in regard to the corruption charges, he asked me among other things, if I will be satisfied if satisfactory explanations were forthcoming regarding these questions. These questions were:

Had any price been paid for the trucks that the Chief Minister's nephew got? Was the price paid as soon as the trucks were delivered or was the cash paid after the newspapers had raised a hue and cry about the deal?

Has the nephew of the Chief Minister, who is only a lower division clerk, the financial wherewithal to repay such a big amount?

I told the Prime Minister that I shall be satisfied if satisfactory answers were forthcoming to the above questions. Leave alone satisfactory explanation, no explanation of any kind has been forthcoming so far. In the statement circulated during the AICC session—I have also received a copy of the same—there is no explanation or clarification to these questions.

In the note of the Prime Minister, it is stated that the price was paid by the nephew of the Chief Minister out of funds raised as a loan on the basis of hire purchase system. There is nothing new in this. The explanation was given in the court when the case was proceeding. The question remains as to how a clerk drawing only a salary of Rs. 85 per month could repay this huge amount to the hire purchase firm.

\* ON FACING PAGE

NOVEMBER 17, 1963

# RAJASTHAN WORKERS PREPARE

\* From H. K. Vyas

JAIPUR: The developments taking place in the trade union movement in Rajasthan indicate that the workers and their organisations in the state are uniting for a statewide struggle for some of the major and immediate problems confronting the workers.

This unity in defence of workers' interests was the keynote of the united conference of trade unions that took place at Jaipur on October 27 and 28. The conference was jointly convened by the various labour organisations. It was attended by representatives of 120 unions.

Prominent among those who attended the meeting was Mahavir Prasad Sharma, an active Socialist Party member and leader of the FWD workers. Raj Bahadur Kajela, leader of the Electricity Board workers and an independent trade unionist. AITUC leaders Swami Kumarand and Mohan Punamia were also present while the HMS sent observers.

It was a gathering representative of the entire trade union movement in the state barring the INTUC. Attending the conference were trade union leaders of the FWD, state roadways, power houses, private sector industries like textile, mines, engineering, beedi and handloom, building workers, shop assistants, hotel employees.

Mohan Punamia, one of the convenors of the conference and general secretary of the Rajasthan Trade Union Congress (AITUC) set the tone for the discussions in his report. He outlined some of the basic problems facing the workers in the state.

Mahavir Prasad Sharma and Roshanlal, the other two convenors, outlined the special problems facing the workers in the public sector industries such as water works, electricity, roadways and FWD.

Then followed discussions. Delegate after delegate related the situation existing in his centre and trade. The main problems that emerged out of these discussions and on which the conference adopted resolutions were the following:

The minimum wages of the workers in all industries in the state are unreasonably lower than in adjoining states. While the minimum wages in neighbouring states stand at Rs. 80 to Rs. 85, in Rajasthan it still continues to be only Rs. 45 or even less in some industries.

### NEHRU SHIELDS HIS PARTYMAN

\* FROM FACING PAGE

The Prime Minister states that when the nephew and Tata's agent met at Chief Minister's office, the Chief Minister is reported to have asked the agent 'Why do you not give the truck according to your rules?' This is entirely a new invention.

Sankar was cross examined for three full days in the District Court at Trivandrum. He gave evidence during these three days. I have the certified copies of the same before me. In none of these do we come across a single sentence like this, said to have been stated by Sankar. All other conclusions drawn by the Prime Minister are equally unsatisfactory.

The Prime Minister states that the cases were withdrawn after the charges were framed against us, editors. If the Prime Minister considers the formal procedure of framing of charges so important a

factor, why does he not take into consideration the fact that the court in their final order had stated that 'the accused have been discharged, having been found not guilty'?

The Prime Minister has stated that I remained silent after the cases were withdrawn, and I raised the question again many months later. Though it is stated that the cases were withdrawn to create goodwill between the press and the government, the Prime Minister knows very well that a week after, I was detained under the Defence of India Rules.

I regret to state, that Jawaharlal Nehru has conducted himself in this enquiry more as a leader of the Congress Party bound to justify and protect his own party-men than as an impartial administrator and leader of a nation."

ment has allowed itself to become an instrument for promotion of INTUC unions against the workers' wishes and interests. In the public sector this policy has become most blatant and shameful under the direct instructions of ministers, especially the FWD Minister.

The state apparatus, money and power of discretion under labour laws are openly utilised for favouring the INTUC. Minority unions belonging to the INTUC are being recognised while the conciliation machinery and opportunity of adjudication proceedings are denied to other unions and employers are persuaded to settle with bogus and minority unions belonging to the INTUC.

Encouraged by all these and the pro-employer attitude of the INTUC leadership, the employers are openly violating labour laws, awards and the code of conduct and discipline. The labour department has become a silent spectator of this subversion of labour laws which

have been achieved through hard struggles in the past. In a resolution, the conference demanded an immediate full stop to this retrograde labour policy of the government. The conference also demanded repeal of the emergency and immediate release of trade union leaders who have been detained under the DIR.

In view of allegations of misappropriation in the National Defence Fund collections, the conference demanded an all-party enquiry into these allegations.

The conference demanded the immediate withdrawal of suspension orders on trade union workers of the Man Industrial Corporation and an immediate lifting of the lockout declared by the owners of that concern.

The conference did not confine its proceedings to discussions alone. It has taken unanimous decisions on a concrete programme of action to achieve the demands put forward by it:

\* ON NOVEMBER 30 A STATE WIDE DEMANDS DAY WILL

BE OBSERVED BY HOLDING MASS DEMONSTRATIONS AT DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS.

\* AN ALL-RAJASTHAN MARCH TO THE STATE SECRETARIAT AT JAIPUR WILL BE UNDERTAKEN ON DECEMBER 16 TO BACK UP THE DEMANDS.

\* IN CASE THE GOVERNMENT DOES NOT REVERSE ITS POLICIES EVEN AFTER THESE, A STATEWIDE ONE DAY STRIKE WILL BE CALLED IN JANUARY 1964.

The decisions were unanimous. To implement these decisions, the conference set up a joint committee of action with Mohan Punamia and Mahavir Prasad Sharma as convenors.

A public rally and procession were also organised on October 28 after the conference. The meeting, presided over by Swami Kumarand, was attended by thousands of workers who endorsed the call of action given by the united conference of trade unions.

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# CP of USA Replies

On January 9, 1963 the Communist Party of USA issued a statement on the Caribbean crisis of October 1952, ("The Cuban Crisis and the Struggle for World Peace," *The Worker*, January 13, 1963 reproduced in *New Age*, January 20), in which sharp criticism was directed at the position taken by the Communist Party of China on the crisis.

To this, the CPC responded with an editorial entitled, "A Comment on the statement of the Communist Party of the USA," appearing in *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily) of March 8.

(Both the CPUSA statement and the People's Daily editorial are available as No. 5 in the series "Questions of Ideology in the International Communist movement published by the CPI.)

In a brief public statement at that time the CPUSA branded the People's Daily editorial as a complete misrepresentation and distortion of its views.

NOW the theoretical organ of the CPUSA, Political Affairs (October) has published a fuller reply entitled "On the Ideological position of the Communist Party of China". Following are some excerpts from this article:

## MISREPRESENTATION, THE MAIN WEAPON

THE main body of the editorial (in *People's Daily* of March 8) is devoted to an all-out attack on what it purports to be the position of the CPUSA with regard to the Kennedy Administration. It stated: "For a considerable period, certain leaders of the CPUSA, in their reports and statements, have been doing their utmost to prettify US imperialism, to prettify Kennedy, the US imperialist chieftain, and to affirm their loyalty to the US ruling class."

What is actually presented, however, is a complete misrepresentation of that position. The misrepresentation, moreover, can only be deliberate, since it is accomplished by stringing together isolated sentences, fragments of sentences and even single words, torn entirely out of context, in such a way as to present a meaning quite different from that of the original.

And in many instances the sources of these fragmented quotations are not given.

The following examples demonstrate the nature and significance of this deliberate distortion.

The *People's Daily* editorial states: "They spoke highly of Kennedy's idea of the 'New Frontier,' which extends US spheres of influence over all six continents, saying that 'to speak of a New Frontier as Kennedy does, is good.'"

This fragment is extracted from the following paragraph in a report by Gus Hall (*The United States in Today's World*, Political Affairs, Feb. 1961):

"To speak of a New Frontier, as Kennedy does is good. But there can be no new frontiers along the cold-war path. If the new Administration is to find them, it will have to chart a new course. On the basis of our own study and knowledge of world developments, we are firmly convinced that new frontiers for the United States do exist, but they can be successfully sought only if the direction of our course is towards the ending of the cold war policies and the initiation of policies looking toward peaceful coexistence, the ending of colonialism, disarmament and peace."

Clearly, this is a far cry from "speaking highly" of Kennedy's idea. On the contrary, it is an obvious rejection of it.

The *People's Daily* editorial states: "They held that the Ken-

尼迪 Administration's 'main mass support' is 'the working class, the Negro people and the peace forces,' and they wished for 'a shift in policy — in the direction of peace and democracy' on the part of the Kennedy government."

The first part is not a statement of policy but a statement of fact, easily verifiable from the results of the 1960 elections and from numerous developments since then. But the policy statement from which it is taken (*The Ultra-Right, Kennedy, and the Role of the Progressives*, *The Worker*, July 16, 1961) places it in the following context:

"The Kennedy Administration pursues a contradictory course which flows from the instability of the US imperialist position, from the new relationship of world forces (the growing strength of the socialist, anti-imperialist, and peace forces) which it recognizes but does not fully and properly assess. Its wavering course results also from pressures of the masses of peoples in our own country, particularly from the working class, the Negro people, the peace forces which have been its main mass support and which elected it."

## For A Realistic Assessment

This is simply an assessment of the position of the Administration based on an examination of its statements and actions, and of the reasons for them. It is on such assessments that our own policies and tactics must be based, not on mere abstract generalities about the nature and role of US imperialism.

The second part of the *People's Daily* editorial's characterization falsifies what the policy statement actually says, as the full context plainly shows:

The Kennedy Administration pursues this course (i.e., a cold war, interventionist and generally anti-democratic course) because it is dominated by the big monopolies and financiers whose interests it serves. This must be kept firmly in mind. Yet, while recognizing that it has taken measures which further curtail democratic rights, it would be a serious mistake to consider the Kennedy Administration as embarked on present on the fascist road.

"To make the proper differentiation between Kennedy and the

ultra-Right is the central tactical problem faced by the entire Left and all progressives. It is not simple. Kennedy is not a Roosevelt. Since his election, he has been moving in a reactionary direction. But it is not inevitable that he will continue along this path, giving ever wider openings to the ultra-Right.

"If the tactical problem is solved correctly, it will be possible to slam the door on the ultra-Right, defeat it, and force a shift in policy upon the Administration itself in the direction of peace and democracy."

This is a far cry from "wishing for" such a change; it is a call for mass action to force a change. It is based on the estimate (as of mid-1962) that:

1. There exists a fascist ultra-Right, supported by sections of monopoly capital and Right wing elements in Congress, which must be taken seriously as a threat to peace and democracy;

2. The Kennedy Administration is not a part of this, and while it is presently veering to the right, its position contains elements of ambivalence and vacillation growing out of the factors enumerated above; and

3. Mass pressure on the Administration, coupled with an attack centred on the ultra-Right, can be effective in compelling the Administration to change its course.

To differentiate thus between sections of monopoly capital as a basis for determining the proper tactics for mass struggle is not new; the utilization of such differences is an integral part of the very concept of the united front. To do so is not in itself to "prettify" anyone. The only proper basis of estimate is whether the assessment is right or wrong, and this the *People's Daily* editorial does not even trouble to discuss.

The events of the past year, moreover, prove that our assessment was correct. The Kennedy Administration has been compelled to alter its course in certain important respects. It has had to abandon, at least for the present, any plans for a Cuban invasion. And this change of course has been followed by other steps in the direction of peaceful coexistence. Chief among these are the new attitudes expressed in Kennedy's June 10 speech, and above all the recently concluded test ban treaty.

Likewise, there has been a change of course with respect to the Negro rights struggle, with the Administration compelled to retreat somewhat from its original attitude and, in the form of the proposed civil rights legislation, to commit the federal government to a greater degree of responsibility in defending the Constitutional rights of the Negro people.

These are developments whose objective consequences are of no small importance to the American people.

We have dwelt at some length on these misrepresentations of our position (and there are many more) in order to show that they are not occasional and unintentional but consistent and deliberate, designed to create a picture of the leaders of the CPUSA as "willing apologists for US imperialism."

Why has the Chinese Party laboured so hard to twist the facts in order to portray us in this false light? We believe it arises from their own erroneous

estimate of post-war developments in the United States.

The *People's Daily* editorial calls attention to the characterization of US imperialism in the Twelve-Party Declaration and the 81 Party Statement and in line with these describes it as "the greatest international exploiter, the centre of world reaction, the chief bulwark of modern colonialism, the main force of aggression and war, and the enemy of the people of the world." All this is unquestionably true.

But what is one to conclude from it, particularly in waging the struggle against US imperialism within its own citadel in which, moreover, the vast majority of the people do not yet see this and do not accept such an assessment?

One could, as the Chinese leaders evidently propose, apply this characterization mechanically and dogmatically and conclude that since these things are true of US imperialism as a whole, then every section of monopoly capital and every spokesman for it must be branded as equally reactionary. Hence one cannot differentiate among them in any significant way but must direct one's attack at all equally.

More, one must conclude that the most dangerous sections of monopoly capital are those which are at the time in control of the federal government, and hence the attack must be centred on these.

## Gross Overestimation

Such sectarian approach grows out of a gross overestimation of the power and extent of imperialist reaction in the United States; and this is evident in the assessment made by the Chinese Party. Thus, the article by Shao T'ieh-chien (cited elsewhere in the *Political Affairs* article) states: "After the war, US imperialism became more and more reactionary and rotten politically. It began to institute a fascist rule at home and gradually discarded even the shadow of democracy and freedom, arousing the American people." (emphasis added.)

This is simply not so. Not even when McCarthyism was at its worst could it be said that democracy and freedom had been obliterated. Indeed, anti-McCarthy sentiment proved powerful

enough, and among other things was sufficiently prevalent within the ruling class itself, to relegate McCarthy to obscurity and end his witch-hunting career.

The *People's Daily* article similarly exaggerates the extent and intensity of the opposition to US imperialism. It says: "The irreconcilable contradictions facing US imperialism at home and abroad were like volcanoes which threatened it every minute and could erupt into revolutions at any moment."

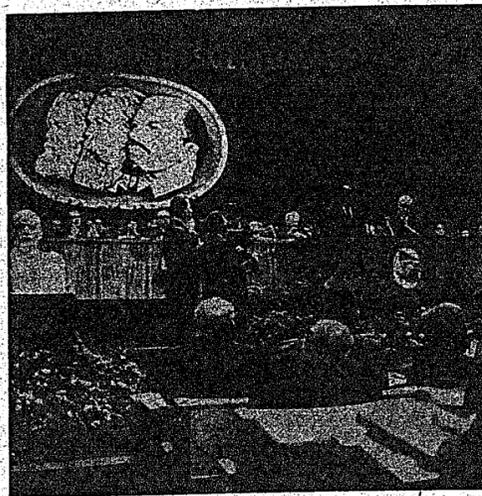
Neither now nor at any other time since World War II could it be said with the remotest justification that within the United States (there existed a volcano ready to erupt into outright revolution against US imperialism at any moment.

The Chinese leaders' failure to grasp correctly the relationship of forces in this country, is but part of their failure to assess properly the shift in the balance of forces which has taken place on a world scale and their insistence on appraising the present picture in terms of the past. They do not give sufficient consideration to the fact that the very process of the decline of capitalism and the growth of socialism, inherent features of the era of imperialism, must give rise to changes in the relationship of forces with profound consequences, in this country as well as elsewhere.

If one were to proceed from the dogmatic approach outlined above, one would have to reject as being based on illusions, those mass movements of the people which do not come forward in the name of anti-imperialism, lest one sink into reformism and abandon the revolutionary content of Marxism-Leninism.

And this is precisely the position which the Chinese Party has taken, carrying it to the point of demanding that the world peace movement explicitly express itself as anti-imperialist as a condition for participating in it.

Such an approach we most resolutely reject. To pursue such a course would be to isolate oneself from the struggles of the masses for peace, for jobs, for democratic rights, which they pursue in terms of their present understanding of these problems. It would be to refuse to participate in their struggles and instead to form narrow, sectarian organizations and movements attracting only the small minority already in the Left.



Veteran US Communist leader Henry Winston speaking at the Socialist Unity Party Congress in Berlin last January.

# To Chinese Slanders

It would be to sit on the sidelines and engage in sterile exhortation — in attempts to convince people that they are wasting their time. It would be to remove the conscious element from within these mass struggles and to abandon these masses to the influences of imperialist ideology.

In the end it would be to do nothing — to "sit it out" and wait for the "backward" masses to awaken.

On the other hand, one could take the path of becoming part of these mass movements and projecting within them a course of action which leads in the desired direction and which, step by step, leads to the growth of the anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist consciousness of the masses. One could strive, in the course of participating in their struggles for peace, to help people see the role of US imperialism in Cuba, in Vietnam and elsewhere. One could work for the successful accomplishment of every action which, regardless of the degree of awareness of those involved, is objectively a blow against US imperialism and its cold-war policies.

It is this which imperialist reaction fears, not the mouthing of abstract generalities and revolutionary phrases. The winning of the right to vote by the Negro people in the South poses a far greater threat to the power of the Dixiecrats and their reactionary cohorts in the North than does any amount of radical language and

pious exhortation to the Negro people that they must be "anti-imperialist."

It is in the building of ties with such movements and not in the mere hurling of curses at imperialism that the development of revolutionary content in the work of a Marxist-Leninist party is to be sought.

To work in such a manner requires the concrete assessment and utilization at all times of differences and conflicts within the camp of monopoly capital itself. Such differences and conflicts are not peripheral or of minor consequences in relation to mass movements and struggles. On the contrary, they are a vital factor in all united front struggles.

This was evident during the thirties in the difference between those sections of monopoly, for whom Roosevelt spoke, who looked to concessions to the workers as the best means of saving capitalism, and those, centred in the Liberty League, who looked to fascism.

It was evident during World War II in the differences between those who looked to alliance with the Soviet Union as best serving to preserve American imperialism, and those who opposed it, maintaining that we were fighting "the wrong war."

It is evident today in the differences between those who oppose blockade or immediate invasion of Cuba and those who advocate these measures, between those who support the nuclear test ban and those who are

against it, or between the position of a President Kennedy on civil rights and that of a Governor Wallace.

The source of these differences lies in divergent interests and tactical differences of special sections of monopoly capital. They are accentuated by the growing difficulties of the ruling class — by the mounting strength of the world anti-imperialist forces and the ever greater gap between the aims of imperialism and its ability to attain them. And they are accentuated all the more by the

rising of mass struggles — of the peace movement, the Negro freedom movement, and the economic struggles of the working class.

It is such contradictions in the Administration's statements and actions. However demagogic the President's utterances in behalf of peace, disarmament or other progressive aims may be on a given occasion, they are a response to both the difficulties of monopoly capital, and growing mass pressures. The task of the mass movement is to seize on the

openings they afford and utilize them to advance the struggle.

It is on this approach that the policies and tactics of the CPUSA are founded. It is this approach which the Chinese leaders evidently repudiate. This is why, apparently, the *People's Daily* editorial strives to picture it as "prettifying Kennedy" and as "serving as willing apologists for US imperialism." And this is why the Procrustean bed of its preconceived dogmatic concepts, the editorial falsifies it.



Women in the March for Peace at Amritsar

## Brilliant Success of Peace Congress

★ From Page Nine  
put out by the Chinese press and radio.

On all the most vital questions, the Congress gave an overwhelming rebuff to the Chinese leadership, and unanimously adopted resolutions critical of the dogmatist line on such issues as the test ban treaty, national independence, disarmament and of course on Indian foreign policy and allied problems.

What made Amritsar such a history-making event was also the broad unity which was so evident throughout the Peace Congress. This was the broadest Congress of the Peace Council ever held.

In Punjab and in Amritsar itself, different sections of the people took an active part in the preparations: the bounda-

ries of party and politics were crossed. The Amritsar Municipal Committee gave a Civic Reception to the foreign delegates. The Textile Manufacturers' Association organized a lunch for the leaders of the peace movement. The Reception Committee in Amritsar was itself a powerful and representative body, with Congressmen, Communists, non-party people of all views, religious leaders, trade unionists and representatives of other mass organizations—all working together for the success of the Peace Congress.

The platform of the Congress, on which sat the members of the Presidential Committee, was itself a reflection of the new unity of the Peace Movement.

This unity was a product of years of patient and pain-

staking work and of the correct policies of the peace movement and equality of the growing realisation among various sections of the necessity for unity against the offensive of the Right reactionary forces.

This unity is manifested also in the new organisational set-up which has been forged at Amritsar. Emphasis on more collective and democratic functioning of the Presidential Committee and other leading bodies of the movement will help to draw new sections into active work as leaders and office-bearers of the movement.

The Congress received a special impetus right at the start, with the receipt of a message from Prime Minister Nehru. It was the first Congress of the movement to receive such a message, and this was one more proof of the significance of the Congress for our country and people.

The echoes of Amritsar will now be heard from all corners of India, as the delegates return home. Report-back meetings in November, state and district conferences, on the Amritsar pattern, with the setting up of broader peace committees at all levels, during the next few months—have been decided upon.

On the success of Amritsar, round the grand programme of action adopted at Amritsar, the Indian Peace Movement must build

a broad united movement of the vast masses of our people. Errors and shortcomings highest tributes for their untiring work for the Congress. It is in the coming days that we shall gather the

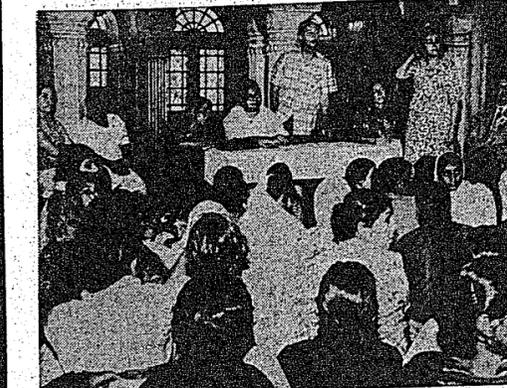


Left: Kumwenda (Nyasa-land), Centre: Mwinga (N. Rhodesia) and Satyapal Dang.

there were many. But all were forgiven in the over-all success of the Congress. The people of Punjab, and specially of Amritsar, deserve the



S. S. Chauhan addressing sectional meeting of writers



Madame Zarubina addressing sectional meeting of women at the Congress

# TERESHKOVA RECALLS KHRUSHCHOV'S WORDS Friendship As Strong As Bhilai's Steel

FROM CENTRE PAGES

"came rushing" from Bulandshahr to attend the function. This meeting with Nehru was the exciting moment of the day for the space heroes; Nikolaev was speaking when the Prime Minister arrived. He cut short his speech and sat down. Bykovsky, who was to speak next, also made a brief statement that he joined in all the sentiments of thanks and good wishes expressed by Valentina and Andrian and sat down to listen to Nehru.

## Symbols Of New World

The Prime Minister welcomed the cosmonauts as "the representatives and symbols of a new world." They were symbols of the tremendous advance made by the Soviet Union in the fields of science and technology; they were symbols of the coming age, he said. India too should make a place in the coming age for herself, for that still harder efforts have to be

made by our people, Nehru said adding "but we talk too much and work less."

Prime Minister Nehru said the three cosmonauts had come from a country which had friendly ties with India for very long. These bonds are growing stronger and should grow even stronger, Prime Minister Nehru said.

Earlier, representatives of the twelve organisations which had organised the public reception, namely the Women's Department of the AICC, the Indian Youth Congress, the All India Peace Council, the All India Trade Union Congress, the All India Youth Federation, the National Federation of Indian Women, the National Federation of Indian Railwaymen, the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society, the Indian National Trade Union Congress, the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity, the Bharat Sevak Samaj and the Indian Council for Africa, garlanded the two Valentinas and their husbands.

ARUNA ASAF ALI, convenor of the joint reception committee of the 12 organisations, presented

the two young ladies with embroidered shawls and the two men with carved boxes as gifts from the reception committee.

Welcoming the guests, Indira Gandhi said Indian women had received inspiration from Valentina Tereshkova's space flight. After independence, Indian women have made good progress, but the Soviet women's progress was far greater. Indian women were proud of Valentina's achievement in space, which symbolised the Soviet women's progress, she said.

Presiding over the function, mayor Nuruddin Ahmed described the great scientific achievements of the Soviet Union. The first artificial satellite, the first man into space and the first woman into space—were all achievements of the Soviet Union, he said. And now has come Polyt 1, the manoeuvrable spaceship.

He said all these achievements were the result of the tremendous scientific and technological progress the Soviet Union has achieved during the past 46 years. "These were possible because of the great October Revolution and Lenin's leadership," he said.

Replying to the reception Valentina Tereshkova said: "Although our visits to the peoples of different countries have become quite frequent, we were a little excited before coming here... Although we have been on hospitable Indian soil for only a few hours so far, we have already been able to feel the warmth of the southern sun and of the hearts of the Indian people."

## India Among The First

She said: "It is rather significant that India is one of the first countries lying on the route of the earth orbits of cosmonauts. We consider our visits as 'orbits' of peace and friendship. The



A study of the cosmic couple at the ISCUS lunch. (Photos Virendra Kumar)

Soviet people, like the people of India, fight for peace, against colonialism and war, for ban on nuclear tests. The common allegiance to these principles makes it possible for us to build our relations on the basis of close friendship and all round cooperation.

"These relations conform to the interests of the Soviet and Indian peoples and promote the strengthening of peace and the successful solution of the major international problems. The Soviet people, having warm feelings for the people of India, are glad that Soviet-Indian friendship is based on the great principles of peaceful coexistence which have won the sympathy and support of millions of people on our planet."

"The Soviet and Indian peoples are unanimous in their opinion that peace is an indispensable condition for building a new and happy life and raising living standards. The Soviet people who defended their independence in the struggles against imperialist hordes in the period of intervention and who bore the brunt of the Second World War and saved humanity from fascist enslavement, know well the cost of a war. The Soviet state was born with the call to eliminate war from the life of the human society. The first decree of our state was the Decree on Peace," she said.

During their visits to foreign countries the cosmonauts were asked to explain how the Soviet Union was the pioneer in the exploration of space. "The secret lies in the fact that our Soviet science, industry and culture have reached inaccessible heights," she said and described the tremendous progress achieved by the USSR in the fields of economy, education, science, technology and culture.

Valentina said: "We have brought with us the warmest regards and best wishes of the Soviet people to the peoples of India. The Soviet people rejoice at the achievements of India in her economic development and cultural construction and wish the Indian people full happiness and prosperity. These warm feelings of friendship find also their concrete manifestation in the many-sided help rendered by the Soviet Union to the industrious people of India."

"It is known that in India dozens of industrial and other enterprises are under construction with the help of our country. Soviet engineers and technicians are working side by side with Indian specialists on the construction of enterprises

of metallurgical, electrical, engineering, chemical and oil industries. The Bhilai steel plant has become a symbol of Soviet-Indian friendship."

She concluded by saying: "The attitude of the Soviet people to the people of India was very correctly and exactly expressed by N. S. KHRUSHCHOV when he said, 'let Soviet-Indian friendship be as strong as the steel of Bhilai! Long live the friendship of the peoples of Soviet Union and India.'"

Valentina began her speech with a "namaste" and ended it with "shukria", bringing forth prolonged applause from the half a lakh people who had thronged the maidan to give the cosmonauts a warm welcome.

Indeed, it was a warm welcome that the Delhiwals gave to the Soviet cosmonauts, not only because they were space heroes but because they came from a country with which India has the strongest ties of friendship. This was reflected in the reception committee itself, where party and political barriers had broken down and leaders of all shades and hues of political beliefs came together to welcome the guests from the Soviet Union.

## Score: Five Out Of Six

The growing friendship between India and the Soviet Union is further evidenced by the fact that Delhi is the second capital of the world, after Moscow, to have had occasion to receive five of the Soviet cosmonauts, an aspect which was pointed out by Ambassador Benediktov when introducing the cosmonauts to the capital's press corps.

The busy first day of the Soviet cosmonauts in Delhi was rounded off by a reception in the Soviet embassy, which was attended among others by members of the union cabinet including the Prime Minister.

The second day's programme of the space heroes in Delhi included attending the inaugural function of the interarsity youth festival, a visit to the National Physical Laboratory, lunch given by Prime Minister Nehru, tea with President Radhakrishnan, a variety entertainment programme at the Sapru House organised by 47 organisations and a reception given by Union Minister Humayun Kabir.

During their ten-day stay in India, the Soviet cosmonauts will visit Ahmedabad, Bangalore, Madras, Mahabalipuram, Hyderabad, Bhubaneswar and Calcutta.

## COMRADE BAGH SINGH



Bagh Singh was one of those young working class comrades, of whom our Party can be justly proud. During the years he worked here at the Headquarters, he educated himself, learnt Hindi and English and even started to type. We could rely on him to carry out the jobs entrusted to him with care, vigilance and zeal.

Struck down a year ago by the fatal illness which took his life, Bagh Singh had gone to his home in Almora for rest. A telegram just received from his father tells of his sad death on November 12.

The Communist Party dips its Red Banner in memory of a young and devoted comrade, and sends its deep condolences to his family.

(November 13)

## TRAMWAYMEN TO TAKE STRIKE BALLOT

TEN thousand tram workers of Calcutta are now preparing for a long-drawn-out battle to win their demands as there is as yet no sign that the management will meet them.

At a largely attended meeting held on November 6 at the Raja Subodh Mullick Square at the call of the Calcutta Tram Workers' Union (AITUC) the workers decided to take strike ballot in the third week of this month. A one day token strike may also take place by the end of this month or at the beginning of

## NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL

THE meeting of the National Development Council, held in the capital last week-end, ended in a platitudinous reference to "sense of urgency", and a decision to set up a couple of committees to take care of land reforms and agricultural production schemes.

The Council was meeting in the wake of the disquieting disclosure by the Central Statistical Organisation (CSO) that the country's national income, which should have increased at the rate of 6 per cent per annum during the Third Plan period, had registered a rise of only 2 per cent in 1962-63. The increase in the previous year of 2.4 per cent being only a little better, the movement in this important indicator of the country's economic health had provided not an index of a developing economy, but one which was visibly dragging its feet.

The CSO had attributed the decline to stagnant agriculture, and the reason for its stagnation has been no other than an extremely slow pace of land reforms. The N.D.C. rightly kept this fact in the forefront, and the Prime Minister also candidly admitted that "various pulls and pressures" were impeding progress in this behalf. But

what resulted from his strictures, and the Council's deliberations was not a forthright call for immediate steps to promulgate adequate land reform legislations, and action for default, but only a Committee under the Chairmanship of the Union Home Minister to keep an eye on their enforcement.

And what a Committee it is? It includes the Kerala Chief Minister Shankar, who is associated not with the furtherance of land reforms but with the scuttling of the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act, which the Communist government there had framed in conformity with the Planning Commission's suggestions. It also includes the Chief Ministers of U.P. and the Punjab, neither of whom have been known for their enthusiasm for land reforms.

And what are these gentlemen expected to do, however? Do the governments—at the centre and in the states—require a high-powered committee to tell them that whatever reforms the states have introduced so far have not benefited the rural poor? The Planning Commission, in its Review of Land Reforms, had already revealed that much. If even after its telling exposure, the Council has thought it fit to do no more than appoint

December if the company fails to come to a settlement.

The meeting also criticised the inaction of the Government Labour Machinery in handling the dispute in an essential service like tram and decided to lead a mass deputation to the Labour Minister.

The appeal of the Workers' Union to other unions for unity has borne fruit. The Mazdoor Sabha led by Lohia Socialists and the Ministerial Staff Association have come forward and formed a Joint Committee with the Workers' Union. Their representatives spoke in the meeting supporting the demands as well as the steps of the movement.

The meeting again appealed to the Tram Mazdoor Panchayat (PSP) and Employees Union (Congress) to come together to fight for the demands which were formulated by a Joint Committee of tram workers unions in which they were also parties but from which they broke away after the Chinese aggression.

The Panchayat has so far failed to respond to the call of unity. It has unilaterally called for hunger-strike and from November 4 a number of its leaders are on hunger strike. The three unions in the joint committee have expressed their anxiety for the health and well being of the hunger strikers and at the same time told the Panchayat leaders that such unilateral and precipitate action would not help in winning the demands. It has appealed for unity telling them that the forms of the movement that be discussed and decided upon by representatives of all the unions sitting together.

## BHOWANI SEN MEETS JYOTI BASU ELECTION STRATEGY DECIDED

From Ajoy Dasgupta

CALCUTTA, Nov. 10: The West Bengal Provincial Organising Committee has decided that Communist Party candidates should contest all the assembly seats in the coming byelections, and one parliamentary seat as well.

BHOWANI SEN, Secretary of the POC and Biswanath Mukherjee, a member of the POC met the party leaders including Jyoti Basu in jail on November 5 to discuss about the coming elections. Sen informed the detained comrades of the decisions of the National Council meeting held recently. Jyoti Basu while expressing his satisfaction over the decisions of the National Council agreed with Bhowani Sen that the byelections should be fought on the basis of the policies and decisions adopted by the National Council.

The POC leaders discussed with the detained comrades about the probable candidates in the ensuing elections so that the final decisions could be taken in the POC meeting to be held soon. In a subsequent meeting Boney Chowdhury has been selected for the Burdwan assembly seat.

Bhowani Sen has after this meeting written to the state Chief Minister demanding release of all political prisoners and withdrawal of all pending warrants. In this letter, Sen has also drawn the attention of the Chief Minister to the unsatisfactory medical arrangements in the jails and the serious condition of health of many detainees. He also drew attention to the non-sanction of family allowance to many detainees resulting in untold hardship to these families.

In the meantime on November 5 Special Branch Police arrested Niren Ghosh, Member of Rajya Sabha from Calcutta. At the same time five detainees of Manipur lodged in Hazaribag jail were released on parole for two months. Bira Singh, Member of the Party from Manipur was also released some days back.

Sudhir Mukhoti and Jyoti Bhattacharya of the Workers' Party of India held since November 11, 1962 under Preventive Detention Act were released on November 9.

## P. C. SEN'S "GENTLEMEN"

The "gentleman's agreement" between Chief Minister P. C. Sen and the big rice dealers is wearing thin within this short period. Small dealers and the shop keepers are complaining that the "aradars" and big dealers are already charging more from them than the agreed prices while giving them receipt for the "agreed" price.

THE small shopkeepers are finding it difficult to supply the needs of their customers. Only increased supply from the fair price shops and modified ration shops have kept the situation somewhat calm, but discontent and unrest are already discernible again among the people.

While this situation prevails in the rice market the consumers forced the price of fish, another staple food of the Bengalis to be lowered and also forced the government to act.

But here again, it seems that the concern of the government was more to

protect the fish-dealers than the consumers' interests. The prices fixed by the government are not only higher in almost all cases than the prices prevailing last year but also more than the price at which the dealers were themselves selling under public pressure.

There is every possibility of fish just disappearing from the market for a few days, which has now become possible due to the chain from supply centre to the markets and the existence of the cold storages, where fish can be kept for a few days.

towards it regardless of "pulls and pressures".

TTK's repertoire of measures to "revive" capital market—his euphemism for facilitating the stock market and speculative operations—might not have exhausted, but the Reserve Bank through which he shows his hand, seems to be already feeling the strain. It has cautioned the scheduled banks against an unrestricted supply of credit, and has asked them to furnish to it detailed information about the ownership of their shares.

It is the second of these directives which should be deserving of attention. The banking circles have already seen in it a prelude to some more drastic steps—not excluding nationalisation.

—ESSEN



The man who has been longest in space and his beautiful wife.

## A Little Khrushchov Library

A series of five pamphlets has recently been published by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow. Each one of these pamphlets dealing with five main issues of our time is a compilation of N. S. Khrushchov's important pronouncements on the subject during the last seven years (1956-63), that is, since the crucial 20th CPSU Congress.

The five heads in which these pronouncements are divided are—

- ★ The National Liberation Movement.
- ★ The Revolutionary Working Class and Communist Movement.
- ★ Imperialism—Enemy of the People, Enemy of Peace.
- ★ Socialism and Communism.
- ★ To Avert War—Our Prime Task.

At the moment when a fierce onslaught has been let loose by the Chinese leadership against the accepted course and general line of the world Communist movement, this publication has an exceptional value and significance for all those who want to seriously study and objectively understand the issues being so hotly debated in the World Communist movement.

As all brother parties which

have become targets of Chinese vituperation point out, misrepresentation and distortion of their respective stands on various issues—is one of the chief weapons—if not by now absolutely the chief weapon—being used against them by the propaganda organs of the Chinese Communist Party leadership. Even in this issue of *New Age* we publish a document of the CPUSA, our brother party fighting under such difficult conditions in the heartland of imperialism and monopoly capitalism (see pages 14-15).

## Unashamed Distortions

This document shows how unashamedly the Chinese propagandists have been distorting the CPUSA's position on various issues and carrying on a campaign of vilification and denigration against that Party, regardless of the great harm they are doing by this to the progressive movement in the United States where it needs to be helped by all possible means.

The main target of Chinese leadership's distortions and vilifications is, of course, the CPUSA and its leadership, the acknowledged vanguard of the world Communist movement.

Even in this collective, it is N. S. Khrushchov who is singled out for the vilest and choicest abuse and misrepresentation.

The Chinese leadership who lecture so much about how the relationship between the masses, the Party and the Party's leadership should be respected have absolutely no qualms in pretending that the CPSU's First Secretary, N. S. Khrushchov, is somehow apart from the Party and its leadership.

The sooner they give up that pretence the better it will be for everybody. That it would seem to us is the first pre-condition for the re-establishment of their bona-fide and the first step to re-establish their claim that they seek unity in the world Communist movement.

Meanwhile, these five pamphlets deserve careful and serious study, above all by all Communists, not only to help the reader realise how mendacious Chinese distortions are, but more so to get the most authentic and comprehensive understanding of the general line of the world Communist movement.

The whole set of these five pamphlets is available at all FPH and allied bookshops for 80 naye Paise.

—Zia-ul-Haq

# THIRTY YEARS AFTER The Leipzig Frame-Up

★ by Y. Yotov

Thirty years ago Leipzig, the beautiful German city now famous for its biennial world fairs organised by the GDR, was scene of a world-shaking trial which took its name from that of this city.

ON February 27, 1933, the building of the German Reichstag in Berlin went up in flames. The fascist leaders hastened to announce to the world that the fire was the work of Communists, and that it was meant to be a signal for an armed insurrection. It was subsequently proved indisputably that the real incendiaries who fired the Reichstag were the German fascists themselves.

The Reichstag was deliberately fired by the German fascists to obtain a pretext to enable them to launch savage persecution of the democratic forces in Germany and of the German Communists in the first place.

On the day following the fire, mass arrests of Communists and other anti-fascists started all over Germany. The leader of the German Communists Ernst Thälmann was arrested on March 3 and on March 9 the Bulgarian Communists Georgi Dimitrov, Vassil Tanev and Blagoy Popov were arrested.

The three Bulgarians together with the leader of the Communist group in the German parliament Ernst Torgler and the Dutchman Van der Lubbe, wretched tool of the Nazis, were indicted as incendiaries of the Reichstag. Thus began the famous Leipzig Reichstag fire trial in Leipzig. It lasted from September 21 to December 23, 1933.

Firing of the Reichstag was supposed to supply fuel for a new campaign of the world imperialist bourgeoisie against democracy and progress, against the world Communist movement. However, Hitler miscalculated badly. The savage act of provocation and the wave of merciless terror that spread all over Germany roused a mighty protest movement in the entire world.

People of all walks of life took an active part in the struggle against the bloody crimes of the Nazis. They all united for one

This is why he did not restrict himself to his personal defence, but took upon himself the task of defending the international Communist movement and world democracy. From a defendant Dimitrov became an implacable prosecutor, placing German fascism in the dock. He branded the fascists in all countries as "savages and barbarians" and called on the working masses to engage in fearless battle against the advancing scourge.

## Dimitrov's Memorable Fight

The courageous behaviour of Georgi Dimitrov brought new strength and faith to anti-fascists everywhere and a wave of mass protests poured forth from all parts of our planet. Under the pressure of the world protest movement and the mighty blows dealt by Dimitrov, the great fascist provocation, suffered a total defeat. The fascist court was forced to acquit Dimitrov and his comrades "because of lack of sufficient evidence."

But the danger to the life of Dimitrov was not over as yet. The bloodthirsty German fascists were preparing new plans for his destruction. Only through the intervention and efforts of Lenin's great

single aim—to bar the road of fascism, of terror and violence, and to save the lives of the innocent Communists who had been wrongfully accused.

In this general struggle were laid the foundations of the popular fronts in different countries.

The International Committee of Inquiry, set up in April 1933, which had set itself the aim to investigate the circumstances concerning the fire and to discover the objective truth, played a most important part in tearing off the mask from the face of the real incendiaries of the Reichstag. On the eve of the Reichstag fire trial, the famous counter-trial organised in London on the basis of carefully collected and studied materials, came to the conclusion that Georgi Dimitrov and the other defendants had no connection with the fire at all and that the real incendiaries were to be found among the Nazi leaders.

For seven months preceding the opening of the trial Georgi Dimitrov had been kept in chains, isolated from the world. For seven months the Nazis using terror and bribery, menaces and forgery prepared the trial which was to deal with the framed Communists.

Thanks to the revolutionary courage, the political resourcefulness and remarkable talent of Georgi Dimitrov, everything in the trial was turned upside down. The steered proletarian revolution was thoroughly aware of the political nature and purpose of the trial. He appraised it as a battlefield in which two points of view must wage war, two political systems must fight it out—the bright future of mankind symbolised by socialism on the one hand and the deadly dangerous fascist plague on the other.

People of all walks of life took an active part in the struggle against the bloody crimes of the Nazis. They all united for one



Party, which heads the first proletarian country, was Dimitrov extricated from the bloody clutches of the hangmen.

At the insistence of the Soviet government, Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev were liberated and on February 27, 1934, they set foot on Soviet soil among the free Soviet people, among their brothers and comrades.

The historic meaning of the Reichstag fire trial lies actually in the fact that fascism was unmasked as the most reactionary political movement, as tyrannical bourgeois rule, depending solely on terror and provocation, on violence and falsehood.

On the other hand the trial showed the importance and the role of the masses, of the unity of action of the progressive movements and the trends in the struggle against fascist violence and obscurantism.

It was not accidental that it gave a mighty stimulus to the building up and development of the movement for national front organisations in many countries. It is very necessary today to stress the historic importance of the Reichstag fire trial. No nobler and more dignified, more impor-

tant and more direct problem for every progressive social movement or trend, for every thinking human being, exists in our day than the problem of averting a nuclear war, than the problem of maintaining world peace. The forces of peace and progress are far mightier today and much stronger than they were thirty years ago.

But the success of their noble struggle depends solely on their unity, and their closed ranks. The forces of the warmongers will become weaker as the united forces of those fighting for peace and social progress grow larger. This is so simple and logical that one cannot but meet with wrathful indignation and protest any unwillingness on the part of persons or groups to understand the simple and elementary truth.

"MASS WORK, MASS STRUGGLE, MASS RESISTANCE, A UNITED FRONT AND NO ADVENTURES!"—this is the appeal and the bequest of Georgi Dimitrov, this is the historic lesson to be drawn from the Reichstag fire trial: this is the behest of history and the historic moment that mankind is living in today.

(Bulgarian News Agency)

# PARLIAMENTARIANS OPPOSE MIXED NUCLEAR FORCE

★ From P. K. Kunhanandan

Berlin, November 10: In the rickety but aggressive Nato a situation has arisen where its are coming to sharp headlong collision with parliamentarians of their own countries.

PARLIAMENTARIANS of Nato countries meeting in their annual conference in Paris last week have censured the US proposal for a multilateral nuclear strike force as "a military superfluity and a waste".

(United States, Britain, West Germany, Italy, Greece, Turkey and Belgium are currently discussing the formation of a multilateral nuclear fleet. It would be made up of surface ships armed with Polaris missiles and manned by a mixed crew from participating countries.)

## Americans Dismayed

US government circles in Washington are dismayed at the massive opposition to their mixed manned nuclear fleet plan. According to reports reaching here a spokesman of the State Department said that press reports on rejection of Nato strike force by parliamentarians in Paris were read with "amazement".

And therefore a political commentator of New York Times hurried to write that "the opinions of the conference of Parliament members are not binding on the North Atlantic Council, the Alliance's highest policy body".

Gen. STIKKER, Secretary-General of Nato, in his opening speech had said earlier that this conference was purely

decorative and not binding on Nato policies. Two hundred parliamentarians, majority of whom assailed the Nato atom force, are representatives of National Parliaments of participating Nato countries.

In Europe and in UN great significance is attached to this powerful eruption of opposition to the chief instrument of Nato aggression and its leaders' plans from bourgeois parliamentarians, majority of whom are reactionary Social Democrats or those belonging to the even worse Christian Democratic parties. Their concern grew larger when the Bonn government was almost reaching at the atomic trigger. It is not only met with undisguised antagonism from very large sections of West European population, but the governments of West Germany's neighbouring Western countries too are afraid of the danger it might pose to their existence in the future.

The leader of the Norwegian delegation to Paris Conference, Parliament's President NILS LANGHELLE (Workers' Party) spoke against creation of Nato multilateral nuclear strike force and against handing over nuclear weapons to West Germany. This former Minister of Defence said "I am of the view that possession of nuclear weapons should remain restricted to countries which have hitherto possessed these weapons and on no account be extended to new countries. Spread of nuclear weapons is not desirable,

this affects also the Federal Republic".

Leader of Danish delegation PAUL SOGAARD (Social Democratic Party): "As Parliamentarians we will strive to see that nuclear weapons are not proliferated and passed on, neither to West Germany nor to other countries". The secretary of this delegation said, the less the number of countries possessing nuclear bombs the better.

From Britain not only Labour MPs but also Conservatives voiced opposition to the Nato force. FRED MULLEY (Labour) declared: "There is nothing which could justify the creation of a multilateral strike force". Conservative LORD TWYNHAM said: "Arguments against such a strike force are the most powerful".

The West German delegation in this conference was almost isolated in its demand for atom trigger being placed in the hands of the West German Federal army run by revanchist Nazi generals. Immediately after the speech of West German delegation's leader, a socialist deputy from Belgium, "RADOUX, in a powerful speech advocated "co-existence with Communists in this world". He argued: the diffusion of atomic weapons constitutes an obstacle in negotiations with the Soviet Union and that is why it is a bad thing. If Nato—as it was said again and again—was a defence organisation then it ought to be in favour of the termination of the cold war and of cooperation with the other part of the world.

During the Belgian's speech, the West German representatives one after

★ ON FACING PAGE

NOVEMBER 17, 1963

# Monsters Of Vietnam Destroyed By Those Who Reared Them

The hated tyrant Ngo Dinh Diem and his equally hated tyrannical brother of a monster Ngo Dinh Nhu are no more; the rule of the Ngo clan over South Vietnam has come to its long-awaited and long-expected ignominious close.

HOW much suffering they heaped on the people of Vietnam! And all for a handful of silver, for an unstinted supply of dollars—unstinted as long as they served the master's purpose, that is.

It is the irony of fate reserved for American puppets in our time that the very hand which feeds them and nourishes them to seeming strength of deniugos has ultimately to rise to strike down those puppets who become absolutely abhorrent and abominable in the process of being built up. The paymaster himself dare not continue to associate any longer with these blood thirsty Franksteins.

Who was it that built up Diem and Nhu all these years? Who gave them all the weapons to kill and tyrannise over the people of South Vietnam? Who helped them build all those secret dungeons some of which have now been thrown open to let out the victims? Who encouraged these monsters to commit all the unspeakable crimes which no Genghis Khan ever dared?

It was all done by the rulers of USA—under the present Administration of Kennedy and the New Frontiersmen, just as under the previous one of Eisenhower and Dulles.

Diem and Nhu had long become a liability for the dollar imperialists. To be precise the Diem regime became a halter round the US imperialists' neck when the raid on pagodas of August 20, 1963 recollated to produce the biggest international scandal of recent times.

That barbarous operation

## NO NUCLEAR TRIGGER FOR WEST GERMANY

★ FROM FACING PAGE

another left their seats and walked out of the conference hall. MADAME ELSE MERETE ROSS, deputy of the Social Liberal Party of Denmark went even further. She hailed the Moscow Test Ban Treaty and thanked the USA, the Soviet Union and Great Britain for their efforts to bring about this agreement. She was in favour of limiting the possession of nuclear weapons to the present nuclear powers and expressed the hope that the nuclear powers would pass on neither weapons nor blueprints of nuclear armaments to other powers.

Gen. P. BILLOTTE, Deputy of the French ruling party emphatically called for a separate French nuclear force.

In the United Nations opposition to Nato strike force was voiced by BARRISER chief delegate JAMES BARRINGTON in a speech in the political committee of the 18th General Assembly last week. He said his

which sent a wave of horror and disgust through all civilised humanity had the sanction and backing of the US. When it misfired and had an effect exactly opposite of what it was sought to achieve, the Americans decided to throw overboard their puppets of nine years standing. Kennedy announced he considered a change not just in policy but also in personnel necessary in South Vietnam.

That this "change" has taken about two months to bring about can be ascribed only to the need for a thorough planning. Numerous missions for an on-the-spot study had to be sent, including the War Secretary McNamara and the Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Taylor.

"Change of Personnel" And when the "change of personnel" desired by Kennedy (popularly described as a coup) did take place, how was it received at the source of power?

"President Kennedy was aroused in the early hours and informed of reports of fighting by Mr. McGeorge Gundy, his adviser on national security affairs. An emergency meeting with Mr. Rusk, the Secretary of State, Mr. McNamara, the Defence Secretary, General Maxwell Taylor, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Mr. McCona, of the Central Intelligence Agency and other senior officials was held after breakfast."

Further, "There is quiet satisfaction in the early hours and informed of reports of fighting by Mr. McGeorge Gundy, his adviser on national security affairs. An emergency meeting with Mr. Rusk, the Secretary of State, Mr. McNamara, the Defence Secretary, General Maxwell Taylor, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Mr. McCona, of the Central Intelligence Agency and other senior officials was held after breakfast."

Further, "There is quiet satisfaction

## NO NUCLEAR TRIGGER FOR WEST GERMANY

government was greatly worried about this plan.

Gen. THOMAS WHITE, former Chief of Staff of US Air Force also warned against the creation of Nato nuclear force and against West German Hitlerite generals getting their finger on the trigger of nuclear weapons. In the latest issue of Newsweek, American weekly, he said the Federal Republic of Germany, which supported the plan most strongly for it obviously felt that half a piece of bread was better than nothing and that later when the first piece was digested it could demand more.

Last week throughout Western Europe demonstrations were held voicing people's protest against creation of a multilateral force. Turning North Europe into a non-nuclear zone was demanded during demonstrations and torchlight processions in Stockholm and other Swedish towns. The demand for a non-aggression pact between Nato and Warsaw powers has now become the key demand of the European peoples: fighting for peace.

The fact remains that, on the eve of the coup, the new US

## WORLD

tion in the Kennedy administration after the successful coup d'etat in Saigon. It seems to have been carried out with considerable skill and precision, and, with the close cooperation expected here (Washington) with the new regime, the prospects of putting an end to the war against the Communist Viet Cong, it is hoped, should improve." (Sunday Times, London).

The above from the Sunday Times Washington correspondent. And the following from the same paper's Saigon correspondent.

"The South Vietnam army under General 'big' Minh, could not and would not have struck unless it was persuaded that the Americans would look their way."

"The Ngo Dinh regime under President Diem and big brother Nhu survived these nine long hard years because of open and implicit American support and col-

lapsed only because of withdrawal of that support.

"The US ambassador, Mr. Lodge—who strangely postponed his weekend visit to Washington at the last minute—has smoothly achieved his personal identification with a tough switch in US foreign policy." (Nov. 3) Speaking of sudden changes in programmes of high American dignitaries, one might also recall in this connection the cancellation at that very moment of General Maxwell Taylor's plan to attend the Cento military committee's Ankara meeting and to pay a visit to Pakistan and India.

## Why Must They Disown?

The New York Times has carried a full-page account (November 7) of how the coup was prepared by "cleverer, older generals" being made to play upon the vanity of "one ambitious young general, Ton That Dinh." Thus the evidence is plenty to show the fatherhood of the "change of personnel" that has taken place in South Vietnam. It is a bit surprising why the Americans should be so keen to disown their baby.

# COUP FOLLOWED SET PATTERN OF C. I. A.

(This article by a commentator of the Novosti Press Agency of the Soviet Union throws light on how the US engineered the coup in S. Vietnam.)

The day after the military coup in Saigon, the US State Department representative, Mr. Phillips, "categorically" declared that the United States Government was in no way involved in it. We shall leave this statement to the conscience of Mr. Phillips and turn to the facts, throwing some light on the background of the events in Saigon.

SOON after the Buddhist monks and nuns began burning themselves in May, kindling living torches in the streets of Saigon, reports about the feverish activities of the US Embassy Advisor, Richardson, a well-known CIA agent, percolated to the press. Through his numerous helpers, working under the guise of military advisors, diplomats and members of the staff of the economic assistance mission, Richardson was preparing the conspiracy, sparing no money to bribe high officials and officers.

The US papers, hinting at the coming military coup in South Vietnam said that what still delayed it was the need to find a suitable successor to Ngo Dinh Diem.

We do not have enough information yet about what prevented the CIA from making the coup in Saigon at the end of the summer. Possibly, the conspiracy was foiled by the secret service of Ngo Dinh Nhu, Diem's brother, which had been established under the leadership of Allen Dulles. According to another version, Richardson was not able to bribe the top-ranking special guards of the Diem clan.

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And yet it is not so surprising either, for the success of their entire future plans depends upon keeping themselves in the background. As the above-quoted Sunday Times Saigon dispatch states:

"The paramount task for the incoming military regime is to convince the war-weary South Vietnam people, despite inevitable Communist propaganda, that the new government will be their government, that the United States presence is restricted to United States aid against the Communist invasion, that the future of the South Vietnam people is their own, and that it will be selfishly worthwhile to rally to their new leaders.

"If the Americans remain as discreet as they have been in the past few weeks, this task can be performed successfully by the native forces, which General 'big' Minh releases, encourages and helps direct."

So, for USA, it is a problem of perfecting the technique of being "discreet"—that is, of operating not overtly but covertly, secretly, i.e., principally through the CIA—in order to be able to retain its domination and further its war plans. CIA-manship is just another facet of New Frontiersmanship, both together constituting vital ingredients of present day neo-colonialism.

ZIA-UL HAQ

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WEST GERMAN WORKERS PROTEST Demonstration against rickardly health insurance in Mülheim on October 31, 1963.

NOVEMBER 7 IN MOSCOW

# Emphasis On Peaceful Competition

★ From MASOOD ALI KHAN

Moscow, Nov. 11: The 46th birthday of the Soviet Union was celebrated here in an atmosphere of enthusiasm, gaiety and labour heroism.

**A**FTER big victories on the production front and in space and after the gay cosmic wedding, the Soviet people celebrated the anniversary of the Revolution amid a happy upsurge of joy and merriment, the holidays lasting three days.

A traditional meeting of six thousand including outstanding workers, farmers, scientists, writers and artists, military leaders, many foreign guests and diplomats was held in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses on the evening of November 6. Leaders of the Communist Party and Soviet government who were present headed by Nikita Khrushchov were greeted with stormy applause as they took their seats in the Presidium along with veteran members of CPSU and the heroes of the cosmos.

S. A. Dange, Chairman of the CPI was also present in the Presidium among distinguished foreign guests.

The main speech at the solemn meeting was made by Nikolai Podgorny, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPSU who called the October Revolution "a clarion call to the peoples of the world—a call for resolute struggle for the destruction of all forms of oppression and exploitation of man by man."

The principal direction of history's development is now determined by the world system of socialism and "the main field of battle for Communism is economy," he said. The CPSU guides itself by Lenin's words: "It is by our economic policy that we exert the main influence on the international revolution."

Podgorny pointed out the great progress achieved during the last decade in the scope and rate of economic growth, cultural advance and increase in people's welfare and far-reaching social reforms.

During ten years gross industrial output in Soviet Union had gone up 12.8 times and agricultural production 1.7 times. The average annual increase in industrial production in this period had been 10.5 per cent as compared with 3.1 in the USA. From one-third of American production ten years ago Soviet Union was now approaching 65 per cent. "We are striding faster than the Americans and he who goes faster cannot fail to find himself ahead."

In the past ten years capital

investment had almost trebled and now the USSR is doing more capital construction in two weeks than it did in a year on average under the first Five Year Plan.

After noting that grain production in the USSR had increased 60 per cent, meat and milk 80 per cent, Podgorny drew attention to the extremely unfavourable weather conditions which prevailed this year. Vast areas under wheat and rye were badly affected and the principal granaries of the land were hit by a bad drought.

"It should be stressed," he went on, "that it would have been much more difficult for us to overcome the consequences of this calamity if not for the vast work carried out in our country in the last few years to raise agriculture, strengthen it materially and technically to develop virgin lands and create the necessary reserves. When such a calamity occurs in capitalist countries millions of farmers are ruined, economy is dislocated and hunger stalks the homes of the working people."

Turning to the international field, Podgorny said that while imperialism had become weaker the revolutionary working class movement had become stronger and more organised and its vanguard the Communist parties, were becoming the most influential political force of our time. The CPSU considered it its duty to strengthen the unity of the greatest revolutionary force of our time, he said.

At the recent Congress of Soviet Trade Unions, the Chinese representative had again behaved in a provocative and disrespectful way towards his hosts and the Soviet leaders by continuing his sit-down demonstrations when Khrushchov and others appeared in the hall and everybody rose to greet them and when the message to the Central Committee was adopted.

In spite of several such provocations the Soviet side kept its restraint and self control. Podgorny's references to the differences with China were also very restrained:

"We sincerely wish to normalise relations with the People's Republic of China with its great industrious and gifted people with whom we are bound by fraternal ties of friendship. There are no



Плакат художников Вл. Добровольского и С. Зобанова.

objective reasons to prevent restoration of the good relations which existed between the USSR and PRC in the recent past."

Podgorny pointed out that the CPSU had again recently proposed to put a stop to open polemics.

On the morning of November 7 thousands converged on the Red Square where the traditional parade and demonstration were held. For the first time in the military parade a unit of longrange guided interceptor rockets—popularly known as anti-missile missiles—took part and caused quite a sensation among the military attaches of Western countries and the press. Huge tanks, self-propelled anti-aircraft guns and artillery of huge calibres and gigantic rockets on carriages rumbled past the Red Square. The military parade lasted 45 minutes after which for a few hours a huge sports parade and demonstration of the happy people of Mos-

cow took place.

In the evening a gala reception was held in the Kremlin where Khrushchov proposed a toast to those who followed Lenin and made the revolution and under the worst possible conditions of famine and destruction did not bow their heads. In 46 years the most backward Russia of the past had become the second power in the world according to production level. In seven years the Soviet Union will certainly become the first in the world. This he said was as unavoidable as the sunrise next morning.

Addressing the envoys of capitalist countries Khrushchov said, "You rejoice that we have disagreements with our Chinese brothers. But gentlemen, your happiness is premature. The more you rejoice the more disappointments you shall have. Yes, we have disputes and differences with Chinese comrades but our main difference is with capitalism. With Chinese brothers although we have differences but on the main question we are together—we are against capitalism and landlord rule, we are for socialism and communism."

"I am sure that we shall come to an agreement with Chinese comrades. Don't know when, sooner or later. But we shall agree. We have one path of common struggle against capitalism and of the victory of communism all over the world." And Khrushchov proposed a toast to those countries which have overthrown capitalist rule and are building socialism.

The capitalist world talked a lot of the differences that have emerged in our camp. The more these differences, the more they rejoiced.

"As a representative of the

Communist world and of the Soviet Union I am grieved at the fact that there are differences between Communist parties and Socialist countries. Therefore, we are doing everything to overcome these differences."

Khrushchov also proposed a toast to the peoples of those countries which have overthrown the colonial yoke. "We wish them real rule of the working people." And he also wished those people successes who are still fighting for freedom.

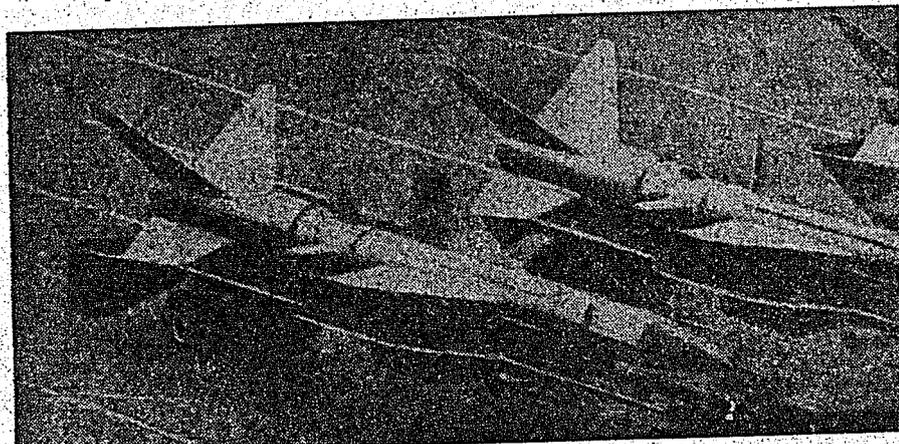
The Soviet Premier spoke of the great importance of the policy of peaceful coexistence and declared that the Soviet Union was doing everything possible for peace. Let all people choose the path they consider best, he said. Let there be no interference from without.

But peaceful coexistence did not mean agreement between big socialist and capitalist powers at the cost of smaller countries.

"We want to peacefully co-exist with the United States. But if the United States attacks Cuba we shall be on Cuba's side."

Khrushchov said that the Soviet Union wanted friendship with all and gave examples of good relations with countries which have a common border with Soviet Union. Addressing the delegation of American businessmen which was present Khrushchov called for better trade and economic relations. "We live on one planet. Let us live in peace," he said.

Referring to the Moscow Test Ban treaty, Khrushchov said he was prepared to sign other agreements to guarantee international security. He proposed a toast to the "Spirit of Moscow" and peace in the world.



The anti-missile missiles in the Moscow parade.