



MARCH ON

MILLIONS OF WORKERS, PEASANTS, MIDDLE CLASS TOILERS, MEN AND WOMEN HAVE SIGNED THE GREAT PETITION TO PARLIAMENT. IT HAS BEEN A GREAT NATIONAL PROTEST AGAINST GOVERNMENT'S ANTI-PEOPLE POLICIES—FROM ALMOST EVERY STRATA OF PEOPLE, EXCEPT A HANDFUL OF EXPLOITERS AND THEIR APOLOGISTS.

THE Great Petition was first scoffed at. Then it was admired. Now it is feared.

The Petition is to be presented next week on Friday, September 13 in the presence of thousands of marchers coming from all over the country. Representatives of every state,

Party, they say is going to purify itself; the big men of the ruling class, instead of directly running the state machine will now run the party machine, that stands behind the state!

As a result, the two big representatives of reaction, the Finance Minister MORARJI DESAI and the Food Minister S. K. PATIL, avowed enemies of nonalignment, democracy and socialism, sworn opponents and hangmen of the working class and open servitors of monopoly vested interests have "vacated" their seats of state power. Their fall has certainly gladdened the hearts of millions in India.

Though their exit does not change the

YES. But with them, the taxes on people's essential commodities must go. The prices must come down. The real wages of the working class and the incomes of the toiling peasant must rise.

To ensure this:

BANKS, FOREIGN OIL, EXPORT-IMPORT TRADE MUST BE NATIONALISED.

- ① Banks, above all, must be immediately taken over.
- ② Wholesale trade in food grains must come to the state sector.

Without these two, to begin with, it is useless to talk of exorcising the black devils of Finance and Food.

TAKE OVER BANKS IMMEDIATELY

every language, every working man's union, every peasant's village, which signed the Petition will be at the gates of Parliament, with their red banners, their mighty hands that create all wealth, their mighty voices of protest and slogans.

They will want to speak to the makers of that budget which has imposed the CDS, surcharges and taxes on them, to see that citadel of finance—that fleeces the poor working masses and enriches the thieving millionaire classes. They would want to speak to the hoarders of food and the speculators in people's living.

They come to see that House of Democracy, which they themselves have elected and to ask why so much misery is heaped on them, the toilers and defenders of the Nation.

And as we sign and begin the March, comes the news that ministers and ministries are falling everywhere. The ruling Congress

basic class character of the government, yet it is a welcome change.

But our millions of signatures and thousands of marchers must still march. The change of some men of the ruling class does not by itself lead to change in the policies of that class, unless the masses act. The millions of signatures with their demands, the thousands of marchers, the great general strike of more than a million workers in Bombay—all these have yet to bear the real fruit, the fruit of relief to the toiling millions, and manacled of the millionaires.

They say that the Voice of America will go; that the CDS, the Gold Policy, the surcharges may be modified to give relief to the toilers. The ruling class wants to tender this as their promise for the future, to behave better.

Well, gentlemen, that is a good beginning but it is NOT good enough. CDS, surcharges and VOA must go—

Then what of the Emergency within whose womb, the anti-national, anti-people vested interests are fattening? What of the democratic rights and the hundreds still detained without trial?

So, we have to March to Delhi. Not merely a change of men, but a change of policies—is what the country demands.

MARCH ON TO GET THEM, MARCH WITH WORKING-CLASS DISCIPLINE, MARCH WITH CONFIDENCE THAT THE FUTURE IS OURS, THAT THE SOCIALISM OF THE TOILING PEOPLE WILL ULTIMATELY TRIUMPH EVERYWHERE.

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TAKE WHOLESALE TRADE IN FOOD TO STATE SECTOR

NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

FROM HORSE'S MOUTH

nation

★ by VIGILANTE

The whining of the imperialist press at the removal from the Cabinet of Morarji Desai and S. K. Patil is "proof" enough of their political leanings. But perhaps, just in case there were any doubt left, the latest issue of *Time Magazine* (August 30) crosses the T's and dots the I's for the world, by its report on the Cabinet reshuffle.

THIS is the tell-tale bit (or shall we call it "the confession of the imperialists?"): "The departing Ministers were the strongest men in Nehru's team, although some were in political trouble. Among them were two strong pro-Westerners, Food Minister Patil and Finance Minister Morarji Desai."

Well, this is from the horse's own mouth... and the *Time Magazine* surely cannot be accused of being part of the 'Communist conspiracy' which the friends of Morarji-Patil allege, is responsible for painting the two as Right reactionary agents of imperialism.

The truth will be out, you know...

Anti-Nehru Slanders

THE imperialist press is in such a rage over the exit of its friends from the Union Cabinet that it has launched a specially vicious campaign of slander against Prime Minister Nehru personally.

Typical are the comments in the London *Times* of August 27, in the course of a despatch from the New Delhi correspondent of the paper:

"Some of Mr. Morarji Desai's supporters reduce the grand structure of the Kamraj plan to the dark outlines of a plot to get rid of the Finance Minister. Certainly it looks as if he must lose political influence with his portfolio..."

"Others of the plot school go further and say that it has been master-minded by Mr. Nehru in order to clear all possible candidates for the succession out of the way so that it may be free for his heart's choice Mrs. Indira Gandhi, his daughter."

How does the American *Time* describe the no-confidence motion in the Lok Sabha? According to it, "the debate... vented Indians' wide and rising dissatisfaction with the Congress Party policy that led to the nation's humiliating defeats by the Chinese last October."

And to fill the anti-Nehru cup to the brim. *Time* adds Lohia's charge that "270 million people exist on four cents a day, while it takes 63 cents daily to feed Jawaharlal Nehru's dog."

The rage of the wounded imperialist beast, is pathetic to behold...

Reverend Gentleman

THE anti-Nehru, anti-Indian campaign has many facets to it. A friend has drawn my attention to the latest article by *Reve-*

rend Michael Scott in the London *Observer* (August 25), purporting to tell the "truth" (for what else can a reverend gentleman speak?) about the Nagas.

Here are a few gems from this article titled "A People in Danger".

"At present, the Nagas are being threatened by the Indian government with air attacks which, falling assistance from outside, must mean physical extermination."

UNEMPLOYMENT ON THE MARCH

THE end of all economic progress being man, it will be a mockery of such progress if it leaves him without means to earn his living. But this is precisely what has been happening to our Man, who, even after more than a decade's planned development is by and large, without a job—to enable him to contribute his share to the nation's progress, as well as to make his living. And the reasons for it are not far to seek.

Planning Minister Nanda told the meeting of the Central Employment Committee on August 31 that the increase in the labour force in the Third Plan period would be more than the estimated 17 million, and it might not be possible to realize the employment target of about 13.5 million jobs.

In other words, the backlog of unemployment at the end of the Plan period will be more than it inherited from the Second Plan, and the problem instead of nearing solution will become more complicated.

And why? Because of a high rate of fecundity of our people, as some gentlemen would want us to believe, or because our planning, with all its progressive features, has had no definite directive to propel it towards providing gainful employment to all able-bodied citizens?

Our Constitution does not guarantee the 'Right to Work' to the citizen, whereas constitutions of all countries building or aspiring to build socialism, provide this guarantee. And when the Constitution, which is the country's 'Fundamental Law' is silent about it, is it surprising that the administration too is only formally cognizant of the need to provide employment to the people. The result is a desultory treatment of the subject—

tion for the resisters and starvation for the villages which support them...

"If you have seen your villages burned, your women raped, your crops destroyed and your unaided defence during eight years of jungle warfare, being finally reduced by jet aircraft attacks, you might look at things otherwise..."

"Thousands of human beings have been atrociously treated and are now threatened with extermination..."

Not satisfied with these lyrical descriptions of the situation among the Nagas, Michael Scott threatens that "very

OUR CONDOLENCES

NEW AGE sends its heartfelt condolences to the relatives of all those who have lost their lives in the tragic earthquake in Badgam. Our deep sympathy goes to the hundreds of injured and homeless.

The disaster of Badgam is a national calamity. Relief and assistance for the victims of the earthquake must be rushed to Kashmir from all parts of the country.

large scale dissatisfaction" will spread "amongst all the hill peoples living in the area bordering on China, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim and the territories of the North East Frontier Agency..."

The reverend gentleman keeps paying regular visits to India, and is evidently given interviews by the highest in the land, just for the asking. Slanderers are evidently given a free run of this country, if they happen to

belong to good old England and wear the old school tie (or rather, in this case, the dog-collar of a padre).

It would be useful to know what exactly is being done in the USA and Britain by our diplomatic missions, to counter the anti-Indian propaganda, which has risen to new heights with the recent removal from government of the "strong pro-Westerners"...

(September 3)

Economic notes

talents and aptitude of the students on the one hand, and the country's requirements, on the other.

A proper budgeting of the manpower is integral part of planning for a socialist society. For without it, the people, who are the arbiters of all plans and societies, not finding avenues to express their talents, remain sullen and frustrated. And one can hardly expect to build socialism with the help of a sullen and frustrated people.

THE Minister of Steel and Heavy Industries Subramaniam has told the members of Parliament that with the private sector licensees failing to implement their schemes, there is no possibility of the country attaining the Third Plan's targeted production of fertilisers, but he did not tell them why the private sector had at all been depended upon to undertake the job.

Fertilisers, because of their bearing on agricultural production, had been accorded a high place in the Third Plan, and their production was to be largely undertaken in the public sector. According to the Planning Commission's publication, *Industrial Programmes, 1961-66*, as much as 800,000 tons of capacity in terms of nitrogen out of a total of one million tons target, was to be set up in the public sector, while the private sector's share was to be only 200,000 tons.

But, when the schemes were finally drawn up, the private sector got a larger share than originally contemplated, while the public sector's share was brought down. The way it happened is no mystery to those who have a knowledge of the "goings on" in New Delhi's secretariat. It is the right pull at the right places, which helps the private sector

to get a niche even in the closest preserves of the public sector.

But why, with licences in their hands, could the private sector licensees not set up the plants? Lack of foreign collaborators is one reason given by them, but why should there be this lack, if the foreigners—according to the private sector's own claim—are more willing to collaborate with it, than with the public sector?

The fact is that they had canvassed for, and taken the licences, only because they did not want the public sector to grow in this vital line, but when they found that they had bitten more than they could chew, they began looking for excuses to cover up their failure.

As for the foreign collaborators, why should they show interest in schemes in which even the interest of their Indian counterparts was flagging? They had besides, their own fertiliser to sell and why should they block the opportunity of selling it to India by helping India to produce its own fertiliser?

Minister Subramaniam has tried to end this situation by asking the private licensees to surrender their licences to the public sector. This is a correct, although belated, step.

But who will bear the cost of this delay—both in terms of foreign exchange, spent on fertiliser imports, and the shortfall in agricultural production, caused by the shortage of fertilisers? The private sector licensees, it seems, are liable to no such indemnities, although it is they who are responsible for it.

Primarily, however, the responsibility is that of the government, and its executives, who allowed them a berth in an industry, for which the private sector had neither the resources nor the aptitude.

—ESSEN

(September 3)

POLICY OF PEACE & NON-ALIGNMENT MUST BE STRENGTHENED

RAJYA SABHA

M. N. Govindan Nair Speaks on Foreign Policy

Following are excerpts from a speech made by M. N. Govindan Nair in the Rajya Sabha on September 2 in the debate on Foreign Affairs.

I welcome the statement of the Prime Minister reassuring the House that the government stands firmly by the policy of non-alignment. I also welcome the statement of the Prime Minister regarding Indo-Pakistan negotiations, and I fully agree with the approach of the government regarding the border dispute between our country and China.

When the Chinese made a massive attack on our borders, the basic policies of our government were also attacked by some forces inside the country. Today it is true that though the government still stands for and speaks in terms of non-alignment, yet our vision has been blurred, non-alignment has been damaged and the edge of our policy of anti-colonialism and anti-racism has been blunted.

HISTORIC IMPORTANCE

That is why I said a moment back that we welcome this opportunity to say something on the matter. As far as the international developments referred to by the Prime Minister are concerned, we agree that the signing of the Test Ban Treaty is of historic importance.

We as a country following a policy of peace, have welcomed it, and it is only in the fitness of things that we were among the first nations to join in the signing of the Treaty.

Nobody will claim that by this the threat of nuclear war is over. At the same time, this will help to undermine the forces of aggression and war. This will ease international tension and pave the way for the stopping of underground tests and the destruction of nuclear arms. This will also create an atmosphere and a climate for settling international problems through negotiations.

We are surprised to find that this treaty is opposed by certain countries. As far as France is concerned, I do not want to say much. I shall only remind you that if France has occupied a high place in the mind of the people, it is because of the level of culture that she has attained, and the human values for which they have stood. I think better wisdom will prevail so as to change the present attitude and support the Test Ban Treaty.

We are very much shocked to find that our neighbour, China, is one of the countries which is opposing this Treaty. By this the Chinese leaders are taking a position opposed to the socialist community, to the entire world communist movement and the peace-loving people all the world over. They are in the company of the extremists in the USA who are screaming that by this ban on tests, the opportunity for manufacturing more destructive weapons has been lost, and also of the extremists in West Germany who want to plunge the world again into a war. There is nothing in common with the principles for which Communists the world over stand.

I believe our government, as in the past, will utilise this opportunity for furthering the cause of peace and contribute towards creating a better atmosphere in the world.

Now, if the signing of the Test Ban Treaty was a happy event

removed from the discussion, then the policy which the President proclaimed through his speeches, which is the policy of the Government, can be discussed, and that should be discussed.

In his Washington talks, the Indian President is reported to have spoken of the general situation in India following the Chinese invasion, the present military preparations in India and the country's determination to resist China not only to safeguard its own freedom, but in the interests of the whole of South East Asia. This was reported by the PTI on June 5.

Then again in the joint communication with President Kennedy, it was said that they agreed that their two countries shared their mutual defence concern to thwart the Chinese aggression against this sub-continent. If this is an indication of the policy of the government that they are going to toe the line of the Americans as far as South East Asian countries are

concerned, I maintain that it is against the policy that the government is pursuing. I have never seen a statement from the government earlier in any of the discussions held in Parliament, that we and the USA have a common policy regarding South East Asian countries.

What is the policy of the USA in South East Asia? Whom are they backing? The Diem regime which is fighting the entire people in that country, the Chiang Kai-shek regime in Formosa, the successors of Syngman Rhee in Korea—it is these they are supporting. We have to consider very seriously whether we should toe the American line as far as the South East Asian countries are concerned.

If that is to be our policy, then our argument regarding the Voice of America is quite justified. We oppose the VOA deal because it is against our policy of non-alignment. The Prime Minister himself has admitted that it is not consistent with the policy of non-alignment.

Our contention was what the President spoke was not in conformity with the accepted policy of our government, even though they are framed by the Cabinet or by the secretaries, become the basic policies of the nation only when they are accepted by Parliament.

I am not speaking about the President. This is why I made that point clear. If the President is

there are also certain distressing events that have taken place during these months and among them are the happenings in South Vietnam.

Our hearts are heavy with the news that we are receiving from South Vietnam. We hear of pagodas being wrecked. The Xa Loi Pagoda has been broken into and looting is taking place from temples. Thousands of people are put in jails and concentration camps. Many are murdered. Colleges and schools are closed and students are taken into custody.

The Buddhists want equal rights with the Catholics there. In spite of the appeal of the Pope, President Diem rejected it and is refusing to grant equal rights. That is the basis of the trouble there. This is a matter which should concern all civilised humanity and steps have to be taken to prevent such occurrences.

Why is this happening? It is known to everybody, even according to their own admission, that 80 per cent of the population of South Vietnam are Buddhists and they are all against the present administration. Still the Diem regime is able to carry out its repressive policy because it is backed by the USA. Nine years ago this regime was foisted on the people of South Vietnam, and it is the military might of America and the millions of dollars that they are pumping in there that keep the administration going.

The moment they withdraw their support there is absolutely no doubt that the Diem regime will fall like a house of cards.

India has a special responsibility, as the Chairman of the International Commission, and as such it was the responsibility of India to protest against this kind of activity and raise this question at the appropriate place and find a solution to it. Unfortunately I am sorry to state that we needed the proddings of our neighbouring country's Prime Minister, the Prime Minister of Ceylon, before we moved.

I want to know from the Prime Minister why there was this delay in taking up the case of the repression in South Vietnam. This delay has cast some doubts in our minds that in order not to offend the Americans, we are perhaps closing our eyes to certain incidents.

The Prime Minister in his speech referred to certain statements made by our Party regarding the pronouncements of our President, while he visited the USA. I want to make it clear that we never meant that he spoke anything in contradiction to what he had been asked to say by the government. That was not our concern.

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report in THE STATESMAN the following news was given: "The controversy over the VOA agreement appears to be taking a hopeful turn, it is authoritatively learnt today."

And what is that hopeful turn? "Short of offering 'pre-censorship' of the VOA broadcasts, the formula offers India enough guarantees that nothing in them will embarrass her in her domestic and foreign relations. The details of programmes may be provided in advance and taped broadcasts subsequently to enable India to maintain a constant and effective vigilance on what the VOA presents from the Calcutta transmitter."

The financial terms may also be made more attractive. If this is the way in which the VOA deal is going to be revised, I have no hesitation in saying that that is quite unsatisfactory. Nothing short of scrapping this agreement will satisfy the needs of the situation.

The Prime Minister himself admitted in this House that this deal was not gone through by the Cabinet and that it was at the instance of certain Secretaries that the agreement had been contracted. Now I find that the same officials, who were responsible for this agreement, have been asked to negotiate with the Americans. I think it is a wrong thing to contract an agreement against the accepted policies of the government. What the Government should do is to take severe action against those officers, and not ask them to go and negotiate again.

JOINT AIR EXERCISES

Another important development has been the joint air exercises. It has been said that it is only for giving training to our men and that all the exercises will be carried out under the aegis of the Indian Army and all that. But from a report in THE WASHINGTON POST, it is clear as to how other countries are looking at it. THE WASHINGTON POST says:

"These exercises do not differ in any way from similar exercises in which Pakistan has been taking part on the basis of alliance with West within the SEATO and CENTO."

Now, there are certain points which I would like the Prime Minister to clarify with regard to these joint air exercises. It has been said that it is only for radar equipment. Even a paper like the TIMES OF INDIA could not hide the fact that these air exercises, though they may seem very innocent, have certain very dangerous consequences. They may be sending us only radar. Radar is useful in finding out from which side attacking planes are coming.

But after the planes come, what are we to do? You get a warning. How are we to resist? Where are your superpowers? India had made a request for superpowers. They are not given.

The Western powers are prepared to set up radar arrangements, which are only the thin end of the wedge, and the old 'Air Umbrella Scheme' which was rejected by the people of India and the government is going to be brought in through the backdoor. So, unless we take a definite stand on this and unless we are very clear that it will not be the old 'air umbrella scheme'

that we had once rejected, I think it will be a departure from the policy of non-alignment.

During these months, we have had certain bitter experiences and from them we have to draw certain lessons. At the time of the Chinese invasion, it was thought that the Western Powers were coming forward in a disinterested way to help us in our crisis. But it did not take much time for us to realise that for the help that they were giving, we had to pay a price, and the price was that they wanted us to settle the Kashmir dispute with Pakistan.

The question was, either you agree to the condition of Pakistan by handing over a part of the Kashmir Valley to them or make it an international territory. I am glad that both these offers were rejected by the government. But at the same time this showed that the support that we were getting was not a disinterested one and that there was a motive behind it.

In this crisis we find the Colombo Powers meeting together and trying their best to bring the dispute with China to a peaceful settlement. If they did not succeed, it is not their fault. Behind these six Powers there was the goodwill of the Afro-Asian nations.

You have to respect the goodwill and love and regard the Afro-Asian nations had towards India and the attempt they made to find a peaceful solution of this question. So this was another experience. The newly-liberated countries, all coming to our help for a settlement, are a force which is to be reckoned with. They are a force on which we can rely.

Since the Colombo proposals put forward by the six non-aligned nations were acceptable to us, they stood by our side.

Again, we sought help from the Soviet Union. They did not say, as the Americans said, that first we settle the dispute with China and then only will they give us aid. Whatever things have been asked for, as we understand from the papers, the Soviet Union was prepared to help us with. Not only the Soviet Union but other socialist countries also had been offering their help, in spite of the fact that China was attacking us on the other side.

STAND BY AFRICA

Eighty per cent of the African continent is free. But the other 20 per cent is still struggling to win freedom. The independent African nations have joined together for rendering all types of help. The Government of India has to consider seriously how this anti-colonial fight can be helped by us. We must consider how we can help the newly-liberated African countries by way of giving them technical aid, by giving them more scholarships for students, etc.

Then the most important thing is the selection of our diplomats in Africa. The general complaint is that our diplomats in Africa, instead of trying to fraternise with the Africans, instead of trying to understand their problems, are more happy in the company of the representatives of the imperialist powers there.

The failure of our diplomats to understand the problems of Africa also stands in the way of better relationship between our country and Africa. I would suggest that the government has to pay much greater attention in fostering friendship with Asian and African countries.

From the experience which we have gained, friendship with the socialist countries and especially with the Soviet Union should be fostered to the maximum possible extent.

No Foreign Troops

Editorial THE PRIME MINISTER made a welcome and categorical statement in the Rajya Sabha on September 3, that in no circumstances would India permit foreign troops on our soil.

The Prime Minister, angry at the suggestion made by a Swatantra party member that we should accept armed forces from the West to help us, asked:

"Why not hand India over to somebody else? Why not put an end to your independence? Why not confess to the world that we are too weak to defend ourselves?"

Opposition to the stationing of foreign armed personnel on our soil is a basic tenet of our policy of non-alignment and peace. What the Prime Minister stated in the Rajya Sabha in this regard was nothing but a firm reiteration of our policy.

But the very fact that he had to emphasise and reiterate this policy in regard to foreign troops, is proof, if proof were needed, that a serious danger to our policy of non-alignment exists. For all the lip service paid to non-alignment—under one plea or another, reactionary forces in the country seek to align India with the West.

The Swatantra member of the Rajya Sabha, who called for Western armed forces to "defend" India, argued that he did so "to save expenditure." No one is taken in by this type of argument. You cannot "save expenditure" at the cost of India's independence itself.

What gives the Right reactionary forces in this country the temerity to propose on the floor of Parliament itself, that we invite the US and British armed forces to march through our towns and villages again? Have we forgotten what the slogan Quit India meant?

The truth must be faced squarely. Right reaction can and does openly make such treacherous proposals, in defiance of our basic principles, in violation of our national policies—because it has been allowed to fatten and grow in the period since the Chinese aggression last year.

The Right reactionary parties have close allies inside the Congress, who are as opposed to non-alignment as the Rightist parties. Inside government, the votaries of alignment with the West among the bureaucrats and even among the ministers, are a substantial number.

The agreements with the Voice of America and for joint air exercises, have given encouragement to the parties of Right reaction to push forward their demand for fullscale alliance with the West. You can still call it nonalignment, they would generously concede!

Foreign troops are to man the radar equipment which is to be here for 12 to 18 months—to "train" our men. Foreign supersonic aircraft with foreign airmen are to fly over our territory and from our aerodromes for joint training exercises.

The Right reactionary parties chortle with glee. If all that can happen, why not go the whole hog and call the GIs and the Tommies in?

It is good that the head of our government has scotched the sinister Swatantra proposal in the Rajya Sabha. But the battle in defence of nonalignment, of our policy of peace and peaceful coexistence, of disarmament and opposition to colonialism, new and old, and to racialism—cannot be won only by the speeches of the Prime Minister, however vital and important they may be.

An organised and united movement against the Right, against the betrayers of our independence, against the agents of imperialism, must be built, and the millions of our people mobilised for active support for nonalignment and peace. This is the common task of all who stand for this country's independence.

We have known the tread of an imperialist army of occupation across the heart of Mother India. It must never happen again.

We can and we shall defend this land of ours with our own strength. India's own armed personnel are the best guards of our freedom.

(September 4)

RIGHT LOBBY ON THE RUN

The Rajya Sabha debate on foreign affairs was marked both by a fullscale offensive by the Right against India's basic policy of peace and nonalignment, and by a vigorous defence of this policy by the Prime Minister.

It was not only in regard to the demand for imperialist troops to "defend" us (see Editorial) that the Prime Minister lashed out at the Right. He was equally strong in regard to other issues on which the Right had sought to pressurise the Government to lean towards the West:

● In regard to the Voice of America deal, the Prime Minister made the clearest statement to date. The agreement, he said, must be revised "radically" or India should do without the transmitter.

● The Right attack against the Soviet Union (Atal Bihari Vajpayee of the Jan Sangh was the star performer) was effectively quashed by the Prime Minister.

● The Right demanded that the Colombo proposals be dropped; the Prime Minister strongly defended the Colombo proposals and insisted that the door for negotiations be kept open.

● The Prime Minister defended our armed personnel and our officers and men from the vicious attacks made on them by the Right, who took advantage of portions of the summary of the report on the NEFA reverses made by Defence Minister Chavan in Parliament.

● The Prime Minister totally rejected the suggestion that India should support the Chiang Kai-shek regime and oppose the right of the People's Republic of China to its place in the UNO.

CPI STATEMENT ON D.I.R. JUDGMENTS

The Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India has issued the following statement to the press:

THE Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India draws the urgent attention of the Indian people to the judgments delivered by the Judges of the Supreme Court on the important subject of the validity of the Defence of India Act and Rules.

Not only the High Courts but the highest judicial tribunal of the land, the Supreme Court, are divided on the question of remedy available to the detenus detained under the Defence of India Act and Rules if they complain of the infringement of fundamental rights.

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

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

★ Secondly, both agree that the officially much-quoted Article 359 or the Presidential Order issued under it does not enlarge the legislative power of the Parliament during the emergency. Despite the President's Order, the Defence of India Act and Ordinance are void and would continue to be void in law.

notes OF THE Week

by Romesh Chandra

Communist baiting, on which reaction could take solace...

No answer was given by the Prime Minister to the questions asked by Communist spokesman M. N. Govindan Nair regarding the joint air exercises. A mere assertion that the air exercises are not a violation of nonalignment satisfies no one in India or abroad.

Our questions must be answered. How many foreign soldiers are to be stationed on our soil with the radar equipment? For how long will they stay in India? Where will they be stationed? What steps are we taking to ensure that these foreign armed personnel are not allowed to do anything besides train our men, as they are supposed to do?

And again—what precautions are we taking to ensure that the Western supersonic bombers which are to participate in the joint air exercises, fly under the command of our air force?

The Prime Minister assures us that no bases are being granted to any foreign power. No one has suggested that. But to the real questions and doubts raised by the joint air exercises, we have no answer.

The questions being asked are not meant to suggest that the joint air exercises imply that we are now aligned in any sense to the west. But the necessity for vigilance and for caution needs to be underlined heavily.

* ON BACK PAGE

How poor is the majority of our people is the theme of the current controversy touched off by Dr. Lohia's remark in the Lok Sabha that 60 per cent of our people live on three annas per day.

THIS statement was challenged by Prime Minister Nehru who said that the figure was five times higher. Planning Minister Nanda neither substantiating nor contradicting either of the two figures, produced a third figure which showed that the average per capita expenditure of 60 per cent of our people was 7.5 annas per day.

by Sadhan Mukherjee

But this hardly led to anything concrete because it is well-known that the people in the lower rungs of society normally spend more than what they earn just to keep their body and soul together. This practice has resulted in a rapid growth of indebtedness, increase in the number of landless people, migration to industrial employments etc.

Nevertheless, the controversy occasioned by the remarks has

been quite timely and has helped pinpoint attention on the abysmal poverty of our people. Hunger, malnutrition, unemployment still stalk some parts of the land and the economic condition of the common people has become unbearable.

If after the fulfilment of two Five Year Plans, this be the fate of a vast section, if not the majority, of our people, then it certainly calls for an immediate rethinking, a new approach towards fulfilment of social objectives, particularly today, when we are in the third year of the Third Five-Year Plan and engaged in making the blueprint of the Fourth.

This does not mean that the country has not progressed since independence. Our national output has increased, national income has risen, but the rate of growth has not been fast enough to ensure for the common people any substantial improvement in their standard of living. The major share in the benefits accruing out of the Plans has been appropriated by the thin upper crust of our

NOT MERELY A DISCUSSION ON POVERTY

Need For Radical Change In Planning

society. The distribution of national income continued to remain in the same unbalanced state where it was.

It is reasonable to argue that during the last decade of planning, the estimate of a rise of 42 per cent in the national income and 16 per cent in the per capita income has not been achieved. Instead of reaching the target figure of Rs. 15,500 crores in 1960-61, the national income reached only Rs. 14,160 crores. According to one calculation the national income increased during 1950-51 to 1959-60 by only 32.88 per cent at constant prices and per capita income by 11.88 per cent.

And this growth also was in a haphazard manner. There were sharp variations in the rate of growth from state to

state. What is of vital importance is the shocking reality that 50 per cent of this low national income was appropriated by 1 per cent of our people—the elite of society.

There is also a tremendous gap between the estimates of the Perspective Planning Division and actual achievements.

The preliminary estimates of national income and per capita income show that in 1961-62 the national income was only Rs. 14,630 crores at current prices. Calculated at 1948-49 prices, it amounted to only Rs. 13,020 crores. The increase was only 2.1 per cent. In fact at 1948-49 prices, the per capita income actually fell from Rs. 293.7 in 1960-61 to Rs. 293.4 in 1961-62. The Perspective Planning Division estimated it to be about 25 per cent during the entire plan period.

One reason that is advanced for shortfall is the increase in population. In 1961, the population had already increased to 439 million and by 1975-76 when it is estimated that the per capita income will be doubled, the number will be about 625 million. The national income is expected to be doubled by 1970-71 which is an improvement over the previous estimate.

But the rate of growth obtaining at present does not hold out that hope, apart from the fact that the period envisaged is certainly a long one.

That is why the Communist Party in its memorandum submitted to government during the discussion on the Second Plan had pointed out:

... One should have thought that the approach and the actual proposals of the Plan would be such as would guarantee the improvement in the distribution of national income among the working people. But one finds no such promise in that direction. On the contrary, it would appear that the extremely inequitable distribu-

tion of national income would not only continue but will further be aggravated. The income in higher income groups will rise, while those at the bottom will, by and large, remain either steady or may even decline in some cases. The Second Plan should have drawn upon the experience of the First Plan in this matter in

order at least to minimise such injustice and unhealthy economic developments. "We need not debate on the dangers of the level of living declining as a result of such factors, as taxation, inflationary pressure and unemployment. In our view the Second Plan should have contained practical proposals for raising both urban and rural income of the working people. This is necessary not merely for raising the living standards in the country, but also for creating labour enthusiasm.

"This brings us to the objective of reduction of inequalities of income, as set forth in the Plan. From what has already been said, it will be clear that disparities in income are not likely to be narrowed under the Second Plan. Rather they are liable to be widened."

Unfortunately, the observations of the Communist Party were not heeded by the planners and the result has only proved true the apprehensions expressed by the CPI.

Extent Of Poverty

The paucity of data on the actual extent of poverty makes an exact assessment of the conditions of common people almost impossible. But according to the findings of a National Sample Survey conducted some time back, it was found that:

- ★ 60 million of our people lived on as low as 5 annas or less a day;
- ★ 40 million lived on 4 annas or less per day; and
- ★ 20 million lived on 2 annas or less per day.

The working group set up by the Seminar on Some Aspects of Planning held in New Delhi in 1961 concluded that "... about 60 per cent of the population has today a per capita expenditure of less than Rs. 20 per month."

The following table will help us to understand the point better:

decile of population	percentage income (a)	distribution of consumption (b)	maximum value of consumption in the group (c) Rs. per capita per month
Lowest	2.4	2.98	9.6
second	3.4	4.45	12.6
third	4.3	5.56	15.2
fourth	4.8	6.61	17.9
fifth	6.3	7.74	20.8
sixth	7.9	9.00	24.3
seventh	9.2	10.54	28.6
eighth	10.6	12.57	34.6
ninth	14.5	15.69	45.1
tenth	36.6	24.86	—

a) Size distribution of Personal Income and Saving in India—paper presented to the third Indian conference on research in national income by Mahfooz Ahmad.

b) Calculated in the ISI Planning Unit on the basis of the data from the 13th round of National Sample Survey, with certain adjustments.

tion of national income would not only continue but will further be aggravated. The income in higher income groups will rise, while those at the bottom will, by and large, remain either steady or may even decline in some cases. The Second Plan should have drawn upon the experience of the First Plan in this matter in

The table shows that the first tenth of our population spend only Rs. 9.6 per month, the second tenth Rs. 12.6 and so on. Seventy per cent of people consume less than a rupee per day.

The Working Group set up

* ON PAGE SEVEN

SPOTLIGHT Kashmir On A Platter

SWATANTRA'S C. R. gave a shocking independence Day gift to the nation. He professed on that day that "the coming decades will see a definite liquidation of what is called nonalignment," and accompanied his prophecy with the proposal to dismember Jammu and Kashmir from the Indian Union. About the latter he declared:

"There is nothing stupendously difficult in, nothing indeed so easy as, making Kashmir and Jammu state autonomous as it has been before 1947 and either making it a territory of the UNO or giving it the protection of both Pakistan and India."

This idea of Kashmir being cut off from India and made autonomous or "independent" is nothing new and novel. The American lobby has already been discussing it for some months. It was openly advocated last March by the Thought, mouthpiece of this notorious lobby.

Now, for the first time, the ideologue of the Swatantra Party has blurted out the same thought. And there is no inadvertence or chance aberration involved in the steps, for C.R. has reverted to the theme in the 'Swarajya' of August 31 and taken up cudgels to defend it. He has tried to regale the reader with one of his inimitable fables. Kashmir is compared to a beautiful bird which fell into the net of "Mr. Moorikh"—(in English translation, Mr. Fool). Mr.

Moorikh's cousin, Mr. Ahambhav (Mr. Ego) claimed the bird as his because the net had been placed on his roof. The dispute finally went to one Mr. Mahavirdas, who gave the award that the bird be freed. The fable concludes in the following words:

"Mahavirdas was declared by both of them as mad, but his verdict was accepted and the bird was released, and it flew away in delight."

Is it not a beautiful fable about the beautiful bird, a fable with an unconvincing moral? The moral is:

Kashmir is the beautiful bird unfortunately in India's net; set it free!

And this parable of a beautiful bird squares beautifully with the pleas of our "true friends" of the West. For the people, the moral is: The Swatantra, being ever ready to strike a bargain with the West for the sake of its narrow self-interest, has offered the bird falling into a fit with them. C. Rajagopalachari has written in the 'Swarajya':

"Some of the ministers who are asked to resign are as sad and unwilling as modern vipers would be if the legendary custom of sati were to be now enforced. Nothing else could be expected when Shri Nehru was unanimously asked to remain as PM and given power and discretion to order people to the funeral pyre. Dismissal has taken the place of resignation; murder, so to say has taken the place of the proposed sati."

And RSS-Jan Sangh Organiser has written:

"Overnight, as it were, a wobbling tottering Nehru has seemed to turn a hardy hatchetman. But has he? Political observers in the capital are inclined to interpret the recent ministerial massacre as the impetuous act of a panic-stricken person who suddenly finds himself armed with a lethal weapon."

If you are not already too moved by the passion of these doleful words you will not fail to notice how the word "murder" obsesses these minds—the man they wanted "murdered" is—

—GARUDA

No-Confidence Move

Reaction's Plan Misfires In Rajasthan Assembly

★ From H. K. Vyas

JAIPUR: Following on the no-confidence motion by the parties of Right reaction in the Lok Sabha, reactionaries in Rajasthan too hatched their plans for a similar move.

HOWEVER in this State, their objective was twofold. On the one hand they, like their all-India leaders, wanted to stage a reactionary political consolidation, posing as the saviours of people's interests, and, in one stroke, try to push reactionary plans and slogans ahead, at the same time trying to isolate the Communist Party.

On the other hand, they also sought to make a bid to manage somehow to have the motion passed, if they could, by an all-in opportunist combination, and thus create conditions for a fresh poll in the State where, by forging a sort of, united front of all the ex-rulers, they hoped to challenge the Congress majority in the State Legislature.

In this calculation they banked on three factors. In the first instance, they relied on the massive voting strength of the reactionary parties in the Legislative Assembly. The Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh together, along with some five independents, who are independents only in name but are people of the same reactionary feudal fold, count for a voting strength of about 60 votes.

Having seen what happened in the Lok Sabha, they hoped that they would be able to rally the votes of the United Socialist Party, which numbers seven in the house and also of the Bloc of Independents. In this way they thought they could corrier the Communists and using demagogic slogans, force them either to vote or be isolated. They also had hopes of some dissensions inside the Congress.

They therefore carefully and neatly laid their plans.

In their enthusiasm to show their radicalism, and also somewhat influenced by this opportunist conception of somehow managing to get the motion passed, the United Socialist group walked into their parlour almost first. Their leader Murlidhar Vyas was first to table a motion in which some general things were stated namely inefficiency, corruption, high taxes and high prices.

Swatantra Strategy

The Swatantra Party also called a meeting of "all opposition parties". In this meeting the Communist Group was also invited, and the suggestion was mooted that there be a one-line motion without assigning any reason, let that motion be separately moved by each party, let each party be free to state its views on that motion, which they may then append to the motion as appendix, and let all vote together on the motion of each party.

In this way they sought to follow slightly different tactics from those followed by their all-India leaders at the Centre and the reasons for this variation was that they wanted to "corner" the Communists and see if this stratagem could somehow secure their vote.

The Communists, however, were vigilant and long before the session they proposed to the United Socialist Party and the Bloc of Independents that their three groups should jointly sponsor a censure move, outlining the policy reasons on which the three groups had jointly agreed and signed in a

declaration issued immediately following the budget session.

The joint declaration not only sharply nailed down the anti-people policies of the Congress Government but also recognising the need for planned development, defence and the public sector, had outlined concrete policy proposals like abolition of privy purse, staggering of the compensation to the higher income Jagirdars, stoppage of all concessions to the former rulers, active nationalisation programme for raising resources, and state trading of export of mica and wool.

The United Socialist group however, did not respond to this move, and as stated chose to move another motion, which could be acceptable to the reactionary bloc also, because it failed to raise progressive policy slogans. The Independents, as a group, could not decide anything, though some of them expressed their appreciation of this proposal.

The Communists put the same point of view forcefully in the so-called joint meeting, and stated sharply that a motion which fails to state clearly the policy slogans and the direction of the alternative in an effort to hood-wink the people and further the interests of reaction and the Communists would not be a party to this move. This stand was appreciated by some independents also.

CPI Stand

The result was that in this first round, the reactionaries could not succeed. The Communists moved their own motion, and though, it could secure only seven votes, five Communists and two independents and thus could not secure the leave of the house for discussion, yet they managed to take a clear and principled position, which was understood and welcomed by many, including unattached, independent-minded people of the State.

Even the reactionary bandwagon which the Swatantras sought to create, started showing signs of fissures. Each party moved its own motion, though the wordings of four of them were common. Thus in all, five motions were admitted for discussion.

The most ridiculous position was exhibited by the United Socialist Group. Their leader Murlidhar Vyas (formerly of the PSP) moved one motion, while another one of their members, Mukut Behari (formerly of the SP) moved yet another motion, with the result that the same legislature party had two motions moved by two of its members separately. Thus the USP not only exhibited its utter opportunism but also showed itself as a very motley combination.

The move of the reactionaries received more and more setbacks as far as their move to mobilise all-in support somehow was concerned. The Congress Party had managed to "tackle" some of the independents and they openly sided with the Congress, giving it a clear accession of strength of about eight votes. Some of the members of the Swatantra Party numbering about five were themselves nowhere to be seen. Thus it was that when actual voting

took place, they could secure only 60 votes; and that too on a purely procedural issue of extension of time.

So demoralised were the reactionary bloc that on the main substantive motion moved by Maharawal Laxman Singh, ex-ruler of Dungarpur (who is the President of the Rajasthan Swatantra Party and Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly) they did not even press for a division.

Had they done that possibly their votes would have been even less, for some of the independents voted with them first only because the vote was on a procedural matter of extension of time.

But apart from this setback, their main game of trying to create a reactionary hullabaloo and somehow isolate the Communists completely misfired.

The Communists, by raising the people's real problems and projecting their alternate slogans of steps against the vested interests showed that it is they who really reflected both the feelings of the people of discontent against the policies of the government, and also the people's urge for radical changes.

In contrast, the Right motions were exposed as a clever demagogic move to shield and, if possible, assist the vested interests and drag the government in still more reactionary direction.

But they were exposed still more because apart from reference to some of the policy statements of the Swatantra leaders, the main speech of the opposition leader was one of praise for the former rulers, and a plea for mercy for them. The Jan Sangh leader Bhairon Singh only spoke on one point—namely corruption, which naturally drew counter-charges from the

Congress benches, against the Jan Sangh majority, municipality of deeds of gross abuse of power.

In their desperation, the Jan Sangh tried to drag the China issue into the debate, but that hardly helped, because the people have by now clearly seen and understood the patriotic and principled policy of the CPI on the question of Chinese aggression.

The three-day debate on this motion, therefore, with each passing hour only helped to bring less and less political benefit to the reactionaries. The plan of the reactionaries has totally misfired.

Gujarat Overfulfils Signature Quota

AHMEDABAD: Heavy rains throughout Gujarat during the whole August slowed down the campaign for signing the Great Petition; yet the original target of 50,000, fixed by the CPI Central Secretariat, has already been overfulfilled.

Ahmedabad alone has passed the 40,000 figure, largely from amongst workers and the total of all districts has reached one lakh.

During the eight days from September 1, a final drive all over the state will take the figure forward. Signatures have been collected from house to house in cities and villages in the eight districts where Party organisations exist.

In three new districts, where there is no Party organisation yet, the signature campaign has received good response.

A large batch of people from all over Gujarat will leave Ahmedabad on September 11 and reach Delhi on September 12 evening; to participate in the demonstrations before the Lok Sabha on Great Petition Day.

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BIGGEST CONCERN OF PURE AYURVEDIC MEDICINE

The Defend Agrarian Relations Act Committee set up in the non-party kisan convention at Trichur on August 18, has drawn up details of its programme of mobilising popular support behind its slogans of preserving the Agrarian Relations Act of 1961 and getting it included in the 9th Schedule of the Constitution.

MANDALAM P. R. Madhavan Pillai, B. Wellington, Paul V. Kunnill, well known and respected leaders of the kisan movement in its various streams will travel in a jeep from Kasargode to Trivandrum, addressing small and big meetings and popularising the programme of the council.

They are scheduled to start from Kasargode on September 5, and reach Trivandrum on September 22, and present a memorandum to the Governor of Kerala. They will also stage a demonstration in front of the Legislature in session, protesting against present move of the Kerala government to bring in a new Land Reform Bill.

The Draft of the Bill is already with the Planning Commission and a team of revenue and legal officers are in discussion with them.

It will also be recalled that a delegation of Communist Members of Parliament met Planning Minister Nanda last week and warned the Planning Commission against the dangers inherent in countenancing the present sinister move of the Kerala government.

The details of the programme of the jeep jatha in Cannanore district, has already been drawn up. Popular non-party reception committees consisting of kisans belonging to all shades of opinion, are being set up in all the centres to receive the leaders and hear them. The jatha will be in Cannanore district from September 5 to 8, covering the entire distance of roughly 100 miles, and will address 34 meetings in small and big centres rural and urban.

MAKE A PEOPLE-ORIENTED PLAN

★ From Page Five

by the Seminar on Some Aspects of Planning recommended (July 1962) that the national minimum for each household of five persons (4 adult consumption units) should be not less than Rs. 100 per month in terms of 1960-61 prices. This national minimum of course excludes expenditures on account of education, health, housing etc.

The working group felt that even if this national minimum is achieved by 1975-76, still about 20 per cent of our people in the lowest rungs may have an income less than the national minimum.

Short of Required Minimum

The national minimum falls far short of the income required to have a balanced diet as recommended by the Nutrition Advisory Council. According to that recommendation, it would require about Rs. 45 per month to have a balanced diet per capita at the present price level.

The working group found out that assuming that a balanced diet per capita would cost only about Rs. 35 per month, at present only 20 per cent of our people can afford it. They also found that 50 per cent of our people live in "abject poverty."

The "Perspective of Development" of the Planning Commission says:

"If the third poorest decade is to earn enough to support this standard by 1975 when population would be 625 million and their share in the income, earned by the upper 80 per cent remains constant, (4.5 per cent as in 1960) the total income will have to be of the order of Rs. 58,000 crores.

"This implies a fourfold increase in national income in 15 years or an annual rate of growth nearly ten per cent over the whole period and as much as 12 per cent per annum during the fourth and fifth Plan periods. Even if the target date for attaining the goal were extended by another five years (i.e. upto 1981) it would still require an annual rate of

growth of more than 8 per cent during 1966-81".

Does the 2.1 per cent increase in national income in 1961-62 show any such prospect? The answer is NO and it means that even in 1981, most of our people will have to lead a life bordering the subsistence level.

In this background, it is necessary to look a little in retrospect and analyse the actual state of things and the changes that have come, about during the last decade.

It is well-known that the vast majority of our people live in villages and it is among them that poverty exists in its wildest form. The comparative affluence in big cities does not show the real face of our country. It is the rural areas that can provide a measure to understand the situation.

The low income in the agricultural sector, and on top of that the ten million unemployed (which will increase to 12.2 million at the end of the Third Plan) and the 50 million under-employed, constitute the major reason for our abysmal poverty.

The Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry brought out in sharp relief the harrowing conditions of agricultural labourers in our country. The difference in their conditions between the period of the First Agricultural Labour Enquiry (1950-51) and the Second (1956-57) was staggering. Instead of progress, it was an unmitigated record of regression.

The average unemployment of agricultural labourers increased from 98 days to 110 days in a year. Average daily wage rate of casual labourers showed a decrease of 12 per cent (109 nP in 1950-51 and 96 nP in 1956-57). Wages of women labourers registered a fall of 14 per cent, from 68 nP to 59 nP. Agricultural labour households in debt increased from 45 per cent to 64 per cent and the accumulated debt per household from Rs. 47 to Rs. 88.

The average annual income of agricultural labour households showed a decrease from Rs. 495 to Rs. 439 for casual workers and from Rs. 524 to Rs. 451 for attached workers.

KISAN MARCH TO TRIVANDRUM

Programme Adopted at Convention

★ From S. SHARMA

N. K. Kuttiraman, advocate and convener of the Defence Council, has appealed for support to this venture.

The two jathas of representatives of the Democratic Youth Federation of Cannanore district, which have covered areas from Kanjanhad and Kannapuram met at Cannanore on September 1, and were received in a big rally, presided over by the leading advocate K. K. Nair, and addressed by T. C. Narayanan Namblar, M.L.A., T. K. G. Nair

(Editor, Navajeevan) and U. L. Bhatt (advocate).

The jathas have covered distances of 100 miles and addressed over 20 meetings. The system of Police verification of candidates selected for appointment in government service, and even in public sector concerns being followed by the Kerala government, denying employment to young men and women, on the "charge" of being relatives of Communists—was condemned at all these meetings.

HUNGER-STRIKE CALLED OFF

THE 16-day hunger strike resorted to by M. M. Sundaram, Communist M.L.A. and leader of the Estate Labour Union was called off on the appeal of K. T. Achuthan, Minister for Labour, who took the initiative in convening a conference on August 28, to settle the dispute between the management and the workers. The workers of the estate at Semini valley have been on strike and the management has declared a lock-out since August 27.

leather manufactory, or workers for an average of Rs. 45 per month. Workers employed under local authority excluding central government got an average wage of Rs. 37, the lowest being Rs. 25 per month. Cotton ginning and pressing manufactory workers got an average wage of about Rs. 35 per month. A very large section of iron ore miners got something like Rs. 26 per month. Plantation workers in Assam got about Rs. 30 per month while the same group of

some miserably, we are a poor country; and our rate of growth is very low compared to other countries. It will suffice to look at the table below to see how slow our rate of growth is even compared to the capitalist countries, socialist countries, notwithstanding.

Increase in National Income and Real Wages during eight years ending 1960

country	1		2		3		4	
	Increase % in national income at current prices	Increase % in money wages	Increase % in money wages	Increase % in cost of living	Increase % in real wages	Increase % in real wages	Increase % in real wages	Increase % in real wages
Australia	65.6	35.5	35.0	25.0	8.4			
Belgium	32.9*	38.0	38.0	10.0	25.9			
France	81.3	79.4	32.7	35.2				
W. Germany	72.7	69.5	8.8	55.8				
Israel	285.0	156.0	85.9	38.0				
Italy	66.3	37.2	16.2	18.1				
Japan	96.5	57.5	23.7	27.3				
Netherlands	79.6	36.6	21.0	29.4				
New Zealand	73.3	37.6	29.2	6.5				
Sweden	50.7	53.6	26.5	21.4				
U.K.	59.1	43.8	24.7	15.3				
India**	42.0	37.4	20.2	14.5				

1. N. 1 figures relate to the decade ending 1960 in the case of Australia, Israel, New Zealand and UK, the decade ending 1958 in the case of Germany and the decade ending 1959 in the case of remaining countries.

* Gross national product figures.

** Figures for India relate to the year 1961—Base: 1950, except the national income which relates to Base: 1948-49.

Source: International Financial Statistics, IMF
Indian Labour Statistics—1963

Workers And Minimum Wages

Then let us take the workers who are covered by the Minimum Wages Act, whose wages have been fixed by the central and state governments. The data relate to the position as on September 30, 1962.

The wages of bidi workers varied from Rs. 2 per 1000 bids from state to state. Workers in rice, floor or dal mills got between Rs. 39 to Rs. 55 per month. Stone breaking or stone crushing, lac manufactory, or tannery and

workers in Cachar got only Rs. 40. These figures indicate that except the semi-skilled, skilled or highly-skilled workers, the large majority of manual labourers get only meagre wage and they live just on the subsistence level.

It is no use arguing whether Lohia is correct or Nehru is correct, or whether the figure given by Nanda is a conclusive rebuttal of Lohia's claim. One does not need to have a lot of data, most of which are unreliable—as proved in the Bombay Cost of Living Index dispute—to prove how poor is the vast majority of our people. Above are just a few facts.

The truth stares at everybody's face: most of our people are poor,

Compared to other countries, India's rate of growth is quite slow, particularly in view of the fact that India is a developing economy whereas most of the countries mentioned above have already reached very high levels of output.

It is in this context (a) our rate of growth is not sufficiently fast, (b) the benefit of this growth also is largely appropriated by a very small section of our people—that a reappraisal has got to be made. It is urgently required that immediate improvements be made upon the Third Plan and framework be laid of the Fourth Plan in a radically different manner from the earlier Plans to ensure that progress can be made in the direction of attaining the social objectives.

For 5-Point Demand Of Great Petition

PUNJAB QUOTA ALREADY DOUBLED

JULLUNDUR, August 31: Chairman of the CPI S.A. Dange rounded off his Punjab tour by an address to the extended meeting of the Punjab State Council of CPI. Five hundred cadres from all over the State were present. A total of 6,75,000 signatures (more than twice the original quota of Punjab) was presented to him by the state Secretary of the Party A. S. Malhotra. Comrades have gone to their districts from the meeting inspired with the confidence that the quota of 12 lakh signatures and 10,000 marchers shall be overfulfilled, in the coming short but most intense phase of the campaign.

REPORTS received by the State Council indicate that aims of the campaign in Punjab shall be fully realized in all respects.

Ferozepur district, which has already collected 1,25,000 signatures, continues to lead the campaign. In August alone 165 mass meetings were held to explain the Great Petition. Jalalabad area committee is leading, having fulfilled its quota. It has more than trebled it, Ferozepur has increased its quota to two lakhs.

Among the cities, Amritsar is leading. Out of 77,000 signatures received at the Jullundur meeting, over 45,000 came from the city alone. The general body of Communist Party members of the city, after having doubled the original quota of 20,000 has raised it now to 60,000.

Of late the rural areas of Amritsar have also moved into action. Apart from Pathi area, three jathas are active in Bhihind Khalea area. They have trebled their quota. They were given enthusiastic welcome in the villages they visited.

Patiala presented over 26,000 signatures at the meeting. Seven buses have been engaged to carry over 400 marchers to Delhi.

Sangrur presented over 33,000 signatures. 20,000 more could not be brought, because of lack of time to collect these from villages. Malerkotla area has moved late but the results are most encouraging. 600 signatures were collected from one village Chauda in one day and 1,168 from Mirusa in two days.

Bhatinda presented 60,000. This was mainly from Mansa and Phool tehsils. Bhatinda

town moved late, but has already collected 5,000. According to incomplete reports from Jullundur district, 85,000 signatures had been collected and a list of 350 marchers has already been drawn up.

Kangra, despite early rain has totalled 15,000 signatures. It will easily cross its quota of 25,000.

In Gurdaspur district, tehsil Gurdaspur alone has collected 11,000 signatures, overfulfilling its quota. This district will fulfil its quota of 25,000.

Quota Raised from 8,000 to 25,000

JALALABAD area committee of the Communist Party in Ferozepur District (Punjab) has overfulfilled its quota of signatures by collecting thirty thousand signatures (original quota 8,000, raised to 25,000).

It has covered every one of the 100 villages in the thana, and virtually the entire adult population of the area has signed.

It has covered all the eighty Panchayats, and 230 Panchayat members have signed the petition. Twenty Panchayats have signed without any exception.

All the seven party branches in the area are active, with socialist competition amongst them. The area committee is now sending squads into the villages of neighbouring thanas (with the permission of the District Council) to collect signatures.

Jalalabad—a poor peasant area—will overfulfill its quota of marchers for September 13, also. Besides those going by bus and train, one jatha of ten cyclists will travel all the 250 miles to Delhi and back.

Ambala has collected over 50,000 signatures. They will take 400 marchers to Delhi. Seventy cyclists and a bus will be going from Rupar area alone, the home constituency of detenu MLA Shamsher Singh Joshi.

Karnal presented over 26,000 signatures and another 4,000 are lying in the villages. They are confident of overfulfilling the quota of 40,000. Not less than 400 marchers shall proceed to Delhi. In most of the

branches, fares have already been deposited by the marchers.

Hoshiarpur presented over 28,000 signatures. Secretary of the district council declared their decision to overfulfill the quota. Old revolutionaries, in their eighties have actively participated in the campaign. So far 55 meetings have been held.

Hissar presented over 24,000 signatures. They have held 25 meetings out of a quota of 50. A list of 282 including 26 women has already been prepared. More are getting ready.

Ludhiana presented 48,000 out of a quota of 75,000. Ludhiana town has already overfulfilled its quota.

Gurgaon, being the nearest of all the Punjab districts, will give 2,500 marchers; out of this 1,500 shall proceed on cycles.

A significant feature of the reports is the active interest and support rendered to the signature campaign by people belonging to different political parties. A very large number of panches, sarpanches, block samiti and zilla parishad members and municipal commissioners have signed the Petition. Women's squads have done

commendable work in the campaign. In Amritsar, Vimla Dang and Karnal Shakuntala Sukhan have led women's squads. In Ludhiana, Mohinder Kaur collected 4,000 signatures. In Jullundur, Kamla Sharma and Manjit Roshan have collected 4,000 signatures, Karan Kaur Sahni 2,156 signatures. A young daughter (eleven years old) of an Amritsar worker has collected 2,000 signatures.

The signature campaign has thrown up certain other individual star collectors. Surjit Singh collected 54,000 a rickshaw mazdoor of Chandigarh Gurbaksh Singh 2,200 and Prem Parkash of the Party Headquarters in Jullundur 4,075. Satnam Singh, Joginder Singh and Pujoh Ram have collected over 2,000 each.

Everywhere an intense explanatory campaign has preceded the signature collections.

During the last eight weeks alone over one hundred rallies and a thousand village mass meetings, besides hundreds of street corner and mohalla meetings in towns, have been held covering more than a million people.

10 Lakh Signatures & 150 Marchers

THE Tamilnad signature collection totals 10 lakhs and the batch of volunteers will come to 150.

(Tamilnad's quota was: signatures 5 lakhs; marchers 100)

Tamilnad's contingent leaves from Madras on September 10, by Grand Trunk and Janata Express and reaches Delhi on September 12.

A. S. K. Iyengar the well known Communist and trade union leader will lead the Tamilnad contingent in the Great March.

KARNATAK COLLECTS 2½ LAKH SIGNATURES

BANGALORE: Karnataka has overshot the target of two lakhs signatures to the Great Petition. According to incomplete reports reaching here 2.49 lakhs of signatures have been collected and 60 volunteers are participating in the demonstration before the Parliament. The population of the State being about 20 million one in every 100 persons have affixed their signatures to the Great Petition. The campaign is still on.

SOUTH CANARA district tops the list with 85,000 signatures. 12 volunteers are going to Delhi to participate in the demonstration. A big mass rally was held in Mangalore on August 26 where the signatures collected were handed over to the volunteers who are participating in the Delhi March. The significance of the Great Petition was explained by the speakers and the volunteers were given a rousing send off.

Next in the list comes

Bangalore with 55,000 signatures. Twelve volunteers are

of life. Many Congress leaders in this district share this view.

According to the decision of the Bihar State Executive Committee of the Communist Party, collection drive week is being observed throughout the district from August 25 to September 1. The Secretariat of the District Council has drawn a detailed plan for this week and Party Committees and comrades have thrown themselves into the campaign. On August 25 a squad of about 20 comrades was brought out in Patna town to collect signatures on the Great Petition. Communist leaders Jagannath Sarkar, Ramavtar Shastri and Chand Prasad were leading the squad with a mike. Chand Prasad, Secretary, Patna Committee, called upon people to sign in hundreds. Within four hours more than seven hundred signatures were collected.

A similar squad was brought out on August 28 led by Communist leader Chandramma Singh and others, which secured 427 signatures within two hours.

In Biharsharif and Khagaul also, signature squads are being organised daily led by Gaurishankar, K. K. Yadav, Ramanand Singh and Lakshmi Singh.

In order to rouse the people for Delhi March, the Secretariat of the District Council has decided to organise public meetings at Phulwari on September 8 and Dinapur on September 9. A grand public meeting will be held in Patna town on September 10 to give rousing reception to the Delhi marchers, whose number will be about 50 from this district.

A bogie of 76 persons has been reserved for carrying

STATEWIDE MEETINGS IN KERALA

TRIVANDRUM: The first week of September will witness meetings in all important towns and rural centres under the auspices of the Communist Party where the Petition to Parliament with signatures collected from each locality will be formally presented to the delegates, who go to Delhi with the petition to participate in the Great March.

ALTHOUGH final figures have not been received, over 150 delegates from Kerala—from northernmost village of Manjeshwar to southern taluq of Parasala—representing the true patriotic sons of Kerala's tolling millions, will take their place in the March, and carry with them over 10 lakhs of signatures from all strata of people.

A special bogie carrying a part of the delegates will join the delegates from Tamilnad and Mysore at Madras. C. Unniraja, member of the secretariat of the CPI's Kerala Council will lead the Delegation from Kerala.

In the city of Bangalore in the preponderantly working class area, over 30,000 signatures have been collected.

Among the other centres Kolar district has collected 35,000 signatures and 10 volunteers are going to Delhi. Bijapur 15,000 signatures and 4 volunteers; Belgaum 3,000 signatures and 3 volunteers; Chickamagalpur 2000 signatures and one volunteer; Coorg 10,000 signatures and 2 volunteers; Gubbi 3,000 signatures and two volunteers; Mysore 20,000 and 6 volunteers; Raichur 1,000 and one volunteer; Chitradurga 15,000 and one volunteer; Shimoga 10,000 with three volunteers; and Kunial 5,000 and one volunteer. Reports from other centres are expected by the end of next week.

MASSIVE PREPARATIONS IN UTTAR PRADESH

LUCKNOW: As the great day of the March to Parliament approaches, brisk final touches are being given all over U.P. to the vast preparations for moving with the great caravan of signatures representatives of the people to Delhi.

ACCORDING to reports which reached here by the middle of August, nearly 6,50,000 signatures had been collected by that time on the Great Petition.

After that, zonal meetings in the east and west have been held to take a roll call and check up the tempo of work. Kail Shankar Shukla, secretary of the State Party Council, himself attended the zonal meeting of the western districts, which have naturally been assigned a specially important role in the March. He has been touring the western districts for the last two weeks or more to help

and supervise the preparations. Central Secretariat member Dr. Z. A. Ahmad has also been to some of these areas. On August 20, he along with Shukla addressed an enthusiastic rally at Moradabad in pouring rain.

Communist leaders Jharkhande Rai, Chandrajeet Yadav, Rustom Satin and Sarju Pandey have concentrated attention on the eastern districts, which constitute our strong base on this side. They have been constantly on the run. All the major districts in this zone, like Varanasi, Azamgarh, Ballia, etc. had already collected more than 50,000 signatures each, when they met for their zonal conference on August 9, after the effective demonstrations of August 9.

The enthusiasm in the conference was so infectious that Varanasi, which had

first set 1,00,000 signatures as its target raised it to 2,00,000 in the meet. Some of these districts alone will easily bring over half a million signatures with their contingents.

In Muzaffarnagar, specially in Budhana, which had elected Communist leader Vijai Pal Singh to the Assembly, with the biggest majority of 27,000 votes in U.P. in the last general elections, tremendous enthusiasm prevails. To give a fillip to the campaign, Vijai Pal Singh had gone on a brief fast. The result was that within a few days thirty buses were fixed up from that constituency alone to go to Delhi.

Similarly, intensive work is going on in the Baraut constituency in the Meerut district, which had earlier returned Acharya Deepankar to the State Assembly. Both these districts have already crossed the 50,000 mark in their drive for collecting signatures. Between them they expect to send about 5,000 Marchers to Delhi.

Even little Mathura has collected 20,000 signatures. Fifty cyclists will start from there on September 9 for Delhi. Another contingent of 250 will go by buses perhaps a day or two later.

Nainital has completed its quota of 10,000 signatures and is going to send about 300 people to Delhi.

Bulandshar, Saharanpur, Aligarh, Bijpur and Moradabad—all in the western zone nearest to Delhi—are also busy giving last minute touches to their campaign.

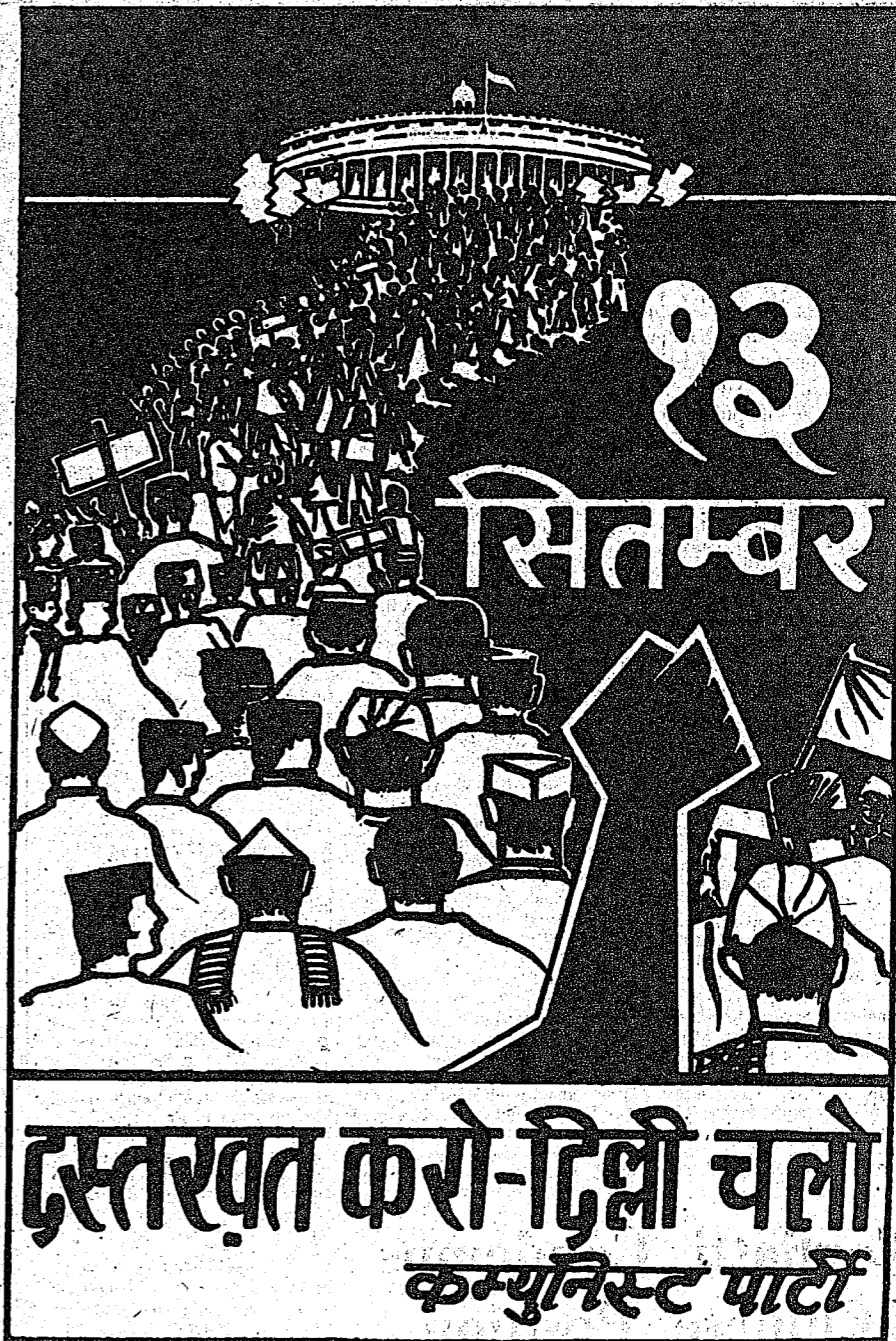
In Aligarh even a mushaira (poetical symposium) was held recently. Hindi and Urdu poets recited verses in this mushaira on the theme of DILLI CHALO.

To make a last and concerted move to stir our people to sign the petition and march to Delhi, the State Committee of the CPI has brought out a full-sized poster showing our millions marching in serried ranks to their Capital.

Reports

From :

- * Prem Singh
- * C. R. Krishnan
- * R. Shastri
- * Ramesh Sinha
- * P. Mavickan



A scene of Signature collection in Assam

PEKING LINE-UP WITH BONN-PARIS AXIS

GDR GOVT. STATEMENT

From P. K. KUNHANANDAN

BERLIN: The Government of the German Democratic Republic, in an official statement published here on August 20, has strongly rejected the imputations and insinuations contained in the August 15 statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China.

The notorious Chinese statement fiercely opposed the Moscow Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and attacked all its signatories. It slandered the foreign policy of the Soviet Union in the most objectionable language and baselessly asserted that "the danger of war has grown" as a result of the Moscow Test Ban Treaty.

The GDR Embassy in Peking, therefore, handed back this Chinese statement to the Foreign Office of the Chinese People's Republic in a vigorous diplomatic rejection.

The GDR Government states that by signing the Moscow Test Ban Treaty it had demonstrated anew that it stood "in the front rank of the people's fight for peace."

The GDR Government "categorically rejects the presumptuous claims of the Chinese leaders to speak in the name of other socialist countries, among them the GDR, and to interfere with the policy of the GDR. With its attempt to cloud the fraternal relations between the GDR and the Soviet Union, the Government of the People's Republic of China is only providing grist to the mill of the militarist and imperialist forces in West Germany. Such futile attempts to sow discord and disturb the brotherly ties between the socialist countries can only serve the imperialist warmongers."

Togliatti Condemns Chinese Position

Palmiro Togliatti, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, in a signed article on the Test Ban Treaty, published in the weekly *Rinascita* last week said that the position of the Chinese Communists, who come out sharply against the treaty banning nuclear tests, has amazed the broadest sections of people.

Togliatti said that this ban, although conditioned by certain restrictions, was for many years the chief demand of the broad and militant mass movement.

"Its content is not only humane, but conforms to the struggle against imperialism and its policy."

"The ban is a practical gain, which will bring all peoples concrete benefits in the near future because it stops further pollution of the earth's atmosphere and sea."

Answering the question why the Chinese comrades come out so sharply against the test ban, Togliatti said:

"The question centres round serious political errors which is a result of a whole complex of false positions contained in all articles and documents which the Chinese comrades published and circulated in the past years. If the question is examined from this angle, some important problems pertaining to proper orientation of the Communist movement in general, and at the present moment in particular, become perfectly understandable.

ger conjured up by the German militarism.

The statement said: "By opposing the decision on partial measures to prevent a nuclear arms race and by pressing for nuclear weapons of its own," the Chinese Government was "virtually playing into the hands of the revenge-seeking West German militarists and their demands for atomic weapons. The furious attacks against the Moscow Treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water are putting the Government of the People's Republic of China in one line with the Bonn-Paris axis."

Bonn's attacks against the GDR, said the statement, are proof that the GDR Government pursues a correct policy.

"The support of the GDR for the Moscow agreement has raised still further its international prestige and its position in the struggle for peace in the heart of Europe.

"Our common cause would be better served if the Chinese Government, instead of taking up and spreading the revanchist claims of Bonn, supported and popularised the proposals of the GDR Government for a cessation of the arms build-up, for a renunciation by both German States of the use of force, as well as for normalising relations between them."

The GDR Government's statement said further on: "By signing the Moscow Treaty, the Government of the GDR has given new impetus to its proposals for an agreement of reason and goodwill between the two German States. This has contributed to strengthening the forces of peace in West Germany and to unmask the militarist forces opposing the treaty, as enemies of peace and understanding."

The statement said, in its entire policy the Government of the GDR always proceeds from the preservation of the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries.

The GDR Government points to the fact that the GDR was "not only in its political fight inadequately supported by the Government of the People's Republic of China," but the Chinese Government has also "considerably reduced economic co-operation between our two countries."

In the period between 1958 and now, the Chinese Government had continually reduced trade with the GDR which had caused loss to the GDR economy that had even now not been completely made good. At the same time, however, the Chinese Government had intensi-

struggle of the Chinese comrades against the political line of the international Communist movement and consequently of the Soviet Union, this will further strengthen our negative attitude to this struggle.

"In particular, if this refusal caused discontent and made them come out with sharp criticism, why then did not they say this openly at the international meetings at which secrecy of discussion was guaranteed?"

Togliatti concluded his article with these words: "All of us would only benefit from a greater sincerity in our relations."

NEW AGE

FIGHTER ALL HIS LIFE

ON September 8, Benjamin J. Davis, leading American Communist, celebrates his sixtieth birthday.



Benjamin J. Davis

The heroic life of Benjamin Davis is a source of inspiration to his compatriots and to Communists all over the world.

Davis came into national prominence thirty years ago when as a young Negro attorney in the Southern courts he successfully defended Negro young men for participation in the struggle of the unemployed and those otherwise framed up.

For more than 25 years Benjamin Davis has been in the news as a leading US Communist. He was elected for two terms to the New York City Council (1943-49), a post which made him one of the most prominent Negro political leaders. Jailed in 1951 along with other leaders of the US Communist Party under a Smith Act frame-up Davis successfully led a fight to end Jim Crow in Federal prisons.

Making a speaking tour of several colleges two years ago, Davis became the centre of a victorious campaign waged by the students for the right of Communists to speak at New York City College.

Benjamin J. Davis was indicted and arrested together with Gus Hall, the leading Communist spokesman in the US, as an officer who refused to register the Communist Party under the criminal and slanderous terms

of the McCarran Act. The trial is set for October and along with Hall, Davis faces a possible sentence of 30 years and 60,000 dollars in fines.

Widely respected, Benjamin Davis was recently honoured by Negroes of different political persuasions at his home town, Atlanta, Georgia. Similarly, last year when he participated in a forum at the Harvard Law School, from which he had graduated in 1928, he was honoured by the Dean and the professors who had been his colleagues in student days.

Greeting Benjamin J. Davis on his 60th birthday, progressive opinion all over the world demands an end to the persecution to which he along with other leading US Communists is being subjected. It demands the withdrawal of the prosecutions under the infamous McCarran Act.

fed its economic relations with capitalist countries, among them West Germany.

TODAY CHINA'S TRADE VOLUME WITH WEST GERMANY IS GREATER THAN HER TRADE WITH SOCIALIST GERMANY.

"An active support of the GDR in its fight for a peaceful solution of the German nation's vital questions and in its economic consolidation would be the Chinese Government's best contribution to curb West German imperialism and militarism," said the statement in conclusion.

The struggle for peace in Europe

was in the interest of all socialist States. "It is regrettable that the Chinese Government seems to forget these facts and attempts to divert the people's struggle for peace onto a wrong path."

The statement wound up by hoping that "the Chinese Government will find its way back to the common path of the socialist countries. The joint struggle for the maintenance of world peace for the building of socialism and against West German militarism will then also bring about a growth and strengthening of relations between the GDR and the People's Republic of China."

Algerian Communist Leader Interviewed

In course of an interview with a Pravda correspondent Algerian Communist leader Bashir Hadj Ali said regarding the Moscow Treaty banning nuclear tests:

THE best I can do is to express my agreement with the characterisation given by Prime Minister Ben Bella to this agreement: It is of benefit for all peoples.

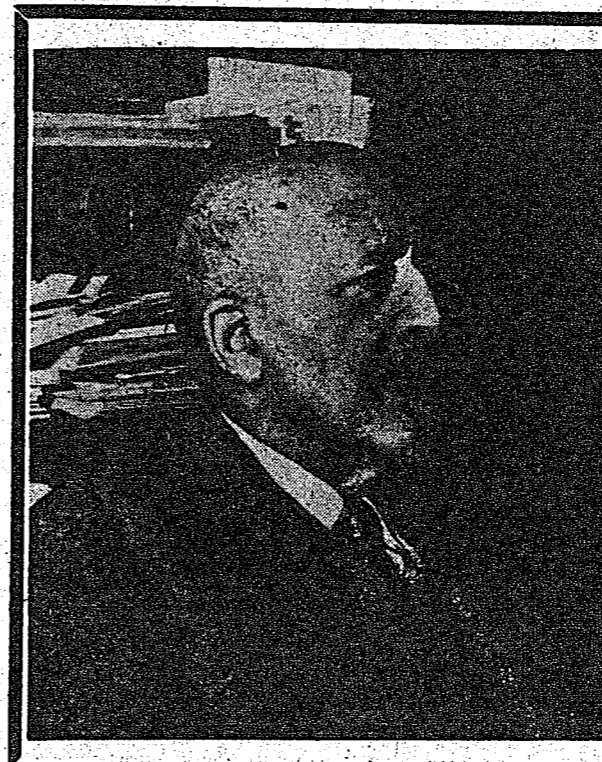
"Our people fully subscribe to this agreement. Not a single voice was raised against this agreement in Algeria. It is to be profoundly regretted that the voice of the Government of People's China is joining those of the ultra-reactionary circles of the Western countries which are coming out against this agreement."

Speaking about the differences between the Communist Party of China and the overwhelming majority of the Communist Parties, Bashir Hadj Ali pointed out: "We studied the letters of the Chinese comrades of June 14, and the reply of the Soviet comrades published in Pravda of July 14. Every patriot, every Algerian revolutionary has the opportunity of reading and studying these documents."

ON PAGE 12

SEPTEMBER 8, 1963

Epic Life of W. E. B. Du Bois



The epic of WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT DU BOIS' life came to a close on August 27, on the eve of the Great Negro March on Washington. He died in Accra at the age of 95, a card holding Communist, a naturalised Ghanaian, working at the time of his death on the Encyclopaedia Africana at KWAME NKRUMAH'S invitation.

THE man who had done more than any other single individual for the American Negro's liberation and had laid the foundation for African unity took leave of his people and the people of his forefathers' land even as their struggle for freedom and equality was reaching a climax.

A world figure of the tallest stature, he was one of the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP). Even before that he had founded in 1905 the Niagara Movement, a forerunner of the NAACP and helped to establish the Pan-African Congress as early as 1900.

Writing in a resolution of the Niagara movement in August 1906, he proclaimed what sounds almost a prophecy today:

"We will not be satisfied to take one jot or tittle less than our manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a freeborn American, political, civil and social, and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America."

"Not For Ourselves Alone"

"The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone, but for all true Americans. It is a fight for ideals, lest this our common fatherland, false to its founding, become in truth the land of the Thief and the home of the Slave—a byword and a hissing among the nations for its sounding pretensions and pitiful accomplishment."

Du Bois was the man who saw fifty years ago, with the clarity of genius, the close interconnection between the Negro's struggle for freedom

and the workers' striving for Socialism. "The cause of labour is the cause of the black man, and the black man's cause is labour's own" he proclaimed.

He paid his first visit to the Soviet Union in 1926 and after spending two months there, wrote, like our own Rabindranath Tagore:

"Alone and unaccompanied I have walked the miles of streets in Leningrad, Moscow, Nijni Novgorod and Kiev at morning, noon and night; I have trafficked on the curb and in the stores; I have watched crowds and audiences and groups. I have gathered some documents and figures, plied officials and teachers with questions, and sat still and gazed at this Russia, that the spirit of its life and people might enter my veins."

"I Am A Bolshevik"

"I stand in astonishment and wonder at the revelation of Russia that has come to me. I may be partially deceived and half informed. But if what I have seen with my eyes and heard with my ears in Russia is Bolshevism, I am a Bolshevik."

In the years of the Cold War Du Bois threw himself heart and soul in the Peace Movement. Leading the Peace Information Centre that did monumental work, collecting 25 lakh signatures on the Stockholm Peace Appeal wakening Americans to the threat of brinkmanship, Du Bois and four of his associates were indicted in February 1951, as "unregistered foreign agents". And the editor of the biggest Negro paper bitterly cried:

"Du Bois represents Negro leadership at its best and strongest. Now a government which has found itself unable to protect the rights of an entire people against crim-

inal intrusion of a prejudiced majority finds the means to handcuff the man who has fought most insistently for those rights.

"I cannot forget, or ignore, what he has done for me, fighting for my rights and serving as an example of my possibilities in a world which spurned me as an inferior. They could not look at him and call me inferior."

Dismayed at the protest the McCarthyite arraignment of Du Bois had touched off, the US government offered him a "deal". It told Dr. Du Bois that if he pleaded no-defence, it would let him off without a jail sentence. They did not know with whom they were dealing; Du Bois told his attorney, Vito Marcantonio, "Before I enter such a plea I would rot in jail."

During the period of indictment and trial Dr. Du Bois stuck to his guns. As had been true all his life he said exactly what he believed.

"With jail in sight," he writes in his *Battle for Peace* (1952), "I hammered at the proposition that the Soviet Union did not want war, while our masters did; that we in demanding peace were opposing Big Business which wanted war, and that we did this as free Americans and not as tools of any foreign or domestic power."

The McCarthyite pygmies recoiled from the consequences of chaining this giant; Dr. Du Bois and his fellow defendants had to be acquitted.

War Is Not Inevitable

In recounting the story of his trial Du Bois enunciated his views on war and peace which need being recalled today. He wrote in the *In Battle for Peace* mentioned above:

"The most sinister evil of this day is the widespread conviction that war is inevitable and that there is no time left for discussion."

"It is doubtful if the mass of Americans who accept this judgement realise just what its implications are. War is physical force exercised by men and machines on other men so as to compel submission to the will of the victors. Unquestionably in primitive times there were repeated occasions when such recourse to force was the only path to social progress."

"But as civilisation has progressed and included larger masses of men and portions of the earth, two things have become increasingly clear: one that the costs of war have become too great for any nation to pay, no matter what the alternative; and two, that in war, as now carried on, there can be no victorious party. In modern war, all contestants lose and not only lose the immediate causes of strife, but cripple the fundamental bases of human culture."

NEW AGE

In his message to the Accra Conference in December 1958, Dr. Du Bois called the newly independent states to reject capitalism as their path of development. "You cannot choose between socialism and private capitalism, because private capitalism is doomed."

"You are not helpless," he told them. "You can not only beat down the price of capital as offered by the united and monopolised western private capitalists, but at last today you can compare their offers with those of the socialist countries, which with infinite sacrifice and the pouring out of blood and tears, are at last able to offer weak nations needed capital on better terms than the West."

"The supply which socialist nations can at present spare is small as compared with that of the bloated monopolies of the West, but it is large and rapidly growing. Its acceptance involves no bonds which a free Africa may not safely assume."

Warning Against Neo-Colonialism

He sounded a clear warning against neo-colonialism. He said:

"Those in control today of the dominant exploiting nations are willing to yield more to the demands of the mass of men than were their fathers. But their yielding takes the form of sharing the loot—not of stopping the looting. It takes the form of stopping socialism by force and not of surrendering the fatal mistakes of private capitalism."

In 1959, Du Bois accepted the Lenin Peace Prize and in 1961 at the age of 93 he became a member of the Communist Party of USA. It was at the height of the renewed persecution of the Communists in America under the McCarran Act. In applying for membership he wrote:

"Communism—the effort to give all men what they need and to ask of each the best they can contribute—this is the only way of human life. In the end Communism will triumph. I want to help bring that day."

In a tribute on his last, the 95th, birthday, February 23, 1963, Herbert Aptheker writing in *Political Affairs* (Theoretical Organ of the CPUSA) said:

"For over a half century this one man epitomized the cause; and it was the most dramatic cause in his country and his era."

"He experienced the crucifixion himself; and he never sought to use his great gifts to remove the thorns from his own head. Many times was wealth offered him; many times were positions of great distinction dangled before his eyes—sometimes his pre-eminence being so indubitable, they actually came to him—but neither the offers nor the momentary reality ever came near corrupting him."

His learning is as extensive as any man's; his friendships extended from Einstein to Gandhi; no part of this globe has he not studied with his own eyes; no significant political or social or intellectual current has moved in the United States in the past sixty years without his participation—and all this unparalleled experience has held him firm to the need for socialism and has led him, in the latest period, to the momentous decision of becoming a member of the Communist Party."

A Cause, An Ideal

Of Du Bois as a writer and as a crusader for the cause Eugene O'Neill wrote 35 years ago:

"Ranking as he does among the foremost writers of true importance in this country, one selfishly wishes sometimes (as a writer oneself) that he could devote all his time to the accomplishment of that fine and moving prose which distinguishes his books. But at the same time one realises, self-reproachfully, that with Dr. Du Bois it is a cause—an ideal—that overcomes the personal egotism of the artist."

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, great-great-grandson of an African slave, for over sixty years the most shining embodiment of "the Soul of Black Folk" is no more. The treasure-house of his writing and the heritage of struggle for justice, socialism and peace that he has left will continue to inspire Negroes, Africans and entire humanity for ages to come.

S. GURUSWAMY

The secretariat of the All-India Trade Union Congress issued the following statement on September 3:

THE All-India Trade Union Congress expresses its deep sense of sorrow at the passing away of S. Guruswamy, president, All-India Railwaymen's Federation yesterday. Sri Guruswamy's knowledge of the problems of our railways and railwaymen was unmatched in the trade union movement. He tried to keep the trade union organisations united. In his demise the trade union movement and particularly the railway trade union movement has lost an experienced, able and sincere fighter for their demands.

The All-India Trade Union Congress also sends its heartfelt condolences to the family of M. E. Serang, the builder of National Union of Seamen, who passed away yesterday.

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SEPTEMBER 8, 1963

SEPTEMBER 9 : NATIONAL DAY

BULGARIA'S STEADY MARCH FORWARD

Bulgaria, with a population only of eighty lakhs, had 18,93,000 persons attending various types of educational establishments in the educational year 1962-63. This is perhaps the highest proportion achieved anywhere in the world.

STUDENTS pursuing higher studies number 89 per 10,000 inhabitants as compared to 44 in France, 36 in Italy and 29 in Great Britain.

Only 19 years ago Bulgaria was one of the most backward countries of Europe in every respect. The remarkable all-round progress during these years is the result of socialist transformation achieved since the national uprising of September 9, 1944 against Nazi enslavers.

In a period of ten to fifteen years the Bulgarian people have created an industry of their own which is now selling its output to 44 other countries. The export list of Bulgarian foreign trade comprises machine-tools, tractors, threshers, electric trucks, self-propelled chassis, electric motors, refrigerators, washing machines, radio and TV sets. The significance of this fact will be duly appreciated if we recall the not too distant past when Bulgarian merchants had to supply farmers not only with threshers and harvesters from abroad, but also with hoes for their horses.

Tremendous Progress

Bulgaria's socialist industry is now turning out in 20 days an output equal to its whole annual industrial output in 1939.

At the same time agriculture has rapidly developed and was transformed into large-scale co-operative agriculture, supplied with modern machinery. Agricultural output in Bulgaria today is 70 per cent higher than prior to the war.

The Bulgarian Communists who have led this transformation are among inheritors of the longest and richest revolutionary tradition. The first Marxist groups arose in Bulgaria seventy years ago and the Bulgarian Communist Party was founded in 1903.

Its leaders Blagoyev, Dimitrov and Kolarov, made significant contributions to the consolidation and growth of the world Communist movement.

Condemnation Of Chinese Campaign

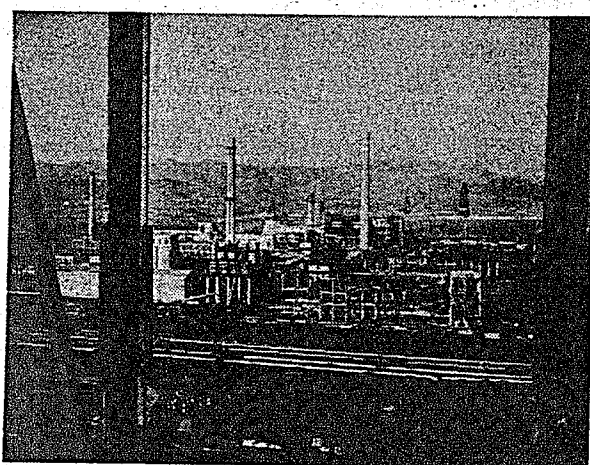
Stepped in a thousand battles and having built a strong tradition of proletarian internationalism the Bulgarian Communist Party has firmly adhered to the line worked out by the Communist and Workers' Parties at their conferences in 1957 and 1960. At its Eighth Congress, in November 1962 it condemned the Chinese campaign of slander and abuse against the Soviet Union. Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Party and Prime Minister of the Republic recalled the following words of George Dimitrov:

"The attitude which every active member of the workers' movement and every workers' organisation takes to the Soviet Union is in fact the cornerstone of their devotion to the interest of the working class and their loyalty to socialism."

"These illuminating words", declared Zhivkov, "have preserved their force and meaning this day."

"To us, Bulgarian Communists", he said, "the whole Soviet Union, the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Soviet government and Comrade Khrushchov are an inseparable whole; they are like the five fingers of one hand, clenched into a fist."

The same Congress in line with the stand of the world Communist movement deplored China's armed conflict against India and the Prime Minister defining his government's programme told the



The "Kremikovtsi" Steel Works near Sofia under construction

ZHIVKO ZHIVKOV VISITING INDIA

A Bulgarian Government Economic Delegation headed by Deputy Prime Minister Zhivko Zhivkov will arrive in Delhi on September 8 on a five-day visit.

Zhivko Zhivkov was born in 1915. He is a Law graduate. From his early age Zhivko Zhivkov was connected with the progressive movement in Bulgaria. In 1931 he became member of the Young Workers Union and in 1935 member of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Zhivko Zhivkov took active part in the struggle against fascism. He was arrested and interned a number of times. In 1942 he was sentenced to 7½ years imprisonment. He was freed from jail on September 9, 1944.

Since then he has held responsible posts in the youth movement, in the Party and the government. He was Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Foreign Trade, Minister of Education and Culture. In December 1959 he became Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and in September 1962 concurrently became Chairman of the Planning Commission.

In November 1962 the National Assembly elected him First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

At the VIII Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party



Zhivko Zhivkov was elected a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

For his active participation in the struggle against fascism and in the building up of socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria Zhivko Zhivkov has been recipient of a number of government awards.

Bulgarian National Assembly on November 28, 1962:

"The Government will continue to strengthen the fraternal mutual relations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria with the newly liberated nations, to broaden our political, economic and cultural links with them. Our country and government have always manifested feelings of fraternal solidarity for the just struggle of these peoples for freedom and national independence and, within our possibilities, have given them political, moral and material support."

"We are deeply convinced that a further strengthening and broadening of Bulgaria's political, economic and cultural relations with these nations will be to our mutual advantage."

The People's Republic of Bulgaria was among the first to adhere to the Moscow Test Ban Treaty and to condemn the Chinese government stand on it.

Greetings

Greeting the people and Government of Bulgaria and their leadership on the 19th anniversary of their national uprising which brought the country its national independence and firmly set its course to socialism, New Age wishes them growing prosperity and ever-increasing success in the building of socialism and consolidation of peace.

Students of Technical School at Pratic work



ALGERIAN LEADER TELLS CHINA: CHARGES AGAINST SOVIET UNION ARE LIES

*FROM PAGE TEN

leadership has recently added another accusation which the heart and reason indignantly reject: a direct accusation of the Soviet Union of treachery to the interests of the peoples in connection with the signing of the Moscow Treaty on banning nuclear tests.

Our people know from their own experience that this is a lie, because they received assistance from the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist camp without any conditions.

Every Algerian understands that the Moscow Treaty creates unfavourable political conditions from the international point of view, for the continuation of French atomic tests on our land, the stopping of which would be a victory for our national sovereignty and the cause of peace. Who would dare then to make us believe that the line of peaceful coexistence is directed against our national interests?

All these sharp words by the Chinese leaders, their attacks on the Soviet Union make it possible to judge the degree of seriousness of their other attacks and their slanderous character. We prefer peace to war, revolutionary

internationalism, the equality of rights and duties between the fraternal parties, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist teaching and in accordance with the Moscow declaration of 1957 and the Moscow Statement of 1960.

The responsibility of the Chinese comrades is exceptionally great. Their splitting activity in international Communist movement, their attacks on socialism are very pernicious and especially at the moment when the ideas of socialism (I mean only scientific socialism) have been taken up by the broad masses and especially by the working class of the countries which have freed themselves from colonialism. The position of the Chinese leaders is fraught with the danger of introducing confusion and may put a brake on this great liberation movement of the peoples.

Believe us, though difficult as it is, we say it with all responsibility about the leaders for whom we had a feeling of great admiration, the admiration which we retain for the working class and the great Chinese people. We understand our responsibility with regard to our working class, our poor peasants, our people and the international Communist movement and we shall make our positive contribution to the settlement of differences on the basis of proletarian

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The US government is desperately trying to create an impression before the world that it is working for a change in the personnel and policies of its South Vietnam outfit so that the sufferings and humiliations of the Buddhist people there are brought to an end. It has set afloat inspired rumours to the effect that it would support a coup against NGO DINH DIEM and his brother if any elements of the South Vietnam military leadership were to undertake it.

THE military chiefs of South Vietnam, have, however, rallied to the support of Diem and the Nhu's and have declared their firm loyalty to the clan. It has been suggested that having been let down twice by the Americans—when attempted coups were foiled in 1960 and 1962, because promised American support did not materialise—the generals are now chary. They have been accused of adopting the slogan apparently discarded by the Americans: Sink or swim with Diem.

Since the barbarous assault on the pagodas all over South Vietnam on August 21, US policy in its public manifestations has taken so many twists and turns that it must be difficult even for US officials to keep track of it and define it exactly at any given moment. This has been sought to be explained by the "dilemma" the US is supposed to be facing in South Vietnam, the dilemma of EITHER continuing to support a hated regime and sharing the blame for its crimes OR trying to change the regime and in the bargain losing South Vietnam altogether.

Behind all this seeming confusion and simulated dilemma the calculated tactic of trying to dupe world opinion has become increasingly clear. This double-faced tactic consists of feigning sympathy on the one hand with the Buddhist people, and continuing, on the other hand, to mastermind and lend practical day-to-day support to the Diem-Nhu regime.

This double-faced policy serves both parties well. The US is spared the odium of being party to cruel suppression and the uncomfortable prospect of having to answer at the bar of world opinion. The Diem-Nhu regime, which never had the problem of facing world opinion, meanwhile carries on the dirty work of brutal suppression behind the US shield.

It is a very convenient division of labour which suits both parties well; only the smokescreen of a public dispute and mock-fighting among the two must be kept up to divert people's attention.

Among all the disavows that have poured forth aplenty from official US sources during the last fortnight, there has been one which has been intriguingly missing. New York Times of August 25 (New York edition) carried a dispatch from its Saigon correspondent

claiming that high officials of the Diem government had confided to him that "the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and top officials had advance knowledge" of the planned attack on Buddhists and "had given approval" to the plan.

This report remains uncontradicted to this day. The obvious inference is that the decision to come down with full force and finally suppress the Buddhist movement for religious freedom was a joint decision of the United States and the Diem-Nhu regime, and the Kennedy Administration must bear full responsibility for it.

The Kennedy Administration's game of deception and duplicity over South Vietnam is directed not merely against outside opinion. It is directed equally against American opinion. And it is already causing considerable uneasiness in the United States. Senator Wayne Morse (Democrat—Oregon) voiced this uneasiness on the Senate floor on August 23 when he sought from the Secretary of State full

WORLD

USA's Double-Faced Policy On S. Vietnam

* by Zia-ul Haq

information on South Vietnam, particularly about the activities of the CIA there.

The senator from Oregon put the spotlight on the shadowy figures of the CIA who have been operating in South Vietnam. Morse quoted newspaper articles by Homer Bigart in the New York Times and by Robert Carr McCabe in the New Leader, describing the role played by Col. Edward G. Lansdale, chief CIA agent in South Vietnam.

Senator Morse demanded that the operations of the CIA be barred. "As member of the Foreign Relations Committee I cannot tell the Senate—nor can any other member of the committee—what the facts are, about CIA policies in South Vietnam or anywhere else in the world." Congress, declared Morse, has given the CIA "unchecked power" and has "permitted the CIA to continue to exercise what appears, in fact, to amount to a police power in a democracy."

The senator declared that if it were not for US aid Diem would not have lasted 90 days and would have been finished long ago—"a long time in the past." "I want to know from the Secretary of State how we got into the plight we are in; why we have a commitment to support a tyrant in South Vietnam." He further questioned the propriety of the moves that were afoot to change from "the dictatorship of Diem to a dictatorship of the military."

ANOTHER aspect of the desperate US propaganda effort over South Vietnam is to separate two products of one common integral situation, the two being the war against the so-called Vietcong guerrillas and the suppression of the Buddhist movement for religious freedom. This attempt at artificial separation would hardly convince anybody.

For, the current assault on Buddhist rights is the climax of the campaign of armed suppression and terror that has been carried on against Vietnam's movement for national independence for the last 18 years. This prolonged, increasingly cruel, campaign has inevitably

ly and inexorably led to the alienation from the entire people of the imperialist-propped South Vietnam regime.

The religious crisis and its persistence, culminating in the barbarous and wholesale assault of August 21 is but the expression of this total alienation. The gulf now has become too wide and no imperialist-backed regime, be it the Ngo Dinh outfit or any other gang, can bridge it.

That is the essence of the real US dilemma in South Vietnam. Short of getting out there is no solution for it. Anything else will be only a very short-lived palliative, causing increasing erosion in the US position.

With three billion dollars already sunk in that bottomless pit and 1.5 millions being sent down the drain every day, with more than 15,000 US soldiery and the lavishly provided "Special Forces" under Nhu-USA rule could drag a little while by sheer weight of armour. But in face of the burning hatred of the people even this is bound to reach the point of saturation rather soon. The present, very temporary calm of the graveyard cannot last long.

Moreover, however, much Kennedy and Diem might try to keep it so, south Vietnam has ceased to be anybody's domestic affair. It has become a first-rate international issue, so much so that the US cannot stop even its French ally from publicly commenting on it. The conscience of the world, particularly of Asia, is so deeply stirred that no cajolery or intimidation can keep the issue out of international forums. Like South Africa, it is bound to raise its head everywhere till a solution is found. And solution can be found only on the lines indicated by President Ho Chi Minh in his statement of August 28 in which he says: "The Vietnamese people resolutely demand that the US imperialists withdraw from South Vietnam. The problem of South Vietnam must be solved by the South Vietnamese themselves."

The people of South Vietnam and world public opinion will compel US imperialism to bow before that solution.

KHRUSHCHOV'S VISIT TO YUGOSLAVIA PAVES WAY: FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF MUTUAL RELATIONS

* From Masood Ali Khan

BELGRADE, September 3: Nikita Khrushchov's 14-day visit to Yugoslavia came to an end today. It has been a tremendous success. Thousands upon thousands of people welcomed him with warmth and affection in all the Republics and mass enthusiasm and popularity of the Soviet leader grew here from day to day.

THERE is complete satisfaction here over the visit. No problems arose to indicate any conflict; agreement was found on practically all problems of significance and all major questions were considered without a shadow of difference, it was pointed out here.

Khrushchov declared that during the talks with the Yugoslav President, "full understanding and readiness for further development of relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union was demonstrated."

Khrushchov also spoke of the need to safeguard unity of the world Communist movement and declared that the workingclass of both Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union had solved fundamental problems by taking power in its hand. Socialism was being built in Yugoslavia on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. "I feel fine wherever there is socialism," he declared.

Although no formal document or declaration was signed and the visit was unofficial, it is bound to lead to further development of close and friendly relations between Socialist countries, relations which have to be of mutual help, cooperation and long-range division of labour.

Khrushchov, after his observations here, made certain

my, development of culture and compactness of the people around the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. This is concrete contribution of the Yugoslav people to international revolutionary working class movement. Yes, this is concrete development of socialism and not chatter about revolution."

In practical work, the development of socialism, there could be differences in concepts and approaches, even sometimes on questions of importance. In such cases, one should strive for unity and emphasise those decisive things which unite. Patience should be shown and not accusations hurled, saying if you disagree with me, you are against revolution, he said.



Citizens of Cetinje greet Khrushchov and Tito

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America's Conscience Knocking at Its Doors

Negro March Marks Point of No Return

The biggest-ever demonstration in the history of the United States of America took place in Washington on Wednesday, August 28, 1963. Over two lakh people participated in the demonstration. Of these, some three-fourths were black men and an estimated 50,000 were whites.

It was a demonstration to demand equal rights, jobs and freedom, for the two crores of America's Negroes, who constitute ten per cent of the USA's population.

It was organised jointly by all the major Negro organisations of the United States. Among them are the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP), the Council on Racial Equality (CORE), and the Students' Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee.

Seeing the preparations of this demonstration, the protagonists of Jim Crow, those who insist on perpetuating the racial oppression of the Negro people, raised a hue and cry, as though the black folk were going to sack Washington. A typical representative of this breed, Representative Joe Pool, Democrat of Texas, accused the Kennedy Administration of "being afraid of some one" that it had failed to provide the "proper amount of troops and police protection". He declared on the eve of the march that he and many others in Congress planned to close their offices during the march (and they subsequently did) because "of fear of disobedience of the law in our great capital". This even as the Kennedy Administration was deploying a huge number of troops to demonstrate its readiness for "anything".

What finally happened on that dreaded Wednesday was perhaps the most dignified, disciplined, orderly and peaceful demonstration staged anywhere, at any time, by any oppressed people.

At the Other End

What happened on that dreaded Wednesday in Washington was in very sharp contrast with another "demonstration" staged the previous Wednesday (August 21) at the other end of the world, in another capital, Saigon. In Saigon a small group armed with US arms and bloated with US dollars, smashed the religious places and trampled the dignity of the great majority of a proud nation—and seemed merrily to be getting away with it!

What happened in Washington was but an urgent, though massive, plea to the entire American nation. It was America's own conscience knocking at its doors, mobilised in strength and wielding the only weapon at its disposal with all the power that it could command. It was a pressing call to resolve, in sheer national interest, the greatest crisis of America's history that gathers threatening

momentum with every passing day.

"We have come to this hallowed spot", declared Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., standing on the steps of the giant-sized statue of Abraham Lincoln, "to remind America of the fierce urgency of NOW."

"Five score years ago", he said, "the great American in whose shadow we stand today signed the Emancipation Proclamation. One hundred years later the Negro is still crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. He still lives in the corner of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land. We come here to dramatise this shameful situation."

"1963 is not an end but a beginning. There will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights."

New Beginning

The same theme was evoked by another eminent leader of the Negro movement A. Philip Randolph. The march far from being a climax, he said, was but "a new beginning for all Americans".

"We shall return again and again to Washington in growing numbers until freedom is ours", he vowed. "We shall settle for nothing less."

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, said that Negro Americans want "employment and the pride and responsibility and self-respect that goes with equal access to jobs."

"We want a Fair Employment Practices Bill as a part of our legislative package." He called President Kennedy's Civil Rights Bill "moderate" and warned that any weakening of it would leave it little more than "paj".

If those who support the bill will fight as hard—as the Southern opposition fights against it, victory will be ours", he declared in warning against compromise and retreat on the part of the Administration.

Walter Reuther, vice-president of the AFL-CIO and president of the UAW (United Auto Workers) which had one of the largest delegations of unionists at the demonstration, urged passage of the bills "so that meaningful progress can be made in ending the ugly forms of discrimination in employment, education, housing and public accommodations."

There were representatives of various Churches and Jewish Rabbis among those who addressed the demonstration in a similar strain.

There was substantial labour participation, including most of the council of the

AFL-CIO. The entire leadership of the US Communist Party, led by Gus Hall, was present in the demonstration.

Over 150 Senators and Congressmen attended the rally. Among them were Senators Jacob Javits, Hubert Humphrey and Kenneth Keating, and Representatives Adam Clayton Powell and James Roosevelt.

"The marvellous new militancy", Rev. King told the demonstrators, "which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realise that their

momentum with every passing day.

"The city and the Administration are ready for anything. The police will be backed by National Guard, Army and Marine units. Arrangements for receiving the special trains, buses aircraft, and thousands of cars read like a military logistical operation."

"Times, London, August 26, Dispatch from Washington.

"The capital awaits the marchers with some uneasiness..."

"About 6,000 police and allied groups have been assigned to the civil rights demonstration. In addition, troops released by the Defence Department will be on alert nearby."

"New York Times, Paris edition, August 27, Dispatch from Washington.

"Official Washington, which had always been jittery about mass civil rights march, positively lost its nerve as the historic event approached. Some 4,000 soldiers and marines were put on stand-by duty to move quickly against a riot..."

"Although plans for the march kept the demonstrators carefully away from Capitol Hill, platoons of police, both military and civil, were stationed there to guard the complex of congressional buildings."

"In view of the orderly, dignified manner in which some 210,000 marchers from all parts of the country conducted themselves on Wednesday, all precautions against violence seem absurd..."

"Hindustan Times, Delhi, August 30, Washington Dispatch from Ajit Bhattacharjee.

"The greatest demonstration in US history has ended, great not only in size but equally in terms of discipline, purpose and organisation."

"One lakh were expected to participate—the most conservative final estimate was over double that number. Yet not a single act of violence or misbehaviour was reported."

"Hindustan Times, Delhi, August 30, Washington Dispatch from Ajit Bhattacharjee.

destiny is tied up with our destiny."

The struggle "to storm the battlements of injustice must be carried forth by a bi-racial army. We cannot walk alone."

Several eminent Americans, whites and Negroes, of whom America is justly proud, marched in the demonstration, declaimed, recited, and sang. Many who could not be present sent messages, a number of them from prisons.

Tribute to Du Bois

At 11-30 the demonstrators observed a minute's silence in tribute to Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, "father and great inspirer of the modern freedom movement", as they described him. The entire ocean of humanity stood in reverent silence. Roy Wilkins in course of his speech said it was "incontrovertible that at the dawn of the twentieth century his was the voice that was calling on you today."

—Zia-ul Haq

The mood of the great march was reflected by the famous writer James Baldwin when in reply to a reporter's question: "Do you think the Negro Revolution is ahead of schedule?" he said "Ahead of schedule after 400 years."

"This might be the realisation of the Emancipation Proclamation, at last, and the end of the American Revolution at last", said Baldwin.

Those very people who had raised a scare before the demonstration are now trying to play it down as a Negro picnic, some sort of a holiday, which need not be taken seriously and will have no effect on Congress. It has been something too big and it will naturally take some time for its full meaning to seep down their thick skulls. One thing however is certain: whoever fails to grasp the meaning of this historic event will be doing so at his own peril. The American Negro will no longer be turned away from his goal of Jobs and Freedom—Now!

—Zia-ul Haq

THE SCARE & THE OUTCOME

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Following are excerpts from the speech of P. Kunhan in the Lok Sabha on September 2 on the discussion of the 11th Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

SIXTEEN long years have passed since our independence. We have completed two Five Year Plans and now we are in the third year of the Third Plan. During the last two plan periods, the Government of India provided nearly Rs. 122 crores for the development of these handicapped people in our society. But, in spite of the various measures taken by the government, what has been their development so far? In fact, in certain respects their conditions have actually deteriorated.

Take the economic plight of the scheduled castes. Can anyone say that it has improved during the last twelve years? All the available information in our possession shows that their economic conditions have only deteriorated.

The scheduled castes are mainly landless peasants and agricultural labourers. Unemployment and under-employment are the two most acute problems among the agricultural labourers. No serious attempt was made to solve these problems. Actually, unemployment is on the increase. Indebtedness among the agricultural workers has increased.

Fundamental Importance

The key to the emancipation of the scheduled castes lies in the improvement of their economic condition. Unless their economic conditions are improved they cannot be expected to stand on their own legs. But this basic factor has been ignored by the government. It is true that government is spending money for developing cottage industries among these people but that alone will not remove their economic backwardness.

In my opinion two measures are of fundamental importance in improving the economic and living conditions of the scheduled castes. One is distribution of agricultural lands among Harijans and the other is fixation and enforcement of minimum wages for them. With regard to the first measure, government has included a scheme in the Third Plan for distribution of land among landless labourers. But the progress of this scheme has been very unsatisfactory.

One common criticism raised in this House during the discussion on the previous reports of the Commissioner was that the money allotted for the welfare of these people was not utilised in full. Large amounts were allowed to lapse every year.

According to the 10th report, the shortfall in expenditure during the First Plan was Rs. 5 crores. In the Second Plan there was a short fall of Rs. 10 crores in the case of Scheduled Tribes and Rs. 2.25 crores in the case of Scheduled Castes. However, the situation has not improved since then. In answer to a question put recently in this House it was stated by the Deputy Home Minister that the total amount unspent during the first two years of the Third Plan was more than Rs. 3 crores.

Unused Money

The responsibility for not utilising the allotted money does not lie with the state governments alone. The centre is also to be blamed for this. In the year 1961-62 there was a short fall of Rs. 1 crore in the central sector. It is highly regrettable that even the meagre allocation made for the welfare of these people is not made use of in full. In fact short-fall in expenditure had been a regular feature in all these years.

The Commissioner had repeatedly drawn the attention of the government to this aspect and suggested various measures to remove the bottlenecks in this respect. But unfortunately, no effort has been made to remove the causes that lead to this largescale shortfall in expenditure.

The scheduled castes still continue to suffer from social inequalities and social oppressions. Untouchability is the most glaring and degrading form of social oppression. Though the Untouchability (Offences) Act had been in force for the last seven years and various other measures have been taken to combat this evil, the practice of untouchability still prevails in many parts of the country in a very ugly form. The law on untouchability is not enforced with sufficient vigour.

Out of 2898 cases registered

Improve Conditions of Down-Trodden People

P. Kunhan's Powerful Plea in Lok Sabha

under the Act till 1960, conviction was secured only in 637 cases. 944 cases are still pending in the courts. But even in cases in which conviction was secured, punishment was so light as to make it a mockery. Large number of cases go unnoticed partly due to the ignorance and helplessness of the victims concerned. Therefore, every attempt should be made to enforce the law very strictly.

Then take the question of representation of scheduled castes and tribes in government services. Just now the deputy Minister stated that the number of candidates is increasing year by year. The report gives the relevant facts.

It is stated in the 11th Report that out of the 4,45,143 vacancies notified to the employment exchanges by the central and state government departments, those reserved for the scheduled castes were only 12,997, which represents three per cent, and those reserved for the Scheduled Tribes were only 5,909, representing a little over one per cent.

Lame Excuse

It is found from the 11th report that one common explanation given by the government for this inadequate representation of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in government services is that suitable candidates are not available. This is hardly convincing. My opinion is that the plea of non-availability of suitable candidates is being used as a cover by many appointing authorities to deny the due share of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in the appointments.

I therefore strongly support the suggestion made by the Commissioner in the 11th report that the appointing authorities should not be allowed to fill their reserved vacancies by members of other communities, unless

People's response is great and they have appreciated the move of the CPI.

Jajari, Hattisong, Kaki, Lakka, Lumding and Nowgong town branches are ahead of all other branches in the district in collection of signatures.

An interesting experience was recounted by Laboti. On September 1, he took the petition to leading ex-officials and prominent personalities on whom age has imposed retirement.

Ex-Judges of the High Court, including a former Chief Justice, retired professors and principals of leading colleges not only signed but blessed the efforts to awaken and organise the people. They insisted that the younger members of their family not only sign but assist what they called this "noble" work.

Makhdoom Mohiuddin on the morning of August 29, went round the small shops and pan and cigarette stalls in Narayanga and near the MLA quarters. He also went into the small Irani restaurants. A most enthusiastic response was shown by the rickshaw pullers. One of them rushed away with a petition and came back in half an hour with 30 signatures.

less and until the Ministry of Home Affairs is satisfied that all efforts needed to secure persons belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes have been made.

Another important issue to which I would like to draw the attention of the government is the recent judgement of the Supreme Court declaring the procedure under the carry forward rules of 1955 as unconstitutional. These rules were specially made for ensuring adequate representation for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

I may also draw the attention of the government to the judgement of the Kerala High Court declaring as illegal the state government's orders for reserving certain percentage of seats to the backward communities in the professional colleges.

Government should study the implications of these judgments and if and when necessary come forward with suitable amendments so that the various steps taken by the central and state governments for safeguarding the interests of the backward classes under the Constitution may be implemented. There is also the problem of housing of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. During the

Nobody will be convinced by this explanation. Government should see that the procedure for the acquisition of land is simplified and that the scheme is implemented as speedily as possible.

In this connection, I would like to mention the large-scale eviction of Harijans from their homesteads in many parts of the country. I would request the government to take steps to bestow proprietary rights on Harijans over their existing homesteads and lands so that they will be saved from this threat of eviction.

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second Five Year Plan a sum of Rs. 519.20 lakhs was provided for housing, but the government could not spend more than Rs. 326.16 lakhs, and a balance of Rs. 193.4 lakhs was left. It should be noted that the money allotted for 1961 was not spent fully.

There is a scheme for providing house-sites for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, but the progress of this scheme has been rather slow. The explanation given by the state governments for the slow progress of the scheme is that, firstly, sufficient land is not available, and, secondly, the procedure for the acquisition of land will itself take more time.

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NOWGONG NEARS ITS TARGET

NOWGONG, August 27: The Nowgong district council of the CPI has nearly fulfilled its quota of 15,000 signatures on the Great Petition. There is yet a week left and already 12,500 signatures have been collected.

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Front-Page News All Over the World

★ From P. K. Kunhanandan

BERLIN, August 31: All European newspapers, communist and bourgeois, from London to Moscow, from Daily Mail to Izvestia, put out front page banners to honour the great Negro march for freedom and a better life for 20 million US citizens which surged through Washington's Constitution Avenue with dignity and calm on August 28.

250,000 people joined this greatest Negro freedom march, admitted by all to be the biggest in American history. In the ranks of this historic demonstration there were clergymen, Hollywood stars, white as well as coloured men and women and famous Negro freedom fighters.

Leading GDR paper Neues Deutschland on August 29 published a big picture of the march, slogans in placards clearly visible, such as:

"We demand an end to police brutality!"

"Be one with God, speak out for freedom."

"Civil rights plus full employment equals freedom."

"We march for first class citizenship now."

"We march for jobs for all and decent pay now."

Neues Deutschland commented: "This march is a turning point. American Negroes are not disposed any longer to wait for another hundred years until the bourgeoisie throws them another crumb from its table again. The struggle of the American Negroes is not only a part of the American working people, it is also an integral part of the national liberation movement throughout world."

★

Vivid and picturesque descriptions of the freedom march in the US capital were carried by all

West European papers. Photos of the Constitution Avenue and Lincoln Memorial in Washington filled with a milling crowd of white and black humanity, appeared in all papers. "This joyful rebellion" was the banner of Daily Herald. Names and photos of Hollywood stars in the march were front-paged by several English dailies.

From a South Louisiana jail, James Farmer, leader of the Council on Racial Equality, saluted the march in a moving message read out at Lincoln Memorial. He signed the message on behalf of 232 freedom fighters jailed with him in the fight against segregation.

★

And this significant editorial comment appeared yesterday in Daily Mail, London: "In Washington a huge marble statue of seated Abraham Lincoln looks broodingly down on all who through his memorial. Promises of full liberty and equality have been made many times and as many times dishonoured."

HYDERABAD'S BIG ACHIEVEMENT

★ From Mohit Sen

"The month of October 1963, the month of Gandhi's birth, would witness a great mass movement of struggle if the government does not revise its policies regarding taxes, prices and compulsory deposit" said Raj Bahadur Gour while exhorting the people in the old city area of Hyderabad to sign the Great Petition on August 28.

ON August 31, he addressed another meeting at Chanchalguda and urged for a big spurt in activity in the last days of the campaign and reminded the collectors that all forms have to be handed in by September 5.

Party members and sympathisers in the old City area, with Devraj and Laboti in the lead, responded magnificently to the call of the City Party secretary. Going round from home to home, visiting the busy bazars, approaching people in the thoroughfares and lanes well over 5,000 signa-

tures have already come in. In Sanatnagar—a rapidly growing industrial area—the political stir created by the Great Petition has raised the militancy of the workers. Wage demands and protest against victimisation have led to hunger-strikes, tool down demonstrations by the Indo-Swiss and Frizair workers, while workers from 12 other factories have demonstrated in sympathy. The Jaya Engineering workers have given a strike notice and took out a big procession on August 31.

K. L. Mahendra has been in the forefront of these struggles and reported the signi-

cant fact that all these workers have signed the Great Petition. And a favourable atmosphere has been created for further collections in the final phase.

An interesting experience was recounted by Laboti. On September 1, he took the petition to leading ex-officials and prominent personalities on whom age has imposed retirement.

Ex-Judges of the High Court, including a former Chief Justice, retired professors and principals of leading colleges not only signed but blessed the efforts to awaken and organise the people. They insisted that the younger members of their family not only sign but assist what they called this "noble" work.

DELHI CHALO

WEST BENGAL CONFIDENT TO FULFIL ITS QUOTA

★ From AJAY DASGUPTA

CALCUTTA, September 1: The Great Petition movement is growing in West Bengal. News reaching Calcutta indicates the rapid advance towards fulfilment of quotas by different districts. The five lakh quota will be fulfilled, the State CPI leadership confidently expects, in spite of enormous difficulties the Party faces in West Bengal.

In Calcutta, competition is developing among the area-branches for securing the honour of the first place. In terms of signatures already deposited at the district Party office till August 30, the position was as follows: Branch Ward/78—2,400, W/17—2,397, W/65—1,352, W/61—1,339, Bhowanipur—1,198, W/15—1,163 and so on.

And these are not all that these branches have collected. In each branch some forms are with the comrades, in the process of being filled up. By now only about 1,000 forms of nearly 8,000 forms distributed have come back bearing some 25,000 signatures. Yet more than 17,000 signatures are at the Gardenreach office and more than 10,000 at the Khidderpore office. The Calcutta students are working hard to fulfil their quota of 10,000 signatures. The youth workers are participating in the campaign.

Campaign is continuing in the working class areas of Cal-

cutta, Howrah, Hugli and 24 Parganas. The workers of Bata shoe factory have already deposited 5,000 signatures at the BPTUC office. They are now collecting signatures from people of the areas neighbouring Batanagar and they expect to collect 25,000 signatures.

At Titagarh also in the same 24 Parganas district, more than 5,000 signatures have already been collected. At Rajapur in the same district, in the suburb of Calcutta, a middle class area, eight party comrades came out on the streets for the first time after declaration of emergency and at the Bagha Jatin bus stop collected more than 500 signatures within 3 hours. The total signatures under the Haktu-Basdroni local committee now stands at 4,740.

In Midnapore 33,000 signatures have already been deposited at the district Party office by August 25, 12,000 more collected signatures are

with the branches. So Midnapore will surely overfulfil its quota of 50,000. More than 100 squads have worked during the signature campaign week. Almost all hats of Tamluk sub division have been covered through meetings and personal approach. In the Tamluk local committee area 13,000 signatures have so far been collected. Out of it 2,224 signatures have come from Ratanachak branch, which covers the area of the subsidiary port Haldia.

In Bankura district work began late. In Bankura town within a week more than a thousand signatures were collected. Dr. Abani Bhattacharya, local MLA and other leading comrades participated in the squad work. From villages more than 2,000 signatures have been deposited with the district party office within third week of August. Jaleswar Hansda MLA collected more than 250 signatures from his constituency in this district.

In the Habra area of Nadia district more than 5,000 signatures have been collected. In Murshidabad district 3,627 signatures have been deposited with the district party office by the third week of August.

NEW AGE SPECIAL NUMBERS

★ The next issue of New Age (dated September 15) will be a special Great March Number, in honour of the September 13 march to the Indian Parliament.

★ The issue dated September 22 will be a bumper number, giving detailed accounts of the Great March itself, with photographs and living stories of the marchers. Those who do not have the opportunity of marching themselves will see the March through the pages of New Age, in as living a way as is possible.

★ And three weeks later, will come the Special Tenth Anniversary number of New Age, dedicated to the Communist press and its glorious history—with special articles and messages.

★ Agents: Will you help us by increasing your weekly order, in honour of the Tenth Anniversary of New Age? If you have any suggestions for raising circulation in your state or district or city, please let us know: we can try and help you in any way you suggest—if it is at all possible.

★ Readers: Will you help by becoming subscribers NOW. For three months only, we are making a special reduction in the subscription rate (Annual: Rs. 10 only instead of the usual Rs. 12; half-yearly Rs. 5 only instead of the usual Rs. 6).

Become a subscriber now and don't miss weekly
NEW AGE

NEXT ISSUE: GREAT MARCH NUMBER

TAMILNAD 12 LAKHS

★ From R. GANESAN

MADRAS, September 3: According to news received at the Party headquarters, Tamilnad has so far collected twelve lakhs of signatures by the end of August. Thus seven lakhs over the allotted quota of five lakhs have been collected.

THE following are the district-wise figures:—

District	Signatures collected
Coimbatore	2.25 lakhs
Madurai	1.5 "
Trichy	1.0 "
Tanjore	1.5 "
Ramnad	1.0 "
Salem	0.75 "
North Arcot	0.80 "
South Arcot	0.75 "
Tirunelveli	0.83 "
Chingleput	0.50 "
Madras	1.0 "
Kanyakumari	0.25 "
Pondicherry	0.30 "
Nilgiris	0.10 "

150 volunteers from Tamilnad are coming for the Delhi March. Star signature collectors, trade union and kisan activists are in the list of

marchers. A. S. K. Iyengar, veteran Trade union and Party leader is leading the marchers. Dr. Krishnamurthy, Party leader from Chingleput District is accompanying the marchers as a medical attendant. People signed and contributed towards the expenses of the volunteers to go to Delhi and present their great petition.

The volunteers were given a magnificent district send-off on September 1, in 14 district centres. A provincial send-off will be given to the marchers at Madras on September 8 and the volunteers will be introduced to the public in a mass meeting to be held on that day followed by a mass procession.

C.E.C. MEETING

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India will meet in Delhi from September 14 to 16, immediately after the Great March. Apart from a review of the Great Petition campaign, the meeting will discuss the latest political developments and fix the dates and agenda for the next meeting of the National Council.

COLLECTED 80 LAKHS

REPORTS reaching us at the time of going to press show that by August 31, about 80 lakhs of signatures have already been collected on the Great Petition. Following are some of the figures received from various states:

Tamilnad—12 lakhs; Andhra Pradesh—12 lakhs; Kerala—10 lakhs; Maharashtra—9.25 lakhs; Punjab—6.75 lakhs; Uttar Pradesh—7.5 lakhs; Madhya Pradesh—2.5 lakhs; Karnataka—2.5 lakhs; Bihar—3 lakhs; West Bengal—3 lakhs; Rajasthan—2.5 lakhs; Orissa—3 lakhs; Delhi—1 lakh; Assam—1 lakh; and Gujarat—1 lakh.

(The figures are not complete).

NOTES OF THE WEEK

★ FROM PAGE FOUR

Whatever the assurances of the Government of India, the entry of foreign soldiers in large numbers with sophisticated equipment (which is not ours, but theirs) and of foreign aircraft on a big scale, cannot but gravely endanger and weaken non-alignment.

The bald statement that many Indian Communists are pro-Chinese is nothing but a piece of the Communist-baiting, one associates with the worst reactionary elements.

Not one word did the Prime Minister add regarding the Communist Party of India's firm stand against Chinese aggression.

Time and again has the Communist Party repudiated such slanders, which are the stock-in-trade of the rightist forces in this country. One can only deeply regret that the Prime Minister should have chosen to join the anti-Communist chorus on this occasion.

The Indian people know the Indian Communists well. That is why a crore of them have signed the Great Petition launched by the Communist Party; that is why on September 13, the best sons of our people will march under our glorious banner.

It is the masses who are giving the decisive answer to the anti-Communist slanders.

COMMUNIST BAITING

THE manner in which the Prime Minister went out of his way to attack Indian Communists in his reply to the foreign policy debate in the Rajya Sabha has been commented upon widely. There was no occasion for this outburst. It was completely out of context.

JOIN GREAT MARCH SEPTEMBER 13